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BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MSS MUSIC SCHOOL C.32–37: MUSICAL NETWORKS, MOTET TEXTS AND ROYALIST RESONANCES

MYLES HARTLEY and JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT

One of Margaret Crum's many contributions to musical scholarship was her work on the Music School collection in the Bodleian Library. Her 1967 article concerning the early catalogues of the Music School described its formation;¹ other writings looked in more detail at specific groups of Music School manuscripts;² and her typescript collection of Revised Descriptions has been the first port of call for generations of musicologists working on Oxford music manuscripts.³ In the seventeenth century the Music School collection was one of the finest working music libraries in England, and this essay examines the partbooks of vocal music by William Child (1606/7–97), GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37, providing an overview of its key works and texts, its scribes and facilitators, and its musical contexts. Distinctive features of Child's Latin texts and Biblical sources will be introduced, and a case-study provided to highlight significant aspects of seventeenth-century topicality and Royalist resonances in Child's *concertato* works.

The Music School collection began in 1626 when William Heather (*c.*1563–1627) endowed the Music Lecture and presented the first tranche of music books, together with instruments and furniture, in order to enable the Professor (or 'Master of the Musicke', the first being Richard Nicholson (1563–1638/9), organist of Magdalen College) to 'bring with him two boys weekly, at the day and time aforesaid [on Thursday afternoons, Lent excepted], and there to receive such company as will practice Musick'.⁴ The original bequest consisted of 42 printed books of music, bound in six sets of vocal partbooks, together with a single manuscript set, the famous 'Forrest-Heather' partbooks of Tudor festal masses, MSS Mus. Sch. E.376–81.⁵ The Forrest-Heather partbooks can be seen as 'antiquarian' in the context of the rest of Heather's bequests,⁶ which were otherwise stylistically up-to-date (the printed sources, from the Netherlands, Italy and England,

¹ M. Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters* 48 (1967), 23–34.

² For example, M. Crum, 'The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667', *Cheyls* 4 (1972), 3–10; 'Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford', *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Hertrich and H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1985), 97–101.

³ 'Catalogue of the Oxford Music School Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford', typescript at GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4.

⁴ A. Wood, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1796), ii/1, 358 <@>. Wood quotes from Oxford University Archives Register of Convocation 1615–28, register N, ff. 233–4. See too, H.W. Shaw, rev. and ed. P. Ward Jones, 'The Oxford University Chair of Music, 1627–1947, with some Account of Oxford Degrees in Music from 1856', *Bodleian Library Record* 16/3 (1998), 233–70.

⁵ Two lists of Heather's benefaction survive: University Archives S.E.P.C. 9 and MS Mus. Sch. C.203*[R]; the latter is transcribed in Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School'.

⁶ The Forrest-Heather partbooks are described in the two early catalogues as 'A sett of olde songs composed by severall Authors vizt: Doctor Merbeck, Doctor Fayrfax, M^r John Tavener, M^r Hugh Aston and others, bownd in black lether covers.' Perhaps Heather, a singer at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, valued the quality of the old-fashioned Catholic music and perhaps even recognized the Oxford provenance of a number of the masses.

date from 1575 to 1624) and were designed for use in the Music School by members of the University.

Little evidence survives of additions to the collection before the next catalogue of the Music School books in 1682, but it seems likely that successive Professors of Music (Arthur Phillips, Heather Professor 1639–53, and John Wilson, Heather Professor 1656–61) added music. However, by the Restoration the Music School collection must have seemed very dated, and it fell to Edward Lowe (c.1610–82, Heather Professor 1661–82) to revitalise the music in the weekly performances. This Lowe did through a process of accumulation: purchase, donation and music copying, as well as one major acquisition: the 1667 procurement, via Anthony Wood, of relatively up-to-date music from Dudley, third Baron North, of Kirtling in Cambridgeshire.⁷ As a result of Lowe's diligent activities, the Music School collection grew rapidly; this is revealed in 'A Catalogue of All the Books w^{ch} belong now to y^e Musick Schoole 1682', made by Lowe's successor as Heather Professor, Richard Goodson the elder (c.1655–1718).⁸ Furthermore, many of the printed and manuscript sources in the Music School collection contain invaluable annotations in Lowe's hand that reveal information about provenance and practical details relating to performance. New music was added to the old and, as relatively few sources appear to have been lost over the years, the collection gained historical depth as the older music in the collection was preserved, giving the collection an antiquarian character, perhaps more by accident than intention.

This essay is concerned with the works, contexts and texts of GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37, manuscript partbooks dedicated to music by William Child, sacred and secular with Latin and English texts. Child was elected to the next lay clerkship vacant at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle on 19 April 1630. He became organist in 1634 and worked there for the rest of his long career, apart from the years when the choral foundation was disbanded during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth (1643–60).⁹ Child was also an organist of the Chapel Royal following the Restoration, alongside Christopher Gibbons and Lowe, the latter of whom was also organist of Christ Church Cathedral and the University Church of St. Mary in addition to his duties as Heather Professor. Child was also given a court post as a cornett player after the Restoration and was private organist to the Earl of Sandwich, Edward Montagu, patron of the diarist Samuel Pepys.

Alongside his performance duties, Child was a prolific composer, writing at least 18 liturgical settings and 60 anthems (42 of which are verse anthems) with English texts, as well as two full-choir service texts in Latin: a Te Deum and Jubilate for Peterhouse, Cambridge, which featured *stile antico* idioms creatively combined with declamatory writing and alternation between the Decani and Cantoris sides of the choir.¹⁰ The repertory of GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 adds a significantly more Italianate and *stile nuovo* character and dimension to Child's compositional

⁷ See Crum, 'Consort Music from Kirtling'; P. J. Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1961), 71–5.

⁸ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204*[R].

⁹ *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, comp. A. Ashbee, and D. Lasocki, assisted by P. Holman and F. Kisby, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2000), i. 244–9.

¹⁰ F. Hudson and W.R. Large, 'William Child (1606/7–97), a New Investigation of the Sources', *The Music Review* 31 (1970), 265–84.

oeuvre; these ‘chamber’ works, domestic-devotional, Latin- and English-texted, sacred and secular, would not have been used in the Anglican liturgy, either at St. George’s or in the Chapel Royal.¹¹

Edward Lowe bequeathed the partbooks to the Music School in 1682. They head the non-alphabetical list of his gifted items, comprising manuscripts and printed editions: ‘Lattin Songs for 3, 4, and 5 Voices by Dr. Child in folio cover’d with black Leather’.¹² Whilst the partbooks are described in the inventory in relation to the 13 Latin-texted sacred works, ten of which survive solely in this source, they also contain 13 English-texted items. These comprise four sacred ‘Alleluia Hymns’; six psalms (two incomplete) from Child’s set of 20 ‘Newly composed after the Italian Way’, printed in 1639 and dedicated to Charles I and the Knights of the Order of the Garter; and a secular Epithalamium.¹³ These are all for three voices with continuo and use *concertato* idioms. The Latin motets display these idioms to a greater degree and on a larger scale, with significant points of compositional and stylistic comparison with motets by Richard Dering (c.1580–1630), for example, as well as those of the Italian composers Alessandro Grandi (1590–1630) and Giovanni Felice Sances (c.1600–79). Child’s works feature contrasts between short imitative phrases and homophonic declamation, and between duple- and triple-time writing. There is much variety of choral texture and rhythmic figuration, a predominance of syllabic text setting with occasional word painting and the use of ‘colourful’ dissonances, such as a minor sixth and a major third above the bass. The basso continuo provides a stable harmonic foundation, above which dissonance is carefully prepared within the metrical scheme.¹⁴

Frequent use is made of ‘tonic-dominant’ harmonic relationships for both immediate progressions and larger structural units, with the use of third-related progressions to provide contrast and colour, and often to heighten the effect of chordal declamation, both within musical sections united by the text, and across separate sections featuring different texts. Child’s chords and harmonic patterning move as far as F-sharp major and D-flat major in their respective harmonic directions: the former in ‘O bone Jesu’, (b. 9, in a dominant relationship to B major and minor, setting ‘Jesu’ in chordal homophony), and the latter in ‘Converte nos’ (b. 85, within a passage of swift modulatory movement for repetitions of ‘et ne des hereditatem tuam [in opprobrium]’ (‘do not give your heritage [into disgrace]’) in two-part declamatory homophony.¹⁵ Ex. 1, an extract

¹¹ This discussion of MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 is drawn from M. Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation: A Contextual Study of Latin Motets in Seventeenth Century England, with Focus on Works by William Child’, Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. (University of York, 2022) <@>. Vol. 2 includes a complete critical edition of the partbooks alongside motets by other composers connected with Child, including Edward Lowe and Christopher Gibbons.

