THE FULL ANTHEMS AND SERVICES OF JOHN BLOW
AND THE QUESTION OF AN ENGLISH STILE ANTICO

DISSERTATION

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By

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John Blow (1649-1708) was among the first group of boys pressed into the service of King Charles II, following the decade of Puritan rule. Blow would make compositional efforts as early as 1664 and, at the age of nineteen, began to assume professional positions within the London musical establishment, ultimately becoming, along with his pupil and colleague, Henry Purcell, London's foremost musician.

Restoration sacred music is generally thought of in connection with the stile nuovo which, for the first time, came to be a fully accepted practice among English musicians for the church. But the English sacred polyphonic art, little threatened by England's largely political Reformation, embodied sufficient flexibility as to allow it to absorb new ideas, thereby remaining vital well into the seventeenth century. Preserved from decisive Italian influences by the Interregnum, the English sacred polyphonic tradition awoke at the Restoration full of potential for continuing creative activity.

In addition to studying Blow's polyphonic compositions, including the transcription of several not
available in modern edition, this paper seeks to address the unique nature of the English polyphonic tradition which allowed it to retain its vitality throughout the seventeenth century, while other polyphonic traditions were succumbing to the ossifying influences of the stile antico concept. Identification of the Continental stile antico through pertinent treatises and scores revealed a marked distinction between its application and the English polyphonic art as seen in the work of John Blow. In the end, the peculiar nature of Restoration polyphony is seen to be derived from a number of factors, among them, the continuation of liturgical ceremonial within the independent English church, the flexibility of the English polyphonic medium with regard to new musical developments, and the interruption of England's cathedral music tradition just as Italian influence was beginning to be felt in liturgical music. The sacred polyphony of John Blow represents the last great flowering of the English polyphonic tradition, with all of its idiosyncracies, in a lively, as yet unfettered style.
PREFACE

A period of flourishing productivity surrounded by a virtual vacuum in terms of quality compositional output is an intriguing curiosity for the music historian. Inevitable questions arise concerning the initial void of activity, subsequent rush of composition, and, ultimately, its decline, all serving to highlight the singular nature of the period in question. The several decades following the Restoration of Charles II to the throne of England in 1660, comprise such a period in the composition of liturgical music.

John Blow was born within a month of the time of the dramatic termination of the reign of Charles I in January of 1649,¹ and commenced his musical career almost immediately following the restoration of Charles' son to the throne of England.

¹ The date of John Blow's birth is sometimes given as 1648, or 1648/9.—cf. Harold Watkins Shaw, "John Blow, Doctor of Music," The Musical Times 78 (1937), 865. The confusion results from a certain chronological indecisiveness on the part of the English regarding the accepted date for the beginning of a new year. From medieval times, Christmas day was considered the first day of the new year, but that date was later changed to 25 March. This fluctuation, in combination with the general acceptance of 1 January as new year's day throughout much of the rest of the world, has put some dates in English history falling between 25 December and 25 March in a precarious position. The provision of designations representing both the "old" system of chronology and the "new" was common during the
England in 1660. To perhaps an even greater extent than his more famous pupil, Henry Purcell, the work of John Blow both influenced and represents the course taken by sacred music of this period, as seen in the tremendous activity surrounding the re-established Chapel Royal. Not only was John Blow one of the most respected and prolific composers of English sacred music during the latter four decades of the seventeenth century, but he became the beloved and revered master to several generations of young composers, as well.

The early years of the restored monarchy witnessed a certain stylistic turmoil within the newly-revived Chapel Royal musical establishment. Efforts to please the king, highly steeped in French culture, were exacerbated by the uncertainty inevitable from more than a decade of silence in the great cathedrals of England. Many were the pressures on composers to conform to new, international idioms, viewed by those who were (or would be!) socially elite, as more highly refined than music in the older, English traditions. Of such conformity there was no shortage. Nonetheless, English pride in national tradition was strong, and attachment to older idioms died hard. It is the polyphonic sacred music of the English Restoration to which we turn our attention,

and it is John Blow, a composer fluent and prolific in both polyphonic and newer styles, who provided the largest output of anthems and service music written in the polyphonic idiom.

The importance of John Blow to the history of English music is questioned by none who have had exposure to his music, or who are aware of his influence on his contemporaries, particularly Henry Purcell. Purcell and Blow, both as student and master and as eventual colleagues, are commonly viewed by music historians as the ultimate representatives of Restoration music. It is, perhaps, Purcell's universal acclaim as one of England's greatest musicians, that has led to a seemingly unjustified inattentiveness to Blow's music. Yet, as Kenneth Long points out, "in the more limited field of sacred music, . . . , even Purcell himself must yield pride of place to Blow, . . ."  

Awakening interest in the music of John Blow can be seen in the early twentieth-century work of H. D. Statham, both as an editor and writer. H. Watkins Shaw edited and published more of Blow's works around the middle of the century, and also wrote numerous articles dealing with Blow's music. The seventh volume of the Musica Britannica series was devoted to Blow's anthems, and a major advance

in research was made by Henry Leland Clarke, in his comprehensive, unpublished dissertation on John Blow. Although available only in the Harvard library, it has proven sufficiently intimidating as to discourage all but a few quite recent researches into John Blow's music.

In 1970, Christopher Dearnley issued a plea for renewed research into the work of this important composer:

Blow's position in the musical life of his day was unrivalled, and there is a need now for a fresh investigation of his music in order to discover the justification for such eminent status.

Since that time, three doctoral studies dealing with various aspects of Blow's works have appeared. Blondeau's work deals specifically with three songs from Blow's anthemology, Amphion Anglicus. Blow's anthems with orchestra, most of which were written before 1685, were examined by Bruce Wood in his dissertation, and later


published as volume fifty of the Musica Britannica series. Babbs has looked at Blow's 1684 New Year's Day Ode, one of several such compositions he would compose. The wake left by the Clarke dissertation has only recently begun to be crossed by researchers and, clearly, renewed research into the work of John Blow is overdue.

The purpose here is two-fold: first, to make available in modern edition selected examples of John Blow's choral polyphony unaccompanied by instruments other than organ, and to make observations concerning this aspect of Blow's sacred style. Several aspects of English history—namely, the continuation of a strongly liturgical direction in the English church even following the break with Rome, and the complete cessation of Anglican services of worship under Puritan rule in the middle of the seventeenth century—will be considered as possible influences on the tradition of English sacred polyphony.

The body of work which provides the basis for this includes twenty-six "full" anthems and twelve sets of service music.

The second aspect of this study concerns the singular nature of English Restoration polyphony for the church, as


compared with sacred polyphony in the stile antico
tradition, produced primarily in Italy and Germany. For
this, the Continental stile antico practice has been viewed
briefly through selected treatises and scores, making it
possible to compare the sacred polyphony of John Blow
against that practice. This dual course has been pursued, in
order to provide insight into the nature of sacred polyphony
in Restoration England as seen through the works of John
Blow, and to derive some understanding of its stylistic
genesis by comparing it against Continental practice.
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CHAPTER I

THE MUSICAL EFFECTS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS REFORM AND ENGLAND'S UNIQUE POSITION

The ramifications of sixteenth-century political, ecclesiastical, and social turmoil on the style and continuity of sacred music are many. The artistic splendor which had developed in the choral music of many highly-skilled polyphonists, the emergence and self-assertion of the middle class (encouraged by reform theologies), and the remarkable strides taken in scientific thought and experimentation are only a few of the many aspects of sixteenth-century life which issued new, and extremely varied challenges to composers of sacred music.

Centuries-old traditions of sacred music and liturgical practice were not only being openly questioned in many areas, but often harshly denounced.

The specific genre under consideration here is that of sacred polyphony as it existed in England toward the end of the seventeenth century, but the dramatic events radiating from the defiance of Rome's theological pre-eminence and ecclesiastical control during the sixteenth century released soundings in numerous directions across Western Europe which would present a profound challenge to sacred music traditions. The relative strength and perspective with
which various national traditions entered the seventeenth century are inexorably influenced by regional response to new-found freedoms and theologies, most pointedly, by the call for a new, simplified congregational music. The way in which the break with Rome was effected in various areas, and the way in which the desire for congregational singing emerged and was satisfied, cannot help but have affected the continuity with which the various polyphonic traditions survived the sixteenth-century ecclesiastical trauma, and the future course of sacred polyphony in general.

**England's Political Reformation**

Motivation for the majority of reform efforts was based on intolerance of perceived clerical abuses, and on the desire for freedom from the rigidity of Roman dogma.¹

The refusal to accept perceived abuses within the Church on

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¹ By the end of the fifteenth century, some priests in Scotland had begun to question such aspects of Church life as auricular confession, transubstantiation, and the selling of indulgences, and a century earlier, the writings of John Wycliffe (1320-84) had pre-figured with amazing similarity those of Martin Luther and John Calvin. In addition to open advocacy of ecclesiastical independence of England—a position which nearly cost him his life in 1378—Wycliffe spoke out against the worldliness and loose morality of the clergy. He also called for a return from Church tradition to Biblical teaching, from salvation by works to election by grace, and a rejection of indulgences, auricular confession, and transubstantiation. Had the government continued its protection of Wycliffe's efforts—prevented by the great tax revolt of 1381—the Reformation might have become a reality in England more than a century before it broke out in Germany.—cf. George M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (London, 1925).
the part of Luther and others was followed by a renewed focus on Scripture and its teaching, and a desire for simplicity in worship, as in the early Christian Church. The end result of the rebellion was, of course, the break with Rome, and the establishment of newly formed Protestant denominations in places. Accordingly, form of worship, and the music considered acceptable in such worship, was subjected to varying degrees of alteration by local leadership.

Motivation for major change within the Christian community resulted not only from religious and moral revolt, however, but also at times from a desire for political and ecclesiastical autonomy. The Gallican Church, for example, remained within the Roman communion, but the power of appointing bishops and abbots, traditionally a papal function, was turned over to the king by arrangement between Francis I and Pope Leo X in 1516, in effect, nationalizing the Church. Ironically, this loosening of control by Rome removed much of the steam of a potential Protestant uprising which, indeed, never emerged as a national movement in France, despite strong pockets of resistance.

The Church in England, also, was affected by political circumstances, albeit with quite different results, for, as Blume points out, the Reformation in England was an act of state.² Had Catherine produced a male heir, or had the Pope been willing to annul Henry's marriage to her, the history of the Church in England might read quite differently.
Because of this—doctrinal issues notwithstanding—the split with Rome was inevitable, in this respect differing rather pointedly from the revolutions of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Knox.

In addition to the obvious theological motivation for autonomy in Germany and Switzerland, political motivation was present in these areas, as well. In short, reform required support from both religious and political figures wherever it was carried out. Nonetheless, it seems clear that, if the propelling forces of moral and religious revolt were supported by nobility for political and economic reasons in Germany and other Protestant areas, politics provided the primary catalyst for change in England. Henry's brilliant sense of opportunism convinced him that his personal, political, and economic needs could all be met by fanning the simmering coals of religious dissent which had existed for some time in England. The political nature of reform in the Church in England is made abundantly clear by the conspicuous lack of theological or even liturgical change in the early years of the independent Anglican Church. In fact, as head of the newly-established national Church, declared in the Statute of Supremacy of 11 November 1534, King Henry persecuted Protestant critics of Catholic dogma (which he continued to embrace), and Catholic

critics of his ecclesiastical supremacy. Logically, since institutional and juridical reforms preceded those of liturgy and doctrine in England, it follows that changes were less radical—or at least, less immediate than those implemented elsewhere. This gradual reform process allowed for a continuation of Catholic tradition, and much of the music associated with it.

**Effects of Reform on Sacred Music**

The spread of Reformation thought throughout Europe lead to the emergence of middle class citizens as full participants in public worship, and the use of the vernacular and increased congregational participation in the service of worship were aspects of Protestantism which the otherwise quite different movements lead by Martin Luther and John Calvin held in common. Both leaders believed that Christian worshipers needed a musical vehicle through which to express their faith, and although areas under the influence of John Calvin responded in the extreme by banishing art music from public worship altogether, polyphony continued to flourish in Lutheran Germany along

3. One interesting evidence of Henry's anti-Protestant—or, in any case, anti-Lutheran—sentiments, was the fate of what was probably the earliest book of metrical psalms in English to be printed with melodies. Myles Coverdale's *Goostly psalms and spirituall songs*, of 1539 or 1540, included a number of Lutheran chorale tunes, which caused Henry to ban the book, and to have its copies burned.
side the new congregational repertoire. It was this push for simplicity, carried out in Italy only by a limited group of northern Italian composers surrounding Cardinal Borromeo, and in Catholic France partially as a reflection of the note-against-note style of the Parisian chanson, which issued varying degrees of challenge to the national traditions of sacred polyphony.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of England's break with Rome with regard to music was the retention of centralized ecclesiastical control of the Church, allowing the tradition of sacred polyphony to continue in England without interruption. Unification of religious and political leadership in the person of the reigning monarch provided a certain stability—at least within each reign. This same centralization was responsible for potentially dramatic changes of direction—changes which reflected the personalities and beliefs of the various monarchs. One additional factor influencing the sacred music tradition in sixteenth-century England (perhaps less noticeable, if no less influential), was the gradual nature of popular acceptance of Puritan thought. As the creation of the Anglican Church was primarily a response to neither doctrinal, liturgical, nor even widespread moral dissatisfaction with the Church of Rome, the majority of the populace remained loyal to Roman Catholic traditions. Consequently, Puritan influence grew slowly in England, but
would ultimately triumph with tremendous vigor in the middle of the next century.

As the young Ecclesia Anglicana sought an identity, Henry continued to use his power as its spiritual leader for political gain. At the urging of his agnostic viceregent, Thomas Cromwell, Henry allowed the pillaging of the one wealthy institution remaining in his bankrupt realm: the monasteries. Cromwell's agents, sent out to examine and report on the physical, moral, and financial conditions of the monasteries and convents, returned with sufficient evidence to suggest many closings, and between the years 1536 and 1540, 578 monasteries and around 130 convents were closed, displacing approximately 6500 monks and friars and 1560 nuns. Henry thus enriched his own coffers and generously rewarded (thereby ensuring the loyalty of) nobles and supportive businessmen with the spoils.

Schools in connection with cathedrals, monasteries, or guilds, and chantry schools® also vanished in the intensity of this attack, and with no provision for saving the attached Song Schools, which had played a vital role in


5. The term 'chantry' generally refers to a building, a chapel, or at least a separate compartment of a chapel or church in which one or more priests daily sing Mass for the souls of specified persons. More specifically, it refers to an endowment for chanting Masses and offering prayers in such a chapel. It will be recalled that one of the doctrinal changes that was made effected the cessation of prayers for the dead.
the continuation and proliferation of English musical tradition. It has been estimated that close to 2000 church musicians were dismissed from their positions, and much music was destroyed in the process of suppressing the monasteries. Yet, as another evidence of the political nature of England's ecclesiastical "reform," it will be noted that this blow to England's involvement with sacred music was effected in a manner quite divorced from such theological dogmas or edicts as influenced musical changes in other Protestant areas. Thus, while temporarily diminishing the opportunity for the production of sacred polyphony, did not directly affect the style of that which continued to be produced, and any move toward the creation of congregational music was, as yet, lacking. Particularly interesting for our purposes, is the fact that the Song School at Newark, alone, escaped the label of "chantry," thereby, surviving the purge. The importance of this school to the restoration of the Chapel Royal in 1660, will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Musicians connected with the Chapel Royal and the few other religious and educational institutions which survived faced many uncertainties during this time. One major issue—of what texts were to be used in the worship

service—was settled for the time being in the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) of 1559, in which some of the Puritan elements present in the 1552 BCP were deleted (for example, the use of vestments was re-introduced). The ever-increasing use of English, made mandatory by Edward VI in 1549, however, was an issue which had begun to be addressed by composers even before it became required, for English texts had been used with carols for nearly a century. More significantly, the set of partbooks known as the "Wanley Partbooks" (ca. 1546-48), contains about ninety canticles and motets with texts taken from various "Primers"—or English translations of the Offices, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc.* The manuscript pre-dated the 1549 Act of Uniformity, in which English became the official language of the Church, by several years. Another manuscript, copied during this same period (Lbl Roy. App. 74-6) contains three hymns and a

9. Reform services existed in experimental form during Henry's reign, but because of the popular disfavor of his dissolutions, he was unwilling to overplay his hand in the liturgical arena and, consequently, never sanctioned one for use.

10. Ob Mus.Sch.E.420-22, the 'Wanley Partbooks' consists of three paper partbooks, the tenor book being missing. Included are ten settings of the complete Office of Communion, five morning and evening canticles, three settings of the Lord's Prayer, and other anthems. Although no composers are named in the manuscript, the following have been identified from concordant sources: Tallis, Sheppard, Taverner, Okeland, Caustun, Johnson, Whytbrooke.—cf. Charles Hamm and Jerry Call, "Sources. MS IX. 19," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), XVII, 695.
Magnificat in English, in addition to twenty-two anthems, and several shorter settings of Anglican service music.\textsuperscript{11}

From this evidence, it is clear that early Tudor composers were experimenting, along with their ecclesiastical counterparts, with new ideas in their contributions to the continuation of the Anglican Cathedral tradition, and that a move toward use of the vernacular represented no significant departure from English tradition.

Much has been made of Archbishop Cranmer's precepts for the new style of church music, but it was in an unpublished document, a letter to his king, that Cranmer expressed his thoughts:

\textquote{But in mine opinion the song, that shall be made thereunto, would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly.}\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} Hamm and Call, "Sources," 695.

\textsuperscript{12} Long points out that Cranmer, far from suggesting the discard of more ornate settings, refers in this statement only to simple unison settings for congregational use, and that it was not intended to apply to more elaborate settings in several voice parts. This assertion is made clear by what follows in Cranmer's letters:

\textquote{as be in matins and evensong Venite, the hymns, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and all the psalms and versicles; and in the mass Gloria in excelsis, Gloria Patri, the Creed, the Preface, the Pater Noster, and some of the Sanctus and Agnus.}

\textquote{--cf. Long, The Music of the English Church, 28.}
The principle of "for every syllable a note" was a musical concept whose time had come, for it had already been implemented in some of the hymns and sequences of the Sarum rite, and in several Masses by Tye and Taverner.

Although Cranmer's ideas were never published, and certainly never had the force of an edict, they reflected a general spirit among the early reformers—"one of simplification and cleansing rather than of upheaval and rejection." Only in isolated cases, especially during the reign of Edward, were Cranmer's ideas given the form of general instruction to liturgical composers. The music of Cranmer's contemporaries, many of whom were his personal friends, reflects a general move toward simplicity, but English church musicians--those who retained their positions--were not generally wanting for artistic freedom, and polyphony, although often simplified, was never seriously threatened. Catholic theology and tradition remained strong in England, and the music of the Chapel Royal, in particular, although increasingly set to English texts, continued its polyphonic tradition virtually without interruption, only gradually, and certainly not uniformly, moving in the direction of simplicity.

It appears, then, that the gradual move toward simplification and use of the vernacular were the result of

forces only marginally associated with the English Reformation. It is not difficult to find similar changes in other periods of music history. Reaction to the intricate mannerism of the fourteenth century, for example, resulted in similar stylistic purification in the first half of the following century in the work of Dunstable and others.

Following the death of King Henry VIII. in 1547, the forces dictating moderate change were challenged by a strengthening Puritan element, and the 1552 Book of Common Prayer represented the strong Puritan influence of Edward's advisors. Under the Sommerset Protectorate (1547-49), freedom of speech increased, and fewer behaviors were considered treasonous, causing many Protestants who had fled England to return, bringing with them the teaching and influence of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.

Destruction of objects associated with ceremonial worship occurred under both the Sommerset and the corrupt Warwick Protectorates (1549-53) and, in 1549, the use of organs (which came to be classified, with images and statues, as superstitious objects) was proscribed by royal injunction. It was during that year and the next that many organs were destroyed, but neither destruction nor silencing was general. The same reformers who opposed the use of organs during this time, also opposed part-singing, and John Merbecke's plainsong setting, *The Booke of Common*
Pirier Noted appeared during this time. The ascension of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary (1553) was met with great rejoicing by a country which seemed to long for a return to a now idealized past. The Reformation had come to represent an intensification of dogma, inquisition, and tyranny, the closings of schools, and an end to the charity carried out by monasteries and convents. In her early months as Queen, Mary reduced taxes and royal expenses, restored endowments to the universities, and displayed tolerance for the numerically few, but financially powerful Protestants. But in an edict issued 4 March 1554, Catholic worship was completely reinstated, Protestantism and other "heresies" made illegal. Some 300 persons died during the persecutions which followed, among them, Archbishop Cranmer. Upon Mary's death in 1558, England was ready to embrace moderate Protestantism.

It is probably fortunate that England inherited in Elizabeth a queen with no strong denominational convictions. Having been reared in the Protestantism of her father, which was essentially Catholicism sans papacy, she adopted this course for her own administration, as well, and her reign proved to be a safe haven for musicians who were free to think, believe, and write as they pleased. Her 1559

15. An interesting note of comparison between Henry and his son is that of Merbecke's high standing under Edward, and his near death in 1544, under Henry, due to suspected Calvinist leanings.—cf. Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 782.
edition of the Book of Common Prayer contained few changes from that published in 1552, thus acknowledging the strength of Puritan influence, but called for the reintroduction of vestments and other articles of liturgical ceremony. Many Anglican services which took their texts from its pages rivaled those of the Catholic Continent in polyphonic splendor. It is significant that the same year witnessed the first official sanction of the anthem, in the form of a royal injunction:

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

16. It is well known, of course, that William Byrd openly retained his Catholicism, even publishing music for the Catholic service. It is of equal interest to recall the Queen's acceptance of the dedication to Byrd's and Tallis' collection of Latin motets (the first such collection printed in England) in 1575, and her support of the Latin Prayer Book.--cf. Denis Stevens, Tudor Church Music (London, 1961), 43.


Summary

England's ecclesiastical break with Rome is generally discussed by historians along with the reform efforts of Luther and Calvin and, indeed, they share what a century earlier would have been thought impossible: emancipation from papal authority. A closer look, however, reveals three differences in the fundamental nature of the English Reformation as compared with those on the Continent which have profound significance regarding the continuity of England's sacred music tradition. First, as has been pointed out, the catalyst of the English break was primarily political, as opposed to the religious zeal with which Rome was denounced by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. This difference is reflected in the absence of the kind of far-reaching liturgical re-structuring which was part and parcel of Continental Protestantism, and in the retention of much Catholic tradition. Consequently, the theologically-motivated desire for congregational singing never presented a challenge to the tradition of sacred polyphony. Once English Protestantism had settled in under Elizabeth's rule, the tradition of sacred polyphony and liturgical ceremonial, at least in the Chapel Royal, the cathedrals, and in academic institutions, remained largely unchanged. When the decade which witnessed Edward's brief reign (1547-53) and that of his Roman Catholic sister Mary (1553-58) is recognized as a volatile interruption of what amounts to
almost a century of stable, conservative Tudor rule, then England's break with Rome appears as little more than a political emancipation of Catholicism.

Secondly, the increasing use of the vernacular and the general trend toward simplification, the only musical aspects bearing any similarity to the new congregational music composed for Protestant worship on the Continent, appear to have been on-going in English tradition prior to and separate from direct liturgical intervention and, therefore represent no real departure from English tradition. Concern for the individual believer and his ability to participate musically in worship did not appear immediately in England, as it had in other Protestant denominations.¹⁹ The use of metrical psalmody in public worship came about only gradually, emerging for varied, likely extra-religious reasons,²⁰ and existed in a tradition separate from that in which sacred polyphony continued to flourish. In short, the overriding concern for accessibility, so fundamental to Continental reform, played

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19. The only major effort made in this direction was Merbecke's Booke of Common Praier Noted, appearing in 1550, during the frenzy of Protestant activity under Edward. It is probable that Merbecke worked with Cranmer in the creation of his quasi-plainsong, measured style. When the 1552 Prayer Book supercedeed that of 1549, Merbecke's setting became obsolete and, in fact, there is no evidence to indicate that it was ever used. —cf. Long, The Music of the English Church, 29.

20. For more on the extra-religious motivation for metrical psalmody, refer to the opening pages of Chapter VII.
a minor role in the early decades of England's ecclesiastical independence.

Third, the presence of a single source of leadership in the person of the reigning monarch, as opposed to the many local sources of leadership in northern and central Germany, ensured a degree of stability, thus providing an ecclesiastical focus from which other areas could take their lead, as in Catholic Rome, or even the Royal Catholic Chapel in Paris. (Although the occasional brief incursion of a Catholic reign, such as those of Mary and James II, doubtless produced some turmoil, the court persisted as a focus of activity.) For the development of sacred music in England, this was of almost greater significance than England's withdrawal of allegiance to the pope.

The ideal of extremists in sixteenth-century England, as in many other areas, was the total abolition of all polyphonic church music. This "ideal" was attained in areas directly under Calvin's influence, and was pursued vigorously in England for a brief moment. Had the vitality of the English church music tradition been less strongly centralized in the Court and its Chapel Royal, the results of Henry's dissolution of the schools and monasteries, and Edward's brief destruction of "superstitious" objects, might have proved devastating to the continuity of English sacred music. Indeed, such circumstances would be seen with the removal of that supportive focus of activity in the following century.
Thus, while an international European polyphonic idiom of sorts, based largely on Franco-Flemish influence, prevailed early in the sixteenth century, varied responses to the remarkable ecclesiastical events which took place during the century, combined with numerous other influences of a nature often less identifiable, led to the emergence of various repertories of sacred music, each reflecting uniquely regional confluence of ideas. Meanwhile, in England, theologically-motivated stylistic change was minimal, and the metrical singing of psalms in public worship was limited largely to small parish churches and never threatened or even seriously influenced the continuity with which English sacred polyphony developed throughout the sixteenth century and into the next. English church musicians, although fewer in number than at the beginning of the century, pursued their art in a liturgical climate remarkably unchanged from that prior to the break with Rome. Therefore, England moved through the period in which religious turmoil and revolution seized many parts of Europe, with minimal theologically-motivated alteration of or challenge to her tradition of polyphonic church music, and it would be more than a century following England's historical Reformation before theological zeal would turn England inside out, murder her king, and severely derail her tradition of sacred polyphony.
CHAPTER II

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY STYLISTIC UPHEAVAL
AND THE CREATION OF AN "OLDER STYLE"

Having persevered through the many and varied challenges of reformation doctrines and liturgies, the tradition of polyphonic sacred music would encounter a much more formidable antagonist during the last years of the sixteenth century. Eric Routley has suggested that the great traditions of sacred music will never suffer serious damage from those who would actively oppose them, but that to benign neglect, such traditions are frighteningly vulnerable.¹ Although sources of opposition were many during the century which witnessed Protestant Reformation and its Roman Catholic counter, the polyphonic sacred music tradition would have its greatest flowering in the works of such giants as Palestrina, Lasso, Victoria, and countless lesser masters, if anything, flourishing under unsure liturgical conditions. The influences which would ultimately effect the removal of polyphonic sacred music from its monopoly of the liturgical stage came not primarily from theological pressures, but from the evolving creativity within the music community itself.

In attempting to provide some reasonable means of assessing the new style, Palisca offers the following suggestion:

If, then, there is any common thread that unites the great variety of music that we call baroque, it is an underlying faith in music's power, indeed its obligation, to move the affections. . . . If we want to ascertain whether we have crossed the boundary into the baroque or out of it, there is no better test than to ask whether the expression of the affections is the dominant goal in fashioning a piece of music. ²

Yet, sixteenth-century treatises and scores alike attest to the keen interest of earlier musicians in expression. The associations between mode and sentiment found in the writings of even the conservative Zarlino, examples of word paintings by composers certainly as early as Josquin, and the importance of the still somewhat ambiguous concepts surrounding the phrase musica reservata, leave no doubt about the expressive intent of many sixteenth-century composers of polyphonic sacred music. Jeppesen's observations concerning musica comuna and musica reservata in the sixteenth century, indicate a stylistic dichotomy within the polyphonic styles of the time that reveals it as the precursor of the more visible stylistic duality which would be seen around the turn of the century. ³ In any event, text expressiveness as a compositional priority, in

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contrast to a more regulated style of writing, was clearly not a new concept to early seventeenth-century musicians.

Bukofzer has pointed out that "the renaissance favored the affections of restraint and noble simplicity, the baroque the extreme affections, ranging from violent pain to exuberant joy." Viewed in this context, the seemingly dramatic stylistic changes which occurred during the years surrounding the turn of the century represent not a

3. Musica comuna is said to dedicate itself to the past, shunning experimentation with different means of artistic expression, and is easily understood and enjoyed. It represents a regular, perhaps somewhat academic approach to composition, and is characterized by "a deep joy in the development and fulfillment of the law."—cf. Knud Jeppesen, Counterpoint: The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1935), 23. The perfect, masterly expression of musica comuna is easily seen in the work of Palestrina.

The more forward-looking musica reservata, with its overtly expressive tendencies, is first discussed by Adrianus Petit Coclico in his Compendium musices of 1552 in which the work of Josquin is praised as representative of this more text-oriented style of composition. Samuel Quickelberg, Lassus' contemporary and earliest biographer, referred to Lassus' Penetential Psalms as reflecting this more expressive style of composition.

Galilei, in his counterpoint treatise Discorso intorno all'uso delle dissonanze (1588-91, three drafts), distinguishes between the osservati, or composers who follow the rules, and those who (like Michelangelo and Raphael) were guided only by their own judgment based on both reason and sense. Girolamo Diruta, writing in 1609, and Adriano Banchieri, in 1614, made similar distinctions.—cf. Claude V. Palisca, "The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy," The New Monteverdi Companion, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London, 1985), 155.

departure from what had gone before, but rather, a
continuation and intensification of it. Recognition of text
as directly significant to the ultimate shape of a
composition was a concept which had already enjoyed a
maturing process during the latter half of the sixteenth
century, and which would continue its logical evolution in
some of the new genres of the Baroque.

A more genuine departure from past thought concerns
fundamental new ideas about the role of music itself in the
expressive process, one which was dependent upon an
extra-musical model. Bukofzer articulates the point:

> The renaissance artist saw in music a
self-contained autonomous art, subject only to its
own laws. The baroque artist saw in music a
heteronomous art, subordinated to words and serving
only as musical means to a dramatic end that
transcended music.©

If the baroque musician desired to learn from the orator how
to move the affections (as stated by such as Caccini and
Peri), the renaissance composer, equally interested in
expression, would have thought it absurd to depend upon
extra-musical principles (such as those of oratory) in order
to communicate.® This primary dependence upon musical, as


6. This is not to imply an ignorance of rhetoric among
sixteenth-century musicians, for, as Palisca points out,
most authors on music, writing during the latter half of
the sixteenth century refer to Quintilian's *Institutio
oratoria* (Rome, 1470), which was one of the first
printed books to contain a discussion of music. The
opposed to extra-musical (oratorical), means to communicate—not a decision concerning whether or not to communicate—would seem to articulate one significant distinction which might be made between Renaissance and Baroque musical style.

So, in very interesting ways, the new musical styles and genres which began to appear toward the end of the sixteenth century represent both continuity and intensification (in terms of expressive intent), and departure (in the diminished role played by purely musical means of expression) from the tradition of sacred polyphony. In relation to this new subservience of music to oratorical methodology, it is interesting to note that it is during this same period which (at least in the more "progressive" circles) came to disuse uniquely musical means of expression in sacred vocal music, that "absolute" music—that written specifically for certain instruments with no textual associations—first came into being. It is also interesting to speculate upon the sociological implications of the generally overlooked similarity between the religious

difference here which is of significance to the point being made is that Quintilian discusses music as closely allied to oratory (not in imitation of it!), sharing with it the function of moving listeners to various passions. It was not until more than a century later that rhetorical theory was directly applied to music, in Burmeister's Hypomnematum musicae poeticae . . . synopsis (1599).—cf. Palisca, "Ut Oratoria Musica: The Rhetorical Basis of Musical Mannerism," The Meaning of Mannerism, ed. Franklin W. Robinson and Stephen G. Nichols (Hanover, NH, 1972), 39.
zealots and the new rhetorically-oriented baroque musicians—that of rejection of the power of music itself to carry intent, and the subsequent focus upon text as of primary, even almost exclusive importance.

The process through which an "older" style emerged in early seventeenth-century Italy, gradually to spread elsewhere, is largely the result of the "benign neglect" mentioned by Routley (resulting from the primacy of the new, rhetorically-based genres), and partially a deliberate effort to preserve a proclaimed "ideal" in ecclesiastical composition. It is clear, however, that the stile antico, as it existed early in the seventeenth century, was not the sole stylistic successor of sixteenth-century sacred polyphony, for it is Monteverdi's seconda prattica which logically follows the expressive path set out by many sixteenth-century polyphonists already attentive to implications of their texts. When the composition of sacred polyphony became a consciously conservative effort, however, it began to lose its creative vitality and to undergo stylistic ossification. It is polyphony produced under just such artificial restraints--those imposed by a retrospectively-interpreted idiom--that is generally associated with the concept of stile antico.

Although all composers for the church continued to need and use facility in the polyphonic medium, only the best of the lot were able to bring to this newly canonized style of writing, a vitality which would breathe new life

...
into it. Never before had an idiom been preserved so carefully, in isolation from its own stylistic evolution. Never before had composers needed fluency in two musical languages. Never before had "church music" conveyed stylistic implications.

Sacred polyphony continued to be produced along side the newly-imported concerted style in Restoration England (1660-ca. 1700), as seen in the full anthems and services of John Blow, and the logical assumption might be that these works represent an Anglicized stile antico. Yet England's musical (as well as geographical) insularity, and the persistence of a liturgical orientation revealing a strong Catholic bent within the "cathedral" tradition well into the seventeenth century, calls this assumption into question. Before examining Blow's polyphony, it is necessary to define the concept of the stile antico, through treatises and scores, that this body of work might either be placed within that tradition, or differentiated from it. For this it is necessary to digress momentarily to Italy and Germany, where the stile antico practice originated and persisted.

**Stile Antico Defined**

Periods of transition frequently produce confusing terminological and stylistic contradictions, and the seventeenth century was no exception. Following closely on the heels of Monteverdi's Prima prattica and Seconda prattica are references to da cappella, musica antica,
stylus antiquus, stylus ecclesiasticus, and contrapunctus gravis on the one hand, and stile concertato, stile rappresentativo, stylus modernus, and contrapunctus luxurians on the other. Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers collection, which included concerted settings of various Psalm texts in the latest concerted styles, also includes the famous Gombert Mass clearly written within the bounds of artificially rigid and archaic compositional restrictions.

There is perhaps no more futile exercise than one which would pretend to sort out all such incongruities in an effort to produce a package of theoretical consistency, and such an effort would actually defy one of the most fascinating aspects of the seventeenth century--that of a multiplicity of styles and genres, and their rapid transformation. Nonetheless, it is necessary to refer briefly to some of the sources which treat this new stylistic climate in order to identify the nature of our subject. When referring to a stile antico, do we indicate a polyphonic idiom, one in which voices alone participate, a specific use of dissonance, particular textures, or perhaps some combination of these? Does stile antico really refer to a style, or perhaps to a texture, or a technique--perhaps simply a general approach? Hans Redlich suggests that the three important seventeenth-century writers on stile antico are Marco Scacchi, Christoph Bernhard, and Angelo Berardi,7 however, seminal expression of this was made by the Monteverdis.
The distinction made by Claudio and Giulio Cesare Monteverdi between Prima Prattica and Seconda Prattica, as articulated in their response to Artusi, is quite clear. The heart of the issue is brought forth by Giulio Cesare:

... it has been [my brother's] intention to make the words the mistress of the harmony and not the servant, ... *

Although many additional aspects of composition may have been associated with the Seconda prattica, it is only the poignantly expressive use of harmony which is discussed as particularly characteristic of this new style, and it is the phrase quoted above which would resurface time and again throughout seventeenth-century discussions of musical styles. It is worth noting that the work which provided the catalyst for Artusi's attack, sparking Monteverdi's important defense, the famous Cruda Amarilli from Monteverdi's Fifth Book of Madrigals, makes optional use of basso continuo, the technique often identified as the single most important factor in the development of the baroque style. Also, it is in the context of the very traditional

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five-voice choral texture that Monteverdi applied his controversially expressive use of dissonance. Bukofzer points out that, whereas Monteverdi was in agreement with the Camerata activists concerning the dominance of text over harmony (in the seconda prattica), his musical results were vastly different because he often applied the principle to polyphony rather than against it, as did the Florentines.*

Marco Scacchi who, according to Palisca, "most faithfully communicates both the language and the spirit of the Monteverdi brothers," retained the distinction set forth by the Monteverdi brothers between first and second practices, and in a letter written to his friend, Christoph Werner, in around 1648, that Scacchi became fairly specific about the style used for masses, motets, and similar compositions da cappella:

In this manner of composition, the norms for which are to be derived mainly from the composers cited, the following are principally to be observed.

1. The note values and measures should be ordered in binary time (which is commonly called alla breve).


2. No note shorter than a semiminim should receive a syllable.

3. No more than two fusae should be placed in a row.

4. The answer to a fugal statement should begin on a natural step (of the model) and on a consonance.

5. The parts of the composition should proceed as much as possible by step.

6. The Alto should never go lower than the Bass, the Tenor only rarely.

7. The statement of a fugal subject should not exceed six or seven measures (or breves).

8. The writing should be as full as possible, following the style of Palestrina and of other excellent authors."

Christoph Bernhard, the second theorist mentioned by Redlich, can be said to be related somewhat to the Italian school through his mentor, Heinrich Schütz, and by his own journeys to Italy for the purpose of recruiting singers for the Dresden chapel. In his Tractatus compositionis augmentatis (ca. 1607), he discussed stylus antiquus (also called contrapunctus gravis and a cappella) as one which

12. Quoted and translated in Palisca, Baroque Music, 60.
14. Although no firm date can be attached to the Tractatus, its reflection of the teachings of Zarlino, Scacchi, and Carissimi, as well as those of Schütz, make it likely that it was written following his visit to Rome in 1607.--cf. Kerala Johnson Snyder, "Bernhard, Christoph," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20.
uses "slow-moving notes" and relatively few kinds of dissonances, and gives greater emphasis to harmony than to text. It is this type alone, according to Bernhard, which the Pope permits in his churches and chapels. Contrapunctus luxurians (referring to Monteverdi's seconda prattica), on the other hand, makes use of quick notes, strange leaps, and greater freedom in use of dissonance, and is well suited to stirring the affections.

The term "da cappella," used by Bernhard in his discussion of the older style, had undergone considerable transformation by the time he used it. From Praetorius we learn that sixteenth-century application of the term had allowed the use of voices with instruments colla parte. Once instruments began acquiring their own obbligato parts, however, the term "cappella" gradually came to mean full

vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London. 1980), 626. Hilse established 1664 as the latest date that the treatise could have been written, owing to Bernhard's identification on the title pages as the Vice-Kapellmeister at Dresden—a post which he left in 1664.--cf. Hilse, "The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard," 4. Hilse also provides illuminating discussion of possible influences on Bernhard's writings.

15. Probably referring to the continuing use of the breve rather than the semi-breve as the tactus.


17. The one exception to this, of course, was music performed in the Sistine Chapel, where instrumental accompaniment was forbidden.
choir music without soloists (i.e. in the sixteenth-century idiom). Interestingly, Bernhard equates a cappella with his stylus antiquus: "... it is called stylus antiquus--as also a cappella and ecclesiasticus...".

Figure 1. Terminology used in treatises to describe first and second practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>First Practice</th>
<th>Second Practice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monteverdi</td>
<td>prima prattica</td>
<td>seconda prattica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scacchi</td>
<td>musica antica</td>
<td>musica moderna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernhard</td>
<td>contrapunctus gravis</td>
<td>contrapunctus luxurians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stylus ecclesiasticus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stylus antiquus</td>
<td>stylus modernus</td>
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<td></td>
<td>a cappella</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berardi</td>
<td>prima prattica</td>
<td>seconda prattica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opposed to antiquus</td>
<td>opposed to modernus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An important aspect of the theoretical writings of Angelo Berardi, the third of Redlich's theorists, is his systematic description of counterpoint as practiced in the seventeenth century. In his Documenti armonici of 1687, Miscellanea musicale of 1689, and Arcani musicali of 1690, he analyses and explains various aspects of both practices.


and provides instructions on how to compose in the different styles. Although he composed almost exclusively in the first style, he fully accepted the second as valid, and warned against calling the prima prattica "old" and the seconda prattica "new," basing their co-existence on their use of the same materials.  

Figure 2. Characteristics of the stile antico idiom as discussed in seventeenth-century treatises

1. Fundamental Principle: Music is autonomous from the demands of its text.

2. The alla breve signature is used, and the breve serves as the tactus.

3. Voices generally move in a step-wise fashion, and avoid large leaps (more than the interval of a fifth) and leaps of altered intervals.

4. Dissonance is introduced and resolved according to specific principles.

5. The style of writing is largely confined to a diatonic tonality or modality.

6. The texture is that of a full choir (as opposed to solo voices or isolated single lines), in the style of Palestrina.

Of the four writers touched on here—Monteverdi, Scacchi, Bernhard, and Berardi—all embrace the basic distinction between the two practices as outlined by Claudio and Giulio Cesare Monteverdi in 1607. The stile antico idiom would also appear to incorporate a number of

21. Ibid.
additional factors, as discovered in the several treatises reviewed, and summarized in Figure 2.

**Stile antico in Seventeenth-Century Scores**

In the letter to his friend, Christoph Werner, mentioned above, Scacchi makes his famous tri-partite classification of musical styles\(^{22}\) (ecclesiasticus, cubicularis, and scenicus seu theatralis), and further subdivides the first category as follows:

1. *Stile antico*, or unaccompanied Masses, motets, etc., for four to eight voices.

2. Polychoral style, in which the rules of the first style were loosely observed, and organ was used in performance.

3. Polychoral style in which various instruments other than the organ were included, as well.

4. Motets and concertos for a few voices with basso continuo.\(^{23}\)

It is Scacchi's first category of church music, that of the stile antico, for which Palestrina served as model. Such composers as Felice and Giovanni Anerio, Nanino, and Allegri transformed their model by applying the harmonies and accentuating rhythms of the time which distinguish the stile

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22. Not only do Bernhard and Berardi make use of Scacchi's classifications, but Fux changed it little in his *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and Mattheson openly credits Scacchi with the system upon which the entire Chapter X of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* is based.

antico from the real Palestrina style. Bukofzer points out that, although use of the term "cappella," which came to be associated with the stile antico, had formerly denoted merely a vocal or instrumental tutti, in the seventeenth century, it came to mean "full choir, not accompanied by instruments." in contrast to the concertato style. "A cappella" performance, however, did not necessarily preclude organ continuo—often optional. Examination of scores reflecting a consciously conservative approach to composition must begin in Italy, as the birthplace of the idiom, and the choice of several compositions by Monteverdi as a point of departure underscores his dual role as practitioner of the first practice, and midwife to the second.

Developments in Italy

Monteverdi's Gombert Mass, published along with concerted settings of seven Psalms and Magnificat in the collection from 1610, is a tour de force of the prima prattica. Referring to the characteristics of stile antico


25. Another unrelated, but interesting use of "daccomella" comes from a 1729 printed score of Michel-Richard de Lalande's motet, Confitebor tibi Domine. In it, dacapella is placed over both vocal and instrumental parts, and refers, according to Oboussier, to a tempo of sufficient speed as to negate the normal use of notes inégales.—cf. Michel-Richard de Lalande, Confitebor tibi Domine, ed. Philippe Oboussier (Borough Green, England, 1982).
as summarized in Figure 2, it is clear that Monteverdi departs from none of them. Besides these, Monteverdi carefully preserves the rhythmic flexibility of the individual lines, so integral to the Palestrina style. Although some chordal writing is used for text emphasis at such crucial points as *et incarnatus est* and *et homo factus est*, the music is predominantly imitative and reveals an orientation strongly rooted in modal practice. The restrained variety of text expression, as is commonly associated with the work of Palestrina, can be observed in Monteverdi's omission of the otherwise continuous *basso seguente*, and the reduction to SSAA voices at the *Crucifixus* portion of the *Credo*. Should his intent be questioned, however, one need only observe the announcement of *Et resurrexit*, which poignantly interrupts the finality of *et sepultus est* (Example 1).

Some forty years later another of Monteverdi's three surviving Masses appeared in a posthumous publication. Like the Gombert Mass, the Mass in G-minor adheres closely to the description of *stile antico* found in Figure 2. More metrically-oriented lines betray some influence of the seventeenth century, as does an increase of homophonic writing in a texture still predominantly polyphonic. Although the continuo line is still essentially a *basso seguente*, it is now lightly figured, and serves a genuine harmonic function in several sections in which pairs of voices are singled out. The incomplete signature (b-flat
only) accompanies an approach which still is heavily indebted to modal practice. Expression of the text is managed, as in the earlier work, with restraint and through purely musical means, as in Monteverdi's use of triple meter for the texts Et resurrexit tertia die and Et expecto resurrectionem.

Example 1. Monteverdi's restrained expression of text in the Crucifixus from the Gombert Mass.

Carissimi's five-part parody Mass on his own cantata, Sciolto havean dall'alte sponde, and his eight-voice Missa septimi toni, reveal him as comfortable working within the tradition of the stile antico, as well as in the concerted idiom reflected in his much better known oratorios. It is interesting to note that, in his Ars cantandi of 1696, Carissimi refers to "slow compositions and serious works in

the Stylo Ecclesiastico," in connection with the use of the 3/1 signature.\textsuperscript{27} Although its authenticity has been questioned, it is probable that Carissimi is also responsible for the last Mass ever based on the medieval L'homme armé song. These last two works represent Scacchi's middle two categories of church music, those often referred to as the "colossal Baroque."

The continuation of the polyphonic style into the seventeenth century is a phenomenon which was closely associated with the fervor surrounding the Counter-Reformation. By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the Counter-Reformation spirit had begun to subside in Italy, and the pursuit of church music had lost some of the passion from which it had drawn sustenance during the first several decades of the century. By the 1650s, only churches in cities with public opera houses tended to attract the best composers, and this new breed of maestri da cappella, who found the opera house more profitable, came to treat their church positions simply as sources of additional, but stable income.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{27} Quoted in George Houle, \textit{Meter in Music, 1600-1800} (Bloomington, Indiana, 1987), 26.

Stile antico in the latter half of the seventeenth century in Italy took several forms. In such places as could afford it (most notably, Rome and Naples), the "colossal baroque" continued as an outcropping of the old cori spezzati tradition, as exemplified by the Carissimi L'homme armé Mass. The stile antico also persisted as a carefully preserved "academic" polyphony in which even plainsong continued to be used as a deliberately archaic effect by a few composers.

A new style of sacred polyphony developed in the second half of the seventeenth century from the active Venetian and Neapolitan schools of composition. Such

29. It is interesting that the polychoral style as developed by the Gabrieli and others represents both a medium for sacred composition in a newer style in the latter sixteenth century, and a conservative idiom in the second half of the seventeenth century. This change in perspective is unique only because many of the newer concepts—a more harmonic orientation, use of contrasting groups of sonority, increase in chordal writing, etc.—found early fertile ground within the church in the polychoral medium. During the period from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, the polychoral style would change relatively little. During the same period, however, other ideas continued to evolve, as did the stile antico, resulting in a closer stylistic relationship between the polychoral genre and that of the stile antico, than between more progressive styles and the polychoral school which helped give them their birth. The "old style," in a manner of speaking, would "catch up" to the practice embodied in polychoral writing.

masters of Italian opera as A. Scarlatti, Lotti, Vinci, Pergolesi, and Porpora, developed a contrapuntal style which was rich in texture and harmony, and became a vehicle for personal expression and sentiment. Emotionally weighty texts such as the Crucifixus and the Miserere were set to often startling, sensuous harmonies. It might be argued that it is primarily through this influence that sacred polyphony took on new life as a vital medium for creatively evolving musical expression.

German Intervention

Heinrich Schütz, cosmopolitan in his studies and in his output, is generally recognized as the "master of the dramatic concertato,″ drawing inspiration from the German language and, at the same time, borrowing the often strikingly dramatic rhetorical concepts (codified by his pupil Christoph Bernhard) from the Italian school. Although it was he who finally abandoned the retrospective cantus firmus technique, it was also he who, in the preface to his Geistliche Chormusik of 1648, admonished young composers to crack the "hard nut" of traditional polyphony before attempting the concerted idiom:

... no musician, trained in a good school in the most difficult study of counterpoint, can start on any other kind of composition and handle it correctly, unless he has first trained himself sufficiently in the style without basso continuo and

has also mastered all the prerequisites for regular composition, such as: disposition of the modes; simple, mixed and inverted fugues; double counterpoint, different styles for different kinds of music; part writing; connection of themes, and so on, ... All this has led me to write this little work without basso continuo, thereby perhaps to refresh some composers, especially German beginners, and encourage them to crack this hard nut (in which the true kernel and proper foundation of good counterpoint is to be found) and first to pass this test, before they attempt the stile concertato."

Schütz himself continued to write in the a cappella polyphonic style throughout his life, and in his Cantiones sacrae (1625), the genre would appear to be alive and well, exhibiting little resemblance to the restrained idiom seen in Monteverdi's contemporary polyphony. This collection of motets, based on mystical Latin texts, reflects an intense response to the subjective perspective of the texts. No carefully regulated handling of dissonance here! Schütz seems to delight in a bombardment of cross-relations in the very first motet, O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Jesu. In another motet, Quid commisisti, o dulcissime puer, Schütz depicts the suffering and crucifixion of Christ in much the same manner as Bach would do, for example, in the St. Matthew Passion,--both audibly and visually--with harsh dissonance created by the use of an unusually large number of sharps, in the tradition of Augenmusik. As in

Monteverdi's later Mass, Schütz's vocal lines betray the influence of a more metrical orientation to counterpoint, but still retain a certain elasticity. The nature of

Example 2. Expressive use of dissonance in O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Jesu, from Schütz's Cantiones sacrae

Schütz's part-writing is altogether different from that of Monteverdi, however, not so much in terms of large skips (although these clearly do exist), but because of the ease with which he peppers the lines with diminished intervals. Although paired voices are occasionally isolated for brief sections, the prevailing texture is choral. The basso seguente, added reluctantly at the entreaties of his publisher, serves no real function.

Key signatures include up to two flats and three sharps and reflect accurately the "tonality" of the work (often a minor key). Tonality is far from a settled issue, however, for many cadences--even final ones--are not articulated by the familiar V-I progression. In addition,
not all of the motets in the collection end on their final tone, resolving instead to the modally-acceptable dominant. Nonetheless, movement toward functional tonality is clear in the careful planning of keys evident in the five-part Quid commisisti, o dulcissime puer. The set begins and ends in F-sharp, each of the sections beginning in a closely related "key."

Although the Cantiones Sacrae is clearly a conservative work in its choral texture, use of alla breve notation, and lack of dependence on instrumental accompaniment, it is equally evident that Schütz sacrificed nothing in order to accomplish his expressive goals. Conscious conservatism as employed by Monteverdi in his mass settings, simply does not exist in this set of motets, indicating, at least at this point in Schütz's career, little or no influence of the Italian stile antico concept. In the Cantiones sacrae, then, some of the expressive tools of the seconda prattica are seen to be applied within the polyphonic idiom, as in Monteverdi's Cruda amarilli.

