

**Domestic Sacred Music in Jacobean England:
John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes ... for Voyces and Vyols* (1615)**

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Doctor in Music Performance

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John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes ... for Voyces and Vyols* (1615)**

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Abstract

The choral and instrumental compositions of John Amner have been eclipsed by other English Renaissance composers, yet his printed collection of music from 1615, *Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and 6. Parts for Voyces and Vyols*, is comparable in style, content and structure to other publications from the Elizabethan and Jacobean era.

This dissertation provides a critical re-evaluation of John Amner supported by new biographical details and a more comprehensive review of the role of patronage throughout his life in order to generate a more detailed profile of the composer. It assesses his contribution of composition while Master of the Choristers at Ely Cathedral, the publication of *Sacred Hymnes* as an addition to the sacred domestic music market in England and the instrumental compositional output found in various collectors' partbooks.

A dichotomy in the practice of recreational music in English society is explored through a consideration of the iconography and symbolism of the title page of *Sacred Hymnes*, with a view to elucidating the intimate relationship between domestic music-making and the practices of piety and prayer. This is further developed with an analytical narrative that investigates the texts and terminal inscriptions with the aim of discovering a theme or theological ideology. The terminology associated with this small canon of music is examined and a clear differentiation between music for the domestic chamber and church chancel is established.

Amner's compositional forms and harmonic vocabulary are explored while reflecting on the role of instrumental forces and the emerging popularity of the Consort Anthem. This is enhanced by highlighting examples of compositions written for the domestic setting that found their way into choir partbooks, which either purposely or unintentionally, reanimated Renaissance church music.

Finally, the legacy of Amner's compositions is evaluated with an appraisal of English provincial choir partbooks, transcriptions and the dissemination of his *Sacred Hymnes* with specific reference to the collections of John Merro and Thomas Hamond. The dissertation concludes with an exploration of the manuscript inscriptions found in extant copies of *Sacred Hymnes* such as those belonging to Conyers Darcy. A comparative assessment of liturgical and secular sources is included to differentiate between the accompaniment style for viol consort and the organ.

Editorial Conventions

The dates conveyed throughout this dissertation take the year to begin on 1 January and not Lady Day (25 March).

The titles of individual songs within the text use modern spelling. In the case of quotations and other primary source materials, the text adheres to the original spelling of early English practice, such as *i/j* and *u/v*.

Monetary sums of pounds, shillings and pence are given as *£ s. d.*

Library Sigla

| | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>D-Mbs</i> | Munich, Bavarian State Library |
| <i>GB-Cca</i> | Cambridge, Cambridgeshire Archives |
| <i>GB-Cu</i> | Cambridge, University Library |
| <i>GB-Cp</i> | Cambridge, Peterhouse Library |
| <i>GB-Ctc</i> | Cambridge, Trinity College Library |
| <i>GB-Eda</i> | Exeter, Devonshire Archives |
| <i>GB-El</i> | Ely, Cathedral Library |
| <i>GB-En</i> | Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland |
| <i>GB-Lam</i> | London, Royal Academy of Music |
| <i>GB-Lbl</i> | London, British Library |
| <i>GB-Lcm</i> | London, Royal College of Music |
| <i>GB-Lu</i> | London, Senate Library |
| <i>GB-Ob</i> | Oxford, Bodleian Library |
| <i>GB-Och</i> | Oxford, Christ Church Library |
| <i>GB-Ym</i> | York, Minster Library |
| <i>US-Bp</i> | Boston Public Library, Boston |
| <i>US-CA</i> | Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts |
| <i>US-Cn</i> | Newberry Library, Chicago |
| <i>US-R</i> | Rochester University Library, New York |
| <i>US-SM</i> | Huntington Library, San Marino, California |
| <i>US-Ws</i> | Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC |

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I am sincerely grateful to my dissertation supervisor, Dr Denise Neary, who has offered invaluable assistance and guidance as well as steadfast encouragement throughout the course of this research. I am also deeply thankful to Blanaid Murphy, for tutoring me in the art of choral conducting, and to Deborah Kelleher, Director of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, for suggesting the doctoral programme to me in the first instance.

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Thank you to Brian Melia, Principal, and Shane McClearn, Deputy Principal, Galway Community College, for facilitating my timetable requests in order to be in Dublin for my doctoral studies. Heartfelt thanks to all staff members and in particular to my fellow Performance and Production Department teachers Lorraine O'Hara and Colleen Quinn. I also wish to acknowledge Galway Roscommon Education and Training Board who supported this course of study by providing financial assistance from the Continuing Professional Development Fund.

A substantial amount of digital photographs and special orders have been requested from numerous libraries and institutions around the globe during this research. I wish to acknowledge the efficient and swift correspondence I enjoyed with Peter Young, Archivist, Steven Newman and Maria Nagle, Library Assistants, York Minster Library; Tansy Barton, Special Collections Administrator, Senate House Library, University of London; David Coppen, Special Collections Librarian and Archivist, Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, New York; Karen S. Shafts, Assistant Keeper of Prints, Boston Public Library; Graham Greer, Reference Librarian, Newberry Library, Chicago; Frank Bowles, Superintendent, Manuscripts Reading Room, and Claire Hatty, Digital Content Unit, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge; Maria Lomza, Archives Assistant, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; Rob Faulkner and Yaye Tang, Archives Assistants, Cambridgeshire Archives, Cambridge; Gary Knaggs, Heritage Officer, North Devon Record Office, Barnstaple, Devon; Michael Mullen, Acting College Archivist, Royal College of Music; Ilse Woloszko, Library Assistant, Royal Academy of Music; Roger Lovatt, Archivist, Peterhouse, Cambridge; Alina Nachescu, Photographic and Special Collections Assistant; and Graham Hogg, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. A special thank you to Guido Kraus, RISM, for creating a new library siglum upon my request for the Cambridgeshire Archives. Sincere thanks to Pádraic Moran, Professor of Classics, NUI Galway for translating various Latin texts and phrases that feature throughout this dissertation.

One of the most exciting parts of this programme was the opportunity to work with Laurence Dreyfus and the internationally acclaimed viol consort Phantasm. I had the pleasure to conduct them with the Dublin Consort Singers in what was possibly Ireland's first performance of John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* on 15 April 2015 at St Ann's Church, Dawson Street, Dublin. This ensemble of voices and viols also took part in my Lecture Recital in the RIAM's Katherine Brennan Hall on 16 April 2015, to perform musical examples of consort music by Byrd, Gibbons and Amner.

I would like to offer sincere thanks to Bill Hunt and David Pinto, Fretwork Publications, for their assistance with scores and correspondence concerning this specialised repertoire. I wish to humbly acknowledge their kind reference in Fretwork's publication of *Sacred Hymnes* for crediting my Sibelius files which I created for the Dublin performance.

I wish to extend heartfelt thanks to every member in my choir Tribal Chamber Choir, who performed at many of my doctoral recitals and concerto assessments. I truly appreciate the commitment, stamina and generosity which led to excellence on the concert platform. A special thank you to my good friends Anna and Sean O Maille, Sandra Murphy, Aoife Ní Chulain, Collette Lydon, Orla Kealy and Martha Shaughnessy for their continued support and help with both the performances and my research. I also wish to thank all the musicians involved, particularly the Galway Ensemble-in-Residence/RTÉ ConTempo String Quartet, and Niall Kinsella, piano.

Towards the completion of this course of study I was compelled to make the first complete recording of John Amner's domestic music and wish to acknowledge everyone who made this possible. Sincere thanks to the Dublin Consort Singers and Fretwork viol consort; Matthew Cosgrove of Rubicon Classics; the producers Tim Oldham and Tim Reader; the recording engineer Andrew Mellor; Revd Dr Geoff Dumbreck, Acting Chaplain and Acting Dean, Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge; George Unsworth, Manager, West Road Concert Hall, Cambridge; and Garry Kelly and Ailish Flaherty, GK Media.

I will be forever grateful for the constant support and encouragement from my partner Niall and my parents, Rory and Peggy, who supported and encouraged my musical education. Shortly after starting the doctoral programme my father died and I now dedicate this work in memory of him.

Introduction

This dissertation examines John Amner's contribution to domestic sacred music in early modern England with reference to his only publication *Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and 6. parts for Voyces and Vyols* (1615) and two consort anthems found in the Partbooks Mus 56-60 at Christ Church, Oxford. It provides a greater understanding in the developing narrative relating to the canon of music composed and generated during the Renaissance with particular emphasis on sacred domestic music accompanied by viols, which is classified as the consort anthem. David Pinto states there are roughly 110 examples that survive from c1570-1630, of which approximately eighty are complete.¹ The majority of these are five-part settings and the remainder six-part. Of the complete settings, John Amner's consort anthems account for eight compositions of the known repertoire.

The monographs written about English church music in the Renaissance era, such as Edmund Fellowes's *English Cathedral Music*, Peter le Huray's *Music and the Reformation in England* and Peter Phillips's *English Sacred Music*,² often contain no differentiation between sacred music composed for domestic use and church liturgies. In overlooking the origins of these compositions an erroneous account is created which forsakes an important part of England's rich heritage of domestic sacred music. Although Fellowes's book was first published in the 1940s, the narrative and description of England's lesser well-known composers from the Renaissance has been

¹ David Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, 9 (2015), 1.

² Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1941); Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Peter Phillips, *English Sacred Music 1549-1649* (Oxford: Gimell Records Ltd, 1991).

slow to change. This dissertation examines the unique aspects of domestic secular music, with particular reference to the consort anthem, and how this compositional form can be delineated from both sacred music composed for use in church and secular recreational music for entertainment. This will be further developed to show how the forms were unconditionally adapted into church repertoire as the dramatic verse anthem and how they reanimated the compositional style found in liturgical settings. The consort anthem has been described as a presage of oratorio,³ as the alternating sections for choir and soloists could be considered to be mirrored on a much larger scale in oratorio.

These influential monographs on English church music in the Renaissance era portray an almost exclusive emphasis on composers and musical institutions in London, such as the Chapel Royal or Westminster Abbey. The wider musical tapestry throughout England including the provincial composers are commonly found in sections styled the 'Lesser Composers' and 'second-flight composers'.⁴ Alphabetically, John Amner appears first in this consortium of lesser composers, but they all share a commonality of having worked in provincial cathedrals and churches, as instrumental teachers, travelling musicians or town waits outside London. The term lesser is defined as 'not so great or important as the other or the rest' and can also imply lower in rank or quality.⁵ The term 'provincial' may be more descriptive for this category as the majority of these composers share a rural geographical location outside of London.

³ Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', 1.

⁴ Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*; Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*; Peter Phillips, *English Sacred Music 1549-1649*; John Morehen, 'The 'Burden of Proof': The Editor as Detective', in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice 1400-1650, Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice*, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), 200.

⁵ 'Lesser' in *Oxford Online Dictionary, Oxford Online* (Oxford University Press) <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/lesser>> [accessed 25 May 2017].

The appraisal of their compositional output ranges from weak endorsements such as ‘composers of modest talent’ through to more derogatory tributes suggesting that their work ‘would not disgrace more eminent composers of the period’.⁶ Regardless of the negative press, the consort anthems found in Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes* are fine examples of the genre and admirably demonstrate his skill as a composer. Perhaps most notable are the Christmas anthems, where the scoring includes multiple voices in the verse section to create a dialogue between angels imitatively calling to each other. The rich six-part choruses in the verse anthems contain both dramatic homophonic statements and intricate independent part-writing.

The work of Edmund Fellowes and Thurston Dart has resulted in the greater dissemination of English renaissance choral music. The liberties of rescoring vocal parts and subsequent transposition of these scores has embarked on a significant transformation of composers’ initial aesthetic qualities in favour of what may work best in contemporary cathedral choral practice.⁷ An example of this is found in Fellowes’s and Palmer’s edition of Orlando Gibbons’s *This is the record of John* which they have transposed in the key of A flat for SSATB, accompanied by organ, where the editors suggests that the soloist should be a countertenor or alto.⁸ It is unlikely that Gibbons would have chosen an upper voice or falsettist to portray John the Baptist in this text. The primary source for *This is the record of John*, in the Fretwork Edition edited by David Pinto, was MS Mus 21 in Christ Church, Oxford.⁹ From this original

⁶ Kenneth Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), 185.

⁷ Edmund Fellowes, *The Byrd Edition* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1950); Thurston Dart, *Early English Church Music* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1962-1968).

⁸ Edmund Fellowes (ed.), Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924 & 1945-1955); William Palmer (ed.), Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John* (London: Novello Publishing, n.d.); Peter le Huray (ed.), Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

⁹ David Pinto, *Orlando Gibbons The Consort Anthems Vol 3* (London: Fretwork Editions, 2003).

source, the key of F major can be clearly identified and the indication for the soloist to be a contratenor. While the term contratenor may be a close spelling of countertenor, the vocal range is incompatible for the upper voice and the transposition liberties in the editions by Fellowes and Dart create a differing vocal representation and musical aesthetic conflicting with the composer's original manuscript. The labelling of partbooks such as contratenor before the standardisation of voice types leaves this topic open, but both the vocal timbre and the new key may misrepresent the composer's initial concept.¹⁰ The same transposition devices are used in Peter le Huray's edition of John Amner's *O ye little flock* published by Oxford University Press.¹¹ The score is advertised as 'a charming verse anthem for Christmas, for SSAT verse and SSAATB',¹² but the original vocal forces were for SSTTBB.¹³ The allocation of upper voices to what were originally male voices, together with the transposition, dramatically alters the rich vocal quality and timbre initially employed and prescribed by the composer. These two examples from editors in the 1950s and 1960s demonstrate a recurring pattern of transposing the music notation found in original source material of early-seventeenth-century repertoire to suit the vocal ranges and subdivision of voices in evolution of contemporary choral practice. Editions by Fretwork have addressed these issues and in some cases they provide versions in different keys, but always based on original source material rather than accommodating vocal ranges of contemporary choral ensembles.¹⁴

¹⁰ Randell Upton, Elizabeth, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 49.

¹¹ Peter le Huray (ed.), John Amner *O ye little flock* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

¹² Peter le Huray (ed.), John Amner *O ye little flock* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) <<https://global.oup.com/academic/product/o-ye-little-flock-9780193953093>> [accessed 1 December 2013].

¹³ John Morehen, *The English Madrigalists: John Amner Sacred Hymnes* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2000).

¹⁴ David Pinto and Ross Duffin (eds), Thomas Tomkins *Five Consort Anthems* (London: Fretwork Publishing, 1994); David Pinto (ed.), Orlando Gibbons *The Consort Anthems Vols 1-3* (London: Fretwork Publishing, 2003).

Substantial academic research in the area of sacred domestic music has been offered by John Morehen and Ian Payne, and several significant journal articles and chapters in books relating to domestic devotional practices and sacred music have enriched the perception of the genre. Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie's *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, and Jonathan Willis's *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* have comprehensively developed the narrative which assesses the role of music in the Elizabethan churches and cathedrals, as well as its function in recreational and community settings.¹⁵

The first complete modern edition of John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* was published in 2000, as Volume 40 of Stainer & Bell's *The English Madrigalists* series, which was transcribed and edited by John Morehen.¹⁶ While excerpts from *Sacred Hymns* had been published previously, as individual items or entries in other choral anthologies, this publication is significant as it presents the entire collection in one volume. The edition includes an introduction, together with informative notes on performance and editorial practices, as well as a critical commentary. In Morehen's article, published two years before his edition of *Sacred Hymnes*, he reveals the detailed and meticulous approach he undertook in the preparation of the edition.¹⁷ The score is clearly intended to be used by vocalists and follows a conventional choral layout which is not compatible for string players due to the numerous page turns. Regrettably individual viol parts are not printed by Stainer & Bell, which essentially removes *Sacred Hymnes*

¹⁵ John Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 381-385; Ian Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at some English Cathedral Churches, c.1594-c.1645: Archival Evidence', *Chelys*, 19 (1990), 3-15; Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012); Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England, Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Surrey: Ashgate 2010).

¹⁶ John Morehen, *The English Madrigalists: John Amner Sacred Hymnes* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2000).

¹⁷ John Morehen, 'A Neglected East Anglian Madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean Period', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11 (1998), 285-312.

from the concert platform with a viol consort. As part of a performance of the complete work to celebrate the quadricentennial anniversary in April 2015,¹⁸ it was necessary to transcribe and typeset the viol accompaniments for numbers 19 to 26 to avoid numerous page turns for the viol players. These files were subsequently used with permission in the creation of an edition by Fretwork entitled *John Amner – The Consort Anthems*, edited by David Pinto and published in December 2015.¹⁹

A number of reviews discussed John Morehen's edition of *Sacred Hymnes* in the years following its publication.²⁰ These are predominantly congratulatory with the exception of Bronwyn Ellis's article in *Musicology Australia* in 2002, who triggered a chain of unanswered questions which are explored throughout this dissertation. A key component of the article evaluates the content of *Sacred Hymnes* with specific reference to the text and style of composition to understand why a collection of sacred material is included in a secular series publication. Various theories and analyses are examined in greater detail in this dissertation to determine a classification of the music in *Sacred Hymnes*.

¹⁸ John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes for Voyces and Vyols* (1615) performed in St Ann's Church, Dawson Street, Dublin, on Wednesday 15 April 2015 at 8pm. Dublin Consort Singers, director Mark Keane, and Phantasm Consort of Viols, director Laurence Dreyfus. See Appendix A.

¹⁹ David Pinto, *John Amner: The Consort Anthems* (Teddington: Fretwork Editions, 2015).

²⁰ Bronwyn Ellis, 'John Amner: Sacred Hymnes of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts (1615) for Voyces and Vyols', *Musicology Australia*, 25 (2002), 113-115; Lionel Pike, Review: 'John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes of 3, 4, 5 and 6 Parts (1615)*', ed., John Morehen, *Notes*, 62 (2006), 1052-1054; Johannes Ring, Review: 'Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5. and 6. (The English Madrigalists) by John Amner and John Morehen', *Die Musikforschung*, 54 (2001), 336; Christopher R. Wilson, 'Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and 6. Parts (1615) by John Amner; John Morehen', *Music and Letters*, 83 (2002), 327-328.

In the 1980s two DMA dissertations and a lecture-demonstration concerning John Amner were completed in the USA.²¹ The core function of their academic work was to create an edition of the score, or part thereof, accompanied by an analytical description of Amner's style and harmonic vocabulary. None of these transcriptions were published complete but serve as good examples in a developing scholarly editorial practice of English Renaissance compositions. In his dissertation Donald Studebaker speculates that Thomas Hinson may have been a fellow student of Amner at Oxford under the same patronage.²² The research presented now in this dissertation confirms this is false conjecture and provides an important overview of the patronage and relationships between Amner, Bouchier and Hinson.

An inventory of erroneous empirical data relating to John Amner has been uncovered in the course of preparing this dissertation. The system of recording all civil births, marriages and deaths as certificates in England and Wales commenced on 1 July 1837, but records before this date can be found in parish baptismal and burial registers.²³ Fellowes's monograph does not include a year of birth for Amner and Caldwell inaccurately records it as *c*1585.²⁴ In the accompanying text to the 2012 CD recording *Tudor and Jacobean music for private devotion* by Stilo Antico and Fretwork, the birth year of John Amner is simply denoted by a question mark, probably arising from the

²¹ Donald Studebaker, 'The choral music of John Amner' (DMA dissertation, University of Northern Colorado, 1988); David Allen Gerig, 'An analysis of Two English Pre-Restoration Devotional Collections: Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymnes* ... 1615 and John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* ... 1615' (DMA dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1987); Timothy Banks, 'John Amner and his Sacred Hymnes' (DMA Lecture-Demonstration, University of Colorado, 1985).

²² Donald Studebaker, 'The choral music of John Amner' (DMA dissertation, University of Northern Colorado, 1988), 15-16.

²³ Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Stuart England* (London: Greenwood Press 2007), 42; E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 15-30.

²⁴ Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, 103; John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 359.

Peter le Huray edition used for the recording which prints a question mark.²⁵ In Pinto's discussion of performance practice, it states that *Sacred Hymnes* was published in 1614.²⁶ A footnote in Michael Brennan's article about Sir Charles Somerset's Music Books records that *Sacred Hymnes* was printed by Este, but as the publisher Thomas Este died in 1609, this is also incorrect.²⁷

These inaccuracies by musicologists and performers alike justify further research into the life and works of Amner. One of the most widely-read and frequently-referenced sources of information about English musicians is Watkins Shaw's *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538*.²⁸ This accurately records Amner's baptismal date as 24 August 1579 but does not acknowledge the source.²⁹ Chapter one of this dissertation begins by reviewing the empirical and biographical details of John Amner to advance a greater understanding of the composer, supported by hitherto unpublished illustrations from the Holy Trinity baptism and burial records. It includes a comprehensive family tree with previous unrecorded events such as Amner's marriage to Sara Striblin in 1608 and the birth of his daughter, Sarah, at Ely in 1618. The role of patronage in Amner's formative years by the Earl of Bath is examined, as well as the influences and support structures he enjoyed at Ely Cathedral throughout his life. A concise history of the music and personnel at Ely is provided to understand the lineage of the provision of music Amner inherited and subsequently developed as *Informator Choristarum*. The provenance and

²⁵ Matthew O'Donovan, liner note to *Tune thy Musicke to thy Hart – Tudor & Jacobean music for private devotion*. 2012. Compact disc. Harmonia Mundi. HMU 807554; Peter le Huray (ed.), John Amner *O ye little flock* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

²⁶ David Pinto, *John Amner: The Consort Anthems* (Teddington: Fretwork Editions, 2015), vi.

