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# MATTHEW LOCKE AND ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC, MANUSCRIPT 108

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Royal Academy of Music, Manuscript 108

*GB-Lam*, MS 108 (hereafter *Lam* 108) is a fascinating and unusual manuscript of Latin-texted sacred music that has been little studied. The manuscript, which contains music by Henri Du Mont (c.1610–84), Matthew Locke (c.1622–77), and various seventeenth-century Italian composers, together with a number of anonymous pieces, is unusual in its format, being a lectern book measuring 18 x 12 inches. Peter Leech was the first scholar to draw attention to the manuscript,<sup>2</sup> and he notes that the lectern book was copied by one hand throughout and, given that it opens with a transcription of almost the complete contents of Henri Du Mont's *Motets a II. III. et IV. parties, pour voix et instruments, avec la basse-continue* (Paris, 1681), must date from after 1681 but probably before c.1690. The paper-type and watermark evidence ('Dutch Royall' with Angoumois 'fleur de lys') supports this dating.<sup>3</sup> The contents of the manuscript are given in Appendix 1, below. As Peter Leech notes, the opening items by Henri Du Mont appear to have been copied directly from, if not always in the exact order of, the 1681 publication; the motets are generally copied accurately with occasional slips of spelling, and only Du Mont's three instrumental symphonies are not copied from the printed source. The second section of the manuscript is a miscellany of motets for one to six voices and basso continuo, with a few pieces containing obbligato violin parts, and with only one piece bearing an attribution: the six-voice 'Dixit Dominus' by 'Cossand'.<sup>4</sup> Twelve of the pieces can be attributed to Matthew Locke, and other motets can be identified as being by Tarquinio Merula (1595–1665), Bonifacio Gratiani (1604/5–64) and Gasparo Casati (c.1610–41). The three-voice 'Dixit Dominus' at ff. 108v–110v is initialled 'H.B.' in the margin; Peter Leech suggests that this may refer to Henry Bowman (fl. c.1669–85), the Oxford-based musician, who is known to have composed Latin motets.<sup>5</sup>

The presence in *Lam* 108 of the majority of the Latin motets known to be by Matthew Locke (a Catholic composer), alongside Vespers psalms with Vulgate numbering ('Dixit Dominus', ff. 81–88v and 108v–110v; 'Confitebor tibi, Domine', ff. 104–106v; 'Laudate pueri Dominum', ff. 115v–116v; and 'Laudate Dominum', ff. 96v–97), a setting of the Marian antiphon 'Salve Regina' (f. 107r–107v), together with a setting of the Ambrosian hymn 'Te Deum Laudamus', used as a

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<sup>1</sup> The author would like to record his thanks to Peter Holman, Peter Leech, Caroline Lesemann-Elliott, and David Griffiths for their help and suggestions made during the preparation of this article.

<sup>2</sup> P. Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718', Ph.D. thesis (Anglia Polytechnic University [now Anglia Ruskin University], 2003), 147–56.

<sup>3</sup> See R. Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *Early Music* 23 (1995), 605–18, and idem, 'Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins', *John Jenkins and His Time*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 271–98.

<sup>4</sup> P. Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts', 153–4, suggests that this may be Antonio Cossandi (fl. 1640–50), a Minorite priest who was *maestro di cappella* of S Francesco, Crema, and in 1654 of S Francesco, Bologna; his only surviving publication is *Motetti... a due, tre, e quattro voci, opera prima* (Milan, 1640) [RISM A/I: C 4186]. Leech suggests that the piece may have been transmitted via Matteo Battaglia, a native of Bologna, who was *maestro di cappella* of Queen Catherine of Braganza's Catholic chapel in London between 1669 and 1677. See also P. Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music* 29 (2001), 570–87.

<sup>5</sup> Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts', 155–6.

canticle at Matins (ff. 132–135v), all suggest that *Lam* 108 is a liturgical manuscript once used in a Roman Catholic establishment. Given that Matthew Locke was Organist at the Catholic chapel of Catherine of Braganza from 1662 to his death in 1677 (see below), the current working hypothesis concerning *Lam* 108 is that it was a lectern book once used by performers in the queen's Catholic Chapel at Somerset House in the 1680s.<sup>6</sup> This article, however, is primarily concerned with the remaining anonymous music in *Lam* 108, and Peter Leech's comment that the 'presence of sacred works by Locke in GB-Lam MS. 108 provides some evidence which suggests that some of the anonymous music in the manuscript may also be by him' provided the impetus for what follows.<sup>7</sup>

Matthew Locke (c.1622–77)

Matthew Locke was born, most likely in Exeter, around 1622; this is inferred from the inscription 'aetat 40 | anno domini 1662' on his portrait given to the Oxford Music School, now in the Faculty of Music, Oxford.<sup>8</sup> He was a choirboy at Exeter Cathedral, and it is likely that he was taught by the master of the choristers, Edward Gibbons (the elder brother of Orlando), by the organist John Lugege, and by William Wake, a lay vicar.<sup>9</sup> Locke left his mark at the cathedral with two carved inscriptions on the organ screen: 'MATHEW LOCK | 1638' and 'ML | 1641'. In 1640 he was paid 31s. and 10s. 6d. for 'pricking services' – the same year that he and Richard Carter were censored by the dean and chapter for fighting.<sup>10</sup> Locke's whereabouts during the Civil War are unknown, but he probably remained in Exeter. It may therefore be significant, given his later conversion to Catholicism, that in 1644 (during the period when the city had returned to Royalist control), Charles I's Catholic Queen, Henrietta Maria, was present in the city, where she gave birth to her ninth child, Henrietta Anne. We next hear of Locke in the Low Countries, where he joined the exiled English royal household. Lynn Hulse has suggested that Locke may have been with Prince Charles at The Hague in 1648, and accompanied the Duke of Newcastle to Antwerp in early 1649.<sup>11</sup> It seems that it was while Locke was in the Low Countries that he converted to Catholicism.

A section of Locke's autograph manuscript *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 31437 bears the annotation: 'A Collection of Songs [made] when | I was in the Low = | = Countreys 1648',<sup>12</sup> and contains 15 Italian motets and sacred songs which Locke chose from printed sources available to him while

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<sup>6</sup> Further work on the provenance of *Lam* 108 is required. Caroline Lesemann-Elliott has, in personal correspondence, noted that the repertoire in the manuscript is closely akin to that used in exiled English convents: the Du Mont motets, for example, were particularly popular in the exiled English convents, and the 'Regnum mundi' was used for the investiture of nuns in post-Tridentine convents.

<sup>7</sup> Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts', 156.

<sup>8</sup> The portrait is reproduced in R. Thompson, 'Matthew Locke', *ODNB*; and in P. Holman, 'Matthew Locke [Lock]', *GMO*. See also P. Dennison, 'The Sacred Music of Matthew Locke', *Music & Letters* 60 (1979), 60–75; *BDECM*, ii. 731–8.

<sup>9</sup> A. Wood, 'Notes for Biographies of English Musicians', *GB-Ob*, Wood MS D. 19 (4), f. 86v. In his autograph scorebook, *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 17801, f. 26v, Locke wrote: 'The End of the Little Consort, | made att the request of Mr Wm. Wake | for his Schollars 1651'.

<sup>10</sup> Exeter Cathedral Chapter Act Book (29 August 1640); see M. Lefkowitz, 'Matthew Locke at Exeter', *The Consort* 22 (1965), 5–16, at 11.

<sup>11</sup> L. Hulse, 'Matthew Locke: Three Newly Discovered Songs for the Restoration Stage', *Music & Letters* 75 (1994), 200–13, at 212.

<sup>12</sup> *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 31437, f. 29.

he was resident abroad.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript is important, not just for the quality of the music which Locke chose from the printed sources (including unique music by Francesco Costanzo da Cosena copied from his now-lost second book of motets), but because it offers scholars the opportunity to study the influences on, and the development of, Locke’s own *concertato* style of writing – for example, the vocal textures; the melodic figurations; the use of triple metre; and harmonic procedures.