The Geistliche Chormusik (1648), however, is a much more conservative effort than the earlier collection. While reflecting a continuing absorption of newer practices, it belongs in the mainstream of stile antico practice. The part-writing in this later collection is markedly more conservative than in Cantiones sacrae, due, in part perhaps, to the generally less intense—certainly, less mystical—nature of the German texts, as compared with the
Latin texts set earlier. Instances of harsh dissonance and cross relations are almost totally absent, thereby coming much closer to the stile antico seen in Monteverdi's masses. Expression of the text is carried out with greater restraint than before, relying heavily on metrical changes rather than on striking uses of dissonance. To the extent that the frequent changes of meter—all within the traditional alla breve—reflect increased attention to flexibility, they more avidly suggest a heightened awareness of metrical order. Also adding to the sense of metrical regularity is the greatly increased use of chordal writing. Further, to the imitative texture dominant in the earlier collection, and to the chordal sections just mentioned, Schütz now adds dialoguing between individual or paired voices and contrasting sonorities.

The most noticeably conservative feature of the Geistliche Chormusik is its purposeful omission of any kind of continuo. Schütz is clear in his didactic intent here, for, surely, an unobtrusive inclusion of at least a basso seguente—by now, an expected part of works written in stile antico—would not have significantly altered the musical result. His contrapuntal purpose is equally fulfilled in the four motets at the end of the collection which make use of varying combinations of voices and instruments—all within a contrapuntal framework. His point seems to be: whether for five, six, or seven voices, or for solo or duet accompanied by instrumental voices, good contrapuntal
technique is good contrapuntal technique! Whereas in the earlier Cantiones sacrae (1625) Schütz appears unencumbered by artificial restraints, the Geistliche Chormusik, from a quarter of a century later, clearly reflects the kind of stylistic restraint associated with the stile antico idiom.

Contemporaries such as Hammerschmidt, Selle, Rosenmuller, and Ahle, as well as Schütz's pupils Bernhard and Theile, continued to write polyphonic motets,\textsuperscript{33} and the tradition of setting only the Kyrie and Gloria for the Lutheran mass in stile antico remained strong throughout the seventeenth century. Through the inclusion of a chorale melody as a cantus firmus, the conservative idiom was continued in the so-called Lied Mass. A Missa brevis attributed to Buxtehude—probably written in the early 1670s—provides clear evidence of the persistence of extremely conservative polyphonic writing. Much more retrospective than the motets of Schütz, Buxtehude's polyphony is interrupted only twice by very brief chordal passages, and the use of dissonance is much closer to that employed by Monteverdi than that of Schütz. Only in the second Kyrie, which employs a signature of 3/1, is the duple...
alla breve interrupted. The lines reveal a high level of plasticity, and a highly retrospective approach to part-writing. Both the lack of sharps or flats in the key signature and the ranges of the individual vocal lines point to an a-minor tonality, but cadential structure makes it clear that the composer was working quite consistently within a modal context. In fact, the Gloria concludes with a modal cadence on the dominant (Example 3).

Example 3. Leading up to the final cadence of the Gloria from a Missa brevis attributed to Buxtehude.

![Example 3](image)

The purity of style evident in Buxtehude's Missa brevis and, to a certain extent, in Schütz's Geistliche Chormusik, contrasts dramatically with the expressive freedom of the earlier Cantiones sacrae. Although the German sacred polyphonic tradition persisted throughout the
sixteenth-century ecclesiastical changes, importation and absorption of rhetorically-based styles from Italy evoked a style-consciousness which had not previously existed and which, as in Italy, resulted in the stylistic dichotomy, one aspect of which is reflected in the Buxtehude Missa brevis and Schütz's Geistliche Chormusik.

The examples of stile antico examined here suggest the addition of two further characteristics to the summary of the stile antico style based on theoretical discussions, as seen in Figure 2. First, metrical regularity is seen to increase, as a natural bi-product of the increasingly functional tonality. Secondly, chordal, as opposed to contrapuntal writing appears to claim a somewhat larger percentage in the stile antico compositions over that found in the sixteenth-century models. These two characteristics--gleaned from music written in the stile antico genre--along with those taken from treatises, make it possible to examine English polyphonic practice against a specific set of compositional factors, in order to determine its relation to the stile antico practice.

The Continuing Vitality of England's Sacred Polyphony

Impatience with the limitations of the old polyphonic methods of expression was being felt in England independently, but simultaneously with the emergence of the seconda prattica in Italy. The early English composers of solo songs knew little of Italian music except the
polyphonic madrigal, but they, too, sought a clearer, more precise expression in their music. In sacred music, however, England was slow to accept the innovations which were sweeping across Europe, and the old polyphonic art—not yet fully spent by the turn of the century—remained virtually unchallenged in the arena of English sacred music through the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It might seem plausible to claim that England was simply behind the times in the development of her sacred music, but it must be recognized that she has always tended to set her own course, and in the case of sacred music, comparison with Continental models obscures the issue. Although the English polyphony of Byrd and Gibbons superficially resembles that of Palestrina in its use of imitative points based on


36. Although no one would question the profundity of the musical changes taking place in Italy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, comparatively little attention seems to be accorded the vital activity ongoing in England simultaneously. Bukofzer points out that, whereas Italy represents one pole of the formation of the baroque style—primarily in terms of vocal monody—England represents the other. "Her influence was decisive in the development of an abstract instrumental style which spread from England to the Netherlands and from there all over Europe."

Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, p. 71. Specifically, it was the mechanical patterns in English solo music for keyboard instruments and in ensemble music for consorts, calling for a purely abstract musical imagination, which carried significance in the formation of the baroque style. With her flourishing school of virginalists, England lead the way in the development of a uniquely baroque instrumental style.
textual divisions, beyond that, the individuality of England's sacred polyphony in the vernacular becomes apparent.

One such distinction has to do with the development of tonality which, according to Long, superseded the ancient modes earlier in England than in other countries—that from Tallis on, in fact, English composers had a strongly developed sense of key and key relationships.37 And, although evidence of modality lingers throughout the seventeenth century, the claim of advanced tonal clarity is furthered by Byrd's consistent use of the unprepared dominant seventh from the 1580s on, making him—not Monteverdi, as previously thought—probably the first composer to do so.38 The unprepared dominant seventh was employed much earlier, if less frequently, in the work of Tallis and Redford.39 In this way, although conservative in imitative a cappella structure, sacred English polyphony reveals advanced application of tonality in its own unique manner.

Another aspect of polyphonic composition in which English composers revealed often striking independence is that of part-writing. Fellowes points out that books dealing with sixteenth-century counterpoint address

37. Long, The Music of the English Church, 98.


39. Ibid.
Continental practice almost exclusively—not counterpoint as understood and practiced by contemporary English polyphonists. English composers, for example, in contrast to their Continental counterparts, had no hesitation in proceeding from f-sharp to b-flat, g-sharp to f-natural, or other augmented or diminished intervals. Even such intervals as major sevenths were not restricted. Only the tritone was forbidden to English contrapuntists. Morris speaks not only of practice, but motivating principles, as well:

The reader who has marked and digested the (traditional) rules of progression . . . might well be outraged at the sight of the leaps and plunges which the English composers expected their singers to make, had he not already been warned that the Englishmen were in many respects a law unto themselves . . . . What Palestrina and his school aimed at was perfect smoothness of progression and beauty of sound, whereas the Englishmen set greater store by vitality and boldness of outline.

Such contrasts as are evident when comparing the polyphony of Palestrina with that of contemporary English composers did not diminish as the seventeenth century progressed. Such seventeenth-century Roman composers as Asola, Nanino, and Allegri and, for that matter, Monteverdi,


41. Ibid., 118.

42. Reginald Owen Morris, Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 1922), 66.
as well, in his polyphonic compositions, continued to practice conservative part-writing, while English practice pursued and expanded its less restrictive tradition. In such observations it becomes clear that through England's uninterrupted tradition of sacred polyphonic choral music, elements which would be associated with both Continental practices developed in a logical, completely unselfconscious manner, thereby distinguishing it clearly from the Continental stile antico.

English sacred polyphony of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was clearly different from that of Counter-Reformation models in yet another—perhaps even more significant—respect: that of expressive individualism. Phillips articulates the point clearly:

... if Palestrina had one mood, Byrd and Gibbons had a hundred—all the human gamut. Their harmony reflected their outlook. No handful of chords would do for them, the voices clamoured against one another rhythmically, harmonically, and led them to music which, had he heard it, would have made Palestrina stop his ears. Each voice must sing as it felt and let the rest go hang. The Elizabethan choir was, in fact, a body of individualists; the resultant texture of their music shows all the roughness, all the rich treasures which individualism brings with it."

One particularly painful aspect of the "human gamut" of emotions is set poignantly by Thomas Weelkes in his anthem When David Heard. The stabbing "O's" and disjointed phrases

43. Phillips, The Singing Church, 77.
vividly portray the unbearable grief of a father who has just received word of the death of his son (Example 4).


A final, related characteristic which is characteristically English is the roughness which results from the linear integrity of each individual voice part—a feature that continues to be found in Restoration anthems written in the polyphonic medium, and that composers came to use to expressive ends, on occasion. Morris points out that, although the close juxtaposition of, say, b-natural and b-flat can be recognized as a perfectly natural result of the "honoring of the claims of the intellect in preference to those of the senses" (referring to directional
flatting and sharpening of the seventh degree of a scale)," . . . the Englishmen went much further than the foreign composers, for they positively went out of their way to bring about these clashes in a single chord."** Byrd alludes to this in his preface to the 1588 Psalms, Sonets, and Songs:

In the expressing of these songs . . . if ther [sic] happen to be any jarre or dissonace [sic], blame not the Printer, who (I doe assure thee) through his great paines and diligence doth heere [sic] deliver to thee a perfect and true Coppie."**

Morris points to numerous additional harmonic peculiarities of English counterpoint, such as greater freedom in the use of accented passing tones, a great variety of methods used to resolve discords, more experimental cadential formulas, and a general preference for harsher forms of discords,"** and observes that sixteenth-century English harmony in general "has a rough tang, which may not suit every one, but is extremely palatable to those who have once acquired a taste for it."**

44. Morris, Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century, 71.


47. Ibid., 71.
Whether the leadership taken by the English virginalists (most of whom were also church musicians) in the area of abstract musical development served adequately as a channel for progressive ideas, or whether, through its many unique aspects, English polyphonic style retained sufficient vitality and flexibility as to negate the need for a declamatory form of sacred music, English sacred polyphony remained strong and virtually unchallenged by the Italian innovations which were gradually making their way across the Channel during the first quarter of the century.

The verse anthem as part of the polyphonic tradition. Like the early efforts of Viadana, Grandi, and others in Italy, the early English verse anthem was fundamentally polyphonic in conception and, although no one could fail to be convinced of the affective strength of the writing in such verse anthems as Gibbons' well-known, *This is the record of John*, the verse anthem genre as yet showed no real stylistic distinction from the full anthem. Thus, it is in no way a contradiction that Byrd and Orlando Gibbons, the two composers who brought the art of sacred polyphony to its height in England, were also the two who pioneered the verse style. A corollary with Monteverdi would seem logical, but is not accurate, for while Monteverdi composed sacred music in two genuinely different styles (not to mention the wonderful hybrid creations), his English contemporaries composed in a single, inescapably polyphonic style, albeit in two genuinely different textures. Le Huray
goes so far as to say that to look backwards at the early seventeenth-century verse anthem as antecedent to that of the Restoration (truly a concerted idiom) is to miss the point entirely. "The interplay of imitative ideas between instruments and voices is an indispensable feature of the [pre-Restoration verse anthem] style and one of its chief attractions." 48

To this point, discussion of sacred music in England has revealed a style which, if still largely polyphonic, incorporates a number of "progressive" features: the unusually secure sense of developing tonality even in full anthems dating back to the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign; extremely independent part-writing procedures and handling of dissonance; the increasing use of the solo voice, derived primarily from English antecedents. All of these innovations occurred essentially without foreign influence, and, perhaps even more significantly, without a fundamental or dramatic change of style. Fellowes makes the point that, to the extent that the year 1600 serves as a demarcation between ancient and modern music, in England there was no such dividing line. "English composers profited rather slowly by Italian innovations. and with a characteristically English genius for compromise incorporated them in their own tradition." 48

Elements of the Italian sacred stile nuovo first appeared in England in the Latin music of Peter Philips (ca. 1560-1628) and Richard Deering (ca. 1580-1630) around the time of the ascendancy of the Stuart line in 1625. Both composers had spent considerable time abroad, but their continuo accompaniments were still unfigured, and their "native tongue" was still unquestionably polyphony. Walter Porter (ca. 1595-1659), a student of Monteverdi, brought Italian virtuosity and genuine use of figured bass to the English verse anthem, and in 1639, William Child brought out a collection of psalms "... with continuall Base, either for the Organ or Theorbo, newly composed after the Italian way," although he continued to be most at home in the a cappella idiom. William and Henry Lawes also belong to this generation of transitional composers, the former of whom experimented with the relationship between text and texture in the English verse anthem.

Many composers of the following generation survived the Interregnum to become active church musicians after the restoration of the Stuart line to the throne in 1660.


Benjamin Rogers (1614-96), who wrote most of his church music after the Restoration, modeled his work on that of Child, and the work of Christopher Gibbons (1615-76), while paling in comparison with that of his father. played a significant role in the transmission of the English polyphonic tradition to the young generation of Restoration composers. Although a composer of meagre abilities, Henry Cooke (ca. 1616-72) was important to the development of newer styles primarily as a result of his studies in Italy which probably took place during the Interregnum, and he may have been the first to write verse anthems scored for violins and continuo. George Jeffreys (ca. 1610-85), who may have served in the Chapel Royal prior to 1643, is the composer from this generation who, according to Long, was most fully immersed in the stile nuovo, and Matthew Locke—primarily a composer for the stage—worked in a style similar to that of Henry Lawes.

The question of an English stile antico. Comparison of pre-Commonwealth full and verse anthems reveals that both represent the same uninterrupted polyphonic tradition, at least until the third decade of the century. Even once experimentation with elements of the "Italian way" were underway within sacred music (almost exclusively an activity of composers associated with the Chapel Royal), composition

54. Ibid.
in the polyphonic style was still the "native tongue" of the majority of even the progressive composers and, as such, cannot rightly be regarded as an "antique" genre.

By looking at anthem popularity through several available sources from the first half of the century, insight into the degree of acceptance accorded various styles can be attained. The significance of this to the topic at hand is strong, for only in the presence and full acceptance of a "newer" style can an "older" idiom be identified.

The Chapel Royal Anthem Book, compiled around 1630, contains the texts of anthems used in the Chapel Royal during the reign of Charles I (from 1625 until the dismissal of the choir in 1646). Of the 217 anthems represented, 152 are verse anthems. Of the sixty-five full anthems, the majority are by older masters, possibly indicating a decreasing fluency in, or at least decreasing desire on the part of composers to write in the full anthem style. It would seem logical, on the basis of this information, to conclude that the verse anthem, still polyphonically conceived, had eclipsed the full anthem in popularity by the 1620s.


A second source, John Barnard's First Book of Selected Church Music, published in 1641, is the only printed collection of English liturgical music since the publication of Day's Certaine notes, in 1565. Released during a time in which the "secularization" of church music was well underway, the Barnard collection is extremely conservative—all the composers represented being deceased at the time of publication. The collection contains church music by nineteen leading composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and Westrup claims that this collection represents "a growing tendency [during the reign of Charles II] to continue using the best church music of the past . . ." Le Hurray, similarly, speculates as to whether the "'old' music may already have had a greater appeal for church musicians than the new." Although this anthology would seem to indicate a continuing loyalty to

57. The collection comprised ten partbooks: Medius, Primus Contratenor, Secundus Contratenor, Tenor, and Bass. for each (Decani and Cantoris) side of the choir. No organbook seems to have been printed, although organ parts could easily have been derived from the "Batten" Organbook.—cf. J. B. Clark, "Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators," Musica Disciplina XXII (1968), 207-29. The collection is available in facsimile from Gregg International Publishers, 1972.


60. Le Hurray, Music and the Reformation in England, 155.
older polyphonic church music, it reveals nothing about the
language in which younger composers were writing. Further,
in the preface to his 1641 publication, Barnard mentions an
intended second volume in which works of living composers
would have been issued. This second volume was abandoned
due, no doubt, to impending political events and their
cataclysmic effect on church music. Fortunately, Barnard's
own larger manuscript, which apparently served as a
printer's copy for some of the pieces appearing in the 1641
publication, has survived. Assembled in 1625, it is
probably a good indication of what might have appeared in
the proposed second volume. Whereas the number of full
anthems as compared to verse anthems in the 1641 collection
shows a marked preference for the former (thirty-five full,
to twelve verse), the larger manuscript collection is much
more evenly divided (ninety full, to eighty-six verse). The
existence of this manuscript would seem to lend balance to
what might otherwise appear to be solidly retrospective
tendencies on the part of the minor canon from St. Paul's,
London. However, care must be taken not to attach too much
significance to numbers of full and verse anthems in view of
the stylistic similarity with the full anthem prior to the
1625 date of compilation.

62. Lcm 1045-1051.
If any generalizations are possible concerning the anthem repertoire in use immediately preceding and following the interruption of formal worship under Puritan rule, it would seem to be that, although Italian influences were beginning to be present in the work of some Continentaly-trained English composers of sacred music during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, broad-scale acceptance of such influences was somewhat limited.

The limited acceptance of Continental trends into English sacred music during the first half of the seventeenth century has direct implications concerning the potential development of an English stile antico, for the predominance, or at least a general acceptance of a newer style is necessary for the differentiation of an "older" genre. This was certainly the case in Monteverdi's Italy, and ultimately in Germany, as well.

In France, as in England, the incorporation of the second practice into sacred music seems to be delayed beyond that in Italy and Germany. The respective developments of Baroque sacred music styles in France and in England share some interesting and coincidental historical demarcations. The strength of the English sacred polyphonic tradition is in some ways paralleled in France by the dual influences of the French chanson and the seemingly eternal Lasso tradition. In neither case did new developments, similar to those in Italy and Germany, even begin to have serious
influence until the third decade of the century, and it is particularly interesting that it was a dramatic force in each country which would accompany new developments in sacred music; in France it was the overbearing presence of Louis XIV who enforced the incorporation of new styles (at least in his own influential Chapel Royal), and in England, the Commonwealth (bringing secularizing musical influences) and the subsequent restoration of Charles II to the throne. In each case, the prominent presence of a new style made obvious the exceptions to it. Only at this point could a genuine stile antico exist.

It seems clear, then, that England had but one practice of sacred music prior to the period of Puritan rule, despite occasional experimentation with Italian ways. Based on a comparison of pre-Commonwealth seventeenth-century English sacred polyphony and the characteristics of the Continental stile antico gleaned from both treatises and scores, the English practice bears little resemblance to the latter. The curiously independent tradition of English sacred polyphony seems to have made it possible--indeed, logical--for that tradition to incorporate on its own terms, many of the traits which were associated with newer styles elsewhere. These circumstances, in combination with impending political events, would preserve England's polyphonic tradition in ways which would carry significant stylistic implications for Restoration polyphony.
CHAPTER III

INTERRUPTION AND RESTORATION

OF ENGLAND'S MUSICAL TRADITIONS

The Puritan element which had dominated some areas of Continental Reformation activity for many years had its followers in England, as well. Although it was only under the influence of the ardently Protestant advisors to the boy-king Edward VI (1547-53) that the Puritan movement enjoyed political backing, its adherents continued to promote the "true religion," and their influence had continued to grow.

The reign of Charles I, from 1625 until his execution in 1649, turned out to be a much more absolute rule than England had experienced in historical memory. The assembling of Parliament was still a royal prerogative—one which Charles did not exercise between the years 1629 and 1640. From the angry Parliament of 1640, factions arose which would become Whig and Tory—those who favored, and those who opposed further transference of power from King to Parliament.

During the civil warring of 1642-46, minor Parliamentarian Oliver Cromwell rose to the level of general. Gradually, the growing Puritan cause came to be aligned with that of political dissidents; those favoring
the traditional Anglican Church of State aligning with the royalist cause, and after the fighting temporarily ceased, Cromwell’s army dominated Parliament, leading to the execution of the absolutist King Charles I in 1649. The revulsion of national feeling which this caused even among those who did not approve of Charles’ ways, would lead to the restoration of his line to the throne only eleven years later.

Just as the dissenters had been a thorn in the side of the monarchy, the royalist movement, emboldened by the execution of their king-turned-martyr, remained troublesome for Lord Protector Cromwell. England was held together only by an army with its "Nominated Parliament," and what amounted to an untitled king. Cromwell’s death in 1658 left a void in leadership (inadequately filled by his son Richard) which opened the door for the return of Charles II, in exile at his cousin Louis XIV's court in France. His declaration to Parliament on 14 April 1660, promising toleration, pardon, and security of tenure to those with confiscated estates, was accepted. The restoration of the English monarchy was completed on 25 May of that year and, although the royal prerogative of the Elizabethan monarchy would never again exist, the accompanying restoration of

1. Significant limitations on the monarch's authority which resulted include the removal of unparliamentary taxation, and the inability of a king to arrest members of Parliament without showing just cause.
the Church of England was complete, with its full panoply of bishops and deans.

It has been suggested that, with the reign of Charles II, England witnessed the end of the Middle Ages, and set a pattern for the world as it exists today. The trend was toward religious toleration (soon to be extinguished in France with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes), and political parties worked with a limited monarchy, achieving some balance of power and influence. The atmosphere became favorable to scientific inquiry. Drama and literature (especially satire) flourished. Newsletters were prevalent. And under Charles, music was given both opportunity and active encouragement to branch out and thrive.

The Commonwealth's Effect on Music

Choral services ended in London on 23 July 1646--three days after London had surrendered to parliamentary troops. The official proclamation from the House of Lords in 1644, according to Burney, had declared the liturgy to be a "superstitious ritual." Promotion of "true religion" required that church organs be silenced, choir-books and


stained-glass windows destroyed, and cathedral services abolished. The Puritan view that all expression in the context of public worship is immoral (the inner feeling needing no material manifestation), required that all art must be banished from the religious gathering. Only unaccompanied, unison hymns and psalms were considered proper for music in public worship.

At this point, again, it is interesting to reflect on the nature of the English Reformation as it was enacted by Henry VIII in 1534. The absence of substantive liturgical and theological change in the Anglican Church during the first century of its existence has been noted, but by the time of the triumph of anti-royalist political forces—forces generally in sympathy with Puritan religious convictions—the importation and influence of Calvinist doctrine and style of worship was widespread. It might be speculated that it was not until the Commonwealth that the theological aspect of England's by now century-old political Reformation was enacted. Further, the religious toleration made necessary by the Restoration drew heavily upon the English genius for compromise, for the full reinstatement of the State Church of England was made possible only through a full acceptance of the beliefs and practices of those committed to Puritan ways.

Due in large part to the work of Percy Scholes and countless scholars who have called attention to his work in their own, the Puritans are no longer seen as dour souls,
categorically opposed to all forms of earthly pleasure. Rather, they had a specific agenda relating to morality and worship, which proscribed elaborate church music and musical performances in the "profane theatres." Consequently, whereas church organs were destroyed or removed, chamber organs were left alone. It is also possible that the destruction of choir-books decried by Burney was not as wide-spread as once thought, as no official order for such activity was ever issued.

Roger North refers to the troubled years just preceding the execution of Charles I as healthy ones for the art of music:

... & when most other good arts languished
musick held up her head, not at Court nor (In ye
cant of those times) profane theaters, but In
private society, for many chose rather to fiddle at
home, then [sic] to goe out & be knockt on ye head
abroad; and the enterteinment [sic] was very much
courted & made use of not only In country but citty
familyys, In w* many of the Ladys were good

England; a contribution to the cultural history of two
nations (London, 1934).


7. Ibid. It is a well-known fact that Cromwell, himself,
was an ardent music-lover, and that he employed two boys
to sing three-part Latin motets by Deering with him. At
one time referred to with cynicism, it must now be
understood that such activity represented no
contradiction to the Puritan beliefs espoused by his
administration.

8. Frank Mercer, notes to Charles Burney's A General
History of Music (New York, 1957), 171.
consortiers and in this state was musick daylyImproving more or less till the time of (in all other respects But musick) the happy restauration.*

Although his perspective might, at first glance, appear unusual, it is true that domestic music, the principal object of his comments, flourished under Puritan rule, in the forms of consort music for viols (John Jenkins and Matthew Locke as major composers in this genre), songs for solo voice accompanied by lute or guitar, simple keyboard pieces, and devotional songs. 10 In the absence of music produced through the now disbanded institutions of church and court, the English people learned (with the tutorial assistance of numerous displaced church and court musicians) to make their own--less sophisticated, to be sure, but music, none the less. There came to be a great demand for servants and apprentices who also had musical ability, so as to increase a family's ability to make music together. 11

The appearance almost overnight of the new domestic market for music, in combination with the disappearance of the monopoly for music printing (granted by the king), allowed John Playford to establish England's first full-time


10. For more on the devotional song, refer to Treacy, English Devotional Song.

music publishing business in 1648.\textsuperscript{12} Scholes points out that, whereas during the first seventeen years of King Charles I's reign, only eight volumes of secular music were published, twenty-eight such volumes were produced during the eleven-year Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{13} In addition to publication of music itself, numerous printed tutors (today, they would be called "how-to books") were issued. Playford's first edition of Introduction to the Skill of Music, appearing in 1655, and Simpson's The Division Violinist, from 1659, were two well-known instruction books.

In the absence of a monarchy to support and direct professional musical activity, patronage fell into the hands of the middle class. Although domestic and amateur music-making could never fill the void created by the dissolution of court and church institutions, it may have enhanced the interest of the English people in music, leading to the numerous music meetings which sprang up in private homes, colleges, and taverns, providing some source of income for indigent musicians. These were the forerunners of the public concert tradition which became so important to English cultural life after the Restoration, and which would ultimately present professionals of high artistic merit. Although the years of the Commonwealth are


\textsuperscript{13} Scholes, The Puritans and Music in England, 133.
often referred to as a "low ebb" musically,\textsuperscript{14} it was during that time that instrumental music began to take on a style similar to that on the Continent. Acceptance of the violin increased, handling of basso continuo became less tentative, and some dynamic and tempo indications began appearing in the scores.\textsuperscript{15} Such changes no doubt helped pave the way for the new musical styles imported at the Restoration.

\textbf{Music in Restoration Society}

Even if the people delighted in the restoration of their beloved monarchy, the last forty years of the century did not see the end of religious and political controversy. The relatively stable (if debauched) court of Charles II, like those of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, mirrored that of his cousin Louis in its absence of strong religious conviction. (Although officially espousing the Anglican religion, Charles professed Roman Catholicism on his deathbed.) His brother and successor, James II, a staunch Roman Catholic, was ousted by the bloodless invasion of his firmly Protestant daughter and son-in-law, Mary and William of Orange, only three years after his coronation. By the end of the century England had become irrevocably Protestant,


\textsuperscript{15} Percy M. Young, A History of British Music (New York, 1967), 217.
was ruled by Parliament, tolerated religious diversity, and enjoyed the benefits of a free press.

Perception of the Nature and Function of Sacred Music

A gradual transformation was occurring during the years following the Restoration—one which would affect all aspects of music composed during the period; one which was increasingly articulated in the secular sphere. While native English music was popular in the taverns and in lower-class and rural entertainments, it came no longer to be heard in the drawing room, or on the stage.\(^{16}\) London society mirrored its royal court, striving after things foreign; berating its native traditions. As an elevated art form, English music was virtually dead.\(^{17}\)

Paralleling this aesthetic change was the emergence of a philosophical dualism with regard to the nature and function of music in worship, which would pose the possibility of an interesting corollary with the polarity between foreign and native musical style. The older, Neo-Platonic view of art as a microcosm of a perfect heavenly model capable of carrying the soul to union with God was most prominent in the sixteenth century, during the height of polyphonic splendor.\(^{16}\) Not surprisingly, the

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17. Ibid., 214
concept continued in seventeenth-century England primarily in the hearts and minds of traditional churchmen, devoted to ceremonial worship in which sacred polyphony was integral. For such churchmen, belief in the power of music to literally lift one's soul out of one's body toward God was strong.

... sweetness of harmonical sounds, insinuates itself into the soul of man, prepares the affections for the service of God, lifts up the heart towards heaven, delights the mind, kindles Devotion, inflames desire, and ravisheth the spirit with celestial joy."

And again:

[Music] Works not only upon our Affections, but upon our Understanding too ... rouses up our Soul, and puts our Thoughts in motion; our very Reason awakens with the lute and harp ... 'Tis this that fits us, not only for the Operations of Reason, but is an Inlet also to Divine Visions, and Revelations. It carries such extasies, and Raptures, with it, as elevate the Soul of man into a higher Region, teach him Seraphical Flights, and give him a clearer Insight into the things above."


Finney points out that this belief in the power of music—belief in the intangible, if you will—came almost exclusively from "the more Catholic church groups who defended all church ceremony, and the attacks upon it came from the Puritan elements, whether within the Church of England or out, who supported, as against ceremony, the power of Scripture and the sermon." Although countless sermons were preached during the latter half of the seventeenth century defending this mystical power of music, the impact of science and of Puritan rationalism drained much of the original force from the philosophy which, "if not literally interpreted, was seriously defended and vigorously attacked" throughout the century. Neo-Platonic thought became a basic factor in the often heated debate over the use of instrumental music in church.

The newer line of thinking was heavily indebted to the growth of rationalism, nurtured by the rapid expansion of scientific knowledge, and by Puritan theology. Such thinking rejected in music any more profound purpose than that of producing pleasure. The new scientist had no time


for religious "ecstasy," or enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{25} Evelyn mentions scientist and inventor Sir Samuel Moreland who "had newly buried 200 pounds worth of music books as he sayd. 6 foote under grounde, as being love songs and vanity."\textsuperscript{26} A similar, but fictional, episode appears in a sermon cast in the form of a conversation between an Anglican, a Baptist, and a Quaker, the last having recently burned many instruments and music books.\textsuperscript{27} Puritan belief was strongly rooted in exclusively rational persuasion which was possible only through the spoken word. The only function of music, according to Puritan belief was to delight the senses—a function to which they were not opposed, but which had no place in the austerity of their worship.

A series of pamphlets written at the close of the seventeenth century, occasioned by a sermon preached at the installation of an organ at Tiverton in Devon in 1696, brings the question of the nature of music into sharp focus. John Newte, in the original sermon, claimed that music, "by the Subtlety of its Nature, and the insinuating Sweetness of its Sound, will strike deeper into the Heads of some, than the closest Reason possibly can into their Hearts."\textsuperscript{28} The anonymous critic of these ideas took exception to Newte's

\textsuperscript{25} Finney, \textit{Musical Backgrounds}, 75.

\textsuperscript{26} Evelyn, \textit{Diary}, 25 Nov 1695.

\textsuperscript{27} Solomon Eccles, "A Musick-Lector: or, The Art of Musick" (London, 1667), microcard edition, University of North Texas.
remarks, and published what amounts to a summary of the Puritan position on the subject:

Singing of Psalms with the Voice . . . is a Rational act, and expresseth in a Melodious Manner the Conceptions of the Mind. But Instrumental Musick is only Ceremonial, for it is no Rational Act, neither does it Articulately express the Affections, and Serious Conceptions of the Soul.

I grant that the Musick and Melody of an Organ may put a pleasing Motion upon the Blood and Spirits, may, perhaps, cause the Blood to glide along the Veins and Arteries with somewhat more briskness. But what is this to the stirring up of Pious and Religious thoughts in the Mind?

The debate would continue in pamphlets and sermons through the end of the century.

One of the quirks of evolution is the interrelation of various aspects of life with no immediately apparent point of intersection. Is it possible that there existed some connection between the growing vogue for Continental style, increase of rationalistic/scientific patterns of thought, Puritan theology, and the new "secular" style of sacred music as represented by the florid verse anthems, on the one hand; and between English tradition, Neo-Platonic thought processes, the Anglo-Catholic practice of worship, and the continuation of the polyphonic full anthem tradition, on


the other? Jeremy Collier, a supporter of the Anglican church-music tradition, seems to imply such a connection with his word of caution concerning the possible encroachment of "improper" elements into Anglican worship:

... [Church music] should ... imitate the Perfume of the Jewish Tabernacle, and have as little of the Composition of common Use as is possible. There must be no Voluntary Maggots, no Military Tattoos, no Light and Galliardizing Notes; nothing that may make the Fancy trifling, or raise an improper Thought: This would be to Prophane the Service, and bring the Play-house into the Church. Religious Harmony must be Moving, but Noble withal; Grave, Solemn, and Seraphick; ... To transport us with the Beauty of Holiness; to raise us above the Satisfactions of Life, and make us ambitious of the Glories of Heaven. 30

The implication is clear: "Light and Galliardizing Notes" (referring, one would assume, to the type of dance rhythms found in many verse anthems composed for the Chapel Royal under Charles II) have no legitimacy in Anglican worship. His position may not have been unanimously accepted, but it would seem to represent a connection between Neo-Platonic philosophy and a "Grave, Solemn," that is, polyphonic style of church music.

Due in large part to the work of the Playfords and others who placed music within the reach of a blossoming middle class, the musical public at the end of the seventeenth century was larger than it had been in earlier

times. That it was also becoming increasingly superficial\textsuperscript{31} is seen in the increasing absence of music from the list of the traditional sciences, often assuming the somewhat servile characteristics of a "functional and essentially disposable commodity; . . ."\textsuperscript{32} That the perception of the nature of music was undergoing profound change in English society in the second half of the seventeenth century is apparent. Less obvious, perhaps, is the salvation of England's polyphonic tradition which depended in part on a reluctance to dispense with the older ideas based on the Catholic tradition.

\textbf{The Restoration of Cathedral Music}

In spite of the apparent vitality of musical activity during the Commonwealth, it remains that during the Interregnum, England's three principal musical establishments, the court, the Church, and the theatre, were all gone. With regard specifically to sacred music, it appears that it was just at the time that direct Italian input was gaining an increasing influence in the church music of native composers that the Commonwealth closed the door to liturgy and, consequently, to music used within it.

\textsuperscript{31} Mackerness, \textit{A Social History of English Music}, 85.

\textsuperscript{32} Lorenzo Bianconi, \textit{Music in the Seventeenth Century}, translated by David Bryant (Cambridge, 1987), 73.
On 20 December 1661, the new Book of Common Prayer was adopted by both Houses of Parliament. The Act of Uniformity which followed shortly thereafter officially restored the Anglican Church to its former position, and on 19 May 1662, the new book was given royal assent. In 1661, before the publication of the new book, Edward Lowe, organist of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, had published A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service, as temporary directive for those who might have forgotten certain liturgical details, or whose youth might have made experience of the Anglican form of worship an impossibility.33

The business of rebuilding a centuries' old institution after a lapse of more than a decade, was not without its difficulties. Although domestic music had flourished during the Commonwealth, by 1660, many of the musicians who had been at court and cathedral were dead or growing old. Besides the destruction of many organs and choir books, a ready supply of boy sopranos was dependent on the continual training which had ceased with the closing of cathedrals and associated schools.

The choice of Henry Cooke (d. 1672) to re-establish the Chapel Royal was a fortunate one. Brought up in the Chapel Royal before the Commonwealth, he had risen to the rank of Captain as a Royalist during the Civil War, had

33. Dearnley, English Church Music, 66.
studied singing in Italy during the Interregnum, and was well-suited for the job. Cooke revived the old press-gang warrant, under which he could press boys with good voices found anywhere within the kingdom, into the service of the King. Cornets were commonly used during the first years following the Restoration in order to reinforce the superior part until the sopranos were again proficient. As might

34. The practice of pressing boys into service was at least as old as the fifteenth century. A warrant issued to John Melyonek, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, in 1484–5, reads as follows:

"To all and every our subjects, as well spirituell as temporell, these letters hering or seeing, greeting. We let you wite, that for the confidence and trust we have in our trusty webeloved servaunt, John Melyonek, one of the Gentilmen of our Chapell, and knowing also his expert habilitie and connyny in the science of musique, have licenced him, and by these presents licence and give him auctoritie, that within all places in this our realme, as well Cathedral-churches, colleges, chappells, houses of religion, and all other franchised and exempt places, as elliswhere, our Colege Roll at Wyndesor reserved and exempt, may take and sease for us and in our name all such singing men and children, being expart in the said science of musique, as he can finde, and thinke sufficient and able to do us service. Wherefore, etc. Yeven, etc. at Nottingham, the xvi day September, A° Secundo."—cf. E. F. Rimbault, editor, The old cheque book of the Chapel Royal (New York, 1966), vii–viii.

Roper mentions an order to one John Pyamour, dating from 14 January 1440, to impress boys and bring them before the King in the Duchy of Normandy.—cf. E. Stanley Roper, "Music at the English Chapels Royal," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association LIV (1928), 22. The actual practice probably pre-dates these warrants.
have been expected, the early years of the restored Chapel Royal produced many anthems with verses for men's voices.

Although many churches and chapels had suffered damage and disrepair, the Chapel at Whitehall (primary residence of the Chapel Royal institution) seems to have remained virtually unscathed during the Commonwealth. Although it was fifty years after the Restoration that parish churches began to be commonly supplied with organs, the new organ at Whitehall (the design of Bernard Schmid) was begun in 1662, and completed a decade later. Burney found it to be of poor quality, but both Blow and Purcell were sufficiently pleased with Schmid's work to become his representatives in the famous battle between Schmid and Renatus Harris over the commission for the Temple organ. In addition to their technical expertise, Schmid and Harris brought to England with them the influence of German and French organ builders,


37. By 1660, English organ builders had either moved to the Continent to continue their work, or found employment in other areas. Two English builders, Renatus Harris and Bernard Schmid, returned from the Continent at the Restoration, and began the process of re-building the organs in English churches. The coveted commission for the Temple Church organ prompted the notorious "battle of the organs" between the two. Each built an organ and erected it in the church. Schmid's was demonstrated by Blow and Purcell; Harris' by Giovanni Battista Draghi, Queen Catherine's organist. After much infighting and mutual accusations of tampering with the rival instrument, that of Schmid finally received the winning judgment in 1683.
respectively. Schmid was responsible for more than a dozen organs in London, in addition to those at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Eton Chapel, Hampton Court Chapel, and others, while Harris built sixteen organs in London and the surrounding area. Numerous additional organs which had been removed to taverns and private homes were re-purchased and repaired for church use.

It is important to note the particular role of the Chapel Royal in English musical and social life. It is common to speak of the "English cathedral music tradition" with reference to the achievements in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sacred music even when the comments often refer more properly to musicians of the Chapel Royal. The greater resources and better informed patronage available at the Court naturally attracted and produced the best musicians. It was some time after the restoration of Charles II's Chapel Royal before the influence of the London group spread to the provincial cathedrals and collegiate churches.

It has been observed that the Chapel in Whitehall served more as a fashionable place of worship in London than as the private chapel of the usually absent King. Harley, 38. Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 100.

39. Ibid.

for example, reports that Lady Mary Montague, writing to the Countess of Bute, recalled having dressed for St. James' Chapel (another residence of the Chapel Royal) with "the same thoughts your daughters will have at the opera." The comparison was, indeed, not far off the mark, for the men of the Chapel Royal were England's nearest equivalent to the opera stars of Italy, and the florid solos in the new verse anthems entertained in much the same way as the vocal gymnastics of a favored Italian castrato.

Although the full establishment of the Chapel Royal included twelve boys, thirty-three men, and three organists, in addition to the twenty-four strings plus winds, a more typical performing ensemble included twelve violins, eight boys, and sixteen men. Within a decade of the Restoration, the genius of Captain Henry Cook, in combination with an incomparable first group of Chapel Royal boys and the backing of the King, had effected the virtually complete revival of the Chapel Royal as a musical and social institution, though perhaps not of the English cathedral tradition as a whole.

42. Harley, Music in Purcell's London, 79.
43. Dearnley, English Church Music, 48-49.
An issue which required the immediate attention of Henry Cooke and others charged with the revitalization of the Chapel Royal is that of what music would be used. After the ten-year liturgical void, where was the church—historically, the bastion of tradition—to turn for the continuity so ardently desired? When continuity is as abruptly interrupted as it was from approximately 1646 until 1660, what, then, assumes the comforting role of tradition? Is it possible to pick up where the interrupted activity left off, regardless of the changed nature of the social and musical context?

The answer was, to an extent, determined by the practicalities of what remained following the destruction of choirbooks which had been sporadically carried out during the Commonwealth. It is fortunate, indeed, that John Barnard had managed to publish his anthology of church music just shortly before the destruction of choral libraries began. The widespread distribution of this important set of partbooks ensured the preservation of at least a selected repertoire, and it remains our only source of many of the works contained within it.44 Undoubtedly, this important

44. Only thirty-eight partbooks are now extant, thirty-three of which are imperfect.—cf. Morehen, "Barnard," 166. Gregg International Publishers Ltd. published a reprint of the ten-partbook set, in 1972.
anthology would have served as an invaluable source of readily available repertoire. As mentioned in Chapter II, the collection features composers of Tudor and very early Stuart reigns. William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, and Thomas Tallis are the most fully represented.

James Clifford's 1663 and 1664 publications of texts of Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in his Majesty's Chappell and in all Collegiate Choirs of England and Ireland, sheds further light on what was available, as well as a hint of things to come. The original 1663 publication contained the texts of some 170 anthems, and Clifford claimed that his 1664 enlarged edition included the texts of all the anthems in general use at the time. Of the more than 400 anthems represented in the second edition, over 250 of them represent the work of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century composers, and the majority of the others are Restoration works. A picture of influence and precocity emerges in the 1664 inclusion of twenty (!) anthems by Henry Cooke, five by the seventeen-year-old Pelham Humfreys, and three by the fifteen-year-old John Blow (the latter two serving as Chapel Royal choristers under Henry Cooke's direction), as seen in Figure 3. Although the majority of the anthems included are full anthems, the proportion of verse anthems is greater than in Barnard's published anthology, leading Clarke to conclude that the full anthem was the leading type of anthem in the early Restoration repertoire. Whether or not this was the case,
the absence of works reflecting pre-Commonwealth experimentation with the Italian stile nuovo is striking,

Figure 3. Representation of significant composers in Clifford's 1663 and 1664 publications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composers</th>
<th>1663</th>
<th>1664</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Tomkins</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrian Batten</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Byrd</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Cooke</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando Gibbons</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Weelkes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Tallis</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Lawes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelham Humfreyes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Blow</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for no compositions by Deering or Porter, and only one by Phillips are included. Le Huray observes that--

It is almost as if the clock had been put back, and not merely twenty but forty years--for the Caroline composers are very poorly represented either in Clifford's lists or in Restoration scores and partbooks. One may well wonder whether the repertory of the 1660s would have been quite such a reactionary one had there been no long break in the Anglican tradition.***

The Chapel Royal Anthem Book (Ob Rawl. poet. 23) was discussed in Chapter II (p. 57), and what appears to be a later version of the same exists in Lbm Harl. 6346. This collection, probably bound between 1665 and 1675, has particular significance to early Restoration repertoire.

45. Clarke, John Blow, 171.

The similarities of texts and general presentation in Lbm Harl. 6346 lead Ford to conclude that it was copied from the earlier collection, and subsequently supplemented, primarily with texts of anthems by Henry Cooke. "It therefore seems reasonable," Ford observes, "that there existed in the Chapel Royal, for a period after the Restoration, a considerable number of anthems from the reign of Charles I, and that this music formed the bulk of the repertory."

Whether structured as full or verse anthems, the prevailing style of writing seen in the sources of sacred music known to reflect early-Restoration Chapel Royal activity is overwhelmingly that of the English polyphonic tradition.

47. Ford, "The Chapel Royal at the Restoration," 101. Acceptance of an early date for the Harleian collection (1665-66) would seem to be supported by the absence of contributions by Blow and Humfrey, both of whom, as has been seen, were represented in the 1664 Clifford collection. Blow was also represented in a collection of anthems used in Durham Cathedral, dating from 1664.—cf. Augustus Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum (London, 1906-09), volume 1, 16-23, 399-400. Blow and Humfrey were both quite amply represented in the additional "Services and Anthems that have been transcribed into the books of his Majesty's Chappell Royall since anno 1670 to Midsummer, 1676."—cf. Henry Cart de Lafontaine, editor, The King's Musick; a Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460-1700) (London, 1909), 305-307. It would seem inconceivable that two composers of the renown accorded Blow and Humfrey by the early 1670s, would have been excluded from a collection of this nature had the date not been somewhat earlier.
Of the pre-Commonwealth musicians connected with the Chapel Royal, six survived to return to their former posts at the Restoration. Among them, John Wilson and Henry Lawes contributed primarily to the secular repertoire of the period, and Edward Lowe, known primarily for his *A Short Direction for the performance of Cathedrall Service*, published in 1661, like William Child and Christopher Gibbons, composed in a style still heavily indebted to the polyphonic tradition. Henry Cooke, due, perhaps, to his studies in Italy during the Interregnum,* was the only one of the older Chapel Royal composers who whole-heartedly adopted the new Italian ways.

Roger North wrote that the Chapel Royal in the early 1660s presented the old polyphony well,** and Evelyn, eventual critic of the new style of music which would come to the Chapel Royal during the reign of Charles II, referred several times to the rejuvenation of the music in Chapel Royal worship. In light of his well-known conservatism with regard to church music, his remarks would seem to reinforce what the manuscript sources indicate concerning the prevalence of music in the older, polyphonic style immediately following the Restoration:


25 November 1660, Whitehall: . . . and now was perform'd the service with Musique, Voices &c: as formerly.\textsuperscript{50}

2 January 1661, Westminster: I received the B: Sacrament the Deane officiating: The Service was also in the old Cathedral Musique.\textsuperscript{51}

The music available largely pre-dated the reign of Charles I. And, but for Henry Cooke (admittedly in a position of considerable importance), the musicians in positions of influence within the newly-restored Chapel Royal proceeded only tentatively forward into the Baroque. No wonder that the thoroughly-Baroque king found it advisable to encourage the precocious "Cooke's boys" in their earliest compositional efforts.

**New Directions**

1 December 1662, 2100 hours:

. . . one of his Majesties Chaplains preach'd: after which, instead of the ancient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the Organ was introduced a Consort of 24 Violins between [sic] every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suitting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church: This was the first time of change, & now we no more heard the Cornet, which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skillfull: . . .\textsuperscript{52}

51. Ibid.
Evelyn's comments disdaining the "French fantastical light way" leave no doubt that, after little more than two years following the Restoration, Charles II had succeeded in his ordering of the newer, Continental style of music, including the English clone of Louis XIV's Vingt-quatre violons, in his Chapel Royal.

The changes, however, had begun much earlier, for, on 12 August 1660, Pepys mentioned that, "After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's, which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it." Cooke's output was undistinguished, but significant for its use of Italian declamatory style and brief organ ritornelli.

In spite of Cooke's efforts, it soon became clear to Charles that the development of a newer style would depend on the encouragement of a new generation of composers. Thomas Tudway, in the preface to his massive collection of church music, dating from 1716, relates how the task of composing in the new style came to be placed on "Cooke's boys":

His Majesty, who was a brisk & Airy Prince, coming to the Crown in the Flow'r & vigor of his Age, was soon, if I may so say, tyr'd with the Grave & solemn way, And Order'd the Composers of his Chappell to add symphonys and Retornellos which he had appointed . . . In about four or five years time some of the forwardest and brightest Children of the Chappell, as Mr. Humfreys, Mr. Blow, &c. began to be


54. Lbm MSS 7337-7342.
Masters of a faculty in Composing. This his Majesty greatly encourag'd by indulging their youthful fancys, so that ev'ry month at least, afterwards oft'ner, they produc'd something New of this Kind. In a few years more severall others, Educated in the Chappell, produc'd their Compositions in this style; for otherwise it was in vain to hope to please his Majesty.

The so-called Club Anthem, *I will always give thanks*, a multi-sectional anthem produced as a joint effort by the choristers Humfreys, Turner, and Blow in June of 1665, was produced under royal pressure of time (according to Tudway, overnight!) as a thanksgiving for a victory at sea.

The "cantata anthem" genre reached its peak in the music composed for the coronation of James II, in 1685. One of Blow's three anthems, *God spake sometime in visions*, gives an idea of the influences assimilated by the cantata

55. *Lbm Harl. 7338, ff. 2b-3.*

56. Thomas Tudway's account of the unique composition is found in *Lbm Harl. MS. 7339, f. 239b*:

"The news of a great victory obtained over the Dutch at Sea, by the Duke of York, coming to King Charles II on a Saturday, at night, his Majesty was desirous of having an Anthem of Thanksgiving the next day at Chapel: which none of his Composers being willing to undertake, three of the Children of the Chapel aforenamed [Humfrey, Blow, and Turner] undertook it, and it was performed to the King the next day accordingly."

The authenticity of Tudway's story has been questioned due to the fact that Humfrey was abroad at the time of the battle to which it probably relates (the Battle of Lowestoft, 3 June 1665). Clarke speculates that Turner and Blow hurriedly completed an anthem already begun by their absent colleague, in order to complete it in the required amount of time.—cf. Clarke, *John Blow*, 24.
anthem up to that time." The work is introduced by a "symphony" written in the solemn, French overture style. The instruments are joined in the forty-second bar by an SSAATBBB chorus, which produces an effect not dissimilar to the opening movements of many German church cantatas (for example, Bach's Cantata 61, Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland). The obligatory triple meter section that follows is handled in verse style by soloists, and this portion concludes with a quick imitative section for full choir. The middle segment is in the relative e-minor. Throughout, the numerous alternations between full choir and verse soloists, are spiced with instrumental interludes and many shifts of meter. The final instrumental interlude is supplemented with full choir for the virtually mandantory "Alleluia" conclusion, which became a convention of the Restoration verse anthem. Although the work is not formally divided into movements, the 372-bar anthem is clearly a forerunner of works which are so divided, and as such, it resembles Bach's early Cantata 106. In this genre, Blow wrote twenty-eight anthems, and Purcell, twenty-five—most of them, composed before the death of Charles II."

Verse anthems were certainly not new with the Restoration Period, but rhetorical, melismatic solos, and


the use of figured bass were, indeed, innovations within the tradition of English sacred music. As Routley points out, "... what before 1660 would have been a furtive experiment became, within a few years of the new dispensation, the almost unvarying fashion."® Whereas the solo sections provided occasional relief from the weight of full choral singing in the old verse anthem, in the Restoration verse anthem, the functions were reversed, for in the new verse-anthem style, the choir was used rarely, and then only to provide variety, or an impressive conclusion to a composition.