²⁷ Michael G. Brennan, 'Sir Charles Somerset's Music Books (1622)', *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993), 512, footnote 26.

²⁸ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

²⁹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 99.

dating of his composition in *Sacred Hymnes* is explored which suggests a possible link between the collection and the awarding of his music degrees at Oxford. The chapter concludes with an overview of private and domestic sacred music that connects the elements such as devotional poetry and other printed books that shaped the genre.

Chapter two explores the terminology used in describing and classifying compositional forms in secular and sacred domestic music. A breakdown of the words used to describe music from this small canon of Renaissance music is explored which considers the terminology used in Early Modern England and how contemporary musicologists label them today. Considerable research has been completed on unaccompanied vocal music and instrumental music for viol consorts from the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, but a more concentrated focus is still absent in musicological research of the repertoire that exists when these forces unite. In developing this idea an overview of teaching viols in choir schools is offered to determine its popularity, not only as a pedagogical teaching aid for singers and subsequent use for recreational activities, but also to examine how choir schools may have assisted the development of the compositional forms of the consort song by adding chorus sections which gradually became more complex. The emerging popularity of voices and viols within aristocratic circles is substantiated with examples from various households such as Henry Unton, Anne Clifford and William Hatton, and draws upon iconographical evidence and educational books printed in the 1600s.³⁰ An examination of viol teaching in English provincial cathedrals is included to determine a national perspective together with specific examples at Ely. Instances of the use of

³⁰ Education books include Roger Ascham, *Taxophilus* (London, 1545) and *The Scholemaster* (Posthumously, 1570); Richard Mulcaster, *Positions* (1581) and *Elementarie* (1582); Henry Peecham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622).

viols with voices in worship are considered with reference to documented sources in Durham, Dublin and London. This chapter concludes with an overview of the structure of pieces in *Sacred Hymnes* in preparation of an analysis of the text in Chapter three.

Sacred Hymnes remains unique in the body of English printed music books for two primary reasons. Firstly, it is Amner's only printed publication and his compositional output has previously been judged to be uninteresting and unimaginative as he only published one collection during his lifetime, yet the quality of writing in the collection is, at the least, equivalent to his contemporaries. Secondly, the fact that it is the only collection of music with notation to be printed by Edward Allde, at a time when there were numerous music printers in London, invites further enquiries to assess if Allde was exclusively involved in the printing of *Sacred Hymnes*. Chapter three begins by exploring the image used on the title page with the aim of exploring an alternative or shared printer of *Sacred Hymnes*. This is validated by other known examples of shared printing and supported by the lineage of the wood block used for *Sacred Hymnes*' title page which originated for *The Holi Bible*, printed by Jugge in 1569. Possible links between East and Snodham's printing company and Amner in Ely are established to theorise an alternative shared printer of the collection. The imagery on the title pages, although borrowed from previous publications, is surveyed in an attempt to understand the perception and development of sacred domestic music. This is advanced by a thorough investigation of the origin of texts set by Amner in *Sacred Hymnes* elucidating the themes and theological influences that shaped the collection, as well as the identification of a transcription on manuscript of one of Amner's pieces found inserted into another printed book. The dissemination of printed music at the time is

evaluated by examining the function of printed books and the variants found in liturgical choir partbooks and individual collections such as those by John Merro.

Chapter four examines the extant copies of *Sacred Hymnes* and gleans insightful data from the collectors of early English printed books and manuscript inscriptions found in these primary sources. The legacy and influence of Amner are discussed with reference to the libraries and collections of Conyers D’Arcy, Charles Somerset and John IV of Portugal. It surveys the inclusion and copying of pieces from *Sacred Hymnes* into the choir partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge. The differences in the accompaniment between viol consort and organ are assessed noting the alterations of the vocal lines and the subsequent compatibility with consort instruments. Amner’s two five-part consort anthems found in the collection of partbooks MS 56-60 are discussed and the score contents are examined to suggest that his output may have been greater than that which survives today. The collections and partbooks which attributed Amner’s compositions as ‘anon’, such as the Batten Organ Book, is now identified to have been composed by Amner. This dissertation concludes by establishing Amner not only as an English provincial composer of sacred music and a cathedral musician, but also as a composer who skilfully composed for a growing domestic sacred music market.

The CD which accompanies this dissertation was recorded in West Road Concert Hall, University of Cambridge, on the 21 and 22 April 2018, by the Dublin Consort Singers and Fretwork. It is the first complete commercial recording of *Sacred Hymnes* and to make the recording a complete collection of Amner’s domestic music, the two consort anthems, ‘Consider all ye passers by’ and ‘I am for peace’, from MS 56-60, Christ Church, Oxford, and the instrumental composition *Pavan and Galliard*, were also

chosen to be recorded. In all of the vocal tracks, one voice per part is used to mirror one player per part in the viol consort for the consort anthems. A comprehensive list of individual movements from *Sacred Hymnes*, which appear in other recording is included in the discography at the end of this dissertation.

Chapter One

Empirical Evidence Reviewed

1.1 Archival Evidence – Amner as a musician and clergyman

The Baptism Register of Holy Trinity, Ely, records John Amner's baptism as having taken place on 24 August 1579 (Illustration 1.1), and this is stated correctly in Watkins Shaw's *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* and Anthony Greening's article 'Amner, John' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, although the sources are not referenced.¹ The Amner family can be traced back two generations in Ely before the musician and clergyman John Amner. Amner's father was also named John Amner, his mother was Frances Norfolk, and of their six children John was the eldest son.² Amner's paternal grandfather was also named John Amner, his wife was Joane, and they had five children.³ The Amner family had close connections with Ely Cathedral during the Elizabethan era. John's uncle, Michael Amner, is recorded as a lay clerk there from 1576 to 1588.⁴ Some sources have stated that John's brother, or perhaps his cousin, Ralph Amner, served as a lay clerk at Ely before taking up appointments at Windsor and the Chapel Royal, but no baptismal record is currently

¹ GB-Cca KP67/1/1, Ely Holy Trinity Parish Composite Register 1559-1627, Cambridgeshire Archives; Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 99; Anthony J. Greening, 'Amner, John' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00808>> [accessed 1 December 2013]. At the beginning of the Reformation, the dedication of Ely Cathedral changed from St Peter and St Etheldreda to the Holy and Undivided Trinity.

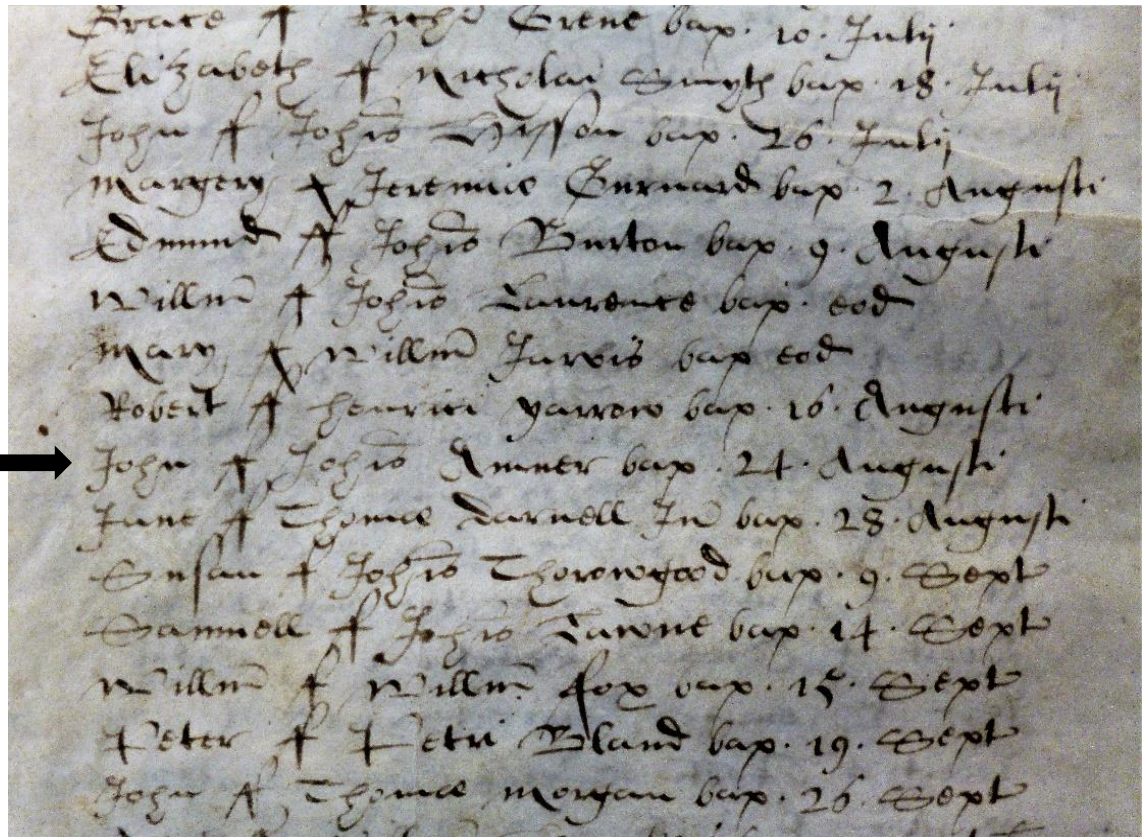
² John Amner's father married Frances Norfolk on 12 September 1575. His death is recorded in 1596 and the death of his wife in 1613. Their six children were Lettis (b1577), John (b1579), Mary (b1581), Catherin (b1585), Elizabeth (b1587) and Michael (b1592); GB-Cca Ely Holy Trinity Parish Composite Register 1559-1627. See Appendix A for a complete family tree.

³ On John Amner's grandfather's burial record from 21 August 1563 it states 'he died by the plough in Padnal' and his wife Joane predeceased him in 1560. Their five children are Catherine (b1560), John (d1596), Lettis, Michael, and Margaret; GB-Cca Ely Holy Trinity Parish Composite Register 1559-1627.

⁴ Greening, 'Amner, John' in *Grove Music Online*.

found for Ralph at Ely.⁵ Edward Rimbault inaccurately records Ralph as ‘Son of John Amner, Mus Bac, Organist’ with no reference to substantiate the claim, while Andrew Ashbee postulates that he may have been John Amner’s brother.⁶

Illustration 1.1: GB-Cca Ely Holy Trinity Parish Composite Register, Baptismal Record: John Amner, 24 August 1579



John Amner worked for the majority of his life at Ely cathedral, initially as a boy chorister and subsequently as *informator choristarum* in 1610, as well as *vicarius* from 1617 until his death in 1641.⁷ He is recorded as a chorister for the episcopal visitation

⁵ Ibid.; Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714* (Surrey: Ashgate, 1998), 21-22; Keri Dexter, ‘A Good Quire of Voices’: *The Provision of Choral Music at St George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c.1640-1733* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2002), 216.

⁶ Edward F. Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-Book, or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal from 1561-1744* (London: J. B. Nichols & Sons, 1872), 207; Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians*, 21.

⁷ Greening, ‘Amner, John’ in *Grove Music Online*.

at Ely on 22 October 1593, when his predecessor George Barcroft was director of music.⁸ From 1593 until 1610 there is very little known or recorded about Amner's education and employment. It is possible that when Amner's father died in 1596 he may have managed the family business to support the young family. All of his siblings were female with the exception of his younger brother Michael then four years old, and the responsibility for the family welfare traditionally would have fallen to the eldest son. Amner's grandfather is documented as a butcher in a letter of administration following his death and his burial record states that he 'died by the plough' which may indicate the family profession centred on farming.⁹ It contains a few lines to state the administration of the estate was granted to a relative but holds no information about other family members, the value of the estate or any goods or property that they left. According to the burial records at Ely, Amner's father was laid to rest in 1596 and a letter of administration was granted to his widow Frances on 29 November 1598.¹⁰ When Frances died in 1613 her eldest son John Amner was granted letters of administration to manage the family business (Illustration 1.2).¹¹

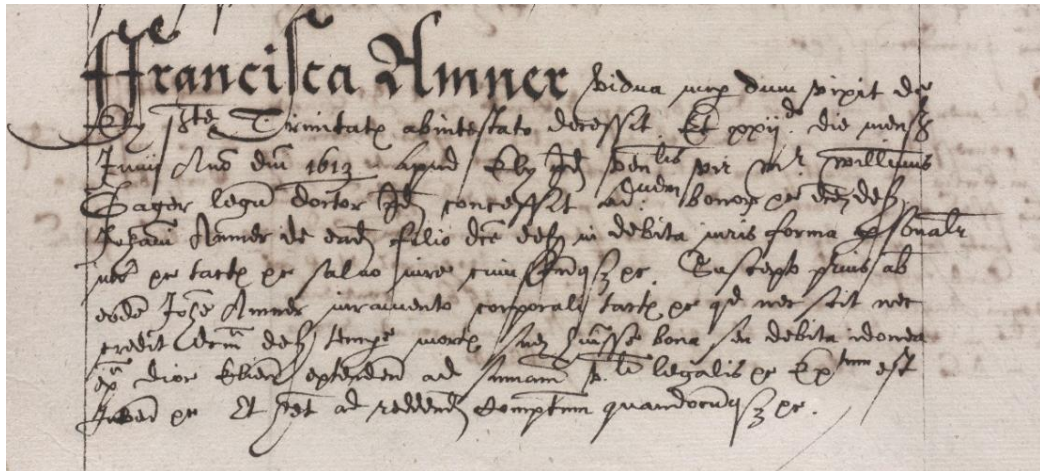
⁸ Ian Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644' in Peter Meadows and Nigel Ramsey (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 235.

⁹ Clifford and Dorothea Thurley, *Index of the Probate Records of the Consistory Court of Ely 1449-1858*, Vol. 1 (Reading, British Records Society, 1994), 22; GB-Cca Ely Holy Trinity Parish Composite Register 1559-1627; GB-Cu EDR G/2/20 Diocese of Ely Registers of Administration, Sequestrations and Licences.

¹⁰ GB-Cu EDR G/2/21, Diocese of Ely Registers of Administration, Sequestrations and Licences.

¹¹ GB-Cu EDR GV 21:56, Diocese of Ely Registers of Administration, Sequestrations and Licences.

Illustration 1.2: GB-Cu EDR GV 21:56, Diocese of Ely Registers of Administration, Sequestrations and Licences, Letter of Administration for Frances Amner, 1613

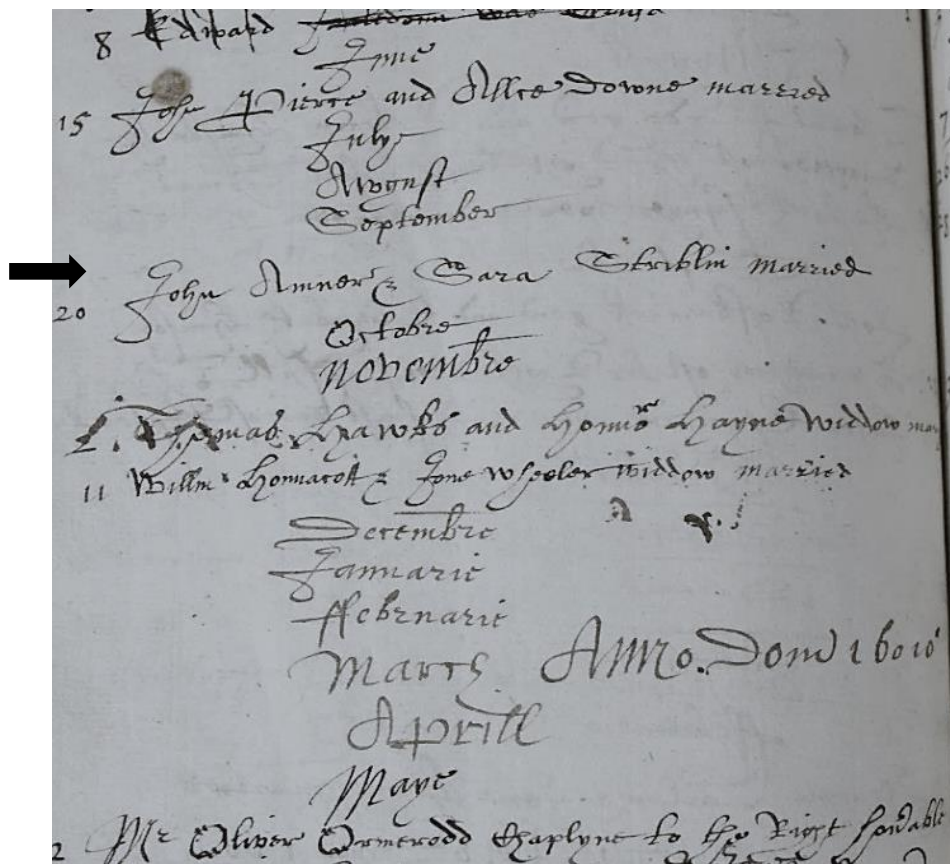


On 20 September 1608 John Amner married Sara Striblin in Tawstock, Devon, home place of his patron William Bouchier (1557-1623), the Third Earl of Bath (Illustration 1.3).¹² The location of their wedding is significant and suggests that Bouchier’s role of patron extended beyond financial support. The residence at Tawstock had been the Bouchier’s primary family residence since the fifteenth century.¹³ The record of this marriage, previously undocumented by Amner scholars, provides a clearer understanding of the final lines in the dedication to the Earl of Bath in *Sacred Hymnes* where Amner writes ‘Thus hartlie praying for your Lordships health, and most happy daies, and humblie craving continuance of your honourable favours to me and mine’.

¹² GB-Eda 2288A/PR/1/1, Devon Marriage Register, 1608.

¹³ Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 791.

Illustration 1.3: GB-Eda 2288A/PR/1/1, Devon Marriage Register, Marriage Record: John Amner to Sara Striblin, 20 September 1608



Amner was ordained a deacon by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes at the Bishop's Palace, Holborn, in March 1617 and appointed a minor canon at Ely later that year.¹⁴ It was not uncommon to hold the post of organist and director of music together with the role of a minor canon, as Barcroft had done before him. The salaries for the positions per quarter were, £3 6s 8d and £2 10s respectively, and from 1624 to 1641 he was paid an additional £2 for playing the organ before the sermon.¹⁵ While his duties as a minor canon are not comprehensively documented, a record shortly after his appointment indicates he was paid 2s 6d 'for powder and shot to kill dawes and other vermin in the

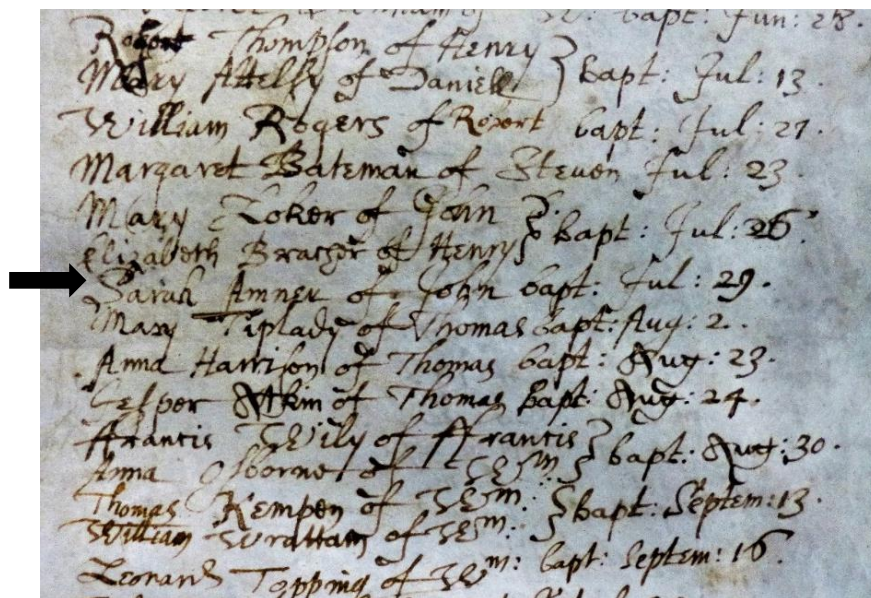
¹⁴ Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1664', 236.

¹⁵ GB-El 3/1/2, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 87^{r-v}; quoted in Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 236.

Church'.¹⁶ It was not uncommon for cathedral staff to take on supplemental work and many examples exist in various cathedral records and accounts.

The parish accounts also record a payment of 40s to Amner 'by Mr Deane and Mr Archdeacon's appointment' in the year 1618-1619.¹⁷ While there is no specific item detailed in the accounts, Ian Payne suggests it is possible the sum refers to the repairing of the organ the previous year, or a financial contribution for Amner's *Second Service* which was dedicated to Dean Caesar.¹⁸ During that same year John Amner had one child, Sarah Amner, who was baptised in Holy Trinity on 29 July 1618 (Illustration 1.4).¹⁹

Illustration 1.4: GB-Cca, Holy Trinity Baptism Register 1618, Baptismal Record: Sarah Amner, 29 July 1618



¹⁶ GB-El 3/1/1, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 96; quoted in Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 236.