The following examples must suffice for comparison: Ex. 1 is the opening of Locke’s three-voice ‘A hymne, O God, becometh thee in Syon’; Ex. 2 is the opening of Galeazzo Sabbatini’s solo-voice ‘Congregavit Dominus aquas’, copied by Locke in Add. MS 31437 from ‘Op 9. Lib. 1. Galatio Sabatino’ (*Sacre lodi concerto a voce sola* (Venice, 1640)); and Ex. 3 is a section from Locke’s ‘From the depths have I called’, which has similarities (the syncopated exclamations in particular) with Ex. 4, the final bars of Giovanni Rovetta’s ‘Domine Deus meus’, copied by Locke in Add. MS 31437, ‘Ex Opere Quinto ejusdem Authoris [Rovetta]’; Locke’s copy-source was most likely *Motetta concertata ... opus quintum* (Antwerp, 1640). We find many of the same figurations in both Locke and the Italian examples, but Locke’s melodic lines are far more angular, with diminished intervals and more semitone movement in the bass. Ex. 4 also contains choral declamation, which was to become a common feature in many of Locke’s motets and anthems; see, for example, Ex. 5, bb. 54–60 from ‘When I was in tribulation’, and Ex. 6, the final bars of ‘O Lord, heare my prayer’, where Locke does not notate the rhythm but leaves the words to be chanted (as in *falsobordone*) and, indeed, in a number of the anonymous pieces in *Lam* 108 which, below, it is suggested may be by Locke.

Ex. 1: Matthew Locke, ‘A hymne, O God, becometh thee in Syon’, bb. 1–41.

The image shows a musical score for two parts: Bass (B) and Bass Continuo (bc). Both are in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The B part begins with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat, followed by a series of notes and rests. The bc part begins with a bass clef and a key signature change to B-flat, followed by a series of notes and rests. The lyrics are: "A hymne, a hymne, O God, be-com-eth thee in Sy-on, be-com-eth". There are some markings below the bc staff, including a '7' and a '6'. The score ends with "cont.".

<sup>13</sup> *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 31437, Matthew Locke’s autograph scorebook, was originally in three separate sections. The first and second, containing Locke’s own sacred songs, were copied *c.*1654–62 (with revisions and additions perhaps as late as the 1670s). According to a note on f. 1 (which seems to refer to the first section of the manuscript alone) written by Philip Hayes, the manuscript was donated to the Oxford Music School by Locke himself. The third section contains Locke’s copies of Italian music, by Galeazzo Sabbatini (1597–1662), Giovanni Rovetta (1595/7–1668) and Francesco Costanzo da Cosena/F. Buonaventura di Rogliano (*fl.* 1621). For full details of the printed copy sources, see *Matthew Locke’s Copies of Italian Music in British Library Add. MS 31437*, ed. J.P. Wainwright (York, 2024) <@>. On Add. MS 31437 generally, see R.E.M. Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke* (Oxford, 1971), 3–6, 20–5; R. Thompson, ‘English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648–1688’, Ph.D. thesis (King’s College, London, 1988), 387–94 <@>.



5

T A hymne, a hymne, O God, be-com-eth

B thee in Sy - on, in Sy - - on,

7  $\sharp[6]$

9

T thee in Sy - on, be-com-eth thee, be-com-eth thee in Sy - on, and a

B be-com-eth thee in Sy - on, and a vow shall be rendr-ed un - to thee,

14

T vow shall be rendr-ed, shall be rendr-ed un - to thee in Je - ru - sa - lem, and a vow,

B and a vow shall be rendr-ed un - to thee in Je - ru - sa - lem, shall be

18

T and a vow shall be rendr-ed un - to thee in Je - ru - sa - lem.

B rendr-ed, shall be rendr-ed, shall be rendr-ed un - to thee in Je - ru - sa - lem.

22

AT Heare, heare my pray - er, my pray - er, heare, O heare my pray - er, all

$\flat$   $\sharp$   $\sharp$

28

T — flesh shall come to thee. The words of the wick-ed have pre-vayled up - on us, have pre-vayled, have pre-

$\sharp[3]$  4  $\sharp[3]$  5 6 6  $\flat[6]$  5

cont.

33

-vayled up - on us, but thou wilt be pro - pi - tius to our im - pi - e -

4 7 6

37

-tyes, wilt be pro - pi - tius to our im - pi - e -tyes, to our im - pi - e -tyes.

6

Ex. 2: Galeazzo Sabbatini, 'Congregavit Dominus aquas', bb. 1-17.

C

Con-gre-ga-vit Do-mi-nus a - - - - - quas et vo-ca-vit

bc

5

ma - - - - - ri - a, con-gre - ga - bo et e - go la - cri - mas, con-gre -

7 6 # #

9

-ga - bo et e - go la - cri - mas et vo-ca - - - - - bo Ma - ri - am,

4 5 6 4 [#]3

13

et vo-ca - bo, vo - ca - - - - - bo Ma - - - - - ri - am.

7 [#]6 7 [b]6 4 5

Ex. 3: Matthew Locke, 'From the depths have I called', bb. 17–23.

17

A/T O, O let thyn eares at-tend the voyce of my pe-ti-ti-on.

T O, O let thyn eares, thyn eares at-tend the voyce of my pe-ti-ti-on.

B O, O let thyn eares at-tend the voyce of my pe-ti-ti-on.

bc

# b ♭ ♭ #

Ex. 4: Giovanni Rovetta, 'Domine Deus meus', bb. 64–81.

64

T1 et o-cu-lo-rum ri-vos sa-li-en-tes ah, ah

T2 et o-cu-lo-rum ri-vos sa-li-en-tes ah, ah

B et o-cu-lo-rum ri-vos sa-li-en-tes ah, ah

bc

69

T1 re-spi-ce be-ni-gnus e-ma-nan-tis si-gnum me-i do-lo-ris, ah

T2 re-spi-ce be-ni-gnus e-ma-nan-tis si-gnum me-i do-lo-ris, ah

B re-spi-ce be-ni-gnus e-ma-nan-tis si-gnum me-i do-lo-ris, ah

bc

6 6 7 6 7 #

73

T1 re-spi-ce be-ni-gnus e-ma-nan-tis si-gnum me-i do-lo-ris,

T2 re-spi-ce be-ni-gnus e-ma-nan-tis si-gnum me-i do-lo-ris,

B re-spi-ce be-ni-gnus e-ma-nan-tis si-gnum me-i do-lo-ris,

bc

b6 6 7 6 7 #

cont.

77

si - gnum me - i do - lo - ris, do - lo - - ris.

6

Ex. 5: Matthew Locke, 'When I was in tribulation', bb. 54–60.

54

I have dwelt with the in-ha-bi-tants of Ke - dar. My soule hath been long, long a so - jorn - er:

5 6 6 5 7 6 #

Ex. 6: Matthew Locke, 'O Lord, hear my prayer', bb. 33–42.

33

In what day soever I shall invo - cate thee, heare me, heare me speed - i - ly, heare me speed - i - ly, O heare me, heare me speed - i - ly.

b 5 6 6 5 7 [4]6 5 b6

37

me speed - i - ly, heare me, heare me speed - i - ly, O heare me, heare me speed - i - ly.