Other changes paralleled those occurring within the Chapel Royal, and by the year 1661, Playford was able to articulate his perception of public taste:

'It is observed that of late years all solemn and grave music is laid aside, being esteemed too heavy and dull for the light heels of this nimble and wanton age; nor is any musick rendered acceptable, or esteemed by many, but what is presented by foreigners.®

The lighter, less forceful viols were gradually being supplanted by the more robust violin family which was preferred by King Charles. It was during this time that the indication "apt for viols or voyces" began to disappear (as

it had more than half a century earlier in Italy), musicians now wishing to make deliberate use of tone-color of the various voices and instruments as an expressive element.\footnote{Long, The Music of the English Church, 226.}
The popularity of the lute also began to decline and, according to Pepys, Charles favored the guitar because it was more suited to dance-like rhythms, and the harpsichord took over as the primary accompanying instrument.\footnote{Pepys, Companion, Vol. X of The Diary, 274.} Roger North concurs, but points out that such changes were effected neither suddenly nor universally:

The French manner of instrumentall musick did not gather so fast as to make a revolution all at once, but during the greatest part of that King's reigne (that of Charles II), the old musick was used in the countrys, and in many meetings and societys in London; but the treble violl was discarded, and the violin took its place.\footnote{Wilson, Roger North on Music, 351.}

Even a few months before Evelyn's first mention of violins in worship, Pepys had noted a similar "use of strings in the new way."\footnote{Fellowes, English Cathedral Music, 132.} Pepys' perception of the new music--one which would be increasingly shared among nobility and members of the rising middle class in England--reflects a much different attitude toward the old and new styles. Disdaining the old ways, he claims that "singing with many voices is not singing," and that "the manner of setting of
words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick."\textsuperscript{65} Based on earlier observations concerning the perceived nature and function of music during this time, Evelyn might be described as a Neo-Platonist; Pepys, a rationalist—in this case, both being loyal Anglican churchmen.

Roger North (1653-1734), writing with the perspective that time can give, articulates the controversy which would continue in church music even to our own time—that of a distinct separation between sacred and secular musical styles:

\begin{quote}
The Musick of the Royall Chappell was Established with interludes of violins to sett of the Anthems wch [sic] was a Novelty and thought too light for the Chappell but without reason.\textsuperscript{66}
\end{quote}

As has been seen, appropriate use of music in worship was the subject of many sermons and pamphlet wars throughout the remainder of the century, and into the next. Tudway, in the preface to his massive six-volume collection of church music (\textit{Lbm Harl. 7337-7342}) dating from 1716, decries the "secularization" of church music which began under Charles II. But, the Reverend Arthur Bedford, in his sermon entitled "The Great Abuse of Musick," published in 1711, is

\textsuperscript{65} Pepys, The Diary, Vol. VIII, 438, 458.

\textsuperscript{66} Zimmerman, "Purcell's Musical Heritage," 45--quoting from An Essay on Music, f. 74, from \textit{Lbm 32,536}.\hfill
accepting of stylistic diversity in church music, judging 
worthiness by intent rather than style:

In the Church we are to praise God with all such 
Instruments and Organs . . .; but it ought to be 
perform'd with all the Decency, Gravity, and 
Devotion imaginable, as if we were sensible in whose 
Presence we are, and in whose Service we are 
engag'd.**

Bianconi makes an interesting observation concerning 
the diversity of Restoration styles and their symbolism in 
political terms:

The contrast between the renewed vigour of the 
glorious 'Anglican' polyphonic tradition and the 
royally-backed introduction of a modern--and 
alien--style of sacred music acquires, in its very 
simultaneity, the character of a conflict . . . 
Concerted solo anthems were not totally unknown in 
the years prior to the Commonwealth; only after the 
Restoration, however, does the contrast between the 
two opposing styles come to be regarded as 
symbolic--in musical terms--of the rivalry between 
two opposing political positions.**

Fellowes suggests that Purcell's anthems can be 
divided into three classes: 1. those written in the older 
style which can generally be sung effectively without 
accompaniment; 2. those written with an organ accompaniment; 
and 3. those written with instrumental accompaniment and 
ritornelli for strings.** These three categories are

67. Arthur Bedford, The Great Abuse of Musick (London), 
facs. ed., Monuments of Music and Music Literature in 
Facsimile, second series, music literature, 12 (New 
York, 1965), 215.

equally appropriate in describing the output of John Blow, Thomas Tudway, William Turner, and numerous other composers of the Restoration Period. Yet, the striking feature of Restoration church music is not its scoring (common to pre-Commonwealth sacred music, as well), but its whole-hearted acceptance of styles which were no longer new on the Continent—particularly the declamatory style and the use of basso-continuo. Composers of church music in England truly knew two practices for the first time, as Continental church musicians had for half a century. But, if a description of the "new" style in English church music reflects a practice similar to that on the Continent, the polyphonic genre which, if only by default, is called "old," bears little resemblance to the Continental stile antico seen in the works of Monteverdi, Schütz, and Buxtehude, for it adhered to no model other than that of its own continuing evolution. Understanding of this enduring strength of the English sacred polyphonic tradition is necessary in order to fully assess the nature of John Blow's polyphonic compositions.

A Backwards Glance: What Caused the Change?

The strength of Charles's musical likes and dislikes has provided a convenient explanation for the musical changes which occurred following his restoration. Yet,

artistic changes seldom come about exclusively as a result of external forces. In order to understand the nature of both the change and the continuity present in sacred music following the restoration, it is perhaps worth pondering briefly the various catalysts for the musical styles found within Restoration cathedral music.

A great deal of responsibility for musical change has been laid at the feet of the Puritan Parliament which closed the doors of the Anglican Church for more than a decade, and it is true that perpetuation of the cathedral music tradition which had been dealt a severe blow in the previous century was, under the Puritan Parliament, completely shut down. Nonetheless, it is clear that the period of the Interregnum was brief enough to allow memory of tradition to remain lively in the minds of those who would survive it and, although the extent of the loss in terms of scores destroyed will never be known with certainty, sufficient material was available to effect an amazingly rapid restoration process, at least in the King's chapel. Tradition was, indeed, interrupted—but certainly not destroyed!

If the Puritans are to be blamed for the temporary cessation of sacred music tradition, however, it must also be recognized that it was also during their period of political control that domestic music and music meetings developed, and that this may have served to pave the way for the "secularization" of sacred music under Charles II. The
increasing focus on solo performance, the growing popularity of the violin family, and the use of trio texture all continued to develop during the Commonwealth, and would find acceptance in the Restoration service of worship.

The Continental influence of Charles himself on Restoration sacred music has been much discussed. He certainly had no hesitation in expressing his preference for Continental musicians—initially French, and later, Italian. He was known to order English string players to stop playing, ordering that Frenchmen play instead.70 His structuring of his own Chapel Royal on the model of that at Versailles is clear and, in addition to importing such musicians as the Frenchmen Grabu and Cambert, Italians Nicolai, Draghi, Reggio, and numerous others, he also sent some English musicians across the Channel to study. John Banister, Charles' "master of the twenty-four," went to learn Lully's methods in the winter of 1661-2, and Pelham Humfrey returned in 1667 from a two-year study in France and possibly Italy, as well. Humfrey brought home with him French dance rhythms and an Italian sense for "pathetic" declamation, both of which he put to use in his anthems for the Chapel Royal.71 Charles' influence went beyond that of


71. Pepys records the following in his diary from that time:

"Home, and there find, as I expected, Mr. Caesar and little Pelham Humphreys, lately returned..."
an observer, for he "had some knowledge of music . . . and sang, to use the expression of one who had often sung with him (John Gostling, the famous bass), a plump bass."\(^a\)

Roger North recalls that—

\[\text{King Charles II was a professed lover of musick, but of this kind onely [French style], and had an utter detestation of Fancys, . . . And he would not allow the matter to be disputed upon the point of melliority, but run all downe by saying, Have not I ears? He could not bear any musick to which he could not keep the time, and that he constantly did to all that was presented to him, and for the most part heard it standing.}\(^a\)

And it was quite clear that Charles' interest in the services at his Chapel Royal was not of a religious nature, his behavior making it fully evident how little he was concerned with prayers and sacraments.\(^a\) In spite of his obvious taste for newer styles, it is possible that Charles's direct influence in the music employed at the Chapel Royal has been exaggerated\(^a\) for, while it is true from France, and is a absolute Monsieur, as full of form, and confidence, and vanity, and disparages everything, and everybody's skill but his own."\(^a\) cf. Pepys, The Diary, VIII, 529.


73. North, Memoirs of Musick, 350.

74. Bishop Gilbert Burnet (d. 1715), History of His Own Times (London, 1903), 34. One anecdote relates an admonition from a preacher to a dozing peer in the congregation: "My Lord, my Lord, you snore so loud you will wake the King."\(^a\) cf. Sir Arthur Bryant, King Charles II (London, 1955), 82.
that he ordered the use of symphonies and ritornelli between sections of the anthems. Tudway relates that the king did not plan any alteration of the regular (weekday) services in the Chapel Royal. Instruments were required to attend no more than once a week, when he himself was to be present. At other times, music in the older tradition continued. It was not uncommon for Evelyn, even after 1668, to go to the Chapel Royal to hear wind music, indicating that the older consort of wind instruments had not been completely replaced by strings. 75

The king was not alone, however, in his acquired taste for things Continental, for Charles had not been the only Englishman in exile in France during the Interregnum. Numerous Englishmen not in exile (Sir William D'Avenant among them) visited the king at the court of Louis XIV, 76 and social correctness and sophistication came to be equated with Continental customs. The education of a rich young Englishman was frequently "rounded out" with a Continental tour and, gradually, French words, dress, and ideas were introduced into everyday English culture. Continental musicians found more lucrative employment in England than

75. Davey goes so far as to say that "It was Charles II who killed the older English school, vocal and instrumental alike; and who finally killed the pride of the English in their music." --cf. Henry Davey, History of English Music, second edition (New York, 1969), 292-293.

76. Dearnley, English Church Music, 49.

did native artists. Other sources of foreign influence included the Portuguese, and later, Italian musicians at the private chapel of Charles' Queen Catherine, and the French establishment of the queen-mother, Henrietta Maria. Among Italian musicians performing in English concert series, violinists Nicola Matteis and Thomas Baltzar astonished the English public with their virtuosity. Corelli's sonatas arrived in England in the early 1680s, just in time to give Purcell's first set of sonatas serious competition. It has been seen that foreign influence on English music was nothing new. But, as Routley puts it, the new ideas which broke over England during Charles' reign were "like a metropolitan circus in an English village; and it came, unlike the circus, to stay." Jensen sums up the situation as follows:

Given man's natural propensities, the kind of art that elicits the most admiration and respect and that is liked by those thought to possess the most refined sensibilities will be admired by those who want to do the right thing yet are unsure of their own judgment—whether they prefer that art and whether that art is worth liking. A rising, ambitious, but insecure middle class will seize and hold fast to art that its members think they are supposed to like, and the Restoration is noted for the rapid expansion of the middle class, its technology, business practices, and tastes becoming more and more important. People aspiring to a higher social level on a national scale, especially

80. Routley, A Short History of English Church Music, 149.
if artists and performers are patronized by them, will cause the development of that art they think they should cultivate, while perfectly good, vigorous forms may at the same time be totally or partially destroyed in the name of proper judgment or taste.™

Whether due primarily to Charles himself, or equally shared by other circumstances which brought English society into contact with Continental tastes and customs, it is clear that foreign influence became an increasingly powerful force in the determination of musical style during the latter half of the seventeenth century in England.

Long finds neither the Puritan influence nor the influence of the Francophile monarchy completely acceptable as explanation for the new musical styles rapidly developing in England during Charles' reign, but feels that England was simply responding, as was all of Europe to the new Baroque music, which had its origins in Italy. Its full impact hit England in the 1630s, and the "Restoration School" is simply the final flowering of a movement which had its beginnings long before the Restoration. He further suggests that it should simply be called the English Baroque.™ Although it is difficult to completely discount the influence of the Commonwealth and the accelerated importation of the Continental beau monde following the Restoration, the international exchange which increased throughout the

82. Long, The Music of the English Church, 212.
seventeenth century surely would have ultimately effected similar changes in England's musical culture if, perhaps, more gradually. In fact, the absorption in the works of Deering, Philips, and others, of Italian declamatory practice and use of basso continuo no doubt would have continued, and developed along the lines already foreshadowed, had the Commonwealth not interrupted its development.

As another factor influencing the formation of the new, soloistic style of sacred music, Westrup makes the point that the temper of the Restoration age was one of individualism and that the ensuing glorification of the individual singer (as on the Italian opera stage) was a reflection of this new spirit. Composers found themselves under increasing pressure to satisfy the often elementary tastes of their "audience."

But, the fate of England's own tradition remains, as yet unaddressed. Zimmerman speaks out strongly on the hardiness of England's native traditions, in relation to the influx of foreign conventions:

Despite all such [foreign] influence, successful or otherwise, seventeenth-century musical traditions remained essentially 'English.' Italian and French influences either were absorbed and naturalized, or fell by the wayside. Thus in


studying English music history one should always distinguish between alleged or apparent influences, frequently either superficial, ephemeral, or both, and those which may be proved to have been genuinely effective. Borrowed techniques did not often take root, and though perhaps vaguely influential, cannot often be traced clearly into the mainstream of English music, which tended to retain its native character even during periods of extensive assimilation from abroad up to the time of the so-called Italian invasion at the end of the seventeenth century.***

Lewis points out, also, that the excessive degree of refinement which was part and parcel of French composition, ultimately came to be rejected (or at least strongly tempered) in England. He mentions the frequent interruption of an otherwise bland French-style dance by an English composer's unconventional harmony or unexpected dislocation of rhythm "that might make an elegantly poised foot feel a little less secure."***

The verse anthem with strings, or "cantata anthem," was a short-lived genre, dependent as it was upon the interest and encouragement of the king. After Charles' death, the twenty-four violins disappeared, and the use of stringed instruments in general dropped out of favor," but composers continued to write verse anthems "with all the

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Flourish of interludes and Retornellos, which are now perform'd by the Organ." The Roman Catholic James II (1885-88) had no interest in the Anglican Chapel Royal, however, and, indeed, according to Burney, was "too gloomy and bigoted a prince to have leisure or inclination for cultivating or encouraging the liberal arts," and by the time of the "Glorious Revolution" of William and Mary in 1689, the momentum which had carried musicians through the four years of James' reign was dwindling. William's attitude toward music other than martial was apathetic at best, although he appreciated the importance of impressive music for good foreign policy. Mary delivered a crushing blow when she abolished the singing of prayers in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, and introduced Sunday afternoon sermons in their place. William retained the Chapel establishment throughout the year "with solemn musick like a collegiate church"—"solemn" meaning that the music was to be entirely vocal. Under William, services became sloppy; the Chapel Royal little more than a London club for leading church musicians, providing professional respect, but little

92. Lafontaine, The King's Musick, 1691.
incentive to experiment. Strings were seldom required. The burst of activity following the ascension of Anne to the throne in 1703 resulted in a large quantity (if not always quality) of church music.

**The Restoration and Tradition**

Bukofzer draws attention to what he refers to as "the curious function of music in Restoration society... The prime object of the court music in England was to provide sensuous entertainment and to serve as a sonorous ornament." Certainly, during the reign of Charles II, much of the music of the Chapel Royal might be thus described. The changes which the king demanded—and for which, it appears, the country was ready—issued in a period of tremendous activity in church music (or, at least within the Chapel Royal).

It is interesting to compare national political, ecclesiastical, and musical traditions among the major nations of Western Europe during this period. The sacred music of both France and England was highly centralized upon a stable and absolute monarchy, unlike those of Italy and Germany. The fact of shared Catholicism between Italy and France, and the Protestantism of Germany and England, is of far less significance to the development of sacred music

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than affinities of social and political structure. The numerous musical centers in Italy and Germany are contrasted with leadership from the seat of the monarchy as in France and England and, in both France and England, sacred music was used to glorify the king, as well as God.

With regard to Restoration church, Shaw cautions that it is a mistake to over-emphasize either the influence of Charles II or the break with past traditions. In spite of the royal pressure to compose in the newer styles early in their careers, Blow and Purcell are both seen to have made copies of works by Tudor and early Stuart composers, and, indeed, the polyphonic tradition was practiced and developed by Chapel Royal composers throughout their lives. Canon Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, Oxford exerted untold impact through his many arrangements of works from masters of the late Renaissance and early Baroque—more from the Continent than from England. Through him the Catholic motet style was brought into the immediate sphere of Anglican activity. It might be argued that England's singular route of passage through the whole business of ecclesiastical and theological reform is at least partially responsible for her uniquely continuous polyphonic tradition. While much of Europe was finding itself heavily involved with the


96. Twenty-seven of his arrangements are included by Tudway in his six-volume anthology.
creation of intellectual and individual theologies (or, at least, somewhat tidied-up versions of the old institutions), England's Catholic mysticism, along with her Neo-Platonic outlook on the function of music in worship remained secure throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, sheltered, as it were, by the vestments of reform. The plasticity of England's virtually uninterrupted tradition of sacred polyphony which allowed it to absorb new ideas and practices, retained in it sufficient vigor as to allow it to thrive during a time in which other media for expression were being sought across the Channel. Ironically, the timing of the Puritan triumph, which took its power both from theological issues which had not been a major factor at the time of England's historical reformation, and from political discontent, may have served to further protect the polyphonic tradition from the Continental input (just beginning to gain influence in church music at the time of its cessation) which would have such an impact on secular and devotional music during the Commonwealth. At the restoration of the Stuart line in 1660, English polyphony (in both full and verse forms) was the sacred music most readily available both on paper, and in the memories of those who would make use of it, and it was this same tradition, continuing along side the new Continental influences, in which the young generation of Restoration composers found their national roots.
CHAPTER IV

JOHN BLOW: RESTORATION ESTABLISHMENT COMPOSER

It is customary, when referring to English music in the latter half of the seventeenth century, to touch mainly on the work of one composer: Henry Purcell. Numerous texts neglect Purcell's mentor and colleague, John Blow, altogether, or at best, mention his name in passing. If Purcell has survived the test of time with greater ease, Blow was equally well—if not more favorably—thought of in his own time. It was Blow who was admitted as an "Assistant" of the "Corporation for regulating the Art and Science of Music" at age 23, becoming Warden of the same the following year. Blow was also the first recipient of the Lambeth degree of Doctor of Music, conferred in 1677, when he was 28 years of age.

1. This was a largely ineffective body which endeavored to maintain the professional standing of musicians. Shaw points out that Blow's rapid rise within the organization indicates either the high regard in which Blow was held, or the feeble condition of the Corporation. —cf. Harold Watkins Shaw, "John Blow, Doctor of Music," The Musical Times 78 (1937), 867.

2. The degree was conferred on "those who in any liberal Science have laboured with credit and efficiency," in order that they be "invested with some signal mark of merit." Blow pursued no course of study as proof of worthiness, other than the efforts which were a normal
It was John Blow also who, in 1699, became the first holder of the newly created post of "Composer of the Chapel Royal."³

In addition to professional, academic, and royal recognition, Blow was a favorite of the musical public. He was in demand as a contributor to Playford's publications (represented by sacred compositions, catches, pieces for harpsichord, and songs), and his works appeared regularly in issues of such magazines as Mercurius Musicus, Gentleman's Journal, and others.⁴ He also published numerous independent works, most notable of which are his 1684 Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, his setting of Dryden's Ode on the Death of Mr. Henry Purcell, several sets of works for organ and harpsichord, and his collection of songs, Amphion Anglicus. It is not lacking in significance that both Mattheson and Walther included him in their dictionaries


3. This post was created by Queen Mary in an attempt to encourage higher standards which had become lacking in the Chapel Royal institution during preceding years. Originally intended to be shared by Purcell and Blow, each would have been expected to produce a new anthem on the first Sunday of his month of waiting.

of musicians. Indeed, it might be speculated that, had it not been for one outspoken music historian from the eighteenth century,® the work of John Blow might have suffered less derision over the centuries.

Child Musician in the Service of the King

Documentation on the life of John Blow, other than that directly relating to his musical activities, is virtually non-existent. There are no personal letters, and few references in journals or diaries. Even the informative Samuel Pepys mentions him only once.® There was, for many years, considerable confusion concerning the place of Blow's birth. Both Burney and Hawkins claimed that he was born in North Collingham, Nottinghamshire, and this misinformation has been quoted many times over. Dr. Benjamin Rogers (d. 1698) apparently told Oxford antiquary Anthony Wood that Blow was born in London.® Blow himself, however, claimed

5. The reference here is, of course, to the famous Dr. Charles Burney, who so unabashedly attacked the work of the still famous John Blow that numerous subsequent critics were influenced to follow suit.

6. Reliable biographical work on Blow has been done by Henry Leland Clarke (see his dissertation), and by Harold Watkins Shaw. Shaw has published numerous articles concerning John Blow. His article in The Musical Times, mentioned above, and his entry on Blow in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, contain the most biographical information.

Newark, in the County of Nottingham, as his place of birth in his sworn statement upon receipt of his honorary doctorate, and the information is confirmed by the Newark parish records, which show his baptism there on 23 February 1649.®

Five of Captain Cooke's original twelve boys came from Newarke and nearby Lincoln.® It was mentioned in Chapter I, that the Song School at Newark avoided the label of "chantry," thereby managing to survive both the dissolution of monasteries under Henry VIII, and Edward VI's subsequent closings of chantries.® Reference is made in the "Victoria History of Nottinghamshire" to the appointment of one John Hinton as Song School master in 1649, who continued in his post until his death in 1668.® Although there is no solid


10. The twin Grammar and Song Schools were established in 1519 by Thomas Magnus, who also set up a foundation for the maintenance of the schools. According to the statutes, six children were "chosen apte and mete to lerne to syng, and they to be taught by the said Maister of the Song Scoole, theyre playn Songe, pryk Songe, descant and to play at the Organs." The choristers were to provide musical services for the parish church. Because the schools were officially linked to no monastery, cathedral, or chantry, they were apparently overlooked by reformers of both sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thereby avoiding destruction.

evidence of Blow's study at the Magnus Song School, both his birth place and the fact of Cooke's discovery of him and four other boys together there, would strongly suggest that he, as well as the others, was brought up under the tutelage of John Hinton in the Magnus Song School, during the Commonwealth period.

At the age of twelve, John Blow became one of the famous "Cooke's boys," to be educated and musically trained in the court of King Charles II. His royal education included the study of Latin, English composition, violin, organ, lute, and harpsichord, in addition to the vocal training received as a chorister in the Chapel Royal.¹² Frequent references in accounts to the provision of "ruled paper, pens and ink" may also indicate some instruction in musical composition.¹³ Henry Cooke was personally responsible for a large part of the boys' education. It was customary for a boy to be kept on at the Chapel Royal for three or four years after his voice broke (although payment for such was not always forthcoming). During the period following the end of 1664, during which time Blow's voice was unsettled, he seems to have served some kind of apprenticeship—possibly under John Higeston, royal instrument keeper, and possibly receiving continuing

¹³. Dearnley, English Church Music, 35-36.
instruction from Christopher Gibbons in organ and
composition.**

Blow's period of musical apprenticeship at the royal
court was not unproductive. As has been seen, at least
three anthems* (all verse anthems) had been composed and
were considered part of the Chapel Royal repertoire by the
time of Clifford's 1664 collection of anthems. The
so-called Club Anthem, probably dating from June of 1665,
provides additional evidence of compositional activity among
the boys of the Chapel Royal.** By the end of 1668, when he
was in his twentieth year, Blow was fully trained,
remarkably experienced for his age, and prepared to accept
the responsibilities of a professional musician.

14. It is from this time that Pepys makes his single,
somewhat humorous, mention of the adolescent Blow:

"This morning came two of Captain Cooke's boys
whose voices are broke, and are gone from the
Chapel, but have extraordinary skill; and they and
my boy, with his broken voice, did sing three parts;
their names were Blaew and Loggins; but, not
withstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with
their broken voices, which they could not command to
keep in tune, would make a man mad--so bad it
was.--cf. Pepys, Diary, 21 August 1667.

15. I will magnify, Lord, thou hast been our refuge, and
Lord, rebuke me not.

16. It is interesting to note that Blow's final
commemorative anthem, like the first, was a
collaborative effort. Behold, how good and joyful,
known as the Union Anthem, was written by Blow and two
of his pupils, Croft and Clarke, who were the other two
Chapel Royal organists, as a commemoration on the union
of England with Scotland, under Queen Anne, 6 March
1707.
From Young Professional to Establishment Musician

On 3 December 1668, at the age of nineteen, Blow received his first post as a professional musician—that of organist of Westminster Abbey. Little more than a month later, he rejoined the King's service as a musician for the virginals. At the age of twenty-five, in March of 1674, Blow was sworn a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and, following Pelham Humfrey's untimely death in July of the same year, Blow succeeded him as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal and composer-in-ordinary for voices at court. By this time a well-established London musician, Blow married Elizabeth Braddock (daughter of Edward Braddock, himself a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and Master of the Choristers of Westminster Abbey) by whom he would have three children who survived infancy. It was also during this period that Henry Purcell, his voice now broken, was serving an apprenticeship under John Blow similar to that served by Blow under Cooke and Gibbons.

Some time following the death of Christopher Gibbons in October of 1676, Blow succeeded him as one of the

17. Blow has sometimes been cited as "Master of the King's Musick"—a position in which there was no vacancy during Blow's career. As Shaw points out, Staggins held the position until his death in 1700, at which point it was immediately taken up by John Eccles. Shaw speculates that the mistake is due to a clerk's error for what should have read "Master of the Children . . ."—cf. H. Watkins Shaw, "John Blow, Doctor of Music," Musical Times LXXVIII (1937), 1026.
three organists of the Chapel Royal, bringing the number of his official positions to a total of six. On 10 December 1677, he was honored by the dean and chapter of Canterbury with the first Lambeth doctorate to be issued in the field of music.18

During the five years between 1674 and 1679 (at which time he turned over his Westminster post to his pupil, Henry Purcell), Blow was composing for two major ecclesiastical institutions, the Chapel Royal, and Westminster Abbey. His primary motivation for the composition of solo verse anthems came from his work in the Chapel Royal, where he had access to string instruments and to many fine male soloists (the famous bass, John Gostling, being but one). The forces available at the Abbey were of a different nature. Although the choir was large and highly trained, no instruments other than organ were available.19 It is for this post that Purcell probably composed the majority of his sixteen full anthems during the early 1680s20 and, although Blow also had use for full anthems in the weekday services at the Chapel

18. The Lambeth Degree is an honorary degree conferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury from time to time in the fields of divinity, arts, law, medicine, and music. The tradition originated with Henry VIII, who assumed many rights similar to those formerly enjoyed only by the Pope as the Legatus natus.—cf. Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, second edition, P. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, editors (London, 1974), 795.


20. Ibid.
Royal, the exclusive need for such at Westminster surely provided additional incentive for composition in this style.

Clarke cites Christopher Gibbons as the strongest influence on the development of Blow's full choral style, providing an important link to the art of his father and other earlier composers.\textsuperscript{21} The young composer's regard for and study of the work of his master is seen in his inclusion of seven anthems and one Latin motet by Gibbons in what is generally considered a study anthology, copied by Blow around 1675.\textsuperscript{22} No composer other than Blow himself is as copiously represented in the manuscript. Blow's study of the Italian stile nuovo is reflected in his inclusion of numerous such compositions by Monteverdi, Carissimi, Rovetta, and Savioni, some of which are secular compositions. Henry Cooke (a mediocre composer, if "esteem'd ye best singer after ye Italian manner of any in England,"\textsuperscript{23}) and Blow's Continentally-tutored colleague Pelham Humfrey, were probably the two strongest native influences on Blow's compositions in the newer style.

Blow's resignation of his post as organist at Westminster Abbey in 1679 has been the cause for much

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Clarke, John Blow, 27.
\item Och Mus. 14. This manuscript will be discussed and itemized in Chapter V.
\item John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, edited by E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), 143-44.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
interesting speculation. Upon his resignation, the twenty-year-old Henry Purcell took up Blow's former duties. It has been suggested that Blow was dismissed from the post, but his reappointment on Purcell's death in 1695 makes it highly unlikely that there was any other than a happy working relationship there. A pretty story concerning Blow's generosity to his gifted pupil has been passed on over the years, and may, in fact, tell part of the story for, as Shaw suggests, "Since he himself combined in one person almost all the musical positions of considerable worth in London, Blow must have recognized that Purcell's only chance at a good post lay in his own resignation." A similar resignation from duties at St. Paul's in 1703 produced a post for another pupil, Jeremiah Clarke. If a favor was indeed done, it is also clear that Blow relinquished the one of his six positions which was fairly time-consuming and little lucrative. Clearly, however, he did not find the duties too heavy to be resumed in 1695.

The period following 1679 witnessed a great increase in Blow's production of secular music. During this time he


25. Those who suggest a dismissal of Blow point to his oath of office in which he promised to be "content to relinquish his right, title and interest" in the position should other activities prove "prejudicial [sic] to his attendance." There is no question that, by 1679, Dr. Blow was a busy man! As the precentor's book for the period is lost, the exact circumstances can only be surmised.—cf. Clarke, John Blow, 36-37.
became a regular contributor to the Playford periodical song collections. He worked, also, in the forms which would become established as the pastoral elegy and the ode. The early 1680s saw the production of his only opera, Venus and Adonis. Although called a "masque" because of its association with the court, its continuous use of music makes it a genuine, if miniature, opera. Purcell's Dido and Aeneas, composed several years later, bears it many similarities.

In 1682, Blow accepted an additional appointment as one of the three organists of the Chapel Royal (along with Purcell and William Child). Dearnley explains that

... it was not uncommon amongst organists to take on more than one appointment. The plethora of posts held by Blow and Boyce can be explained not so much on grounds of financial ambition (although this would not have been neglected), as that this was the way they maintained their leading positions."  

By this time, Blow was highly esteemed, and was in a position to recommend musicians for various positions in noble households, as well as in ecclesiastical institutions. As Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal, he was able to use his influence to obtain experience


27. Dearnley, English Church Music, 117.

and positions for many of his pupils. His assumption of Michael Wise's post as Almoner and Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral in September of 1687 brought the number of his positions to seven! As the leading musician in London, he must have acted somewhat as a musical broker, seeing that all the duties were performed adequately—if not by himself, by a talented pupil.

Although a minor event in a busy professional life, Blow's participation in the famous "battle of the organs" is of some interest. The commission for the organ to be constructed at Temple Church was hotly contested by the two leading organ builders in London, Father Smith (Schmid) and Father Harris. Each of the rivals built and erected an organ in the church. Smith's instrument was demonstrated by Blow and Purcell, and Harris' by Giovanni Battista Draghi of Queen Catherine's private Catholic chapel. The competition continued for quite some time, each builder having obtained the support of one of the constantly warring societies, the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple. Accusations of pipe-tampering and bellows-splitting flew. When a decision was finally reached in 1684, victory went to Father Smith, the builder favored by the Middle Templars and represented by Purcell and Blow.**

29. Jonathan Rennert tells a story about Smith's organ, originating from the evening before it and the Temple Church were destroyed by bombs on 10 May 1941. Legend had it that the ghost of Father Smith had been heard playing his doomed organ Saturday evening, before it was
The majority of the anthems with strings composed both by Purcell and by Blow were written during the reign of Charles II (1660–85). Notwithstanding that the remunerations due his musicians were always in arrears, his court provided the opportunity and encouragement (often of greater value than money) needed for experimentation. Toward the end of his reign, however, the musical establishment began to suffer noticeably from lack of funds, and under his brother, James II, the Chapel Royal was all but ignored.

James paid off debts to court musicians left by his brother, then proceeded to construct his own Roman chapel in the northwest corner of the Privy Garden of the palace. With only the Princess Anne to attend, the splendor of the Chapel Royal was soon eclipsed by the "glittering new chapel under the direct patronage of the crown," for which foreign musicians were found. The glory of Restoration

30. Clarke, John Blow, 47.

31. Ibid., 49.

32. Hawkins tells an amusing, and almost certainly apocryphal story concerning Blow during the reign of James II, communicated to him by one Mr. Weely of the king's chapel, who had been a scholar of Blow's. As the story goes, James heard an anthem by an Italian composer performed and liked it very much. Upon being asked if he could make one as good, Blow responded that he could, and would produce it the following Sunday. After having

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sacred music, ironically, can be said to have been most splendidly represented in the coronation ceremony of the king during whose reign it would noticeably decline. Of the nine anthems composed for the service, three were composed by John Blow—more than by any other single composer.

It is surely some indication of an indifference to the Chapel Royal on the part of reigning royalty, that the years 1680-1700 witnessed a great increase in Blow's secular output, as compared with that for use within ecclesiastical institutions. In addition to his many published compositions, there were at least twelve Odes for New Year's Day, five Odes for St. Cecilia's Day, his one opera, and many more songs and keyboard compositions. The only anthems with strings produced toward the end of the century were written for events outside the Chapel Royal.

heard I beheld and, Lo! the King sent the Jesuit Father Petre to inform Blow that he was well pleased with it, to which Petre is supposed to have added, "But, I myself think it too long." "That," answered Blow, "is the opinion of but one fool, and I heed it not." The Jesuit is said to have plotted revenge for this expression of contempt, and supposedly succeeded in having Blow put under suspension, to be saved only by the Glorious Revolution which occurred shortly after. Shaw has pointed out, however, that no record of suspension exists, and that the anthem in question is now known to have been written no later than 1683.—cf. Shaw, "John Blow, Doctor of Music," 1027.

33. I was glad, for the opening of the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1697; Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, 1698; O sing unto the Lord a new song, for a charitable event, 1702.
By the time of his designation as the first holder of the newly created post of Composer of the Chapel Royal, John Blow was, without rival, London's foremost musician. From that time, until his resignation of the post at St. Paul's, the middle-aged composer simultaneously carried the burden of nine positions:

Organist of Westminster Abbey, 1669-79, 1695-1708;
King's Musician for the Virginals, from 1669;
Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, from 1674 (more of a title than a post);
Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, from 1674;
Composer-in-Ordinary for voices at court, from 1674;
Organist of the Chapel Royal (one of three), from 1676;
Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral, 1687-1703;
Tuner of the regals, organs, virginals, flutes, and recorders to the Court (along with Father Smith), from 1695;
Composer of the Chapel Royal, from 1699.

Wood feels that the weight of this extraordinary work-load contributed to an increasingly uneven quality of compositions, and a marked increase in self-borrowings and, in fact, even the quantity of his output declined. William was more interested in campaigns abroad than in culture at home, and the death of Mary in 1695 meant that there would no longer even be the joyful celebrations of her

34. Blow, Anthems II: Anthems with Orchestra, xvii.
birthday. Blow began to spend more of his time in Hampton, where he owned an estate.\textsuperscript{35}

In the dedication of his song anthology \textit{Amphion Anglicus}, published in the year 1700, he mentions his intention to compile a volume of some of his church compositions. "With them I began by first Youthful Raptures in this Art: With them, I hope calmly and comfortably to finish my days."\textsuperscript{36} It is much to be regretted that he died with his final wish unfulfilled. In 1707, however, he completed an organ score of some of his more recent sacred compositions (Cfm. 116) which, according to Clarke, "infuse a newer poignancy into the old a cappella style and remain as monuments of sober, mature beauty."\textsuperscript{37}

About Blow, the teacher and the man, we know very little. Shaw estimates that no fewer than fifty-six boys passed through his care during his years as Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal alone; many more when the choristers of St. Paul's are included.\textsuperscript{38} Many of these attained positions of eminence (most notably, William Croft, Blow's successor as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal and organist at Westminster; and Jeremiah Clarke,

\begin{enumerate}
\item Clarke, John Blow, 69.
\item Clarke, John Blow, 78.
\item Shaw, "John Blow, Doctor of Music," 1025.
\end{enumerate}
organist of St. Paul's and Blow's successor as Master of the Children there). Several brief tributes to Blow's character were written by his choristers:

A Father's fondness, and a Master's care,  
Should have returns beyond a Scholar's Pray'r.  
---William Crofts, tribute affixed to Amphion Anglicus

Though equal care our Master might bestow,  
Yet only Purcell e're shall equal Blow.  
---Henry Hall, from Purcell's Orpheus Britannicus

The Pains you've taken, and the Love you've shown,  
Treating your Pupil Children as your own,  
The Work you've Published, an the Numbers Taught  
Should take up all th' Employment of our Thought.  
---William Luddington, tribute affixed to Amphion Anglicus

All these encomiums seem to be genuine expressions of gratitude and affection. Fifty years after Blow's death, Hawkins quoted one of the composer's later pupils as saying that--

Dr. Blow was a very handsome man in his person, and remarkable for a gravity and decency in his deportment suited to his station, though he seems to have been not altogether insensible to the delights of a convivial hour. He was a man of blameless morals, and of a benevolent temper; but was not so insensible of his own worth, as to be totally free from the imputation of pride."


John Blow died on 1 October 1708, of conditions unknown, and 
was buried a week later close to Purcell in the north aisle 
of Westminster Abbey, against the door leading up to the 
organ. In his will, composed nine months before his death, 
he mentioned his failing health.** His holdings in real 
estate, in addition to other goods and money, divided 
between his three surviving daughters after bequests to his 
servant, sister, and niece, show him to have died a man of 
considerable material prosperity.

**Blow's Compositional Output**

Clarke established 407 as his approximation of the 
number of Blow's compositions, and broke it down further as 
follows:

103 anthems (full and verse);

94 keyboard pieces: secular harpsichord and sacred 
organ;

81 solo songs (many appearing in Amphion Anglicus and 
other publications;

75 miscellaneous secular vocal pieces (odes, elegies, 
commemorations, etc.);

51 miscellaneous sacred vocal pieces (services, 
settings of Latin texts, etc.**

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43. For a transcript of the will, see F.G. Edwards, "Dr. 
John Blow," Musical Times XLIII (1902), 86.

44. In Clarke's numbering of Blow's services, he isolates 
and individually numbers various service movements which 
will be treated here as one liturgical unit, as will be 
discussed in Chapter VII. In addition, two Latin motets
2 concerted instrumental pieces;  
1 dramatic work: Venus and Adonis."

Clarke also asserts that Blow composed more anthems and more services than any English composer of any age, and that among Restoration musicians, he ranks first as a composer of keyboard music and odes.« Blow is second only to Purcell as a contributor to the contemporary song collections.» In addition, Blow seems to have had a significant role in the creation of the ode, the pastoral elegy, and the experimental English opera. Shaw points out that, although the output of Purcell and Blow was very closely parallel, Purcell showed greater interest in instrumental and stage music, while Blow was more interested in liturgical and organ music." In short, Blow's activities were devoted primarily to the service of the court with all of the diverse occasions which demanded a musical setting.

Shaw states that "in significance, [Blow] must claim to stand above his pupil, Henry Purcell, [in organ composition]." Of the thirty pieces for organ believed

which Clarke counts among Blow's oeuvre, O bone Jesu, and Miserere mei, are now known to be the work of Locke and Purcell, respectively.

46. Clarke, John Blow, 90.
47. Ibid.
by Shaw to be "reliably ascribed to [Blow]," and included in his _John Blow: Complete Organ Works_, most are sharply differentiated from his harpsichord music by their contrapuntal style. Shaw points to the pieces for single manual as his best, over those in the "double voluntary" style requiring bravura passage-work, the single-manual works revealing fine contrapuntal texturing and sense of structure. Inconsistency in number of voices is characteristic of his contrapuntal keyboard style, and a certain modal bias which appears from time to time contributes to the gravity of the style.

Bukofzer recognizes Blow as the "highest among the pre-Purcellian harpsichord composers." He points out the absence of "harmonic willfulness" in Blow's keyboard music, as opposed to that found in his vocal music—an observation which is so striking that one might not think the same man their mutual creator. Clarke claims Blow as the only English composer of the time who composed a set of harpsichord pieces in the allemande-courante-sarabande-gigue sequence which would become the standard suite form.


Purcell's miniatures possibly exhibit more polish, but Blow often worked on a much larger scale, producing series of extended chaconnes and grounds. Shaw refers to Blow's Ground in E Minor, with its twenty-eight variations, as "the greatest English virtuoso piece of its time, frankly exulting in its exploitation of the keyboard."

Hawkins remarked that, although the "harmony in Blow's Amphion Anglicus is such as it became so great a master to write... in the article of expression, in melody, and in all the graces and elegancies of this species of vocal composition, it is evidently defective." It is with full appreciation of the prominence of Dr. Blow as a song composer in his day, and with a general unwillingness to further denigrate a composer who has already suffered unjustified neglect, that the general accuracy of Hawkins' observations must be conceded. The songs alternate between use of patterning on a small scale, and the free, declamatory style in which Purcell so excelled. Some of the pieces on grounds are a bit more convincing, if not in expression, at least in structure. (See, for example, Oh! when ye pow'rs his Labour cease, which makes use of a lilting ground in 6/8.) Cloe found Amintas lying all in

Tears, for three voices, seems, at times, to be a continuation of the English madrigal tradition. Although Blow's songs are somewhat interesting for study purposes, it is difficult to escape the impression that the composer is not fully at ease with the composition of "ditties." Of great interest, however, are the fifteen adulatory descriptions of Blow and his work written by former pupils and colleagues, prefaced to the Amphion Anglicus.

Much more successful are Blow's more elaborate secular vocal works: the odes and elegies. The first recorded celebration of St. Cecilia's Day was that sponsored by the Musical Society of London in 1683. For some twenty years the November 22 celebration was observed fairly regularly, becoming sporadic after 1703. Purcell composed the first Musical Entertainment, used in 1683; Blow followed suit in 1684. During the next twenty years, the most eminent musicians in London were asked to provide St. Cecilia's Day music, Blow and Purcell each making several additional contributions. Blow's composition for the 1691 celebration is an extended work of 942 measures. It begins with a French style overture for strings, oboes, trumpets, and timpani that is followed by a number of "movements" set off by change of meter and texture. Two of the duets were later published in Amphion Anglicus. Purcell and Blow each wrote

57. Clarke, John Blow, 43.
a Te Deum and Jubilate for the St. Cecilia's Day celebrations in 1694 and 1695, respectively.

Blow's 1679 setting of Abraham Cowley's Awake, my lyre for the Act Music at Oxford was important in the establishment of the ode as a primary type of English music; afterwards it became recognized as the traditional channel of courtly homage. Numerous marriages, deaths, and other events of the Court called for commemorative odes which were often written to mediocre texts by official court poets. Blow's setting of Thomas Flatman's verses on the death of Rochester, in 1681, similarly, helped establish the elegy as a traditional English musical genre.

It has been seen that Blow showed little interest in the popular stage, and it follows that the composition and subsequent production of his one dramatic work arose directly from his duties as court composer. Officially called a "masque" because of its royal associations (the actors included one of the King's mistresses and her young daughter), *Venus and Adonis* is, in actuality, a small opera. Its particular significance lies in the fact that it is the first true English opera to survive complete, and in its role as precursor of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*. It was composed toward the end of the reign of Charles II. Its French-style overture and Prologue suggest that it was


influenced by the operas of Lully, but Blow's harmonic style is considerably more adventurous than that of Lully, and the characters move beyond the artificial rigidity found in French models. The third act, during which the lovers are parted at Adonis' death, is truly a masterpiece of dramatic effect. As with Purcell's Dido and Aeneas, one can only wish that circumstances had been favorable for more such efforts.

Outside of Venus and Adonis, the odes, and the orchestral anthems, Blow wrote hardly any orchestral music. The opera contains his only dance movements. (The "Saraband for the Graces," toward the end of Act II is strange, indeed, in its most unusual use of chromaticism.) One Sonata, one Ground, and one Chaconne represent his entire output for orchestra alone. Instrumental writing as part of larger works, however, reveals Blow to have possessed full mastery of the small-scale instrumental style.

The majority of Blow's orchestral anthems were written before 1684, for the Chapel Royal under Charles II. Of the eighty-seven verse anthems, twenty-eight make use of instruments other than organ. Long feels that, despite the many fine passages, the verse anthems in general do not represent Blow's best work, citing over-use of certain mannerisms, clichés, and word-painting and, of course, the "hallelujah" endings which "bedevilled the verse anthem for

more than a century." Long is not alone in the feeling that "Blow was limited in his range of emotional expression: he excelled in conveying tenderness, sadness, grief, penitence, strength and nobility, but was less successful in expressing such emotions as joy and thankfulness where he was inclined to fall back on stock formulae." It is in his composition of full anthems and services—to be considered in Chapters VI and VII—that he found a medium for the expression of some of the more serious aspect of the human condition.

Relationship Between Blow and Purcell

The relationship between Blow and Purcell has been the subject of some scholarly discussion. Although it has been suggested that the phrase "Master to the famous Mr H. Purcell," found on Blow's memorial in Westminster Abbey, is a laudatory over-statement of Blow's influence on the younger Purcell, there is no doubt that Blow's influence as teacher extended over several years and was quite considerable. Not only was Blow Master of the Children during part of Purcell's apprenticeship at the Chapel Royal, but Purcell served as copyist of Westminster Abbey during 1675-76, while Blow was organist there." Further, Purcell

62. Ibid., 301.
63. Ibid., 260.
64. Westrup, Purcell, 39.
hailed Blow as "one of the greatest masters in the world," and quoted Blow's famous Canon in his edition of Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Music*. That they received similar adulation from the musical public is made clear by Dr. Sacheverell's phrase, "Hail, Mighty Pair! Of Jubal's sacred art The greatest glory," (referring to Blow and Purcell) from the third edition of Playford's second book of *Harmonia Sacra.* Mutual influence is, in some cases, very obvious (Blow on Purcell in opera production; Purcell on Blow in publication of song anthologies), and Anthony Lewis has suggested the possibility of borrowings between the two composers. There is no doubt about the constancy of their work together: at the Abbey, in the Chapel Royal, in the demonstration of Smith's Temple Church organ, and even a collaborative elegy on the death of Queen Mary. (Both set the same text: Purcell in Latin; Blow in English.) Although it was Blow who influenced Purcell initially, it seems clear that, as eventual colleagues, influence became mutual.

Recognizing the limitation and potential danger of generalizations, it is, nonetheless, possible to draw some understanding from a sketchy comparison of these two giants


66. Anthony Lewis, "Purcell and Blow's 'Venus and Adonis',' *Music and Letters* XLIV (1963), 266.
of the Restoration musical scene. Until the age of twelve, John Blow was raised in the country, away from the influences and changing fashions of life in London. Based on what has been seen in terms of church music available and popular immediately preceding the Commonwealth and immediately following the Restoration, it is likely that Blow's presumed experience at the Magnus School during the Interregnum was thoroughly imbued with music of the older contrapuntal persuasion. He probably knew little music which was not written for worship, and was likely completely unaware of the foreign influences which were sweeping London off its feet.

By way of contrast, even before Purcell was accepted as chorister to the Chapel Royal, he was surrounded with the London culture into which he was born. Both his father, Thomas Purcell, and the uncle for whom he was named, were musicians and Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, the latter as a musician for the lute and voice.67 Both continued to practice music as a profession during the Commonwealth. Uncle Henry took the part of Mustapha in Sir William D'Avenant's operatic experiment, The Siege of Rhodes, in 1656. Clearly, young Henry Purcell grew up in the midst of the secularizing influences which dominated Commonwealth period. In his world, the conventional path of compositional activity was that of mimicking foreign fashion. It

67. Westrup, Purcell, 20.
is to be expected that Purcell would be more at home with instrumental composition and composition for the stage than would Blow. It was, after all, his heritage.

Blow earned the respectful affection of those with whom he worked, and was always addressed as "Dr. Blow." Purcell, on the other hand, had probably been a part of court activities from very early childhood, and appears to have been treated with less formality.

Purcell is best known today for his theatrical and instrumental music. Blow's gifts shine most prominently through his church music, of which he composed considerably more than Purcell. Purcell had no compunction about switching from sacred composition to that for the stage when the fortunes of the Chapel Royal began to diminish. Blow continued in the path of his upbringing, remaining, to his death, primarily a composer of the church.

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68. Clarke makes mention of the nickname "Harry," which Purcell was said to have been called, but provides no evidence for this.—cf. Clarke, John Blow, 59.
Despite Blow’s lifelong focus on the composition of music for the Church, the large majority of his works published during his lifetime were secular.¹ In addition to his light songs and harpsichord pieces, however, several devotional songs and verse anthems also found their way into print.² The published popularity of Blow’s non-choral music, as opposed to the virtual non-existence of his full-choral compositions outside of manuscript sources, is a reflection of the great amount of amateur musical activity, for which much of this music was written. The abundance of

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1. Blow was a many-time contributor of songs to many periodical publications, among them, The Gentleman’s Journal, a monthly publication which contained fashionable new music along with news, poetry, and bits of history and philosophy, published in London during the early 1690s. He was also a collaborator in several harpsichord tutors. Mention has already been made of his own publication of songs, Amphion Anglicus.

2. See, for example, Harmonia Sacra, Book II (London, 1693), which contains one of Blow’s devotional songs; or The Divine Companion (London, 1701), containing six of Blow’s devotional songs and text for four more; his well-known verse anthem O pray for the peace of Jerusalem, also appears in The Divine Companion from 1707, along with several other compositions.
manuscripts containing his sacred choral music is equal evidence of the high regard in which this important, more learned aspect of his work was held by trained musicians, especially those active within the sacred music establishments around London.

As printing gradually became less expensive during the latter part of the sixteenth century, it became increasingly possible for churches and cathedrals, as well as individual music collectors, to afford printed copies of music. Manuscript production beyond that representing the composition process gradually came to be limited to specific repertories, such as that of the papal chapels, whose particular repertoire was not for dissemination outside of the Vatican. The English Chapel Royal was one of the establishments still employing professional scribes late in the seventeenth century, and it is in the manuscripts produced by the circle of copyists within the court that the sacred music of the late seventeenth-century English Chapel Royal exists almost exclusively.

**Blow's Autograph**

With the exception of some isolated pieces of vocal chamber music, the only extant compositions in Blow's hand are some choral odes and church music.³ Several

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incontrovertible specimens have provided basis for
comparison and analysis of Blow's hand:

Portions of the minutes of the "Corporation for
regulating the Art and Science of Music," which
Blow joined in 1672, and of which he was the
sometime warden.  

Blow's signature on a printed form of receipt for a
subscription to Amphion Anglicus, dated July 11,
1699.  

Blow's Rules for Playing of a Thorough Bass.  

Based on these sources, Shaw has also accepted as holograph
a letter written by Blow to Sir Joseph Williamson dated
February of 1697.  

Clarke has observed that Blow's signature is "plain,
compact, and firm, with a slight slope to the right and
tendency to run up hill," further noting that letters are
seldom connected.  Shaw mentions a slight kink in the stem
of Blow's lower-case "1," which was apparently evened out as
Blow matured, thereby providing a valuable tool for dating
various autograph sources.  