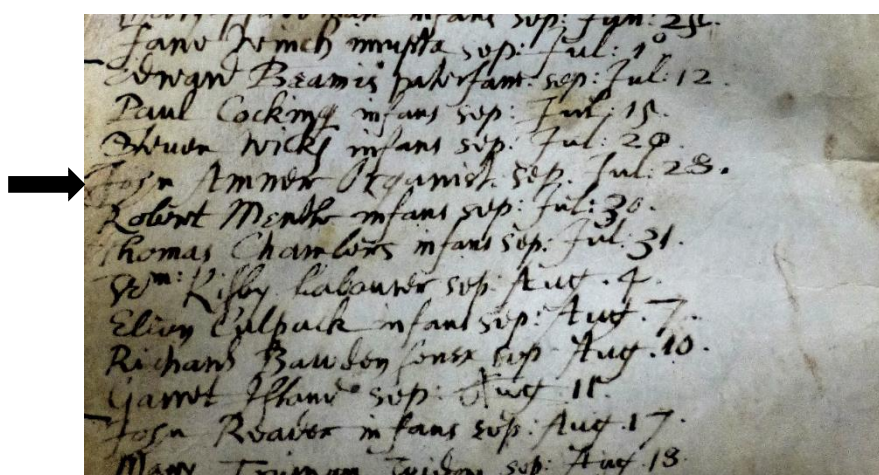
¹⁷ GB-El 3/1/2, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 97v; quoted in Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 235.

¹⁸ GB-El 3/1/2, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 85; quoted in Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 235.

¹⁹ GB-Cca, Holy Trinity Baptism Register 1618, Cambridgeshire, England.

Amner spent the rest of his life working in Ely as both a clergyman and master of the choristers until his death in 1641 (Illustration 1.5). His compositional output and style varied greatly while at Ely, from the short and syllabic four-voice anthems such as *O God my King* and *O Lord of whom I do depend*, through to the more elaborate and imitative seven-voice anthems *Sing O heav'ns* and *O sing unto the Lord*.²⁰ Of Amner's service music, there are two sets of Preces for five-voices, three complete settings of the canticles and over forty anthems.²¹ The canticle settings are contrasting in their compositional style, one is written as a short service in the syllabic style with no repetition of the text, and another, the 'Cesar' service, is a verse setting with multiple voices used in the verse sections. In 1644 choral services were abruptly terminated by Oliver Cromwell at Ely Cathedral. Cromwell ordered the Precentor 'to forbear altogether your quire service, so unedifying and offensive', and so the choral establishment and Amner's legacy at Ely remained silent from then until 1660.²²

Illustration 1.5: GB-Cca Ely Holy Trinity Parish Composite Register, Burial Record: John Amner, 28 July 1641



²⁰ Greening, 'Amner, John' in *Grove Music Online*.

²¹ Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 320-321.

²² Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c1547-c1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (New York: Garland, 1993), 240.

John Amner succeeded some of England's finest organists and composers who held the posts of organist and master of the choristers at Ely Cathedral, including Christopher Tye, John Farrant and George Barcroft.²³ By the time of his appointment as *informator choristarum*, the provision of choral and instrumental music at Ely Cathedral was in a healthy state and would continue to enjoy immense patronage from Bishop Lancelot Andrewes (1609-1619), Dean Henry Caesar (1614-1636) and his successor William Fuller (1636-1646).²⁴

1.2 Music at Ely Cathedral

Since the foundation of its first monastery by St Ethelthryth during the 670s, Ely has continued to be an important place of worship for the English church.²⁵ The twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis* contains the earliest reference to music at Ely, a song attributed to King Cnut:

How sweetly sang the monks of Ely
When Cnut the king rowed by:
'Row, lads, near the land,
And let us hear the monks' song.'²⁶

On 18 November 1539 Prior Robert Steward surrendered the monastery and its contents to the royal commissioners.²⁷ This marked the end of the Benedictine monastic tradition at Ely and the dissolving of the Priory made way for King Henry

²³ Maurice A. Ratliff, 'Ely' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08762>> [accessed 1 December 2013].

²⁴ Ian Atherton, 'The Dean and Chapter 1541-1660' in Peter Meadows and Nigel Ramsey (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 178.

²⁵ Simon Keynes, 'Ely Abbey 672-1109', in Peter Meadows and Nigel Ramsey (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 3.

²⁶ GB-El Liber Eliensis ii 85; quoted in Keynes, 'Ely Abbey 672-1109', 36.

²⁷ Atherton, 'The Dean and Chapter 1541-1660', 170.

VIII's establishment of Ely Cathedral in 1541, together with other New Foundation cathedrals of former Benedictine monasteries at Canterbury, Durham, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester and Worcester from 1538 to 1542.²⁸

The formation of these cathedrals is contradictory to the aspirations of the Protestant ideology of worshipping God through the word alone. The dissolving of the monastic priories sought to discontinue catholic worship which involved pomp and ceremony, elaborate polyphonic music and use of the organ. At Ely, Bishop Goodrich's injunctions for the suppression of all images on 21 October 1541 probably resulted in the beheading of all 147 statues of Mary and other saints in the Lady Chapel.²⁹ The main aims for establishing new cathedrals by the crown included that 'the true religion and worship of God should be propagated; that boys should be liberally educated in letters; and that Christ's poor should be succoured.'³⁰ However, the first dean appointed to Ely Cathedral was the former Benedictine Prior Robert Steward, and all of the minor canons were former Ely monks, together with the gospeller and epistoler.³¹ With the reinstatement of former monks to these roles the style of worship at Ely cathedral would have been remarkably similar to its monastic past, if not unchanged.

The education of boys was achieved with the foundation of a grammar school, King's Ely, of twenty-four scholars and two masters. The cathedral choir comprised eight lay clerks, eight choir boys and the master of the choristers. An undated document from c1541 indicates that all of these music positions were filled but only the master of the

²⁸ Stanford E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 91-92.

²⁹ Atherton, 'The Dean and Chapter 1541-1660', 172.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 170.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 170.

choristers, William Smith the elder, is named.³² While little is known of him it is conceivable that he too had worked for the former Benedictine community.

In 1542-1543 Christopher Tye was appointed master of the choristers at Ely and held the position until his resignation in 1561. In 1536 Tye graduated with a BMus from Cambridge and the following year became a lay clerk at King's College.³³ In 1545 he was conferred with the degree of DMus by the University of Cambridge, which he incorporated at Oxford in 1548.³⁴ This was a challenging time for cathedrals and churches throughout England owing to the accession of Edward VI in 1547 and the introduction of the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549. The old familiar Latin liturgy was discarded along with its rich heritage of elaborate polyphony. The new English liturgy did not require the same provision for music and comprised three daily services unlike the former Catholic rituals of ten services each day. In 1552 the second Book of Common Prayer replaced its predecessor and was less accepting of polyphony. With the accession of Mary Tudor to the throne in 1553, an abrupt return to Catholicism ensued and a revival of Latin music. The compositional output of Tye at Ely mirrors the swift religious beliefs of the reigning monarch. Of his twenty-two known polyphonic compositions only eleven survive intact, most of the English text settings were probably composed in the Edwardian era such as *Give alms of thy goods* and *Save me, O God*, and his Mass *Euge bone* demonstrates his compositional mastery of polyphony dating from the reign of Mary.³⁵

³² Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 226.

³³ Paul Doe and David Mateer, 'Tye, Christopher' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press)
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28665>> [accessed 14 April 2014].

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

The Elizabethan organists at Ely, Robert White, John Farrant, William Fox and George Barcroft, all continued to develop a musical establishment at the cathedral. White was conferred with the MusB degree in 1560 and at Michaelmas 1562 he became Master of the Choristers at Ely succeeding his father-in-law Christopher Tye.³⁶ White's musical career is perhaps the most illustrious of the Elizabethan organists at Ely, having been appointed Master of the Choristers at Chester in 1566-1567 and in 1569 at Westminster Abbey. In 1574 he died of the plague in London which cut short the life of a composer that demonstrated great promise.³⁷ In 1614 Andrew Willet published *An Harmonie upon the Second Book of Samuel* which contains a diverse range of theological questions with answers. Willet was a Prebendary at Ely Cathedral and in the preface or *Epistola Dedicatoria*, he proudly acknowledges the distinguished musicians at Ely, 'Etiam insignes habuit Ecclesua nostra Musicos' and includes the names Tye, White, Farrant, Fox, Barcroft, Jordan and Amner in Latin.³⁸

In 1609, a year prior to Amner's appointment to Ely, Barcroft and three lay clerks, William Stonard, Thomas Roose and John Locar, were paid a total of £3 10s 'for prickyng songuis in the newe bookes'.³⁹ Amner received £6 8s 4d in 1610-1611 'for prinkinge of songes', possibly to complete the work Barcroft had begun on new books.⁴⁰ Unfortunately none of the books survive but it is conceivable that they would

³⁶ Irwin Spector and David Mateer, 'White [Whyte], Robert' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30213>> [accessed 14 April 2014].

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Andrew Willet, *An Harmonie upon the Second Book of Samuel* (Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1614), 4. Translation by Pádraic Moran: 'And still our church has distinguished musicians'. The Latin names are written as 'D. Tyum, Whitum eius generum, Farandum, Foxum, Barcroftum, ius discipulos Jordanum, Amnerum, cum alijs'.

³⁹ Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 234.

⁴⁰ GB-EL 3/1/2, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 85; quoted in Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 235.

have included new compositions by Amner. The provision and payments to musicians demonstrate an active and well supported choral establishment at Ely.

The appointment of Lancelot Andrewes as Bishop of Ely from 1609 to 1618 is significant in the development of High Church practices and an equivalent music repertoire at the cathedral. This was sustained throughout Amner's time at Ely with the support of Andrewes's successors including John Buckeridge (1628-1631) and Matthew Wren (1638-1667).⁴¹ Andrewes's sermons were among the most frequently printed in England during the seventeenth century and they stand as the theological and political moral compass transcending the anti-Catholic pro-Church of England divide.⁴² He gave ten sermons on the Gunpowder Plot between 1606 and 1618, the first at Whitehall, London, on 5 November 1606 to commemorate the plot one year after it failed. These sermons draw upon biblical texts and events and Neil Johnston claims that they contain the following three elements: to give thanks to God for liberation from the Plot; to rebuke the act and those who plotted it; and a call to return to obedience.⁴³

The prominence of Andrewes's Gunpowder Plot sermons within the Church of England may also have influenced Amner in his selection of texts for *Sacred Hymnes*. His setting of 'I will sing unto the Lord' includes the subtitle 'In memory of the Gunpowder Day'.⁴⁴ The text from *Exodus 15:21*, also known as *The Song of Sea* and *The Song Moses and Miriam*, celebrates the triumphant deliverance of the Israelites

⁴¹ Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour, The Arts of the Anglican Counter Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 162.

⁴² Neil Johnston, 'Pulpit Rhetoric and the Conscience: The Gunpowder Plot Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes' (PhD dissertation, Baylor University, 2011), Abstract, 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 173-180.

⁴⁴ Track 18.

and defeat of the Egyptians. The biblical themes of celebration after deliverance and a rebuke of those who persecute is analogous with the Gunpowder Plot. The terminal inscription at the end of the pages reads ‘Si deus nobiscum, quis contra nos’ (If God is with us, who can be against us), which further demonstrates the theme of Andrewes’s sermons where the monarch and the Church of England are inextricably united. Amner was not the only Jacobean composer to dedicate music in remembrance of the Gunpowder Plot. Richard Alison’s *An Howres Recreation in Musicke, apt for Instruments and Voyces* (1606) contains three consort pieces commemorating the plot and the title page describes them as ‘a prayer for the long preservation of the King and his posteritie, and a thanksgiving for the deliverance of the whole estate from the late conspiracie’.⁴⁵ The text of the pieces use strong language compared to the polite introduction on the title page, for example, in the five-part chorus the text describes the plot as the work of the devil:

Tis thou O Lord through strength of thy right hand alone,
That Satan’s secrets hath revealed and bloody bloody treasons overthrowne.

Perhaps the calls of treason may have diminished by the time Amner chose the text for his dedication of the Gunpowder Plot, but more importantly the biblical passage conforms to the majority of texts in *Sacred Hymnes*.⁴⁶

While Andrewes may have been influential to Amner, the appointment of Henry Caesar as Dean at Ely in 1614 created an ideal working relationship for Amner to flourish as a composer for the liturgy. Caesar was a ceremonialist, instrumental in

⁴⁵ Richard Alison, *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (London: John Windet, 1606), British Library Music Collection K.3.m.1.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 3.3 for further analysis of the texts and lyrics in *Sacred Hymnes*.

establishing a strong High Church tradition at Ely and an advocate for developing the musical life and work in the cathedral. Amner dedicated his elaborate *Second Service* to Caesar, a piece comprising alternating verse sections allocated to groups of soloists rather than single voices, which emulates in both style and texture the rich ornamental rituals of the High Church tradition.⁴⁷ Caesar's unprecedented financial support to the musicians at Ely is recorded when he bequeathed £1000 towards the annual increase in salary of each minor canon and lay clerk (40s.) and chorister (33s. 4d.), and an additional £1000 for the foundation of two fellowships and two scholarships at the University of Cambridge.⁴⁸

1.3 Provenance and dating of *Sacred Hymnes*

The title page of *Sacred Hymnes* states that the music was 'newly composed by John Amner' and printed in 1615 by Edward Allde. The fundamental indication of the provenance of the music in *Sacred Hymnes* arises from the final piece in the publication entitled *An Elegy in Memory of Master Thomas Hynson*, who died on 17 April 1614.⁴⁹ While Hinson held the senior post of secretary in William Bouchier's household, he also enjoyed a high profile in his own right as a Member of Parliament for Barnstaple, Devon, in 1586-1587, 1588-1589, 1597-1598, and 1604-1611.⁵⁰ Bouchier, the Third Earl of Bath, was also a patron of John Amner and the publication of *Sacred Hymnes* was dedicated to Bouchier. Hinson was nominated by Bouchier to be Devon's Commissioner of the Peace, and according to the Epitaph on his gravestone in Tawstock, Devon, he also acted as Bouchier's land surveyor and

⁴⁷ Anthony J. Greening, 'Amner, John' in *Grove Music Online*.

⁴⁸ GB-EL 14/9; quoted in Payne, 'Music and Liturgy to 1644', 237.

⁴⁹ John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College 1349-1713*, 72 and 81-82. Track 26.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 72 and 81-82.

receiver general.⁵¹ The relationship between Hinson and Bouchier extends beyond that of an employer and employee. They were also related as Hinson married Bouchier's first cousin, Anne Spring. The strong relationship between Hinson and Bouchier is evident in the will of Bouchier's mother, the Lady Frances Fitzwarren, which states:

Item I giue and bequeathe to Thomas Hinson of Tawstock gent And to my neece Anne his wife all my howsehold stuff and stock of cattell remayning at Coveney in the Isle of Elye most hartely praying my sonne to be gard vnto them, for that next vnto my selfe they haue bene his most faithfull and best frendes.⁵²

This statement offers a unique insight into the relationship between Hinson and Bouchier, and the dedication of the concluding piece in Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* to his patron's most faithful and best friend is certainly a fitting tribute. It is significant that Amner includes a lament for Hinson, as many publications of the time concluded with a piece dedicated to a patron or senior member of their patron's household. Examples include Thomas Weelkes's 'Noel, Adieu, Thou court's delight' in *Madrigals of 5. And 6. Parts* (1600) which was a lament to Noel Henry (d1597), Richard Carlton's 'Sound saddest notes, An Elegie in memorial of the death of that honourable Knight Sir John Shelton' in *Madrigals to Five Voices* (1601), John Ward's 'Weep forth your tears, in memory of Prince Henry' in the *First Set of Madrigals* (1613), and Matthew Peerson's 'A mourning Song of six parts for the death of the late Right Honorable Sir Fulke Grevil' in *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630).

⁵¹ Ian Cooper, 'Networks, News and Communication: Political Elites and Community Relations in Elizabethan Devon, 1588-1603' (PhD dissertation, Plymouth University, 2012), 227.

⁵² The will of Frances Fitzwarren, PROB 11/69: 1 March 1586; quoted in Ian Cooper, 'Networks, News and Communication: Political Elites and Community Relations in Elizabethan Devon, 1588-1603', 229.

Under the patronage of William Bouchier, the 3rd Earl of Bath, Amner commenced studies at the University of Oxford and graduated in 1613, some three years after his appointment at Ely Cathedral. It is possible that part of *Sacred Hymnes* was submitted or performed to fulfil the requirements of graduation. During this period, music students at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were required to compose some type of exercise, either a mass setting or substantial work, to fulfil the justification of awarding the degree.⁵³ A period of two years between Amner's graduation and subsequent publication of *Sacred Hymnes* is neither too short nor too long in this speculation. While other music graduates are recorded in Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis* with their registration at specific colleges or halls attended, and in some cases the name of the composition submitted, in Amner's case, the only details recorded are that he 'supplicated for BMus on 12 May, 1613' and was incorporated in Cambridge the following year.⁵⁴ The following phrase from the Statutes of the University of Oxford was used to describe the conditions he had to meet in order to be allowed to supplicate for the BMus:

Statutum est, quod qui ad Baccalaureatum in Musica promoveri cupit, priusquam pro Gratia sua supplicet, unum Canticum quinque Partium componat, quod in Schola Musicae (alio quovis die, quam illo qui ordinario ad praxin Musicam designates est) publice tam vocibus quam instrumentis Musicis, exhibeat; sed prius, valvis utriusque Magnae Portae Scholarum ante tres dies affixo programme, diem et horam futuri speciminis significet.⁵⁵

⁵³ C. F. Abdy Williams, *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge* (London: Novello Ewer and Co., 1893), 16-19.

⁵⁴ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 15; University of Oxford Registers of Congregation, NEP/supra/Reg Sa, fol. 252. Examples of more complete entries for graduation are listed in Andrew Clarke, *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II, 1571-1622* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 146, including 'Stevenson, Robert, thirty years a music student; suppl. Bac. Mus. 7 May 1583, adm. 20 Oct. 1587. His grace was granted on condition that he composed 'hymnum choralem' to be sung at public prayers in S. Mary's Church at the beginning of Mich. Term.'

⁵⁵ John Griffiths, *Statutes of the University of Oxford codified in the year 1636 under the authority of Archbishop Laud, Chancellor of the University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), Tit VI Sect III, 59-60. Translation by Pádraic Moran: 'It has been established as a statute that whoever wishes to be promoted to the Baccalaurate in Music, before he requests it in recognition for his talent, should

In the absence of details in the college registers about the composition Amner submitted for the awarding of the degree, the description ‘canticum quinque partium’ or song of five parts, definitively narrows the possibilities. A song composed for five voices was the minimum requirement and the number of voices vary from one award to another. Within *Sacred Hymnes* there are six pieces composed for five voices: ‘Remember not, Lord, our offences’, ‘Thus sings that heavenly choir’, ‘The heavens stood all amazed’, ‘Now doth the city remain solitary’, ‘He that descended man to be’, and ‘I will sing to the Lord’.⁵⁶ On 10 October 1613, John Lake of New College Oxford was awarded his BMus degree provided he composed ‘hymnum choralum quinque partium’ or a choral hymn in five parts.⁵⁷ It is unlikely the requirements for awarding the degree would have changed between the two candidates. The terminology is marginally different between the college statutes which state ‘canticum’ and the register of graces which used the wording ‘hymnum choralum’. This may be where the title of Amner’s publication, *Sacred Hymnes*, came from as opposed to calling it the first set of madrigals or the first set of books.⁵⁸ Another publication entitled *Sacred Hymnes* composed by Robert Tailour was recorded in the London Stationers’ Records on 19 June 1615, stating that Thomas Snodham ‘entered for his Copie under the handes of master Tavernor and Master Leake and Master Adams wardens *Sacred Hymnes consisting of 50 psalmes* by Robert Taylour’.⁵⁹

compose a song in five parts, which is to be performed publicly in the School of Music with both singers and musical instruments (on any desired day, other than on a day which is ordinarily designated for musical practice); but he should previously indicate the day and time of the presentation that will take place by fixing a programme three days in advance to the valves [folding doors] of each Great Door of the School’.

⁵⁶ Tracks 13-18.

⁵⁷ Andrew Clarke, *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II, 1571-1622* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 148.

⁵⁸ Examples of Title Pages that use ‘the first set of...’ include Michael East, Robert Jones, Francis Pilkington, John Ward, and John Willbye among others.

⁵⁹ The London Stationers’ Records, 261b.