¹² Crum, ‘Early Lists’, 31.

¹³ For a critical edition of the three-part psalms, see: W. Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of III. Voyces (1639)*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, York Early Music Press (York, 2015) <@>.

¹⁴ See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 36–42, 46–73, for a discussion of aspects of style in Child’s motets, including *imitatio* and the use of compositional material by the Italian composers Alessandro Grandi and the Neapolitan composer Giovanni Maria Sabino (1588–1649). For a discussion of *concertato* idioms in motets by Dering, see J.P. Wainwright, ‘Richard Dering’s Few-Voice “Concertato” Motets’, *Music & Letters* 89 (2008), 165–94.

¹⁵ The use of anachronistic ‘tonal’ terminology is used for clarity to describe this repertory from a time traditionally characterised as ‘transitional’ between ‘Renaissance modes’ and ‘Classical tonality’. Tim Carter has summarised these complex themes and issues, ‘yet to be fully resolved’, with great clarity, and highlighted the challenges of defining ‘pure’ modality, ‘pure’ tonality and any potential transition, ‘if such there be’, in music of this period; see T. Carter, ‘The Search for Musical Meaning’, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Carter and J. Butt (Cambridge, 2005), 169–79, esp. 170, 172. ‘Hybrid’ modal-tonal analyses have been undertaken by scholars including Eric Chafe,

from ‘Servus tuus’ (CCB, bc), shows Child’s accomplished use of both fifth- and third-related harmonic progressions to underpin emphatic and clearly declaimed homophony, presenting text translatable as ‘it is time for you to act, O Lord, for they have broken your law’. Rhythmic syncopation adds a sense of ‘breaking’ and unease; the possible mid-century and Commonwealth contextual resonances of this will be addressed below, with a discussion of Child’s setting of ‘O si vel’ (Luke 19: 42), Jesus’s Passiontide words of lament on his arrival at Jerusalem.¹⁶

Ex. 1: W. Child, ‘Servus tuus’, bb. 39-46

Perhaps surprisingly, Child’s four-voice, continuo-accompanied setting of Miles Coverdale’s translation of Psalm 120, ‘Woe is me’ (c.1637), is incorporated within the motet section of the partbooks. However, this work does not survive in English-texted liturgical sources for Child’s works, and its sole concordance, in Bishop Smith’s partsong books (a collection of Oxford provenance, c.1637) together with works including domestic-devotional continuo psalms and Grandi’s ‘O bone Jesu’,¹⁷ suggests a comparable non-liturgical and household function for the piece. The final item in MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 is a secular dialogue which narrates pastoral courtship, *stile rappresentativo*, concluding with a triple-time chorus. Child here demonstrates the heritage of Florentine monody alongside comparable dialogues by Alphonso Ferrabosco II and the Lawes brothers. The works in the partbooks are organised by genre and vocal scoring, and the secular epithalamium and dialogue, which bookend the collection, can be said to highlight and affirm the broadly domestic function of the partbooks. Table 1 sets out its contents.

for example in his study of vocal works by Monteverdi ‘within the context of emerging tonality’, following work undertaken by Carl Dahlhaus; see E. Chafe, *Monteverdi’s Tonal Language* (New York, 1992), xv.

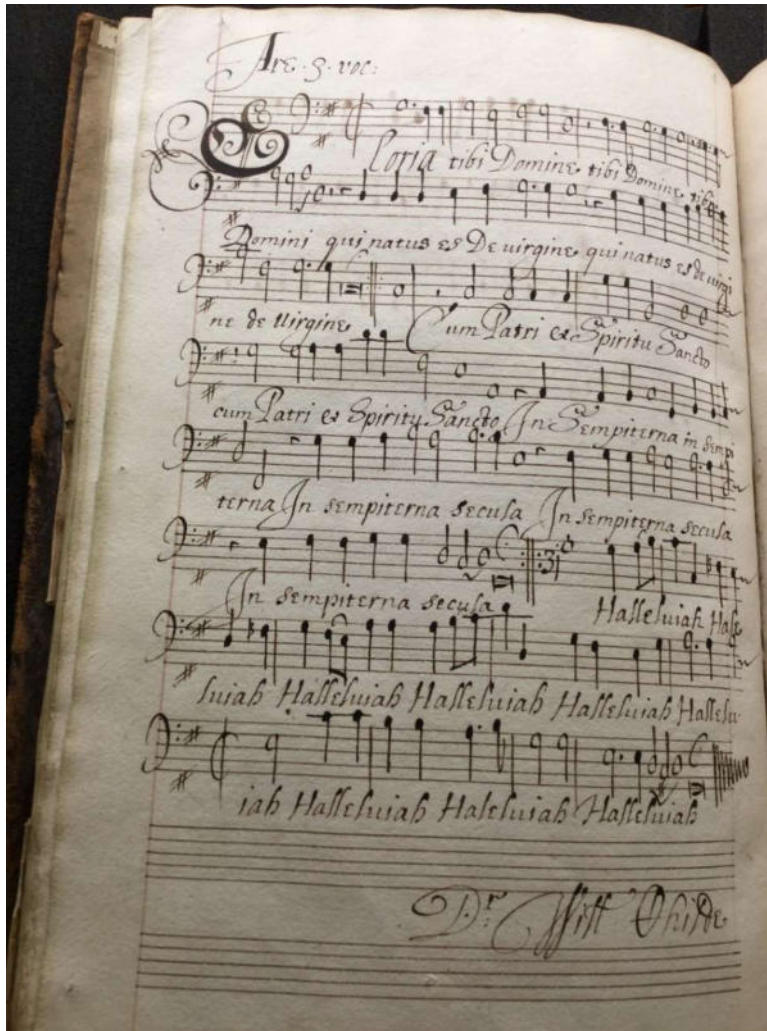
¹⁶ Ex. 1 also demonstrates the early use of ‘sequence’, of which can also be seen in the *concertato* work of Dering, for example, including his motet, ‘Sancta et immaculate virginitas’, bb. 20–26. See *Richard Dering Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica* 86 (London, 2008), 19.

¹⁷ Carlisle, Archive Centre, DCHA 2/4/1 (olim CRO(C) D&C Music 1); see J.P. Cutts, *Roger Smith, his Book: Bishop Smith’s Part-Song Books in Carlisle Cathedral Library* (Stuttgart, 1972).

Table 1: GB-Ob. MSS Mus, Sch. C.32-37

Title	Scoring	C.32 f.	C.33 f.	C.34 f.	C.35 f.	C.36 f.	C.37 f.
Come Hymen An Epithalamium	ATB, bc	2		3	2		5
An Hymn. Alleluia, therefore with angels	ATB, bc	3 ^v		4	3 ^v		5 ^v
A Hymn for Christmas Day. Alleluia, awake my soul	ATB, bc	4 ^v		5 ^v	5		6
A Hymn for Pentecost or Whitsunday. Alleluia, O Holy Ghost	ATB, bc	6		7	6		6 ^v
A Hymn for Trinity Sunday. Alleluia, Thou who when all was into rudeness	ATB, bc	8		9 ^v	8		7 ^v
Blessed is the man	CCB, bc	10		12	10		
Why doth the heathen	CCB, bc	10		12 ^v	10 ^v		
Lord how are they increased	CCB, bc	11		13 ^v	11 ^v		
Hear me when I call	CCB, bc	11 ^v		14 ^v	12 ^v		
Ponder my words, ye people	C[C]B, bc	12		15			
O Lord, rebuke me not	C[CB], bc			16			
Cantate Jehovahae vocal bass part, chorus treble instrument 2, chorus bass instrument, chorus treble instrument 1	CCB, bc	23		25 ^v	23 ^v 44 45 46 47–47 ^v		12 ^v
Servus tuus	CCB, bc	24 ^v			24 ^v		12
Gloria Tibi	CCB, bc	25 ^v		27 ^v	25 ^v		12 ^v
Gloria Patri	ATB, bc	26		28	26		22
Laudate Deum	ATTB, bc	27		29	27	2	22 ^v
O si vel	CATB, bc	29		31	29	4	23 ^v
O bone Jesu	CATB, bc	30 ^v		32 ^v	30 ^v	5 ^v	24
Quam pulchra es	ATTB, bc	31 ^v		33 ^v	31 ^v	6 ^v	24 ^v
Ecce panis angelorum	ATTB, bc	33 ^v		35 ^v	33 ^v	8 ^v	25
Quem vidistis	CATBbc	35		37	35	10	25 ^v
Woe is me that I am constrained	AATBbc	36 ^v		39	37	11 ^v	26
Plange Sion	CATTB, bc	39	2	42	39	14	27
Converte nos	CATTB, bc	40 ^v	4	44	40 ^v	15 ^v	27 ^v
Venite gentes	CCATBbc	42 ^v	6	46	42 ^v	17 ^v	28
Why so cruel, Daphne, why? Dialogue between Damon and Daphne	CB, bc	13 ^v –8 ^v REV				30 REV	