Concerning Blow's manuscript, Clarke observes that the
height of the half-notes heads is generally one-half of the

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5. Reproduced in The Musical Times 49 (1908), 705.
length of the stem, and that the entire note is made with a single stroke. This observation should be modified to refer only to half-notes which are placed on lines. The heads of half-notes on spaces generally fill the space exactly, the stem being of normal (approximately three-to-one) length, whereas the heads of half-notes on lines generally fill both spaces on either side of the line, thereby producing the two-to-one proportion mentioned by Clarke. Bar lines are straight or lean ever so slightly to the right, and clef signs are consistent, as follows:

\[ \text{\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{clef.png}} \]

Clarke attaches special significance to Blow's C-clef formation, citing it as the "unvarying test of Blow's handwriting." The unique aspects of Blow's C-clef are, first, the absence of a vertical line on the left (not exclusive to Blow, but fairly uncommon),\(^{10}\) and secondly, the pairs of strokes which angle in toward the C-line at the right vertical line of the clef. Clarke mentions this second feature as exclusive to Blow's hand, although in some sources, such as GB-T 1008, the angle of the lines which makes Blow's C-clef unique is not uniformly clear. It

\[^{10}\text{It should be noted that when a C-clef is placed in the middle of a score surrounded by music, Blow uses both left and right vertical lines for obvious reasons of clarity.}\]
should also be pointed out that the C-clef appearing in the six volumes services and anthems copied by Thomas Tudway (1715-17), is very similar to that of Blow, as is Purcell's C-clef as seen in the early portion of Cfm 88. In the size of half-note heads on lines, as well, Blow's and Tudway's hands could easily be mistaken. A close examination reveals a somewhat less consistent textual slant to the right in Tudway's hand, however, as well as a few more connected letters, although Tudway usually writes separate letters, as does Blow. The most distinctive difference is found with the lower-case "d," the ascending stem of which Blow curves dramatically back to the left—most prominently when it appears at the end of a word. This is not unique to Blow's hand, but it is a characteristic that Tudway's hand does not share. Even though Blow's form of the C-clef is somewhat unusual, it is certainly not exclusive to him and must be considered along with numerous other characteristics for accurate verification.

Of the nearly sixty manuscript sources known to contain full anthems and services of John Blow, twenty can be considered to hold the greatest significance for understanding of this repertoire, representing as they do Blow's own hand, another contemporary and reliable hand, or a singular source for a particular composition. The following brief annotated bibliography of this selected group of sources will be divided accordingly.
Autograph Sources

Of Blow's full anthems and services in the composer's own hand, three categories of sources exist: manuscript albums, or anthologies of the music of Blow and other composers mostly in the hand of Blow; anthologies, or "guard books," containing holograph compositions by a number of different composers; and single manuscript items, that is, single works in the hand of Blow.

Manuscript Albums

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Music MS 116 (GB-Cfm 116)." Cfm 116 is an organ score notated on six-line staff paper containing anthems and services both by Blow and by numerous other composers almost exclusively contemporary with Blow. At the conclusion of the Service in D, on page 235, there appears "Finis 1707," which dates both the album and probably the service as well. The first 48 pages are missing, as they apparently were even in 1768 when Lord Fitzwilliam signed his name on what is now the first page.

The value of this source is three-fold. Its holograph presentation of even an organ score of seven services12

11. The system of library sigla used here conforms to that used by the Series A publications of Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Refer to the Table of Abbreviations for a full listing of libraries and sigla used in this paper.
and fourteen anthems is of obvious value. In some cases, such as the Service in C, it provides the only solid evidence of the composer's intentions, thereby making a transcription, in this instance actually a reconstruction, possible. The fact that sixteen pages of the manuscript are in a hand other than that of John Blow does not significantly detract from its value, and is probably explained by the system of "graduate assistantships" which enjoyed a long tradition even in the seventeenth century.

Secondly, the 1707 dating of the album has provided an indication of the late origin of a number of its contents, particularly the so-called "fourteen late anthems" and the four short services, appearing as they do, in no known earlier sources. Not of least importance, the volume provides evidence of some of the music which Blow valued most highly toward the end of his life. Following is a list of the content. Composer names are listed as they appear in the manuscript, and attributions from other sources are placed in brackets.

12. Although there are eight of Blow's services contained within the volume, the Service in Gamut (pages 240-242) is in a hand other than that of the composer.

13. Shaw mentions Croft, one of Blow's many pupils, as the probable scribe of pages 63-64 and 141.—cf. Shaw, "Autographs," 86.
<table>
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<th>Title</th>
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<td>conclusion of Bow down thine ear</td>
<td>Mr. Bird</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Morning Service in G</td>
<td>Mr. Portman</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>Evening Service in G</td>
<td>Mr. Portman</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimitiss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>If the Lord himself</td>
<td>Doc. Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Hast thou, O God</td>
<td>Batten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>O Give Thanks</td>
<td>Mr. Tucker</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>Service in F</td>
<td>Dr. Childs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jubilate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cantate Domino</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deus misereatur</td>
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<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>O Praise the Lord, O My Soul</td>
<td>Dr. Child</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>Service in A Minor</td>
<td>Dr. Blow</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>chant</td>
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<td>Jubilate</td>
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<td>Magnificat</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimitiss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Call to Remembrance</td>
<td>Dr. Aldrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Hide not Thou Thy face</td>
<td>[Farrant]</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>High Morning Service</td>
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<td>Te Deum</td>
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<td>Benedictus</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimitiss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>O Lord, Rebuke me not</td>
<td>Weldon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. The scribe for pages 63 and 64 is not John Blow. In addition to the markedly different appearance of the notation itself (the G-clef in particular), these two pages make no use of the slash marks used throughout much of the volume to indicate the beginning of a new section of text. The change of scribe in the middle of two compositions, respecting the boundaries provided by pagination over those of composition unity might suggest the brief involvement of one of Blow's many pupils, and a plan for the volume as a whole which was solidly pre-determined.


16. This composition is not in the hand of Blow, as evidenced by the greatly increased size of clefs, generally more careless appearance, and numerous
98 Service in C fa ut
   Te Deum
   Jubilate
   Magnificat
   Nunc dimittis

Dr. Blow

108 Lord, Thou art become gracious

Dr. Blow

109 Thy hands have made me

Dr. Blow

110 Service in D, sol re, short service
   Te Deum
   Jubilate
   Magnificat
   Nunc dimittis

Dr. Blow

118 By the Waters of Babylon

Dr. Aldrich

120 Short Morning and Evening Service
   Te Deum
   Jubilate
   Magnificat
   Nunc dimittis

Dr. Aldrich

128 O Give Thanks

Dr. Aldrich

130 Bee merciful

Dr. Blow

132 Short Service in A re
   Te Deum
   Jubilate

Dr. Childs

137 Evening Service in A re

Dr. Rogers

141 O praise the Lord all ye Heathen

Mr. Batten\(^\text{17}\)

143 Short Service in Gamut
   Te Deum
   Benedictus
   Magnificat
   Nunc dimittis

Dr. Blow

155 Praise the Lord O my Soul

Dr. Blow

158 Service in F fa ut
   Te Deum
   Benedictus
   Magnificat
   Nunc dimittis

Dr. Blow

169 Teach me thy way, O Lord

Dr. Blow

notational and textual formations which are very
different from those of John Blow. Harmonic figures are
penciled in. One feature which is shared by the earlier
departure from Blow's hand is the use of a "plus" sign,
or cross, to indicate the re-entry of full choir
following a verse section.

17. This, also, is not in Blow's hand, as is immediately
clear by the C-clef which uses two vertical lines rather
than Blow's one, and the generally heavier and more
angular appearance of the manuscript in general.
<table>
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<td>Put me not to rebuke</td>
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<td>Morning and Evening Service in D sol re</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dr. Blow</td>
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<td>Te Deum</td>
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<td>Jubilate</td>
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<td>Magnificat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
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<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Praise the Lord, yee Servants</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td>In the time of trouble</td>
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<td>184</td>
<td>Service in A re#</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jubilate</td>
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<td>Benedicte</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cantate Domino</td>
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<td>Deus Misereatur</td>
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<td>Magnificat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>O God, my hart {sic} is ready</td>
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<td>206</td>
<td>I will praise the name of God</td>
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<td>208</td>
<td>Service</td>
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<td>Te Deum</td>
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<td>Benedictus</td>
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<td>Magnificat</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
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<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Bow down thine ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Hide not thou thy face</td>
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<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>My God, my God, look upon me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>O praise the Lord of Heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Service in D sol re #</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
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<td>Jubilate</td>
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<td>Magnificat</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
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<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Lord, thou knowest all my desire</td>
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<td>238</td>
<td>My days are gone like a shadow</td>
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<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>Service in Gamut</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Magnificat</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
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<td>243</td>
<td>Service</td>
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<td>Te Deum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jubilate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Magnificat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. This attribution is made by Shaw. The hand is not that of Blow as is clear even in this penciled (therefore barely legible on microfilm) anthem by the consistently curved ascending stems and the generally more rounded appearance of the noteheads.

19. This appears to be in the same, or at least very similar hand as that seen on pages 96-97.
Oxford, Christ Church Library Music MS 14 (GB-Och Mus. 14). GB-Och Mus. 14 is the only known volume of scored choral music in Blow's hand. Although copies of the two choral motets by Blow found in Och Mus. 14 and a listing of its content have been obtained, the volume as a whole has been unavailable for examination.

Watkins Shaw, who has studied this manuscript, along with numerous others reflecting Restoration court activity, claims a date of "not later than about 1675" for the volume. He bases his speculation on the consistent "kink" in the lower case "1" found throughout the manuscript (not found in any source known to post-date 1680), and on the content, all of which pre-dates 1683 at the very latest (many considerably earlier).

Also supporting the idea that this volume is an early effort is the nature of its content which gives the appearance of a collection made for purposes of compositional study. It includes a number of Italian compositions (for example, four madrigals from Monteverdi's seventh book), and works by leading musicians in the newly-restored Chapel Royal such as Cooke, Locke, and

20. This is in yet another hand, revealing much heavier strokes, different C-clef formation from that used by Blow, and a shorter, more rounded text.

21. Although Cfm. 117 was at one time thought to be in the hand of John Blow, it is now clear that this is not the case.

Christopher Gibbons. Among his own works are some early verse anthems and the nine Latin motets, seven of which are duets.

It appears that the index sent from Christ Church, Oxford, along with the two five-voice motets, is a somewhat recent listing of contents. The paper on which it is written is of a different size than that of the manuscript itself, and is not bound with the volume. In addition, there is a large "14" in the upper left-hand corner of each of the two pages, which would only have had meaning after the cataloging of the manuscript in the Christ Church Library. This list of contents correlates with that provided by Watkins Shaw in 1964.23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>page</th>
<th>title</th>
<th>composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Turn ye unto me</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How doth the city</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lord I have sinned</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>When death shall part us</td>
<td>Locke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>How art thou fallen</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Jesus, seeing the multitudes</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sing unto the Lord</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The Lord said unto my Lord</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Teach mee o Lord</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>God be merciful</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>O bone Jesu</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ah my soule</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Above the stars</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Laudate Dominum</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>O bone Jesu</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Gloria patri et filio</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>O praise the Lord</td>
<td>Gibbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Awake up my glory</td>
<td>Wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>I will cry unto thee</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sing wee merrily unto God</td>
<td>Blow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just as Cfm 116 is valuable for purposes of determining Blow's musical priorities late in his life, Och 14 is valuable to an understanding of early influences on his style and technique.
Composite Albums Containing Blow Autographs

University of Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts Music MS. 5001 (GB-Bu 5001).

Let thy hand be strengthened, p. 268

Behold, O God, our defender, first version, p. 270

GB-Bu 5001 contains a random group of surviving autograph manuscripts of English court composers of the late seventeenth century, from which the court copyists prepared performance scores. Shaw suggests that the individual items were possibly gathered up quickly during the fire in the Palace of Whitehall in 1697, thus beginning their association. In any case, the final fly-leaf is endorsed "John Barker 1731," by which time the various manuscripts had probably been bound.

The collection contains eleven autograph works by Blow, only two of which are pertinent to this study. Both are known to have been written for the coronation of James II which took place in 1685. The performance copy made by a court scribe is surely that found in GB-Lcm 1069, as it is the only other source of early date. Husk's nineteenth-century transcriptions provide the third and final known source for each of these two anthems. Further,

in the case of both anthems, GB-Lcm 1069 represents an exact
duplicate of GB-Bu 5001—even to such details as placement
of music on the scores!

London, British Museum Additional MS. 30932 (GB-Lbm.
30932).

My God, my God, look upon me, f. 128

GB-Lbm. 30932 is one of a three-volume collection of
individually penned English anthems and services dating
through the early eighteenth century. The collection as a
whole will be discussed in detail in the later section
dealing with non-autograph sources. Of the two Blow anthems
contained in GB-Lbm. 30932, one is said by Philip Hayes to
be "The original M.S. in the Author's (Dr. J. Blow) hand
writing." It is endorsed and dated by the composer at the
end: "J. Blow at Aspinden Hall Sep. the 6th 1697."

The format is the same that Blow used on two other
known occasions, namely the freehand joining of staves
across the center margin of a sheet intended to be folded in
two halves to make two 6-inch by 10-inch sheets, making a
single 10-inch by 12-inch sheet. This unfolded sheet is
bound into the volume by its top margin.

London, British Museum Additional MS. 31457 (GB-Lbm
31457). GB-Lbm 31457 contains the autograph score of the
one of Blow's services which is not directly included in
this study—that written for the St. Cecilia's Day

25. GB-T 1008 and GB-Mp.
celebrations of 1695. Although Shaw did not mention this autograph in his discussion in *Music Review*, there is no doubt that the manuscript is a Blow autograph, the signature at the end being particularly unmistakable. Clarke recognized it as Blow's hand, as did Hughes-Hughes who attributed the Evening Service in B*, which follows in the collection, to Blow, as well. Although Blow may well have copied the latter, it is now known to be the work of Thomas Tudway.  

**Individual Autograph Sources**

**Oxford, Bodleian Library Music School Catalog 42**

(GB-Ob c. 42).

**Service in D**

- Te Deum
- Jubilate
- Magnificat
- Nunc dimittis

26. Shaw, "Blow," 808. The characteristic pairs of lines in the C-clef of the Service in B-flat are not as consistently angled in as in the case of Blow's own service, and, with regard to the similarity pointed out above between the hands of Blow and Tudway, it might seem possible that Tudway copied his own evening service. The ascending stem of lower-case "d"s, however, reveals not only the backward curve to the left (one feature of Blow's hand which distinguishes it from that of Tudway, as seen in example A, below), but an additional flourish which loops up and over, as well (example C). The little hook which occasionally appears on the end of the ascending stem in Blow's hand might become such a flourish when rushed.

A: 

B: 

C: 


Service in G\textsuperscript{3}
Te Deum
Benedictus
Magnificat
Nunc dimittis

Service in A\textsuperscript{3}
Te Deum
Jubilate
Magnificat
Nunc dimittis

Service in F\textsuperscript{a} ut
Te Deum
Benedictus
Magnificat
Nunc dimittis

Only this alto-decani partbook containing all four of the "short" services remains from what originally must have been eight partbooks. The four services appear in the order seen above, and without visible pagination. Although the value of this source is somewhat limited from an editorial standpoint, it does serve to clarify decani and cantoris alternation.

Oxford, Christ Church Library Music MS 780 (GB-Och 780).

Service in G-major
Te Deum
Jubilate
Benedictus
Kyrie
Kyrie (tripla)
Creed
Creed (tripla)
Gloria
Sanctus
Magnificat
Cantate Domino
Nunc dimittis
Deus misereatur
GB-Och 780 has not been available for examination. This is especially disappointing in that its contents comprise the only known complete source for Blow's most extended liturgical work, the Service in G. The Benedictus, Cantate Domino, and Deus misereatur are apparently unavailable outside of this single manuscript, although other pieces of the large service exist in numerous sources.\(^2\) It appears that the service evolved over a period of years, as the Te Deum, Jubilate, one set of responses, one setting of the Creed, the Magnificat, and the Nunc dimittis, by virtue of their appearance in GB-Cfm 117, are known to have been written prior to 1683.

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College Music MS 1008 (GB-T 1008). God spake sometime in visions, the only composition in this manuscript, was composed for the 1685 coronation of James II. Blow's score is clearly a fair copy, and again makes use of the wide pages available by connecting the two staff lines in the middle of a folio, as in GB-Lbm 30932. God spake sometime in visions is an impressive and largely choral work with symphonic accompaniment and ritornelli. It is useful here primarily as an example of Blow's hand.

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27. See Figure 15, page 281 for other sources of this service and the movements contained within them.
Non-Autograph Sources of Significance

The Gostling Manuscripts

Of the active circle of copyists of English church music contemporary with John Blow, John Gostling, the renowned bass singer and clergyman, was one of the most prolific. It is interesting, however, that one of the two major manuscripts bearing his name—the so-called "Gostling" partbooks (now in GB-Y)—is largely in the hand of another copyist. ²⁸

Austin, Texas, Humanities Research Center (AUS).

Thy hands have made me, p. 183
Save me, O God, reverse p. 10
O God, wherefore art thou absent, reverse p. 13
God is our Hope and Strength, reverse p. 17
O Lord God of my Salvation, reverse p. 181

The so-called "Gostling Manuscript" has an interesting history. Having remained within the Gostling family until well into this century, it disappeared in 1935 following its anonymous purchase from Sotheby's. The disappearance and subsequent re-appearance in Texas of this important

²⁸. It was Stephen Bing (ca. 1618-1681), singer, music copyist, and minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral (1642) who copied the majority of the contents of the "Gostling" partbooks. Shaw reports that the manuscript was copied between 1670 and 1680, and that it preserves texts of much pre-Civil War music, and music composed between 1660 and 1680.—cf. Watkins Shaw, "Bing, Stephen," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), II, 723. Upon Bing's death, the partbooks passed into the hands of John Gostling, who added to them. The "Gostling Partbooks" are not included in this study.
manuscript are shrouded in mystery. Its acquisition by the University of Texas Library assures it a safe home, and one which makes it accessible for research.

There is little doubt that the manuscript is the work of John Gostling himself, although the hand differs in several details from his two sets of partbooks (GB-T). At first glance, having become familiar with Gostling's hand from the two Tenbury sets of partbooks, that in the Gostling Manuscript did not appear to be the same. The characteristic G-clef, with the upper loop resting side-ways on the third line found throughout the Tenbury sources, appears only late in the volume (intermittently from page 115, and reverse page 172).

Prior to this, Gostling's

Figure 5. Early and late G-clefs in the Gostling hand.

\[ \text{G-clef is the same as that used by Blow. Another quite consistent characteristic of Gostling's partbook hand is a} \]

Figure 6. Early and late concluding sigla in Gostling manuscripts.

29. It is not uncommon for Restoration scorebooks to be copied in a double-ended format, the ends representing two categories of music—in this case, orchestral and choral.
cross at the tail of his sigla concluding a composition—almost as a signature of his own. This also begins to appear late in the Gostling Manuscript (from page 175, and reverse page 86). It should be mentioned that on two pages of T-797 the earlier form of G-clef appears, providing a model for comparison. Sufficient other characteristics of Gostling's hand remain unchanged that recognition of what is simply earlier work of the same scribe is fairly certain. Based on the contents of the volume and its watermarks, Zimmerman concludes that Gostling collected the music paper for his volume in the late 1670s, and copied works into it over the next three decades, probably concluding his work shortly after 1706.30

Zimmerman describes the Gostling Manuscript as "the single most important source, aside from autographs, for some of the best anthems by Henry Purcell, John Blow, Jeremiah Clark, Pelham Humfrey, Matthew Locke, William Turner, and other composers of the Restoration period."31 The indices list twenty-six orchestral anthems and thirty-eight full anthems.32 The composers represented are

30. The attribution Dr. Blow for the first full anthem of the reverse of the volume indicates a starting date after the 1677 conferring of Blow's Lambeth degree, the first three anthems having been composed no later than 1676.


32. Some works could be referred to as either "full" or "verse" anthems. Nonetheless, the inclusion of Blow's
the best that the King's establishment had to offer. The prime selections included, when combined with the clarity seen in this manuscript, makes it, indeed, a volume of considerable value. Of the twenty-four anthems by Blow (more than by any other composer), the five listed above are considered in this paper.

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College Music MSS 797-803

(GB-T. 797-803.

Praise the Lord, o my soul
Be merciful unto me, O Lord
Lord, thou knowest all my desire
Lord, thou art become gracious
I will praise the name of God
Thy hands have made me
O praise the Lord of Heaven
Bow down thine ear
In the time of trouble
Praise the Lord, ye servants
My days are gone like a shadow
O God, my heart is ready
Put me not to rebuke
Teach me thy way, O Lord
Save me, O God

full anthem Thy hands have made me among orchestral anthems, as in the Gostling Manuscript, defies any logic. One possible explanation for this might lie in the presumed late date of this anthem (around 1707), as opposed to the other four, dated not later than 1676 (first three) and no later than 1682 (fourth). The last anthem in the reverse (full-anthem) half is dated "Sept 23. 1705." It has been suggested that the group of fourteen late anthems was composed not much prior to the 1707 completion of Cfm 116, in which they first appear. Assuming a chronological compilation of the manuscript, which appears to be justified, it is possible that, although Gostling might have include the anthem Thy hands have made me in the reverse volume, it was, in his mind, completed before the anthem was composed, hence his inclusion of it in the "wrong" half of the volume. The anthem which immediately follows it is Blow's Sing unto the Lord, which also appears in T 1176-82.
Shaw describes this set of seven partbooks as Gostling's "file copies." The beauty with which a fair copy is made is, indeed, lacking here, although the parts are all quite legible. The missing soprano decani book was lost by the time that the indices for the volumes (not in Gostling's hand) were compiled, and several additional anthems and pieces of anthems were added later still.\[33\]


34. Four anthems appended to those in Gostling's hand exist in complete form, two others in one book each. The first to be added is the Handel Chandos anthem, In the Lord put I my Trust, which is listed in the STB (only voices involved) cantoris indices in the original index hand.

An unidentified full anthem setting of Sing merrily unto God is appended in ATB decani books, and in the soprano cantoris book immediately following the Handel anthem. It is included in the indices of all four books in the original index hand--the same hand which copied the anthem (not that of John Gostling). The soprano line was probably copied into the cantoris book from another source following the loss of the decani book. Interestingly, the anthem is listed by yet another hand in the bass cantoris index, but does not exist in the book.

Two full anthems by Highmore Skeats (whose bookplate reveals him as one-time owner of the books), Teach us o Lord and Come unto me, exist in all but the bass cantoris book, immediately following the Gostling entries. The same hand which copied the anthems (different from the original index hand--possibly that of Skeats, himself) added them to each index. In addition, the alto cantoris book contains an unidentified verse anthem, I will alway give thanks in still another hand--not listed in the index at all; and the bass decani book contains the Handel Chandos anthem Zadok the Priest, just before the two Skeats anthems. Clearly, the set, far from being held as a fixed unit, continued to evolve well into the eighteenth century.
Each volume is divided into "verse" and "full" anthems, respectively.

The collection contains fifteen full anthems by Blow, fourteen of which comprise the late group of anthems. Save me, O God is known to have been written by 1676.

Tenbury Wells, St. Michael's College Music MSS 1176-82

(GB-T 1176-82).

O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth
O Lord God of my salvation
Praise the Lord, o my soul
Be merciful unto me, O God
Lord, thou knowest all my desire
Lord, thou art become gracious
I will praise the name of God
Thy hands have made me
Bow down thine ear
In the time of trouble
My days are gone like a shadow
O God, my heart is ready
Praise the Lord, ye servants
Put me not to rebuke
Teach me thy way, O Lord
O praise the Lord of Heaven

Only four partbooks, along with the organ score, remain of what was originally a set of eight partbooks. In existence are the medius decani, countertenor cantoris, tenor cantoris, and bass cantoris. If the assumption is correct that the Gostling Manuscript was completed shortly after 1706, and that both Tenbury sets of partbooks represent a later form of Gostling's hand which was only beginning to show itself toward the end of the scored manuscript, then these sets were probably copied not much prior to 1708. Further, it might seem reasonable to assume that the fair copy (T 1176-82) was copied at least partially
from the file copy and, thus, bears a later date still. The large proportion in T 1176-82 of anthems by William Croft, who would have been only thirty years of age in 1708, would seem to add weight date closer to 1715. Gostling's death in 1733 provides the other temporal parameter for the set. Of the sixteen full anthems by Blow contained in the collection, only the first two are not from the late group of fourteen.

Miscellaneous Manuscripts


Volume I

O God, wherefore art thou absent, No. 28
My God, my God, look upon me, No. 29
God is Our Hope and Strength, No. 30

Volume II

My God, my God, look upon me, No. 88 (autograph)
Praise the Lord, ye servants, No. 98

Volume III

Morning and Evening Service in G, No. 1
Te Deum
Jubilate
Magnificat
Nunc dimittis

Commandments and Creed in G, No. 2

Organ parts to No. 2 and No. 3

Morning and Evening Service in A, No. 4
Te Deum
Jubilate
Cantate Domino
Deus miserereatur
Morning and Evening Service in E minor (organ),
No. 19
Benedicite
Jubilate
Creed
Cantate Domino
Deus misereatur

canons
Jubilate (as on monument), No. 22
He hath shown strength in d minor, No. 23
Gloria from Magnificat in G, No. 25
Gloria from Nunc dimittis in G, No. 29
O go your way from Jubilate in G, No. 38

Blow: On Composition, No. 46

Mention of this collection was made earlier in connection with a Blow autograph found within the second of these three volumes. The title of the first two volumes reads as follows: Anthems / Ancient y modern / By / Tallis, Bird, Purcell, / Gibbons, Croft, Greene, / Raylton, y other / Masters / among which are Several in / Purcell's own hand writing / Collected by / William Flackton. The third volume is similarly titled: Services / & / Canons / Selected / from the most / Emanent Authors / with Some Extracts / on Composition / by / Elwin Bevin, & / Dr. John Blow / Collected By W Flackton.

William Flackton (1709-98) was an avid music collector who is highly praised for his efforts in this area in a notice of his death found inside the first volume. The volumes contain memoranda in the hands of the Rev. William Gostling (son of the singer and copyist John Gostling), Dr. Philip Hayes, who certified most of the autographs contained within the volumes in 1785, and Vincent Novello, who
indicates that he had hoped to edit some or much of the contents.

In addition to the autograph works contained in these three volumes, Hughes-Hughes suggests that others appear to have been transcribed by Daniel Henstridge, organist of Canterbury Cathedral.  The last five anthems contained in the first volume were transcribed from Barnard's 1641 publication by William Raylton. Occasionally, autograph works were dated, as in the case of the Blow anthem found in Volume II; more often, they were not. Although each of the items included has its own individual history, the volumes were probably compiled sometime between 1740 and 1770.

The small treatise on composition contained within the third volume is not in Blow's hand, and, as Shaw points out, is "nothing but a debased transcript of Coprario's Rules How to Compose." The explanation for its existence probably lies in the large number of pupils under Blow's tutelage over his long professional life, and Blow's pedagogical use of some of the principles found in Coprario's treatise.


Volume II (1716)

Evening Service in E Minor, p. 404
Cantate Domino
Deus misereatur

Volume III (1716)

Whole Service in G, p. 300
- Te Deum
- Jubilate
- responses
- Creed
- Magnificat
- Nunc dimittis

Anthems
- Save me, O God, p. 320
- O Lord God of my salvation, p. 323
- Let my prayer, p. 326
- O God, my heart is ready, p. 330

Volume IV (1717)

Whole Service in A, p. 178
- Te Deum
- Jubilate
- responses
- Creed
- Cantate Domino
- Deus misereatur

Anthems
- God is our hope and strength, p. 256
- O God, wherefore art thou absent, p. 268

Despite his activities as an organist and composer, Thomas Tudway is chiefly remembered for his work as a scribe which was undertaken at the request of Robert, Lord Harley (later, Earl of Oxford). The six thick volumes of cathedral music in his hand (GB-Lbm Harl. 7337-42) include composers dating from Tye through Handel. Of the six volumes, only three contain works of John Blow which pertain to our topic.


37. An interesting account of Tudway's involvement with the project, and of his numerous sources for manuscripts from which to work, is told by Edward Turnbull in "Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection," American Musicological Association Journal VIII (1955), 203-07.
God is our hope and strength, f. 3v
O God, wherefore art thou absent, f. 6v
Save me, O God, f. 9r
My God, my soul is vexed, f. 35r
O Lord God of my salvation, f. 46v

Like the Gostling Manuscript, the contents of Cfm 88 are divided by reversing the volume for the second half. Unlike the majority of the sources here considered, Cfm 88 appears to be clearly dated: the front half, from 1673; the reverse half, from 1682. There has, however, been some debate concerning the date of the first half, as it is quite small and somewhat difficult to read. The contents page of the reverse half boldly proclaims "The whole of this very valuable vol. is in the hand writing of Henry Purcell," and, although this is generally accepted, several different hands seem to have taken part—at least in the writing of the two indices. The first six entries in the index of the first half are written in a hand which is obviously very practiced (Hand A). The following five entries are made in a much less controlled hand (Hand B)—dare one say, more like that of a fourteen-year-old? Another interesting observation regarding the dating of this first half concerns the Mr. vs. Dr. designation of John Blow. The first two of his three anthems represented are entered in the index in the original

hand (Hand A), and the composer is listed as Mr. Blow, though the attribution accompanying the second anthem in the manuscript is to Dr. Blow. The third anthem uses the title Dr. both in the index (in Hand B) and in the attribution. As Blow's degree was not conferred until 1677, clearly not all the contents of the first half were compiled by 1673. Although Hughes-Hughes claims that the forty-two leaves containing anthems at the front end are not in Purcell's hand, I detect no change of hand within the manuscript itself (Fortune and Zimmerman agree) which would potentially correspond with that seen in the index.

Another interesting feature of the first half of the volume concerns the several similarities with the hand of Purcell's master, John Blow. The form of C-clef mentioned

Figure 7. Evolution of Purcell's C-clef as seen in Cfm. 88.

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\[\text{Figure 7. Evolution of Purcell's C-clef as seen in Cfm. 88.}\]
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to f. 22 ff. 22⁻ ff. 42⁻ reverse: various forms

by Clarke as unique to Blow's hand is the form used exclusively through folio 22. Following that, an occasional left vertical bar is added. By the reverse half of the volume, the C-clef has deteriorated into what often amounts

39. Fortune and Zimmerman's assertion of 1677 as the date for the first half of the volume appears to be based on the changes in Blow's titles.
to little more than a squiggle— but always with two vertical bars.* The similarity which is most striking, however, is the tiny "kink" in the lower-case 1, which was observed in Blow's hand prior to 1680. The text of Cfm 88, however, is more cramped, and more rounded and vertical than that of Blow, and, in addition, there is a marked tendency to connect the letters within words—all of which distinguish this hand clearly from that of John Blow.

The five full anthems by Blow contained in Cfm 88 are found in the reverse half of the volume, a portion considerably more internally consistent than the first, and which is dated 1682. Only Save me, O God is found in an earlier source, so it is in this volume that the other four anthems first appear.

The possible relation of Cfm 88 to the Gostling Manuscript is interesting. In both O God, wherefore art thou absent and Save me, O God, numerous concordances exist, some of which (such as a double-note in one location) seem to be departures of import from the other sources. Only four instances of non-concurrence exist, and they represent extremely minor differences, such as a tied note rather than a rest, or an overlooked accidental.

40. Zimmerman refers to the C-clef evolution seen in Cfm 88 as reflecting a change which is paralleled in other datable sources.—cf. Franklin B. Zimmerman, "Purcell's Handwriting," Purcell: Essays on His Music, ed. Imogene Holst (London, 1959), 105.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Music MS 117 (Cfm 117).

front--

God is our hope and strength, p. 138
O God, wherefore art thou absent, p. 145
Save me, O God, p. 148
My God, my soul is vexed, p. 210
O Lord God of my salvation, p. 216

reverse--

Morning and Evening Service in E minor, p. 102
Benedicite
Te Deum
Jubilate
Creed
Cantate Domino
Deus misereatur

Morning, Communion, & Evening Service in G, p. 181
Te Deum
Jubilate
responses
Creed
Magnificat
Nunc dimittis

Morning, Communion, & Evening Service in A, p. 196
Te Deum
Jubilate
Creed
Magnificat
Nunc dimittis
Sanctus and Gloria to Service in G, p. 244
Communion Service in G Triple Measure, p. 269
Sanctus
Gloria
responses
Creed

Cfm 117 is a large volume (800 pages!) of scored anthems and services, the earliest of which date back to the time of Tallis. The volume is divided (front and reverse) according to anthems and services, respectively. The index of the book is beautifully illuminated.
The volume is dated 1683, and was at one time thought the be the work of John Blow as, in fact, is written on one of the fly-leaves preceding the index. Despite the fact that the scribe is clearly not John Blow, and that the identification of the true copyist is yet to be made, the volume is of immense importance due not only to the large quantity of its content, but also because it allows the dating of numerous compositions whose origins would otherwise be unknown. The five full anthems by Blow it contains, however, are also in CfM 88 (dated 1682) and are, therefore, not dependent on CfM 117 for their date. All five of the services, however, make their first appearance in CfM 117.

**British Museum Additional MS 31559 (GB-Lbm 31559).**

**Service in D**
- Te Deum, f. 39v
- Jubilate, f. 42v
- Magnificat, f. 43r
- Nunc dimittis, f. 45r
- chant tune, f. 46v

**Service in G minor**
- Te Deum, f. 46r
- chant tune, f. 49v
- Benedictus, f. 49r
- Magnificat, f. 52r
- Nunc dimittis, f. 54r

**Service in A minor**
- Te Deum, f. 55r
- Jubilate, f. 59v
- Magnificat, f. 60r
- Nunc dimittis, f. 62v
- chant tune, f. 63v

**Service in F**
- Te Deum, f. 63r
- Benedictus, f. 67v
- Magnificat, f. 64r
- Nunc dimittis, f. 72v
- chant tune, f. 73v
The four "short" services by Blow exist in a limited number of sources. Aside from the Husk transcriptions, made in the mid-nineteenth century, Lbm 31559 is the only source for the vocal parts for all four services. The only other sources are one alto decani partbook in Blow's hand (Ob c. 42) and Blow's organ score (Cfm 116).

According to Hughes-Hughes, J. Christopher Smith, the elder, was the copyist of Lbm 31559, thereby dating it from the late eighteenth century. The manuscript also contains two of Handel's Chandos Anthems (As pants the hart and My song shall be alway) and a mass setting by Lully.

**British Museum Additional MS 17839** (GB-Lbm 17839).

Morning and Communion Service in G, f. 18
- Te Deum
- Jubilate
- responses
- Creed

O Lord God of my salvation, f. 124

Praise the Lord, ye servants, f. 248

Lbm 17839 contains both full anthems and one service by John Blow. Although there is no written evidence within the manuscript which dates it, Hughes-Hughes says that the cover bears the date 1683. He also offers explanation for

---

41. T 310 contains the Service in A minor, and Lbm 30933 and Lbm 33239 each contain a canon from the Service in D minor.


43. Ibid., 401.
the mysterious change of hands which occurs toward the end of the Creed in the Service in G, claiming that the second hand, which takes up the notation on folio 27v, and the text on 27r, is that of Dr. Philip Hayes, working in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The remainder of the manuscript is the work of the same copyist.

One other aspect of this manuscript which makes it of particular interest is a letter in the front of the volume from Husk in which he lists various anthems and services of Blow's which he has, and those which he does not have, in some cases, mentioning his sources. Husk's own manuscript is the only known source for the Sanctus and Gloria in D major, and at the point at which he drew up the list found in Lbm 17839 (1848), he claims not to possess a copy of these movements, although he had discovered some parts of the service.


Service in C major, p. 201
  Te Deum
  Jubilate
  Creed

Ob c. 38-40 is a three-volume scored collection of church music, copied by Charles Badham, Minor Canon of St. Paul's from 1698 until 1716, into existing books, of which Ob c. 39 (the earliest) already contained four services in an unknown hand. According to the "Revised descriptions of Music School Manuscripts," sent from the Bodleian Library,
the front half of Ob c. 39 contains the four services in another hand, and nine full anthems. The reverse volume contains twenty-three verse anthems. All seven verse anthems by Blow appear in Cfm 117, dated 1682. Nothing suggests a much later date than this for the volume.

Ob c. 40 contains thirty-two Restoration verse anthems, of which ten are by Blow—all found in the 1682 and 1683 collections. Ob c. 38 contains eight services, including Blow’s Services in E, A, and C. The first two exist in several sources and are dated no later than 1682. Unfortunately, Blow’s Service in C is in a hand other than that of Charles Badham and can, therefore, assume no date by association. It might even be speculated that Canon Badham would likely have been the only copyist to contribute to the set during his tenure at St. Paul’s, thereby making Blow’s Service in C an entry which was made after 1716. The only other known source for the service is Blow’s organ book (Cfm 116), which contains a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, as well, but no Creed.

London, Royal College of Music (GB-Lcm). Of the material housed at the Royal College of Music, none was studied in entirety, as only the excerpted items were available.

Lcm 1052. Lcm 1052 contains a score and lightly figured bass line of the full anthem, The Lord hear thee. As this is one of the two full anthems which has remained undated, it is assumed that the manuscript as a whole
contains no clear indication of date, or that the date provided is sufficiently late as to be of little value. Based on the fair-copy appearance of the score, in addition to regularized rhythmic structuring and metrical time signatures, it would seem unlikely that Lcm 1052 was copied prior to the turn of the century.

The Lord hear thee, f. 159v

Lcm 1068. Lcm 1068 exists in four partbooks, and appears to be of an earlier date than Lcm 1052. Clarke placed it toward the end of the seventeenth century* based, one assumes, on the latest datable composition included, which is We will rejoice in thy salvation, from 1696. Apart from this one anthem, all other compositions appear to have originated no later than 1683. The time signatures in this manuscript reflect mensural practice.

God is our hope and strength
O God, wherefore art thou absent?
The Lord hear thee

Lcm 1069. The two anthems examined from Lcm 1069 were both written for the coronation of James II in 1685, and are exact duplicates of Blow’s original scores, as seen in BU 5001—even to such details as placement of music on scores! It would seem logical to assume that the copies of these anthems were made by one of the court scribes shortly before the coronation event. Neither of the anthems exists in

44. Clarke, John Blow, 682.
other contemporary sources (Husk being the only other known source).

Behold, O God, our defender (first version)  
Let thy hand be strengthened  

Lcm 1097. Lcm 1097 contains the three anthems written by Blow for the coronations of William and Mary, in 1689. It is the only known source for them outside of the Husk transcriptions, and likely represents the official court copy made from Blow's originals, as in Lcm 1069. Assuming this to be the case, they were probably copied shortly before the coronation itself. Two of the three anthems are full anthems, and appear in score without continuo line.

Behold, O God, our defender (second version), f. 212v  
Let my prayer come up, f. 213r

Two Nineteenth-Century Editions of Note

William Boyce's Cathedral Music, which was published in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and its subsequent editions, are well known. Less well known is the manuscript volume of English church music (GB-Lbm 33239), representing only a small portion of the legendary editorial activities of Vincent Novello, and edited from such sources as the Tudway manuscripts and the Flackton collection. He presented the volume to the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1843.

Another major editorial effort dealing with Restoration church music was made by the English music scholar, William Henry Husk (1814-87). Unlike Boyce and
Novello, however, Husk's primary motivation was that of a scholar, not a performer. The four volumes containing his transcriptions (GB-Lbm 33288-92) were, for the most part, made with reference to highly reliable manuscript sources. (Hughes-Hughes details Husk's sources so far as they can be determined.) Husk completed his first two volumes in 1846, the second two in 1865. Although autograph and closely contemporary sources were, fortunately, available for the majority of the repertoire under consideration here, the care with which such earlier editors went about their work provides both inspiration and, potentially, a record of works which would have otherwise been lost.
CHAPTER VI

FULL ANTHEMS

... But to appreciate Blow's true genius we must turn from the verse to the full anthems, especially those in melancholy or penitential mood. In such works the old polyphonic tradition of Tallis, Byrd and Tomkins lives on, though modified by new influences.¹

The strong ecclesiastical focus of Blow's professional activities, despite his numerous songs and keyboard pieces free-lanced for public consumption, pre-determined that a large percentage of his compositions would be written to sacred texts. As did all composers building careers upon the favor of the continentally-reared king, Blow wrote numerous verse anthems in the "new" style, that is, a style to which strong, regular rhythms, and vocal virtuosity were integral. It is compositions in this manner, often those using the "string band" which so infatuated the king, that are often referred to as being in the "Restoration style."

Continental, secularizing influences did, indeed, play an important role in Restoration musical style, as they had increasingly done during the Commonwealth, and we have speculated that the absence of liturgical activity during

¹ Long, The Music of the English Church, 263.
the Commonwealth might have "protected" the English sacred polyphonic tradition from such influences, and that more of these influences might have been incorporated had the natural evolution of the anthem not been interrupted during this time. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that composition of the instrumental verse anthem so much the vogue during the reign of Charles II, was paralleled by composition of sacred polyphony which had much in common with pre-Commonwealth polyphony.

It was the anthem that provided the greatest freedom within which a composer of sacred music could shape his thoughts, and John Blow, leading musician in London throughout much of the period referred to as the Restoration, wrote more anthems than almost any other well-known English musician.²

Several lists of Blow's anthems have aimed at completeness, no two of them in total agreement. The most recent such list is that compiled by Watkins Shaw for The *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Although the status of several anthems is somewhat in question, Shaw's total of 98 anthems is accepted here.³

2. Purcell wrote around 70 anthems; O. Gibbons, 40; Byrd, around 25. Only Thomas Tomkins, with around 120 anthems, tops Blow's known anthem output. Tomkins' son's posthumous publication of many of his father's anthems no doubt left his oeuvre in a more complete condition than is usually the case.
Several subdivisions within the "full"- and "verse"-anthem designations can be determined among Blow's output. Verse anthems fall into three categories.

1. Verse anthems with organ accompaniment: 34.
2. Verse anthems with organ and lute accompaniment: 3.

Full anthems can be divided as follows:

1. A cappella anthems for full choral voices only: 13.*
2. A cappella anthems for full choral voices and smaller groups of voices: 13.
3. Anthems for full choral voices and smaller groups of voices with instrumental accompaniment: 3.

To the above should be added the following anthems:

When the Lord turned, listed by Shaw as incomplete, but probably reconstructable between T 1176-79 and Cfm. 117; a verse anthem (four verse voices with organ accompaniment.

Praise the Lord, o ye mighty, from which one of the two treble verse lines (cantoris) is missing; otherwise found in T 1176-79; a verse anthem with organ accompaniment.

two collaborative anthems:

I will alway give thanks, the Club Anthem, written jointly by Blow, Turner, and Humfrey around 1664; verse anthem with instruments.

Behold how good and joyful, the Union Anthem, written jointly by Blow, Croft, and Clarke in 1707; verse anthem with organ.

3. See Appendix A for other lists and explanation concerning several anthems on Shaw's list about which questions remain.

4. It should be mentioned again that the designation "a cappella," when used in reference to music of this period, always implies an accompaniment by organ only.
three very early anthems known only by the presence of their texts in Clifford's 1664 publication:

I will magnify thee.
Lord, rebuke me not.
Lord, thou hast been our refuge.

Chronology of Anthems

Documentary evidence alone assigns around forty of Blow's anthems to the reign of Charles II (d. 1685). Of these, nearly thirty are known to have been composed by 1677 (Blow's age 28, and the year of his doctorate). With the exception of five "orchestral" anthems which were written for various state occasions and other public functions between 1685 and 1701, all of Blow's anthems with instrumental accompaniment other than organ were written during this early period, which is the decade following his appointment as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (1674). The decreasing resources available during the latter part of Charles' reign and the neglect of the Chapel Royal under his successors, combined with Purcell's increasing productivity as well as Blow's own increasing involvement with secular music, offer some explanation for the sharp drop-off in his production of orchestral anthems during the early 1680s.

Funding and royal encouragement had diminished toward the end of Charles' reign, and were all but

terminated under James (1685-89), whose new Roman Catholic chapel, complete with an elaborate musical establishment of its own, attracted a great deal of public attention. The Chapel Royal musicians were maintained only for the sake of Princess Anne, and the neglect of duties by musicians which resulted, eventually brought about royal complaint.®

William III (1689-1703) had no personal interest in music, but recognized the political importance of maintaining a solid establishment. The dissolution of the Roman Catholic chapel, together with William's injunction that "the King's Chappell shall be all the year through kept . . . with solemn musick like a collegiate church," returned the Chapel Royal to a steady, if uninspired routine. During the early 1690s. Blow wrote numerous modest verse anthems. It should be noted that "solemn," as used in William's injunction, did not imply a certain style, rather it referred to music which was unaccompanied by instruments other than the organ. Although it did put an end to the use of strings in the Chapel, the new compositions were as florid and technically demanding as earlier ones had been. Musical standards apparently continued at a low level during this period for, in 1693 the Queen complained about the "notorious neglect of the duty of the Chapell."^7


Shaw refers to Blow's verse anthems with organ accompaniment as "on the whole of less moment" than those with orchestra, conceding that his treatment of the solo voice is occasionally of some interest.® Certainly the declamatory expression and haunting purity of the treble solo in Blow's well-known verse anthem, *O pray for the peace of Jerusalem*, is testament to Blow's artistic capability in this medium. Nonetheless, these compositions, on the whole, do not seem to have called forth from Blow the same artistic enthusiasm as either his full or orchestral anthems.

Various explanations have been ventured as to why such late seventeenth-century composers as Blow and Purcell, both active in the newer style, would write anthems in a polyphonic idiom. Some scholars have suggested that the tradition in Westminster Abbey where they both held posts required compositions in the polyphonic idiom, and that the spritely tunes and dance rhythms of the verse anthems were written for the more secular atmosphere of the Chapel Royal—at least during the reign of Charles II. While there may be some truth to this generalization, it must be recognized that it would have been easier for the larger Chapel Royal choir to perform eight-part full anthems such


9. Shaw reports that in 1685, the Chapel Royal choir included twelve boys and thirty-three men, whereas the Abbey choir employed eight boys and sixteen men.—cf. Shaw, "John Blow's Anthems," 437.
as Blow's God is our hope and strength and O Lord God of my salvation, and that three of Blow's full anthems, along with full anthems of other composers as well, were on the list of the anthems copied into the Chapel Royal books prior to 1676. In all likelihood, it would be better to conclude that Restoration polyphony complemented the repertoire of both the Abbey and the Chapel.

All but two of Blow's twenty-six full anthems can be placed chronologically within his oeuvre on the basis of documentary evidence alone, and several of these can be assigned dates quite specifically. These twenty-six full anthems can also be divided into three chronological groups, about which certain stylistic observations can be made.

I. Early Group

Composed no later than 1676:

- God is our hope and strength
- O God, wherefore art thou absent?
- Save me, O God

Composed no later than 1682:

- O Lord God of my salvation
- My God, my soul is vexed

II. Coronation Group

Composed for James II, 1685:

- Behold, O God, our defender (five-part)
- Let thy hand be strengthened

10. Although God spake sometime in visions, written for the coronation of James II, is a full anthem, it is not included in this study because of its use of instruments other than the organ and its much larger, cantata-like structure.
Composed for William and Mary, 1689:

Behold, O God, our defender (four-part)
Let my prayer come up

III. Late group

Composed in 1697:

My God, my God, look upon me
Praise the Lord, o my soul

Composed between 1697 and 1707:

Bow down thine ear
Be merciful unto me, O God
I will praise the name
Put me not to rebuke
Praise the Lord, ye servants
My days are gone like a shadow
In the time of trouble
Lord, thou art become gracious
Lord, thou knowest all my desire
O God, my heart is ready
O praise the Lord
Thy hands have made me
Teach me thy way, o God

The two anthems which have no documentary evidence of their
dates of composition, The Lord hear thee and O Lord God to
whom vengeance belongeth, can be assigned respectively to
the latter years of Charles II's reign, and to the period
before 1682, on the basis of stylistic evidence.

The last fourteen anthems listed (including Praise the
Lord, o my soul, from 1697) have been treated by scholars as
a group because of their manuscript locations and a
stylistic consistency which prevails among them. All
fourteen anthems appear in both sets of Gostling partbooks
at Tenbury, and in Blow's organ book, dated 1707. T 797-803
includes only one other full anthem by Blow, the early Save
me, O God; and T 1176-1182 includes only two others: O
Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth and O Lord God of my salvation, both of which are from the early period. The fourteen are the only anthems of his own which Blow entered into his organ book. Of the fourteen, only three appear in sources outside of those mentioned:

O God, my heart is ready

Lbm. Add. 33239
Lbm. Harl. 7339

Praise the Lord, ye servants

Lbm. Add. 30932
Lbm. Add. 33239

Thy hands have made me

Gostling Manuscript

Apart from the question of group unity among the fourteen late anthems, the question should be posed: Why did Blow, after years of comparative inactivity with regard to full-anthem composition return to this medium late in his life? Two possible explanations exist. As a practicing musician, Blow was required to fulfill certain requirements for his various positions. One change in his professional activity shortly before the turn of the century was his re-appointment as organist as Westminster Abbey, following Purcell's death. Surely, such compositions as these late full anthems would have been put to good use there.

11. As mentioned earlier, this anthem appears in the "verse anthem" half of the manuscript. It has been speculated that the reason for this is the late composition of the anthem and the completion of the "full anthem" half prior to the anthem's availability.
The other, possibly stronger explanation for Blow's composition of half of his full anthems toward the end of his life is revealed in his stated desire to compile a volume of his sacred compositions. If it was, as it appears, a "last wish" of sorts to put together a volume of church music comparable to his published anthology of songs, it is possible that Blow had a personal motivation for returning to this idiom—one which would reveal his sense of fulfillment achieved through the polyphonic miniature. The fourteen anthems may or may not have been regarded as a group by the composer himself. It is clear, however, that his composition in the choral style late in his life reflects a comfort and ease of expression which were established early in his career.

**Analysis of the Full Anthems**

Analysis of Blow's anthems reveals three things:

1. the nature of his compositional practice and possible evolution within it;

2. Blow's polyphonic style as representative of a continuation of earlier English sacred polyphony, or a departure from it; and

12. It will be recalled that the preface to Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* contains his stated desire to "calmly and comfortably finish my days" with a proposed collection of his sacred music.—cf. page 125.
3. the relationship of Blow's polyphonic style to that of the Continental stile antico idiom.

Six basic areas have been isolated for examination: text, texture, form, mode/tone, melodic structure, and harmonic idiosyncracies. All twenty-six anthems are either available in octavo edition, or appear in Appendix B. Measure numbers will refer to appended transcriptions, or to octavo editions, as listed in the Bibliography.

Anthem Texts: Choice and Treatment

Definitions of "anthem" usually contain some reference to texts which are either sacred or of a moralizing character. Unlike the Roman Catholic motet, the texts of which were limited by their liturgical function, the choice of anthem texts was limited only by a vague sense of propriety. Zimmerman has pointed out that this flexibility was put to effective use during the Restoration, at which time the anthem was often used as "a vehicle for popularizing certain facets of state policy." 13 Convinced that any means which furthered the ends of a divinely ordained monarch were legitimate, Church authorities did not hesitate to alter Holy Scripture to represent Tory policy.