The Register of Dispensations and Graces at the University of Oxford records a fee of £1 1s 0d for a ‘BMus grace’ on 12 May 1613, and as there was only one music graduate that day, it may be inferred that this payment related to Amner.⁶⁰ No record exists to confirm who paid the fee but it is possible Amner’s patron, William Bouchier, provided the financial support. The justification of this theory is found in the dedication in *Sacred Hymnes*, opposite the Coat of Arms of Bouchier (Illustration 1.6), where Amner states:

I do humbly offer this my present endeavours; first undertaken in private zeal, after forwarded by the advice and encouragement of that worthy gentleman Mr *Thomas Hinson*, your Lordships Allie and devoted servant now deceased, and his son that now follows you with the same deal and affection: Lastly published as a lively sacrifice and sign in particular of my unfeigned homage, and devotion to your Lordship universally honoured, as *Patron* of all goodness and studies.⁶¹

Illustration 1.6: GB-Ym, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 1^v, William Bouchier’s Coat of Arms

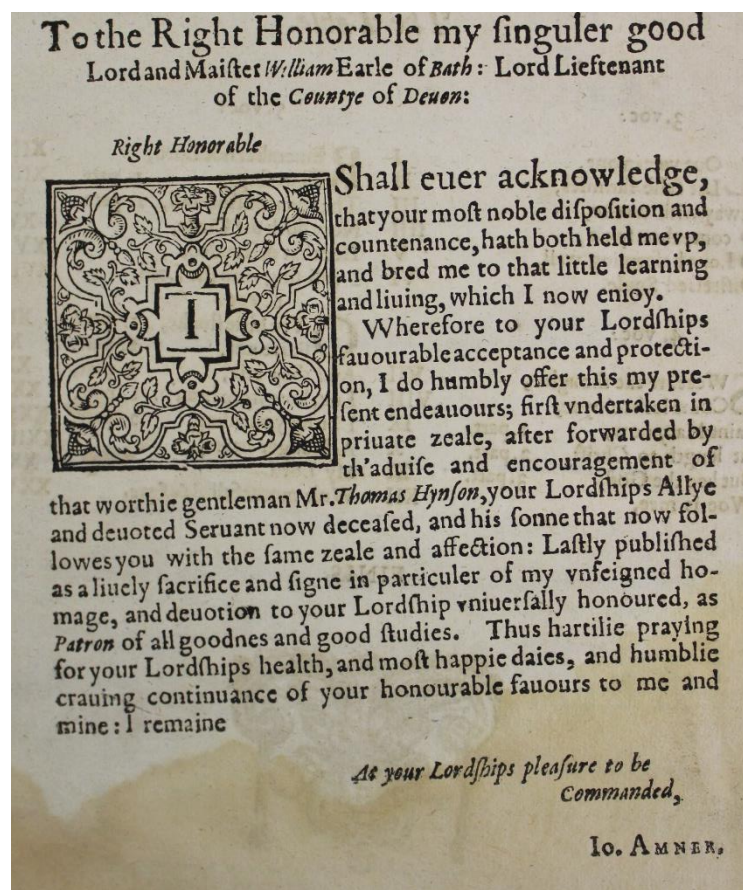


⁶⁰ University of Oxford Accounts for Graces and Dispensations 1608-1616, ref. SP 63.

⁶¹ John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 1^v.

The two significant phrases from the dedication are that Amner's musical pursuits were 'first undertaken in private zeal' and Bouchier's role as 'Patron of all goodness and studies' may demonstrate his financial support of Amner's university studies (Illustration 1.7). The University of Oxford holds some registers of sponsors for those presented to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts but these date no earlier than the eighteenth century.

Illustration 1.7: GB-Ym, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 2^r, Dedication Page



Considering Bouchier's close association with two Cambridge colleges, namely Corpus Christi and Gonville and Caius, together with the close proximity of Ely to Cambridge, it is surprising that Amner pursued a course of study at Oxford rather than

Cambridge.⁶² Bouchier employed various Caius alumni as part of his household, the most significant of these was Thomas Hinson. When Bouchier commenced studies in 1575 he was tutored by Hinson and subsequently held senior roles in the Bouchier household until Hinson's death in 1614.⁶³

Bouchier's patronage of the arts, musicians and troupes of actors was sporadic throughout his adult life. Shortly after coming of age, between 1576 and 1579 there were eight performance events by the Earl of Bath's Players and one performance by the Earl of Bath's Trumpeters at multiple venues across England, perhaps to celebrate his ascendancy as the Earl of Bath.⁶⁴ After these three years it appears he ceased to be a patron of the performing arts touring troupes. It remains unclear as to how Bouchier became John Amner's patron but an early intervention in Amner's career can be assumed as the dedication to Bouchier in *Sacred Hymnes* acknowledges that he 'hath both held me up, and bred me to that little learning and living, which I now enjoy'.⁶⁵ Bouchier continued his patronage of arts to the end of his life and in his will he provided the sum of £20 for his singing boy William Mollins and all of his ordinary servants were assured employment at Tawstock following his death.⁶⁶

⁶² John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College 1349-1713*, 81.

⁶³ Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College 1349-1713*, 72 and 81-82; Other alumni in Bouchier's household include Simon Canham, who served as Chaplain in Tawstock (1578-1622).

⁶⁴ List of performances by the Earl of Bath's Players: Guildhall, Faversham, Kent, 29 September 1576 – 29 September 1577, payment 6s. 8d.; St Mary's Guildhall, Coventry, Warwickshire, 1 November 1576 – 31 October 1577, payment 6s. 8d.; Guildhall, Bath, Somerset, 5 April 1577 – 5 June 1577, payment 7s. 6d.; unknown, Rye, Sussex, 10 April 1577, payment 6s. 8d.; Guildhall, Bristol, Gloucestershire, 19 May 1577 – 25 May 1577, payment 20s.; unknown, Gloucester, Gloucestershire, 29 September 1577 – 28 September 1578, payment 6s. 8d.; Guildhall, Plymouth, Devon, 29 September 1578 – 28 September 1579, payment 13s. 4d.; and Guildhall, Bristol, Gloucestershire, 5 October 1578 – 11 October 1578, payment 13s. 4d.; performance by the Earl of Bath's Trumpeters Unknown, Coventry, Warwickshire, 1 November 1576 – 21 October 1577, payment 3s. 4d. REED: *Patrons and Performances* (University of Toronto) <<https://reed.library.utoronto.ca/node/315968>> [accessed 2 July 2017].

⁶⁵ John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 2^r.

⁶⁶ Will of William Bouchier, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/142/93.

At the commencement of Bouchier's earldom records substantiate his patronage of the arts specifically the performing troupes at various venues across England. The dedication by Amner in *Sacred Hymnes* demonstrates another example of Bouchier's musical patronage, and in Bouchier's will the provision of financial assistance for his singing boy Mollins indicate a lifelong patronage of the arts. Unfortunately there are no extant records, accounts or documentation to illustrate the musical activities at the Bouchier household in Tawstock. The legacy of his musical patronage continued in future generations of the household and the records surviving for the Fifth Earl of Bath are particularly enlightening. In 1641-1642, the Fifth Earl of Bath purchased an organ from Robert Dallam for the sum of £50-£60 and in 1646 paid £20 to a Mr Barward for another.⁶⁷ In 1652 a violin was purchased from a person documented as Smyth for £3 5s, and in 1655 a keyboard from John Loosemore for £21.⁶⁸ In 1639, John Loosemore from Bishops Nympton, near Tawstock, repaired a viol and in 1643 Mr Alred repaired a viol for Bath.⁶⁹

1.4 Sacred Domestic Music – Recreation and Piety

The practice of private and domestic devotion was widespread for all religious denominations in early modern England.⁷⁰ The promotion of domestic prayer is witnessed by numerous devotional handbooks and catechisms issued for use in the home to complement the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549), including *The Monuments of Matrones* (1582), *The Art of Divine Meditation* (1606), and *A Guide to Godlyness*

⁶⁷ Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590-1640' (PhD dissertation, King's College London, 1992), 119 & 276.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁷⁰ Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 3.

(1622).⁷¹ These devotional publications borrowed, adapted and paraphrased texts from church liturgy and worship, and the music composed and used for these para-liturgical practices came from church composers who unified sacred texts with both sacred and secular compositional techniques. The closing alleluias in the unaccompanied pieces of *Sacred Hymnes* are arguably devotional analogues of the ‘fa, la, la’ statements of the English madrigal. Notably in ‘Thus sings that heavenly quire’ the short imitative nature of the voices and obvious word-painting is stylistically analogous to the madrigal rather than the motet.⁷²

According to the Act of Uniformity and Royal Injunctions of 1559, Elizabeth I made recommendations with regard to the style of music to be allowed in public worship. This substantiates the fact that the Elizabethan Prayer Book was envisioned not only to be read but also to be sung. The following statement from Injunction 49 is purposefully ambiguous in outlining a specific repertoire and yet enables multiple interpretations to provide for metrical psalms through to elaborate motets accompanied by instrumental forces:

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.⁷³

⁷¹ Ibid., 155.

⁷² Track 14.

⁷³ Walter Howard Frere and William Paul McClure Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions Vol. 3, 1559-1575* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1910), 23.

While it did not dictate devotional music in a domestic setting, the use of texts from the Book of Common Prayer, such as ‘Remember not, Lord, our offences’, together with lyrics based on the readings for Evensong on All Saints Day such as ‘Thus sings that heavenly quire’ found in Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes*, may mirror the artistic endeavours of the injunction.

The Puritan wing of the Church of England favoured preaching, isolated prayer and the singing of metrical psalms. The simplicity of singing metrical psalms in unison was an attractive vehicle for amateur participants compared to the High Church movement’s preference for choral devotion and associated ensemble practices with instrumentation. The first printed collection of metrical psalms, c1535-1536, by Miles Coverdale (1488-1569) was entitled *Goostly psalms and spirituall songes*.⁷⁴ This collection of psalms and hymns was intended more as a domestic devotional aid rather than an attempt to introduce psalmody into formal liturgical worship.⁷⁵ Several collections ensued in the following decades including William Hunnis’s *Certayne psalms* (1550) and the Scottish publication *Gude and Godlie ballatis* (1565). By 1563, John Day published *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* which comprised all of the 150 psalms by composers such as William Parsons together with nine original hymns.⁷⁶ In the following decades four-part settings of the metrical psalms were published from composers including William Damon (1579) and Thomas East (1592), but it was Thomas Ravenscroft’s edition (1621) that is regarded as the most successful. The title page of John Day’s *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578) (Illustration 1.8) and William

⁷⁴ Martin and Ryrie, *Private and Domestic Devotion*, 239.

⁷⁵ Lily Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 30-31.

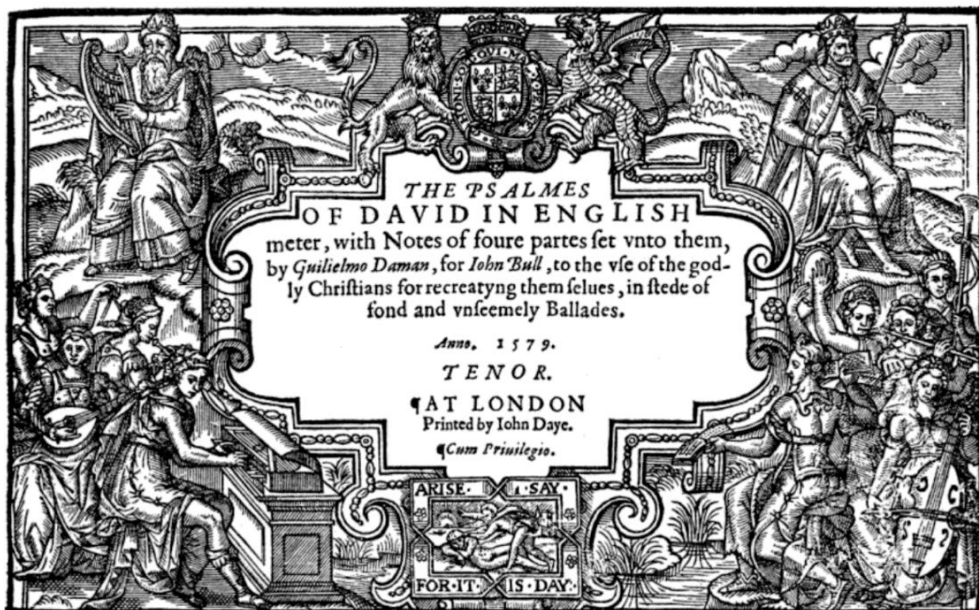
⁷⁶ Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 37.

Daman's *The Psalms of David in English Meter* (1579) (Illustration 1.9) both feature ornate designs of musicians playing the viol as well as other instruments.

Illustration 1.8: GB-Ctc C. 7. 168, John Day, *A Book of Christian Prayers*, 1578, The Litany, 130, Musician playing the viol



Illustration 1.9: GB-En Pt.el.1, William Daman, *The Psalms of David in English Meter*, Title Page, 1579



While Ravenscroft borrowed some material from previous publications, the publication also incorporated music from well-known composers such as Thomas Tallis, Thomas Morley and Thomas Tomkins.⁷⁷

The music associated with the High Church movement can be traced back to William Byrd's publications *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets* (1588) and *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (1589), which featured madrigals and consort songs, as well as the two-movement verse consort *Christ rising*. This genre of composition for voices and viols was further exploited by Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656) and Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625). The divide between the Puritans and the High Church movement was addressed at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, which James I called shortly after his accession to the throne.⁷⁸ In an effort to dispel some of the tension regarding domestic devotional practice, he approved the practice of assembling groups for devotional practice which in turn facilitated sufficient numbers for ensemble singing and amateur music-making in the home.⁷⁹ The popular practice of singing metrical psalms continued in tandem with more elaborate compositional forms such as the verse anthem. The tradition of metrical psalms evidently influenced Amner as his only known set of keyboard variations, *O Lord in thee is all my trust*, is based on the tune of a metrical psalm composed by Thomas Tallis.⁸⁰

With the lack of primary evidence it can be difficult to understand exactly how the practice of domestic music-making for reasons of piety occurred. It is possible to

⁷⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁷⁸ Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), 106.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 106.

⁸⁰ Anthony Greening (ed.), *John Amner: Variations on 'O Lord in Thee is all my trust'* (London: Schott Music, 1970); Alec Brown (ed.) *Keyboard Solos and Duets by Nicholas Carleton, John Amner and Thomas Tomkins* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2015).

suggest that it arose or formed part of the recreational pastimes of a household. John Calvin's *Letter to the Reader* in the 1542 Psalter identifies the role and power of music in the dissemination of Christian doctrine stating 'we know from experience that song has great force and vigour to arouse and inflame the hearts of men to invoke and praise God with a more vehement and ardent zeal'.⁸¹ Two treatises concerning music were printed at Oxford in the 1580s: *The Praise of Musicke*, which was printed anonymously, and has been described as the 'definitive discussion of musical theory in Elizabethan England',⁸² and *Apologia Musices tam vocalis quam instrumentalis* by John Case, which was printed by Joseph Barnes in 1588.⁸³ While *The Praise of Musicke* extolled the virtues of music it also guided the reader regarding its content:

Again, grant that it hath no commandment, in either the old or new testament, is it therefore without all advice and consideration to bee rejected? Verily many thinges have bene very acceptable to God, which have had no expresse commandment in the scriptures.⁸⁴

In the case of *Sacred Hymnes* where all of the lyrics are biblical, with the exception of the final lament, Amner appears to be conservative in his content choices, but this statement also provides for recreational music as something 'indifferent' whereby music-making of any form transcends its vices and can be considered virtuous.⁸⁵ Case's *Apologia Musices* also addresses music composed for voices and instruments in Chapter VI entitled 'Musicae Instrumentalis vis mira et efficax in contemplation rerum divinarum eaque musica quae mixta est, id est voce, mente et manu consona,

⁸¹ John Calvin, *Letter to the Reader*, Psalter (1542); quoted Charles Garside, Jr. (1979), 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543' in Philippe Vendrix (ed.), *Music and the Renaissance: Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 392-395.

⁸² J. W. Binns, 'John Case and "The Praise of Musicke"', *Music and Letters*, 55 (1974), 447.

⁸³ Charles B. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), 87.

⁸⁴ Anon, *The Praise of Musicke*; quoted in Binns, 'John Case and "The Praise of Musicke"', 447.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 3.3, 74.

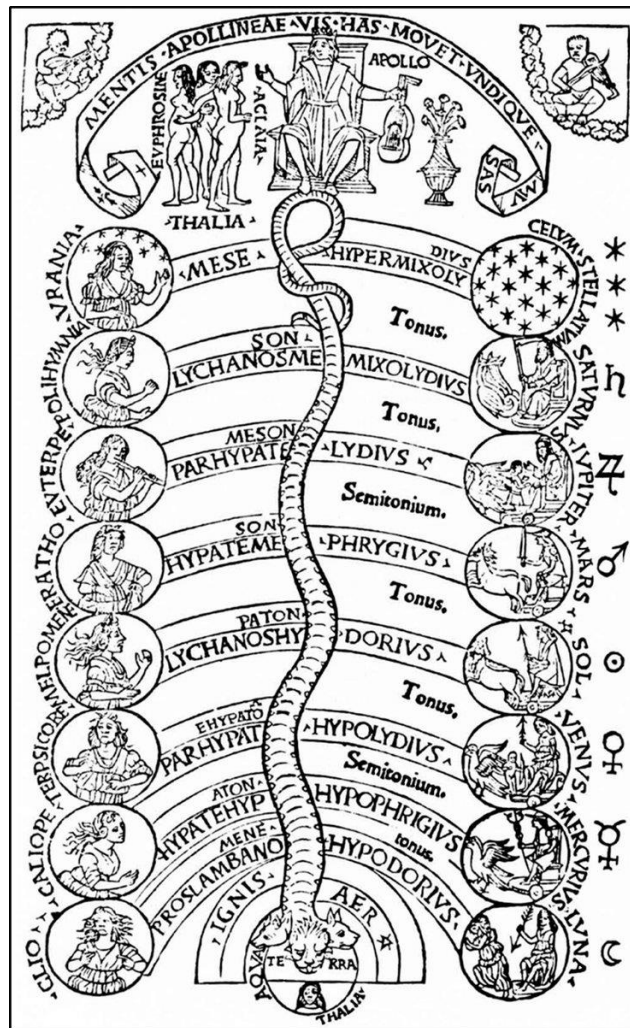
plurimum laudatur’, and refers to the skill of composers of the time including William Byrd, Thomas Morley and John Dowland.⁸⁶

Amner may have been influenced by writings of the Italian music theorist and composer Franchino Gaffori. Published in 1518 by Gottardo Ponzio, *De Harmonia Musicorum Instrumentorum Opus*, contains an illustration depicting the modes and intervals of a scale based on the Pythagorean philosophy that music could be divided into three types, *musica instrumentalis* (music made by playing instruments), *musica humana* (the unheard music made by humans or resonance between the body and soul), and *musica mundana* (music made by the cosmos), the latter which would become the ‘music of the spheres’.⁸⁷ (Illustration 1.10)

⁸⁶ Binns, ‘John Case and “The Praise of Musicke”’, *Music and Letters*, 448; translation by Binns: ‘The wonderful and effective power of instrumental music in the contemplation of things divine: ‘mixed’ music, that is, music which achieves harmony through the cooperation of voice, mind and hand, is most highly praised’.

⁸⁷ Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres: Music, Science, and the Natural Order of the Universe* (New York: Grove Press, 1993), 30-31.

Illustration 1.10 D-Mbs 2 Mus.th. 192, Franchino Gaffori, *De Harmonia Musicorum Instrumentorum Opus*, 1518



In *Sacred Hymnes*, Amner includes a references to the music of the spheres in ‘Lo, how from heaven’ and set the following text which links to the nativity story and the cosmos.

Lo, how from heaven like stars the Angels flying,
 Bring back the day to earth in midnight lying.
 Up shepherds, up, this night is born your King,
 You never heard the Spheres such Musique sing.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, ‘Lo, how from heaven’.

The role of music in society also appears in contemporary theatre of the day. In Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, Lorenzo states

The man that hath no music in himself, nor is moved by concord of sweet sounds, is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils. The motions of his spirit are dull as night, and his affections dark as Erebus. Let no such man be trusted.⁸⁹

Amner draws on the work of other Renaissance dramatists in the creation of the lyrics for *Sacred Hymnes* and may have been familiar with this play which was premiered in 1605. Although the moral plays were performed solely in secular settings, theatres and playhouses, it may demonstrate Amner's familiarity with popular culture at the time and may have influenced his artistic endeavours in the preparation of *Sacred Hymnes*.

George Wither's collection of devotional poetry entitled *Preparation for the Psalter* printed in 1619 comprises fourteen chapters of commentary and criticism, and includes a paraphrase of Psalm 148, described as 'A Sonnet, wherein all creatures are excited to join together in praise of their Almighty Creator'. The extract here from Verse 1 includes reference to a variety of chamber instruments commonly played at the time:

Come, O come, with Sacred lays,
Let us sound th' Almighty's praise.
Hither bring, in true concent,
Heart, and voice, and instrument.
Let the opharion sweet
With the harp and viol meet:
To your voices tune the lute,
Let not tongue nor string be mute;

⁸⁹ Edward Prendergast, (ed.) *William Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice* (Dublin: Folens, 2009), 156.

Nor a creature dumb be found,
That hath either voice or sound.⁹⁰

In 1622 the Bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman, published *The Creatures Praying God or The Religion of Dumb Creatures* which outlines a connection between music-making and praise of God for creation stating:

O excellent Artist, that could so sweetly tune nature to make such a melody, where is such a content and agreement on every side; the parts to the whole, the whole to the parts, each to it selfe, all to the Maker! O excellent melody! here is neither sound, nor voice to the eare, yet a most sweet and delectable harmony, a musicke of nature.⁹¹

While the text does not specify any particular instrument or composer, it demonstrates a belief in the link between music and the divine. John Drury claims the perception of music-making in Jacobean England was ‘an art which goes beyond the material and is heavenly in origin and destination’ and quotes from John Donne’s *Hymn to God my God, in my sickness*, written in 1623 when the poet thought he was dying of the plague.

Since I am coming to that holy room,
Where, with thy choir of saints for evermore,
I shall be made thy music; as I com
I tune my instrument at the door,
And what I must do then, think now before.⁹²

In the absence of evidence that unequivocally states Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes* was performed in the Burchier residence at Tawstock, it is possible that at least some members of the extended family may have had the ability to perform it. Anne Clifford

⁹⁰ Nathan Drake, *The Harp of Judah or Songs of Sion: Being a Metrical Translation of the Psalms* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1837), xix-xx.

⁹¹ Godfrey Goodman, *The Creatures Praying God or The Religion of Dumb Creatures* (London: Felix Kingston, 1622), 22.