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 present not just a significant display of Child’s distinctive and accomplished Italianate compositional idioms, but are also a key source of the ornate calligraphic work of Charles Husbands Senior (d. 1678), the scribe of all items in the books except for the instrumental parts of ‘Cantate Jehovae’ incorporated into MS Mus. Sch. C.35, which are in the hand of Edward Lowe.¹⁸ Husbands was a colleague of Child after the Restoration as a tenor clerk at Windsor and the Chapel Royal; his ornate scribal work encompassed a notable range of royal and courtly vocal works, including liturgical music and domestic repertoires, the latter both sacred and secular.¹⁹ Many of the items in MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 feature decorated initial-capital letters; see Illus. 1.



Illus. 1: f. 25v of MS Mus. Sch. C.32, in the hand of Charles Husbands.

¹⁸ See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 74–84 for a discussion of Husbands’s life and work, with examples of his scribal hand; there is a transcription of ‘Cantate Jehovae’ in ii. 358–64.

¹⁹ Though described as a ‘tenor’ in Windsor records and a ‘counter-tenor’ in a Chapel Royal source, these labels are compatible if Husbands was a high-range tenor, akin to the seventeenth-century French *haute-contre*. See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 77; A. Parrott, *Composers’ Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, 2015), 93.

Husbands's copies of liturgical works associated with St. George's Chapel in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17,784 feature such techniques; an example of his artistry is an image of Charles II on f. 28v with the king wearing St. Edward's crown; this had been remade in solid gold in 1661 following the destruction of the original during the Civil War.

The international scope of Husbands's scribal work can be seen in his complete copies of printed collections dedicated to European monarchs, with notable examples including *airs de cour* by Étienne Moulinié (1599–1676) dedicated to Louis XIII of France, brother of Queen Henrietta Maria (GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1, the sole-surviving partbook copied from *Airs de cour a quatre & cinq parties* (Paris, 1625)); and Latin motets by Sances dedicated to Ferdinand III, the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.10, five partbooks copied from *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci* (Venice, 1638)). The latter belonged to Lowe, who gave the set to the Music School in 1682 with the Child partbooks.²⁰ Just as MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 includes instrumental parts to 'Cantate Jehovae' in Lowe's hand, so Husbands's hand features alongside that of Lowe in other post-Restoration motet partbooks in Oxford, including GB-Och, Mus. 49 and GB-Och, Mus. 1178, both of which include works from Sances's 1638 publication.

Husbands attributed the contents of MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 to 'Dr.' Child, so he must have copied the partbooks between 1663, when the composer received an Oxford doctorate, and 1678, the year of Husbands's death. Husbands's partbooks of Latin music by Child and Sances clearly had a primary function in the context of Oxford's post-Restoration Music School and the University's Heather Professor Edward Lowe. The Child partbooks contain a variety of genres and texts, though their copying together in a single-composer collection suggests a degree of functional unity. Perhaps Child gave them to Lowe and the Music School, just as the court musician John Hingeston (1612–83) donated to the Music School a set of partbooks of his own consort music with warm words praising Lowe's work at the University.²¹ Goodson Senior listed them in the Music School's 1682 inventory,²² and they are now GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.205–211. They feature 56 suites in four to six parts.

GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 do not provide evidence of their original performance context, and autographs of the works do not appear to have survived, so it is not straightforward to suggest definitive dating or chronology for them. However, 'Cantate Jehovae' may be the first to have been composed in view of its presence in US-NYp, MS Drexel 4300, an Oxford Music School source featuring sacred and secular vocal works by composers including Dering and Weelkes. These partbooks, in five scribal hands, bear a 1633 attribution of ownership by James Clifford (1622–98), at the time a chorister of Magdalen College and protégé of the first Heather Professor,

²⁰ Crum, 'Early Lists', 31.

²¹ Hingeston wrote, for example, in the inside cover of MS Mus. Sch. D.205: 'Thes Bookes & works of mine I freely give to y^e musique Schoole at Oxon, to w^{ch} I was ye more incouraged from what I have heard & seen of y^e care, diligence and industry of y^e present Proffessor of that faculty in y^e University, my Honored frind and fellow servant M^r Edward Lowe'. The books were copied by a scribe working under Hingeston's supervision; see Crum, 'Catalogue of the Oxford Music School Collection', GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4, 115–19.

²² Crum, 'Early Lists', 29.

Richard Nicholson, also *Informator choristarum* at Magdalen.²³ However, the origin and function of some of the motets in MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 can be discerned through their texts, the Latin of which will be seen to demonstrate Court connections as well as the vicissitudes of the monarchy in seventeenth-century England. In addition to MS Drexel 4300, the six other seventeenth-century concordances for Child motets suggest sustained connections with the Oxford Music School and domestic music-making at Court, particularly in the reigns of Charles I and Charles II. Table 2 lists seventeenth-century manuscript concordances for three motets by Child: ‘Cantate Jehovae’, ‘O bone Jesu’ and ‘Plange Sion’.²⁴

Table 2: Concordances for Three Motets by Child

GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1: ‘Plange Sion’ (ff. 4–5) and ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 5v–6)

The sole-surviving partbook (canto / *dessus*) from an original set of, likely, six, in the hand of Husbands Senior (copied late 1650s–c.1679). The repertory includes *airs de cour* by Moulinié dedicated to Henrietta Maria’s brother, Louis XIII of France, and vocal works by composers in English court employment, including members of the Lutes, Viols and Voices, Thomas Lupo and Robert Johnson, with an elegy by William Smeggergill (*fl.* 1615–67) for Dering, Queen Henrietta Maria’s organist.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33,235: ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 100v–101v / pp. 197–9)

A scorebook of sacred and secular vocal music in English, Italian and Latin, in the hand of Lowe’s successor as Heather Professor, Richard Goodson Senior (copied c.1690s).

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204: ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 31–5)

18 sets of parts used in the Oxford Music School. They include motets by Antonelli, Henry Bowman, Carissimi, Cazzati and the Heather Professors Lowe and Wilson. The scribes include Bowman, Husbands Senior and Lowe. The parts of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’ are in an unknown hand.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.451: ‘O bone Jesu’ (p. 103)

Lowe’s personal continuo book, copied between the mid-1630s and Lowe’s death in 1682, include accompaniments for *concertato* English-texted psalms by the Lawes brothers; consort music by Baltzar, the Lawes brothers and Locke; and motets by Casati, Child, Dering, Christopher Gibbons, Jeffreys and Sances.

GB-Och, Mus. 14: ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 29–35v)

John Blow’s personal scorebook of sacred and secular vocal music in English, Italian and Latin, including works by Blow, Christopher Gibbons, Carissimi and Rovetta. It is possible that Blow, as a treble, sang the canto part of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’ in a domestic context while a chorister in the

²³ Clifford was appointed a Minor Canon at St. Paul’s Cathedral, London in 1661, and published the extensive collection of anthem texts *Divine Services and Anthems, usually Sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in the Church of England* (London, 1662; 2/1664).

²⁴ For further details of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33,235, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204, MS Mus. Sch. E.451, and GB-Och, Mus. 14, see J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)*, (Aldershot, 1997), 264–67, 321–6, 326–36, 366–8. For details of GB-Ge, R.d.3/1, see Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 97–110.