-ly, speed - i - ly, O heare me, heare me speed - i - ly, heare me, O heare me speed - i - ly.

heare me speed - i - ly, hear me, O heare me speed - i - ly.

b7 6 7 6 4 b 7 6

Locke probably returned to England in the early 1650s and appears to have been based in Herefordshire. Around 1655 he married Mary, daughter of the Catholic recusant Roger Garnons of Herefordshire; and John Aubrey wrote that there was ‘a great friendship’ between Locke and the antiquary and amateur musician Silas Taylor, who was a Commonwealth sequestrator in Hereford.<sup>14</sup> In the spring of 1654 a number of depositions cite Locke as ‘being a papist’ and having been involved in an affray in Hereford – another example of Locke’s bellicose behaviour.<sup>15</sup> It seems that Locke moved to London sometime in the middle of the 1650s, and in 1656 John Playford published *Matthew Locke his Little Consort of Three Parts*, a revised version of music composed in 1651.<sup>16</sup> Also in 1656, Locke composed some of the music for William Davenant’s *The Siege of Rhodes*, in which he performed the part of the Admiral of Rhodes, and he appears to have contributed music to Davenant’s *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (?25 July 1658) and *The History of Sir Francis Drake* (?16 June 1659).<sup>17</sup> Locke also composed music for a performance of James Shirley’s masque *Cupid and Death* (first performed in 1653) in Leicester Fields in 1659 where he appears to have set a number of the original speeches to recitative.<sup>18</sup>

By the time of the Restoration Locke was acknowledged as one of the country’s leading composers and, perhaps as a result of his royalist contacts whilst in the Low Countries in the late 1640s, his advancement at court was impressive: in June 1660 he was appointed Composer for the Violins with a salary of £46 10s. 10d. p.a. and Composer in the Private Music, for which he was paid a further £40 p.a..<sup>19</sup> As a Catholic he could not hold an official position in the Chapel Royal (although he wrote music for it in the 1660s), but in 1662 he was appointed Organist at the Catholic chapel of Catherine of Braganza, which was based until 1671 at St James’s Palace and thereafter at Somerset House) with a salary of £100 p.a..<sup>20</sup>

As composer in the Private Music Locke’s duties were to provide music for the specialist group of musicians who played in the royal chambers at Whitehall, and his two sets of Broken Consort suites (chamber music which mixed violins, bass viol and continuo instruments) typify his instrumental music in the early 1660s.<sup>21</sup> His sacred vocal music was written for devotional contexts, for the queen’s chapel, or for the Oxford Music School. In 1665, due to the plague in London, Locke went with the court to Oxford, and there composed a ‘Prelude for 2 Violins and Bass Violl’ and a ‘Gloria Patri’ which were added to an already existing Jubilate, and the motet ‘Ad te levavi oculos meos’, which were performed in the Music School on 9 and 16 November respectively.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>14</sup> ‘Brief Lives’, *Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey between the Years 1669 & 1696*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1898), ii. 254.

<sup>15</sup> Herefordshire Record Office, Depositions vol. 5, ff. 7–8.

<sup>16</sup> Modern edition [ME]: M. Locke, *Chamber Music: I*, ed. M. Tilmouth, Musica Britannica [MB] 31 (London, 1971), 57–97.

<sup>17</sup> ‘The Apes Dance’ and ‘The Symerons Dance’ in the Locke section of John Playford’s *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662) appear to come from the sixth entry of *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* and the second entry of *The History of Sir Francis Drake* respectively; see Holman, ‘Matthew Locke’.

<sup>18</sup> Locke’s autograph score, *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 17799, is headed: ‘The Instrumentall and | Vocall Musique in | the Morall representation | att the Millitary Ground | In Lescester Fields | 1659’. ME: M. Locke and C. Gibbons, *Cupid and Death*, ed. A. Walkling and R. Thompson, MB (forthcoming).

<sup>19</sup> *BDECM*, ii. 731.

<sup>20</sup> For further information, see Leech, ‘Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza’.

<sup>21</sup> ME: M. Locke, *Chamber Music: II*, ed. M. Tilmouth, MB 32 (London, 1972), 1–30, 31–56.

<sup>22</sup> *GB-Ob*, MS Mus. Sch. C.44, ff. 146v–147 and ff. 4–5 (autograph scores). ME: M. Locke, *Anthems and Motets*, ed. P.

The two odes ‘All things their certain periods have’ (‘A New Yeares Song’) and ‘Come loyal hearts’ were performed before the king in Oxford on 1 January 1666.<sup>23</sup> Locke maintained a link with the Oxford Music School for the rest of his life, most likely through his court colleague Edward Lowe who, as well as being one of the three organists of the Chapel Royal, was Heather Professor of Music at Oxford 1661–82); in 1673 Locke was paid £5 for composing the ode ‘Descende caelo cincta sororibus’ for the Oxford degree ceremony (the ‘Act’).<sup>24</sup>

On his return to London, and following a disastrous performance in the Chapel Royal of his setting of the Responses to the Ten Commandments (which, unusually, consists of ten separate settings rather than the usual repetitions of the same music), Locke published his *Modern Church-Musick Pre-accus’d, Censur’d, and Obstructed in its Performance before his Majesty, Aprill 1 1666. Vindicated by the Author Matt. Lock, Composer in Ordinary to his Majesty*. The publication included the music for the Responses and a rather defensive retort to the unfair criticism that his music was difficult. His reputation did not suffer, however, for later that year, on 14 August, his most adventurous symphony anthem, ‘Be thou exalted Lord’, was performed in the Chapel to celebrate Albemarle’s naval victory over the Dutch;<sup>25</sup> Samuel Pepys proclaimed it ‘a special good Antheme’.<sup>26</sup>

Locke was also a music theorist, and his writings often revealed his quarrelsome nature. The objections to Thomas Salmon’s proposed reform of notation,<sup>27</sup> in Locke’s *Observations upon a Late Book, Entituled, an Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (London, 1672) and *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated* (London, 1673), were somewhat overstated, but his *Melothesia, or Certain General Rules for Playing upon a Continued-Bass* (London, 1673), a publication that also included keyboard works by Locke and eight fellow composers, was of far more value; according to Sir John Hawkins it was ‘the first book on the subject of thorough-bass published in England’.<sup>28</sup>

Outside the court, Locke was also involved with London’s commercial theatres. He was the main house composer for the Duke of York’s Company (at Lincoln’s Inn Fields and, after 1671, at Dorset Garden), which was run by Sir William Davenant, and music by Locke survives for at least twelve productions, the most important being the self-contained Masque of Orpheus and Euridice for Elkanah Settle’s *The Empress of Morocco* (3 July 1673); instrumental music for Thomas Shadwell’s version of *The Tempest* (1674); and vocal and instrumental music for Shadwell’s *Psyche* (27 February 1675).<sup>29</sup> Locke’s music for *The Tempest* and *Psyche* was published as *The English Opera* in 1675.

Locke died shortly before 10 August 1677, and his post as composer to the Twenty-Four Violins was taken by Henry Purcell. In the words of Robert Thompson, ‘Locke’s importance to English

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le Huray, MB 38 (London, 1976), 36–8 and 1–6 respectively.

<sup>23</sup> *GB-Ocb*, Mus. 14, ff. 90v–93v (in the hand of John Blow), and *GB-Ob*, MS Ashmole 36/37, f. 167 (words only).

<sup>24</sup> *GB-Ocb*, Mus. 619, ff. 16–19 (in the hand of Edward Lowe).

<sup>25</sup> *GB-Ob*, MS Mus. c.23, ff. 25–34 (autograph). ME: Locke, *Anthems and Motets*, ed. le Huray, 52–73.

<sup>26</sup> 14 August 1666: *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (London, 1970–1983), vii. 245.

<sup>27</sup> T. Salmon, *An Essay to the Advancement of Musick by Casting Away the Perplexity of Different Cliffs* (London, 1672); *A Vindication of an Essay to the Advancement of Musick, from Mr. Matthew Lock’s Observations* (London, 1672).

<sup>28</sup> J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London, 1776), v. 171. William Penny’s *Art of Composition, or, Directions to Play a Thorow Bass* (c1670), mentioned by Henry Playford in a catalogue of 1690, may actually be the first continuo treatise, but no copy is known to have survived and it is possible that the volume was never published; see Thurston Dart, ‘A Hand-List of English Instrumental Music Printed before 1681’, *Galpin Society Journal* 8 (1955), 13–26, at 25.