⁹² John Donne, ‘Hymn to God my God, in my sickness’, in John Drury (ed.), *Music at Midnight*, (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2013), 695.

records in her diaries when she was thirteen that she learned to play the bass viol with her mother's family, her aunt the Countess of Warwick and her cousins Frances Bouchier and Francis Russell, under the tutelage of Jack Jenkins.⁹³

1.5 Conclusion

The empirical data offered at the beginning of this chapter is essential in light of the numerous inaccuracies found in various media, such as articles, books, and CD liner notes concerning the life and archival evidence of John Amner. The new biographical details concerning Amner provides an enhanced understanding of his life. The unresolved fact that there is no baptismal record for Ralph Amner has initiated the uncertainty that he was christened Ralph. It is plausible that Ralph was christened Michael in 1592, but shortly after given the name Ralph as his uncle Michael died that year. Amner's marriage to Sara Striblin in Tawstock, Devon, the home of his patron William Bouchier, demonstrates a greater understanding of the role of patronage. The intricate web of support Amner enjoyed at Ely Cathedral, especially by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes and Dean Henry Caesar, demonstrate how the music establishment thrived during his tenure. The works in *Sacred Hymnes* were composed in the years immediately preceding the publication. While the text 'newly composed' may have been placed on the title page for marketing purposes, it is more likely that the compositions were new as there are no known liturgical sources of these compositions predating the publication of *Sacred Hymnes*. The identification and biographical details of Thomas Hinson and his death in April 1614 unequivocally corroborate that the final composition was written after this date. It is almost certain that one of the five-part settings in the collection would have been submitted for the awarding of his

⁹³ David J. H. Clifford (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996), 16.

degree at Oxford. Taking into account the compositions that we're submitted for the awarding of music degrees from Oxford and Cambridge, it is likely the five-voice pair 'Thus sings that heavenly quire' and 'The heavens stood all amazed' were the pieces submitted by Amner, although there is no evidence to prove which of his compositions was submitted. In the lead up to 1615 and the publication of *Sacred Hymnes*, Amner's career was on a strong trajectory. He married in 1608, was appointed director of music at Ely Cathedral in 1610, and awarded his degree in 1613. The next and inevitable step was to enter the public arena with a published collection of compositions with the support of his patron Bouchier. The theme of sacred domestic music for the publication was certainly purposeful and paved the path towards becoming a minor canon at Ely in 1618.

Chapter Two

Compositional Forms of Sacred Domestic Music

2.1 Terminology – Consort Anthem or Verse Consort?

This chapter begins by examining the terminology associated with domestic sacred music in England in the early seventeenth century with specific reference to the titles found in both printed music and manuscripts. In *Sacred Hymnes* the terms *Motet* and *Alleluia* are allocated to individual pieces. A reconsideration of these words initiates the foundation of a nomenclature to evaluate the vocabulary applied by contemporary musicologists to describe music from this micro-genre of Renaissance music and to fully comprehend why the composer labelled them initially.

A clear distinction has been made between sacred and secular forms of composition in the Renaissance era in a multitude of historiographical forms. At the turn of the sixteenth century, the term motet was as inextricably linked to the sacred setting using Latin texts as the madrigal was to the secular one in the vernacular. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the term motet had transformed and was being employed in publications to label sacred compositions in English to be performed in a secular or domestic setting.¹ Following the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, the anthem essentially replaced the motet in the Church of England. Anthems for choirs during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras can be classified as either full or verse anthems. Full anthems were predominantly polyphonic settings of intricate counterpoint for unaccompanied choir, whereas verse anthems alternated between a soloist and choir accompanied by organ. The consort anthem was the corresponding

¹ Examples include John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* (1615) and Martin Peerson's *Mottects, or Grave Chamber Music* (1630).

domestic form of the verse anthem, where a consort of viols would accompany voices rather than the organ. The term consort anthem is a modern description of the compositional form which also implies its instrumentation, the viol consort. In performance practice this also implies one-to-a-part performance for both voices and viols. John Cunningham notes that the etymology of ‘consort’ is both confused and confusing in that its origins in Italian and French implied an ensemble of voices or instruments and references to broken and whole consorts do not appear until after 1660.²

The term consort song was first employed by Thurston Dart to describe English solo songs accompanied by a consort of viols from the late sixteenth century.³ While the evolution of these songs may have tentative connections to the *tenorlied* and the *chanson rustique*, the emergent popularity of the consort of viols following the appointment of six venetian ‘players on the vailles’ to Henry VIII’s court in 1540, together with the court’s preference for musical performances by boys, is more significant in understanding the formation and development of the genre.⁴ As the consort anthem employs solo voices, its foundations may have been inspired by the consort song from c1550.

In an overview of the works of Orlando Gibbons, John Harper states that

Some of the anthems are occasional works, and others are found only in sources of non-liturgical provenance; some have only keyboard accompaniment, others only ensemble parts,

² John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602-1645* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 4-5.

³ Philip Brett, ‘Consort song’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06325>> [accessed 7 January 2015].

⁴ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 89; Philip Brett, ‘Consort song’.

and others exist with both. They should not be categorized too rigidly: a work performed with wind instruments in the Chapel Royal may have been performed with organ in a provincial cathedral, or with viols in a domestic setting.⁵

The geneses of Gibbons's compositions, whether for domestic, functional or church use, are paramount to understanding the canon of sacred Renaissance English music and its subsequent development. Many verse anthems were originally composed as consort anthems intended for domestic or civic use and later rescored substituting organ for the viol accompaniment. This would indicate that the consort anthem genre developed first and was later adapted to become what is now termed the verse anthem. David Pinto states that in the case of Gibbons's consort anthems that 'about a third of known consort forms are doubled by cathedral versions', but in *Sacred Hymnes* all of the consort music was copied into choir partbooks after the domestic version.⁶ The free adoption of domestic sacred composition into mainstream church repertoire brought with it the inclusion of compositional practices common to secular music, which reanimated sacred composition in England's churches and cathedrals.

The earliest examples of consort songs comprised a treble solo accompanied by four viols as featured in the Elizabethan choirboy plays which coincided with beginning of professional theatre in England.⁷ These plays formed a part of court entertainment that featured laments for solo voice and viol accompaniment, madrigals and popular songs of the day, together with instrumental accompaniments and incidental music before

⁵ John Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11092>> [accessed 7 January 2015].

⁶ David Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, 9 (2015), 3.

⁷ Linda Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, 1992), 2.

the play, between acts and during the finale.⁸ One such play written by John Redford (d1547), organist at St Paul's Cathedral, London, entitled *Wyt and Science* (c1545), includes the stage direction 'Heere cumth in fowre wyth violes and syng'.⁹ The choristers at St Paul's featured frequently at London's social gatherings including the Goldsmith's Company election feast on 17 June 1560: 'And all ye dynner tyme ye syngyng chylde[n] of Paules played upon their vialles & songe verye pleasaunt songes to ye delectacion & reioysynge of ye whole companie'.¹⁰

The development of the consort song is largely attributed to William Byrd (c1540-1623) upon his arrival at court in the 1570s. A staunch Catholic, Byrd transcended the oppressive political and religious environment to become a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1572 and is listed as organist along with Thomas Tallis.¹¹ In 1575 Elizabeth I granted an extraordinary privilege by granting both Byrd and Tallis the patent for printed music. This essentially gave them a monopoly not only for the printing and marketing of music, but also the dissemination of their style, musical form and an expression of their faith.¹² Byrd's publications including *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets* (1588) and *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (1589) featured madrigals and consort songs as well as the two-*partes* verse consort *Christ rising*. While Byrd was a well-known Catholic, he did not suffer severely for his faith. It is possible that his musicality afforded him protection and illustrates the anthropological belief that while musicians were of inferior social status they enjoyed cultural importance to the point of pardon.¹³

⁸ Suzanne Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 85-86.

⁹ Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 213.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹¹ John Harley, *Thomas Tallis* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 151 & 155.

¹² Jeremy Smith, 'The Byrd/Tallis Patent of Monopoly' in Patricia Hall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Censorship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 78.

¹³ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 162.

By the same reasoning it appears unusual that Byrd would depart from the elaborate polyphonic writing found in his Latin motets and masses, yet he embraced the vernacular prose texts of the consort song genre and elevated the form with the introduction of complex imitation and counterpoint between the voice and viols.

William Weston details in his autobiography that Byrd was in attendance at the home of the prominent Catholic Richard Bold in July 1586 and states

On reaching this gentleman's house, we were received with every attention that kindness and courtesy could suggest. The gentleman was also a skilled musician, and had an organ and other musical instruments, and choristers, male and female, members of his household. During those days it was just as if we were celebrating an uninterrupted octave of some great feast. Mr. Byrd, the very famous English musician and organist was among the company.¹⁴

Byrd's *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets* (1588) comprises sacred madrigals and consort songs scored for three, four, five and six parts and is published for the domestic market rather than church use. This is confirmed in the preface where it reads 'heere published for the recreation of all such as delight in music'.¹⁵ Byrd also clearly outlines in the preface that the songs had originally been composed for one voice with instrumental consort, but had been adapted to give text for all parts. This illuminates Byrd's motivation to capitalise on the emerging popularity of madrigals as well as consort songs for domestic recreation and devotional practices in the late 1580s. The original melody of the consort song is clearly indicated on the score as 'the first singing part', affording the performers the opportunity to perform the piece with viols as a consort song or with a choral ensemble as an unaccompanied madrigal. It also establishes a

¹⁴ William Weston, *An autobiography from the Jesuit underground*, translated Philip Caraman (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1995), 71; quoted in *Music at Midnight*, John Drury (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2013).

¹⁵ Kenneth Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), 132.

precedent for this repertoire to be performed with or without instruments or a combination of both. Byrd's publication in 1588 is a landmark that influenced future publications for the domestic sacred music market. The similarities it holds with Amner's *Sacred Hymnes*, as well as other publications from the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, include voice allocation and use of instruments, particularly the viol consort.

In 2000, Stainer & Bell published John Morehen's edition of *Sacred Hymnes* in their renowned *English Madrigalists School* series, which comprises over 40 volumes dedicated to secular music in Renaissance England. Bronwyn Ellis's article describes the inclusion of *Sacred Hymnes* in the series as 'the emergence of more fluid criteria delineating the boundaries of a collection originally devoted to English madrigals'.¹⁶ At first glance the title *Sacred Hymnes* appears to be conflicting with the *English Madrigalists School* series, acknowledging the texts are predominantly based on biblical texts, this would suggest the contents are sacred or liturgical, and would therefore be more in keeping with the *Early English Church Music* series. However the performance practice of the music, the vocal scoring and musical style found in *Sacred Hymnes*, together with a new understanding that it was originally envisioned for recreational use in a domestic setting, justifies its inclusion in the *English Madrigalists School* series. Morehen suggests that Edmund Fellowes resisted including *Sacred Hymnes* in the earlier volumes of the series and that Fellowes in 'his assumption is actually mistaken'.¹⁷

¹⁶ Bronwyn Ellis, 'John Amner: Sacred Hymnes of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts (1615) for Voyces and Vyols', *Musicology Australia*, 25 (2002), 113.

¹⁷ John Morehen, *The English Madrigalists: John Amner Sacred Hymnes* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2000), v.

Amner categorises each of the pieces in *Sacred Hymnes* as either *An Alleluia* or *A Motect*. Where the pieces are identified as *An Alleluia* they always end with an imitative or contrapuntal setting of that text, whereas the *Motect* tends to be more reflective or penitential in character.¹⁸ The term motet was long established before Amner employed it in *Sacred Hymnes*, and it has clear associations with Latin liturgical practice. Ernest Sanders states that an ‘important vernacular subspecies developed ... in England and Germany, but the motet has since been defined as a sacred polyphonic composition with Latin text’.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that Amner applied the term *Motect* and not Anthem when labelling the pieces. Craig Monson suggests that ‘the Jacobean’s cultivation of the motet does not imply any liturgical intent, but rather an abiding interest in what was traditionally regarded as the most elevated musical forms’.²⁰ When this theory is applied to *Sacred Hymnes* it would be erroneous to think of the label ‘motet’ as an indication of crypto-Catholic ideology but rather the seeds which would foster and develop an elaborate high church musical repertoire. The term Anthem, although a derivative of the term antiphon, was initially and exclusively a piece composed to be performed in church in association with a service conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. The services of the Church of England were well established by the time Amner became *informator choristarum* in Ely in 1610 and it is questionable as to why he employed the term motet. Due to associations with Latin liturgical practice it may indicate an undercurrent of recusant beliefs, but it is more likely that the term Anthem was decisively avoided as it was

¹⁸ The term *An Alleluia* appears on pieces 1-5, 8, 14-15, 17-18, 20-21, 23 and 25, the term *Motect* appears on pieces 6-7, 9-13, 16, 19, 22 and 24, the final piece, 26, uses neither term but is titled *An Elegy in Memory of Master Thomas Hynson*.

¹⁹ Ernest Sanders et al., ‘Motet’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08762>> [accessed 28 June 2016].

²⁰ Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 42.

inextricably associated with liturgical music and performance in sacred space. Therefore the classification of sacred domestic music composed in verse form for voices and viols as the Consort Anthem is an oxymoron because the term consort implies the use of instruments used exclusively in the domestic environment and the term anthem suggests a compositional form used exclusively in an ecclesiastical setting. If a classification was imperative, the term Verse Consort would offer a clearer designation for this genre of Renaissance music as the term consort is maintained to indicate the use of instruments in a domestic setting, while the term verse denotes the compositional form employed for the use of solo voices and chorus.

From the early seventeenth century, the text ‘apt for voices and viols’ began to appear on title pages and built upon the music published by Byrd. One of the first of these was Thomas Weelkes’s *Madrigals of 5. And 6. Parts, apt for the Viols and voices*, printed by Thomas East in 1600. The introduction of simple homophonic chorus in consort songs gradually matured to include more complex writing as seen in notable collections by Michael East, Thomas Ravenscroft and William Leighton.²¹ These publications indicate an increasing demand for sacred domestic music in recreational or devotional settings, and the growing popularity of the voice and viol ensemble within aristocratic circles. Christopher Marsh suggests that ‘their restrained tones (and high cost) suited them perfectly to aristocratic interiors, and their primary associations were therefore with sophistication and refinement.’²²

²¹ Michael East, *Third Set of Books* (1610); Thomas Ravenscroft, *Deuteromelia* (1609), *Melismata* (1611), *A Brief Discourse* (1614); and William Leighton, *The Tears and Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul* (1614).

²² Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 14.

The popularity of the viol among the gentry offered both performance and teaching opportunities for working musicians. In 1603 the diary of Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676) recorded that she learned ‘to sing and play on the Bass Viol’ and that her teacher was Jack (John) Jenkins.²³ Anne Clifford was a niece of William Bourchier, and her diary also records visits from Bourchier’s daughter Frances, where they enjoyed making music amongst other recreational activities.²⁴ Marsh further suggests that the practice of part singing with viols was an activity calculated to set the gentry apart from the masses, whereby the performance incorporated a necessary involvement of occupational musicians to fulfil their musical appetites.²⁵ Recreational music-making was highly fashionable in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, and for the literati or those who could read music after receiving tuition, the level of music literacy was perhaps greater than imagined.²⁶ Households who owned a chest of viols, usually comprising two treble, two tenor and two bass, rarely performed in public but rather enjoyed playing the repertoire as a musical activity with friends and occasionally with a handpicked number of spectators.

Substantiated by pictorial evidence, John Morehen also suggests that the performers may have both sung and played the music at the same time. While this may be true of the early consort songs, the bass viol part could not have been sung by a treble or upper voice, nor could the treble viol part have been sung by an adult male.²⁷ Even if this were possible, the reading of two part books simultaneously would be extremely challenging if at all possible. In this oil painting of Sir Henry Unton by an unknown

²³ David J. H. Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996), 27.

²⁴ See Appendix B a complete family tree.

²⁵ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 193.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 509.

²⁷ John Morehen, ‘The English Consort and Verse Anthems’, *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 383.

artist from c1596 (Illustration 2.1), each musician is reading from an individual part book, perhaps two trebles, two tenors and a bass.²⁸

Illustration 2.1 Musicians at Wadley House, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Unton*



Each of the figures is dressed as a gentleman or is wearing aristocratic clothing, and Warwick Edwards suggests that one of them may well be Unton.²⁹ Acknowledging that this iconographical evidence of consort performance may have been spatially modified by the artist, the image indicates that consort music, whether purely instrumental or accompanying voices, was executed around a table.³⁰ There are two English table-format sources for consort music, John Dowland's *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares* and in the British Library Add. Ms. 31390.³¹ Michael Fleming acknowledges

²⁸ Anon, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Unton* (c1596), National Portrait Gallery, London, (NPG 710).

²⁹ Warwick Edwards, 'The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 97 (1970-1971), 121.

³⁰ Richard Rastall, 'Spatial Effects in English Instrumental Consort Music, c1560-1605', *Early Music* 25 (1997), 269 and 278-279.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 271.

that no details of viols can be found in the comprehensive inventory of Unton's households goods following his death.³² The inventory accounts for two virginals at the Wadley residence and one at the Faringdon, and in the inventory of 1620 Unton's wife, Lady Dorothy, the inventory remained unchanged with regard to musical instruments.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, many of England's aristocratic figures are recorded as having viol instruction or playing for recreational use. As well as Anne Clifford and Henry Unton, they include William Cavendish in 1599, Philip Gawdy's sister-in-law Anne Gawdy in 1602, and William Smith in 1605.³³ The English books written for the education of gentlemen during the sixteenth century do not mention viols, but in 1622 Henry Peacham stated 'no more in you then to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withal, to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to your selfe'.³⁴ This clarifies that not only was it deemed appropriate for gentlemen to learn the viol, but also a high standard was expected whereby the performer was expected to play at sight. In John Case's treatise on music, *Apologia Musices*, the second dedication is given to Henry Unton and William Hatton, which may also testify to the musical patronage and support of the arts by the Unton family.³⁵

³² Michael Fleming, 'Paintings of Viols in England c1580-1660', *Chelys*, 25 (1996-1997), 8-9.

³³ Warwick Edwards, 'The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 97 (1970-1971), 122.

³⁴ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622); quoted in Edwards, 'The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England', 121-123; See page 9, footnote 29.

³⁵ Charles B. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), 88. The *Apologia Musices* contains a dual dedication: the first is to Christopher Hatton, newly appointed Chancellor at the University of Oxford and cousin of William Hatton.

2.2 Teaching of Viols in Choir Schools

A long established tradition of instrumental teaching is recorded at cathedral choir schools throughout England. Consort music was a key teaching activity for choristers to develop the reading skills required of professional singers in order to perform complex polyphonic compositions in a liturgical setting. The repertoire of consort music was also greatly influenced by choristers such as the consort song which originated as accompanied songs in the Elizabethan children's plays. The training of choristers also cultivated new generations of composers and performers, who subsequently gained instrumental tutoring work in the homes of aristocratic amateur musicians. It can be surmised that there was a close but understated association between the choir schools and the domestic music-making activities of wealthy households.

One of the earliest examples of instrumental teaching in choir schools is from 1477 and records that William Horwood, master of the choristers at Lincoln Cathedral, was required to teach two or three choristers to play *clavychords*.³⁶ Ian Payne provides a detailed and comprehensive report on instrumental teaching at choir schools and outlines a growing popularity of viol teaching in the later part of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century.³⁷

³⁶ GB-Ll A/2/36, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 96; quoted in Ian Payne 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at some English Cathedral Churches, c.1594-c.1645: Archival Evidence', *Chelys*, 19 (1990), 4.

³⁷ Payne, Ian, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c1547-c1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (New York: Garland, 1993)

While the Henrican statutes at Ely Cathedral confirm that the master of the choristers was to teach boys the organ ‘*pueris docendis organis pulsandis suo tempore*’,³⁸ the earliest reference to instrumental teaching was when John Farrant was appointed in 1567 to teach both singing and instrumental music ‘*ad docend’ et instruend’ choristas in arte musica, tam cantando quam instrumenta musicalia*’.³⁹ Farrant’s contract does not specify viol tuition but it is possible that a tradition of playing on viols at Ely dates back to Tye and White as both composed a number of consort *In nomines* and *fantasias*, which probably date from their time at Ely.⁴⁰

Edward Watson, a lay clerk at Ely Cathedral from 1572, gave instrumental lessons to the choristers from the date of his contract 11 December 1583.⁴¹ Payne suggests the sudden increase in his lay clerk salary in 1579 from the statutory £6 13s. 4d. to £8 may arise from instrumental teaching duties which began then, four years before he signed an official contract.⁴² The description in Watson’s contract of his instrumental teaching duties ‘*in instrumentis musicis pulsandis et inflandis*’ suggests keyboard and wind instruments but not viols.⁴³ His will of 1587 bequeathed to ‘Thomas Jordan Chorister

³⁸ GB-El 1 E/2, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 7^v; quoted in Payne ‘The Provision of Teaching on Viols at some English Cathedral Churches’, 4; translated by Pádraic Moran: ‘for teaching the boys to play the organ in their own time’.

³⁹ Ian Payne, ‘Music and Liturgy to 1644’, in Meadows, Peter and Ramsey, Nigel (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 241; translated by Pádraic Moran: ‘for teaching and instructing choristers in the art of music, both singing and musical instruments’.

⁴⁰ Warwick Edwards, ‘In Nomine’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13804>> [accessed 14 April 2014]; Paul Doe and David Mateer, ‘Tye, Christopher’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press).

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28665>> [accessed 14 April 2014]; Irwin Spector and David Mateer, ‘White [Whyte], Robert’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press).

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30213>> [accessed 14 April 2014].

⁴¹ GB-El 3/3/9 and GB-EL 2/4/1 respectively, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives; quoted in Payne, ‘Music and Liturgy to 1644’, 241.