The texts which Blow chose for his full anthem settings, however, with only one exception, faithfully represent the Psalms from which they were taken. It is

interesting that both Blow and Purcell chose Psalm texts exclusively for their full anthems. Only once did Blow set an altered Psalm text as a full anthem; this was his four-part setting of *Behold, O God, our defender*, written for the coronations of William and Mary in 1689. Not only is the text of Psalm 84:9 clearly to be understood as referring directly to the new king, but heavenly promises of prosperity are appended by a seventeenth-century "psalmist" with solidly Tory leanings. The texts of Blow's three other full coronation anthems, including the 1685 version of *Behold, O God, our defender*, are all faithful to the Psalms from which they are excerpted. William Herrmann has traced the use of Psalm 89:13-14, *Let thy hand be strengthened, (Firmetur manus)* within the coronation rite back to the tenth century.14

Blume has pointed out that Purcell limited himself to "somber and prayerful psalm texts for his full anthems."15 This is true of Blow's early five anthems and of the majority of his later ones as well, but several of the late anthems are psalms of vibrant praise. The anthems written for coronations, by way of contrast, would be expected to inspire praise and adulation rather than meditation, but


among them, *Let my prayer come up is most unique*. As Blow's shortest, and one of his most frequently published anthems, it can only be described as a tiny gem (only fourteen measures) in his large output. The meditative nature of the single psalm verse (Psalm 141:2) is set with a degree of delicacy and restraint which is in part a result of the subtle alternation between two and three whole-note groups as seen in *Lcm 1097* (the only contemporary manuscript source), by which this largely homophonic anthem is released from the metrical bondage which might otherwise enchain it (Example 5).

The barring used in the vast majority of sources from this period appears to reflect nothing more significant than a regular whole-note tactus, and often fluctuates randomly between two and five whole-note units in a measure. In this case, however, the alternation of two and three whole-note units appears to represent a larger metrical structuring in the anthem which is violated with bar-line regularization, as employed by Shaw and Lewis in their edition in *Musica Britannica*, vol. 7. When observing the barring found in *Lcm 1097*, the motion falls easily into whole-note patterns of two and three which place appropriate emphasis on stressed syllables of important words. Otherwise, the motion becomes boxy and wooden, thereby removing some of the charm found in this largely homophonic anthem.
Example 5. Metrical flexibility seen in Blow's anthem.

Let my prayer come up.

\[
\text{Let my prayer come up into thy presence, into thy presence as}
\]

\[
\text{Let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice.}
\]
Key and Mode Associations. Of Blow's twenty-six full anthems, only seven (three of them, coronation anthems) are set to psalms of praise, and all seven are set in major tonalities (two in the key of C, and one each in F, D, B-flat and G). Blow employed major tonalities for six additional full anthems, resulting in an even division between major and minor. He clearly associated major tonalities with texts of praise and joy, and minor less consistently with somber and meditative texts. Beyond this, no particular key associations appear to be present, with the possible exception of G-minor, used in three of the five early anthems, which seems to be his "darkest" key, usually representing a sense of despair. It would appear that the association of minor keys (Dorian/Aeolian modes) with somber texts was part of the thinking of earlier English composers, as well, for Byrd set six of his ten full anthems in minor modes, and all six represent pleading or despair. Of the four anthems which Byrd set to major tones, three are anthems of rejoicing, and one expresses feelings of anger (O God, the proud are risen against me).

Syllabification and Metrical Freedom. Westrup, in praising Purcell for his just accentuation of words, adds that "Purcell would not have been a child of his time if he had done differently." Blow, also a "child of his time"

16. See Figure 7, page 199 for a correlation of texts, keys, and voicings in Blow's full anthems.
in this sense, treats syllabic stress and release with meticulous care. In order to fully appreciate the beauty of Blow's accentuation, however, it is necessary to understand the metrical flexibility which was integral to his polyphonic writing.

Referring specifically to sixteenth-century contrapuntal practice, Morris says that "Despite the many individual features that mark the melody and the harmony of the English composers, it is above all by their rhythm that they live." He goes on to say that the whole of sixteenth-century texture is essentially an interweaving of independent rhythms.

One aspect of the Continental stile antico, as discussed in Chapter II, is the disappearance of this rhythmic freedom, resulting in a superimposition of metrical regularity on the imitative style. In much of Blow's sacred polyphony the rhythmic freedom enjoyed by his pre-Commonwealth predecessors remains. A significant departure from earlier practice, however, is a seemingly the greater awareness of rhythmic deviation from a metrically stable "norm." In several cases, for example, cross-rhythms are confined to a particular section of an anthem, as in measures 19-28 of the late anthem, My days are gone like a shadow, and in the opening section of O Lord God to whom

17. Westrup, Purcell, 233.
18. Morris, Contrapuntal Technique, 72.
vengeance belongeth (a transcription of the latter, appended to this paper). In God is our hope and strength, the fluctuating rhythms even appear to be used with affective intent, the "raging and swelling" of the seas reflected in the attendant metrical instability (Example 6). In the early anthem, Save me, O God, however, the rhythmic flexibility of the individual lines appears to be more endemic. Nonetheless, there are many sections which remain in a steady duple or triple meter throughout, as is the case also with Byrd's polyphonic writing. (See, for example, Byrd's Save me, O God.)

A debt of gratitude is due Heathcote Statham for his fine editions of Blow's fourteen late anthems, for his work is both scholarly and accessible to modern performers. It is most uncharacteristic to find major departures in Statham's work from the contents of the original sources. The one case in which he did exercise considerable editorial license, in O praise the Lord of Heaven, the result is unfortunate, and serves as a reminder of the basic metrical
regularity which provides the framework within which the departures from it function. In his edition, Statham introduced four measures of 3/2 which do not appear in any way set off in the sources. The momentary shift to a feeling of three is undeniable, but its representation in an altered metrical structure completely changes its character. When seen in its intended context, the section effectively draws to a conclusion the preceding several measures of cross rhythmic activity.

Example 7. Measures 25-30 of O Praise the Lord of Heaven, with Statham's metrical alteration indicated above the score.

An Elizabethan idiom which appears with less frequency in Blow's anthems than in those of Byrd and Gibbons is the practice of "slurring against the beat," thereby giving stress to a syllable which might not be accented in normal speech. The practice often occurred in pre-Commonwealth polyphony in the context of the dotted cambiata:
Phillips compares this musical idiom to a contemporary literary practice:

Just as Shakespeare varies the dull single underlying blank verse, so the Elizabethan composer fights shy of a too regular metre.19

Although examples of this manner of syllabification are found in Blow's full anthems, the vast majority of situations which would have lent themselves to such treatment had become foursquare.

Influence of Declamation. Disregarding for the moment observations concerning declamation in a "pathetic" sense, it is evident that the influence of declamatory practice has penetrated even into the domain of sacred polyphony. One reflection of this influence is seen in sequential repetition of a textual phrase, as in the beginning of The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble (page 356), in which the initial five-measure phrase is repeated immediately, one whole step higher (first c-major, then d-major). A similar example is found at the beginning of Let thy hand be strengthened, with the immediate repetition of the initial six-measure phrase.

Another declamatory technique which Clarke claims "shows most clearly the affinity between [the English anthem] and the declamatory style of Italian monody," is the

delayed first accent, whereby the harmony is announced in the accompaniment while the voice waits until the second beat to enter. Clarke makes his point primarily with

Example 8. Delayed first accent in Orlando Gibbons’ verse anthem, This is the record of John. 

reference to Orlando Gibbons’ verse anthem, This is the record of John, but it is a technique which is also used by Blow even in his full anthems in modified form, whereby the initial note of a phrase begins on a weak beat, and holds over into the following strong beat. In Lord, thou art become gracious (Example 9), this delayed entry technique is combined with homophonic declamation by all four parts, a type of chordal declamation which is used numerous times, even in as early a work as Save me, O God. Blow even infuses his polyphonic lines with repeated-note declamation

20. Clarke, John Blow. 158.

at times, as in the opening of O God. wherefore art thou absent from us so long? (page 370).


Perhaps the other side of such declamatory techniques is word-painting which enjoyed such popularity in the sixteenth century. One of the few examples of word-painting is found in the four-part setting of Behold, O God. our defender, where "thunder" rumbles to sixteenth-note melismatic passages.

Expression as an extension of text treatment. The ultimate question when dealing with the manner in which a composer deals with his text involves the expressive quality of the musical result. Harris has recognized Blow as a master when it comes to "the music's integration with the meaning of the text."²²

The subject of expression, however, cannot be isolated for discussion in a manner which is perhaps somewhat more justifiable when dealing with harmony, melody, or structure, for it has the potential to penetrate every aspect of composition. We have already seen Blow's expressive use of metrical structure and some of declamatory practices, and it is this manner of pointing out affective use of various aspects of composition as they are encountered which will be pursued as we proceed.

Texture

In Figure 7, it may be seen that Blow uses a varied number of choral voices in his early full anthems. The early group revealing two anthems written for eight parts, two for five parts, and only one for four parts. All five from this early group contain sections written for "verse" voices, as well.

The apparent paradox regarding the inclusion of "verse" voices in "full" anthems does, indeed, produce some unanswered questions--primarily with regard to performance practice. For purposes of this discussion, however, the dividing line between full anthems which include "verse" voices, and verse anthems is quite clear. The same distinction which was apparently at work in the mind of the copyists of Cfm 117, T 797-803, and T 1176-1182 has been adopted here: only anthems in which there is no independent basso continuo line and/or in which there exist no
Figure 7. Texts, keys, and voicings of Blow’s full anthems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>early group</th>
<th>text source</th>
<th>tutti voices</th>
<th>verse voices</th>
<th>key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God is our hope and strength</td>
<td>Ps. 46:1-3,5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>SSA.ATB</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O God, wherefore art thou absent</td>
<td>Ps. 74:1-2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>SSA.ATB</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save me, o God</td>
<td>Ps. 69:1-3,7, 10, 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>SSAB.ATB</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Lord God of my salvation</td>
<td>Ps. 88:1-2,8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>SSATTE</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My God, my soul is vexed</td>
<td>Ps. 42:6-8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>SSB</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| coronation group | | | | |
| Behold O God our defender | Ps. 84:9-12 | 5 | C |
| Let thy hand be strengthened | Ps. 89:13-14 | 4 | F |
| Behold O God our defender | Ps. 84:9+7 | 4 | C |
| Let my prayer come up | Ps. 141:2 | 4 | a |

| late group | | | | |
| My God, my God, look upon me | Ps. 22:1-3 | 4 | a |
| Praise the Lord, ye servants | Ps. 146:1, 10 | 4 | ATBB.SSAT | B |
| Bow down thine ear | Ps. 86:1-2,5 | 4 | ATBB.SAT | g |
| Be merciful to me | Ps. 86:3-5 | 4 | ATB | b |
| I will praise the name of God | Ps. 69:30,33-5 | 4 | SST,ATB | A |
| Put me not to rebuke | Ps. 38:1-2,21-2 | 4 | SAT.SATB | f |
| Praise the Lord, ye servants | Ps. 113:1-2 | 4 | D |
| My Days are gone | Ps. 102:11-13 | 4 | e |
| In the time of trouble | Ps. 85:7-8,10 | 4 | ATB | d |
| Lord, thou art become gracious | Ps. 85:1-4,8 | 4 | C |
| Lord, thou knowest all my desire | Ps. 38:9-12 | 4 | ATB.SS | c |
| O God, my heart is ready | Ps. 108:1-3,5 | 4 | ATB | E |
| O Praise the Lord | Ps. 148:1-5 | 4 | G |
| Thy hands have made me | Ps. 119:73-4,76 | 4 | C |
| Teach me thy way, o Lord | Ps. 86:11-12 | 4 | ATBB.SSAT | F |

| undated anthems | | | | |
| The Lord hear thee | Ps. 20:1-4 | 4 | B |
| O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth | Ps. 94:1-2 | 4 | d |
independent instrumental interludes are considered full anthems and are, therefore, included in this discussion. Indeed, the organ parts to such anthems rarely depart from a simple reduction of the choral lines, and are in no way necessary to musical continuity.

Only one of the four coronation anthems is scored for other than the four-voice complement which would be used exclusively in the choral writing of the late full anthems. The one five-part coronation anthem (the earlier setting of Behold, O God, our defender) is re-worked into a four-voice texture for the 1689 coronation (a change which significantly weakened its effect). It should also be noted that none of the four coronation anthems requires "verse" voices, and that they are all written in a largely homophonic style--no doubt the effect of great sonority being desired on such an occasion. As has been pointed out, however, Let my prayer come up is exceptional within this group for its meditative spirit.

Five of the late group of fourteen and both of the undated anthems make no use of "verse" voices. Of the combinations of verse voices used in the anthems, Blow

23. In addition to reducing the number of voices, which is accomplished by simply removing the second treble line, Blow omitted ornamental turns in the later version, thereby simplifying the anthem, possibly to meet the austere taste of the incoming monarch. It is only the initial sixteen-measure section in triple meter which is shared by these two coronation settings.
overwhelmingly favors two low-voice combinations, as will be seen in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Combinations of Verse Voices Used in Blow's Full Anthems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice Combinations</th>
<th>Early Uses</th>
<th>Late Uses</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ATB</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATBB</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSAT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SST</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSAB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSATTB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will also be observed that three is the number of voices most frequently used (fourteen times), followed by four voices (seven times), and the singular uses of two voices and six voices.

Performance of "verse" voices in full anthems. It has been assumed by most scholars that the "verse" voices seen in numerous full anthems from the Restoration Period are to be sung by one solo voice on each line, as in verse anthems. The assumption that "verse" has universal meaning throughout Restoration anthem repertoire would seem logical, but its accuracy must be called into question.

Clarke departs from the norm, claiming that "verse" indications found within full anthems indicate "that all the [voices] from the [specified] side of the choir are to sing, not just . . . individual soloists." He bases his
argument in large part on a quotation from a 1782 publication, which reads:

   By Verse Anthem is meant, that in which, for sake of expression and variety, some portion of the words is set in fewer parts than those which constitute full harmony.  

This does, indeed, seem to indicate a contrast between the number of vocal lines in the verse sections and that in the full choral sections, rather than the specific number of singers involved on each line. It should be noted, however, that the quotation appears to speak only to scoring, not to the manner of performing the "fewer parts." Furthermore, one isolated reference is scanty evidence upon which to base an argument.

Two factors, however, and to some extent a third, lend support to the theory of semi-chorus performance of "verse" sections within full anthems. First is the tradition of including contrasting sonorities within pre-Commonwealth full anthems. One example of this tradition is seen in Byrd's full anthem, Out of the deep, scored for SSAATB choir. Although no verbal indications of textural

24. Clarke, John Blow, 152.


26. For that matter, some "verse" sections increase, rather than decrease the number of parts in a given section, although most do reduce the number of vocal lines.
alteration are included in the score, Byrd clearly does alter his choral texture by moving from his full complement

Example 10. Textural contrast in Byrd's Out of the deep.
of six voices to SAAT, then AATB, SSA, and back to full texture. In such works, the tradition of textural alteration within the choral medium is established in the context of the full anthem.

Secondly, manuscript organization clearly indicates the perception of these full anthems with "verse" sections as full choral anthems. Many manuscripts are divided according to "full" and "verse" anthems. The question might be raised as to why Blow's full anthems with verse sections are regularly included in the full anthem portion of manuscripts if the verses were to be sung by soloists. Clearly, some kind of distinction between verse anthems and full anthems with verse ensembles existed somewhat uniformly in the minds of manuscript compilers. It is common in genuine verse anthems, to find duets and trios, as well as solos, and the obligatory choral involvement varies greatly in complexity and length. Because of this, the compilers of manuscripts would have been personally called upon to make stylistic distinctions between the full anthems with verse sections and genuine verse anthems in order to place them in the appropriate section, had there not been an understood difference between the two. Whether this distinction was based entirely on the presence of independent instrumental participation (or lack thereof), or included awareness of a

27. Among the manuscripts which I have personally examined, this is true of the Cfm. 117, T 797-803, and T 1176-1182.
different performance medium (all choral and semi-choral, as opposed to a mixture of solo and choral voices) cannot, of course, be known with certainty.

The third indication of the use of semi-choruses for "verse" sections within full anthems is the style of writing found within these sections. In marked contrast to the majority of "verse" lines found within true verse anthems, the "verse" writing in full anthems is seldom of a declamatory nature, or in any way florid or ornamental; in fact, it often represents the least interesting writing in a given anthem. "Verse" lines in verse anthems are always accompanied by independent basso continuo, and are usually written using note values of a quarter note and smaller, and often employ a common-time signature. These conditions are not duplicated in the "verse" writing found within full anthems, and this provides a clear distinction between two very different styles of "verse" lines. Furthermore, verse writing in verse anthems seldom combines more than three voices, with preference given to solos and duets, whereas, verse writing in full anthems seldom includes fewer than three voices. It must be acknowledged, however, that this stylistic dichotomy is not perfectly consistent, one case in point being Blow's verse anthem, Sing unto the Lord, which contains some triple-meter ensemble writing in six parts which appears very "choral," but to which specific performers' names have been assigned. Independent basso continuo and two violin lines do accompany the section.
however, thereby allowing even this stylistically marginal example to meet our criteria for a genuine verse anthem.

Although the evidence would seem to support Clarke's basic argument in favor of a semi-chorus interpretation of verse sections within full anthems, his connection of this style of writing with the antiphonal practice of the Venetian cori spezzati must be called into question. One major difference between the English semi-choral verse practice and the Venetian antiphonal practice involves that of spatial organization, which was integral to the latter. Verses in English full anthems, by way of contrast, often combine voices from opposite sides of the choir, for example, decani treble, cantoris treble, decani alto. Somewhat closer to the Venetian practice is the long-established English practice of antiphonal psalm singing, as transmitted into service music (genuine SATB-SATB alternation).

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29. English cathedral architecture has traditionally included a divided choir in the chancel, which lends itself to antiphonal presentation of psalms and other service music. The side of the chancel from which the Dean of the cathedral would preside (the south side) came to be called the decani side, the opposite side where the cantor sang, the cantoris side. The choir was divided evenly, in a balanced fashion, between the two sides. Partbooks were frequently produced in sets of eight (SATB decani and SATB cantoris) or ten (SAATB decani and SAATB cantoris), with each book containing music for sections to be sung by the full choir (decani and cantoris), music for sections to be sung by
even here, however, is the re-unification of the antiphonal voices in English practice into a four-part full choir, as opposed to the preservation of group unity within each "choir" in the Venetian practice. The only one of Blow's full anthems which hints at a cori spezzati type of alternation is Praise the Lord. O my soul, in which the division of verse voices is ATBB and SSAT. The two groups maintain their individuality through several alternations, but the verse section ends with a group of ATTBB. Therefore, although the sheer sonority is similar to that achieved in some cori spezzati compositions, the eventual breakdown of group integrity, and the mixture of voices from both sides of the choir (for the BB and SS voices) are important indications that the practice was derived differently than that in Venice. Purcell's full anthem, O God. thou art my God, further strengthens the argument against an antiphonal interpretation, including, as it does, both genuine alternatim (decani SATB choir and cantoris SATB choir in regular alternation, as is common among the service music which is not marked "verse") and marked ATB and SSA verse sections. Clearly, the alternatim practice was not synonymous in Purcell's mind with the use of "verse" sections.

participants in their respective sides of the choir, and rests at points where the other side would sing alone.

Although Clarke's ideas regarding antiphonal writing in the English full anthem do not seem to hold up, it does appear that he was on the right track by suggesting that "verse," in the context of a full anthem, probably does not indicate performance by soloists. Rather, it would seem most likely that the designation "verse" in the midst of a full anthem signals a temporarily altered combination of voices (as seen unflagged in the Byrd anthem), probably with a simultaneous reduction in numbers as would result from the participation of the appropriate voices from only half of the choir on each line. It should be noted that verse sections written for the SATB combination of voices are quite rare, occurring only once in Blow's full anthems (Put me not to rebuke) and only twice in all of his service music (A-major and D-major Te Deums).

It would be convenient if there were consistency of terminology between manuscripts—or even within a single manuscript! "Vers solo" is consistently applied to single lines written in a "solo" style, with independent basso continuo, as is seen in the verse anthems. In similar circumstances, "2 voc" would indicate two solo voices. Such indications as "vers a 4," "vers, 6 voc," and simply "vers." when appearing in full anthems would appear to indicate semi-chorus performance, for the reasons cited above. When appearing in verse anthems, it is not always clear whether soloists alone, or semi-chorus singers are to participate.
It should be pointed out that although the intentions with regard to these enigmatic passages may never be known with absolute certainty, nothing in the scores contradicts their interpretation as semi-choruses. Never do chorus and verse sections overlap metrically in a single line, thereby making it quite possible for a section from, say, the decani choir to complete its "verse" line and then continue on into the following "full" choral section.

Despite Clarke's accusation that Joseph Warren, in his enlarged edition of Boyce's Cathedral Music (1849), created the "bastard category. 'full with verse.'" which has led to misconceptions, when pressed to select between the cumbersome "full with verse" designation and the misleading "antiphonal anthem," suggested by Clarke, one is tempted to introduce still other alternatives. Nonetheless, since "full with verse" is a designation which seems to have widespread use, we shall simply plead for an understanding of it which it seems not commonly to enjoy.

Textural variety. Thus far, the discussion of texture in Blow's full anthems has centered upon the numbers of voices used—the raw material, if you will, but of greater significance to the eventual artistic result is the way in which Blow employs his chosen resources. Blow employs four basic means of handling his vocal lines, ranging from dense, fully-developed counterpoint to strictly chordal movement.

Blow's full anthems reveal him to be a skilled contrapuntist. From his earliest anthems, Blow appears to have worked confidently within densely imitative structural designs. Both of his eight-part anthems, *God is our hope and strength* and *O Lord God of my salvation*, are astounding in their thoroughly contrapuntal design. Where one might expect some occasional voice groupings to relieve the contrapuntal weight, Blow maintains the individuality and significance of each voice throughout. Only in the verse section of *God is our hope and strength* are voices grouped (SSA and ATB), for in the verse section of *O Lord God of my salvation* the imitative texture persists (though reduced to six voices—SSATTB). These two eight-part anthems are Blow's most extreme examples of contrapuntal density, and with the exception of *Save me, O God*, in which there is little imitative writing, Blow's early full anthems contain his most tightly woven polyphony.

*O God, wherefore art thou absent from us* (page 370), was written no later than 1676. The opening forty-two measures weave an intricate and often dissonant imitative web on the opening line of text, producing an intensity which is relieved by the three-part chordal texture of the verse sections.

In three of the four full anthems written for coronations, Blow employs a second textural medium, representing a textural antithesis of the first. Their
almost exclusively chordal texture creates a strong, regal effect. *Let my prayer come up makes effective use of a third, related texture which Blow would use many times again—that in which a single voice leads the remaining voices by a few pulses. As was seen in Example 5 (page 188), it is the treble voice which, although entering initially behind the lower three voices, leads in measures 4 and 8-12.

In addition to the thoroughly-developed points of imitation, chordal movement, and the single-voice-lead style, Blow often uses a tight imitative style or. one in which voices enter only two or three beats apart in rapid succession, as seen in Example 11. In only one case does

Example 11. Tight imitative texture, seen in Lord, thou art become gracious.

Blow include a fugue in a full anthem. The second half of *O God, my heart is ready is a miniature fugue complete with several episodes, a false recapitulation preceding the real one, and a "pedal" tone toward the end. Two fugal expositions appear in *O Praise the Lord.
Blow frequently uses textural contrast for structural purposes, but he also makes use of texture with clear expressive intent, at times. The verse section of *Lord, Thou knowest all my desire* isolates the two treble voices from the ATB voices, and leaves them hanging in a final cadence in which the only tonic note is provided by the organ; the text: "And my kinsmen stood afar off." In *O Praise the Lord of Heaven*, the busy fugal exposition on the text "He commanded and they were created" (measures 30-35) is dramatically interrupted by a block of half-note chords: "For He spake the word, and they were made!"

As a postscript to this look at texture in Blow's full anthems, the function of the organ should be mentioned. One often runs across some comment which indicates that, although Restoration full anthems were most assuredly performed with organ accompaniment by their composers, it is quite possible to perform them without accompaniment. Statham's ad libitum reference, located beside the keyboard part in his editions of the fourteen late anthems, is evidence of this concept. Although it is quite true that these full anthems are in no way dependent on instrumental participation for musical structure, continuity, or harmonic fabric as, in fact, integral to our definition of a full anthem, performance without the intended organ accompaniment should only be undertaken out of necessity. As mentioned above, the two treble voices in *Lord, thou art become*
gracious would be without tonic at their cadence if deprived of organ accompaniment. Although Blow's own organ score (Cfm. 116) usually does little other than double the voice lines, close study, reveals isolated examples in which Blow allows the organ to enter very briefly into the vocal imitation. Although in such cases the organ is not an absolute necessity, its intention by the composer is clear.

**Formal Structure**

One criticism often leveled against Restoration composers has to do with their handling of large-scale structure. This applies primarily to compositions larger than those considered here--those in which the divisions of the text no longer translate into a structure based on points of imitation. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that both Harris, in her references to *Venus and Adonis*,\(^{32}\) and Lewis, in his discussion of the large-scale anthem *God spake sometime in visions*, credit Blow with a "firm sense of construction over a lengthy span."\(^{33}\) Lewis goes on to say that "Intensity, rather than spaciousness, was the characteristic of much European music of this era, and Blow therefore showed uncommon qualities in being able to assume the grand manner with conviction."\(^{34}\)

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32. Harris, *Dido and Aeneas*, 74.
33. Lewis, Foreword to *Coronation Anthems*, xiii.
34. Ibid.
The full anthems, however, are relatively small in scale, the shortest, *Let my prayer come up*, being a mere fourteen measures, the longest, *O God, wherefore art thou absent*, 126 measures. Like that of their pre-Commonwealth predecessors, the structure of Blow's full anthems is strongly tied to divisions within the text. In addition to textual divisions, however, Blow makes use of texture, harmony, subtle metrical changes, and literal return of material in structuring his full anthems. The interweaving of melodic material throughout an anthem is twice used to provide unity, and, in one case a gradual crescendo of intensity throughout an anthem provides a certain shape to the composition. Phrase structure and metrical alterations also play an important role in shaping Blow's anthems.

**External structure.** Blow's full anthems fall into four structural categories: symmetrical forms (including thematically rounded structures), two-part forms, sequential forms (structures in which sequential repetition is a factor), and through-composed structures dependent exclusively upon text for structural divisions. Symmetrical structures, seen in thirteen anthems, are by far the most common, but of these, nine derive their form primarily or exclusively from textural alternations (full-verse-full, or full-verse-full-verse-full), while the others resort to a return of the initial melodic material. In many cases, the full choir sings imitatively, the verse voices cantionally, thus heightening the structural distinction. It is also
fairly common for a middle section to be written in a related key, the return to the tonic, again, reinforcing the rounding effect. One anthem which uses all of these means of achieving structural symmetry is the early eight-part God is our hope and strength, as depicted in Figure 9:

Figure 9. Symmetry in God is our hope and strength.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>measures 1-16</th>
<th>measures 17-30</th>
<th>measures 30-68</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full voices</td>
<td>verse voices</td>
<td>full voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonal center: A</td>
<td>tonal center: E</td>
<td>tonal center: A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harmonically affective</td>
<td>metrically unstable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSA-ATB-SSA-ATB-SSA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9 also includes several additional aspects which contribute to the isolation of this middle section. The writing in the outer sections is relatively devoid of English harmonic idiosyncrasies, contrasts dramatically with the writing in the middle section which is much less imitative, and makes considerable use of augmented and diminished chords, with clear affective intent (text: "Therefore will we not fear though the earth be moved, the hills be carried into the midst of the sea, the waters thereof rage and swell, an the mountains shake at the tempest of the same.") In addition, the stable duple meter of the outer sections contrasts with the "raging and swelling" of cross rhythms in the middle section, as seen earlier (Example 6, page 191). It may also be noted in Figure 9 that the middle section is, in itself, texturally symmetrical.
Although the symmetrical structure created through reiteration of earlier material is a technique which Blow did not use a great deal, it is obviously one which he felt produced a favorable result, for his use of it spans his creative life. All four of the anthems so structured, as seen in Figure 10, set very dark texts.

Figure 10. Melodically rounded anthems.

early: O God, wherefore art thou absent (page 370)
undated: O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth (page 383)
late: My God, my God, look upon me
late: Be merciful unto me, o God

Blow used a two-part structure only three times in his full anthems: in the two coronation settings of Behold, O God, our defender, and in the undated anthem, The Lord hear thee. In all three cases, the bi-partite structure is effected through a metrical alteration. In the latter anthem, the change is from an initial duple meter to triple meter for the second half. The arrangement is reversed for the coronation anthems, and the first version makes some interesting uses of mensuration symbols as tempo indications. The interpretation seen in the bottom line of

Figure 11. Mensuration symbols as used in the five-voice setting of Behold, o God, our defender.
Figure 11 is based on the premise that alla breve serves as an implied integer valor from which the proportion 3/1 at the beginning takes its meaning, "3" half notes (or, one dotted whole) relating to "1" integer valor half note. The integer valor is used for the first time at the alla breve. The "2" at "no good thing," read as a literal proportion, would double the tempo; the return of alla breve would signal a return to the integer valor, and so forth. The validity of this interpretation is born out by its practicality. The resulting rapid tempo at "no good thing" and "hosts" is accompanied by many fewer eighth notes than are found in the first and third sections in integer valor, and the second integer valor is set off with a drawn-out tempo in emphasis of the text "O Lord God of Hosts."

35. This is the only signature alteration for which the Shaw/Lewis edition provides no suggestion of tempo relationship, which is particularly interesting as it is the only point at which the message conveyed by the signature is actually quite clear. The reduction of note values in the initial section by the editors requires that a 3-to-2 relationship be employed, rather than the 3-to-1 relationship indicated with the original notation.

36. The question must be raised as to why a composer should go to all this trouble when the signature (once into duple meter) could have remained unaltered simply by using varied note values. Musicians were certainly adept at reading smaller note values by this time. One explanation might be that, whereas the proportions provided a general guide of tempo changes, these changes were to have greater flexibility than would have been the case had the note values been changed, rather than the signature indications. Houle sums up seventeenth-century practice with regard to such matters in this way:
The third of Blow's formal designs, that of sequential repetition, is a declamatory device which Blow used only occasionally. In *Let thy hand be strengthen'd*, the first six measures are repeated, the second time cadencing on G rather than on the initial C. (This is the only one of Blow's full anthems which concludes with an "allelujah" chorus (20 measures)--a common feature among Restoration anthems which has drawn much criticism.)³⁷ *Thy hands have made me* is also interesting in its sequence-like repetition of material, four of the six sections of the text, being immediately repeated, three of those times with very similar musical material.

Finally, several of Blow's full anthems derive their structure exclusively from divisions within the text, and two of these include fugal writing, as mentioned earlier.

**Internal aspects of structuring.** Blow's experimentation with structure was to continue throughout his career, and, in the late anthems in particular, extended increasingly to internal devices. Parry complained that

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Generally, seventeenth-century note values, in conjunction with their mensural and proportion signs, conveyed a reliable image of the speed of the music they represented, but the irrational changes of tempo associated with new signs and new interpretations of old ones began to shake this certainty.--cf. George Houle, *Meter in Music*, 32.

³⁷ *Praise the Lord, o my soul* concludes with the word "allelujah," but its three-measure brevity hardly qualifies it as a "chorus."
Purcell and Blow often made their phrases too short and in too rapid a succession, resulting in a patchy, disconnected effect. Although the perception of the effect may differ, there is no question that many phrases written by Restoration composers often defy the expected.

Parry's observations are exemplified in the coronation anthem *Let thy hand be strengthened*. The first phrase involves only nine beats (counting the initial rest), and the second, twelve beats (including a mid-phrase hemiola, which contributes to the irregularity), thus completing a initial twenty-one-beat period. Then, as if to emphasize its terseness, the whole period is repeated immediately.

This certainly is not the picture of conformity which Parry might have preferred, but when one becomes familiar with the music, it is hard to imagine it any other way. Such phrase

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structures cannot be said to have been employed with particular purpose for the simple reason that they reflect the practice of the time which was still heavily based on the structure of the text, and represent a natural response to the text which is disappointing only to those who insist on symmetry.

One interesting experiment which Blow used only twice in the full anthems is that of a motto, or theme which recurs throughout an anthem. Several things make the anthem Be merciful unto me different than others which share its rounded design, but perhaps most significant is the pervasiveness of the opening idea based on the half-step and Example 13. Opening of Be merciful unto me, O Lord.

the diminished triad. The initial portion for full choir is in itself a rounded structure—moving to D-major for a less imitative section (mm. 11-25), then returning to the opening material. The originality of Blow's plan includes the reappearance of the opening material in the middle section
(mm. 32-34), as well as at the end, functioning as an affective reminder of the pleading "mantra" of the composition even in the midst of the prayerful optimism voiced in the middle section.

A similar, if more subtle, use of recurring idea appears in *In the time of trouble*, another anthem which employs a sequence-like repetition of material. In measures 10-12, the tenor and treble lines, in a brief, five-note canon, signal the importance of the idea they carry. During the course of the anthem, that five-note idea appears eight times to the following texts: "For thou hearest me." "unto Thee, O Lord," "For thou art great," "Thou art God alone."

Example 14. Announcement of recurring theme in *In the time of trouble*.

One unusual, and quite effective structuring occurs in *Bow down thine ear* (portions of which are reproduced in Examples 24, 28, and 34, pages 239, 249, and 260) whose claim to a symmetrical shape rests exclusively on alternation of full and verse sections. If loosely-wrought
in a structural sense, the anthem is a convincing piece of music whose harmonic and textural intensity increase following the initial brief homophonic section, effectively representing the richness and promise conveyed by its text. Unique among Blow's anthems is the full-choir retention of the five (as opposed to four original) voice lines used in the verse writing, for the full choral writing which follows.

Whether using large-scale means, or less obvious, internal tools of composition, Blow clearly gave careful consideration to the structuring of his full anthems. Blow often used structural means for more than the balance between unity and variety needed for effective composition, often employing them to affective ends, as well.

Melodic Structure

One distinction which is often made between the Continental stile antico and its sixteenth-century models relates to melodic structuring; specifically, the identification of a vertical, harmonically-based approach, as opposed to the linear approach characteristic of older polyphony. The manner in which each of these two modes of thinking affected Blow's sacred polyphony, in addition to various idioms of melodic expression, combine to describe an important aspect of Blow's melodic writing.

Linear vs. harmonic approach. To quote Jeppesen: "Palestrina starts out from lines and arrives at chords:
Bach's music grows out of an ideally harmonic background, against which the voices develop with a bold independence that is often breath-taking. In describing the English sacred polyphony of the late seventeenth century, it might be said that, while independent linear integrity was by no means obligatory in the structuring a composition, neither was an "ideal harmonic background" yet in place in the sense that it would be in Bach's writing. Furthermore, the preeminence of the individual line was not enshrined by English polyphonists, even those contemporary with Palestrina, to the extent that it was by many of their Continental contemporaries.

Four basic approaches to part-writing have been observed in Blow's full-anthems (pages 207-209), and the polyphony of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century composers reveals that each of these—full imitation, tight imitation, chordal movement, and single-voice-lead—is copiously represented in these earlier anthems, as well. In examining the anthems of Blow, it is important to keep in mind the curious mixture of conservatism and bold experimentation which characterizes the English style, and the variety of its melodic/textural expression. Because sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English polyphony was perhaps not as predominantly linear as that on the Continent, the use of homophony in Restoration polyphony

does not represent the degree of stylistic evolution that it
does in contemporary works from the Continent. Despite this
decreased evolutionary significance, the balance between
linear and vertical styles of polyphonic genesis remains a
valid descriptor of Blow's melodic style.

In assessing linear and vertical compositional
approaches seen in Blow's full anthems, several indicators
have been used. Linear thinking is considered to be
evidenced by the following factors:

1. Dissonances resulting from the application of voice
   leading based on the rules of musica ficta;

2. Developed "points" of imitation, as in the "full
   imitation" seen in some of Blow's anthems,
   involving strong melodic independence of the
   various voices.

3. Minimal importance of modulatory progressions.
   (This as evidence of the secondary role played by
   harmonic design.)

4. Evidence of modal practice.

5. Cross-rhythms resulting from linear imitation.

Vertical thinking is identified as:

1. The alteration of imitative lines according to
   harmonic design.

2. The absorption of melodic effects especially in the
   inner voices by harmonic effects.

3. Increasingly forceful rhythmic accents (necessary
   for the emergence of harmonic rhythm as a
   significant factor).


5. Homophonic writing.

As might be expected, none of Blow's anthems reflects an
exclusively harmonic or exclusively linear practice, though
definite evolution in the direction of a more harmonic approach in his later works can be determined.

The anthem which reflects most closely a purely linear approach is the eight-part anthem, *O Lord God of my salvation*, written no later than 1682. By any standard, it is a conservative composition in its avoidance of unusual dissonances and strong modulations. Although the composition is solidly in G-minor and few cross-rhythms exist, the various points of imitation are pursued fully in all voices and with minimal rhythmic accentuation. The final section betrays both the expressive attentiveness and the harmonic capability of the composer in an effective juxtaposition of a chromatic and a diatonic "point." as seen in Example 15. The consistently evaded cadences in this

Example 15. Juxtaposition of chromatic and diatonic points from Blow's *O Lord God of my salvation*.

section appear to portray perpetual entrapment in prison, and it is worth noting that Blow violates the unwritten "rule" that compositions in a minor tonality must end with a major triad, choosing instead to conclude his composition on a note of despair.
Three of the remaining four early anthems, while combining homophonic sections with the contrapuntal, reflect a genuinely linear approach in their development of fairly sustained points of imitation. The simultaneous influence of a declamatory approach, however, is seen in the repeated notes and the diminished fourth of the opening idea of *O God, wherefore art thou absent*, the wonderfully ambiguous tonal direction of this "point" pervading the opening section and allowing it to be altered intervalically while perceptually maintaining its integrity through the memorable repeated-note declamation. It is through the flexibility of this theme that Blow effects modulations and dissonances over a fairly extended period, using quite limited melodic material. Thus the quasi-tonal and pervasively imitative nature of this opening section is balanced by the anthem's use of declamation and modulation. This mixture of linear and harmonic features will be seen in varying guises throughout Blow's full anthems.

*O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth*, one of the two undated anthems, is similar to *O God, wherefore art thou absent* in its sustained imitative section, which returns at the end, the middle section, however, making use of homophonic and single-voice-lead styles of writing. The Phrygian cadences, numerous cross-rhythms, open-fifth

40. Of the three, two—*O God, wherefore art thou absent* and *My God, my soul is vexed*—are appended to this paper.
cadences and sustained imitation all reflect linear thinking, and appear, again, to co-exist easily with the unprepared dissonance and occasional chromaticism.

It is interesting that *My God, my God. look upon me.* although written in 1697 (but not one of the late fourteen anthems), is strongly reminiscent of the early anthem, *O God, wherefore art thou absent,* in the rounding of its structure, the unremitting weight of the text, and its sustained polyphonic treatment. Twenty-three years, however, made a great difference in Blow's capabilities, as can be seen by comparing the abrupt ending effected through exact quotation of the opening material in the earlier anthem, with the more refined and flexible use of the opening material providing a more satisfactory ending in the later one. Despite the thorough-going polyphony, there is no hint of modality here, nor are cross-rhythms to be found. The profound expressiveness of this anthem is not of the "pathetic" vein, but hearkens back to the spirit seen in the opening of Byrd's *Out of the deep,* in which sustained points of imitation are fully developed in each voice, creating a mood of plaintive restraint. In Blow's anthem, a similarly polyphonic manner of construction is comfortably combined with a convincing harmonic approach, seen in Example 16.

Three of the four coronation anthems, excepting *Let my prayer come up,* are written with a certain instrumental bravura. Rhythmic accentuation and clear modulations combine with the almost totally homophonic texture, making
them, in many respects, emphatically different from all others of Blow's full anthems. Let my prayer come up shares in the homophonic texture, but is completely lacking in rhythmic aggressiveness.

Example 16. Plaintive expression in Blow's My God, my God, look upon me.

All fourteen of the late full anthems reveal a markedly more harmonic point of departure than those which precede them, but none are without some characteristics of a linear orientation. One very interesting and effective use of cross-rhythms is seen in the middle section of My days are gone like a shadow and, in this case, the cross-rhythms appear to be deliberately and structurally employed, as they occur only sporadically in the outer sections. Their intensive use, in combination with a forward-moving modulatory pattern creates an effective artistic result which is characteristic of the freedom with which the English had long infected their polyphony with new ideas.
Example 17. Cross-rhythms and modulatory progression in the middle section of My days are gone like a shadow.

Chromatic intensity with obvious affective intent combines with an imitative texture in Lord, Thou knowest all my desire, and the imitation in Lord. Thou art become gracious (see mm. 4-5, Example 11. page 209) contrasts with the triadic shape of the lines. Blow’s bold experimentation with modulatory progression occasionally took him into areas which give somewhat the impression of a run-away train, as

Example 18. Chromatic imitation in Lord, thou knowest all my desire.
in this frantically imitative passage from I will praise the name of God, based on a melodic ninth chord.

Example 19. Imitation on a melodic ninth chord in I will praise the name of God.

If one observation is to be made concerning the relative importance of linear and vertical aspects of melodic structuring in Blow's full anthems, it would have to do with the bold and unselfconscious mixture of some aspects of both in almost all the anthems. Of the characteristics pointing to a linear approach, the use of modality and "full" imitative writing are seen to decrease, and the initially insignificant modulatory practice assumes a greater role as Blow's style evolved. Of those features reflecting a vertical approach, all were present in pre-Commonwealth polyphony to some degree, and their continuing and intensifying expression represents a natural development. Although it appears that Blow was both capable of and willing to use an isolated device associated with older practice for expressive or structural purposes (for
example, the cross-rhythms in the middle section of *My days are gone like a shadow*), the ultimate rejection of a stile antico notion with regard to this body of sacred polyphony is seen in the enduring plasticity of the English anthem, which allowed it to continue to evolve in creative ways.

**Melodic idioms.** In a lecture delivered at the University of Hull, Anthony Lewis noted the use of several of the "more striking elements" in Purcell's melodic idiom.\(^{41}\) Lewis is speaking here within the context of "recitative musick," the uniquely English style of declamation. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify some similarly "striking" elements even in Blow's sacred polyphony--used more sparingly, to be sure.

The influence of declamation has been observed in a number of Blow's full anthems, for example, the chordal declamation at the end of the early anthem. *Save me, O God,* and the repeated notes in the opening theme of *O God, wherefore art thou absent.* Also reflecting the influence of the Italian "pathetic" style is the use of diminished intervals, as in the initial theme of *O God, wherefore art thou absent.* The diminished fourth reappears throughout that anthem, and is even transformed (by association within the line) into a minor seventh at one point (mm. 39-40, page 373). Blow's fondness for augmented and diminished intervals surfaces numerous times throughout his full

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anthems, often with expressive intent. Occasionally, however, as in measure seven of Be merciful unto me O Lord, an altered interval will simply appear for no obvious reason. Blow's melodic use of a diminished seventh chord in Put me not to rebuke, leading into a Phrygian cadence occurs only once, but is tremendously effective (Example 21).

Example 20. Augmented fourth in treble line of Be merciful unto me O Lord.

Example 21. Melodic diminished seventh chord in Put me not to rebuke.
Favorite Purcellian melodic devices mentioned by Lewis, used to invoke a sense of the "pathetic." find their spiritual corollary in Blow's full anthems not as much in the melodic writing, which is always more restricted in a choral context than in a vocal solo, but in the harmonies. The freedom of expression, the willingness to use extraordinary means to achieve an affective end, and the sensitivity to the spirit of the text are features which are common to Italian recitative, naturalized English "recitative musick," and, remarkably, the ever-supple full anthem.

Modality vs. Tonality: A Practice in Transition

In numerous respects, the musical practice of the seventeenth century reflects an age in transition. Not only did new large structures come into existence during this time, but the tools used by creative musicians were changing, as well.

The crumbling of the centuries-old modal system which occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can only be compared to the vehement challenges to the younger, but equally well-established tonal system in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The exchange of flexibility and variety found within the twelve modes for the strongly directional (and, therefore, dramatic) potential only possible within a functionally tonal context.
was one which took well over a century to complete, and proceeded at different paces in various locations.

Beswick articulates three stages in the emergence of tonality, providing approximate dates based on his observations primarily of Continental music. Although we will find that English practice does not follow exactly the same pattern of development, his three stages are helpful for comparison.

Beswick refers to his initial stage of transition as the most complex of the three. It was during this period—which he identifies as reaching completion around 1640—that a great deal of experimentation, particularly with regard to the use of dissonance, was undertaken. By the end of this time, the twelve modes which had received at least theoretical recognition at the end of the sixteenth century were, for most practical purposes, reduced to four: two major and two minor (Ionian and Mixolydian, and Aeolian and Dorian, respectively). Beswick's observations concerning this initial stage have obvious relevance to much Continental practice, but have little to do with English practice. England was not without growth and experimentation (as is quite clear particularly in the arena of keyboard music!), but it was not of the same nature as that on-going in Italy.

During Beswick's second period, identified as extending from 1640 to around 1680, tonality expanded steadily—increasing the application of tonal formulas, while eliminating dissonant effects which did not specifically contribute to definition of a tonal center. Distinctions between the modes all but disappeared, leaving only major and minor in the mainstream of common practice.

Beswick's post-1680 third stage of tonal development describes a fully-realized, functional tonality. With very rare exceptions, full-fledged major and minor keys were used exclusively, and progressions were based on a tonally-derived, hierarchical scheme of key relationships determined by a tonic-dominant polarity.

Restoration practice: Stages 1 and 2 combined. The early development of a strong sense of tonality in England from Tallis onward has been noted, both here and elsewhere (cf. page 48). The several "early symptoms of tonality" identified by Beswick all appear even in sacred music—traditionally, the bastion of conservatism—well before the end of the sixteenth century in England, the first three earlier in the century. Yet, these "symptoms" were, by and large, not accompanied in England by the extravagant experimentation with dissonance noted in Continental practice. The English use of dissonance continued to be primarily the result of voice-leading which

43. Long. The Music of the English Church, 98.
Figure 12. Beswick's Early Symptoms of Tonality.

1. The authentic cadence.

2. A growing prevalence of the "tonal" modes.

3. An awakening of chord consciousness.

4. A relaxation of the polyphonic idea: curtailment of free melodic flight.

5. The appearance of pure homophonic principle.

6. Effective planning of cadence points.

7. The clear transposition of phrases or entire passages to a new pitch level.  

remained largely true to the principles of musica ficta. Furthermore, application of a "purely homophonic principle" continued, as has been seen, to be strongly modified in English polyphony even from the latter part of the seventeenth century by a continuing attentiveness to the individuality of each vocal line.

Despite these fundamental differences in the path taken along the inevitable progression toward tonality, the result with regard to level of tonal development was remarkably similar by the end of Beswick's second stage (ca. 1680). Ironically, however, although movement toward a practice based on major and minor scale structures appears to have been initiated somewhat earlier in England than on the Continent, effects of modal practice appear to have

lingered on in England beyond the time of their disappearance elsewhere. There is no question as to the solid establishment of tonality in English practice by the latter part of the seventeenth century. Rather, the characteristically English use of dissonance and the integrity which each polyphonic line continued to possess bespeak a polyphonic practice whose evolution was calm and steady, as opposed to one which canonized its polyphony at a certain stage and initiated radically different styles at the same time, thereby producing a sharp fork in the theoretical road. In several of Blow's early full anthems traits of modality persist along side a number of the characteristics of tonality as identified by Beswick.

_Lingering modality in Blow's full anthems._ Boyce's decision to "complete" Blow's signature in _God is our hope and strength_, to include the raised leading tone is based on a lack of understanding of the role still played by modality in Restoration polyphony. This anthem affords a very interesting view of the transition between modality and tonality in its transposition of the opening Mixolydian on A, to Mixolydian on E for the middle section, indicating that the tonal concept of transposition is very much at work, even within this modal context. The original preparation of the final cadence indicates, if not modality.

45. Originally the signature contained only f-sharp and c-sharp. Boyce added a g-sharp.
at least the absence of the strong dominant-tonic relationship usually associated with functional tonality. This is the only one of Blow’s full anthems which makes use of a fairly pure Mixolydian.

The continuation of Dorian flavor in minor, the second of Beswick’s traits indicating lingering modality, is seen in O God, wherefore art thou absent (pages 370-82). The ambiguity of the opening point delays any sense of tonal orientation until the first cadence, which falls on C. (The "key" of the piece, if the signature is to be believed, is G-minor.) The pull toward C throughout the first section is unmistakable.

Example 22. Linear approach to cadences in O God, wherefore art thou absent.

unmistakable despite its final cadence on C. Whether G-minor/Aeolian or C-minor/Dorian, this anthem can be seen to represent a practice in transition, and two modes which were well on their way to becoming one. Further underscoring the modal structure of this anthem is the
linear approach to every significant cadence in which at least three voices participate, and the lack of a complete triad in many.

Although leading tones are raised approaching all principal cadences throughout My God, my soul is vexed (pages 362-69)—not uncommon even in earlier modal compositions—their general lack of absorption within the piece as a whole, and the numerous Phrygian cadences on the dominant result in a strongly Dorian (tonic)/Phrygian (dominant) flavor. The "relative major" (B-flat) and its sub-dominant emerge briefly in the verse and final sections (another evidence of tonality), but for the most part, G and D provide the tonal parameters. Blow rejected the standard major cadence at the end, closing instead on a more somber tone.

The unsettled tonality of O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth results partially from some chromatic progressions and partially from the several Phrygian cadences. Although truly in D-minor, the anthem retains an unmistakably modal flavor.

Preference for modal structure over tonal (or, in combination with tonal) seems to be limited to early anthems, but Blow's free use of cross relations (Beswick's third indicator of lingering modality) persisted throughout his career. English musicians, in their continuing creative evolution through the polyphonic idiom, frequently allowed linear directionality to result in chromatic clashes. or
cross relations. While this may indeed represent lingering modality in Continental compositions, it co-exists easily with a thoroughly tonal approach in their English counterparts, creating a comfortable mixture of linear and harmonic considerations which is uniquely English. Surely the tonality of *O praise the Lord of heaven* cannot be denied—nor can the cross relations found in the second measure! Such examples in Blow's full anthems abound.

Example 23. Cross relations in *O praise the Lord of heaven*.

Another evidence of a linear approach which Blow used in late, as well as early anthems, is the linear preparation for a cadence (expansion of a major sixth to an octave, or contraction of a minor third to a unison). In many cases, in addition to the two lines making the linear cadence, the bass line moves from V to I, again giving evidence of modal ancestry within an increasingly tonal practice. There are, however, numerous examples of cadences which are exclusively linear in design. Both types of cadential approaches were seen in Example 22.
Indications of tonality. Beswick identifies four characteristics of tonality in the seventeenth century, the first of which is the use of genuine transpositions within a composition, retaining the same internal harmonic relationships in the new tonal area as in the old.* One very clear example of such a transposition is seen in Bow down thine ear, O Lord, in which the initial movement from the B-flat major chord to a C-major chord is immediately followed by an "echo" of the phrase which moves from a C-major chord to a major triad on D.

Example 24. Tonal transposition in Bow down thine ear, O Lord.