<sup>29</sup> ME: M. Locke, *Dramatic Music*, ed. M. Tilmouth, MB 51 (London, 1986).

music in the generation before Purcell cannot be overestimated'.<sup>30</sup> There is no direct evidence that he taught the young Purcell, though the influence of the older composer is not in doubt. On Locke's death Purcell composed the elegy 'What hope for us remains now he is gone?' Z.472. Locke made a distinct contribution to every genre of music: his consort music represents some of the glories of the English instrumental contrapuntal tradition; he excelled in the new expressive *concertato*-style of vocal writing in his declamatory songs and anthems and his theatre works; and his large-scale anthems and motets blend elements of English and Italian *stile antico* and *stile moderno*. The possibility that *Lam* 108 contains some unidentified music by this important composer is tantalising.

#### Possible Attributions to Matthew Locke

A complete inventory of *Lam* 108 is given in Appendix 1; 15 pieces remain without attributions (see Appendix 2 for their musical incipits):

76v	Ego sum panis	C bc
76v–77v	Surge propera amica mea	C bc
90r–90v	Regnum mundi	CCATB bc
93r–93v	Vox clamantis in deserto	B bc
95–96	Beati omnes qui timent	CTB bc
96v–97	Laudate Dominum	CAB bc
102–104	O pretiosum et admirandum convivium	CAB bc
104–106v	Confitebor tibi, Domine	AB bc
107r–107v	Salve Regina	CATB bc
107v–108v	Domine, Dominus noster	AATB bc
111–112	Cantate Domino canticum novum	CB bc
114r–114v	Diligam te Domine	C bc
115v–116v	Laudate pueri Dominum	CB bc
117–118v	Ecce Maria genuit 'Canon 4 in 1'	CATB bc
132–135v	Te Deum laudamus	CATB bc

The writer is currently preparing an edition of Matthew Locke's complete small-scale sacred music,<sup>31</sup> and this has enabled comparisons of verified sacred pieces by Locke with the repertoire listed above. The conclusions offered below must remain tentative, for the assigning of possible attributions through stylistic comparison is fraught with difficulties. However, Locke's vocal writing is rather individualistic, so useful comparisons can be made.

Taking the anonymous pieces in the order in which they appear in *Lam* 108, the two solo-voice motets 'Ego sum panis' (antiphon to the Benedictus at Lauds on the Feast of Corpus Christi) and 'Surge propera amica mea' (Song of Solomon 2 vv. 10b–13a with Alleluia) appear after two two-voice motets by Tarquinio Merula and before a three-voice motet by Bonifacio Gratiani. The composer(s) of the pieces have not been identified, and being harmonically weak, it is hard to believe that they are by Merula, Gratiani – or indeed Matthew Locke. *Lam* 108 does contain a solo-cantus voice motet by Locke, 'Bone Jesu, verbum Patris' (copied twice: f. 94r–94v and f. 115r–

<sup>30</sup> Thompson, 'Matthew Locke'.

<sup>31</sup> M. Locke, *Small-Scale Sacred Music*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, Early English Church Music (forthcoming).

115v), a setting of a composite text including words from (attrib.) St Augustine, *Meditationes*, xxxvii, and Psalm 22, v.7 (Vulgate), which also appears in Locke's autograph manuscript *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 14399. This is much more harmonically and melodically adventurous than either 'Ego sum panis' or 'Surge prope amica mea', with more interesting declamatory writing in the common-time sections; compare Exx. 7 and 8:

Ex. 7: Anon., 'Surge prope amica mea', bb. 1–34.

The musical score is presented in two staves: a vocal line (C) and a basso continuo line (bc). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into five systems, each with a measure number at the beginning.

System 1 (measures 1-6):  
 C: Sur - - - ge pro - pe - ra a - mi - ca - me - a,  
 bc: [Basso continuo line]

System 2 (measures 7-12):  
 7 for-mo-sa me - a et ve - ni: jam e-nim hiems tran - si - - it in im - ber a-biit et re -  
 bc: [Basso continuo line]

System 3 (measures 13-19):  
 13 -ces - - - - - sit. Flo-res ap-pa-ru-e - runt, flo-res ap-pa - ru -  
 bc: [Basso continuo line]

System 4 (measures 20-26):  
 20 -e - runt in ter - - - - - ra no - stra, no-stra; tem - pus pu-ta - ti - o - nis ad -  
 bc: [Basso continuo line]

System 5 (measures 27-34):  
 27 -ve - nit: vox tur - tu - ris au - di - ta est in ter - ra no - stra,  
 bc: [Basso continuo line]



Ex. 8: Matthew Locke, 'Bone Jesu, verbum Patris', bb. 1–20.<sup>32</sup>

voce solo

C Bo - ne Je - su, ver - bum Pa - tris, splen - dor Pa - ter - nae glo - ri -

bc

7

- a, in quem de - si - de - rant an - ge - li pro - spi - ce - re, do - ce me, do - ce me fa - ce - re vo - lun - ta - tem tu - am, ut a spi - ri - tu

12

tu - o bo - no de - du - ctus, ad be - a - tam il - lam per - ve - ni - am ci - vi - ta - tem:

16

u - bi est di - es ae - ter - nus,

The two anonymous solo-voice motets are followed in *Lam* 108 by Bonifacio Gratiani's three-voice 'Beate mundo corde' (from his sixth book of motets, published in Rome in 1672), and by the six-voice 'Dixit Dominus' by 'Cossand' mentioned above. These are followed at ff. 89–106v by, arguably, a long sequence of music all by Matthew Locke. The first piece in the sequence, 'Domine Jesu Christe' (f. 89r–89v), a canon 6 in 3, also appears in Matthew Locke's *Observations upon a Late Book*. This is followed in *Lam* 108 by the anonymous five-voice motet 'Regnum mundi' (f. 90r–90v), a setting of the respond and verse for the Common of Holy Women, a text used for the investiture of nuns in post-Tridentine convents. The piece consists of a number of solo or two-voice sections interspersed with five-voice homophonic declarations. The solo and duet writing, in particular, is reminiscent of Locke's quirky melodic style, with characteristic chromaticism and cross-beat slurs, found, for example, in his two-voice motet 'Agnosce, O Christiane' (which appears in Locke's autograph manuscript Add. MS 31437 and was copied on ff. 99v–100v of *Lam* 108); compare Ex. 9a–c with Ex. 10a–b.

<sup>32</sup> Both copies in *Lam* 108 are notated a fourth higher (*chiavette*) than the autograph copy in Add. MS 14399.





56 sq q sq in Lam 108

hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia. Trans - la - tus es in De - i lu - men et re -

- lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia,

62

- gnum. Hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia.

hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia, hal - le - lu - ia.

‘Regnum mundi’ is followed in *Lam* 108 by three pieces that are definitely by Locke: his two-voice ‘Cantate Domino’ (f. 91r–91v; probably copied from John Playford’s anthology *Cantica Sacra ... The Second Sett* (London, 1674)); ‘Sanctus’, ‘Canon 3 in 1’ (f. 92; copied from Locke’s *Observations upon a Late Book*); and the two-voice ‘O Domine Jesu Christe’ (f. 92v; also probably copied from Playford’s 1674 anthology). Then follows a very fine, anonymous solo-bass motet, ‘Vox clamantis in deserto’ (f. 93r–93v; a setting of a text from Isaiah 40, vv. 3–8). This extended virtuoso solo bass motet (113 bars long with a vocal range of *D–f*′) contains declamatory writing so typical of many of Locke’s vocal works, with frequent alteration between common and triple time, and the characteristic melodic chromaticism and cross-beat slurs seen in a number of the examples above. The piece compares with Locke’s bass-voice devotional song ‘Then from a whirlwind oracle’, published by Henry Playford in *Harmonia sacra* ([London], 1688), pp. 42–4; compare Exx. 11 and 12.<sup>33</sup>

Ex. 11: [Matthew Locke?], ‘Vox clamantis in deserto’, bb. 1–54.