⁴² Ian Payne, ‘The Provision of Teaching on Viols at some English Cathedral Churches, c.1594-c.1645: Archival Evidence’, *Chelys*, 19 (1990), 9; GB-EL 3/3/13; quoted in Payne, *Music and Liturgy to 1644*, 241.

⁴³ Details of contract translated by Pádraic Moran: ‘striking and blowing musical instruments’.

in Ely church al my books for the Citteren virginals bandora or lute'.⁴⁴ The absence of books for viol playing may also indicate that viol tuition was not offered by Watson in Ely.

The earliest surviving treasury accounts in 1604 offers conclusive evidence of viol teaching at Ely Cathedral. In this first record, Thomas Wiborough who was a lay clerk at Ely since 1584, was paid 6s. 8d. 'for teaching the schollers on the vialls' as well as 17s. 10d. 'for charges about the vialles'.⁴⁵ James Saunders describes 'the necessity for cathedral choir men to supplement their stipends by 'moonlighting' in other jobs', noting the average lay clerk earned £6 13s 4d annually compared to an unskilled labourer who earned approximately between £7 and £10.⁴⁶

Wiborough was industrious at earning supplementary income and in addition to his lay clerk duties and viol teaching, he also acted as deputy treasurer and held the office of caterer of the common hall.⁴⁷ In 1605 Wiborough received 17s. for 'strings for the violls, & mending them, & for two new sticks', in addition to his teaching fees.⁴⁸ These itemised maintenance costs suggest that the practice of viol tuition at Ely may have been practised some years before the first surviving accounts. Wiborough's payments are recorded almost every financial year from 1604 until 1634 until his duties passed

⁴⁴ GB-El 2/8A/1 Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 9; quoted in Payne, *Music and Liturgy to 1644*, 242.

⁴⁵ GB-El 3/1/2 Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 7 & 8; quoted in Payne, *Music and Liturgy to 1644*, 242.

⁴⁶ James Saunders, 'Music and Moonlighting: The Cathedral Choirmen of Early Modern England, 1558-1649' in Kisby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, 157 and 165.

⁴⁷ GB-El 2/1/1 44, 132,118, GB-EL 3/1/2 Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 122^r, 68^v; quoted in James Saunders, 'Music and Moonlighting: The Cathedral Choirmen of Early Modern England, 1558-1649', in Fiona Kisby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 158.

⁴⁸ GB-El 3/1/2 Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 7^v; quoted in Payne, *Music and Liturgy to 1644*, 242.

to another lay clerk, Robert Claxton, who succeeded Amner as *informator choristarum* in 1641.⁴⁹ It is evident that the teaching of viols at Ely was an important part of the musical life in the early seventeenth century. When Claxton took over Wiborough's teaching duties in 1637 he was given the title 'Master of the Violls', which he retained when appointed *informator choristarum*.⁵⁰ Claxton, like Amner, was closely linked to Ely Cathedral, and is recorded as a chorister during the visitations on 2 June 1615 and 15 May 1616, as well as becoming a lay clerk at Ely from 1624.⁵¹

The treasury accounts at Ely continued to record a strong tradition of viol playing and associated teaching throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. The Parliamentary Survey of the premises in the Cathedral Close in June and July 1649 includes this short description of 'The Singinge School':

A pritty house vaulted under neath ... & covered with tyles ... & consisteth of 2 roomes above in occ[upation] of Robert Claxton the singeing M[aste]r: & at the staie[r]s head over against the schoole dore another roome with a place taken out of it for a place to play upon the vyall in.⁵²

While it is not possible to give a definitive account of the teaching practices or the musical standards achieved by the choristers, the musical career of Ralph Amner offers a unique insight into the high level of musicianship imparted at Ely. Ralph is recorded as lay clerk at Ely from 1605 to 1609 and when he was appointed Priest to the Chapel

⁴⁹ Payne, *Music and Liturgy to 1644*, 237.

⁵⁰ GB-El 3/1/2 Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, fol. 220; quoted in Payne, *Music and Liturgy to 1644*, 242.

⁵¹ GB-El B2/33 fol. 921, GB-El B2/31 fol. 161, Ely Dean and Chapter Archives; quoted in Payne, *Music and Liturgy to 1644*, 242; Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c1547-c1646*, 256.

⁵² GB-El 6/2/13 fol. 12; quoted in Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 242.

Royal on 9 December 1614 he was described as a Bass from Windsor.⁵³ Andrew Ashbee states that no record of Ralph's ordination have been discovered, but the *Clergy of the Church of England Database* records he was ordained a deacon on 19 May 1611 by Bishop John Bridges, Oxford, in St George's Chapel Windsor.⁵⁴ He was a member of the choir at St George's, Windsor before the Civil War and returned in 1660. Keri Dexter states that Ralph had no previous connection with Eton College or the Oxford Court which were the institutions from which singers exclusively came and concludes that his appointment was solely on account of his musical skill.⁵⁵

In March 1609 Michael East (c1580-1648) replaced Ralph Amner as a lay clerk at Ely Cathedral until midsummer of that year and was next recorded as a deputy lay clerk for Michaelmas 1614.⁵⁶ It may be significant that East's *Third Set of Books (1610)*, which contains consort songs and anthems, madrigals and canzonets, also includes a number of viol fantasies, was published the year following his term at Ely.⁵⁷ His short stay at Ely may have influenced his forthcoming publication of new viol compositions which included items suitable for teaching viol. East published seven collections during his life time, the first two printed by his uncle Thomas East and later printed by Thomas Snodham, the adopted son of Thomas East who inherited East's printing business in 1609.⁵⁸ An industrious composer, Michael East's printed collections

⁵³ Keri Dexter, *'A Good Quire of Voices': The Provision of Choral Music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c.1640-1733* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2002), 216.

⁵⁴ OCRO, Oxford Diocesan Papers e.9, Subscription Book, *Clergy of England Database*, CCEd Person ID 7610 and 19510, <<http://www.db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search/index.jsp>> [accessed 3 July 2018].

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 13-15.

⁵⁶ Philip Brett and Ian Payne, 'East, Michael' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08475>> [accessed 1 December 2013].

⁵⁷ Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 117.

⁵⁸ Miriam Miller and Jeremy Smith, 'East, Thomas' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08476>> [accessed 28 June 2016].

represent a guide to the changing musical tastes in Jacobean England, and the consort anthems featured in his *Third Set of Books (1610)* may have influenced the contents of Amner's *Sacred Hymnes*.

It remains unknown what kind of instrumental tutor books or viol collections were used by Watson, Wiborough or Amner at Ely. John Bryan notes that the earliest English publications explicitly specifying viols are Anthony Holborne's *Pavans, Galliards, Almains and other short Aeirs both graue and light* (1599) and John Dowland's *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares figured in Seaven Pauans* (1604).⁵⁹ The contents of both publications includes music composed as early as 1580 and this points towards a repertory of instrumental music composed on manuscript and used locally before subsequently being published.

The only extant instrumental works by Amner are a set of variations for keyboard based on the hymn tune *O Lord in Thee is all my trust* and a five-part *Pavan and Galliard* for viol consort.⁶⁰ The keyboard variations is the only known set of variations on a metrical psalm tune. The melody of the psalm tune, composed by Thomas Tallis, is included in John Day's *Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts* (1565). The principal source of Amner's consort composition is found in the British Library Add. MSS 30826-8, which comprises three part-books from an original set of five. The surviving part-books, *Canto*, *Alto* and *Basso*, contain twenty five *Pavans* and two *Galliards* that were composed by thirteen English composers, seven of which are

⁵⁹ Michael Fleming and John Bryan, *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers, and Music* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 13.

⁶⁰ Anthony Greening, 'Amner, John' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00808>> [accessed 1 December 2013]. Track 27-28.

connected to East Anglia or specifically Cambridgeshire. The *Pavan* and *Galliard* by Amner is the only paired set in the collection. Both of the pieces conform to the musical structure found in the majority of this collection in that each piece has three sections. The first section of the *Pavan* opens with calm sustained homophonic writing. The second section develops the rhythmic and harmonic vocabulary including short stretto-like phrases and modulates to the dominant and dominant's dominant. The third section sees a greater use of imitation between treble one and treble two while the harmonic interest explores moving from the tonic to the tonic-minor. The *Galliard* engages many of the same compositional techniques found in the *Pavan*, particularly the tonic to tonic minor harmony in the third section which acts as a musical bond between the two pieces which make a cohesive pair. This set of dances represents an indication of a broader compositional output of instrumental music by Amner.

Amner's vocal writing in *Sacred Hymnes* encompasses a broad range of styles that he interchanged from at ease. From the early syllabic tradition, conzonets and the madrigal-like anthems, through to the elaborate and imitative consort anthems and the solemnity and dense texture found in the memorial elegy, these compositional styles were also exploited in his compositional output for service music at Ely.⁶¹ The common element across these compositional styles is whereby Amner demonstrates a natural ability for text-setting. The rhythm of the text is always to the fore both artistically and musically, and he can effortlessly augments the rhythmic drive of the piece to create tension or find inner calm to reflect the text.

⁶¹ See 19.

2.3 Chamber or Chancel – The use of Viols in Sacred Repertoire

The primary distinction between consort and verse anthems lies with the instrumental and vocal forces used in performance. John Morehen suggests that a consort anthem ensemble comprised one voice to a part accompanied by viol consort, whereas verse anthems comprised a choir of 18 or 20 singers accompanied by the organ.⁶² Many of the anthems composed exist in both forms but are not compatible due to alterations of verse and chorus sections, pitch variants and accompaniment reduction. This strengthens a case for autonomy between viol consort and organ continuo at the time, although a few exceptions appear including documentation from the puritan activist Peter Smart in 1620. Smart complained to the Archbishop of York against ‘the horrible profanation of both the sacraments with all manner of musick’ and ‘the multitude of melodius intruments’ at Durham Cathedral,⁶³ but this use of instruments other than the organ has erroneously been identified as an exception rather than a rule. At a service in St Paul’s for MidLent Sunday in 1620 the combined forces of St Paul’s, Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal ‘began to celebrate Divine Service, which was solemnly performed with organs, cornets, and sackbutts’.⁶⁴ In the early seventeenth century, references to the use of wind instruments with organ to accompany the choir at services become more frequent with examples including the ‘trumpeters sounding cheerfully’ at the christening of Princess Mary at Greenwich Chapel on 5 May 1605 and during the funeral of Prince Henry on 5 December 1612 ‘the gentlemen of the King’s Chapel, with the children belonging to it, sung several anthems to the organs and other wind-instruments’.⁶⁵

⁶² Morehen, ‘The English Consort and Verse Anthems’, 383.

⁶³ Graham Parry, *All Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 163-164.

⁶⁴ David Scott, *The Music of St Paul’s Cathedral* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1972), 15.

⁶⁵ Edward F. Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-Book, or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal from 1561-1744* (London: J. B. Nichols & Sons, 1872), 167-169; Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, Eldest Son of King James I* (London: Miller, 1760), 362.

The following reports from Exeter Cathedral and Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, suggest that viols were used in liturgical settings. As both reports are second-hand descriptions of the actual events, a degree of caution is required to ascertain the precise account of the services, compositions and instrumental ensembles in question. In 1635, Lieutenant Hammond chronicles the music-making in Exeter Cathedral noting ‘a delicate, rich and lofty Organ ... which with their Vialls, and other sweet Instruments, the tunable Voyces, and the rare Organist, together, makes a melodious, and heavenly Harmony, able to ravish the Hearers Eares.’⁶⁶

In Alexander Clogy’s *Memoir of Dr William Bedell*, Lord Bishop of Kilmore, Clogy portrays Dr Bedell as a purist and states,

he desired no instrumental music in his cathedral (as organs or the like) no more than in other parochial churches, but vocal and spiritual singing, with grace in the heart, to the Lord. He never went about to set up a quire of quiristers, of singing men and singing women. The Psalms of David were his delight, in private and in public.⁶⁷

Considering Bedell’s disinterest in choirs and liking of metrical psalms, it is not surprising that he should complain of the elaborate music he witnessed at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. Clogy further recounts that Bedell

was made dissatisfied with the pompous service of Christ Church, in Dublin, which was attended and celebrated with all manner of instrumental music, as organs, sackbuts, cornets, viols, &c., as if it had been at the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image in the plain of Dura; and discovered his dislike of those things (now in the times of the Gospel), to a leading Prelate, who told him only this: That they served much to the raising of the affection, &c. To

⁶⁶ Hammond (ed Legg) *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties 1635*; quoted in Andrew Parrott, ‘Grett and Solomphe Singing: Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War’, *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 186.

⁶⁷ Alexander Clogy, *The Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Dr William Bedell, Lord Bishop of Kilmore* (London: Wertheim, Macintosh, & Hunt, 1862), 140.

whom he replied, “That all things that work upon the affections ought to tend to edification under the Gospel, as this did not.”⁶⁸

This extract offers an insightful view of Bedell’s purist ideology but the specific content concerning the music performed, particularly if they were full or verse anthems, and the number of musicians present such as a whole or broken consort of viols, leads to an inconclusive account. Barra Boydell suggests that instrumentalists at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin ‘may also have played voluntaries and other purely instrumental music, the musicians playing ‘in the choir and helping our vicars’ in 1594-5 shows that they did accompany the voices as well.’⁶⁹

One of the main exponents of verse anthems in the early seventeenth century is Orlando Gibbons. The majority of Gibbons’s twenty-five verse or consort anthems were composed for a specific church, state event or patron, yet they are predominantly found in liturgical sources.⁷⁰ The scoring of at least half of these includes instrumental parts for viol and this indicates that string instruments were used for important occasions at the Chapel Royal.⁷¹ Acknowledging that the accompaniment of viols was not used in liturgies at church, the majority of verse anthems with viol consort would have been used in either a domestic or civic setting. All the consort anthems found in *Sacred Hymnes* can also be found in the cathedral partbooks at Peterhouse which were copied in Amner’s hand in the 1630s. This demonstrates that the music Amner originally conceived for the domestic market was absorbed into mainstream church music. The music found in the cathedral partbooks demonstrate revisions to the music

⁶⁸ Clogy, *The Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Dr William Bedell*, 140-141.

⁶⁹ Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 49.

⁷⁰ Scott, *The Music of St Paul’s Cathedral*, 15.

⁷¹ Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 180.


by Amner and not merely a transcription from *Sacred Hymnes*. Notable reworking of the text include substituting the word ‘his’ with ‘thy’ in the phrase ‘All the world is full of his glory’ in the final chorus of ‘And they cry’.⁷² ‘All the world is full of thy glory’ may be a more appropriate and reverent use of language in a liturgical setting. While most of the vocal lines remain unchanged, this piece sees the addition of a bass vocal line to the opening verse which previously contained a duet for two sopranos.

2.4 A Collection of 26 Pieces – *Attacca*

The table of contents in *Sacred Hymnes* lists twenty six individual items and each piece is allocated a Roman numeral (Illustration 2.2). The table also identifies pieces that are considered in *partes* and they can be considered as individual compositions or portions of longer works.

⁷² Track 21.


Illustration 2.2 GB-Ym, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 2^v, Table of Contents



The Table.

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| <p>3. voc:</p> <p>Loue wee in one, Let false surmises, Away with weake, O come thou spirit, O Loue beseeching well, Distressed Soule,</p> <p>4. voc:</p> <p>Sweet are the thoughts, Come lee's reioyce, Saint Mary now, 1. part. At length to Christ, 2. part. But hee the God, 3. part. Woe is mee,</p> | <p>I II III III V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII</p> | <p>Remember not Lord, Thus sings, 1. part. The heauens stood all, 2. part. Now doth the Cittie, Hee that descended, I will sing vnto the Lord, 6. voc: O Yee liide flocke, 1. part. Feare not, 2. part. And they crie, 3. part. Loc, how from heau'n. 1. part. I bring you tiding, 2. part. A stranger heere, My Lord. With mornefull <i>Musique</i>,</p> | <p>XIII XIII XV XVI XVI XVII XVIII XIX XX XXI XXII XXIII XXIII XXV XXVI</p> |
|--|---|---|---|

FINIS.



Sacred Hymnes has four items listed as *partes*, part 1, part 2 and part 3, indicating they are sections of what could be considered one larger composition.⁷³ When these sections are considered as one piece, it could be said that there are twenty pieces in the publication. In the *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, *Sacred Hymnes* is described as a collection of ‘twenty pieces for voices and

⁷³ The pieces containing sections are *Saint Mary Now* (part 1), *At length to Christ* (part 2), *But he the God* (part 3); *Thus sings that heavenly quire* (part 1), *The heavens stood all amazed* (part 2); *O ye little flock* (part 1), *Fear not* (part 2), *And they cry* (part 3); *Lo, how from heaven* (part 1), *I bring you tiding* (part 2).

viols, published in 1615 and became popular'.⁷⁴ This statement is accurate when the compositions with *partes* are judged to be one piece but because the table of contents in the original source indicates twenty-six items, the information is not complete. The latter part of the entry in the *Dictionary of Composers* regarding the popularity of *Sacred Hymnes* is at best colloquial and there has been no substantive research to prove how popular the publication was. Chapter 4 addresses the location, owners and musicians of those who had a copy of *Sacred Hymnes* in their possession and while this concludes that Amner's music was performed and copied into other sources, it cannot unequivocally confirm a level of popularity. If the statement concerns the general popularity of composers writing music for viol and voices, and specifically consort anthems, during the Jacobean era this is well documented.⁷⁵ Andrew Deakin's *Outlines of Music Biography* published twenty years before the *Dictionary of Composers* accurately records the contents of *Sacred Hymnes* together with a concise breakdown of the number of pieces and the scoring of voices.⁷⁶

The choice of text and related themes presented in *Sacred Hymnes* gives an insight into the seasonal use of viols in the home. The inclusion of five Christmastide pieces in the six-voice set with obligatory viol accompaniment may suggest the custom of aristocratic households employing consort musicians during this festive period, or that the season facilitated more recreational time which in turn allowed amateur musicians to explore consort music repertoire in a domestic setting.⁷⁷ Examples of other

⁷⁴ Maggie Humphreys and Rebert Evans, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1997), 7.

⁷⁵ Chester L. Alwes, *A History of Western Choral Music: From Medieval Foundations to the Romantic Age, Vol. I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 127-156.

⁷⁶ Andrew Deakin, *Outlines of Musical Bibliography: A Catalogue of Early Music and Musical Works Vol. I* (New York: Geory Olms Verlag, 1976), 77.

⁷⁷ David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 136-140.

Christmastide consort music included the anonymous *Born is the Babe* and *Sweet was the song the Virgin sung*, William Byrd *Out of the Orient Crystal Skies* and *A Lullaby*, Martin Peerson *Upon my lap*, and John Bull *The Starre Anthem*.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter began with a reappraisal of the terminology applied to domestic sacred music in early modern England by twentieth-century musicologists. Although the terminology is now well established, having assessed the function, content and compositional forms of the music, a recommendation for the reclassification of the terminology is required from verse anthem to verse consort. As demonstrated above, the role of teaching viols in choir schools and the repertoire for consorts was shaped by the educational institutions and song schools throughout England. As a result a link between the choir schools and the domestic sacred music market is established. The compositions written for consorts fulfilled a recreation need in aristocratic circles, serving not only as an expression of domestic piety, but also employment of trained consort musicians to teach and perform. While there is a number of second-hand accounts of viol playing in liturgical settings, the accompaniment of the choir was predominantly, if not exclusively, with organ. The performance of domestic sacred music accompanied by viols was practised in the home with one-to-a-part in performance. This acted not only as a recreational activity but also as an expression of private devotion and piety.

Chapter Three

Printing, Iconography and Symbolism

3.1 Imagery and Text on the Title Page

Due to the lack of primary evidence such as diaries, letters, or a portrait, relating to the life of John Amner an investigation into the iconography and symbolism found on the title page of his *Sacred Hymnes* is warranted to elucidate a possible connection between the content and imagery. Sigfrid Steinberg states that the title page was ‘one of the most distinctive, visible advances from script to print’ in the early sixteenth-century and it signals an emerging commercialisation of printed music.¹ The title page may also have influenced consumers in an era that Stephen Greenblatt terms as ‘self-fashioning’ or branding, as it acted as an advertisement for the composer, contents and publisher.² While Karl Holtgen in his study of emblematic title pages has dismissed a theory of correlation, claiming that the title page served solely to attract the reader rather than to illustrate its content,³ there is no evidence to undoubtedly state that Amner did not select the title page illustration to reflect the collection’s content. Kirsten Gibson maintains that ‘a propriety relationship between the composer and his work’ is established on the title page and the printed book represents ‘a materialisation of an author’s aspirations’.⁴ Each of the six title pages of *Sacred Hymnes* comprises a decorative block that surrounds the text and voice part (Illustration 3.1).⁵ This ornate frame incorporates the Four Virtues, namely Justice, Fortitude, Prudence and Mercie,

¹ Sigfrid Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: Penguin Books, 1955), 105.

² Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), 1-9.