Restoration Chapel Royal. In his diary entry for 21 December 1663 Samuel Pepys recorded that Henry Cooke, Master of the Chapel Royal choristers, renowned singer ‘after the Italian manner’ and a member of the flexible court ensemble, the Lutes, Viols and Voices, brought choristers to the house of his patron Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich, for whom Child also worked as a private organist and music tutor. Notably, Pepys records that Child was present that evening, and had sung through an ‘Anthemne’ by Montagu, together with Cooke, Chapel Royal choristers, and musical colleagues, ‘Mr. Madge, and Mallard’, the former very likely Humphrey Madge, a member of the Lutes, Viols and Voices alongside Cooke.²⁵ Following the anthem, ‘Capt. Cooke and his two boys [unnamed] did sing some Italian songs, which I must in a word say I think was fully the best Musique that I ever yet heard in all my life’.²⁶ Such words affirm John Evelyn’s 1654 description of Cooke as ‘esteem’d the best singer after the *Italian* manner of any in England’.²⁷

US-NYp, MS Drexel 4300: ‘Cantate Jehovae’ (book i, ff. 36v–38; book ii, pp. 88–89; book iii, ff. 44–44v)

Three partbooks surviving from an original set of four with an Oxford Music School provenance. They were copied by five scribal hands and include motets by Dering, Child and Jeffreys, alongside madrigals, including Weelkes’s *Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites for Three Voyces* (London, 1608).

While the surviving sources for Child’s motets demonstrate a likely non-liturgical, ‘domestic-devotional’ function in Oxford, a court-Oxford repertorial axis is clearly discernible through the sources in Husbands’s hand. GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 has the closest association with Lowe and the Music School, while GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1 is apparently connected with musicians employed by Henrietta Maria and Charles I, and to chamber music associated with the Queen’s brother, Louis XIII. Indeed, GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1 is the sole-surviving copy of these Moulinié works in England (no copy-text appears to have survived), and this ‘rare’ courtly repertory appears to align, in potential provenance and function, with the Music School manuscript of *airs de cour*, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.218 (c.1640s), an ornate, silk-embossed, manuscript with a rare portrait of the crowned Henrietta Maria in a musical manuscript (f. 2, opposite a sonnet eulogising the

²⁵ *A Biographical Dictionary*, comp. Ashbee, Lasocki, Holman and Kisby, ii. 1193–4, provides a list of musicians of the ‘Lutes, viols and voices’ of Charles I and Charles II, including Cooke and Madge.

²⁶ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 9 vols., ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (London, 2000), iv. 428. Though a Latin-texted work is not explicitly mentioned here, Pepys described the performance of sacred and Italian music in an aristocratic domestic setting by a network of professional musicians associated with the Chapel Royal alongside the court Lutes, Viols and Voices. It suggests that Cooke taught his choristers, such as Blow and Purcell, Italianate musical idioms, which would have included *trilli*, and even such ornamentation as the ‘pre-trillo’ ornament indicated in the margin of the canto part for Husbands’s copy of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’ (MS Mus. Sch. C.36, f. 5v). See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 55–9, for a discussion of Italianate ornamentation in Child’s motets (including an image of MS Mus. Sch. C.36, f. 5v on p. 58), and ii. 397–402 for a transcription of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’, which includes Italianate ornamentation.

²⁷ See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 25, which also provides details of Cooke’s association with the Hatton family and George Jeffreys, a prolific scribe and composer of Italianate vocal works during the Commonwealth. Cooke likely visited the Hatton household regularly during the 1650s and taught the Hatton children. Wainwright highlights John Evelyn’s description of Cooke, quoted above, from the diarist’s ‘Kalendarium’ entry for 28 October 1654; see *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols., ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), iii. 144.

queen in French, the queen’s first language) of undoubted royal-domestic function.²⁸ In terms of the *concertato*-motet genre in seventeenth-century England, it is notable that its key facilitators, composers and scribes had close professional connections to both institutions, the monarchy and the university, whether directly or indirectly, from at least the 1630s onwards. Child, Lowe and Christopher Gibbons, the three organists of the Chapel Royal, together with Husbands Senior, represented such networks during the reign of Charles II (r. 1660–85).

Concerning functional insights potentially discernible for Child’s motets from the texts themselves, elements of Roman Catholic devotion are suggested by the texts of ‘Gloria tibi’ (Marian hymn), ‘Ecce Panis’ (Corpus Christi hymn) and ‘Quem vidistis’ (Christmas responsory). In ‘Venite gentes’ Child appears to set a unique composite of Psalm 33: 12 and two Wisdom texts which were not part of the ‘Protestant’ Biblical canon (Sirach 24: 5, and Wisdom 9: 10c). ‘O bone Jesu’, with a text by the Franciscan St. Bernardino of Sienna, sets words of high-Christological devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, and may have had a particular domestic-devotional connection to Henrietta Maria (potentially evident through its presence in GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1, alongside the lament-like ‘Plange Sion’).²⁹ However, three motets, ‘Cantate Jehovae’, ‘O si vel’ and ‘Laudate Deum’, set texts of ‘Calvinist’ Latin (to be addressed below), which would have prevented their use in the Roman Catholic liturgy, for instance in the Catholic chapels of respective Stuart queens, Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza. Table 3 provides an overview of Child’s 13 motet texts, surviving together in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37.

Table 3: Child’s Motet Texts

The five works with italicised titles appear to be set uniquely by Child.

Motet	Text
Cantate Jehovae	Psalm 98: 1, 4–9: ‘Royal’ psalm of praise (Tremellius-Junius translation, uniquely adapted by Child to incorporate references to festive musical instruments).
Servus tuus	Psalm 118: 125–6 (Vulgate).
Gloria tibi	Marian hymn (Annunciation): final verse of a five-verse devotional hymn to Mary, ‘Quem terra, pontus, aethera’, in long metre (88 88), by St. Venantius Fortunatus (530–609), Italian bishop of the early church and renowned Latin poet and hymnographer. ‘Quem terra, pontus, aethera’ is associated with the Feast of the Annunciation (Luke 1: 26–38). ³⁰

²⁸ Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 105–10. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.218 does not feature works by Moulinié, though it includes airs by François La Roche (*d.* 1676), a colleague of Moulinié and fellow musician employed by Gaston d’Orléans, brother of Louis XIII of France and Henrietta Maria.

²⁹ Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 158–90. The ‘O bone Jesu’ settings by Child and Christopher Gibbons demonstrate aspects of *emulatio* in relation to Grandi’s four-part setting of the same text, printed in Venice in 1613 with copies in nine seventeenth-century English music manuscripts from c.1625 onwards. Grandi’s setting also featured as a ‘coda’ to *Cantica Sacra*, i (London, 1662), Playford’s collection of 24 Latin motets by Dering, Henrietta Maria’s organist between 1625 and 1630; the collection was dedicated by Playford to Henrietta Maria.

³⁰ Fortunatus’s hymn has a long presence in books of hours and breviaries, including Sarum-use texts associated with the Annunciation, for example, the ‘Hours of the Virgin’ (Matins), in a fourteenth-century English manuscript now in Copenhagen, DK-Kk, Thott 547 4^o, f. 2 <@>. William Byrd set the complete hymn, ‘Quem terra, pontus, aethera’ (ATB), with a final-verse text identical to that set by Child; see W. Byrd, *Gradualia I (1605): Other Feasts and Devotions*, ed. P. Brett, The Byrd Edition 6b (London, 1993), 83-8.