B Vox cla - man - tis in de - ser - to, vox cla - man - tis

bc

7

in de - ser - to, pa - ra - te, pa - ra - te vi - am Do - mi - ni, pa - ra - te, pa - ra - te vi - am Do -

<sup>33</sup> It might also be relevant to mention that Claude Desgranges (*fl.* 1663–91), one of six French musicians appointed at the English court in 1663 (see Leech, ‘Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza’, 577), and Pietro Reggio (1632–85), a musician who frequently performed alongside musicians of Queen Catherine of Braganza’s chapel (see G. Rose, ‘Pietro Reggio: a Wandering Musician’, *Music & Letters* 46 (1965), 207–16), were both virtuoso basses; see also M. Mabbett, ‘Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–1690)’, *Music & Letters* 67 (1986), 237–47.

12  
 - mi-ni, rec-ta fa-ci-te in so-li-tu-di-ne se - mi-tas De - i no - stri. O - mnis val - lis ex-al-

18  
 - ta - bi-tur, et o-mnis mons et col - lis hu - mi - li - a - bi-tur, et e-runt pra-va in di-re - cta et

23  
 a-spe-ra in vi - as pla - nas. Et re - ve - la - bi-tur glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni,

29  
 et vi - de - bit, et vi - de - bit o - - - mnis ca - ro

36  
 pa - ri - ter quod os Do - mi - ni lo - cu - tum est. Vox di - cen - tis

43  
 cla - ma et di - xi quid cla-ma - bo, quid cla - ma - bo o - mnis ca-ro fae - num, et o-mnis

49  
 glo - ri - a e - jus qua - si flos a - - - gri. Ex - sic - ca - tum est fae - num,

7 [#]6 #

Ex. 12: Matthew Locke, 'Then from a whirlwind oracle', bb. 1–36

B Then from a whirl-wind o - ra - cle, the great Je - ho - vah, thus his

bc

4  
 ser - vant, thus his ser - vant Job did treat: Who's this,

cont.

9  
 that thinks the mists him-self doth raise, can hide his own, or yet e-clipse my ways?

13  
 Pre-pare for the dis-pute, and an-swer now, when my breath made

17  
 the earth's globe, where wer't thou? When in a quire of morn-ing stars did lye, re-ful-gent

21  
 beau-ty, and loud har-mo-ny; hast in the bot-tom of the great deep been, or

25  
 else tow'r'd up in-to the ma-ga-zine; from whence with fall-ing hail-stones, and pale

29  
 snow, I make proud mor-tals fall, and pa-ler grow. Canst make the

33  
 clouds, if up thou lift thy voice, melt-ed by show'rs, or torn by thun-ders

'Vox clamantis in deserto' is followed in *Lam* 108 by the first of two copies of Locke's solo-cantus motet 'Bone Jesu verbum Patris' (see Ex. 8 above), and two anonymous three-voice motets: 'Beati omnes qui timent' (Psalm 127) and 'Laudate Dominum' (Psalm 116), both of which, arguably, may be by Locke. The solo voice writing in 'Beati omnes qui timent' (see Ex. 13), with its cross-beat slurs and rising melodic chromaticism, is reminiscent of Locke's writing;<sup>34</sup> compare, for example,

<sup>34</sup> The high tessitura of the virtuoso cantus line, with a range of *f#'-b''*, is unusual (see Ex. 13, bb. 14–22). It is possible that this is a transposing part to be sung down an octave by a countertenor or high tenor; my thanks to Peter Holman for this suggestion. It is also possible, given the high cantus part notated in G2 clef and the high tessitura for the bass, with the range *A-e'*, that the whole piece should be treated as *chianette*, to be transposed down a fourth or a fifth. Here it is perhaps relevant to note that both copies of Locke's 'Bone Jesu, verbum Patris' in *Lam* 108 are a fourth higher than in Locke's autograph copy in Add. MS 14399.

Ex. 13, b. 21 with Ex. 10b, b. 61; and Ex 13, b. 17 with Ex. 14, bb. 28–33 from Locke’s ‘When I was in tribulation’ (a setting of ‘Psal. 119’, Vulgate numbering, vv. 1–6), which is found in the composer’s autograph manuscript Add. MS 31437, and in an earlier version in *GB-Mp*, BRm 370.Lu.31.<sup>35</sup> Some of the declamatory writing in the anonymous ‘Laudate Dominum’ (see Ex. 15) is very similar to that in Locke’s ‘When I was in tribulation’ (see Ex. 14), and in numerous other motets and anthems by him.

Ex. 13: [Matthew Locke?], ‘Beati omnes qui timent’, bb. 1–27.

The musical score for 'Beati omnes qui timent' is presented in a multi-system format. It includes vocal parts for Tenor (T), Bass (B), and Contralto (C), along with a basso continuo (bc) line. The score is in G major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: 'Be - a - ti, be - a - ti o - mnes qui ti - ment, qui ti - ment Do - mi - num, qui am - bu - lant, qui am - bu - lant in vi - is e - ius. La - bo - res ma - nu - um tu - a - rum qui a - man - du - ca - bis: be - a - tus es, et be - ne - ti - bi e - rit. Ux - or tu - a si - cut vi - tis a - bun - dans in la - te - ri - bus do - mus tu - ae;'. The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, and ornaments, and is divided into systems with measure numbers 5, 9, 14, 18, and 23.

<sup>35</sup> See R. Herissonne, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), 283–6.

Ex. 14: Matthew Locke, 'When I was in tribulation', bb. 28–42.

28  
A/T just lipps, and a de-cait - full, de-cait - - - full tongue.  
T lipps, and a de-cait - full tongue, and a de-cait - - - full tongue.  
B - from un-just lipps, and a de-cait - full, de-cait - full - - - tongue.  
bc

34  
T What-nay be given to thee, or what may be add-ed un-to thee, O thou de-cait - full tongue,  
B

38  
A/T The sharp ar-rows of the migh-ty with coales of de-so-la-tion, with coales, with coales of de-so-la-tion.  
B

6 5 6 4 #6 #3 #4 6 5 6 #6 6  
[#]5 6 7 [#]6 7 6 #

Ex. 15: [Matthew Locke?], 'Laudate Dominum', bb. 21–30.

21  
C Quo - ni-am con-fir - ma - ta est su-per nos mi-se-ri-cor - di-a e - ius,  
A/T Quo - ni-am con-fir - ma - ta est su-per nos  
B Quo - ni-am con-fir - ma - ta est su-per nos  
bc

26  
et ve-ri-tas Do - mi - ni, et ve-ri-tas Do-mi - ni ma - net in ae - ter - num,  
mi-se-ri cor - di-a e - ius, et ve-ri-tas Do-mi-ni, Do - mi - ni ma - net in ae - ter - num, et  
mi-se-ri cor - di-a e - ius, et ve-ri-tas Do-mi - ni ma - net in ae - ter - num,  
6 7 [#]6 # 5 #6 5





Ex. 17: [Matthew Locke?], ‘Confitebor tibi, Domine’, bb. 1–19.

A/T  
bc  
S  
B

Con - fi - te - bor, con - fi - te - bor ti - bi, Do - mi - ne, in to -  
- to cor - de me - o, con - fi - te - bor, con - fi - te - bor, in to - to cor - de me - o, in con -  
- si - li - o ju - sto - rum, et con - gre - ga - ti - o - ne, in con - si - li - o ju - sto - rum, et  
con - gre - ga - ti - o - ne.  
Con - fi - te - bor, con - fi - te - bor mag - na o - pe - ra Do - mi - ni: ex - qui - si - ta in  
o - mnes vo - lun - ta - tes e - ius. Con - fes - si - o et mag - ni - fi - cen - ti - a o - pus e - ius,

The four-voice ‘Salve Regina’, and also the final piece in the manuscript, the anonymous ‘Te Deum laudamus’ (also for four voices; ff. 132–135v), are primarily homophonic and are thus difficult to assess stylistically. There are not, however, features which may be described as ‘Lockean’, and it was concluded that these pieces are most likely to be by a mid-century Italian or Flemish composer. Likewise, the four-voice ‘Domine, Dominus noster’ on 107v–108v, a setting of verses from Psalm 8, is harmonically weak and unlikely to be by Locke; see Ex. 18.