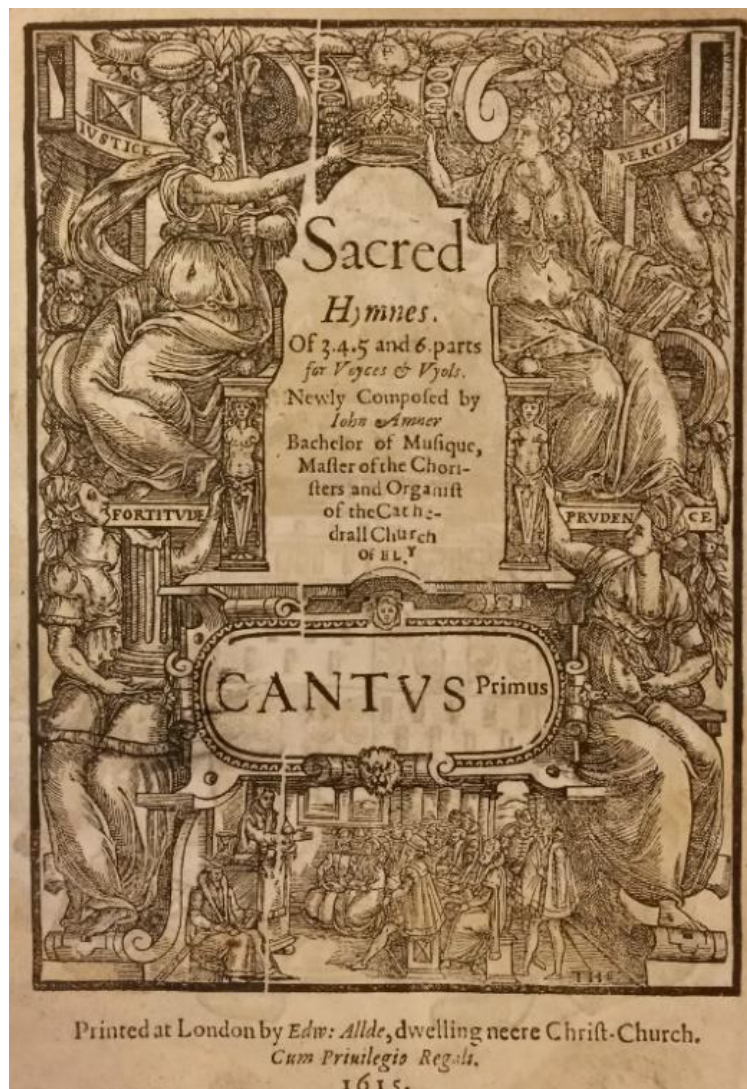
³ Karl Holtgen, *Aspects of the Emblem* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1986), 96.

⁴ Kirsten Gibson, ‘‘How hard an enterprise it is’’: Authorial Self-fashioning in John Dowland’s Printed Books’, *Early Music History*, 26 (2007), 43 and 64.

⁵ The voices listed on each title page are *Cantus Primus*, *Cantus Secundus*, *Quintus*, *Sextus*, *Tenor* and *Bassus*.

surrounding a young Elizabeth I looking out and positioned above a vignette of a preacher with an hourglass addressing a congregation. The Cardinal Four Virtues are commonly named Justice, Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance, yet in this representation the imagery replaces Temperance for Mercie.⁶ The predominant female representations with overtones of an Elizabethan pageant suggest a significant change from her predecessor, the Catholic Queen Mary or ‘Bloody Mary’, and the incorporation of a theme of mercy notable during her reign as ‘Defender of the Faith’.⁷

Illustration 3.1: GB-Ym, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, Title Page



⁶ Dale Hoak, *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 124.

⁷ Valeria Tsygankova, ‘Representing Church & State: Paratexts of the Queen Elizabeth Bible’, *Penn Humanities Forum on Virtuality*, (2010-2011), 3, 6-7.

John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* was printed by Edward Allde, 'dwelling neere Christ-Church'.⁸ Edward took over the family print shop from his father, John Allde, in 1584, and he published a diverse range of material including cookbooks and sermons as well as plays and poetry.⁹ Although Allde was one of the printers granted a printing monopoly by James I 'to print sett songs et al' he made little use of the privilege and only printed a small quantity of musical works between 1610 and 1615.¹⁰ As well as *Sacred Hymnes*, Allde printed Thomas Ravenscroft's *A Briefe Discourse* in 1614, a book illustrating Ravenscroft's theoretical concepts of music notation supported by musical examples of composers including Edward Pearce and John Bennet.¹¹ In 1616, William Wynne's *Morall Observations* was published stating 'Printed for Edw: Allde, and are to be sold at his house ioyning to Christ-Church'.¹² This indicates that Allde operated as a retailer for his publications as well as printing at this location and it is conceivable that *Sacred Hymnes* was also for sale from his house or shop.

The texts and terminal inscriptions found in *Sacred Hymnes* convey the themes of mercy and penitence with frequent reference to the biblical female figure Mary Magdalene including 'Saint Mary Now' in three partes and the consort anthem 'My Lord is hence removed and laid' which describes her discovery of the empty tomb.¹³ These themes of mercy and penitence emulate the ideals of piety practised in a

⁸ Edward Allde (d1634) was an active English printer-publisher and later a general trade printer for others. R. B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', *The Library*, 10 (1929), 121-162; Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 16-18.

⁹ Ross W. Duffin, *The Music Treatises of Thomas Ravenscroft – 'Treatise of Practicall Musicke' and A Briefe Discourse* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 35.

¹⁰ Miriam Miller, 'Allde, Edward' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00597>> [accessed 1 December 2013].

¹¹ David Mateer and Ian Payne, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22966>> [accessed 14 June 2016]

¹² William Wynne, *Morall Observations*, (London: Edward Allde, 1616), Titlepage.

¹³ Tracks 9-11, 25.

domestic setting in the Jacobean era. While this biblical figure is a symbolic representation of the themes, it is at variance with the Church of England's position of idolisation of the Saints. Only five decades earlier all of the statues in Ely Cathedral had their heads removed and the purists of the church in Jacobean England were still pursuant with this precept of removing fabric which may be considered popish. While the high church movement is commonly associated with William Laud among others,¹⁴ the para-liturgical elements of domestic piety may have maintained or even influenced its rise in the 1620s and 1630s. Other references to the saints can be found in *Sacred Hymnes* including 'Thus sings that heavenly quire' where the lyric states 'And all the Saints with purest robes attending upon the Lamb' followed by 'The heavens stood all amazed, the earth upon them gazed'.¹⁵ While Amner was not ordained a deacon until some two years after *Sacred Hymnes* was published, the subjects of the texts in English and Latin indicates a learned background in theology but the references to the saints leans more towards recusant Catholic beliefs or at least strives towards what would become the high church movement.

The original printing block was first used for the title page of *The Holi Bible* printed in 1569 by Richard Jugge, and the bible enjoyed two further revisions and reprints in 1572 and 1602 (Illustration 3.2).¹⁶ While there is no dedication to Elizabeth I the text at the end of the title page reads 'God save the Queene' and confirms that this is a book of the Queen and her church. This is further consolidated by the position of the Queen

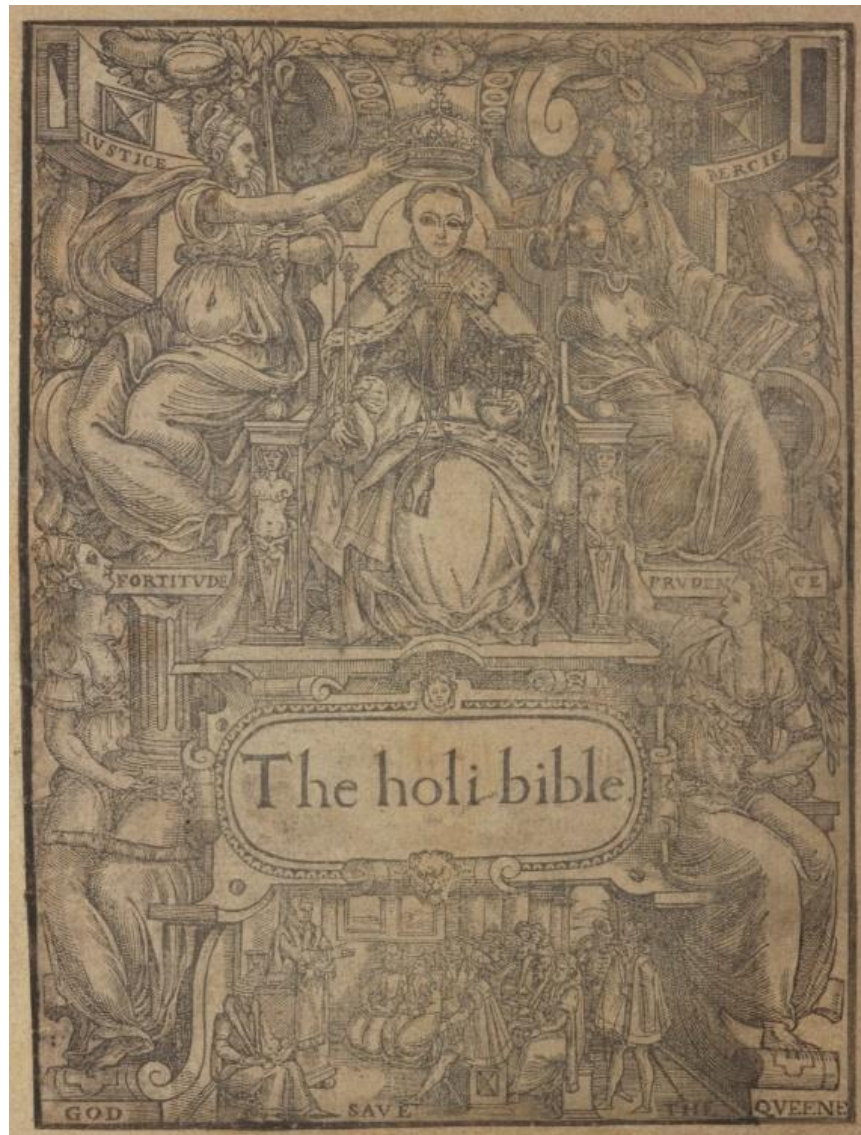
¹⁴ Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour, The Arts of the Anglican Counter Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), xi.

¹⁵ Track 15.

¹⁶ John Morehen, 'A Neglected East Anglian Madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean Period', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11 (1998), 293.

above the title of the book and demonstrates a marketing of Elizabeth as the anointed head of the church and its publications.

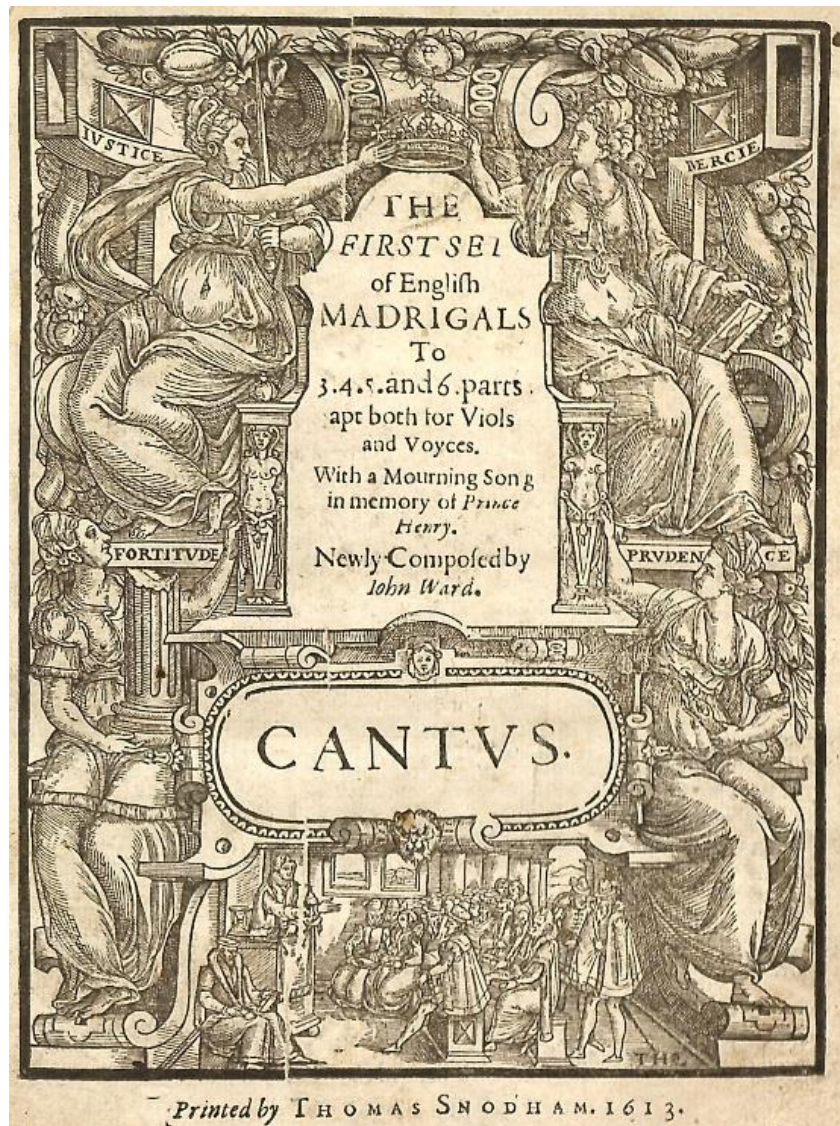
Illustration 3.2: GB-Cu BSS.201.B69.1, *The Holi Bible*, printed by Richard Jugge, 1569, Title Page



It could be interpreted that the employment of the four virtues crowning the title *Sacred Hymnes* was chosen to convey the pious content therein. The duality of the role of domestic recreational music, to express the art form of music as a heavenly art and the

practice of private devotional music as prayer could also be implied. The same printing block was used for the title pages of John Ward's *The First Set of English madrigals to 3. 4. 5. And 6. Parts* in 1613 (Illustration 3.3). The evidence for this can be seen in a crack that had appeared in the block when cutting out the figure of Elizabeth. Further proof that they are from the same block is ascertained from the word 'the' which crudely remains in the bottom right corner where the original text stated 'God save the Queene'.

Illustration 3.3: GB-Lu 12 SR, John Ward, *The First Set of English Madrigals*, 1613, Title Page

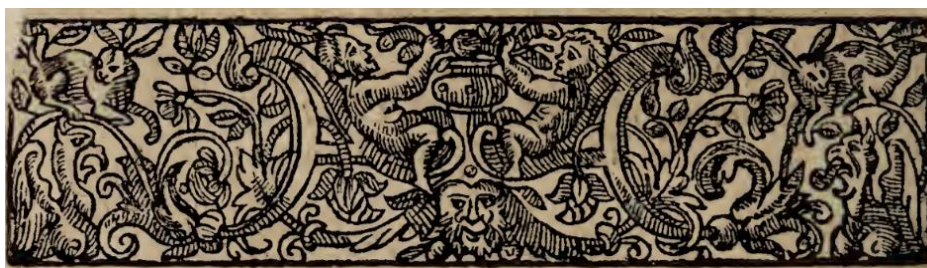


Ward's *First Set of English Madrigals* was printed by Thomas Snodham.¹⁷ The Ward publication is a collection of secular madrigals and although the incorporation of the four virtues may seem out of place on the title page, it sheds new light on the perspective of how recreational music was considered a pious pastime during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. While the printing block used for the title page was also used by Snodham two years previously, some of the other blocks in the introductory pages are synonymous with Allde. The decorative panel or head-piece at the top of the dedication page (Illustration 3.4) was also used by Allde in the *Tragedy of Claudius Tiberius Nero* (1607) (Illustration 3.5),¹⁸ and continued to be used until 1627.

Illustration 3.4: GB-Ym, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 2^r, Dedication Page Decorative Panel



Illustration 3.5: Decorative Panel, *Tragedy of Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 2^v



¹⁷ Miriam Miller and Jeremy L. Smith, 'Snodham, Thomas' in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26049>> [accessed 28 June 2016].

¹⁸ US-Bp G3810.38, *Tragedy of Claudius Nero*, 2^v.

The decorative factotum with the letter *I* found at the beginning of the dedication page is also used at the start of ‘St Mary Now’ (Illustration 3.6).

Illustration 3.6: GB-*Ym*, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 2^r and 10^r, Decorative Factotum, from the Dedication Page and ‘St Mary Now’



The table of contents page, featuring a decorative head-piece, was used by Alde from 1605 and continued to be used by his wife Elizabeth after she inherited the printing business when her husband died in 1634 (Illustration 3.7).¹⁹

Illustration 3.7: GB-*Ym*, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 2^v, Decorative Head-Piece, Table of Contents



The Medusa head ornament at the bottom of the table of contents page can be found in Alde’s books from 1605 until 1615 (Illustration 3.8).²⁰

¹⁹ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, xx.

²⁰ Ibid.

Illustration 3.8: GB-Ym, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 2^f The Medusa Head Ornament, Table of Contents



The common use of the same wood block by both printers for the title pages suggests a theory of shared printing between Snodham and Allde who used the same block two years later. The main principles used to identify labour division in shared printing is an analysis of the typographical evidence such as ornamental stock or a font or notation composite.²¹ Evidence exists in the practice of shared printing between Allde and Thomas Purfoot between 1605 and 1608, where the latter printed only the title page and the remainder of the publication was printed by Allde.²² It has been inaccurately documented that Allde was the primary printer for some of the shared printing with Purfoot based on typographical evidence, but in all known cases of shared printing the primary printer always made the title page and outsourced subsequent sheets to other printers.²³ In the case of *Sacred Hymnes*, as the decorative block used on the title page was also used by Snodham two years previously, there is a strong case to assume the primary printer was Snodham and he subcontracted the other pages to Allde. Morehen maintains a theory of division of work between two compositors in the preparation for the printing of *Sacred Hymnes*.²⁴ The records of the London Stationers do not record

²¹ Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture – A Companion to the Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 222.

²² *Ibid.*, 222.

²³ Taylor and Lavagnino, *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*, 223.

²⁴ John Morehen, 'A Neglected East Anglian Madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean Period', 302-305.

Allde's printing of *Sacred Hymnes* as it states 'cum privilegio regali' or 'with royal permission' on the title page, and as such did not have to be itemised by the London Stationer's Company. On 19 June 1615, Thomas Snodham is listed in the London Stationer's Company for a book with a similar title by Robert Tailour stating 'Entred for his Copie under the handes of master Tavernor and Master Leake and Master Adams wardens *Sacred Hymnes consisting of 50 psalmes* by Robert Taylour'.²⁵

3.2 Printing in London – Allde, East and Snodham

A tentative but possible link exists between John Amner and Thomas Snodham by their respective links to the East family. Snodham was the adopted son of Thomas East and inherited East's printing business sometime between 1609 and 1611.²⁶ Thomas East, often referred to as the father of English printing, was the leading music printer in London from the printing of Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* in 1588 until his death in 1608; he printed most of Byrd's music as well as collections by Thomas Morley, John Dowland, and Francis Pilkington among others.²⁷ Thomas East was the uncle of the composer Michael East who had several connections with the musical life at Ely. In March 1609 Michael East replaced Ralph Amner as a lay clerk in Ely Cathedral Choir but the accounts reveal that his work was sporadic there over a period of five years.²⁸ East received no payment after midsummer of 1609 and his name is

²⁵ London Stationer's Company Registers, 2-22, 29 June 1615, 261.

²⁶ Miriam Miller and Jeremy L. Smith, 'Snodham, Thomas' in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26049>> [accessed 28 June 2016].

²⁷ Miriam Miller and Jeremy L. Smith, 'East, Thomas' in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08476>> [accessed 28 June 2016].

²⁸ Philip Brett and Ian Payne, 'East, Michael' in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08475>> [accessed 1 December 2013].

not included in the list of lay clerks from Michaelmas 1610 or the records for the ecclesiastical visitations of the cathedral in 1610 and 1613. At Michaelmas 1614 he acted as replacement lay clerk for one term.²⁹ East is noted for having published seven sets of books in his life time. While the title of his second publication states *Madrigals to 3. 4. And 5. Parts apt for Viols and voices* (1604), the music was not composed for viols as the compositional style is predominantly homophonic with only a few examples of short contrapuntal or imitative writing. The third set of books printed by Snodham in 1610 was East's first publication to contain music specifically composed for viols. It is significant that it was printed shortly after he joined Ely Cathedral Choir where a long tradition of viol teaching was already in place. The contents and instrumentation of the music is decidedly suitable for instrumental teaching in a choir school. The collection contains two compositions scored for two soprano soloists and five part chorus with viols, namely *Sweet Muses* and *My peace and my pleasure*, which may have been written for the forces available to him. This may be significant for the purposes of working with trebles in a choir school but John Bryan's theory, which suggests the small range of the viol parts with vocal music are easier to play in comparison with the range and interval leaps found in his instrumental works including the *fancies* and *fantasias*, further identifies the music for voices and viols in this collection to be of practical pedagogical material.³⁰

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Michael Fleming and John Bryan, *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers, and Music* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 26-27.

3.3 Text and Lyric in *Sacred Hymnes*

The texts found in *Sacred Hymnes* cannot be attributed to one source, poet or publication. The majority are based on the Psalms, excerpts from the bible, or inspired by contemporary devotional texts and poetry, with the exception of the final piece ‘With mournful Musique’ which is a lament in memory of Thomas Hinson. A search using the texts found in *Sacred Hymnes* in the Union First Line Index of English Verse hosted by the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, provided results which demonstrate the texts are predominantly unique or solely used by Amner in his publication.

All of the texts for the six three-voice compositions are found exclusively in *Sacred Hymnes*. Each of the compositions concludes with a short phrase in Latin which relates to the theme of each piece. John Morehen refers to these as ‘terminal inscriptions’ while David Pinto calls them ‘mottos’.³¹ Amner was not the only composer or copyist to use terminal inscriptions in partbooks and examples can be found in the Elizabethan partbooks of Robert Dow.³² Dow, a Fellow of Laws at All Souls College, Oxford and a teacher of penmanship, included a diverse range of quotations at the ends of pieces as well as Latin poems in his collection dating from 1581 to which he continuously added until his death in 1588.³³ A comparison between Amner’s terminal inscriptions and the one found at the end of a composition by his predecessor at Ely, Robert White, reveals a distinct similarity due to the use of the Latin text and its biblical origin. The elegantly hand written terminal inscription found in the Superius partbook after

³¹ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, Critical Commentary, 139-144; David Pinto, *John Amner: The Consort Anthems*, Critical Commentary, iv-vi.