Blow's use of transposition as a structural device has been mentioned and, for the most part, transpositions are made to nearly-related keys, such as the dominant or the relative major in a minor key, and the dominant or the

sub-dominant in a major key. Exceptions do, of course, exist, as toward the end of the five-part setting of Behold, O God, our defender, at which point the solidly C-major tonality makes a turn to the major mediant, E-major, for an eight-measure passage (mm. 37-44). A particularly interesting transposition has already been mentioned, namely that effected in the middle section of the Mixolydian God is our Hope and Strength, preserving the Mixolydian modality on the dominant tone. This provides an additional witness to the ease with which harmonic procedures can blend with a modal scale in Blow's writing.

Beswick's second determinant of tonality has to do with the surrounding of the central harmony by subsidiary harmonies. He also suggests that the main difference between major at the end of the seventeenth century and Ionian at the beginning is the prominence of the relative minor at the end. The relative minor is not, however, a transposition favored by Blow, only two of the fourteen anthems in major keys even cadencing once on the relative minor, and neither of them remaining there long enough to be called a transposition. (The two are Teach me thy way, O Lord and I will praise the name of God.) The secondary keys favored by Blow for his anthems in major keys are the dominant, the sub-dominant, and the major mediant, in that order of frequency.

47. Ibid., 13 and 107.
Of the fourteen anthems in minor keys, four modulate to the relative major, and nine to the dominant; two of the anthems use both dominant and relative major. Only in the early group does Blow experiment outside of these two secondary relationships. In O Lord God of my salvation Blow effects a sudden modulation to the sub-mediant, coupling that with his only full-choir block chords in the entire composition, at the text "For my soul is full of trouble" (mm. 69-72), affectively expressing despair. A similar, brief transposition to the sub-mediant occurs in Save me, O God (mm. 35-38), this time reflecting prayerful optimism with the text, "But, Lord, I make my prayer unto Thee."

Third on Beswick's list of determinants of tonality is the nature of modulatory transitions, and the degree to which their directional "pull" is determined by their relationship to the central key. Blow uses six types of progressions almost exclusively. In descending order of frequency, they are pivot progression, chromatic progression, progression through deceptive cadence, dominant-tonic progression, change of mode (major-minor), and direct progression (moving from one area to another without a transition).

In many cases, Blow's progressions do not reflect the directional movement which ears conditioned to eighteenth-century practice expect. In one such example found in My God, my God, look upon me, a chromatic
alteration (treble line: C-sharp'' to C-natural'') is combined with a pivot modulation (tenor line: ,A), thereby diverting the expected D-minor cadence to F-major.

Example 25. Pivot-chromatic modulation in My God, my God, look upon me.

The numerous deceptive cadences in the anthem, or "false closes," as Morley calls them, maintain the flow of the polyphonic texture by avoiding anticipated cadences.

Although Blow is not heavily dependent upon the dominant-tonic progression for his modulations, he does occasionally indulge in an anabasis or catabasis effected by movement through the circle of fifths. In Praise the Lord, O my soul, the tonic-dominant progression is used in two very different ways, one occurring over an extended period, the other accomplished in a brief, intense progression. Measures 29 through 43 reveal the following: B-flat (four measures)—F (five measures)—C (two measures)—G (three measures). Compare this, for example, with measures 69-73.
of the same anthem which uses the V-I progression in
alternation with pivot progressions that move by thirds.

Example 26. Pivot and V-I modulation in Praise the Lord, O
my soul.

Another somewhat extended anabasis is found in In the time
of trouble, (mm. 44-49): F (four beats)--C (six beats)--G
(four beats)--d (six beats)--A. Another interesting
progression, which includes a mediant pivot progression, a
chromatic progression, and a shift of mode within the space
of four measures, is found in O Praise the Lord of Heaven,
as seen in Example 7, page 192.

Examples of Blow's modulatory procedures could go on
indefinitely. If there is a basic observation to be made,
however it would seem to be that, although Blow is clearly
working in a solidly tonal idiom, with functions which would
continue to be used by succeeding generations of composers,
the unexpected turns and directions indicate a sense of
hierarchical chordal relationships which, although strong
even enough to produce progressions based on the circle of fifths
at times, was also easily overridden by other
considerations.
The fourth characteristic of tonality mentioned by Beswick is the widespread use of binary and ternary forms based on the principle of key contrast. The structural use of keys has been seen even in Blow's early anthem, *God is our Hope and Strength*, in a loose ABA form, with the tonal center shifting from A in the outer sections, to E for the middle section. Blow seems, however, to move away from the concept of a superimposed external structure in his late full anthems, preferring to structure more closely according to the text, as had long been the tradition for that genre.

One factor not mentioned by Beswick is perhaps not a determinant of tonality, as tonality can clearly exist without it, but is, nonetheless, intertwined with its application: that of a steady harmonic rhythm. Whether fast or slow, the speed with which the harmony changes is expected to be fairly consistent at least within the context of weak and strong beats. As is the case with Blow's harmonic progressions, his harmonic rhythms are often within the realm of expectation, but the frequent departures make it clear that he felt no overwhelming obligation to regularity, and confounds it frequently, as may be seen in Example 27. It will be noticed that the harmonic rhythm is quite stable in measures 41 through 44, with a g-minor chord appearing on every off-beat over a period of twelve beats. Perhaps because of this, the displacement of chords in

48. Ibid., 14.
Example 27. Example of Blow's harmonic rhythm as seen in "Bow down thine ear, O Lord."

measure 45, initiated by the suspension of the g-minor harmony into measure 45, is particularly unsettling.

Summary of Blow's tonal practice. Despite isolated (generally early) evidences of lingering modality among Blow's full anthems, there can be no question that Blow was working within a solidly developed tonal practice. Several factors, however, such as the persistence of cross rhythms, dissonances created by linear integrity (priority given to the construction of each individual line), and linear preparation for cadences, point to a practice still heavily indebted to horizontal thought processes. The only conclusion which can be reached, given this apparent contradiction, is that harmonic and chordal thinking, and modal and linear thinking are not uniformly paired in Blow's full anthems. In fact, it is the unique mixture of harmonic and linear thinking which resulted in many of the English idiosyncracies (dissonances) about which Burney would so bitterly complain. Blow was, however, no maverick. His idiom was the result of the natural development of a continuous evolution and accretion in the medium of sacred polyphony.
The idiom of English sacred polyphony has been seen to embody flexibility, and it has been suggested that it is, in part, because of the resultant absorption of new elements—use of solo voice, increasingly harmonic practice, syllabic approach to text setting, and so forth—that the genre retained its vitality far beyond the time that Italian, and even German sacred polyphony had deferred to the stile nuovo. Blow's full anthems reflect many of the same techniques seen in pre-Commonwealth anthems but, more significantly, they continue in the English tradition of accretion, or, continuing evolution—a practice which was much less characteristic of Continental sacred polyphony.

In his use of altered intervals, declamatory techniques, augmented and diminished chords, and external structuring, Blow continued this aspect of the English tradition.

Bestialities, Crudities, and other Harmonic Idiosyncracies

But still it is not compleat without Discords and Degrees... intermixed with the Concords, to give them a Poyl, and set them off the better... So the Practical Masters and Skill Composers make use of Discords, judiciously taken, to relish the Consort, and make the Concords arrive much sweeter at the Ear, in all sorts of Descant; but most frequently in Cadence to a Close.

49. The title of this section refers, of course, to Burney's infamous attack on the music of John Blow—the first term taken from Burney's "Specimens of Dr. Blow's Beastialities," (GB-Lbm Add. 11586, f. 46 and 11587, f. 36), the second from his "Specimens of Dr. Blow's Crudities."—cf. Burney, A General History of Music, II, 353-54.
As a result of the still mystifying attack on Blow by Dr. Charles Burney, Blow's harmony has received more attention from scholars of Restoration music than might otherwise have been the case.\(^\text{51}\) Although the more general


51. Burney's acerbity unleashed against Blow has been the object of much scholarly speculation. Despite his apparent dislike of the Restoration school as a whole (saying that there are things in Purcell which he hopes musicians of his own day "scruple not to change for the better," and other similar remarks), there is no question but that he singled Blow out, having given no other composer so much print. As a result, Shaw refers to Burney's attack as "of more interest to the student of Burney than of Blow."—cf. Shaw, "Blow, John," 808. Grant has suggested that the care which Burney lavished on his attack—complete with numerous expensive engraved examples—suggests that the attacks were, in truth, aimed at Boyce and Hawkins, who consistently praised Blow. "Burney's methodical presentation of the evidence of Blow's barbarisms may well have been calculated to explode, once and for all, Hawkins's credibility as a critic."—cf. Kerry S. Grant, Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1983), 142. The fact of Hawkins' publication of his five-volume General History of the Science and Practice of Music in 1776, almost simultaneously with the first volume of Burney's General History of Music, undoubtedly flamed the antagonism of the latter who apparently derided Hawkins in an unpublished poetic satire entitled The Trial of Midas, whose prime target was "Mr. Money-Bags Hawkins," thereby possibly lending credence to Grant's theory.—cf. R. Stevenson, "The Rivals Hawkins, Burney and Boswell," The Musical Quarterly XXXVI (1950), 67.

With regard to Burney's remarks concerning Blow as the master of Purcell, Shaw points out a paragraph, appearing later in the volume (II, 478) which he speculates might reveal some bitterness on Burney's part having to do with a situation such as he describes, and, consequently, possibly referred to Blow.
issues of tonal context and key relationships have been examined, there remain certain "quirks" in the English tradition which are particularly noticeable during the forty years following the Restoration, as if a final fling before the onset of Italian dominance which was just around the corner.

Consecutive fifths and octaves. Shaw summarizes Burney's accusations in four basic categories, the first of which concerns the use of consecutive fifths and octaves, so abhorrent to eighteenth-century ears. In the twenty-six full anthems, fewer than a dozen examples of consecutive fifths.

"But there is nothing more common than this petie-larceny among musicians: if the first master has drudged eight or ten years with a pupil of genius, and it is thought necessary, in compliance with fashion or caprice, that he should receive a few lessons from a second, he instantly arrogates to himself the whole honour both of the talents and cultivation of his new scholar, and the first and chief instructor is left to sing, sic vos non vobis."—cf. H. Watkins Shaw, "John Blow and Dr. Burney," Monthly Musical Record LXVIII (1938), 104.

Lest the extent of Dr. Burney's condemnations be exaggerated, however, it should be pointed out that not all his comments concerning Blow are negative, and that his description of Blow's position and contribution as a major London artist accurately reflects his stature. And, before lambasting Blow's fugues in general, he credits them with "strokes of pathetic and subjects of fugue . . . that are admirable, . . . "—cf. Burney, A General History of Music, II, 352. Nonetheless, he impunes Blow for "[throwing] notes about at random and "[insulting] the the ear with lawless discords, which no concords can render tolerable."—cf. Ibid.

fifths or octaves were found, and in almost all cases, the parallel movement is an obvious concession to Blow's greater concern for linear shape. In *O praise the Lord of Heaven*, quoted above as Example 23 (page 238), Blow was willing to allow consecutive fifths between alto and treble lines rather than spoil the fine melody in the treble, or the strength of the harmony by letting the alto descend to D'.

In some cases, parallel motion is thinly disguised, as in the passage from *Bow down thine ear* (Example 28). Notice, again, the melodic strength of both the tenor and the bass lines—a condition which was clearly of greater importance to Blow than concern over parallel motion. In this example, it is not only the two voices which move together, but the chordal structure, as well. Blow commits

Example 28. Hidden parallel fifths in *Bow down thine ear*.

![Example 28. Hidden parallel fifths in *Bow down thine ear*.](image)

the additional "atrocity" of delaying resolution of the treble line at the end of measure 8, as if listening for an answer. The descending lines will not be lost on those familiar with the tradition of text painting.
A less objectionable solecism is found in Be merciful unto me, O Lord (Example 29), where the parallel fifths are not perfect parallels (moving from a perfect fifth to a diminished one), but the effect of parallel motion is still disturbing. It is puzzling why Blow did not simply repeat the treble note, as he did in the parallel passage five measures earlier. Observe, also the augmented triad in measure 40, which is the logical result of three strong, beautifully shaped lines.

Other examples exist, few of which produce the distasteful effect of the last-mentioned side-stepping movement. It should be stressed that Blow's use (and that of his colleagues, including Purcell) of consecutive perfect intervals does not represent ignorance of or lack of agreement with general strictures against such in part-writing. Indeed, in Blow's brief treatise entitled
"Rules for playing of a Through Bass upon Organ & Harpsicon," Blow says:

It is a general rule, when your Bass ascends, to avoid playing 5ths & 8ths in Counterpoint, [that] your treble must descend toward your Bass.**

Simpson also disallows parallel fifths and octaves,** and North, while avoiding rigidity, has the following to say:

Therefore, it is rather want of discretion than error to let slip a consecution of octaves; because it may be sayd, he lost an opportunity of making better musick, or that he makes blanks or lacunes in his consort, which sometimes is single when it should be full... . . . robbs the part of its right of being interwoven and contributing to the fullness of the harmony.**

North's explanation for avoiding parallel perfect consonances clearly sets a priority on "making better musick." Implied is the notion that should "better musick" be more fully realized in a given situation by using consecutives than not, that would be the option of

53. This is printed in full in Frank Thomas Arnold, The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass as Practiced in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries (Oxford, 1931), II, 163-172.

54. Ibid., 163. Arnold has pointed out that it is unknown whether Blow's or Locke's treatise was written first, and that numerous examples are practically identical between the two, while others are "thoroughly characteristic of Blow himself."—cf. Ibid., 163.


choice—an option which Blow frequently selected. Purcell, in his edition of Playford's Introduction, is also somewhat flexible, allowing consecutives only in compositions of three, four, or five (and one would assume, more) parts. He strictly forbids them in two-part writing. The conclusion can only be that, although Blow and others verbally espoused the practice of avoiding consecutive fifths and octaves—and in most cases, remained true to the stated practice—other considerations were not infrequently given greater priority.

The augmented triad. Burney quotes no fewer than seven examples of augmented triads in Blow's music, and additional examples are not difficult to find (including the one seen in the preceding Example 29). Another example, in measure 41 of the appended transcription of The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, is of no particular affective use, rather, the simple result of linear movement.

In the anthem O God, Wherefore art Thou absent from us Blow uses both diminished and augmented triads, not in specifically affective ways, but with the more general intent of intensifying the plaintive mood of the anthem. Two of the three instances of augmented triads in this anthem appear to be purposefully derived, not representing the only logical result of linear movement. In these cases, seen in Example 30, either the root or the fifth of the

57. Leon F. Carapetyan, John Playford and his Introduction to the skill of musick (masters thesis, North Texas State University, 1958), 79.
triad also functions as a retardation in a cadence resolution. The third augmented triad in this anthem is created in passing, producing the following progression: E-flat augmented triad--F diminished triad--C⁰-major. (See measures 76-77 in the appended transcription, page 377.)

Example 30. Augmented triads in O God, wherefore art thou absent from us.

Another affective use of augmented triads is seen in the middle section of God is our hope and strength—specifically, at the text "the waters thereof rage and swell." The deliberate setting off of this section, both harmonically and metrically has been mentioned with reference to Example 6 (page 191), and the four-measure excerpt seen in Example 31 reveals three augmented triads, prominently and intentionally used.

One other particularly arresting and affective use of an augmented triad is found in Save me, O God, appearing, as it does, unresolved immediately preceding a rest in all parts. Another implied augmented triad (the third is
missing) appears at the text "I wept, and chasted my soul with fasting" (m. 30).

Blow's affective use of augmented triads appears to be limited to his earlier anthems. He seems to have discovered that diminished triads produced similar expressive results in a manner which was more acceptable to him, for he used them with comparative freedom, both in passing, and with expressive intent, throughout his anthems.

Example 31. Augmented triad in Save me, O God.

Cross relations. Of all of Burney's complaints, why he should give eight examples of the juxtaposition of a natural note with its inflected form remains a mystery. As a historian who had obviously spent a fair amount of time with musical scores, he surely would have recognized this endemic idiosyncracy as a survival of Elizabethan practice. Examples of cross, or "false" relations are not difficult to find, and represent nothing more than the logical progress of independent parts being given priority over euphony—a priority which has been seen in other contexts. Most commonly, false relations result from the combination of an ascending scale in one voice (with raised seventh tone), and
a descending scale in another (with a flatted seventh scale tone), as is often found just before a cadence. Lewis has this to say about the procedure.

The survival of [the flattened seventh in melodic descent] in England is a good example of how we have managed to benefit by being occasionally in the European arrière-garde in some musical matters. Renaissance methods took longest to die in England, and as new styles were evolved during the seventeenth century there still lay beneath them vestiges of earlier practice. The synthesis of the adventurous and the reactionary that was the outcome produced exciting results impossible in a more consistently developing artistic society.®

It is particularly interesting, in light of the wide-spread use of this idiom, that English theorists should be so unanimous in their dislike of it. Morley, who used the flat-and-sharp seventh cadence form in his own madrigals, refers to the practice as "both naught and stale." His words may suggest an idiom-turned-cliché, however, as he continues:

Masters. . . like unto a garment of a strange fashion which being new put on for a day or two will please because of the novelty, but being worn threadbare will grow in contempt; . . . but nowadays it is grown in such common use as divers will make no scruple to use it in few parts whereas it might well enough be left out, though it be very usual with our organists.

Polyhymnæus. That is very true, for if you will but once walk to Paul's Church you shall hear it three or four times at the least in one service if not in one verse.®

58. Lewis, The Language of Purcell, 19.
Simpson discussed discords as acceptable in two situations: in passing (several short notes over one long held note), and in "Syncopation or Binding," (prepared suspension, called syncopap by Burmeister). He goes on to censure the cross relation, saying that,

In fine, you have liberty to pass from any one, to any other different Concord, provided you avoyd Relation inharmonical; that is, a harsh and unpleasing reflection of Flat against Sharp.®

Playford presents the same two conditions upon which discord is acceptable.

Not all of Blow's cross relations appear in the cadential context described by Morley. Toward the end of In the time of trouble, Blow allows linear considerations to

Example 32. A pair of cross relations in In the time of trouble.

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60. Simpson, A Compendium, 15.
produce cross relations twice within three measures.

Sometimes Blow allows the tonic and the raised seventh to be presented simultaneously, as seen in measure 24 of Bow down thine ear, O Lord, as seen in Example 33—clearly the result of linear thinking. Another example appears in measure eight of My God, my soul is vexed (page 363).

Example 33. Tonic and raised seventh producing a simultaneous cross relation in Bow down thine ear, O Lord.

English composers of sacred polyphony had long included the cross-relation as part of their natural language, and came to see that it could be a useful tool of expression, as well, as indicated by the example just cited from My God, my soul is vexed. Another, earlier example, found in Morley's macaronic anthem Nolo mortem peccatoris uses a cross relation at the text "painful smart." Because of the peculiar history of the cross-relation in
English polyphony, it sometimes appears to have affective implications, while at other times, there are none.

**Free movement of the parts.** Burney's complaints as summarized in this group have to do with the quitting of non-chord tones by leap, sevenths "resolving" upwards, consecutive sevenths, and so forth. In addition, there are numerous situations in which there appears to be no resolution of discord--traditionally acceptable or otherwise. Those writers who were explicit concerning parallel fifths and octaves--Morley, Simpson, Purcell, and North--had relatively little to say concerning the resolution of dissonance. Simpson, only by inference, suggested that discord should be resolved by step," and his examples, along with those of Morley, reveal the "traditional" resolution of a V chord, although neither verbalizes the progression. Similarly, Simpson mentions that "The tritone passes naturally into a 6th, the semidiapente into a 3rd," and provides examples (not verbal explanation) confirming the expected directional resolution of altered tones." Specific discussion concerning the


62. "... you may use leaps when there shall be any occasion or when your fancy shall move you thereto, provided those leaps be made into imperfect concords, ..."--cf. Simpson, *Compendium*, 26.

appropriate resolution of altered or non-chord tones, however, is absent from the writing of all four authors and, if common practice implied certain norms, they were not of sufficient strength to significantly fetter Blow's harmonic imagination.

Giovanni Coprario (né John Cooper), on the other hand, made use of examples in his small treatise, Rules How to Compose (ca. 1610), in which cross-relations in outer (most obvious) voices and other "unusual" dissonances occur, and offers no explanation for their presence. In fact, such occurrences appear to be incidental to their author who constructed the examples in order to illustrate other, often less striking points. Although Coprario's treatise remained in manuscript form and, therefore, probably never enjoyed wide circulation, it is significant to this topic because of its probable influence on Blow and on his method of compositional instruction (cf. page 162). It is also significant that, whereas the other writers cited enjoyed theoretical recognition, Coprario's Rules appear to have been put together as reminders of certain principles, not as a complete treatise, and, therefore, probably reflect with greater accuracy actual practice.

One example of a non-resolving diminished chord, found in *In the time of trouble*, seems to convey clear expressive

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intent. It is with the re-introduction of the phrase "In the time of trouble," that Blow uses diminished triad to remind his listeners of the unresolved nature of the situation, as seen in Example 14, page 219. Notice, also, the beauty of the preceding cadence (m. 12), in which the two inner voices draw attention to the dissonance created by the major second between D' and E'.

In the fourth measure of O Praise the Lord of Heaven, Blow obviates the more "acceptable" resolution of a V7 by allowing its seventh to remain only briefly on the anticipated resolution before ascending along with the other voices, in response to the word "height." (Refer to Example 23, page 238.) In measures four and five of Bow down thine ear

Example 34. Ascending resolutions of two A-flats in Bow down thine ear, O Lord.

ear, O Lord, neither of the two A-flats descends to the expected G, once again thwarting expectations. Melodic leaps from non-chord tones are not as frequent in the full anthems as in Blow's solo writing, although one example is
seen in the treble line of O Lord God of my salvation
(Example 15, page 223).

Despite Burney's censures, Boyce mentions Blow's
"success in cultivating an uncommon talent for modulation,"®
and Bedford strongly asserts the dependence of the composer
upon complete freedom to put the use of discords to artistic
use:

Another Improvement of Musick is by the Use of
Discords. Discords, when artificially handled, are
really the Grace of Musick . . . . The handsome
Management of them shew the Art of the Composer, . .
. This Art hath languish'd since the Death of Dr.
Blow. No, Musicians must be confin'd to no Rules,
perhaps neither of God nor Man . . . . When Discords
are rightly us'd, they have a pleasing Seriousness
or Gravity upon the Fancy."®

The mystery of Burney's attack on Blow, and his apparent
dislike of seventeenth-century English music in general will
probably never be solved. In writing to his friend,
Twining, he said that with the exception of a few
compositions for the church by Humfrey, Wise, and Blow, all
music "from Orlando Gibbons to Purcell [is] unmeaning, dull
and despicable."®† Nonetheless, Dr. Blow may owe Dr.
Burney a debt of gratitude for, as a result of his attack,

65. Frederic Louis Ritter, Music in England (New York,
1890), 69.

ed. in Monumemts of Music and Music Literature in
Facsimile (New York, 1965), series II, 12, 224-25.

67. Grant, Dr. Burney, 140.
he may have rescued Blow from even greater obscurity than he has unjustly suffered, having made of him something of a curiosity, which tends to elicit from scholars a response, one way or another.

Clearly, Blow was a child of his time—one unusually blessed with ability and opportunity. His "idiosyncracies" were seen as such neither by his peers nor by those who came shortly after him. The dissonances, the non-resolutions, the altered triads were all, for the most part, very logical results of the unique combination of the tonality and the linear thought process which was his heritage, and reflect the English polyphonic tradition of adaptation of new ideas. Blow's work should not be judged according to the limitations of another age, nor according to a personal taste or distaste for the harshness which is inherent in the English idiom. Rather, it is to the extent that his music conveys the spirit of his chosen texts by which they should rightly be judged.

Summary and Completion of Chronology

It will be recalled that analysis of Blow's full anthems was undertaken with two particular goals in mind: first, the exploration of Blow's compositional practice, including the determination of possible evolutionary directions seen within his anthems; and, secondly, the determination of the relationship between Blow's sacred polyphony and that of his English predecessors. In
addition, it was hoped that stylistic evidence would allow chronological assignment of the two anthems for which documentary dating is impossible.

First, to the issue of chronology. *O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth* exists in only one source (*T 1176-81*) other than Husk's transcription, and attribution in this source exists only in the indices of each partbook, failing to appear at the end of each partbook entry as is customary with most other entries. Consequently, although the anthem is in every way characteristic of Blow's style, there remains some doubt remains concerning its authenticity.

Stylistically, the anthem belongs to Blow's early period. The sustained opening of the initial imitation and the pervasiveness of cross rhythms both point to an early date, as does the modal flavor cast by the plagal half-cadence (m. 17) and two Phrygian cadences (mm. 28 and 30). Strings of suspensions such as occur in measures thirty-three through thirty-five appear rarely in Blow's compositions, most notably, however, in his Latin motet, *Salvator mundi* (also an early composition) and occasionally in the services. The rounding of the form with a recapitulation of the opening material was used in several anthems, but only with the abruptness seen here in the early anthem, *O God, wherefore art thou absent from us*. If placed among the early group, it would be only the second to be scored for as few as four voices, but this is not seen as a
deterrent to the argument for an early date (probably during the reign of Charles II, d. 1685).

The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble remains somewhat of an enigma. Stylistically, it belongs with the coronation anthems. This group contains the only two-part anthems that are divided by a shift between duple and triple meter. In addition, the largely homophonic writing and use of dotted rhythms in the opening section make it similar in spirit to the settings of Behold, O God, our defender. Although the records show that this was not a coronation anthem, its style suggests that it could have been written to be sung in the presence of Charles II (James II having no interest in the Chapel Royal), and, therefore, prior to his death in 1685. It is, of course, possible that it was written during the reign of William III (1689-1703), a period in which Blow wrote few full anthems. The use of an augmented triad (m. 40) within the anthem is by no means decisive evidence, but it has been observed that other examples of augmented triads in the full anthems are limited to early works. A date from within the reign of Charles II can be further narrowed on the basis of the anthem’s failure to appear in either Cfm 88 or Cfm 117, dated 1682 and 1683, respectively. It, therefore, seems most likely that The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble was written between 1683 and 1685.

As to the question of Blow’s polyphonic style and its relation to that which preceded it, several observations can
be made. In numerous respects, Blow's full anthems are very similar to late Tudor and Jacobean full anthems. Blow sets his texts with the same basically syllabic approach as did Gibbons and Byrd, and even Tallis in many cases. His use of the mildly declamatory delayed first accent also represents continuity, and the various imitative and homophonic styles employed by Blow are also found in earlier full anthems. It is particularly interesting, however, that the fully imitative style predominant in five of Blow's twenty-six full anthems, was used by pre-Commonwealth composers in their Latin motets—their anthems generally reflecting the tighter polyphonic approach. Of these five anthems, four were written early in his career (early: O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, wherefore art Thou absent; God is our hope and strength; and O Lord God of my salvation; late: My God, my God, look upon me).

Such "Tudor and Jacobean 'fingerprints'" mentioned by Long* as the nota cambiata and false relations and clashes, in addition to occasional parallel perfect consonances all figure in Blow's writing. Blow appears to have made decreasing use of several other characteristics, such as cross-rhythmic writing and affective use of augmented triads. Blow has, however, been seen to isolate the particular pungency of cross rhythms to affective ends. Text painting, although still employed occasionally, is used

less frequently, and such aspects of composition as texture, 
form, key, and meter come gradually to be employed to 
expressive ends, at times.

It is also significant to note that the linearity of 
Blow's full anthems remains strong, while modality gradually 
succumbed to a practice heavily indebted to major and minor 
scales, and to tonal relationships. While continuing to 
reflect a linear mode of thinking, Blow's lines reveal a 
somewhat bolder approach to melodic writing including, as 
they occasionally do, large leaps and altered intervals. 
The modality still strongly in evidence in several early 
anthems is non-existent in the later ones, although direc-
tional pull initiated by tonal relationships is frequently 
thwarted by unexpected resolutions of harmonic tension.

Blow's full anthems also employ new developments, such 
as the use of symmetrical, two-part, and sequential forms. 
Earlier polyphony, by way of contrast, was, with few excep-
tions, shaped according to the divisions within their texts, 
and it is interesting that Blow appears to have reverted 
increasingly to this conservative formal procedure in his 
late full anthems. The inclusion of augmented chords, and 
many of the freely-moving parts result from an increase in 
tonal awareness as blended with a continuation of linear 
thinking. Clearly, Blow's polyphonic practice as seen in 
his full anthems represents a tradition still lively, both 
in its absorption of new ideas, and in its continuation of 
many aspects of earlier English polyphonic practice.
CHAPTER VII

SERVICE MUSIC

Sir John Hawkins who, unlike his rival, Dr. Burney, was profuse with praise for Dr. Blow and his compositions, singled out the services and anthems as representing John Blow at his best.¹ Most scholars who discuss Restoration service music agree that Blow was the most prolific composer of services, but few agree as to the number of services that he wrote. Bumpus, for example, lists fourteen services;² Chappell, eight;³ Clarke, sixteen plus three additional pairs of movements;⁴ and Shaw, fourteen⁵ and later eleven.⁶ Although some disparity of material exists among the sources, the main reason for numerical disagreement has to do with varied groupings of movements among the services, particularly in two of the "complete" services. In order to

4. Clarke, John Blow, 221.
facilitate comprehension of Blow's services, it is necessary to digress momentarily with a review of the construction and evolution of the choral liturgy in the Anglican Church.

**Development of the Anglican Liturgy**

Numerous trends and influences played roles in the development of the unique liturgies of the new Anglican Church. As was seen in Chapter I, the reign of Henry VIII, while terminating relations with Rome, failed to produce any officially sanctioned liturgical source, and it is often forgotten that, although English Primers (English translations of Roman Catholic liturgies) and English translations of the Hours of our Lady were widely available even prior to Henry's break with Rome, apart from the lessons and the Lord's Prayer, the services themselves remained in Latin throughout Henry's reign.7 The determination of new, Anglican liturgical structures, first authorized in the form of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, was followed by a focus which shifted away from the celebration of the Lord's Supper to the recitation of the Offices, and the creation of new musical settings in English, which had begun to appear even before they were made mandatory, accelerated following the 1549 publication.

The Rejection of Congregational Singing of the Ordinary

John Merbecke's Booke of Common Praier Noted, probably intended for congregational singing of the ordinary portions of the Services, consists of adaptations of plainsong from the Roman use and some tunes patterned on that style composed by Merbecke himself. Its failure represents a rejection of congregational singing of the Ordinary portions of the Services on the part of the general populace which was still, for the most part, Catholic both in theology and in practice. Produced during the Protestant flury of activity under Edward VI, it would have provided the vehicle necessary for vocal congregational participation in Holy Communion, which had traditionally been the exclusive province of trained choirs. The success of Luther's Deutsche Messe (1526) would seem to have predestined

8. Merbecke set the following movements:

Preces and responses
Matins: Venite, psalm tone, Te Deum, Benedictus
Evensong: psalm tone, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
Benedicte
Quincunque vult
Communion: Kyrie (old, Latin form), Gloria, Creed, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei, post-communion, offertories
Burial of the Dead: Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus Dei

similar success in England, but little, if any, use was ever made of Merbecke's historic setting (only one printing), and it became obsolete with the publication of the 1552 BCP. Lacking the widespread religious zeal which was endemic to Lutheran and Calvinist reform, no "populist" musical form emerged with the new Church.

Growing Popularity of the Metrical Psalter and a Tradition Divided

The increase of Puritan influence on the people, however, and the accompanying growth in popularity of metrical Psalms was a force with the potential to threaten the English polyphonic liturgical tradition. Protestants returning to England from their Marian exile brought with them the experience of Calvinist worship, and the complete Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter appeared in 1562. It is significant that, whereas the 1562 title includes the words, "... to be used of all sorts of people privately [my emphasis] for their solace and comfort ...," the 1566 edition indicates use of the book in public worship:

Newlye set foorth and allowed to bee soong of the people together, in Churches, before and after Morning and Evening prayer, as also before and after the Sermon, and moreover in private houses ..."

The latter title reflects the freedom granted in Queen Elizabeth's 1559 Injunction (quoted on page 14), giving official sanction to the insertion of music set to non-liturgical texts, and the Injunction was used to justify the use not only of polyphonic anthems, but of metrical psalms, as well.

Nineteen items not taken from the Psalms were included in the 1562 Sternhold and Hopkins, and more were added in succeeding editions. It is significant that among those items were versifications of the canticles to Morning and Evening Prayer, and that these were often illegally substituted for the authorized prose canticles from the BCP—a practice which was stopped under Charles I.

With the rapid growth in popularity of metrical Psalms and Canticles, a truly "populist" genre of religious music seems, at last, to have reached England. Temperley suggests that this movement is less symptomatic of genuine religious fervor than of the dual realities of declining funds with which to support professional choirs (Inflation was severe during the first part of Elizabeth's reign.), and a popular response to the simple pleasure of singing. He points to the failure on the part of the Puritans to impose their ideas in other areas of parish church life, such as in the


wearing of vestments, and to secure desired changes in the
liturgy and rubrics, as indication that their influence was
not as strong as the popularity of metrical Psalmody appears
to suggest.\textsuperscript{12}

The educated classes despised the crude language and
simple musical settings of the metrical Psalms. (Queen
Elizabeth reportedly showed her distaste by making a point
of leaving when a psalm was sung at the state opening of
parliament in 1562.\textsuperscript{13}) This divergence within the Anglican
communion led to a compromise which would at once accomodate
the popular taste for congregational singing of metrical
psalms, carried out in parish churches, while preserving the
Anglican "ideal" of a choral liturgy in cathedrals, large
churches, and university communities. This equilibrium,
which is of great significance to the continuation of
liturgical choral music within the English Church and exists
to this day in the "high" and "low" church traditions, was
reached by the 1570s, and when metrical Psalms were, on
occasion, sung in cathedrals, they were always clearly
separated from the choral service, which was sung and
intoned by the choir with organ accompaniment.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} Temperley, \textit{The Music of the English Parish Church},
45-46.

\textsuperscript{13} A. Smith, \textit{The practice of music in English cathedrals
and churches, and at the court, during the reign of
Elizabeth I}, (PhD dissertation, University of
Birmingham, 1967), 170, quoted in Temperley, \textit{The Music
of the English Parish Church}, 46.
Cranmer's creation of the three Services of the Anglican Church in so short a time (1534, the time of Henry's break with Rome, to 1552, the publication of the revised BCP), and in a form which would remain basically stable throughout the succeeding three centuries of the Church's history, is truly remarkable. Although the structure of the two offices remained essentially the same in the 1552 BCP, the Service of Holy Communion underwent considerable change between 1549 and 1552, and would continue to be altered in minor ways throughout its history.

Two early sources are particularly revealing with regard to the musical settings made for the Anglican Liturgy. The Wanley Partbooks (GB-Ob 420-2), probably copied between 1549 and 1552, but representing music from around 1546-48 (before the first BCP), include ten self-contained Communion settings, along with Offertory and post-Communion anthems written for use within the services. They contain only five individual movement settings for Matins and Evensong.

The second source of importance, Certaine Notes set forth in fowre and three parts to be song the morning, Communion, and evening praier, . . ., published in 1565 by John Day, is the earliest printed collection of Elizabethan

sacred music. The shifting emphasis in the direction of the offices is apparent in its inclusion of three settings of canticles for Matins, three settings of the Ordinary of Communion, and five sets of canticles for Evensong.

Morning and Evening Prayer

Morning and Evening Prayer share a structure based on the block, Psalm-Lesson-Canticle-Lesson-Canticle. This basic form has remained unchanged throughout the course of its history. In parish churches where no choir was available, the liturgist would often read the verses in alternation with the people. In Morning Prayer, there is also an opening canticle, the Venite. Although the form of these services has remained stable, various text alternatives have appeared for the canticles. A musical setting may consist of any or all of the options available, as outlined in Figure 13. The movements which are included in Day's collection for Morning Prayer are the Venite, Te Deum, and Benedictus, and for Evening Prayer, only the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. This complement of movements was standard in Service settings throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, although during the first half of the seventeenth century the Venite

15. The word "canticle" is commonly used with reference to those psalms and hymns which are "ordinary" to Morning and Evening Prayer, as opposed to psalms which vary from day to day. Although they are sung in English, they are known by the Latin form of their respective incipits.
Figure 13. Canticle Alternatives for Morning and Evening Prayer.

**Morning Prayer**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Canticle</th>
<th>Second Canticle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venite</td>
<td>Psalm 95:1-7; 96:9, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Medieval chant of praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictine</td>
<td>Apocrypha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictus</td>
<td>Luke 1:68-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubilate</td>
<td>Psalm 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Evening Prayer**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Canticle</th>
<th>Second Canticle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td>Luke 1:46-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantate Domino</td>
<td>Psalm 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
<td>Luke 1:29-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deus misereatur</td>
<td>Psalm 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

came to be chanted rather than being given a choral setting. The provision for alternative canticles in both services might be explained simply as a desire for flexibility within the Ordinary of the Services, but the strength of Puritan influence and their belief in the singing of Psalms (the source for three of the four alternate texts) is a more likely explanation.

**Holy Communion**

Prior to the revision of the BCP in 1552, all five parts of the Mass Ordinary, as in Roman practice, were included in musical settings for Communion. Not only is this the case in the Wanley Partbooks, but Merbecke included all five movements in his setting, as well. In the 1552 BCP, however, the Agnus Dei was omitted altogether, along with references to sung offertories and post-Communions.
John Day's publication reflects these changes by including only Kyrie, Creed, Sanctus, and Gloria settings in its Communion office.

The shift in emphasis away from Communion which occurred during the latter half of the sixteenth century lead to further omissions in terms of musical settings, and it came to be common for only the Kyrie and Creed to be included in a Service. Of the six English Communion Services composed by Byrd, Gibbons, Morley, and Tomkins, only the Kyrie and Creed are set, with the exception of one Sanctus setting by Byrd. The Sanctus text was retained, although cut in half, and the Gloria text was moved to the end of the service, replacing the banished Agnus Dei. In addition, the function of the Kyrie, and consequently its text, was altered to use as the response following each of the Ten Commandments ("Lord, have mercy upon us" after each of the first nine Commandments; "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law" after the tenth).

After the Restoration, the Sanctus was often used at the beginning of ante-Communion in place of an organ voluntary. Of the nine Communion Services by William Child, all save one include a setting of the Sanctus, and two include Gloria settings, as well.

**Blow's Services Counted and Categorized**

The following discussion groups service movements in such a way as to result in a total of eleven service units.
The services are designated as complete services, morning and evening services, and miscellaneous services, according to their content.

Complete Services

"Complete" services are those containing musical settings for morning prayer, communion, and evening prayer. Of the five that fall into this category, three are known by their appearance in Cfm. 117 to be early works (no later than 1683), and all five continued to have new movements attached to them at various times, none of them appearing with all of its constituent parts in any one source. Given these circumstances, disagreement concerning the particular collection of movements which the composer intended as a group is inevitable. Barring the discovery of a major manuscript in Blow's hand, his exact intentions will never be known and, in the final analysis, it is not of great importance, as Blow seems to have had a flexible and ultimately practical approach to service composition.

All three of the complete services found in Cfm. 117 were included by Boyce in his Cathedral Music, Volume II, published in 1768. Two of the three—those in A-major and E-minor—have a fairly traditional structure of movements. Both services appear in numerous manuscripts. With the exception of the responses, the Service in E-minor is complete in Cfm. 117. The Benedictus, Magnificat, and Nunc
Figure 14. Canticles set in the Services in A-major and E-minor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morning Prayer</th>
<th>Service in A-major</th>
<th>Service in E-minor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jubilate Deo</td>
<td>Benedictus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benedictus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communion</td>
<td>responses</td>
<td>responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creed</td>
<td>Creed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Prayer</td>
<td>Cantate Domino</td>
<td>Cantate Domino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deus misereatur</td>
<td>Deus misereatur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dimittis of the Service in A, however, are lacking in Cfm. 117, and appear to be a late addition.\(^{16}\)

The Service in G, the other of the three complete services to appear in Cfm. 117, is the cause of a great deal of the confusion over movement groupings, a total of seventeen movements having been in some way interrelated through manuscript appearances and, of course, through key. Although it is quite possible to make a case either for separating the movements into a variety of different services, or for considering them all as constituents of an extended liturgical work, in reality, it appears that the seventeen interrelated service movements in G-major combine to form a liturgical grab-bag of sorts, which increased in

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16. Clarke lists them as a separate service unit, but their inclusion in Blow's organ book in connection with all of the other morning and evening prayer canticles indicates their connection in his mind.
size throughout Blow's life, and from which he could draw combinations of movements as suited a given occasion. The concept of a large structure connecting the movements is non-existent.

Twelve of the seventeen movements appear in Cfm. 117, grouped in three sections, possibly suggesting three unrelated settings. (The only "missing" movements are the Benedictus, the Cantate Domino, and the Deus misereatur, in addition to the final Kyrie-Gloria pair.) The justification for considering that the groupings represent separate services lies not only in their placement within Cfm. 117, but also in their simultaneous appearances in other manuscripts. With the exception of Lbm Add 17839, the six movements which are grouped together in Cfm 117 all appear in each of the other manuscript sources, and as such, form the group representing the greatest manuscript consistency.

Figure 15. Movements connected to Blow's Service in G and their manuscript locations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Manuscript 1</th>
<th>Manuscript 2</th>
<th>Manuscript 3</th>
<th>Manuscript 4</th>
<th>Manuscript 5</th>
<th>Manuscript 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td>Add 17839</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubilate</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td>Add 17839</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictus</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td>Add 17839</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td>Add 17839</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie (triple)</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td>Add 17839</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creed</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td>Add 17839</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creed (triple)</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td>Add 17839</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria (triple)</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctus</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctus (triple)</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantate Domino</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deus misereatur</td>
<td>Cfm 117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td>Add 30933</td>
<td>0b 780</td>
<td>K9b9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creed</td>
<td>Harl 7339</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K9b9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A case for considering the four communion movements in triple time another separate service on the basis of their shared, and somewhat unusual metrical structure could be made, even though all four movements are found together only in Cfm. 117. Similarly, the Gloria and Sanctus in duple meter could be isolated from the other movements by virtue of their absence from several manuscripts which do include the Kyrie and Creed in duple meter. But, if the movements are to be so dissected, where do the Benedictus, Cantate Domino, and Deus misereatur, appearing only in Ob 780 belong? Clearly, the Benedictus, at least, was intended as an alternative to the original Jubilate. And, what to do with the odd pair of movements, Kyrie and Gloria, found in only two sources, is even less clear.

The strongest case for simply grouping all of the G-maior settings together, on the other hand, issues from the composer himself, as Ob 780, containing all save four of the seventeen movements, is in his hand. No doubt Blow performed various movements from among his G-maior collection as the situation warranted, adding new ones from time to time. If the Service in G is to be considered as a unit containing many options, it must be recognized that, purely in terms of quantity, it contains the equivalent of one-and-a-half morning services, three communion services, and two evening services!

Blow's complete Service in C-maior is a bit of an enigma, appearing as it does in only two sources, and in
neither of those is it in complete form. Ob. c. 38 contains the Te Deum, Jubilate, and Creed in score, in an unknown hand. Cfm. 116, Blow's organ book, contains four movements: the Te Deum and Jubilate, and a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (omitting the Creed). Although Ob. c. 38 is careless on many counts, such as in the use of incorrect clefs in several locations, several variants appear to represent two distinct versions (not simply errors) in several portions of the Te Deum, in particular.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Morning and Evening Services}

The four Morning- and Evening-Service units were composed relatively late in Blow's career, and are commonly referred to as a set, in a manner similar to that used in reference to the fourteen late anthems. Like the late anthems, they appear in a limited number of manuscript sources, and share a style which is even more consistently homorhythmic than in the other settings. Each contains four movements (two for morning prayer, two for evening prayer), and the "tune" (Anglican Chant) for the Venite without text. All four so-called "short" settings are found in score in \textit{Lbm Add 31559} (a late eighteenth-century manuscript), in Husk's transcription, in Blow's organ book (Cfm. 116), and in a single alto decani partbook in Blow's hand (Ob. c. 42).

\textsuperscript{17} For more on this, see the critical notes accompanying the appended transcription of the work (pages 524ff).
Outside of these four sources, only the Short Service in A Minor exists in entirety (T 310).

**Miscellaneous Services**

Two service units remain: one Morning Service and one Evening Service. The Evening Service, consisting of a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in G, is unique among Blow's services in its scoring for six voices. It exists in only one source: Lbm. MS in Printed Book K.9.b.9, and has not been available for examination. The Morning Service in D, includes a Te Deum and a Jubilate, and is also unique among Blow's services. It was written for the 1695 St. Cecilia's Day festivities and is, consequently, scored for instruments, as well as choir.

Whatever the procedure followed in identifying the number and content of Blow's services, it must be recognized that, when broken down into Morning, Evening, and Communion units, Blow's output totals ten, eleven, and seven services, respectively. In a time in which the anthem was the focus of the greatest attention among church musicians, and in which composers generally spent little effort on the composition of Services, Blow's contribution is especially noteworthy.

**Musical Styles of Service Settings**

English composers for the church never developed the instrumental service in a manner comparable to the Roman
Mass or the German Magnificat. The service, in fact, remained the most conservative of genres, and by the time of the Restoration, even some of the few experimental features which made their way into pre-Commonwealth settings had disappeared due, perhaps, to the strength of Puritan influence. As Clarke has pointed out, if Cranmer's thoughts on textual clarity and syllabic treatment can be seen to have had any influence on the anthem at all, for the service, they were decisive. Although Cranmer's influence was neither immediate nor universal, it would ultimately be the syllabic, homorhythmic style of setting which would prevail in service settings.

Stylistic Categories

Among the services composed between John Day's 1565 publication and 1644 (the termination of sung services due to the civil war), three basic stylistic categories can be determined. Of the three types--great, verse, and short--two had limited use, only the third remaining in steady production from the time of the earliest service settings.

18. The notable exceptions to this are the two settings of the Te Deum and Jubilate for the 1694 and 1695 St. Cecilia's Day celebrations, written by Purcell and Blow, respectively. Such settings, however, never grew into a tradition, remaining, much like English opera, an experiment without an immediate future.

The Great Service. The so-called "great" service represents musical continuity with the Latin Mass tradition in several respects. It is large in scale, often with more than six voice lines, is frequently elaborately contrapuntal, and concern over repetition of text is no more a factor than in many Latin Mass settings. The appearance of a "great" service by Parsons based on texts from the 1549 BCP dates from around 1550. Cranmer's ideas about syllabification were obviously not taken into consideration here.

Byrd's "Great" Service in E-flat is generally considered to represent the best of such settings. Scored for ten voices (SAATB-SAATB), it intermingles homophonic, alternatim, and contrapuntal writing, and fluctuates between full and "verse" sections. Although the text is syllabically set, it is not unusual for portions of the text to be repeated imitatively, and stated several times.

The exact meaning of "verse" is not clear in Byrd's Great Service (a difficulty observed in connection with the anthem). It would appear that, as in the anthem, "verse" indicates a scoring of voice lines which is less than the "full" ten-part complement. In performance, lines marked "verse" are only to be sung by the side of the choir which is indicated (cantoris or decani), thereby altering the texture. Questions arise when sections in which there is no "verse" indication divide according to respective sides of

the choir. In Byrd's full anthem, Out of the deep (Example 10, page 201), such textural alterations were seen to occur without "verse" markings, and it is not difficult to believe that such indications were simply not marked with complete consistency.\(^{21}\) The absence of independent continuo parts, and the choral texture and style which is maintained throughout make solo rendition of "verse" lines unlikely.

A somewhat later example of a "great" service is that by Thomas Tomkins, published posthumously by his son Nathaniel in Musica Deo sacra (1668). This service, set in A-minor, makes use of the SAATB complement, and each line is divided according to the cantoris-decani tradition. Here, the meaning of "verse" is a bit more clear than in Byrd's service, although some questions remain. The possibility of solo voices rendering lines marked "verse" is made unlikely by the apparent interchangeability of "verse" with "cantoris" and "decani" in some contexts. For example, at one point, the soprano line is divided and both parts are marked "verse," while at the same point, the first alto line is marked decani, and the lower one is marked "verse." Surely three solo voices would not be intended to sing with one semi-chorus line. The message would appear to be that half of the choir is to sing on each of the four lines. When the two soprano lines again merge, the indication is "full." When "verse," rather than decani or cantoris is

\(^{21}\) See footnote 22, below, regarding use of partbooks.
used in connection with the two alto lines, it is not always clear in a scored edition which half of the choir is to participate—a difficulty which would not have arisen with the part-book format of *Musica Deo sacra*. Nonetheless, the principle of textural alteration through participation of alternating sides of the choir is indisputable.  

As with Byrd's Great Service, Tomkins intermingles homophony, alternation, and counterpoint, but with a much larger percentage of counterpoint than in Byrd's Service. As befits the grand scale of the work, Tomkins is not hesitant to repeat sections of text imitatively.

The "great" service style was not one which was generally accepted and, consequently, is represented by relatively few examples. The Restoration Period produced none of which I am aware.

The Verse Service. The growth of the "verse" style of writing, in which solo voices, set against a supportive continuo, alternate with sections for full choir, has been

22. Study of this setting was made using Volume VIII of *Tudor Church Music*, the only transcription available. Some questions regarding which side of the choir is intended, especially problematic with two alto lines, might be answered by examination of *Musica Deo Sacra*, as it exists in four partbooks and an organ book. According to the editors of *Tudor Church Music*, "the Contratenor is so printed that two parts, the normal number, can be sung from the one book, the music for the Second Contratenor appearing at each opening opposite to that for the First." The editors seem, however, to have been faithful to the version found in *Musica Deo Sacra*, as even such inconsistencies as have been noted have been reproduced.
seen to date well back into the sixteenth century, but the use of that technique within the context of the service was never widespread, and disappeared during the Restoration Period. One of the earliest verse services is Morley's First Service in F. In addition to the brief organ prelude prior to the entry of the solo voice in the Magnificat, such passages for solo organ appear throughout the movement, and in the Nunc dimittis, as well. Unlike in the solo sections where the organ is independent, it simply doubles the choral parts where they are present. The question of whether "verse" sections in choral style are to be sung by semi-choruses (half-choirs, as discussed in connection with the full anthem) or by soloists is, again, an open question. The style and manner of accompaniment (colla parte) would seem to indicate the former. It is interesting that in the Fellowes/Le Huray edition of the Service, a note is provided at measures 47-48 of the Nunc dimittis, suggesting semi-chorus alternatim performance in this one spot. No explanation is offered for the remainder of the movement, which is filled with the enigmatic "verse" indication.


24. Tallis makes possibly the earliest use of solo voices in service music in his Five-Part Te Deum 'For Meanes.' The 'Meanes' to which the title refers are four treble solo voices used at the text "Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb." The setting is based on text from the 1549 BCP and, therefore, probably dates ca. 1550. The use of solo voices is confined to four measures.
Tomkins' Fourth and Fifth Services are both verse settings. The verse sections as indicated in these works include both solo writing with independent organ accompaniment, and writing in a choral style with colla parte accompaniment. With these two services, unlike in his Great Service or in Morley's verse setting, sections marked "verse" are clearly distinguished from those marked cantoris or decani. It appears, therefore, that Tomkins intended four different textures: solo lines with independent organ accompaniment, solo ensemble with organ colla parte, decani/cantoris semi-choruses, and full choral writing.