Ex. 18: Anon., 'Domine, Dominus noster', bb. 1–13.

A/T Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster, quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le est no - men

T1 Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster, quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le est no - men

T2 Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster, quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le est no - men

B Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster, quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le est no - men

bc Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster, quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le est no - men

7

tu - um in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra! Quid est ho - mo, quod

tu - um in u - ni - ver - sa, in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra! Quid est ho - mo, quod me - mor es

tu - um in u - ni - ver - sa, in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra!

tu - um in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra!

Then follows the three-voice psalm 'Dixit Dominus', attributed in a marginal note to 'H.B', which may be Henry Bowman, as mentioned above. This is followed by a two-voice setting of Psalm 95 vv. 1–5 (Vulgate), 'Cantate Domino'. This is the fourth setting in *Lam* 108 of verses from this psalm, the others being at ff. 52–54v [Du Mont], ff. 73–74v [Merula], and ff. 91r–91v [Locke]. The Locke setting was probably copied from Playford's *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett*; the openings of the main sections are given in Ex. 19 a–c.

Ex. 19a: Matthew Locke, 'Cantate Domino', bb. 1–13.

C1 Can - ta - te Do - mi - no can - ti - cum no - vum, can - ti - cum no - vum,

C2 Can - ta - te Do - mi - no can - ti - cum no - vum,

bc Can - ta - te Do - mi - no can - ti - cum no - vum, #

6 6 #

cont.



71

- iah, al - le - lu - iah, al - le - lu - iah, al - le - lu - iah.

- iah, al - le - lu - iah, al - le - lu - iah, al - le - lu - iah.

6

Locke's motet for two cantus voices sets only the first two verses and adds an 'Alleluia', whereas the cantus and bass setting of 'Cantate Domino' on ff. 111–112 sets the first five verses of Psalm 95 (mistakenly described as 'P[salm] 99' in *Lam* 108). The opening bars are given in Ex. 20 below. Whilst there are some similarities with music by Locke, for example, the 'chanted'/declamatory section in b. 7 and the wide-ranging bass solo bb. 14–22 (with its cross-beat slurs), there are too many awkward harmonic moments for it to be attributable to Locke. Given that it follows a piece by 'H.B.', could it be another piece by Henry Bowman?

Ex. 20: Anon., 'Cantate Domino', bb. 1–23.

C  
Can - ta - te, can - ta - te, can - ta - te, can -

B  
Can - ta - te, can - ta - te, can - ta - te, can -

bc

6  
-ta - te, can - ta - te Do - mi - no can - ti - cum no - vum, can - ta - te, can - ta - te

-ta - te, can - ta - te Do - mi - no can - ti - cum no - vum, can - ta - te, can - ta - te

12  
Do - mi - no o - mnis ter - ra.

Do - mi - no o - mnis ter - ra. Can - ta - te Do - mi - no, can - ta - te, can - ta - te, et be - ne -

cont.

17

- di - ci - te no - mi - ni e - ius, et be - ne - di - ci - te, be - ne - di - ci - te no - mi - ni e - ius; an - nun - ti -

20

An - nun - ti - a - te,  
- a - te de di - e in di - em sa - lu - ta - re e - ius.

‘Cantate Domino’ is followed by three solo cantus motets (ff. 112v–115v): the first, ‘Sic ergo bone Jesu’, is from Gasparo Casati’s *Amoenum rosarium* (Antwerp, 1649), and the third is the second copy in *Lam* 108 of Locke’s ‘Bone Jesu verbum patris splendor’, here attributed to ‘M<sup>r</sup> L[ocke]’ in faint ink at the right-hand corner of f. 115; the attribution is confirmed by Locke’s autograph copy in Add. MS 14399. The piece between the two, ‘Diligam te Domine’, shows all the signs of being a motet by an unidentified mid-century Italian composer;<sup>37</sup> see Ex. 21.

Ex. 21: Anon., ‘Diligam te Domine’, bb. 1–29.

C  
Di - li - gam te Do - mi - ne, for - ti - tu - do me - a, for - ti - tu - do me -

bc  
- a, di - li - gam te, di - li - gam te Do - mi - ne, for - ti - tu - do me - a.

18  
Do - mi - mus fir - ma - men - tum me - um, et re - fu - gi - um, et re - fu -

23  
- gi - um, re - fu - gi - um me - um, et re - fu - gi - um, re - fu - gi - um me - um.

<sup>37</sup> It is not Tomaso Cecchino’s ‘Diligam te Domine’ in *Motetti a una voce sola... opera decimaterza* (Venice, 1617).

There are two further anonymous pieces to consider in *Lam* 108: ‘Laudate pueri Dominum’ (for CB, bc) and the ‘Canon 4 in 1’, ‘Ecce Maria genuit nobis salvatorem’. These follow Locke’s ‘Bone Jesu verbum patris splendor’ (the second copy in the manuscript), and come before two motets by him: ‘Audi Domine’ (5vv, 2 vn, bc) and ‘Super flumina Babylonis’ (4vv, 2 vn, bc), which both also appear in Locke’s autograph manuscript, *GB-Ob*, Mus. MS c.23.<sup>38</sup> Both ‘Laudate pueri Dominum’ and ‘Ecce Maria genuit nobis salvatorem’ are, it is suggested, possibly by Matthew Locke. ‘Laudate pueri Dominum’, a two-voice setting of Psalm 112, vv. 1–4, contains harmonic procedures that are typical of Locke’s style and is melodically interesting, with the quirky figurations that we have seen in several of his motets detailed above; see Ex. 22, which gives the central cantus solo section.

Ex. 22: [Matthew Locke?], ‘Laudate pueri Dominum’, bb. 20–33.

20  
C  
A so-lis or-tu us - que ad oc-ca-sum, a so-lis or-tu us - que ad oc-ca-sum lau-da-bi-le no-men Do-mi-  
bc  
6 5 7 6 # #

25  
- ni, lau-da-bi-le, lau-da-bi-le no - - - - - men Do-mi-ni,  
6 #

29  
lau-da-bi-le, lau-da-bi-le, lau-da-bi-le, lau-da-bi-le no - - - - - men Do-mi-ni.  
b 3 4 3

The final piece to be considered is ‘Ecce Maria genuit nobis salvatorem’, a ‘Canon 4 in 1’. As with much of the canonic repertoire, there are some awkward harmonic moments in this complex canon, but this is comparable to the two other canons by Locke in *Lam* 108: ‘Domine Jesu Christe’, ‘Canon 6 in 3’ and ‘Sanctus’, ‘Canon 3 in 1 a note & halfe above’, both probably copied from Locke’s *Observations upon a Late Book*. The final ‘Alleluia’ section of ‘Ecce Maria genuit nobis salvatorem’ is particularly Locke-like in its melodic figuration; see Ex. 23.

<sup>38</sup> ME: Locke, *Anthems and Motets*, ed. le Huray, 7–21 and 39–51 respectively.





different degrees, in the music of Locke’s contemporaries. However, the eight pieces here tentatively attributed to Locke will be issued in an appendix to my forthcoming edition of Matthew Locke’s small-scale sacred music, and the anonymous pieces in *Lam* 108 will be published by the York Early Music Press <@>, which will enable scholars and performers to make up their own minds. Appendix 2 gives the musical incipits of all the anonymous pieces to aid future identification searches.

## Appendix 1: Inventory of *GB-Lam*, MS 108

Anonymous pieces in bold are tentatively attributed to Locke; for their incipits, see Appendix 2 below. See below for a key to the sources. Concordances are only given for printed sources, except for the pieces by Locke, where full manuscript concordances are noted, using an asterisk to denote a piece attributed to him in the source.