Gloria Patri	Trinitarian doxology.
<i>Laudate Deum</i>	Revelation 19: 5–7 (Theodore Beza’s translation): wedding feast in the heavenly New Jerusalem.
<i>O si vel</i>	Luke 19: 42 (Beza’s translation): Jesus’s lament for Jerusalem at the start of Luke’s Passiontide narrative.
O bone Jesu	Devotional text of high Christology associated with the Franciscan St. Bernardino of Sienna (1380–1444), in devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, popularised by the saint through preaching and travelling. The text, also set by Dering (<i>a5</i> and <i>a2</i> , the latter with an additional bass part in GB-Lcm, MS 2039) and Christopher Gibbons, presents Marian spirituality and devotion. The Child and Gibbons settings appear to be related, both compositionally and functionally, to Grandi’s <i>a4</i> setting of the same text. ³¹ ‘O bone Jesu’ settings are prevalent in seventeenth-century Oxford sources (Lowe indexes those of Child, Gibbons and Grandi together in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.451).
Quam pulchra es	Solomon 4: 1, 9 (Vulgate): Biblical poem on the theme of divine love.
Ecce panis	Words written c.1264 by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) in metre 88 87. ‘Ecce Panis’, with five verses, a concluding ‘Amen’ and ‘Alleluia’, is the final portion (verses 21–4) of the 24-stanza hymn sequence ‘Lauda Sion’, used in the Roman Missal for the Feast of Corpus Christi. Child sets five stanzas, in order, 21, 1, 14–16, 1 (repeated), with a concluding ‘Alleluia’ section. Aquinas himself proposed this annual feast, and his words are a hymn of devotion to the Real Presence of Jesus celebrated at Mass. ³²
Quem vidistis	Responsory for Matins on Christmas Day from the Roman Breviary following the third reading (Isaiah 52: 1–6), invocation for the citizens of Sion / Jerusalem to seek freedom. ³³
(Woe is me	Psalm 120: 5, in translation by Miles Coverdale. The sole English-texted work incorporated into the motet section of Husbands’s partbooks.)
<i>Plange Sion</i>	Joel 1: 8, 9, 12, 13; Joel 2: 17: Vulgate translation, with the addition of the ‘Sion’ lament for the religious-political situation in ancient Jerusalem, potentially resonant in mid-century England.
<i>Converte nos</i>	Lamentations 5: 21; Deuteronomy 21: 8; Joel 2: 17; Psalms 118: 132–5: Latin translation of Child’s anthem text ‘Turn thou us, O good Lord’ (Ash Wednesday ‘antheme’ specified by Thomas Cranmer in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer and its successors of 1552 and 1559), words which became associated with the annual commemoration of Charles I as a martyr by the Church of England in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. The words were highly resonant for royalists after the King’s execution in 1649. Child’s English anthem dates from the 1640s and was revised in the

³¹ Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 158–90.

³² ‘Lauda Sion’ is one of four early sequences with verses preserved in the Roman Missal from 1570, following the Council of Trent. For a Vatican-approved edition contemporary to Child, see the digital copy at D-Mbs of *Missale Romanum* (Antwerp, 1626), 342 (scan 448 of 946) <@>.

³³ For a seventeenth-century edition of the Roman Breviary authorised by the Vatican, see the digital copy at D-Mbs of *Breviarium Romanum* (Antwerp, 1630), 191 <@>.

Venite gentes

1670s. The Latin of his motet, however, notably differs from the wording of this text in the Latin Book of Common Prayer, used for Latin liturgies in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford (Latin translations of the Book of Common Prayer were printed in London in 1560 and 1662, following the respective English prayer books printed in 1559 and 1662). Psalm 33: 12 (Vulgate); Sirach 24: 5 (Ecclesiasticus/Wisdom of Sirach); Wisdom 9: 10c (Wisdom of King Solomon): the two Wisdom texts, added to the psalm verse, were and are not in the Protestant canon. The Solomon text concerns earthly kingship given from God, which was resonant for Stuart kingship, as ‘Sion’, the word Child incorporated into ‘Plange Sion’. Wisdom was personified in the Bible as the divine co-creator (Proverbs 8: 22–31), and fundamental to royal rule and kingship.³⁴

In overview, then, Child sets a highly distinct and varied group of Latin texts, with some unique settings. His text sources range from the words of Italian saints (hymn verses of Aquinas and Fortunantus, and high-Christological prayer of Bernardino), verses from Roman Missals and Breviaries, alongside Biblical texts with Calvinist origins: an Old Testament psalm translated by Tremellius-Junius (‘Cantate Jehovahae’), alongside New Testament texts translated by Beza (‘O si vel’, from St Luke’s Gospel, and ‘Laudate Deum’, from the Book of Revelation). ‘Gloria Patri’, with its Trinitarian theology, would have been highly flexible in function in seventeenth-century domestic-musical contexts, as suggested by the frequency of its setting, by Dering, Child, Rogers and Christopher Gibbons, among others.³⁵ ‘Servus tuus’, which does not appear to have been set by any other English composer, sets a ‘wisdom’ text, Psalm 118, verses 125–6, urging God to act ‘for they have broken your law’. The motet’s words, akin to those of ‘Plange Sion’ and ‘O si vel’ (the latter to be addressed below), were apparently topical in the turbulent central years of the century in England, which included civil wars and Commonwealth rule following the beheading of Charles I and the abolition of the monarchy.

As mentioned above, three of Child’s thirteen motets set Latin from ‘Protestant’ translations originating in sixteenth-century Calvinist Geneva, Bibles with a denominational and educative function which would have excluded their use and presence in Roman Catholic liturgies.³⁶ These Latin translations have crucial links to the French-born Reformer John Calvin (1509–64) and scholastic traditions of Calvinism, and to the important Reformation cities of Geneva, Basel and Zurich in Switzerland, as well as Heidelberg in Germany, with its university founded in 1386. Emblematic of this scholarly and theological endeavour was the Old Testament work of the

³⁴ In 2 Chronicles 1, King Solomon, heir of David, asks God for wisdom at Jerusalem’s tabernacle: ‘God answered Solomon ... since your heart is set on this, and because you have not asked for riches, treasure, honour, the lives of your enemies, and also have not asked for a long life, but have asked for wisdom and knowledge for yourself, to govern my people of whom I have made you king, therefore wisdom and knowledge are granted you’, *The Revised New Jerusalem Bible*, trans. and ed. H. Wansbrough (London, 2019), 625.

³⁵ For example, GB-Ge, R.d.58–61, a varied collection of 107 vocal items associated with John Playford and music meetings at the ‘Old Jewry’, includes few-voice ‘Gloria Patri’ settings by Dering and Rogers; see I. Spink, ‘The Old Jewry ‘Musick-Society’: A Seventeenth-Century Catch Club’, *Musicology Australia* 2/1 (1967), 35–41.

³⁶ Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 191–203.

Calvinist translators Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80) and his son-in-law Franciscus Junius Senior (1545–1602), as well as the New Testament translations of Theodore Beza (1519–1605), printed in Geneva and London.

The three translators had personal connections with Calvin and Geneva, and their work was often paired and printed together from the 1580s, including for example in *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri canonici, priscae Iudaeorum ecclesiae a Deo traditi: Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati; Iesu Christi D.N. Novum Testamentum* (London: Henry Middleton, 1581). The translators' work featured extensive theological commentary and exegesis in Latin surrounding their Biblical texts. Notably, Tremellius, Junius and Beza also dedicated particular published translations to European monarchs, including Elizabeth I (1569) and Frederick III, Elector Palatine (1581, the Middleton edition mentioned above). Beza published a poetic tribute to Elizabeth I in the broadside *Ad serenissimam Elizabetham Angliae Reginam* (London, 1588), in addition to his dedication of *Icones, id est verae imagines vororum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium* (Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1580) to James VI of Scotland, James I of England after 1603. The latter was a collection of illustrated poetic tributes to 93 church reformers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Tremellius and Beza had connection to the University of Cambridge: the former was Regius Professor of Hebrew between 1549 and 1553; the latter gave to the university the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (GB-Cu, MS Nn.2.41), a fifth-century manuscript featuring rare New Testament material in Latin and Greek.

Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' (Tremellius), 'O si vel' and 'Laudate Deum' (both Beza) were part of a distinctive nexus of works setting Latin of Genevan origin in *concertato* idioms. They also include settings of Tremellius's Old Testament Latin by (in likely chronological order) Dering, Child, Henry Lawes, Silas Taylor, Henry Bowman, Benjamin Rogers, Christopher Gibbons and Henry Purcell, together with settings of Beza's New Testament Latin by Child and Jeffreys.³⁷ This small group of settings, which appear to be unique to seventeenth-century England, are emblematic of the *concertato* motet's unique role and function in this broadly Protestant country. Notably, themes of kingship and lordship feature in the Tremellius settings: Psalm 9 (Henry Bowman, Silas Taylor, and, probably, Benjamin Rogers);³⁸ Psalm 96 (Dering, Christopher Gibbons, Henry Lawes); and Psalm 98 (Child).³⁹

Typical of the Tremellius Latin psalm settings, also, is the use of the Hebrew-derived 'Jehova' (together with derivatives and variants) for the word rendered 'Lord' in English and, typically, 'Dominus' in the Latin of the Vulgate translation, the approved Bible for the Roman Catholic liturgy and worship. These works include 'Canite Jehovae' (Dering and ?Rogers), 'Cantate Jehovae' (Bowman, Child, Taylor), 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' (Purcell). 'Jehovam' and 'Jehovae'

³⁷ A single *stile-antico* Tremellius setting by Thomas Tomkins, 'Celebrate Jehovam', survives incomplete (3 parts, CTB, from an original 6-part work) in the Blossom Partbooks at US-CLwr. Ross Duffin has reconstructed this work and suggested it was written for the wedding of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I / VI, to the Elector Frederick of Palatine at Whitehall in February 1613; see *Cantiones sacrae: Madrigalian Motets from Jacobean England*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 142, ed. R.W. Duffin (Middleton WI, 2006), 41–53 and xiii. Court and royalist contexts are central to the *concertato* Tremellius settings, discussed above.