William Child was one of the last English composers to include some solo passages in a few of his services.25

The Short Service. The "short" service, the simplest of the three types, is traceable back to the earliest years of the Reformation (that style being represented even in the Wanley partbooks) and persisted with but little elaboration in the settings of Restoration composers. It is largely homophonic, the text is set syllabically, and it is generally scored for four voices without independent organ accompaniment. This most popular of service styles is a clear reflection of Cranmer's textual ideal.


Although chordal, syllabic treatment was the rule, it became customary, especially in the Gloria Patri conclusions of movements, to insert canonic sections. Clarke has traced this tradition back to the canonic treatment frequently given the final third of the Agnus Dei. He claims that when the Agnus Dei was banished, the canonic section was transferred to the Gloria Patri. 27

Other Aspects of Service Style

Two principles of musical construction were significant to service composition, and were applied in numerous settings from all three stylistic categories. First, is the alternatim presentation of service music, which has its basis in responsorial psalmody of the Western rite, and which drew criticism from some involved with the Puritan movement. 28 Nonetheless, the alternation of decani and cantoris sides of the choir became integral to the Anglican service. Its use, in combination with the general expectation of syllabic treatment, precluded much of the freedom and experimentation with which the anthem

27. Clarke, John Blow, 226.

28. Clarke points out that in the anonymous Admonition to the Parliament (1572), a major statement of the Puritan position, Anglican choirs were derided because "they toss the psalms in most places like tennis-balls." John Whitgift, who would become Archbishop of Canterbury, replied that, "If by 'tossing of psalms' you mean the singing of them alternatim, then you disallow that which is both commendable and great antiquity."--quoted in Clarke, John Blow, 213.
progressed. As has been seen, the basic "short" service style, the most commonly employed, varied little from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth.

Also characteristic of many service settings is the strengthening of a sense of unity among the movements through use of a melodic motive with which each movement would begin or end. In addition to the unity established through a common musical style and through uniformity of mode or key, composers from the end of the sixteenth century on applied this structural technique. Blow will be seen to use this technique in several of his service settings.

**Analysis of Choral Services**

Analysis of the full anthems by John Blow, as seen in the previous chapter, was based on six basic aspects of composition: text, texture, form, melodic structure, modal/tonal framework, and harmonic idiosyncracies. Examination of Blow's service music will proceed along similar lines, allowing for such alterations as are called for by the nature of the material. As with the full anthems, the analysis seeks to reveal the nature of Blow's compositional practice, including possible evolutionary directions, and the relationship of Blow's service writing to the tradition of service music.
Texture in Blow's Service Music

Excluding the Morning Service in D with instruments, Blow's services are seen to fall into two categories with regard to scoring: "short" services and services which make use of semi-chorus verse voices, as in the full anthems. The four short services, all of which have their earliest datable manuscript appearance in Blow's organ book, dated 1707, make use of SATB choir and SATB decani-cantoris semi-chorus alternation exclusively. They contain no instances of altered scoring, nor does the organ ever play an independent role in them. The Service in D-major, also makes its initial manuscript appearance in Cfm 116, but does not appear with the other four in Ob c. 42. It is distinguished from the others also by its occasional use of "verse" voices, in addition to its much more frequent use of decani/cantoris alternation.

The tradition in short services, in deference to clarity of text, is to proceed primarily in chordal motion. Blow observes this tradition to a large extent, but presents numerous sections in imitative style, never, however, with repetition of text. The Short Service in F Major contains a much larger percentage of imitative writing than do the

29. Only the alto decani partbook of these services remains. Though in the composer's hand, it is not dated. A complete, scored version of all four services exists in Lbm Add 31559, a late eighteenth-century source.
other three short services, the *Magnificat*, in particular, being noticeably more polyphonic.\(^{30}\) An important difference between the imitation as it exists in these short services, and the polyphony of the full anthems, lies in the sectional treatment of text in the services. A section of imitation, even when followed by another section written in the same style, almost always comes to a cadence at the conclusion of its text segment before moving on. Alternatim presentation of the texts is used a great deal in all four settings.

Blow's five other service settings considered here, those in A-major, E-minor, G-major (this one with seventeen movements), C-major, and D-major, differ from the four short services primarily in the greater variety of their scoring ("verse" sections for altered voice combinations), a generally higher percentage of imitative writing, occasional indulgence in text repetition and, consequently, somewhat greater length. As was pointed out, at no time does the organ play an independent, or structurally significant role.

\(^{30}\) The *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* from this service have been edited both by Watkins Shaw and by Christopher Dearnley, as follows:


in these settings. This distinguishes them from the "verse services" of Tomkins and others that were discussed earlier.

The services in A-major, E-minor, and G-major were all included in Cfm 117 and can, therefore, be dated prior to 1683. Only the Service in C-major remains without a date. It would appear, however, that Blow’s trend was in the direction of the shorter service style, with textural variety achieved through SATB decani/cantoris alternation. The Service in D-major (which makes use of some verse sections), although dated 1707 along with the four short services, does not contradict this observation, as its use of decani/cantoris alternation is extensive, and the use of verse voices minimal.

The situation with regard to the "verse" voices, included in five settings, is much the same as in the full anthems with verse voices. Not only is there no independent instrumental accompaniment, but at no time do "verse" and "full" lines overlap metrically. Therefore it seems both logical from the standpoint of sonority, and possible metrically for "verse" lines to be sung by semi-choruses, not soloists. Written indications vary from simply "vers," to such as "dec vers" and "vers for men."

31. With regard to the G-major Service, only eleven of the seventeen movements appear in Cfm 117, the others being added gradually over the years.
Several observations can be made regarding the scoring of the short services and services with altered scorings, in an effort to sort out the confusing issue of "verse" voices.

1. Decani and cantoris are exclusively used in the four short services which form a group, and in these services, the only textual alteration is that provided by the SATB alternatim.32

2. Where decani and cantoris are used independent of the "verse" indication in the more extended services (only in the Services in A-major and D-major), it refers exclusively to sections scored for SATB voices.

3. When decani and cantoris indications are used in combination with "vers," this refers to scoring for other than the SATB scoring.

It would appear, then, that, at least in the service settings, some consistency of terminology does exist. Decani/cantoris, when they appear without "vers," refer to SATB semi-choruses. "Vers," whether appearing singly or along with decani/cantoris indication, refers to a section written in an altered scoring. The assumption that these "vers" sections should be sung by semi-choruses is borne out not only by the same evidence which lead to this conclusion in the full anthems with verse sections, but also by the

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32. In the surviving alto decani partbook, the beginning of each service is marked "full," no additional indications being found within the part itself. In the places where the alto cantoris would sing, there are simply rests, with no additional explanation.
conservative tradition represented in the service music. In addition, comparison with the verse services of other composers (as discussed earlier in this chapter) reveals an unmistakable disparity of style between their solo lines, which are often florid and always accompanied by an independent organ part, and the "choral" style of verse writing in Blow's extended services in which the organ merely doubles the voice lines. The recognition of "vers" as connected with sections with altered scoring (not solo indications) strengthens the case for semi-chorus performance of similar sections in the full anthems.

As in the full anthems which use "verse" voices, Blow uses a wide variety of scorings, but has distinct

Figure 16: Blow's use of verse sonorities in extended and D-major service settings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scoring</th>
<th>E-minor</th>
<th>A-major</th>
<th>G-major</th>
<th>C-major</th>
<th>D-major</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SSA</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>SABB</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>AAT</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ATB</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AATB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAB</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AATB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATBB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
preferences as seen in Figure 16. Also similar to the full anthems are Blow's uses of a combination of imitation, single-voice-lead, and homophonic writing.33

Comparison of the various settings of each text reveals certain conventions and tendencies in Blow's service writing. In some cases this involves a particular portion of text at which there is a move to verse texture, or a return to full choral singing. In other cases this may have to do with the use of imitation at a specific place in a text. One feature of all of Blow's service movements (and those of most composers) is their beginning and ending with the full choir. Omitting this, the following table outlines some of the textural similarities which have been observed among Blow's services.

Figure 17. Textural conventions and tendencies in Blow's service music.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Te Deum text</th>
<th>Textural Observation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To thee all angels cry aloud;</td>
<td>Seven of the nine settings make their initial move to semi-chorus texture here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth;</td>
<td>Only the Short Service in D-minor does not present this text using the full choir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... let me never be confounded.</td>
<td>Only the Short Services in D-minor and G-minor do not present this final line in imitation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. Refer to Chapter VI, pages 208-09, for a discussion of Blow's textural variety.
**Jubilate text**

O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving, . . .

. . . from generation to generation . . .

. . . World without end. Amen.

All eight settings of this text make their initial move to semi-chorus texture with this text.

Four of the eight settings use imitation at this text.

All eight settings break into (or continue) imitation here.

**Creed text**

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, . . .

. . . God of God, . . .

Who for us men and for our salvation . . .

And ascended into heav'n, . . .

And I believe in one Holy Ghost,

And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church:

All five settings first use semi-chorus texture at this point.

All five settings return to full choir from semi-chorus texture here.

All five settings score this in verse texture and make use of lower timbres (four use ATB, C-major uses TBB).

All settings use full choir here.

All settings return from full texture back to verse scoring.

All five use ATB verse scoring here.

**Magnificat text**

. . . he hath scattered the proud . . .

. . . and the rich he hath sent empty away.

. . . is now and ever shall be, world without end.

Only the Short Service in D-minor does not illustrate the "scattering" with imitative writing.

Five of the seven settings set this text imitatively.

Only the Short Service in A-minor sets this text chordally.
**Nunc dimittis text**

... world without All seven settings conclude with end. Amen. imitation.

**Cantate Domino text**

The Lord declared Both settings first move to verse his salvation; texture here, and both use SSA voicing.

O shew yourselves Both settings return here to full choir. joyful unto the Lord, ... .

Let the floods clap Both settings use SSA verses here. Their hands, ... .

With righteousness Both settings move from SSA verses to shall he judge the low timbres at this point (ATB and world, ... .

As it was in the Both settings conclude with imitation. beginning ... .

**Deus misereatur text**

That thy way may Both settings make their initial move be known upon to verse texture here. earth, ... .

**Gloria text**

... O Lord God, Both settings make their initial move ... to verse texture here, and both use ATB scoring.

O Lord, the only Both settings return to full choir here. begotten Son,

O Lord God, Lamb Both settings return to verse texture. of God, ... .

For thou only art Both settings return to full choir here. holy;

**Texts: Selection and Treatment**

Limitations concerning text selection and the somewhat confining (if unwritten) rules concerning acceptable styles of musical settings of service texts were no doubt partially
responsible for decreasing interest in service composition in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, alternate texts were available for the canticles to Morning and Evening Prayer, and it was not uncommon even to find both alternatives included in a single service setting. (Blow's Service in G-major is an exaggerated example of such inclusion of alternatives!)

Figure 18. Tabulation of Blow's chosen service texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>movement</th>
<th>Service Setting identified by key</th>
<th>total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Te Deum</em></td>
<td>A e G C D a d F g</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Benedicite)</em></td>
<td>A e</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jubilate Deo</em></td>
<td>e G C D a d</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Benedictus)</em></td>
<td>A G</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kyrie</em></td>
<td>A e G G G G*</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Creed</em></td>
<td>A e G G G* C</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sanctus</em></td>
<td>G G G D*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gloria</em></td>
<td>G G D*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Magnificat</em></td>
<td>A G C G G D a d F g</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Cantate Domino)</em></td>
<td>A e G*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hunc dimittis</em></td>
<td>A G C G* D a d F g</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Deus misereatur)</em></td>
<td>A e G*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(An asterisk beside a movement designation indicates its lack of availability for examination.)

Fellowes has pointed out the rising influence of the High Church Party during the early years of Queen Anne's reign, and has noted the fact that such composers as Aldrich, Clarke, Croft, and Blow all produced some settings of the Sanctus and Gloria, whereas colleagues who died before her accession appear not to have done so. The suggestion that Blow's three settings of these texts were
somehow the result of this shift of power begs the question as two of the three are present in Cfm 117, dated 1683, although the composition of the Sanctus and Gloria in D-major may well have been a late issue in response to such conditions. (It will be recalled that, while the Service in D-major was dated 1707 in Cfm 116, the Sanctus and Gloria were not included in that manuscript.)

The other mystery surrounding text selection concerns the numerous multiple settings included in the Service in G-major. The argument can, of course, be made that all seventeen movements were not intended by the composer as a single liturgical work. The connection of the movements through various manuscripts (summarized in Figure 15, page 279), however, provides substantial justification for their presumed association. The inclusion of alternative canticles was not uncommon and, therefore, incites no special curiosity, but a second complete setting in triple meter of the Ordinary of the Mass is quite unusual. Clarke has suggested that the setting in triple meter represents an effort conform to the often superficial taste of the Restoration Court. His argument is supported by the music itself which is almost flippant in its treatment of the texts—an approach which is in no way characteristic of the care with which Blow usually set his texts. Whatever

35. Clarke, John Blow, 228.
the specific reasons involved, the four movements in triple meter are not favorably representative of Blow's work.

Only the third setting of Kyrie and Creed remain unexplained, and their connection to the other fifteen movements is the least solid among the seventeen. Appearing in only two manuscripts (Lbm Harl. 7339 and Lbm K9b9), only they and the triple-meter settings of the Sanctus and Gloria are omitted from Blow's own score of the entire setting (Ob 780). As an extended composition which evolved over many years, it is not difficult to imagine varied uses of the material contained within, and its occasional updating with new material.

Text settings. Blow treated his service texts with the same care he lavished on his anthem settings. The services, although generally quite steady metrically, still require the sensitivity to accentuation found necessary in the full anthems. Cross-rhythms are not employed with the

Example 35. Cross rhythms in the Magnificat from the Short Service in F-major.
sense of deliberation occasionally seen in the anthems, but they are sometimes encountered in imitative sections, reflecting the independence with which Blow allows his lines to move. Occasionally, a section in duple meter will be enlivened by a brief detour into triple groupings. In Example 36, the triple groupings move together in all of the voices, and hemiolas are frequently encountered in movements in triple meter.

Example 36. Triple groupings found in the Te Deum from the Short Service in A-minor.

The influence of declamation seen in some aspects of the full anthems is much more limited in the service settings. One device somewhat associated with declamatory practice which appears with frequency in the services is the delayed first accent. This was mentioned in the preceding chapter as appearing in the verse sections of Orlando Gibbons' anthem, This is the record of John. Such examples as the one seen in Example 37, from the Service in C-major appear throughout the services, and represent only a remote
Example 37. Delayed first accent in the Te Deum from the Service in C-major.

![Musical Example](image)

connection to the concept of declamation. A relationship to chant seems more likely in some passages, as in Example 38.

Text painting seldom appears, and is usually avoided in the obvious places, such as at the word "ascended."

"Rejoice," however, in the Magnificat of the Short Service in F-major occasioned an eighth-note shake in soprano and

Example 38. Chant-like treble line from the Magnificat of the Short Service in D-minor.

![Musical Example](image)
alto voices, and the second syllable of "endureth," from the Jubilate (mm. 83-89 of appended transcription, page 469) of the Service in C-major, persists over a period of nine half-note pulses! The "sharpness of death," as it appears in the Te Deum in G-major, is visually illustrated with the use of numerous sharps and a turn to C-sharp-major, and "trumpets and shawms" appear in repeated, arpeggiated d-major chords in the Cantate Domino in E-minor. Numerous similar examples can be found, but they seldom are of a nature which call attention to themselves. When compared with text treatment in the full anthems, Blow's service settings are seen to be much more restrained. Although they are text-oriented in the sense that they generally pair one syllable with one note, they generally avoid obvious means of expression. Nonetheless, sensitivity to the sense of the text is evident throughout, as in the Benedict in E-minor (Example 39), where Blow provides rhythmic impetus to the endlessly-repeated phrase "Praise him and magnify him
Example 39. Rhythmic impetus provided through text repetition and use of rests in Blow's *Benedicite* in E-minor.

forever." Limitations imposed by the texts available for service settings are nowhere more confining than in the *Benedicite* text, with its lengthy litany structure.

**Form**

Blow uses two means of unifying the various movements of his services, both of which reflect common practice. The first, unity of key among movements, is universal, but the second, that of head- and/or tail-motives is used less frequently. Blow makes use of this second unifying devise in five of his services, to varying degrees. All four movements of the Short Service in A-minor begin with melodically identical material, whereas only the *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* from the Short Service in G-minor share melodic incipits. Of the numerous movements from the Service in G-major, the *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Te Deum*, first *Kyrie* setting, and the *Jubilate Deo* begin with the same material.
The Sanctus and Gloria in D-major have not been available for examination, but of the four known movements from this service, three (excepting the Nunc dimittis) share incipits.

The most thoroughly thematically unified of all the services is the Service in E-minor. Only the two movements whose text incipits are chanted do not begin with the same material, and the two chanted incipits are identical to the first notes of the bass line in each of the other movements. Furthermore, the Glorias of the Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur both begin with the incipit motive.

Symmetrical structuring, as seen in a number of the full anthems, is not a consideration in these movements, and the only melodic rounding is seen in the return of the opening material in the two movements from the Service in E-minor, as just discussed. Although metrical changes were seen to be integral to the structure of two of Blow's full anthems, such meter changes as occur in Blow's services appear to be somewhat haphazard, possibly introduced simply for the sake of variety in the setting of lengthy texts. Only in the case of one metrical alteration is expressive intent obvious—when the triple-meter of the Creed in E-minor is changed to common time for the "crucifixus" text.

36. The following movements begin with chanted incipits:

Te Deums in C-major, A-minor, E-minor, G-major, D-major; Creeds in C-major, E-minor, A-major, G-major, G-major; (triple time)—This is all of the Creed settings. Benedicite in E-minor.
Blume describes Blow's metrical changes as "rather irritating stretches of somewhat iaunty passages in triple rhythm." 37

Structure within the various service movements is determined almost exclusively by divisions within the texts, although Blow is seen to experiment with some internal repetition of musical material. The Short Service in A-minor (transcription appended, pages 389ff) is unique not only in its use of head motives for all four movements, but also for some internal structuring in the Te Deum, in which measures 1-5, 13-17, and 21-25 are all seen to use identical material. A more interesting passage is found in measures 51-66 of the same movement, where the imitative material of mm. 51-59 is repeated a whole-step higher in mm. 59-66. Whereas the repetition of material at the beginning of the movement serves as structural unification of sorts, the immediate repetition at a different pitch level of the latter example very tangibly heightens the impact of the repeated material. In the Short Services in D-minor and G-minor, the same material is repeated at the parallel text, but in these cases, at the same pitch level. In his two settings of the Deus misereatur text (E-minor and A-major), Blow uses identical material for the two presentations of the text "Let the people praise thee, O God; yea, let all the people praise thee." Only occasionally is a melodic

37. Blume, Protestant Church Music, 714.
sequence introduced, but one particularly effective example is seen in the Te Deum of the Service in C-major (Example 40).

Example 40. Melodic sequence in the Te Deum in C-major.

Harmonic transpositions, metrical changes, and textural alterations all operate at the level of the textual phrase and, therefore, do not significantly effect the shape of a movement as a whole, much as in the textually-derived polyphonic motet style. When transpositions occur, they
seldom remain in effect for more than one phrase, quickly returning to the tonic from whence they came. Another structural similarity with motet style is the complete absence of concern over phrases of all different lengths—the corollary in the homophonic sections, perhaps, in the unmeasured Anglican Chant. In most cases, cadences occur at points of punctuation in the text, and it is common for such points of punctuation to be followed by a half-note rest before proceeding to the next phrase.

One peculiarity of service structure in which Blow was not unique is the use of canons. Purcell included eight of them in his Whole Service in B-flat-maior. Although canons appeared in various locations, it was most common for them to be included at the concluding Gloria of a given canticle. Blow included four canons in his Service in G-maior, three to Glorias (Jubliate, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis) and one to the text "O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving," from the Jubilate. The canon "4 in 1" from the Gloria of the Jubilate apparently gained some notoriety during Blow's lifetime. It was published in Purcell's edition of Playford's Introduction (twelfth edition, 1694), in which Purcell claimed that it alone was "enough to recommend [Blow] for one of the Greatest Masters in the World." 38

Henry Hall, in his remarks included at the beginning of Blow's Amphion Anglicus, mentioned that it had "long ago

38. Playford, Introduction,
reach'd Rome," and it also appears on Blow's monument in Westminster Abbey. Despite the interest attached to this and other canons, the canons themselves serve no structural function, simply providing an impressive medium in which to set one of numerous phrases of text. Unlike the anthems, the formal structure of the service music is determined almost exclusively by their texts.

Clearly, Blow experimented with various means of structuring his service settings and their individual movements. As Clarke has pointed out, however, the limitations which they reflect are "those imposed by the nature of the form rather than by the capabilities of the composer."

**Melodic structure**

Melodic structuring as discussed with regard to Blow's full anthems was seen to reflect an approach to part-writing which was basically linear in orientation, and which made occasional, if limited use of certain melodic idioms. These observations will also be seen to apply to Blow's service music.

Although the prevailing texture in the short services and, to a some extent in the services with verse sections, is homophonic, there are numerous indications that Blow's

mode of thinking was founded in linear, as much as chordal progression. Cross-rhythms resulting from linear independence in imitative sections have already been mentioned. Such imitative sections are also noteworthy for the high level of melodic interest sustained in each line throughout. In one particularly interesting example from the Short Service in F-major, a scale passage is continued with only one break throughout four measures by sharing it between the voices (Example 41). Blow is seen to maintain a high level of melodic interest in the inner voices in his service music and, as in his full anthems, allows tonal harmony to co-exist easily with his basically linear approach.

Example 41. Linear independence in the Nunc dimittis from the Short Service in F-major.

Even in his homophonic writing, Blow reveals his concern for line over that of perfect euphony at times, as had long been the English tradition. The first fourteen measures of the Jubilate in C-major (all chordal writing).
for example, contain three instances in which the linear
directives of musica ficta produce unexpected or harsh
dissonances (appended transcription, measures 6, 9, and 14).
A bit further on, the same movement provides another example
of linear priority which results in dissonance.

Example 42. Dissonance resulting from linear integrity in
the Jubilate from the Service in C-major.

Expressive melodic idioms are largely absent from
Blow’s services. No augmented melodic intervals have been

Example 43. Expressive use of wide melodic skips in the
Creed from the Service in C-major.
discovered and, although skips of sevenths and diminished fifth are not uncommon, their use seldom seems to be text-related. In one exception to this observation, Blow's baritone voice leaps up a major seventh to "heav'n" (Example 43).

The characteristically English practice of slurring against the beat appears sporadically, and may have as much

Example 44. Slurring against the beat (found in Cfm 117, omitted by Boyce) in the Te Deum from the Service in E-minor.

![Example 44](image)

to do with the scribe's ideas as those of the composer. (Boyce edited many of these out in Cathedral Music.) Another idiosyncracy which appears occasionally is a rhythmic "snap" immediately following a strong beat, as in Example 45.

Example 45. Rhythmic snap in the Te Deum in C-maior.
Modality and Tonality

In the discussion of modality and tonality in Blow's full anthems, characteristics of each system were observed, leading to the conclusion that the medium in which Blow worked was fundamentally tonal, and became more so in the later anthems. Modal flavorings, such as the occasional use of pure Mixolydian or Dorian, were seen primarily in the early compositions. The persistence of cross-relations, recognized on the Continent as a hold-over from modal practice, appears in Blow's work to represent his predominant concern for strong individual lines, and is not a contradiction of a tonal practice.

There is, similarly, no question of the tonal practice out of which Blow's services are constructed, but several observations suggest a somewhat more conservative approach to their composition. Genuine transpositions, mentioned by Beswick as an indication of a tonal practice, appear only occasionally, as in the c-minor portions of the Jubilate (page 467) and Creed in C-major (page 480), both of which are set off by signature changes, and the transposition to F*-minor in the Te Deum in A-major. More common is a section, such as that seen in measures 30 through 57 of the Te Deum in C-major (pages 445ff), in which e-minor is touched on, but not solidly established. Incomplete, or modal signatures (for example, two flats for c-minor) are also common.
Another characteristic of a tonal composition, one
which is seen in all but one of Blow's service compositions,
is the surrounding of the central tonality by subsidiary,
related harmonies. Of the services in major keys, the most
favored secondary key is the dominant, with the mediant and
sub-dominant appearing as third choices. In three of the
four services in minor keys, the preferred secondary
tonality was the relative major, the dominant being a third
choice.

The Short Service in D-minor stands alone in its
avoidance of a prominent secondary tonality. Cadences on
the supertonic, sub-dominant, major dominant, minor
dominant, and flat-sub-tonic are all equally preferred.
There is no question, especially when this evidence is
supplemented by knowledge of unusual proportions of linear,
plagal, and Phrygian cadences in this setting, and the
general absence of c-sharps except immediately preceding
cadences, that the Short Service in D-minor is strongly
Dorian throughout. The minor-to-major leading-tone cadence
in measure 82 of the Magnificat intensifies the archaic
impression. Why Blow should have written in what must have
been a consciously modal choice so late in his life is open
to speculation. His choice is particularly interesting in
light of the strengthening tonality among the anthems from
the same period.

The segmented nature of the service texts tends to
preclude a strongly tonal directional pull, as well as
precluding the use of binary and ternary forms based on the principle of key contrast—both features identified by Beswick as indications of tonal practice. It is interesting that the frequent use of "deceptive cadences" found in the full anthems is much less prominent in the services. This is quite logical, however, when their function—generally that of avoiding a cadence by pressing on into the next section of text—is considered. Again, it is the sectional nature of the service texts which provides less application for this device. Harmonic rhythm is generally stable throughout.

The Short Service in G-minor, although tonal in its secondary key preferences, rarely includes sharped leading tones except in cadence preparation, and makes significant use of linearly-prepared cadences, thereby producing a Dorian flavor at times, as well. Use of pure Mixolydian, mentioned by Beswick as another trait of lingering modality, never appears in Blow's service music.

The persistence of cross-rhythms, also mentioned by Beswick as indicative of modal practice, has been discussed elsewhere, and has been determined in Blow's style to represent not modality, but primarily a linear approach to melodic structuring. The proportion of cadences discovered in the services which are linearly prepared would appear, however, to be a hold-over from a practice which had begun to change more than a century earlier. Furthermore, the
number of plagal preparations to cadences on the dominant reflect an older practice.

Figure 19. A tabulation of cadence structures found in various movements of Blow's service settings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cadence Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominant-tonic cadences:</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant-tonic cadences supplemented by linear progression in two additional voices:</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purely linear cadences:</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plagal cadences:</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygian cadences (not included with other linear cadences):</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Harmonic Idiosyncracies

With the assistance of Dr. Burney, a number of idiosyncracies have been identified in Blow's compositional style which, although not as fully detailed by Dr. Burney in the work of other composers, appear, nonetheless, to be somewhat endemic to the English musical dialect of that time. Among the so-called "crudities" are the parallel movement of perfect consonances, the use of augmented triads, the harshness of cross-relations, and parts which move freely from non-chord tones and in contradiction to "expected" patterns of resolution. Our speculation concerning many of the apparently English idiosyncracies has attributed them primarily to a natural evolution of harmonic practice in conjunction with linear structuring, as opposed to a deliberate insertion of unorthodox sonorities. A noticeable difference in this area between the anthems and the services would suggest a deliberate use (in the anthems) or conservatism (in the services) and would, thereby refute
the stated hypothesis. It would appear, however, that, at least by this standard, the hypothesis is proven, for the twists that were observed in the full anthems figure in the services, as well.

Blow's theoretical disapproval of parallel perfect consonances has been noted, and where they occur in the full anthems, they are clearly the result of a higher priority placed on the linear movement than on observance of a rule. They appear as infrequently in the services as in the anthems, although in at least one case, the octave is so blatant that one is tempted to call Blow's judgment into question (Example 46). Avoidance would have necessitated alteration of the conjunct tenor progression.

Example 46. Parallel octaves in the Te Deum in C-major.

Instances of augmented triads are not difficult to locate and appear, as in the full anthems, to figure most prominently in early works. In most cases, as in the anthems, augmented triads occur in passing, but in at least
one instance, seen in Example 47, the sonority appears to be deliberately used with affective intent. In another case,

Example 47. Affective use of augmented triad in the "crucifixus" from the Creed in C-major.

seen in Example 48, the augmented triad is quite obvious, and is not used in passing from one chord to another, the raised fifth taking its raison d'être solely from its leading-tone function.

Harmonic progressions frequently take unexpected turns, as in the full anthems. Blow makes some use of progressions based on the circle of fifth-related keys, but they appear less frequently in the services than in the anthems, possibly because of textual segmentation. It is the thwarting of expectations which he builds into a passage that is sometimes disheartening in Blow's writing. Bukofzer refers to this problem in connection with a recitative from Venus and Adonis:

The stereotyped tonal cadence at the end of the quoted excerpt strangely conflicts with the powerful melodic design at the beginning. Blow's inability to master this inconsistency inherent in the English idiom appears in his music as wavering, and is much more disturbing than the actual 'crudities,' . . .

One of Blow's most common progressions which circumvents the expected resolution is that of by-passing the anticipated destination by the interval of a fifth. A good example of this can be seen in the opening seventeen measures of the Te Deum in C-major (pages 438ff), where the tonic, solidly laid out in the opening line, and reinforced with appearances of the dominant, shifts unexpectedly to the minor dominant and pivots to B-flat-major in measure nine. The sequencing of measures nine and ten up one step in C-major, which no longer functions as a tonic, leaves one searching for a tonal life-raft, and grasping on to an

apparent progression toward G-major in measures twelve through fourteen only to be, once again, set adrift as G-major is passed through on the way to the unexpected C-major. The expectation might be for the g-major chord to remain throughout measure fifteen, to be followed by a D₃ (m. 16), and resolve to g-major in measure seventeen.

Another, similarly disconcerting progression occurs in the Cantate Domino in E-minor. The foiled expectation of a g-major chord on "joy-" and the pivot on a to an f-sharp-minor chord, followed by a plagal progression to c-sharp-minor, call for a more commanding resolution than I₆-V-I in e-major can provide.

Example 49. Unsatisfying progression from Cantate Domino in E-minor.
In some cases, as in the full anthems, the resolution of dissonance is delayed or fails to appear at all. For example, the lack of resolution of the a-sharp in the treble voice in Example 50 is somewhat disturbing. On Blow's behalf, however, it must be recognized that although many of his progressions are unorthodox by eighteenth-century standards, the majority are quite effective.

Example 50. Non-resolution of treble voice from the Te Deum in E-minor.

As in the anthems, it would appear that "peculiar" harmonic progressions and dissonances are part of the natural fabric of Blow's writing and that, in the vast majority of cases, they carry no particular affective message. It is also clear, however, that the expressive potential inherent in dissonance and augmented sonorities was, on rare occasions, deliberately exploited.

Summary and Completion of Chronology

In addition to exploring the nature of Blow's compositional practice as it appears in his service music
and its relation to earlier practice, it was hoped that the undated Service in C-major might find its chronological niche on the basis of stylistic characteristics. Several factors appear to make this possible.

First, Blow seems to have moved, in his later services, in the direction of the shorter service style, with textural variety achieved primarily through SATB decani/cantoris alternation. All four of the so-called "short" services, first appearing in the 1707 organbook, make exclusive use of this style. Even the Service in D-major, which carries the specific 1707 date, is set similarly, although some use of verse voices does occur.

By way of contrast, the services which appear in Cfm 117, dated 1683, do not employ the four-part decani/cantoris alternation, but achieve considerable textural variety through different combinations of verse voices in a manner similar to the full anthems. By this criterion, the Service in C-major appears to emanate from the early years of Blow's creative activity.

The use of augmented triads has been observed in the full anthems to be limited to early works and, although this is not exclusively the case in the services (two augmented triads were found in the Te Deum from the Short Service in A-minor), the majority, again, do appear in early works. It is, perhaps, worth noting that both occurrences in the Short Service in A-minor result from linear considerations, whereas the augmented sonority was sometimes
employed to affective ends in the Services in E-minor, G-major, and C-major. This, also, would seem to suggest a relatively early date of composition for the Service in C-major.

It is unlikely that Blow would have composed a major service during the Roman Catholic reign of James II (1685-88), and probably a more elaborate setting, as is seen in the Service in C-major, would not have found favor with King William. It is, of course, possible that it was composed during the 1690s for the chapel of the Princess Anne, but stylistic evidence as well as political conditions make it most likely that the Service in C (or, at least the first three movements) were composed during the reign of Charles II (d. 1685). The Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, making their first appearance in Cfm 116, could have been a later addition to what was originally only a Morning and Communion Service. The existence of two different versions of portions of the Te Deum adds to, rather than decreases, the confusion.

The failure of the Service in C-major to appear in Cfm 117 (dated 1683) along with the other three early services suggests that it was not available at the time of that manuscript's compilation. If assumed to be an early work, as the evidence would seem to suggest, it is likely that it was composed during the compositionally active years of 1683-85.
With regard to other aspects of Blow's compositional style as seen in his services, the ties with earlier practice appear, if anything, even stronger than in the full anthems. The textural possibilities employed by Blow, those of decani/cantoris alternation and differing combinations of verse voices, were both in use early in the seventeenth century—the former, virtually from the beginnings of service composition for the English Church in the middle of the sixteenth century. The heavily polyphonic "great" service style was not without influence in his earlier settings, but never appeared as extensively as in Byrd's Great Service, or even that by Tomkins. The only textural option which was apparently not explored by Blow was that of the solo verse service, possibly due to the Puritan influence which seems to have exerted greater strength in the arena of service music than in that of the anthem.

Structurally, Blow's service settings reflect little change from those of his pre-Commonwealth predecessors. Head and tail motives, as appear in some of Blow's settings, appeared also in settings by Byrd, and interest in canonic writing enjoyed a long tradition. Phrase structure based on the textual phrase continued in Blow's work, as did the primarily syllabic treatment of text.

Despite minimal use of genuine transpositions, due perhaps to structural limitations inherent to service composition, Blow worked within a well-established tonality in the majority of his services. His Dorian tendencies in
the Short Service in G-minor, and out-and-out Dorian modality of the Short Service in D-minor, however, suggest the interesting possibility of a move toward an archaic approach to service composition toward the end of his career. Use of such typically English "peculiarities" as augmented triads, consecutive perfect consonances, and unexpected harmonic resolutions persist in the services, as in the anthems, confirming their intrinsic nature within English practice.

In his experiments with formal structure (internal repetition of musical material, sequence, etc.), and in occasional attempts at affective presentation of text, Blow's services are seen to represent a tradition in which creative input was still a factor. His choice of modality over tonality in at least one late work, however, raises the possibility of the beginnings of a consciously conservative style—such style as had, to that time, been foreign to the English practice. Be that as it may, the conclusion cannot be avoided that, although service composition had not succumbed to restrictions to the degree that creative efforts were not possible, it was in the context of the full anthem that the English polyphonic tradition continued to flourish most freely in the latter seventeenth century.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Two goals were articulated at the outset of this study: first, the examination of the sacred polyphonic anthems and services of John Blow which are unaccompanied by instruments other than organ, and the transcription of several of these compositions not otherwise available in modern edition; and second, an identification of the Continental stile antico practice and a determination of whether or not Blow's full anthems and services represent an Anglicized version of that practice.

Blow's Polyphony: Evaluations and Observations

[Restoration music] is scarcely more immediately temperamental than the music of the Elizabethans, but it is much more aggressive, more angular, more objective and analytical. As far as tunefulness is concerned, there is no doubt that the products are splendidly representative of vigour, healthiness, and frankness... It is not altogether amiable or attractive.¹

Parry's description of Restoration music is have experienced when attempting to evaluate the music of representative of the difficulty which many commentators

Blow and his contemporaries. Indeed, it would appear that the inimitable Dr. Charles Burney is one of the few who issued unshakeable censure of the Restoration style, and that of Blow in particular.

Difficulty arises from the conflict between a compositional style which had yet to fully succumb to the refining influence of Italian practice, thereby appearing crude and harsh to those conditioned by Italian polish, versus a general unwillingness, especially on the part of English writers, to strongly discredit the work of English composers who were clearly held in highest esteem during their own time. John Blow, partially as a result of Dr. Burney's notorious lack of hesitation on this count, is often caught squarely in the middle of the dilemma.

The esteem in which Blow was held by his contemporaries is unquestioned, as the numerous lauditory comments written by his students and colleagues (some quoted in Chapter IV) attest. And, although a favorable perception of Blow's work was perpetuated by Hawkins in his General History, and although Boyce, Novello, and Husk verified Blow's importance by their editorial interest in his work,² it was Dr. Burney's opinion to which Fétis referred in his Biographie universelle (1835-44):

2. Blow is the composer most strongly represented in Boyce's Cathedral Music.
Le docteur Burney dit que le style de Blow est élevé et hardi, mais qu'il est inégal, et souvent malheureux dans les essais d'une harmonie et d'une modulation nouvelle.

Ouseley, writing in the nineteenth century in response to Burney's accusations, essentially agreed with his view, but being unwilling to share his critical stance, chose to regard Blow's harmonic "peculiarities" as deliberate experiments. Similarly, Parry gave Blow credit for adventuring "beyond the range of the mere conventional and often with the success which betokens genuine musical insight," and goes on to say that,

The excesses committed [by Restoration composers] may have had some little influence in the reaction which followed in the next century, when the trend of average music was all towards colourless respectability.

Parry also refers to "the scantiness of technical development" reflected in Restoration composition. Shaw's criticism of Burney, that he "committed the anachronism of censuring Blow on account of offenses against canons yet


6. Ibid., 274.
unformulated," might equally be applied to Parry, for his charge of "scantiness of technical development" rings hollow when applied in retrospect to any period. Barclay Squire also explained Blow's music as "far in advance of the age in which he wrote."

Heathcote Statham, the editor of Blow's fourteen late anthems, has sought to excuse Blow's "unconventionalities" by suggesting that they are the result of his response to "what was picturesque or pathetic in words," and that the ideas of the text were more important to him than technical considerations. Although Statham's position casts a somewhat more positive hue on the situation, the essence of his comments is the same as that espoused by Burney and Parry, as he, himself, admits:

There is some justification for Burney's severe strictures. Blow is often careless, leaving consecutive octaves for which there seems no justification; sometimes, also, his pleasure in clashing part-writing results in passages which can almost be called barbarous. He is seldom conventional: in contrapuntal passages he allows the voices to hit against each other relentlessly; two parts may move consecutively at any intervals. . . so that from an academic point of view his scores do show that slovenliness which so roused Dr. Burney's indignation.


Other writers have suggested that Blow's unusual dissonances and voice-leadings are the result of bold experimentation. Ouseley even displays Blow as an unfortunate example of one in pursuit of "'originality at any price,'" claiming that the majority of his experiments were not successful, and "interfered sadly with what otherwise might have proved a very brilliant career."¹¹ (One cannot help but wonder what additional brilliance might have supplemented Blow's career.) Pulver commented somewhat more positively that

... most of the faults exposed by [Dr. Burney] have become part and parcel of our modern system, and that far from being a condemnation of Blow's work, this censure is really a confession of his advanced ideas.¹²

Statham goes so far as to speculate upon the unfulfilled potential of Blow's experimental lead:

It is interesting to wonder what the course of English music might have been if some composer of genius had followed Blow, and taken up his unconventional methods and carried them further. Would the reign of consecutive fifths have come 200 years ago?¹³


It is clear, however, that Blow was neither a "slovenly" (to use Burney's word) composer, nor was he a prophet. Whatever one's individual response to Blow's full anthems and services, their examination, when conducted within the context of the English polyphonic tradition which preceded them, reveals them to be a logical extension of that tradition. They are no more boldly experimental than the work of any composer of merit might produce (Purcell's anthems reveal similar "experiments.") for precedents for their "unconventionalities" are replete in earlier compositions. Shaw says it clearly:

Again, whatever Burney or anyone else may have thought about their effect, it is well known that there was nothing new or distinctively personal to Blow about the juxtaposition of a natural one with its inflected form, or the augmented triad, or the free quitting of a suspended seventh.¹⁴

Analysis has revealed that the tonal idiom within which Blow worked was one which became decreasingly influenced by the modality that had begun to be challenged in English music at least a century before the time Blow began composing. Nonetheless, a linear approach to part-writing remained strongly throughout Blow's writing, often manifesting itself in the dissonances and cross-rhythms by which English music through the seventeenth century can often be identified. Although accusations of

"slovenliness" have been made, when viewed from the perspective of linear strength and beauty, the charges are dispelled, for Blow's individual voice parts—even the inner voice parts—consistently maintain interest and expressive strength, and it is the priority given to this which occasionally overrides concern about unprepared dissonances and parallel movement of voices. While it is true that his priorities were not those of the following century, he gave meticulous attention to the aspects of composition which were most important to him—priorities quite consistent with those of the English polyphonic tradition. Although dissonance in English music certainly could, and often did result from purely linear considerations, Blow also employed dissonance at times to enhance particularly poignant moments in a text. The number of such "idiosyncracies" in Blow's full anthems and services which can be explained neither by linear considerations nor by expressive intent is extremely small. Thus, while the angularity present in much of Blow's writing may have offended some, clearly it is not the result of carelessness on the part of the composer, and contextual analysis places his style in the mainstream of the continuing English polyphonic tradition which it represents.

Possibly more disturbing than the occasional clashes are the often unfulfilling resolutions of harmonic tension. The dependence of the tonal idiom upon the strength of the dominant-tonic relationship, and the intensification of tension with increasing distance from the tonic, are aspects
of the developing tonality which Blow employed in his full anthems and services, but his resolution of harmonic tension reveals a practice in transition, for it is not uncommon for harmonic expectations, often cultivated and intensified over a period of several measures, to be suddenly tossed aside with a simple dominant-tonic cadence in an unexpected area. Although repeated exposure to such turns lessens their negative impact, it is this aspect of Blow's compositional idiom which makes some of his music difficult going for many. This has, uncharitably, been called "undeveloped technique" on the part of the composer, but more accurately simply reflects a practice in transition.

Blow's alternation of imitative and homophonic, and full and semi-chorus writing in the full anthems and services is consistent with pre-Commonwealth polyphonic practice, as is his predominantly syllabic treatment of his texts. His experimentation with rounded and two-part forms, and the motivic interweaving in his full anthems, however, represents innovation. Yet, even this is consistent with the traditional adaptability to new ideas through which the English polyphonic anthem long retained its vitality. To the extent that experimentation with formal structuring in the service settings proved less convincing than in the anthem,

15. See pages 320ff for several examples.
it represents the limitation of the genre, not that of the composer.

Perhaps the most ingratiating aspect of Blow's writing is his handling of the texts. His sensitivity to the natural variation in intensity of verbal accents imbues it with expressive power, and makes it easily singable. Although this sensitivity permeates his music, he seems to have had a depth of inspiration which expressed itself most consistently in texts dealing with grief and introspection.

Evaluation of Blow's services reveals music which is extremely useable if inconsistently inspired. In the full anthems, however, Blow produced a body of works which holds artistic rewards for those who brave the sometimes rough currents of Restoration streams. For those less tolerant, several of Blow's anthems, notably O God, wherefore art thou absent, O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, and My God, my God, look upon me, provide relative freedom from unexpected twists and turns, and are settings of deep pathos. Although some of Blow's full anthems are more accessible than others, all are convincing and expressive music.

John Blow occupied a position of prominence during his lifetime, and continued to be esteemed long after his death. His ultimate neglect cannot be laid entirely at the feet of Dr. Burney, for even J. S. Bach had to be re-discovered after having become obsolete. Blow was not a genius, as was Bach, but he shared with Bach a dedication to sacred music which was unique during his own time—a time in which
secular levity influenced even liturgical music. If the songs and some of the verse anthems appear second-rate, it is in the full anthems that Blow shines, for it is here that he appears to speak with genuine conviction. His return to the a cappella medium toward the end of his life indicates a special affinity for its particular expressive potential.

**English Sacred Polyphony: An Unbroken Tradition**

As has been seen, the sacred polyphony of John Blow has prompted evaluations ranging from "barbaric" to "in advance of its time." Reflection on the situation leads to the conclusion that Blow's polyphony Restoration is the result of a tradition of sacred Anglican polyphony which, in several ways, was seemingly "protected" from interruption. Understanding of this unique continuity is necessary in order to evaluate the position of Blow's full anthems and services in the tradition of Anglican polyphony and, by extension, the relation of that tradition to other traditions of sacred polyphony. Three major challenges to the supremacy of the sacred polyphonic art were identified.

The first challenge, the one dealt with primarily in Chapter I, is the emergence of congregational participation in the music of worship, and the consequent necessity for a simplified style of music. Areas under the influence of John Calvin represent one extreme in banishing all polyphony from public worship, and the opposite extreme is seen in Italy, where little change from the tradition of sacred
choral polyphony was effected, despite Counter-Reformation activity. Many English parish churches came under Calvin's influence during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and metrical psalmody gradually gained in favor. The ultimate division of England's churches into those with "cathedral" and those with "parish" traditions, provided an outlet for congregational singing for those who took pleasure in it and, at the same time, allowed sacred polyphony to flourish, uninterrupted, during this period of change.

A second significant challenge to sacred polyphony came in the form of increasing interest in the kind of direct expression possible only through solo presentation of a text, an interest which emerged in Italy and England around the same time. The early solo motets of Viadana and Banchieri and the verse anthems of Byrd and Orlando Gibbons all strongly reflect their polyphonic ancestry, but as the century progressed, Italian solo works became increasingly declamatory and came to rely on a basso continuo accompaniment. In the contemporary English solo verse anthem, however, flexibility of the English polyphonic tradition continued to provide room for experimentation and soloistic expression and, thus, it remained closely tied to its polyphonic roots for several additional decades. At the same time, the Anglo-Catholic cathedral music tradition, firmly grounded in a Neo-Platonic philosophy, ensured a continuing acceptance of polyphonic sacred music.
The third, and strongest challenge to the supremacy of ecclesiastical polyphony, that of the new Italian declamatory practice, seemed an invincible adversary to the lively maintenance of polyphonic traditions wherever it was introduced. No sooner, it seems, would the new practice arrive, than would ossification of sacred polyphony set in. This sequence of events, although occurring initially in Italy, spread quickly to Germany and France, and by the time of the English Restoration in 1660, to be influenced by French musical style was to be equally infected with the new style of Italian origin.

Although English sacred polyphony had proven itself sufficiently flexible as to incorporate solo expression very convincingly, it, also, would ultimately be confronted with the powerful spell of the Italian style. In a few works of such Continentally-travelled English composers as Richard Deering and Peter Philips, the Italian florid style of writing over a basso continuo began to appear in England. Whether or not English composers of liturgical music would have gradually set aside their own traditions in favor of this newer style will never be known with certainty, for the Civil War and, ultimately, the Commonwealth shut the door on the need for ecclesiastical music just as it was beginning to employ aspects of the Italian stile nuovo. Consequently, the English polyphonic tradition was, in a sense, "protected" from this potentially greatest threat by its own temporary interment.
Encroachment of the new Baroque style into England through instrumental and devotional music during the Interregnum no doubt caused the early efforts of Porter and others in the stile nuovo to appear elementary and unrefined to Restoration musicians. Indeed, as records of anthem popularity have shown, these early sacred works in the Italian style seem to have been virtually wiped from the memories of those entrusted with the re-establishment of the Chapel Royal at the Restoration, for it was only the English polyphonic practice—not the experimental advances into the Italian style—which was recalled and put into immediate and continuing practice in the newly-restored Chapel Royal.

When the new style of verse anthem—directly transplanted from Italy at the hands of Henry Cooke and others who had studied abroad—was introduced in the Restored Chapel Royal, it flourished along side the continuing use of pre-Commonwealth polyphony and its lively continuation at the hands of some England's foremost church musicians.

Thus, England's tradition of sacred polyphony awoke, as it were, at the Restoration, from a fifteen-year slumber, full of vitality maintained through the flexibility which had allowed it to persevere through the challenges issued by the Reformation, the desire for soloistic expression, and potential ossification which seemed inevitably to descend upon polyphony in the presence of the newer style. Had the Commonwealth not interrupted liturgical traditions, the full-scale penetration of Italian style into English
practice surely would have occurred earlier, and the effect on native polyphonic traditions might have been considerably different. It is one of the ironies of religious history that, in its fervor, the Puritan Parliament established conditions which nourished the "secularization" of English music and, at the same time, effectively preserved the most "Catholic" aspect of English liturgical music, the polyphonic tradition, from the changes which would have come upon it otherwise. As a result, English sacred polyphony at the time of the Restoration remained vital in the hearts, minds, and ears of those entrusted with the re-establishment of liturgical institutions.

**Restoration Polyphony: Anglicized Stile Antico?**

The question has been posed: Does Restoration polyphony, and do the full anthems and services of John Blow in particular, represent the belated arrival of a stile antico practice in England? The conditions were certainly right, for it was, characteristically, just shortly following the acceptance of a concerted practice within sacred music (as occurred during the early years of the Restoration) that polyphony assumed a decidedly lesser position, and gradually lost its creative vitality.

Six characteristics of the Continental stile antico idiom were gleaned from treatises (Chapter II), and two more were added based on observation of music written in that style. Figure 20 summarizes these findings. Several of the
characteristics identified have been seen in John Blow's polyphony. One such characteristic which applies consistently to John Blow's polyphony is the use of the alla breve signature and notation—a feature associated specifically (but not used exclusively) with sacred music from the sixteenth century. Blow's polyphony is also choral in texture, that is, it does not isolate solo voices or individual lines. Although Blow employed the semi-chorus frequently, the texture, even in these sections, is still fundamentally choral. Absorption of such aspects of seventeenth-century practice as increasing metrical stability and homophonic texture have been seen in several scores written in the Continental stile antico, and Blow's polyphony also reflects these changes.

In other, more significant ways, however, Blow's polyphonic idiom differs sharply from the Continental stile antico concept. For example, the conjunct movement of voices characteristic of stile antico composition, is not at all consistent within Blow's polyphony, for leaps of altered and large intervals abound, at times even reaching beyond the octave. Although pre-Commonwealth polyphony, as well, frequently produced lines which did not consistently mirror

16. It is interesting that as early a composer as Gesualdo signaled a stylistic distinction with alla breve, as opposed to common time signature, for the madrigals are all written with the common time signature, while the motets and responses are all written in alla breve.
the usually smooth contours of Continental polyphony, there is no question but that melodic writing in Restoration polyphony became increasingly angular, at least partially as a result of expressive intent.

Figure 20. Characteristics of the stile antico idiom.

From the treatises:

1. Fundamental Principle: Music is autonomous from the demands of its text.

2. The alla breve signature is used, and the breve serves as the tactus.

3. Voices generally move in a conjunct fashion, and avoid large leaps and leaps of altered intervals.

4. Dissonance is introduced and resolved according to specific principles.

5. The style of writing is largely diatonic.

6. The texture is choral throughout.

From the scores:

7. Metrical regularity is often strong.

8. The percentage of homophony appears to be greater than in the sixteenth-century models.

A diatonic, as opposed to chromatic style of writing prevailed in Palestrina's works, as it did also in the style of those working in the stile antico idiom, whether tonally or modally constructed. Although Blow worked largely in a diatonic medium, as well, chromaticism and the use of altered triads abound and are often, though not always, used with expressive intent. In this respect, again, Blow's style differs from the Continental stile antico practice.
In yet another way, that of formal structuring, Blow's polyphony reveals absorption of new ideas, thereby further distancing it from an "antico" concept. Although Blow continued to use a constructive principle based on the textual phrase at times, he also experimented with rounded, fugal, and two-part structures, and even with motivic recurrence.