Folios	Attribution	Title	Scoring	Concordances
1r-1v	[Du Mont] <sup>39</sup>	O nomen Jesu ‘2 voc’	CC bc	Du Mont 1681
2-3	[Du Mont]	Duo Seraphim	CC bc	Du Mont 1681
3v-4v	[Du Mont]	Benedicite Deum caeli <sup>40</sup>	TB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
5-7v	[Du Mont]	Jubilate Deo ‘Psa: 99’ <sup>41</sup>	CB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
7v-9v	[Du Mont]	Sit gloria Domini	CB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
10-11	[Du Mont]	In lectulo meo ‘Ecco’	C bc	Du Mont 1681
11-12	[Du Mont]	In te Domine credimus ‘Dia: 3 voc’	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
12-13	[Du Mont]	Doleo super te ‘3 voc’	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
13-15v	H: Du Mont	Ecce ferculum ‘2 pts’	ATB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
16-17	[Du Mont]	Regina caeli laetare	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
17v-19	[Du Mont]	Ave Regina <sup>42</sup>	CCB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
19-21	[Du Mont]	Quid commisisti dulcissime	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
21v-23v	[Du Mont]	Stella caeli	CCB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
23v-25	[Du Mont]	O praecelsum et venerabile sacramentum pietatis	CCB bc	Du Mont 1681
25r-25v	[Du Mont]	O bone Jesu	CAB bc	Du Mont 1681
25v-27v	[Du Mont]	Adoro te	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
27v-29v	[Du Mont]	Jesu rex admirabilis	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
29v-31v	[Du Mont]	Jesu dulcedo cordium	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
31v-23v	[Du Mont]	Consurge Domine Deus	CAB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
33v-36	[Du Mont]	Per foeminam mors	CCB vn bc	Du Mont 1681
36v-38v	[Du Mont]	O quam suavis es <sup>43</sup>	ATB bc	Du Mont 1681
39-41v	[Du Mont]	Unde tibi orationalis <sup>44</sup>	T 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681
41v-44v	[Du Mont]	Nil canditur suavius	C 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681
45-46	[Du Mont]	Sub umbra noctis ‘2 violins’	B 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681

<sup>39</sup> f. 72v: ‘Finis Motets De M. Du Mont’.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Benedicite Deum caeli’ and ‘Duo Seraphim’ are in reverse order in the Du Mont 1681 partbooks.

<sup>41</sup> A ‘Symphonie. à 3’ appears after ‘Jubilate Deo’ in the Du Mont 1681 partbooks; this was not copied in *Lam* 108.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Ave Regina’ and ‘Regina caeli laetare’ are in reverse order in the Du Mont 1681 partbooks.

<sup>43</sup> A ‘Symphonie. à 3’ appears after ‘O quam suavis es’ in the Du Mont 1681 partbooks; this was not copied in *Lam* 108.

<sup>44</sup> The order of the motets in *Lam* 108 and in Du Mont 1681 differs from here.

46v–48	[Du Mont]	Desidere <sup>45</sup> te millies. ‘4 voc’	CCAB bc	Du Mont 1681
48–50	[Du Mont]	Sancta et immaculata virginitatis	CATB bc	Du Mont 1681
50–51v	[Du Mont]	Panis angelicus	AATB bc	Du Mont 1681
52–54v	[Du Mont]	Cantate Domine <sup>46</sup> ‘Psa 92’ <sup>47</sup>	CATB bc	Du Mont 1681
55–57	[Du Mont]	Salve Maria virgo	CATB bc	Du Mont 1681
57v	[Du Mont]	Domine salvum fac Regem ‘Ps. 19 vs 10’	CATB bc	Du Mont 1681
58–60	[Du Mont]	Ad te levavi ‘Psa: 122’	CATB bc	Du Mont 1681
60v–61v	[Du Mont]	Venite ad me	T 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681
61v–63	[Du Mont]	Regina devina <sup>48</sup> caeli	A 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681
63v–64v	[Du Mont]	Ave Virgo gratiosa <sup>49</sup>	A 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681
65–67v	[Du Mont]	Quid est hoc	AT 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681
68–69v	[Du Mont]	O tu ques <sup>50</sup> es	T 2 vn va bc	Du Mont 1681
70–72v	Du Mont	O gloriosa Domina	CC 2 vn bc	Du Mont 1681
73–74v	[Merula]	Cantate Domino ‘Psa: 95   2 voc’	CC bc	Merula 1624
74v–76	[Merula]	Corde et animo	TT bc	Merula 1628
76v		Ego sum panis	C bc	
76v–77v		Surge propera amica mea	C bc	
77v–80v	[Gratiani]	Beate mundo corde ‘3 voc’	CCT bc	Gratiani 1672
81–88v	Cossand[i]	Dixit Dominus ‘P 109   Psa: cix’	CCATTB bc	
89r–89v	[Locke]	Domine Jesu Christe ‘Canon 6 in 3’	CCATTB bc	Locke 1672; 30933*; 33239*
90r–90v		<b>Regnum mundi</b>	CCATB bc	
91r–91v	[Locke]	Cantate Domino ‘P. 95   A2 voc’	CC bc	Playford 1674*; 735*; d.10*
92	[Locke]	Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus ‘Canon 3 in 1 a note & halfe above’	CAA	Locke 1672; 30933* 33239*
92v	[Locke]	O Domine Jesu Christe	CC bc	Playford 1674*; 735*; d.10*
93r–93v		<b>Vox clamantis in deserto</b> ‘Isaia Cap 40’	B bc	
94r–94v	[Locke] <sup>51</sup>	Bone Jesu verbum Patris ‘voce Solo’	C bc	14399 (unattrib. but in Locke’s hand)
95–96		<b>Beati omnis</b> <sup>52</sup> <b>qui timent</b> ‘P. 127   A 3 voc’	CTB bc	
96v–97		<b>Laudate Dominum</b> ‘Psa 116   A 2 voc’	CAB bc	

<sup>45</sup> *Recte* ‘Desidero’.

<sup>46</sup> *Recte* ‘Domino’.

<sup>47</sup> *Recte* Psalm 95 (Vulgate).

<sup>48</sup> *Recte* ‘divina’.

<sup>49</sup> A ‘Symphonie. à 4’ appears after ‘Ave Virgo gratiosa’ in the Du Mont 1681 partbooks; this was not copied in *Lam* 108.

<sup>50</sup> *Recte* ‘quis’.

<sup>51</sup> A second copy is at f. 115r–v attributed to ‘M<sup>r</sup>L[ocke]’ in faint ink at the right-hand corner of f. 115.

<sup>52</sup> *Recte* ‘omnes’.

97v–98	[Locke]	Ascendit Deus ‘Pars Secunda’ <sup>53</sup>	CB bc	Playford 1674*; 735*; d.10*
98v–99	[Locke]	Recordare, Domine. ‘A 2 voc’	CB bc	Playford 1674*; 735*; d.10*
99v–100v	[Locke]	Agnosce, O Christiane ‘2 voc’	CB bc	31437* (autograph); 735*; d.10*; C.9; C.12–19*; 892*; 623–6*; 747–9*; M.5*; Playford 1674*
100v–101v	[Locke]	Omnes gentes plaudite <sup>54</sup>	CB bc	Playford 1674*; 735*; d.10*
102–104		<b>O pretiosum et admirandum convivium</b>	CAB bc	
104–106v		<b>Confitebor tibi, Domine</b> ‘Psa 110’	AB bc	
107r–107v		Salve Regina ‘A 4 voc’	CATB bc	
107v–108v		Domine, Dominus noster ‘Psa: 8’	AATB bc	
108v–110v	H.B. <sup>55</sup>	Dixit Dominus	CAB bc	
111–112		Cantate Domino ‘P 99 <sup>56</sup>   A 2 voc’	CB bc	
112v–113v	[Casati]	Sic ergo bone Jesu	C bc	Casati 1649
114r–114v		Diligam te Domine	C bc	
115r–115v	L[ocke] <sup>57</sup>	Bone Jesu verbum patris splendor ‘H D <sup>a</sup> Maria Knight’ <sup>58</sup>	C bc	14399 (unattrib. but in Locke’s hand)
115v–116v		<b>Laudate pueri Dominum</b> ‘Psa 112   a 2’	CB bc	
117–118v		<b>Ecce Maria genuit nobis salvatorem</b> ‘Canon 4 in 1’	CATB	
119v–126	[Locke]	Audi Domine	CCATB 2 vn bc	c.23 (autograph)
126v–131v	[Locke]	Super flumina Babylonis	CATB 2 vn bc	c.23 (autograph)
132–135v		Te Deum laudamus ‘a 4 cum Bassus Generalis   [?]Gca Lyra’	CATB bc	

<sup>53</sup> Part 2 of ‘Omnes gentes plaudite’; see below.