³⁸ Attributable to Rogers because of its style and its presence in GB-Lcm, MS 2039 alongside motets by him.

³⁹ Henry Lawes's canon a3 'Laudate Jehovam' also sets words of Tremellius (Psalm 117, vv. 1–2); see H. Lawes, *Sacred Music*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, Early English Church Music 61 (London, 2020), 154.

also occur in Christopher Gibbons's 'Celebrate Dominum', which combines both Tremellius and Vulgate verses.⁴⁰ It is notable that, in general, composers set Tremellius texts with greater verbal flexibility than that seen in seventeenth-century Vulgate settings, whether by English or Italian composers.⁴¹ The settings of Tremellius, Junius and Beza have a decided presence in court-related sources across the seventeenth century from the 1630s onwards, notably at Oxford's Music School with its strong royalist associations.

Nine settings survive of Beza's New Testament Latin, apparently unique to seventeenth-century England and to Child and Jeffreys, composed in the central decades of the century. The Child and Jeffreys motets use the editions of 1565 and 1582, both originally printed in Geneva by Henricus Stephanus. Child's two Beza works, 'O si vel' and 'Laudate Deum', use the 1582 text alone, which presented an 'updated' Latin translation alongside columns of Greek Biblical text and the Latin Vulgate, all supplemented by a Latin commentary. Jeffreys made use of texts from both editions, and his seven settings include two motets with revised versions; the ones in GB-Lcm, MS 920 are later-1650s reworkings rather than wholly new and separate compositions. In particular, both Child and Jeffreys, in no less than seven of the nine extant Beza motets, set gospel-text verses narrating Jesus's arrival in Jerusalem at the start of the turbulent Passiontide events. Table 4 lists the extant Beza settings.

Table 4: Settings of Beza's New Testament Latin by William Child and George Jeffreys
Title / Scoring / Text / Publication Date of Latin Text / Musical Source / Scribe

William Child
O si vel / CATB, bc / Luke 19: 42 / 1582 / GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 / Husbands Senior
Laudate Deum / ATTB, bc / Revelation 19: 5–7 / 1582 / GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 / Husbands Senior
George Jeffreys
Visa urbe, flexit super ea / TTB, bc / Luke 19: 41–42 / 1565 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338; GB-Lcm, MS 920 / autograph score; autograph partbooks
Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus / TTB, bc / Matthew 26: 75 / 1582 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338
Ego sum panis ille vitae / CMTB, bc / John 6: 48–50, 54 / 1565, 1582 ⁴² / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338

⁴⁰ See Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', i. 191–236 for an overview of Tremellius settings. For a discussion of Tremellius texts and settings in GB-Cfm, 163, ff. 46–73; see A. Howard, 'A Mid-century Musical Friendship: Silas Taylor and Matthew Locke', *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, ed. L.P. Austern, C. Bailey and A.E. Winkler (Bloomington and Indianapolis IN, 2017), 127–49. It is a mid-century manuscript, containing Latin- and English-texted *concertato* settings, associated with Silas Taylor, Matthew Locke and music meetings in Commonwealth Herefordshire.

⁴¹ Child added additional references in his text of 'Cantate Jehovae' to musical instruments, perhaps referring to his obbligato instrumental parts, unspecified though idiomatic for cornetts. Purcell added significant words of emphasis at key structural moments in 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' (1677–8), which may have been topical to the current Exclusion Crisis; see Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', i. 203–14 and i. 270–85 for a discussion of these motets with Tremellius texts.

⁴² The 1565 and 1582 Beza editions have identical translations here.

Hosanna filio David / TTB, bc / Matthew 21: 9b; Luke 19: 38 / 1565, 1582 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338; GB-Lcm, MS 920

Hosanna filio David / CCMATB / Matthew 21: 9b; Luke 19: 38 / 1565, 1582 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338

Child's 'O si vel' and the two versions of Jeffreys's 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' set as if in tandem the highly poignant verses from St Luke's Gospel (ch. 19, vv. 39–40), where Jesus weeps over Jerusalem, expressing his words and tears of lament over this sacred city. We shall see that Lucan words and imagery were used and appropriated in highly personal writings by Charles I not long before his execution.

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 were certainly copied after the Restoration, though aspects of the text usage and musical features of Child's 'O si vel', alongside Jeffreys's setting of the same Luke text, suggest an earlier origin for this motet. Detailed analyses of Jeffreys's manuscripts by Thompson and Wainwright, in relation to the cultural contexts of Christopher Hatton III and Jeffreys, has affirmed that these seven Beza settings date from between 1638 to 1648, with the exception of the new setting of 'Hosanna filio David', which probably dates from the early 1660s: with its six-part chorus and virtuosic bass solo setting a text of Davidic kingship, it was perhaps intended to celebrate the Restoration.⁴³ A study of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338, Jeffreys's autograph scorebook of 126 pieces, instrumental and vocal, English-, Latin- and Italian-texted, has enabled significant insights into their dating and copying gained through a study of the 35 gatherings of 13 different types of paper.⁴⁴

There is the strong possibility that these works have close associations with the court at Oxford in the early 1640s, when Jeffreys was organist to Charles I and Christopher Hatton III was Comptroller to the king's household. In this respect, the Jeffreys and Child Beza texts, addressing themes of kingship, Christ's suffering, and 'that which belongs to peace' (a phrase occurring only twice in the New Testament, as will be seen) appear highly significant in terms of the religious and political contexts surrounding these motets. They undoubtedly stem from the exceptionally turbulent and challenging times for royalists in the 1640s, when public worship and choral foundations were prohibited by Parliament, and before the King's execution. Jeffreys's revision of 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' in the partbooks GB-Lcm, MS 920 appear to have been copied in the later 1650s, possibly for use at Hatton III's Kirby Hall or at his London residence following his return from France.⁴⁵ The historical-contextual resonances of these verses will now be addressed, to provide a case study of the seventeenth-century topicality of Child's Beza-texted 'O si vel', surviving solely in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37.

⁴³ R. Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the 'Stile Nuovo' in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library, Add. MS 10338', *Music & Letters* 70 (1989), 32–3; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 136–7, 159. See, also G. Jeffreys, *English Sacred Music*, Musica Britannica 105, ed. J.P. Wainwright (London, 2021), xxxiv.

⁴⁴ See esp. *Jeffreys, English Sacred Music*, ed. Wainwright, xxvii–xl. Jeffreys's Beza settings are as follows: 'Et recordatus est Petrus', ff. 119r–v; 'Hosanna Filio David' a3, ff. 132–3; 'Visa urbe flevit super ea', ff. 134v–5; 'Ego sum Panis', ff. 183–5v.

⁴⁵ *Jeffreys, English Sacred Music*, ed. Wainwright, xl.

This Lucan passage is rare within musical settings in general, and also as a seventeenth-century motet text featuring words from one of the four gospels spoken directly by Jesus himself. The passage from the 1582 version of Beza's Latin translation of Luke 19: 42 as set by Child is as follows:

O si vel tu nosces, vel hoc saltem tuo die
quae ad pacem pertinent, sed nunc occulta oculis tuis.

O, if only you, even you, had recognised, at least on this your day,
the things which belong to peace, but now are hidden from your eyes.