It is, perhaps, in the treatment of dissonance that English polyphony differs most noticeably from the Continental stile antico. Jeppesen's study of dissonance in the style of Palestrina, articulates three phases of dissonance treatment which are helpful in arriving at an understanding of English style as differentiated from that of Palestrina and his followers.\(^1^7\) Jeppesen calls his first phase "dissonance as a secondary phenomenon," and describes it as "melodically induced accidental dissonance" which arose along with the earliest polyphony. Passing tones fall under this category. The second phase, "dissonance as a primary phenomenon," first appeared in the English compositions from the beginning of the fifteenth century in which the third and sixth came to be recognized and preferred as consonances. Its developed form is the syncope, which was employed purposefully as a contrast to consonance. The third phase is that in which dissonance

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came to be employed as a means of poetical expression and, although its use is associated with the period surrounding and following 1600, Jeppesen points out Gafurius' mention of "contrapunctus falsus" in his Practica musicae, which may represent the earliest evidence of the use of dissonance for the expression of sorrow or pain.

According to Jeppesen, Palestrina's use of "phase 3" dissonance is rare, occurring almost exclusively in his madrigals. All three phases are represented in Blow's polyphony, and with some significant differences.

With regard to the first phase, it should be observed that, whereas Palestrina's "phase 1" (melodically-induced) dissonances almost all appear in a highly developed form—that is, dissonances which fall only on unaccented beats, are approached conjunctly, generally involve small note values, and in which one of the dissonant notes is held over—English dissonance traditionally paid less heed to such refinements. It is not at all uncommon to find, especially in Restoration polyphony, a multi-voice pile-up of dissonant tones, all reached simultaneously, and although such dissonances more frequently occur on unaccented beats, they do appear on accented beats, as well. Further, dissonant tones are not always approached conjunctly, and often occupy the temporal value of a full beat. In addition to the less refined use of "phase 1" dissonance in English music, these dissonances which are the result of melodic
considerations appear in a higher percentage than is the case in the Palestrinian style.18

The "phase 2" (intentionally used) dissonances which appear in Blow's full anthems and services are also less standardized in preparation and resolution than those in the compositions of Palestrina and his followers. Often appearing suddenly and resolving in a direction other than the one anticipated, not at all, or through a skip rather than conjunct motion.

The last of Jeppesen's three phases of dissonance treatment involves its use as an expressive tool—a usage which was virtually non-existent in Palestrina's sacred music and, indeed, one of the determining features of the seconda prattica. We have seen that pre-Commonwealth polyphonists used dissonance expressively at times, and the expressive use of dissonance increased in Restoration polyphony. Thus, it is quite clear that Restoration polyphony, as reflected in Blow's full anthems and services, conforms to the Palestrinian ideal of dissonance treatment neither in the types of dissonances most frequently employed (phases one and two in the former, all three in Blow's polyphony), nor in the manner in which they were prepared and resolved.

18. An informal tally taken from several anthems by Blow and motets by Palestrina reveals a significantly higher number of "phase 1" dissonances than "phase 2" dissonances in Blow's writing, and a fairly even distribution of both in Palestrina's work.
The "Fundamental Principle" of the stile antico, as seen in Figures 2 (page 32) and 19 (page 342), and as articulated without exception by all theorists from Monteverdi on, was the concept of music as autonomous from the demands of its text. Blow has been seen to use melodic, textural, harmonic, rhythmic, and even formally constructive means in the expression of his texts, and the influence of declamation is even seen to influence his approach at times. Therefore, it is evident that Blow's style in his full anthems and services is decidedly not autonomous from the texts, rather reveals comprehensive concern for text treatment, affecting every aspect of his style, from minute details of accentuation to large constructive concerns.

In many respects, the English polyphonic tradition, even from its earliest years, was a practice unto itself, sometimes leading the way with innovations, sometimes accepting the innovations of others (but only with caution and often belatedly), and almost always remaining recognizably English—at least through the seventeenth century. Consequently, to interpret English sacred polyphony as derived from Continental practice is to ignore important aspects of its genesis. So, in answer to the question posed at the beginning of this paper, Blow's polyphony does not reflect a stile antico approach, rather, represents a vital continuation of the long-standing, somewhat autonomous tradition of English sacred polyphony which was allowed to retain its strength partially as a
result of the nature of the English Reformation and the postponement of an English concerted sacred music due to Commonwealth intervention, and partially as a result of its traditional flexibility.

To the extent that late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century polyphonic practice represented "one musical language," that language would not only become heavy with divergent dialects as the century progressed, but would also come to espouse two fundamentally different ideals with regard to the very function of music itself, those embodied in the sixteenth-century concepts of musica reservata and musica communa. Of the two ideals, English polyphonists would appear to have practiced an art more closely allied with the former, for their interest in the musical expression of their texts was both demonstrated musically, and spoken by their theorists toward the end of the sixteenth century. In Chapter II, the stile nuovo (first employed by Monteverdi within the choral medium) was discussed as a natural extension of musica reservata. the

19. This very general adherence to a basic style is commonly acknowledged.—cf. Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 4.

20. In 1597, Morley admonished composers to cause their harmony to express their text ("You must then when you would express any word signifying hardness, cruelty, bitterness, and other such like make the harmony like unto it, that is somewhat harsh and hard, . . .")—cf. Morley, A Plaine and Easy Introduction, 290. Toft observes that Dowland used the false relation in his songs to express the passions of sorrow and grief.—cf. Robert Toft, "Musicke a sister to Poetrie: Rhetorical Artifice in the Passionate Airs of John Dowland," Early
stile antico of musica communa. Following that line of thinking, the continuously absorbant and ever-flexible tradition of sacred polyphony in England can only represent another equally logical extension of the same concern for musical expression. The German tradition of sacred polyphony as reflected in Schütz' Cantiones Sacrae reflects a similar orientation, but Italian innovations brought the concerted style to the forefront well before the century was half spent, as would likely have been the case in England had the Commonwealth not intervened, and the polyphonic idiom no longer received the focus of creative energy.  

In England ecclesiastical polyphony remained free of the ossifying influences of a stile antico concept throughout the seventeenth century, and amazingly true to

Music XII (1984), 196. The impact of rhetoric on English music in the early part of the seventeenth century is an aspect of English composition which has been largely unrecognized, according to Butler, for the reason that, "almost without exception, references linking rhetorical elements to music appear not in music treatises, but in various nonmusical sources." Several such sources are as follows:

Henry Peacham the Elder's The Garden of Eloquence, second edition, 1593.

John Hoskyns' manuscript treatise. Directions for Speech and Style (ca. 1599).

Henry Peacham the Younger's The Compleat Gentleman (1622).

its own tradition, but its requiem was being rehearsed, possibly even at the hands of its last great proponent, John Blow. Although his motivation will, of course, never be known, Blow's use of a remarkably pure Dorian for one of his last liturgical compositions (the Short Service in D-minor) is uncharacteristic of his other works in its retrospective character, and may represent the onset of an "antico" approach to liturgical composition.

English sacred polyphony would soon succumb to a style which would cast aside the English tradition, and sacred polyphony in England would flourish again only momentarily at the hands of an immigrant Italian opera composer from Germany. Interestingly, it was in 1710 that the Academy of Ancient Music was founded in England, and Tudway's massive manuscript collection and Boyce's published Cathedral Music both reflect an interest what was by then the "older" style of church music.

Henry Leland Clarke referred to John Blow as the "last composer of an era," and Blow was, indeed, the last composer of importance representing the fascinating and

21. It is particularly interesting that the young generation of opera composers in Venice and Naples in the latter part of the seventeenth century, who depended also on their ecclesiastical appointments for income, remained true to the letter of the polyphonic law, while imbuing their sacred music with a new spirit of expressive intensity, at once re-vitalizing a neglected idiom, and paving the way for the development of a rich repertoire of contrapuntal, concerted sacred music.
insular period following the Restoration of the Stuart line to the throne of England. His work, however, represents a broader culmination of sorts, for it was at his hands that the long and lively tradition of sacred English polyphony enjoyed its last great flowering.

22. The title of his dissertation is John Blow (1649-1708), Last Composer of an Era.
APPENDIX A

LISTS OF BLOW'S ANTHEMS

Myles Foster compiled one of the early lists of Blow's anthem output, based almost exclusively on such transcription sources as Boyce, Husk, Novello, Tudway, and came to a total number of 118 works. In addition to the various listings made by Watkins Shaw, appearing in the 1940, 1954, and 1980 editions of the Grove Dictionary, Henry Leland Clarke refined the list somewhat in his exhaustive dissertation on Blow. Because of its greatest accuracy and accessibility, Shaw's list as it appears in the New Grove will be accepted as a point of departure, from which a few questionable items will be mentioned.

Questionable Anthems Listed by Shaw

The following two anthems are not mentioned by Shaw as being of questionable authenticity. Neither, however, is mentioned by Clarke or included in Shaw's 1954 list. They have not been discovered in the course of my work, and Shaw provides no clue as to his sources for these works. Both


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are listed as verse anthems for bass, four-part choir, and organ.

*Behold now, praise the Lord*

*Lord, even the most mighty*

Shaw mentions a number of other anthems which he considers to be of questionable attribution, none of which have not been included in the count accepted in this paper. The above two have been included purely on the basis of Shaw's high quality of scholarship, although some question does exist as to their whereabouts.

**Six Additional Anthems**

The position of the following six anthems is somewhat in limbo, all three having been included by both Clarke and Shaw (1954) in their lists, and then omitted by Shaw in 1980. The first three appear to exist in only one source each, none of which I have seen. The latter two appear in several sources, and I have mentioned those which I have seen. I have not included any of these in my count.

*The floods are risen (Ob MS c. 2)*

*Lord, thou hast been gracious" (Lbm Add. 31444)*

*O Lord, thou hast searched me out (Lbm Add. 178200)*

*Behold how good and joyful (Cfm. 117 and Lbm. 17839)*

*Sing unto the Lord, o ye saints of his (This anthem appears, admittedly with some confusion, in Cfm. 117. Although the index listing is very clear, the composer attribution appears only on the page preceding the anthem—that page, for some reason,*
also bearing the name of the anthem, although the previous work continues on the page--rather than at the end of it, as is the custom. Husk was convinced that it was Blow's work.
APPENDIX B
The Lord Hear Ye

The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, in the day of trouble. The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, in the day of trouble. The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, in the day of trouble. The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, in the day of trouble.
Send thee

Send thee

Send thee

Send thee
C \( d = 0 \)

Remember all thy offering and accept thy burnt sacrifice.

Remember all thy offering and accept thy burnt sacrifice.

Remember all thy offering and accept thy burnt sacrifice.

Grant thee thy fire.

Grant thee thy hearts desire and fulfill all thy mind.

Grant thee thy hearts desire and fulfill all thy mind, fulfill all thy mind.
Grant the thy heart's desire and fulfill all thy mind. Remember all thy mind, fulfill all thy mind. Remember all thy mind, fulfill all thy mind. Remember all thy mind.
ful-fill all thy mind, ful-fill all thy mind, ful-fill all thy mind, ful-fill all thy mind.
My God, my soul is vexed.
soul is vexed, my soul is vexed within me. Therefore will I remember thee concerning the land of Jordan. Therefore will I remember thee concerning the land of Jordan.
Therefore will I remember thee concerning the land of Jordan. Therefore will I remember thee concerning the land of Jordan.

Therefore will I remember thee concerning the land of Jordan, and the little hills of Hermon, and the little hills the land of Jordan. Therefore will I remember thee concerning the land of Jordan, and the little hills the land of Jordan.
Verse

and the little hills of Hermon. One deep call—

and the little hills of Hermon. One deep call—

and the little hills of Hermon. One deep call—

and the little hills of Hermon. One deep call—

and the little hills of Hermon. One deep call—

and the little hills of Hermon. One deep call—

and the little hills of Hermon. One deep call—

eth another, eth another because of the noise of thy

eth another, eth another because of the noise of thy

eth another, eth another because of the noise of thy
Chorus

me, all thy waves and storms are gone over me. The Lord hath granted his loving-kindness in the daytime.

kindness in the daytime, and in the night season did I
and in the night

and in the night season did I sing of him.

season did I sing of him, and in the night season did I sing of

did I sing of him, and in the night season did I

sing, did I sing of him, and made my prayer unto the

season, and in the night season did I sing of him and make my prayer unto the

and make my prayer unto the God of my life, and in the night season did I

him, and make my prayer unto the God of my life

and make my prayer unto the God of my life

God of my life
God of my life
and make my prayer unto the God unto the God, unto the

in the night season did I sing unto the God, unto the

God of my life, make my prayer unto the God of my life, unto the

and make my prayer unto the God, and make my prayer unto the God, unto the

the God of my life.
to the God of my life.

God of my life.
to the God of my life.

to the God of my life.
O God, wherefore art thou absent

O God, wherefore art Thou absent from us, so long, art thou absent from us, so long.
371

O God, wherefore art thou absent from us so long, so long, so long?

O God, wherefore art thou absent from us so long, so long?
O God, where art Thou absent from us, from us so long?
Verse

Why is thy wrath so long?

Why is thy wrath so long?

Why is thy wrath so long?

Not against the sheep of thy past.
Why is thy wrath so not a-
against the sheep, the sheep of thy pas-
against the sheep, the sheep of thy pas-
against the sheep, the sheep of thy pas-
against the sheep, the sheep of thy pas-
Full

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?

think upon the cons-

truction?
pur-chas-ed and re-deem-ed of old,

whom thou hast pur-chas-ed and re-deem-ed, re-deem-ed of
dee-m-ed of old, re-deem-ed of old, and re-
ed, and re-deem-ed of old, re-deem-ed of old,

and re-deem-ed, and re-deem-ed of old,

whom the last pur-chas-ed and re-deem-ed
dee-m-ed of old, and re-deem-ed, re-

and re-deem-ed of old, and re-deem-ed, re-
thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the

tribe of thine inheritance, up on the
and Mount Sion where

in, where in thou hast dwell.

and Mount Sion where in thou hast dwell, and Mount
and Mount Si-on where-in thou hast dwelt.

Si-on where-in thou hast dwelt.

Mount Si-on where-in thou hast dwelt.

wherefore art thou absent from us. From us.

O God, wherefore art thou absent from
O God,
wherefore art Thou absent from us so long?

Wherefore art Thou absent from us so long, art Thou ab:
Tosti: Thou absent from us so long?

Tosti: Thou absent from us so long?

Tosti: Thou absent from us so long?
O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth

O Lord, God to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself. O Lord, God to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself. O Lord, God to whom vengeance belongeth.
God, Lord God, Thou God to whom vengeance belongeth

A rise, o Lord, judge thou the earth and show thyself.

Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth shew thyself, shew thine eyes to whom vengeance belongeth.

Thou God to whom vengeance belongeth show thyself, shew thine eyes to whom vengeance belongeth.
reward the proud and reward the proud after their death.

reward the proud and reward the proud after their death.

reward the proud and reward the proud after their death.

serv-ing. Lord, how long shall the un-god-ly how serv-ing. Lord, how long shall the un-god-ly serv-ing. Lord, how long shall the un-god-ly serv-ing. Lord, how long, how long shall
Do-ers speak so disdain-fu-ly and make such,
do-ers speak so disdain-fu-ly and make such,
do-ers speak so disdain-fu-ly and make such, and

make such proud boast-ing. O Lord God, to whom vengeance be-
and make such proud boast-ing. O Lord God, to whom venge-
make such proud boast-ing

make such proud boast-ing
Thou God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself.
Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself.
Te Deum in A-minor

[Musical notation]

We know-ledge thee to be the
We know-ledge thee to be the
We know-ledge thee to be the
We know-ledge thee to be the

Lord, all the earth doth worship thee, The Fa-ther
Lord, all the earth doth worship thee, The Fa-ther
Lord, all the earth doth worship thee, The Fa-ther
Lord, all the earth doth worship thee, The Fa-ther
Decani

Everlasting, to thee all angels cry an-
averlasting, to thee all angels cry a-
averlasting, to thee all angels cry a-

Cantoris

Loud, the heavens and all the powers there-in, to thee cheru-
Loud, the heavens and all the powers there-in, to thee cheru-
Loud, the heavens and all the powers there-in, to thee cheru-
Loud, the heavens and all the powers there-in, to thee cherubim
bim and seraphim continually do cry, ho-
bim and seraphim continually do cry, ho-
bim and seraphim continually do cry, ho-
bim and seraphim continually do cry, ho-

ly, ho-ly, ho-ly Lord God of Sab-
ly, ho-ly, ho-ly Lord God of Sab-
ly, ho-ly, ho-ly Lord God of Sab-
ly, ho-ly, ho-ly Lord God of Sab-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-
Heaven and earth are full of the maj-

Full

Full

Full

Full

Full

Full

Full

Full

Full

Full
soft organ

The company of the Apostles praise Thee, the company of the Apostles praise Thee, the company of the Apostles praise Thee, the company of the Apostles praise Thee, the

soft

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise soft
Hymn of Praise:

Praise thee, the noble army of

The holy Church through

The martyr's praise, the holy Church through

The holy Church through
out all the world doth acknowledge thee, doth acknowledge thee, the
out all the world doth acknowledge thee, doth acknowledge thee, the
out all the world doth acknowledge thee, doth acknowledge thee, the
out all the world doth acknowledge thee, doth acknowledge thee, the

Father of an Infinite majesty, thine
Father of an Infinite majesty, thine
Father of an Infinite majesty, thine
Father of an Infinite majesty, thine
Father of an Infinite majesty, thine

honorable true and only Son, al-
honorable true and only Son, al-
honorable true and only Son, al-
also

so the Holy Ghost the Comforter, thou
so the Holy Ghost the Comforter thou
so the Holy Ghost the Comforter thou art
so the Holy Ghost the Comforter thou

88 The
The King of Glory, O Christ,
Thou art the everlasting Son of the
Thou art the everlasting Son of the
Thou art the everlasting Son of the
Thou art the everlasting Son of the
When thou tookst up the Father. When thou tookst up on thee the Father. When thou tookst up on thee the Father.

on thee to deliver man, thou didst not ab-
on thee to deliver man, thou didst not ab-
on thee to deliver man, thou didst not ab-
on thee to deliver man, thou didst not ab-
on thee to deliver man, thou didst not ab-

112 45
for the virgin's womb; when thou hadst overcome

for the virgin's womb; when thou hadst overcome

for the virgin's womb; when thou hadst overcome

for the virgin's womb; when thou hadst overcome

the sharpness of death thou didst open the kingdom of

the sharpness of death thou didst open the kingdom of

the sharpness of death thou didst open the kingdom of

the sharpness of death thou didst open the kingdom of heaven
heaven to all believers. Thou sittest

heaven to all believers. Thou sittest

heaven to all believers. Thou sittest

heaven to all believers. Thou sittest

on the right hand of God, In the glory

on the right hand of God, In the glory

on the right hand of God, In the glory

on the right hand of God, In the glory

Cantoris

In the
Of the Father, We believe that thou shalt come to be our judge. We therefore pray thee, O Christ, and we beseech thee, O Father, that thou wouldst send forth thy Holy Spirit to teach and govern us. Amen.
help thy servant whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, make them to be numbered

help thy servant whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, make them to be numbered

help thy servant whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, make them to be numbered

help thy servant whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, make them to be numbered

help thy servant whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, make them to be numbered

help thy servant whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, make them to be numbered
with thy saints, in glory everlasting, O

Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage.

Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage.

Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage.
Day by day we magnify thee, and we worship.

Dezani

Day by day we magnify thee, and we worship.

Cantoris

Full

Day by day we magnify thee, and we worship.
406

Canterbury

out sin. O Lord, have mercy upon us, have

Decani

mercy upon us, O Lord, let thy mercy

mercy upon us, O Lord, let thy mercy

mercy upon us, O Lord, let thy mercy
Lighten upon us as our trust is in thee; O Lord, in thee, in thee have
I trusted, let me never be confounded.

Thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded.

I trusted, let me never, let me never be confounded.
Jubilate Deo in A-minor

Full

O be joyful in the Lord all the land, serve the Lord with gladness!

Lord all the land, serve the Lord with gladness!

Lord all the land, serve the Lord with gladness!

Lord all the land, serve the Lord with gladness!
Be ye sure that the Lord, he is God, it is

Be ye sure that the Lord, he is God, it is

Be ye sure that the Lord, he is God, it is

Be ye sure that the Lord, he is God, it is

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Be ye sure that the Lord, he is God, it is

Be ye sure that the Lord, he is God, it is
he that hath made us, and not we ourselves, we are his

people and the sheep of his pasture, O go your
way into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his

courts with praise, be thankful unto him and speak good of
his name, for the Lord is gracious.

his name, for the Lord is gracious.

his name, for the Lord is gracious.

his name, for the Lord is gracious.

his mercy is everlasting, and his mercy is everlasting, and his mercy is everlasting, and his mercy is everlasting, and his
truth endur-eth from generation to
to generation, from generation to
Full

to generation. Glory be
to generation. Glory be
to generation. Glory be

to the Father, and to the Son, and to
The Holy Ghost, As it was in

the Holy Ghost, As it was in

the Holy Ghost, As it was in

the Holy Ghost, As it was in

The beginning is now, and ever shall be,

the beginning is now, and ever

the beginning is now, and ever and

the beginning is now, and ever shall
...
Magnificat in A minor

My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Savour.
Savior; for he hath regarded the lowliness of his hand-maiden, for behold...
hold from henceforth all generations shall
hold from henceforth all generations shall
hold from henceforth all generations shall
hold from henceforth all generations shall

Decani

call me blessed, for he that is mighty
call me blessed, for he that is mighty
call me blessed, for he that is mighty
call me blessed, for he that is mighty
Full name, and his mercy is on them that
fear him throughout all generations.

He hath showed strength.
with his arm, he hath scattered the proud in the

with his arm, he hath scattered the proud

in the imaginations of their hearts, he

in the imaginations of their hearts, he
hath put down the mighty from their seat,
and hath exalted the humble and meek

hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath ex-
al-tered the humble, the humble and meek he

and hath exalted the humble and meek

and hath exalted the humble and meek
Canterbury

he hath filled the hungry with good things

nath fill-ed the hung-
ry with good things, and

he hath filled the hung-ry with good things

He hath filled

and

The rich he hath sent empty

the rich he hath sent a way, he hath sent

and the rich he hath sent empty, he hath sent

and the rich he hath sent
Decani

away he remembering his
empty away he remembering his
empty away he remembering his
empty away he remembering his

Canoris

mercy hath hol-pen his serv-ant Is-rael, as mercy hath hol-pen his serv-ant Is-rael, as mercy hath hol-pen his serv-ant Is-rael as mercy hath hol-pen his serv-ant Is-rael as
As he promised to our forefathers, Abraham

Ham and his seed for ever, Glory
be to the Father and to the Son and be to the Father and to the Son and be to the Father and to the Son and be to the Father and to the Son and

to the Holy Ghost. As it was in

to the Holy Ghost. As it was in

to the Holy Ghost. As it was in

to the Holy Ghost. As it was in
the beginning is now and ever shall
the beginning is now and ever shall
the beginning is now and ever shall
the beginning is now and ever shall
be, world without end. Amen, world without
be, world without end, world without end. Amen, world without
be, world without end, Amen, world without
be, world without end, world without
be, world without end, world without
Nunc Dimittis in A-minor

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word.
word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

Variation, which thou hast prepared before.

Variation, which thou hast prepared before.
Cantoris

fore the face of all people, to be a

fore the face of all people, to be a

fore the face of all people, to be a

fore the face of all people, to be a

light to lighten the Gentiles and to be the

light to lighten the Gentiles and to be the

light to lighten the Gentiles and to be the

light to lighten the Gentiles and to be the
Glory of Thy people Israel.

Glory of Thy people Israel.

Glory of Thy people Israel.

Glory of Thy people Israel.

Glory of Thy people Israel.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the
Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning is
Now, is now and ever shall be world
Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning is
Now, is now and ever shall be world without
Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning is
As it was
Now, is now and ever shall be world without
Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning is
Now, is now and ever shall be world without
Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning is
As it was
without end, world without end. Amen.

world without end, world without end. Amen.

world without end, world without end. Amen.
Tune in A re
Te Deum in C

We know-ledge thee to be the

We know-ledge thee to be the

We know-ledge thee to be the

We know-ledge thee to be the

Lord all the earth doth wor-ship thee,

Lord all the earth doth wor-ship thee,

Lord all the earth doth wor-ship thee,

Lord all the earth doth wor-ship thee,
Angels cry a-loud, cry a-loud, all angels cry a-loud, the heavens and

thee all angels cry a-loud, all angels cry a-loud, the heavens and

to thee all angels cry a-loud, cry a-loud, the heavens and

Powers there-in, To the cher-u-bim and ser-a-

all the powers there-in. To the cher-u-bim and ser-a-

all the powers there-in. To the cher-u-bim and ser-a-

Powers there-in. To the cher-u-bim and ser-a-

Decani Verse [ATB]
Heaven and earth are full of the majesty, the majesty.

Heaven and earth are full of the majesty, the majesty.

Earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.

Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.

The majesty of thy glory.

The majesty of thy glory.
[Verse: SATB]

Praise thee, the holy Church throughout all the world doth accept thee. The holy Church throughout all the world doth accept thee. The holy Church throughout all the world doth accept thee. The holy Church throughout all the world doth accept thee. The holy Church throughout all the world doth accept thee.

Full

Knowledge thee, the Father of an infinite majesty, knowledge thee, the Father of an infinite majesty, knowledge thee, the Father of an infinite majesty, knowledge thee, the Father of an infinite majesty, knowledge thee, the Father of an infinite majesty.
Verse [C5AB]

Thine honorable, honorable,

Thine honorable, honorable,

Thine honorable, honorable, honorable.

True, and only Son, also the Holy

True, and only Son, also the Holy

True, and only Son, also the Holy
Christ, Thou art the ever-

Christ, Thou art the ever-

Christ, Thou art the ever-

Christ, Thou art the ever-

Christ, Thou art the ever-

Verse [SAB]

Jesus, Son of the Fa-
ther. When thou tookst up

Jesus, Son of the Fa-
ther. When thou tookst up

Jesus, Son of the Fa-
ther. When thou tookst up

Jesus, Son of the Fa-
ther. When thou tookst up
on thee to de-

Vir-
gin's womb. When thou hadst o-

Vir-
gin's womb. When thou hadst o-

Verse: STB}
sharpness of death thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

[Verse: TBD]
sittest at the right hand of God in
the glory of the Father. We be-

sittest at the right hand of God in
the glory of the Father. We be-

I trust that thou shalt come to be our judge.

Therefore pray thee help thy servants whom thou hast re-
452

Full

Make Them

deer-ed with thy precious blood. Make Them
deer-ed with thy precious blood. Make Them
deer-ed with thy precious blood. Make Them
deer-ed with thy precious blood.

Make Them

to be numbered with thy Saints in glory ever-
to be numbered with thy Saints in glory ever-
to be numbered with thy Saints in glory ever-
to be numbered with thy Saints in glory ever-

Make Them

O Lord, save thy people and bless thine heritage.
Day by day we may
up for ev-
er. Day by day we may
and lift them up for-
ev-
er. Day by day we may
Verse [ATB]

world without end.

world without end.

world without end. Vouchsafe, Lord, to keep

world without end. Vouchsafe, Lord, to
Vouch-safe, o Lord, to keep us this day, this hour without sin, o Lord, to keep us this day without sin.

[Verse: SSA]

O Lord, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, have.
Full

O Lord, in thee have I trusted.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted.

Let me never be confounded.

Let me never be confounded.

Let me never be confounded.

Let me never, never be confounded.
Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded

Never be confounded, let me never be confounded
Alternate reading of mm. 16 ff., Te Deum in C, Obc. 38.

16

To thee all angels cry aloud, cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein.

To thee all angels cry aloud, cry aloud, all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein.
Alternate reading of mm. 45+; Te Deum in C. Ob e. 38.

1. Neither of these sharps is provided in Ob e. 38.

2. Ob e. 38 contains one too many quarter-note pulses and the slurring was not clear.
Jubilate Deo in C

Lord all ye land serve the Lord with gladness.

Lord all ye land serve the Lord with gladness.
And come before his presence with a song.

Be ye sure that the Lord he is God; be ye sure that the Lord he is God; be ye sure that the Lord he is God.

* MS has F
That the Lord, he is God; be ye sure that the Lord, he is God; be ye sure that the Lord, he is God; be ye sure that the Lord, he is God; be ye sure that the Lord, he is God; be ye sure that the Lord, he is God.

Lord, he is God; it is he that hath made us not we our.

Lord, he is God; it is he that hath made us not we our.

Lord, he is God; it is he that hath made us not we our.
selves; his he that hath made us not we ourselves; we are
made us not we ourselves; not we ourselves; we are his
selves; his he that hath made us not we ourselves; we are his
it is he that hath made us not we ourselves;

his people and the sheep; and the sheep of his pas-
people and the sheep, and the sheep of his pas-
people and the sheep, the sheep of his pas-

We are his people and the sheep of his pas-
Verse: 53A

Sure. O go your way into his gates with thanks.

Sure. O go your way into his gates with thanks.

Sure.

Sure.

Giving, and into his courts, and into his courts with giving, and into his courts, and into his courts with courts with thanksgiving, and into his courts, his courts with
praise. be thankful unto him and speak good of his name. be thankful unto him and speak good of his name.
The Lord, the Lord is gracious, His mercy is everlasting, and His mercy is everlasting, everlasting.
dur-eth from genera-tion to gene-
er-a-
- tion to genera-tion, to gene-
er-a-
from gene-
er-a-
- tion to gene-
er-a-


Glo-
ty be to the Fa-
ther and to the

Glo-
ty be to the Fa-
ther and to the

Glo-
ty be to the Fa-
ther and to the

Glo-
ty be to the Fa-
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ty be to the Fa-
ther and to the

Glo-
ty be to the Fa-
ther and to the

Glo-
ty be to the Fa-
ther and to the

Glo-
ty be to the Fa-
ther and to the
Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As it was in the begining, is now, and ever shall be. Amen.

Full
Creed in C

The Father Almighty, maker

of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible.
Of all things visible, of all things visible and invisible, and of all things visible and invisible, of all things visible and invisible, of all things visible and invisible.

Verse: ATB

Visible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the visible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the visible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the
of one substance with the Father by whom all things were made, all

things were made, by whom all things were made,

Verse: TGG

things were made, by whom all things were made, who

things were made, by whom all things were made, who
for us men and for our salvation came down from
heaven from heaven and was incarnate by the holy
came down from heaven and was incarnate by the holy
Verse: SSAT

And was crucified also

And was crucified also, was
and was crucified also for us

And was crucified, was crucified for

so was crucified, was crucified for

crucified also, and was crucified for

under Pontius Pilate he suffered and was

us under Pontius Pilate he suffered and was

us under Pontius Pilate he suffered and was

us under Pontius Pilate he suffered and was
buried and the third day he rose again
and the third day he rose again, and the third day he rose again
and the third day he rose again, he rose again again
conformed to the Scriptures. And ascended into
conformed to the Scriptures. And ascended into
conformed to the Scriptures. And ascended into
108

heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father and
heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father and
heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father and
114
he shall come again with glory to judge both the
quick and ye dead, whose kingdom shall have not
Verse: TCB

end. And I believe in one holy Ghost, the

end. And I believe in one holy Ghost, the

Verse: SSA

Lord and giver of Light, who proceedeth

Lord and giver of Light, who proceedeth

Lord and giver of Light.
Verse: TBB

from the Father and the Son

The Father and the Son who with the Father

from the Father and the Son who with the Father

Verse: SSA

is worshiped

and the Son togeth-er is wor-shiped

and the Son togeth-er

and the Son togeth-er
Verse: SSA

is worshiped who

is worshiped and glorified who

glorified and glorified who

glorified and glorified

Verse: ATG

Verse: SSAATG

Verse: ATG

by the Prophets.

spoke by the Prophets. And I be-

spoke by the Prophets. And I be-

spoke by the Prophets. And I be-

who spoke by the Prophets. And I be-

162
Verse: SSATBB

We have one Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of
of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.
Magnificat in C
Verse

For he

and his
and the rich...
Nunc Dimittis in C
Fall

Glory be

As it was
world

Amen.
CRITICAL NOTES

The notes which follow show alternate readings for passages in which the various manuscript sources disagree, and provide other pertinent observations concerning the manuscripts consulted. The abbreviated form employed gives the measure number, the voice (S A T B, followed by 1 or 2 when lines are divided), the note of the measure(s) involved, and the variant reading, along with its source.

The Lord Hear Thee

The Lord hear thee appears in five known sources, as listed below. The latter two have provided the basis for the transcription included here.

British Museum Additional 33289, a transcription made by W.H. Husk in 1846, using the edition found in Boyce's published anthology, Cathedral Music.

Christ Church, Oxford 48.

Christ Church, Oxford 1228 (organ part only).

Royal College of Music 1052.

Royal College of Music 1068.

Lcm 1068 exists in four partbooks and appears to pre-date Lcm 1052, which is in score format. Clarke places Lcm 1068 toward the end of the seventeenth century. Both
manuscripts recognize the composer as Dr. Blow, thereby placing them after the 1677 conferring of his doctorate. For the purposes of this edition, preference has been given to the reading found in Lcm 1068 over that of Lcm 1052. Several observations lend credence to an earlier dating of Lcm 1068. As the critical notes reveal, the several disparities between the two manuscripts indicate a tendency to "even things up" (consistent rhythms in all parts, consistent word placement and syllabifications, etc.) in Lcm 1052—a tendency which would strengthen with passing years (as can be seen in Boyce/Warren's edition in Cathedral Music). In addition, the older alla breve mensural signature and proportional indication of the change to triple meter at measure 26 (\( \frac{4}{4} \)) used in Lcm 1068, have been updated in Lcm 1052 to that of a metrical common time signature, followed by another metrical signature (3/2) to indicate the move to triple time. Although the metrical relationship between the duple and triple sections in the two sources is identical, the modernization apparent in Lcm 1052 is significant for purposes of dating. Additionally, the uneven barring present in Lcm 1068 has been fully regularized in Lcm 1052.

One feature of Lcm 1068 which has no obvious explanation is the presence of both f-sharp and b-flat in the signature of the first six scores of the cantus part. It is quite clear that the f-sharp has no relevance to the composition in question, and it appears in none of the other
parts. Perhaps the copyist was making frugal use of staff paper originally intended for other use.

Alternate readings found in Lcm 1052

3 AT 3-4: \( \text{\textit{\textbf{J J}}} \)

4 A 1-2: \( \text{\textit{\textbf{\endash \endash J}}} \)

7 B 2: b-natural

8 A 3-4: \( \text{\textit{\textbf{J J}}} \)

14-15 A: text placement

\( \text{\textit{\textbf{\endash \endash J \endash \endash J}}} \) \( \text{\textit{\textbf{\endash J}}} \) 

14 S 2-3: b-flat--a-natural

15 T rest: previous D carried over without break

15-17 T: text placement

\( \text{\textit{\textbf{\endash \endash J \endash \endash J}}} \) \( \text{\textit{\textbf{\endash J}}} \)

16 B 4-5: even eighth-notes

23-24 A: Lcm 1068 is two beats short, therefore the reading in Lcm 1052 is accepted.

29 ST 2-3: Lcm 1052 separated the slurred notes, avoiding the contraction. Interestingly, the contraction is observed in the bass part.

49-50 A: Lcm 1068 has one syllable too few if no text is repeated, one too many if "accept" is repeated; Lcm 1052 solution of repeating "accept" and breaking the slur (as in C and T) has been accepted.
56 A 3: Lcm 1068 offers no flat here. Lcm 1052 brings the alto voice into perfect octave with the bass. Although an e-flat has been editorially suggested, it is quite possible that Blow would have respected the directional integrity of the alto and bass lines, thereby producing the e-flat/e-natural clash.

My God, my soul is vexed

My God, my soul is vexed appears in seven known sources:

British Museum Additional 33292, an 1865 transcription by W. H. Husk.

British Museum K9b9, a manuscript found inserted at the end of a printed copy of a mass by Orlando di Lasso, probably from the late 17th to early 18th centuries.

Christ Church, Oxford 1220-4, a set of originally four part-books, of which only ATB are still in existence.

Christ Church, Oxford 1228, an organ part only.

Christ Church, Oxford 1230, an organ part only.


Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 117.

The latter two manuscripts have been consulted for this edition. Cfm 88 is easily the more legible of the two sources, and the two differ very slightly.

Variant readings

3 T 2-3: no slur in Cfm 88; appears to be oversight (slur present in alto directly above.

6-7 T 5-1: no slur in Cfm 117; Placement of text on the page is somewhat indicative of its intended location. Slur present in Cfm 88.

10 S2 4-6: no slur in Cfm 117.
10 A 3:  Cfm 88 has no e-flat.

16 B between 1 and 2:  Cfm 88 has extraneous half-note c in the area of the third beat. One possible explanation is that the score was used to play a basso seguente, and the low c was a reminder of specific intentions at that point. It has not been figured into the transcription.

18 S2 2:  The E is not flatted in Cfm 117. The e-flat of Cfm 88 has been accepted.

22 T 2/3:  It should be noted that both b-flat and d are present in both manuscript sources.

24 S 6:  While Cfm 117 clearly presents an a here, Cfm 88 seems to read a b-flat. Cfm 88 is not extremely clear and might be an a. Evidence seems to favor the a.

29 S 3-4:  Cfm 117 clearly places the sharp with the a (fourth note), not the b. The indication in Cfm 88 to raise the b-flat to a b-natural has been accepted.

32 B 6-9:  Cfm 117 not clear as to where slur belongs.

34 S and S2 5-6:  Cfm 117 has no slur here. Its use in Cfm 88 allows the text to fit properly.

41 T 1:  Cfm 88 has "thee" instead of "him;" regarded as copyist's error.

44 A 2-4:  Although the initial e is not flatted, the fact that the following three are sharpened, combined with the pattern to which this line of text is regularly set, has led to the editorial flating of the initial e by inference.

O God, wherefore art thou absent

O God, wherefore art thou absent appears in sixteen known manuscript sources, of which the following six have been consulted:

British Museum Additional 30931.

British Museum Harley 7340.

Royal College of Music 1068.
Fitzwilliam Museum 88.
Fitzwilliam Museum 117.
Gostling Manuscript.

Variant readings.

22 S1 2-3: Lbm Harl 7340 and Cfm 117 slur these two notes, thereby placing the word "so" on the a rather than on the g. All other sources agree on the reading used in the transcription.

27-29 A: slurrings unclear in Lcm 1068 and Cfm 117.

28 S1 and S2: Both Cfm 88 and Gostling contain two passages in which S1 and S2 switch positions in relation to readings from other sources:

At m. 28: S1 and S2 reverse positions.
At m. 43: S1 and S2 revert to positions corresponding to those in the other sources.
At m. 93: S1 and S2 again reverse positions.
At m. 111: S1 and S2 again revert to positions corresponding to those in the other sources.

32-34 A: Cfm 88, Lbm Harl 7340 and Gostling, and by implication of texting, Cfm 117, agree on the slurring and text placement as transcribed. Lcm 1068 and Lbm Add 30931 agree on the following, different text placement:

\[ \text{ab sent so long from us so long} \]

37-40 T: Cfm 88 and Gostling show an alternate texting of this passage:

\[ \text{art thou ab- sent from us so long, so long} \]

40-41 S1: Lcm 1068 and Cfm 117 are both unclear as to the placement of text and slurs.

41 A 1: Cfm 88 breaks the line with a rest in place of the d tied over from the previous measure.
43-51 A: *Lcm 1068* has no alto verse line for this section. Because the alto line is the only one which participates in both sections of the verse (SSA and ATB), and because the alto line for the ATB sections is present, it might be concluded that the SSA verse section was sung by singers from one side, while ATB verses were sung by singers from the other, as would have been consistent with common practice.

50 S1 2-3: *Lcm 1068* reads two quarter notes, rather than the dotted quarter followed by eighth found in the other sources.

51 S1 and S2: *Cfm 117* places a fermata over these lines at this point.

58 T 1: *Cfm 88* breaks the line, replacing the tied a with a rest.

60 B: *Lcm 1068* has a double whole-note on d here. Because no other source has this reading, and because it clearly does not fit with the other two line, it is considered a scribal error.

62-63 B: *Lcm 1068* and *Cfm. 117* both begin this line on the upper g and remain there.

63 T 3: Although there seems to be no question of intention here, the natural sign is repeated in both *Gostling* and *Cfm 88*, and not re-stated in *Cfm 117* and *Lcm 1068*.

65-66 S2: *Lcm 1068* has the text "upon thy tribe" instead of "upon thy congregation," as is appropriate to the section, and as is in all other sources. It is considered a scribal error.

66 S1 2: Only *Lbm Harl 7430* and *Lbm Add 30931* place a natural sign before the b at this point. Although neither source is considered to carry as much weight as several others which do not raise the note, the rules of *musica ficta*, which would normally determine such cases, indicate the raised tone, and it is on this basis that the b-natural has been included in the transcription—but with the b-flat suggested above the score as an alternative interpretation.

72-4 B: The six sources are divided in their rhythmic and textual presentation of this material. *Gostling* and *Cfm 88* agree on the reading given in the transcription, while the other three present the following:
Cfm 117 is unclear. The decision concerning which reading to use was based not only on the authority carried by the manuscripts which present it, but also on the general level of rhythmic activity prevalent in this section, and the composer's apparent reluctance to use whole notes in this section until the final note of the phrase. The reading chosen causes the bass voice to mirror the activity of the other lines at that point.

76 T 2-3: Cfm 117 alone reads a dotted quarter followed by an eighth note, rather than the even quarters as in the other sources.

79 S1 2: Lcm 1068 presents a quarter note followed by a quarter rest, rather than the half note used in the other sources.

80-81 A: Cfm 88 alone breaks the line with a quarter rest in place of the tied c.

83: Cfm 117 gives a fermata in all parts.

87-88 A: Cfm 88 and Gostling present four even half notes, rather than the quarters and tied half notes as in the other four sources:

\[
\text{d} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{d}
\]

\[
\text{thine in- her- it- ance}
\]

87 T 3: Of the six manuscripts, only Lbm Add 30931 and Lbm Harl 7340 flat the a at this point, although all six sources do so in the following measure. Although the rules of musica ficta would seem to indicate the use of a-flat, the precision with which the earlier scores relate first the a-natural (m. 87) and then the a-flat (m. 88) cannot be ignored. The a-natural has been preserved, although the a-flat has been editorially suggested above the score as an alternative. Neither would contradict contemporary practice.

93 A 2: Neither Lcm 1068 nor Cfm 117 place a natural before the e. All other sources do raise the e, and, although augmented intervals are certainly not unheard of, the augmented second is not frequently found.

95-96 S1: Lcm 1068 is very unclear at this point. All other sources are unanimous.
109-112 A: There exist several interpretations of text placement at this point. Cfm 117, as is characteristic of this manuscript, provides the least indication of what is intended. Lcm 1068 presents the following arrangement:

As this section is clearly intended as a recapitulation of the opening statement, and as this reading does not conform to its own opening line, it has been rejected. Lbm Harl 7340 is consistent with its own opening presentation, with the following:

The weight of evidence, both in terms of number of sources, and in terms of consistency with other lines, falls with that presented in Cfm 88, Gostling, and Add. 30931. It is this reading which appears in the transcription.

117 A: The six manuscripts are evenly divided as to the text for this measure, Cfm 88, Gostling, and Lbm Harl 30931 supplying the one used in transcription. The alternative is as follows:

Both work effectively. The former was chosen due to the observation that the composer seems to be stretching out his text in the other voices in like manner in this final section.

120-end B: Lcm 1068 contains an extra measure, as indicated below. All other readings are unanimous.
123 A 1-2: Cfm 117 has no tie from the previous measure, and replaces the two quarter notes with one half note.

123-24 S1: Lcm 1068 is alone in slurring the first three notes rather than the last three.

O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth

O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth appears in two known manuscripts, as follows:

St. Michael's College, Tenbury 1176-81.

British Museum Additional 33292.

As the second source dates from the nineteenth century, only the first has been consulted. Consequently, few editorial decisions were necessary.

Editorial decisions.

24-25 T: For reasons which are not clear, the tenor line includes several doublings in this spot. In the following diagram the underlined notes represent those transcribed as the tenor line. The remaining notes were found to be present in other lines, as indicated. Several of the "alternate" notes were quite lightly written—perhaps in error?

\[ \text{E (alto)} \quad \text{E} \quad \text{F} \quad \text{G} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{C#} \quad \text{A} \]

30 keyboard second beat: Although no f-sharp is indicated in T 1181, the f-sharp present in the alto line was preferred on the basis that the placement of an accidental is a deliberate act whereas the its omission might easily represent an oversight.

36 T 2: Gostling provided no indication that the b-flat should be raised here. It is, nonetheless, suggested that not even a Restoration composer would be likely to alter so standard a pattern as the one in this passage.
**Short Service in A-minor**

Only two contemporary sources exist for this service, neither of which provides the complete score, but both carrying significance in that they were copied by Blow. The organ book copied by Blow toward the end of his life and the alto decani partbook, have been supplemented by a full score of a considerably later date for this transcription. No variant readings were found among the sources.

_Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 116._
_Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. c. 42._
_London, British Museum Additional 31559._

**Whole Service in C-Major**

Blow’s Whole Service in C exists in two known manuscript sources, neither of which contains all five movements. _GB-Ob c. 38_ contains the Te Deum, Jubilate, and Creed in vocal score. _GB-Cfm 116_ (Blow’s organ book) contains the Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat, and Nunc dimittis in keyboard score only. On the basis of Blow’s keyboard score, it would be possible to reconstruct the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, but that has not been attempted here. The attached transcription includes the Te Deum and Jubilate in vocal score with Blow’s keyboard accompaniment, the Creed in vocal score only, and the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in keyboard score only.
It would appear that the Te Deum, as contained in Ob c. 38, represents an alternate version to that in Cfm 116. Although the two scores are compatible much of the time, two imitative sections, specifically mm. 16-26 and 45-52, use shorter note values for the imitative incipit in Ob c. 38 than in Cfm 116. Preference has been given to the version in Blow's organ book, and inner voices have been constructed where necessary, adhering as closely as possible to the melodic lines provided in Ob c. 38. In mm. 16-26, the version in Ob c. 38 requires four fewer measures than that in Cfm 116; and in mm. 45-52, the Ob c. 38 version requires one less measure than that in Cfm 116. Although Ob c. 38 is replete with errors, in each of the sections here discussed, the Ob c. 38 score is perfectly workable and consistent with the style established in the remainder of the movement. It is for these reasons that they are thought to represent a different version, rather than errors in the score. Both sections, as they appear in Ob c. 38 are reproduced at the end of the Te Deum. The inability to identify either the hand or the date in which Blow's Service in C was copied into Ob c. 38 results in uncertainty as to the origin of this alternate version. Whether an earlier version by Blow himself, ultimately altered to its form in Cfm 116, or a later effort by another composer or editor remains a mystery. The version found in Cfm 116 can, however, be accepted without hesitation, representing as it does a late effort on the part of the composer himself.
Written indications of "verse" sections are not always provided in Ob c. 38 when it is seemingly appropriate. A case in point is in the Jubilate at the "Glory be," where "full" is marked, clearly implying a prior use of verse voices—an implication which is never marked. Fortunately, Blow's organ book corroborates the obvious by marking the sections with reduced scoring as verse sections.

Blow never indicates decani or cantoris in his verse sections, and Ob c. 38 does so only at the beginning of the Te Deum. This leads to the assumption that it was probably not of great significance to Blow which side of the choir was to sing a given "verse." The sections which are marked alternate participation by each side of the choir, indicating the probability of a standard practice of "tossing the ball" to the other side which required only initial guidance. It is based on the preceding observations and consequent assumptions that the transcription has been marked. Suggestions not specified in either manuscript are placed in brackets. In addition, for the sake of clarity, the voices involved in a verse are placed after a colon in each case. "Full" sections are always understood to include SATB voices from both sides of the choir. Although in one case, "Cho" was used, rather than "Full," usage has been standardized in the transcription. The one exception to the standard SATB "Full" scoring appears in measures 117-124 of the Te Deum, where the choir divides into eight parts. Only
the treble decani is marked, the location of other voices being implied.

The following itemization excludes such sections as have required reconstruction (discussed above). Only in the Te Deum and the Jubilate were varied readings a possibility, and preference has been given to Cfm 116 when readings do not concur.

Te Deum

93 B 2: This note does not exist in Ob c. 38. Only a whole note on D' is given, making adequate arrangement of the words (difficult, at best) an impossibility, not to mention the incredible leap of an octave and a half!

104-105 S: Although the treble line and the tope line in the keyboard are not the same here, the treble line as given in Ob c. 38 works both with the other parts and with the keyboard score and is, therefore, retained.

137-144: The middle line is written in Ob c. 38 on the alto clef, which places the entire line a third higher than it appears here, and produces some most unseemly dissonances—even for Blow. The cadence, in measures 143-44 makes it clear that the line should have continued on the tenor clef, as in the transcription.

145-173 T: Ob c. 38 shows a continuation of alto clef here. The line only works when read in tenor clef.

148 B 1: Ob c. 38 reads ,B.

Jubilate

91 T 1: No ,G exists in Ob c. 38 as in the transcription.

128 B: This ,,G does not exist in Ob c. 38.

Creed

58-64: Ob c. 38 uses alto, tenor, and bass clefs, respectively, here, which transcribes into musical chaos. When tenor, bass, and bass clefs are
substituted, the result is, obviously, what was intended.

65-77: In a continuation of the same section, Ob c. 38 changes to alto, bass, and bass clefs here. TBB is still the necessary reading.

69 B1 2: Reads as a ,C-sharp in Ob c. 38.

78-91: The clefs here indicate SATT verse voices. The correct transcription is made when the clefs are altered to SSAT. They are correctly placed beginning with measure 92.

138-139 B2 2-1: Ob c. 38 reads ,C and ,D.

173-176 A: The clef here is an alto clef, but the line must be read as if it were a tenor clef. Although the line could just have easily been given to the tenor voice, it has been given to the alto voice in order to preserve the high-low contrast seen in the previous section.

186: Ob c. 38 does not indicate a return to "full" choir. The assumption that full choir is intended here is based on the four-part texture which is characteristic of full choir sections, and the virtually universal principle of ending a movement with the full choir.

Magnificat

27: Blow's verbal incipit, "and his" is obviously the incipit to the fifth line of text, "And his mercy is on them that fear him." This text, however, does not occur until measure 47, where the incipit "and his mercy" occurs in Blow's score. The text for measures 27ff should be, "for behold, from henceforth, all generations shall call me blessed."

88 B 1: This measure is missing one note. The ,G has been added to fill it adequately.
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