<sup>54</sup> For ‘Ascendit Deus’, Part 2, see above.

<sup>55</sup> Marginal note; H[enry] B[owman]?

<sup>56</sup> *Recte* Psalm 95 (Vulgate).

<sup>57</sup> Attributed to ‘M<sup>r</sup> L[ocke]’ in faint ink at the right-hand corner of f. 115; another copy is at f. 94r–94v unattributed.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Leech (‘Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts’, 152–3) suggests that this is a dedication or possibly the name of a performer, and notes that Mary Knight was a professional singer active in London between 1660 and 1680. Knight is mentioned in John Evelyn’s diary in June 1659, and in 1667 she became one of the king’s mistresses; it seems that in later life she became a Catholic and in 1674 travelled to Italy.

## SOURCES

### PRINTS:

- Casati 1649 Gasparo Casati, *Amoenum rosarium* (Antwerp, 1649) [RISM A/I: C 1424]
- Du Mont 1681 Henri Du Mont, *Motets a II. III. et IV. parties, pour voix et instruments, avec la basse-continue* (Paris, 1681) [RISM A/I: D 3709]
- Gratiani 1672 Bonifacio Gratiani, *Motetti...lib. VI, opera XX* (Rome, 1672) [RISM A/I: G 3688]
- Locke 1672 Matthew Locke, *Observations upon a Late Book, Entituled, An Essay to the Advancement of Musick, etc. Written by Thomas Salmon, M.A. of Trinity Colledge in Oxford* (London, 1672)
- Merula 1624 Tarquinio Merula, *Il primo libro de motetti, e sonate concertati* (Venice, 1624) [RISM A/I: M 2338]
- Merula 1628 Tarquinio Merula, *Libro secondo de concerti spirituali* (Venice, 1628) [RISM A/I: M 2339]
- Playford 1674 John Playford ed., *Cantica Sacra: Containing Hymns and Anthems for two voices to the organ, both Latine and English.... The second sett* (London, 1674) [RISM B/I: 1674z]

### MANUSCRIPTS:

- 735 *GB-Cfm*, MS Mu 735: late eighteenth-century score of music by Matthew Locke.
- 14399 *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 14399: score, in the hand of Locke and one other scribe, of secular and devotional songs; c.1670.
- 30933 *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 30933: guardbook of loose-leaf scores associated with Canterbury, collected by William Flackton in the eighteenth century.
- 31437 *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 31437: Matthew Locke's autograph scorebook, originally in three separate sections; the first and second sections were copied c.1654–1662, with revisions and additions perhaps as late as the 1670s. According to a note on f. 1 (which seems to refer to the first section alone), written by Philip Hayes, the manuscript was donated to the Oxford Music School by Locke himself; the third section was copied 'when I [Locke] was in the Low-Countreys 1648'.<sup>59</sup>
- 33239 *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 33239: scores copied by Vincent Novello from the Flackton collection before 1843.
- c.23 *GB-Ob*, MS Mus. c.23: seven autograph scores of music by Matthew Locke.
- d.10 *GB-Ob*, MS Mus. d.10: an early-eighteenth-century copy in score of Playford 1674.
- C.9 *GB-Ob*, MS Mus. Sch C.9: collection of motets, cantatas and madrigals mostly by Italian composers, copied by Richard Goodson the younger in the early 18th century.<sup>60</sup>
- C.12–19 *GB-Ob*, MSS Mus. Sch. C.12–19: partbooks containing sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers, copied by Edward Lowe c.1660–1682.<sup>61</sup>
- 892 *GB-Ob*, MS Tenbury 892: a mid-18th-century copy in score of Playford 1674.

<sup>59</sup> See Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue*, 3–6, 20–5; Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts', 387–94.

<sup>60</sup> See J.P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1997), 297–300.

<sup>61</sup> See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 304–13.

- 623–626 *GB-Och*, Mus. 623–626: partbooks containing sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers, copied by Henry Bowman c.1670–85.<sup>62</sup>
- 747–749 *GB-Och*, Mus. 747–749: partbooks copied primarily by John Playford c.1650; Locke’s ‘Agnosce, O Christiane’ was copied by an unidentified scribe.<sup>63</sup>
- M.5 *GB-Y*, MS M.5/1–3(S): three partbooks compiled by ‘J.W.’ and dated 1688.<sup>64</sup>

## Appendix 2: Incipits of Anonymous Pieces in *GB-Lam*, MS 108

f. 76v (C bc)

C *E - go sum pa - nis, \_\_\_*

bc

ff. 76v–77v (C bc)

C *Sur - - ge pro - pe - ra*

bc

f. 90r–90v (CCATB bc) [Locke?]

Cl *Reg - - - - - num - - - - - mun - - - - - di*

bc

7 6

f. 93r–93v (B bc) [Locke?]

B *Vox cla - man - tis in de - ser - - to, \_\_\_*

bc

<sup>62</sup> See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 393–6; J. Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue* <@>.

<sup>63</sup> See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 401–2 (the main scribe had not been identified as Playford at that time); Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. The Locke piece is a later addition to the partbooks.

<sup>64</sup> See D. Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York, 1981), 42–65.

ff. 95–96 (CTB bc) [Locke?]

Be - a - ti, be - a - ti o - mnes qui ti - ment, qui ti - ment Do - mi - num,

7 6

ff. 96v–97 (CAB bc) [Locke?]

Lau - da - te Do - mi - num, lau - da - te Do - mi - num,

Lau - da - te Do - mi - num, lau - da - te Do - mi - num,

Lau - da - te Do - mi - num, lau - da - te Do - mi - num,

Lau - da - te Do - mi - num, lau - da - te Do - mi - num,

6

ff. 102–104 (CAB bc) [Locke?]

O pre - ti - o - sum et ad - mi - ran - dum con - vi - vi - um,

ff. 104–106v (AB bc) [Locke?]

Con - fi - te - bor, con - fi - te - bor ti - bi, Do - mi - ne,

6

f. 107r–107v (CATB [bc])

Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae:

Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae:

Sal - ve Re - gi - na, Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae:

Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae:

ff. 107v–108v (AATB bc)

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster,

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster,

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster,

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster,

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - nus no - ster,

ff. 111–112 (CB bc)

Can - ta - te, can - ta - te,\_\_\_

Can - ta - te, can - ta - te,\_\_\_

Can - ta - te, can - ta - te,\_\_\_

f. 114r–114v (C bc)

Di - li - gam te Do - mi - ne,

Di - li - gam te Do - mi - ne,

ff. 115v–116v (CB bc) [Locke?]

Lau - da - te, lau - da - te pu - e - ri Do - mi num;

Lau - da - te, lau - da - te pu - e - ri Do - mi num;

ff. 117–118v (CATB bc) [Locke?]

C  
Ec - - ce Ma - ri - a ge - nu - it

A

T  
Ec - ce Ma - ri - a ge - nu - it no - bis sal - va - to - rem,

B  
Ec - - -

ff. 132–135v (CATB bc)

C  
Te Do - mi-num con - fi - te - mur.

A  
Te Do - mi-num con - fi - te - mur.

T  
Te De - um lau - da - mus: Te Do - mi-num con - fi - te - mur.

B  
Te Do - mi-num con - fi - te - mur.

bc

4 6