Luke 19: 42, set by Child with a range of compositional techniques including cumulative repetition (to be outlined), is distinctive within the New Testament: only this verse and Luke 14: 32 contain the phrase 'that which belongs to peace' in Beza's translation (with 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent' in 19: 42 and 'quae ad pacem spectant' in 14: 32). These words concern a king considering war, a theme certainly pertinent to the 1640s with the three civil wars (1642–6, 1648–9 and 1649–51) between the 'Cavalier' supporters of the King and the 'Roundhead' supporters of Parliament, conflicts concerning the manner of the government of England.⁴⁶

Child's and Jeffreys's Lucan phrases concerning peace and the city of its location also resonate with words from Psalm 122, v. 6 (Vulgate Psalm 121), the 'peace of Jerusalem' (with Vulgate translation as 'Rogate quae ad pacem sunt Hierusalem et abundantiana diligentibus te'). Significantly, this psalm, with its opening phrase 'I was glad', was sung as an 'Antheme' for Charles I's entry into Westminster Abbey for his coronation on 2 February 1626; it has been used at all subsequent coronations, including a choral setting by Henry Purcell written for the coronation of James II in 1685.⁴⁷ The city of Jerusalem was certainly an important symbol and reference point for Charles I throughout his reign, as can be seen by his use of the term in the very different circumstances of the first Civil War, 17 years after his coronation. When the court was 'exiled' at Oxford in 1643, Charles referred to London as his nation's Jerusalem in an address given to the Vice-Chancellor and members of the University of Oxford, expressing his intentions to stay in the city and his gratitude to the university. He hoped the situation would be temporary, 'till Wee can with safety to Our honour and Person in peace returne to the Jerusalem of Our Nation, Our City of *London*'.⁴⁸

In a similar vein, Child himself made explicit and poignant use of the image of Jerusalem's destruction through the text of Psalm 79 (vv. 1, 4, 5, a prayer for mercy for the holy city) in his anthem 'O Lord God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance' in the English translation of Miles Coverdale (1488–1569). Child's words of the second half of the first verse, 'Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones', are given significant political, religious and cultural resonance by the subtitle on the score copied by Thomas Tudway (c.1650–1726), a

⁴⁶ The uniqueness of the theme and language of Luke 19: 42, with its connection to Luke 14: 32, has been highlighted in *The New Testament Freshly Translated*, ed. P. Dainty, trans. N. King (Stowmarket, 2006), 199.

⁴⁷ Details and sources for the 1626 musical setting of Psalm 122 do not appear to have survived. For a discussion of Bishop Laud's order-of-service and possibility that the text was set by Thomas Tomkins; see M. Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth II* (Cambridge, 2012), 38.

⁴⁸ J. De Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642–46', *English Historical Review* 117 (2002), 1204–27, at 1207.

Restoration chorister in the Chapel Royal when Child was an organist there: ‘A full Anthem in 5 parts compos’d ... in y^e year 1644 On y^e occasion of y^e Abolishing The Common Prayer And overthrowing y^e constitution, both in Church and State’.⁴⁹

In a compositional style more akin to settings of penitential texts by Byrd than *concertato* works by Grandi or Dering, Child’s anthem foregrounds the text ‘thy holy temple have they defiled’ by the work’s first clear use of five-part homophony, which also throws into relief the subsequent contrapuntal imitation for ‘and made Jerusalem an heap of stones’. This imitative passage uses melodic descent, ascending sequence and textural variety to ‘paint’ subtly the words, as if to suggest physical destruction through motivic and textural fragmentation.⁵⁰ In the light of the political resonances of Christ’s lament over Jerusalem in ‘O si vel’, and the city’s destruction highlighted by Child in 1644, it is possible to view him as addressing the challenging circumstances of the 1640s and 1650s through the theme of Jerusalem in both a liturgical English setting and non-liturgical Latin work, a theme which connects strongly to Charles I and to the mid-century political situation.

Publications, including *Eikon Basilike* (with its subtitle ‘The Pourtrature of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings’) also highlighted such themes. This work, a professed spiritual autobiography of Charles I, published ten days after his execution at Whitehall on 30 January 1649, made a connection between the sufferings of Charles and Christ himself at Jerusalem, connections which had been expressed earlier in pamphlets and sermons, for example, by the Royalist divine and military chaplain, Edward Symmons (1607–49).⁵¹ In Symmons’s words (retaining the original italics and orthography), ‘I will set him [Charles I] forth in Christs *Robes*, as cloathed with *sorrowes*; and shew what a perfect similitude there hath been and is between our *Saviour* and our *Sovereign* in the foure last years of both their sufferings’.⁵² In a similar fashion, Charles himself is shown to appropriate Christ’s narrative and actions in *Eikon Basilike*, even with direct reference to Jerusalem and to the very scene of Luke 19, as set by Child in ‘O si vel’, with Christ’s tears over the city as narrated within the New Testament solely in Luke 19: 41. In *Eikon Basilike*, ch. 26 Charles offers Christ-like forgiveness to soldiers who have just snatched him from Parliamentary custody at Holmby House, not long before his execution:

I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty.⁵³

The highly emblematic frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*, the work of engraver and illustrator William Marshall (fl. 1617–49), provides contemporary hagiographic visual parallels and connections between the lives of Charles I and Christ; see Illus. 2. The palm trees on the left of the image, with

⁴⁹ GB-Lbl, Harley MS 7338, ff. 25v–28.

⁵⁰ See the critical edition, *The Treasury of English Church Music*, iii: 1650-1760, ed. P. Le Huray and C. Dearnley (London, 1965), 10-20, 241.

⁵¹ *Eikon Basilike* may have been written by John Gauden (1605–62) either alone or in collaboration with the King; Gauden became Bishop of Exeter at the Restoration. See F.F. Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike of King Charles the First with a Note on the Authorship* (London, 1950), no. 91, pp. 92–4.

⁵² E. Symmons, *A Vindication of King Charles, or, a Loyal Subjects Duty* (London, 1648), 241 <@>.

⁵³ *Eikon Basilike, or The King’s Book*, ed. E. Almack (London, 1903), 150 <@>.

symbolic connection to Palm Sunday and Christ's entry into Jerusalem, are in close proximity to Marshall's temporally and geographically transposed Charles, portrayed as a Christian martyr. The king kneels in supplication with eyes set on the heavenly crown, the symbol of divine kingship and royalty, rather than the English crown by his feet. He holds a crown of thorns, referencing that of Christ.⁵⁴



Illus. 2: William Marshall, frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*

In the light of such publicly affirmed poetic, theological, musical and visual representations of Charles I as King David and Christ,⁵⁵ it is possible to view Child's and Jeffrey's settings of verses

⁵⁴ Marshall's image as source of royal polemic, independent of the *Eikon*, has been discussed by H. Pierce, 'Text and Image: William Marshall's Frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (1649)', *Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, ed. G. Kemp (London, 2015), 79–86, at 81.

⁵⁵ Francis Smith has addressed the relationship between seventeenth-century representations of Charles I as King David and as a Christ figure, also highlighting Charles's personal views; see F. Smith, 'That Memorable Scene': The Image of King Charles the First in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Literature', Ph.D. thesis (University of York, 1993), 20 <@>.

from Luke 19, in the Latin of Theodore Beza, as royalist, domestic-devotional, musical expressions of the situation before Charles's execution. As such, Christ's prophetic words from Luke resonate significantly with seventeenth-century religious-political contexts, and can be seen to portray the king as a Christ-like figure, soon to be martyred, through a post-Reformation appropriation of Biblical texts and themes. Jesus's words, set by Child and Jeffreys, also connect with a strong tradition of 'current-situation' laments within Jewish scriptures and the history of ancient Israel, including the Book of Psalms and those of the Prophets Jeremiah and Joel, the latter being the source for Child's Jerusalem-connected 'Plange Sion'. The word 'Sion', added to the text by Child, had been symbolic of England and its monarchy since at least the time of Elizabeth I.⁵⁶ Indeed, recent research has emphasised the longevity and complexity of such appropriation of the themes and narratives of ancient Jerusalem and Israel within England from the Reformation onwards, and their very particular resonance to mid-seventeenth-century royalists. In the words of Achsah Guibbory, scholar of seventeenth-century English literature,

Royalists thought *they* were the true Israel and turned to the Hebrew Bible and Israelite analogies to create an 'Anglican' identity during the 1640s and 1650s for those who remained loyal to both monarchy and an English Church that had been dismantled by Parliament. Devotions and collections of psalms appeared, to be used by loyal subjects of Charles I, who was now identified with biblical David – an identity further elaborated by *Eikon Basilike* and Royalist pamphlets after the King's execution. But the narrative Royalists found most compelling was the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 bce and the subsequent Babylonian exile of the Jews. Psalms and Lamentations expressed Royalist grief about exile and destruction of their Temple.⁵⁷

A highly distinctive compositional feature of 'O si vel' within Child's collection of 13 Latin motets, and within the corpus of seventeenth-century motets by English composers in general, is its use of melodically varied, frequent, consistent and cumulative small-scale motivic repetition as a technique of text setting for a brief, single, Biblical verse.⁵⁸ The motet's intricate use of such varied small-scale repetition for this Beza-translation text, allusive of Jerusalem, can be seen significantly to emphasise and embody the pathos and intensity of Jesus's words of lament, resonant of Charles I's mid-century situation as outlined above. Child heightens the intensity and exasperation of Jesus's words, even, as translated by Beza, by adding an initial 'O'. Child's very slight revision of Beza in 'O si vel', though, may even be influenced by the composer's awareness of the often Beza-paired Tremellius translation of Luke 19: 42, which does incorporate this exclamatory vowel. Child's Biblical verse also receives larger-scale structural emphasis and musical variety through use of two main sections (bb. 1–46, 47–110), each working towards a clear perfect cadence with a 'Tierce de Picardie' D major chord, following a wide range of textures, and modulations using the same cadence across varied key centres. The differentiated, small-scale, motifs set and present distinct text-units, and are repeated in numerous statements.

⁵⁶ In the words of Achsah Guibbory, 'Elizabeth I's reign saw the frequent identification of England with 'Sion' and the Queen with the monarchs of Ancient Israel'; see A. Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2010), 28.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁵⁸ For a critical edition of 'O si vel', see Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', ii. 389–96.

Child's use of repetition of motif and text in 'O si vel' gives especial emphasis to the words 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent' ('the things which belong to peace'), a phrase used on only two occasions in the New Testament, Luke 19: 42 and Luke 14: 32, recalling 'the peace of Jerusalem' from Psalm 122, sung during the entrance procession of Charles I at his coronation in Westminster Abbey.⁵⁹ There are six emphatic statements of these words at the conclusion of the first section of 'O si vel', highlighted by imitation and cumulative use of four-part vocal texture, which sees the canto part in dialogue with alto, tenor and bass, in three-part homophony (bb. 41–6). These same words, 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent', receive four motivic presentations, occasionally related in rhythm or melodic shape, throughout their no-less-than 21 iterations, nine in each half of the motet (bb. 1–46, 47–100 respectively), with three additional repetitions of 'quae ad pacem' in the first section through motivic extension: bb. 9–13 (alto), 44–6 (canto) and 42–6 (alto, tenor, bass). The final musical presentation of 'quae ad pacem pertinent' (bb. 100–2) is highlighted by declamatory three-part homophony (canto, alto and bass), punctuated by crotchet rests before and after: only the second use of this technique in the motet, though a notable text-setting technique of Child's 'O bone Jesu'. Child's distinctive motifs for 'quae ad pacem pertinent' are given in Ex. 2.

Motif 1:

The image shows a musical score for Motif 1, consisting of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "di - e, quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti - nent,". The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "di - e,". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "quae ad pa-cem tu - - am per - ti-nent, O_". The bottom staff is a bass line with lyrics: "O_". The score includes a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a time signature of 4/4. There are various musical notations such as notes, rests, and a fermata over the final note of the third staff. A small 't.' is written above the final note of the first staff. At the bottom right of the score, there is a measure with a 4 [F#] 3 b time signature.

⁵⁹ Matthias Range has drawn attention to a marginal note in Bishop Laud's order of service for Charles I's coronation, 'This Anthem was newly appointed and made', though it is not known who composed it. Thomas Tomkins had responsibility for the coronation music, assisted by senior members of the Chapel Royal, William Heather, Nathaniel Giles and John Stevens. Range suggests that Tomkins's short full anthem 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem' (words from later in Psalm 122, with the initial text 'I was glad') may be a fragment of a larger setting of the psalm; see Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations*, 39.

Motif 2A:

50

di-e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - - - ti - nent, O

Motif 3:

75

Quae ad pa-cem tu - am per - ti - nent vel

8 Quae ad pa-cem tu - am per - ti-nent vel hoc sal-tem tu - o di - e,

Motif 2B:

91 t. t.

di - e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti-nent, quae ad

di - e quae ad pa-cem tu - am per - ti-nent,

— di - e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti-nent, quae ad

di - e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti-nent,

#6

Ex. 2: 'Quae ad pacem' motifs in Child's 'O si vel'.

Notable in 'O si vel' is the motet's use of melisma and elements of virtuosic vocal technique, which are thrown into relief by the preponderance of syllabic setting. Such writing includes Child's use

of semiquavers in tenor and alto solos (bb. 52–5, seen above in Motif 2, and bb. 64–7, respectively), alongside the canto and tenor duet (bb. 82–6, for example). Child also uses *trillo* ornamentation (indicated by the symbol ‘t.’) in the canto part on nine occasions (bb. 6, 20, 27, 31, 35, 80, 85, 91 and 91), generally at cadences. The Beza text, also, suggests a non-liturgical context, as the above discussion of Protestant Latin Bibles has suggested, even potentially for domestic-devotional use during Holy Week, the week in the church calendar paying homage to and ‘enacting’ the very solemn events of Christ’s last days in Jerusalem as narrated in Luke 19. The aspects of virtuosity and Italianate idioms highlight the ‘professional’ function of Child’s motets, and their suitability for accomplished vocal ensembles – music fully suited to performance in ‘domestic’ contexts, whether in Oxford’s Music School or non-liturgical performance spaces at court associated with the Lutes, Viols and Voices.

In light of Charles I’s own use of this verse of Luke 19 in *Eikon Basilike*, published ten days after the King’s execution and receiving no less than 35 English editions in 1649 alone, alongside a criticism and riposte by John Milton, one could even suggest that, for mid-century royalists, Child’s and Jeffreys’s settings of this text represented musical ‘icons’ of the King himself.⁶⁰ Charles I’s martyrdom was commemorated in the Restoration prayer book through the text ‘Turn thou us, O good Lord’, set by Child in motet form as ‘Converte nos’, which can be seen as his parallel musical commemoration of the king.⁶¹ The discussion above has highlighted distinctive musical and textual aspects of Child’s ‘O si vel’. Child’s motet and Jeffreys’s settings of ‘Visa urbe super flevit ea’ appear to be the only extant *concertato* settings of Jesus’s tearful lament over Jerusalem, as narrated in Luke, using words of the Stuart-connected and Stuart-affirming Calvinist reformer Theodore Beza, whose work impacted on the translation of the King James Bible.⁶²

Following the Restoration, in 1679 Beza’s Latin New Testament was published and printed in close proximity to the Music School: at the press in Oxford’s Sheldonian Theatre, designed by Christopher Wren and opened in July 1669. The theatre, notably, featured Charles II’s crest above the north door, surrounded by the motto of the Order of the Garter, the chivalric order revived by his father Charles I, which was central to the Caroline concept of kingship.⁶³ The Sheldonian *Novum Testamentum*, without textual annotations and commentary, used Beza’s 1582 translation (the version set by Child), and an image of the theatre is featured on the frontispiece of this ‘royal’ edition, below a focal image of the crest of Charles II, with the garter motto visible.⁶⁴ The imagery of this Beza edition, then, can be seen to affirm the Royalist, court-cultural nature and heritage of

⁶⁰ See E.S. Wheeler, ‘*Eikon Basilike* and the Rhetoric of Self-Representation’, *The Royal Image*, ed. T.N. Corns (Cambridge, 1999), 122. Wheeler, *ibid.*, 157, addresses Milton’s response in *Eikonoclastes* (London, 1649), noting that ‘In this battle over which memories of Charles’s reign would survive, at base there was a fundamental disagreement over the nature of political representation, taken in the broadest sense’.

⁶¹ Child’s Latin here, notably, differs from the Latin of the ‘Converte nos’ text, seen in the commemoration of Charles I liturgy in the Latin Book of Common Prayer (London, 1662), with its potential use in the chapels of Oxford and Cambridge colleges. It is possible that Child’s motets could have been used in such Latin liturgies, his varied and diverse texts (even crossing denominational boundaries), together with their musical sources, appear to suggest a broader domestic-devotional usage with potential for varied and flexible use.

⁶² I. Backus, ‘Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament’, D. Phil. Thesis (U. of Oxford, 1976), 197–8 <@>.

⁶³ R. Cust, ‘Charles I and the Order of the Garter’, *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013), 343–69.

⁶⁴ *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Interprete Theodore Beza* (Oxford, 1679).

this ceremonial space adjacent to the Bodleian Library's Schools Quadrangle, the physical home of the seventeenth-century Music School, the institution instrumental in the survival of Child's and Husbands's work bequeathed by Lowe, and of 'O si ve!'