³² GB-Och Mus. 984-988, Partbooks of Robert Dow.

³³ Katherine Butler, ‘In Praise of Music: Motets, Inscriptions and Musical Philosophy in Robert Dow’s Partbooks’, *Early Music*, 45 (2017), 89-101.

White's *Appropinquet deprecatio mea* (Illustration 3.9) paraphrases Psalm 103 'Cantabo Domino in vita mea, psallam Deo meo quamdiu sum' (I will sing to the Lord as long as I live, I will sing praise to my God while I have my being), offers a unique insight into White's appreciation of sacred music while also fortifying the lyric of the piece which is based on Psalm 118.

Illustration 3.9: GB-*Och* Mus. 984-988, Robert Dow Partbooks, Terminal Inscription, Robert White *Appropinquet deprecatio mea*



In the opening piece of *Sacred Hymnes*, 'Love we in one consenting', the terminal inscription reads 'Diligite vos in vicem, sicut et ego vos dilexi' (Love one another as I have loved you) and is taken from John 13:34.³⁴ The second three-voice piece, 'Let false surmises perish', concludes with 'Charitas non invidet' (Charity is not envious) and progresses the theme of the first piece which may reflect the text found in

³⁴ Track 1.

Corinthians 13:4 ‘Love is Patient and Kind, it is not jealous or boastful’.³⁵ In the King James Bible completed in 1611 the word love is often substituted by charity, for example, Corinthians 13:4 reads ‘Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not’. The third piece, ‘Away with weak complainings’, finishes with the terminal inscription ‘Charitas omnia tollerunt’ (Charity removes all).³⁶ Taken in isolation the phrase fails to continue the theme of love developed in the first two pieces, but it may be interpreted as a development of the Corinthians text where it states at 13:8 ‘Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail, whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away’.

The terminal inscription at the end of the fourth piece, ‘O come thou spirit divinest’, reads ‘Sit Deus in nobis, & nos maneamus in ipso’ (May God be in us and we in him), and is taken from John 4:16.³⁷ This is also the concluding part of the text of the Grace said in the dining hall at Peterhouse, Cambridge, founded in 1284 by Hugo de Balsham, Bishop of Ely.³⁸ While there is no direct link between Amner and Peterhouse at the time of publication, this is where he would transcribe the contents of *Sacred Hymnes* into the Ely partbook in the late 1630s. The rhyming scheme and metre in the opening four pieces consist of two two-line couplets with seven syllables separated by an *Alleluia*. Remaining with the theme of love, the text may relate to John 4:16 where it states ‘God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him’. The fifth piece, ‘O love beseeming well the God of love’, concludes with a more direct phrase to John 4:16 which states ‘Deus charitas est’ (God is love).³⁹ The text pattern

³⁵ Track 2.

³⁶ Track 3.

³⁷ Track 4.

³⁸ Henry Lancelot Dixon, *Saying Grace Historically Considered, and Numerous Forms of Grace taken from Ancient and Modern Sources* (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1903), 182.

³⁹ Track 5.

found in the first four pieces is developed in the fifth piece by including a single line at the start and another at the end.

The first five pieces close with the word *alleluia* and are labelled ‘An Alleluia’, with the exception of the following printing errors: ‘Love we in one consenting’ and ‘O come thou spirit divinest’ are incorrectly labelled ‘A Motect’ in the Cantus Partbook. The final three-voice composition, ‘Distressed Soul and thou deceitful eye’, does not use the word *alleluia*.⁴⁰ In stark contrast to the preceding texts, this piece depicts an intense and grim lamentation:

Distressed soul, and thou deceitful eye,
Cease not to moan thy misery,
Cease not to mourn,
Sith you cease not to sin,
Better else you had never been,
For now no hope, no help for you is left,
But grief for that whereof you are bereft,
Aye me, poor wretch forlorn,
That ever I was born, aye me.

The terminal inscription ‘Per unum hominem peccatum; et per peccatum mors’ (As by one man sin entered, so death spread to all) taken from Romans 5:12 refers to the sin of mankind through Adam and by baptism sin is forgiven.⁴¹ The theme of love developed in the opening five pieces comes to an abrupt end with a narrative cautioning about the church’s beliefs on earthly or mortal sin. This theme of sin conforms with the synopsis of Protestant theology in early modern England by Isabel

⁴⁰ Track 6.

⁴¹ Anthony Dupont, *Gratia in Augustine’s Sermones ad Populum during the Pelagian Controversy: Do different contexts furnish different insights?* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 217-218.

Rivers when she suggests the Church of England emphasised ‘the basic paradoxes of Christianity, the limitations of human reason, the great gap between man’s sin and God’s grace’.⁴²

This subject of mortal or earthly sin is sustained in the first of the four-voice pieces ‘Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content’.⁴³ The text is the first example in *Sacred Hymnes* that incorporates borrowing and reworking from a published Renaissance dramatist. The text shares the opening two lines but the last four lines have been completely altered to deliver the opposite intention. Robert Wilson’s moral play *The Cobbler’s Prophecy* was printed in 1594 and includes two onstage songs namely ‘Hey down down a down a down’ and ‘Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content’.⁴⁴ In the second song Venus, who has cuckolded Mars at the start of the scene, begins singing as he falls asleep.

Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content,
Delight full be the joys that know no care:
The sleeps are sound that are from dreams exempt,
Yet in chief sweets lies hid a secret snare,
Where love is watched by prying jealous eyes,
It fits the loved to be wary wise.⁴⁵

The dramatic context of Wilson’s lyric is important in understanding the progression and themes in the play. Venus ultimately commits adultery with Contempt and bears

⁴² Isabel Rivers, *Classical and Christian Ideas in English Renaissance Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1994)

⁴³ Track 7.

⁴⁴ Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue Vol. 3: 1590-1597* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 170.

⁴⁵ Robert Wilson, *The Cobbler’s Prophecy* (London: John Danter for Cuthbert Burbie, 1593). The Title Page states they ‘are to be sold at his shop near the Royal-Exchange’.

his illegitimate child Ruina. The theme of sexual corruption or infidelity explored in the play could not be further removed from the text found in *Sacred Hymnes* which focuses on the thoughts and joy of heaven and that earthly joys end in sorrow.

It is inconceivable that Amner or the poet he may have collaborated with for *Sacred Hymnes* coincidentally created an identical opening two lines found in *The Cobbler's Prophecy*. These two lines are also strikingly analogous to Robert Greene's 'Sweet are thoughts that savour of content' in *Farewell to Folly* (1591). By developing Wilson's lyric Amner may have tried to build upon or even capitalise on the immoral relationship in the play and to develop the text to convey the church's teaching on sexual morality.

Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content,
Delight full be the joys that know no care.
Such those sweet thoughts that on heav'n's joys are bent,
And on celestial bliss still thinking are:
These joys delight, these thoughts content do send,
All earthly thoughts and joys in sorrow end.

The terminal inscription at the end of the piece, 'Intelligentia carnis mors est: intelligentia vero spiritus, vita et pax' consolidates Amner's intention with the text. The phrase taken from Romans 8:6 'For to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace'. It is possible that this quotation from the bible is addressing the sexual corruption found in *The Cobbler's Prophecy* and inviting its readers, performers or audience to ponder on the teachings of the church. The ABABCC rhyming scheme found in *The Cobbler's Prophecy* is retained in Amner's

modified text and the metre in each line also contains ten syllables.⁴⁶ A sketch of this piece is found on manuscript from 1618 inserted into the front of a partbook of Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia* printed in 1609.⁴⁷

The second of the four-voice pieces 'Come let's rejoice' has been attributed to Psalm 95 1-2 and the text is also found in the Office of Our Lady for Mattins as Psalm 94 in Richard Verstegan's *The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie, in Latin and English* (1599).⁴⁸ Byrd also set this text and it is found in *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* printed by Thomas Snodham in 1611. Taking into consideration Byrd's well-documented staunch Catholic beliefs it is not surprising that he used a text from a book of Marian devotion, but in the case of Amner the use of this text suggests an inclination to Catholicism.

The next three pieces in *Sacred Hymnes* are essentially one piece in three partes, namely 'Saint Mary Now', 'At Length to Christ' and 'But He the God of Love'.⁴⁹ The text found in Luke 7:36-50 conveys Mary Magdalene's repentance to Jesus and seeking forgiveness for her sins. Peter Le Huray describes the music and the verse in *Sacred Hymnes* as uneven and chose 'Saint Mary Now' to illustrate what he terms as the 'embarrassing literary naiveties' of the texts found in the collection.⁵⁰ The end of the first piece uses the Latin terminal inscription 'Maria Magdalene beatae Lachrymae' which translates as 'Blessed Mary Madalene's Tears' (Illustration 3.10). Throughout

⁴⁶ The syllable allocation of ten in each line is common when the word *heavens* is truncated from *heavens* to *heav'ns* and the word *loved* is considered two syllables as in *lov-éd*.

⁴⁷ See Chapter 4.1, 95.

⁴⁸ John Saward, John Morrill and Michael Tomko (eds), *Firmly I Believe and Truly: The Spiritual Tradition of Catholic England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 164. Track 8.

⁴⁹ Tracks 9-11.

⁵⁰ Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 300.

the counter-reformation a substantial body of penitential poetry came from Italy and was disseminated throughout Europe. Erasmo de Valvasone's *Lagrima di S. Maria Maddalena* printed in 1585 may well have influenced Amner as the title of Valvasone's poem and the terminal inscription are at the very least comparable.⁵¹

Illustration 3.10: GB-Ym, P13/1 S, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 10^r, Terminal Inscription, 'Saint Mary Now'



Devotional poetry venerating Mary Magdalene was not exclusive to Catholicism. In 1606 Magdalen College Oxford published a collection of poetry in memory of William

⁵¹ Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalene: The Essential History* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 270.

Grey (d18 February 1605) entitled *Beatae Mariae Magdalенаe Lachrymae*.⁵² The poems, written by members of Magdalen College, are predominantly in Latin and the volume is dedicated to William Grey's mother, the Dowager Lady Joanna Grey. There is no terminal inscription after the second *part*, but the third concludes with 'Peccata multi dimittuntur, nam dilexit multum' which is taken from Luke 7:47, 'Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much'.

The final piece for four-voices 'Woe is me, that I am a stranger so long' is based on Psalm 120: 4-5 and Psalm 55: 6.⁵³ While the opening line 'Woe is me' is commonly used by Renaissance poets and dramatists, and the first part or section of the text from Psalm 140 was set by Thomas Tomkins in his *Songs of 3. 4. 5. And 6. Parts* (1622), Amner's text which paraphrases two psalms appears to be unique to *Sacred Hymnes*. The Amner text is inaccurately listed together with the Tomkins and Ramsey settings found in the Title Index for Vocal Works in Craig Monson's *Voices and Viols in England: 1600-1650* as 'Woe is me that I am constrained'.⁵⁴ Although they share the first three words, the text 'Woe is me, that I am constrained' thereafter is entirely different from that in *Sacred Hymnes*. The Amner text continues with the laments 'that I am a stranger so long, and that I dwell in the tents of Kedar'. In Genesis, Kedar is the second son of Ishmael and in Isaiah, Kedar is described as a distant and barbarous tribe.⁵⁵ In Psalm 120 the text also mentions the Mesech, and although Amner omits the names in his text, the theme of the psalm ultimately highlights both tribes as a sinful

⁵² Falconer Madan, *The Early Oxford Press: A Bibliography of Printing and Publishing at Oxford 1468-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 65.

⁵³ Track 12.

⁵⁴ Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 360.

⁵⁵ James Hastings (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Bible: Volume II (Part II: I – Kinsman)* (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2004), 832.

race. The terminal inscription ‘Dum sumus in carne, peregrinamur a domino’ (Whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord) is taken from 2 Corinthians 5:6, and may indicate once again a theology where the mortal sin of mankind is forgiven in death with the promise of eternal life with the Lord.

Only one of Amner’s texts, ‘Remember not, Lord, our offences’, is taken from the Book of Common Prayer.⁵⁶ The text appeared first in *Exhortation and Litany* compiled in 1544 by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and later the text was incorporated in the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 as part of the Litany and retained thereafter in subsequent editions. The text is a translation of the Latin antiphon *Ne reminiscaris Domine delicta nostra* found in the *Liber Usualis*. The piece concludes with the terminal inscription ‘Meritum meum miseratio domine’ which translates as ‘My merit is the mercy of the Lord’ and taken from St Augustine’s *De Contemplatione Christi* or *Manuale Augustini*.⁵⁷

The second of the five-voice pieces comprises two *partes*: ‘Thus sings that heavenly quire’ and ‘The heavens stood all amazed’.⁵⁸ The piece concludes with the terminal inscription ‘Audivi magnum vocem multi populi in caelo Dicentis Alleluia’ which is taken from Apocalypse 19:1 and translates as ‘I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying Alleluia’. Taken in isolation the lyric of the two *partes* could be mistaken as joyful hymns of praise but the theme of penitence and judgement is

⁵⁶ Track 13.

⁵⁷ Stephen Cattley (ed.) *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition Vol. V* (London: Seeley & Burnside, 1837-1841), 189. A similar statement *My merit comes from his mercy* can be found in St Bernard’s *Sermons on the Song of Songs 61:3-5*, taken from the Office of Readings for Wednesday of Week 3 of Ordinary Time, a non-allocated time of worship in the Catholic prayer ritual the Liturgy of the Hours.

⁵⁸ Tracks 14-15.

continued in the second line of chapter 19 of Apocalypse, which states ‘For true and righteous are his judgements: for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.’ The lyric of the first part is a unique composite of the readings Wisdom 5 and Apocalypse 19 for Evensong on All Saints Day. Amner’s contemporaries also composed pieces based on these texts such as Thomas Weelkes’s *Alleluia, I heard a voice*. Morehen describes the rhyme of the opening two lines of *The heavens stood all amazed* as ‘a pre-echo of John Milton’s ode *On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity*’ lines 69 and 70 ‘The stars with deep amaze, Stand fixed in steadfast gaze’.⁵⁹ It is unlikely that Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes* influenced Milton’s poetry as the poem was written in December 1629 and published in 1645.⁶⁰

The lyric of the next five-voice piece ‘Now doth the city remain solitary’ is based upon the text found at the opening of Lamentations 1:1-2 and Luke 13:34.⁶¹ All of the *Sacred Hymnes* partbooks and table of contents consistently use ‘Now’ as the first word to the piece, but the scriptural text and other settings of this text begins with ‘How’. This text was popular with other Renaissance composers under similar titles such as ‘How doth the city sit solitary’ and ‘How doth the city remain desolate’, for example, Matthew Locke’s five-voice verse setting, as well as those by Robert Ramsey, John Blow, Christopher Gibbons, and George Loosemore.⁶² Even though all extant copies conform to the same text in *Sacred Hymnes*, this may have been an error

⁵⁹ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, Critical Commentary, 141.

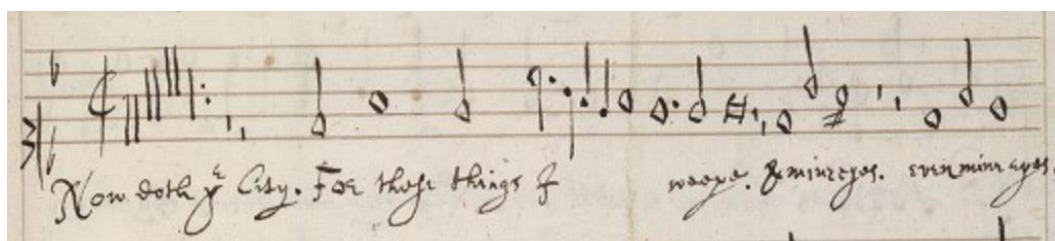
⁶⁰ Thomas Corns (ed.), *A Companion to Milton* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 215.

⁶¹ John Morehen, in his edition of *Sacred Hymnes*, records the text as based on Matthew 23.37, but it is also found in Luke 13:14. Track 16.

⁶² Examples include Matthew Locke, *How doth the city sit solitary*, GB-Och Mus. 14; Robert Ramsey *How doth the city remain desolate*, GB-Ob Ms. Mus. f. 20-24; John Blow, *How doth the city sit solitary*, GB-Lbl Add. 31444, IRL-Dm Z1.2.25, GB-Lbl Add. 47845, GB-Lbl Add. 29372-29377, GB-Och Mus. 14; Christopher Gibbons, *How doth the city sit solitary*, GB-Och Mus. 22; George Loosemore, *How doth the city sit solitary*, GB-Lbl Add. 34203.

which was subsequently copied in the engraving process. When Amner copied this piece in the partbooks at Peterhouse Cambridge, over two decades after it was first published in 1638, his neat hand clearly demonstrates that the text for this piece had not changed and the word *Now* is clearly notated (Illustration 3.11).

Illustration 3.11: GB-Cp MSS 485-491, Peterhouse Partbooks, ‘Now doth the city’, 1638



The terminal inscription in *Sacred Hymnes* reads ‘O Heirusalem Hierusalem qui occidas prophetas &c’ is also taken from Luke 13:34 ‘O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets [and stonest them that are sent unto thee]’.

The liturgical Feast of the Ascension is the theme for the next five-voice piece ‘He that descended man to be’.⁶³ The text, comprising two rhyming couplets with an alleluia refrain, paraphrases Psalm 47 and appears to be unique to *Sacred Hymnes*. While the short terminal transcription ‘Ascensio Christi’ (Christ’s Ascension) encapsulates the liturgical feast day succinctly, it may be further interpreted to be a development of the theological themes found in ‘Woe is me’ which centres on the Christian belief of life after death.

⁶³ Track 17.

The analysis of the text and terminal transcriptions so far have emulated Catholic tendencies with reference to penitence and confession, the worshiping of Saints and quoting from writings by Catholic scholars such as St Augustine, but there is a dramatic change to be found in the final five-voice piece ‘I will sing unto the Lord’.⁶⁴ This is the only piece to contain a sub-heading with the title which reads ‘In memory of the Gunpowder Day’ and concludes with a terminal inscription taken from Romans 8.31 ‘Si Deus nobiscum, qui contra nos’ (If God be for us, who can be against us?).⁶⁵ The purposeful inclusion of the reference to Gunpowder Day firmly aligns Amner with loyalty to the crown and the Church of England, and eradicates any suggestion that he was a recusant Catholic. The overtones of a Catholic ideology present in the collection points toward the aspirations of the high church movement, which was still in its infancy and not fully realised until William Laud’s industrious undertakings in the 1630s. These Catholic sentiments found in *Sacred Hymnes* epitomise the pursuit of ‘beauty of holiness’ in an artistic, poetic and musical approach, which is clearly witnessed in the elaborate six-voice verse anthems that follows.⁶⁶

The six-voice pieces scored for voices and viols begin with Amner’s most celebrated or well-known composition ‘O ye little flock’, which is the first of a set of three *partes*, the second part is ‘Fear not, for unto you is born a saviour’ and the third is ‘And they cry one to another’.⁶⁷ The text for Part 1 and 2 is based on Luke’s account of the Christmas story and paraphrases Luke 2:8-15 in what appears to be a unique composite

⁶⁴ Track 18.

⁶⁵ See Chapter 1, 11-12, for further detail on Gunpowder Day. The terminal inscription in John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, 69, erroneously records the inscription as *Ascensio Christi*. However, the Critical Commentary records the correct terminal inscription, 142, suggesting the error may have occurred while engraving the score for Stainer & Bell.

⁶⁶ Graham Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 139-140.

⁶⁷ Tracks 19-21.

of words, and while Part 3 appears to be what the angels may have sung, the text is more closely related to Isaiah 6:3, ‘And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory’. The terminal inscription ‘Gloria in excelsis deo &c.’ found at the end of Part 2 and 3 is also found in Luke 2:14.

The nativity theme is developed in the next two verse anthems which comprise two *partes* of a larger structure, part one is called ‘Lo, how from heaven’ and part two ‘I bring you tidings’.⁶⁸ There is no terminal inscription found at the end of the first verse anthem but the second anthem uses the same terminal inscription as the other Christmas pieces. The high proportion of six-voiced compositions recounting the nativity may indicate that the performance of music composed for voices and viols was remarkably popular with aristocratic households during Christmastide.

The next six-voice composition, ‘A stranger here’, is arguably written for voices only as there are no instrumental introductions or exposed instrumental sections throughout the piece and it may be considered a full anthem.⁶⁹ There is no evidence to prove that full anthems were not accompanied by viol consorts in a domestic setting, and the purity of the consort sound could complement the voices well.⁷⁰ The opening line of the text is reminiscent of Psalm 39 used during the service of the Burial of the Dead found in the Book of Common Prayer. The terminal inscription ‘Ego sum via, veritas & vita’ (I am the way, the truth and the life) is taken from John 14:6.

⁶⁸ Tracks 22-23.

⁶⁹ Track 24.

⁷⁰ In the performance of *Sacred Hymnes* in 2015, all of the six-voice anthems were accompanied by viols. This decision was made to gain an understanding of the possibility of full anthems also using viol accompaniment. On the recording they are performed *a cappella*.

The penultimate composition, ‘My Lord is hence removed and laid’, is unusual in this set primarily due to its brevity.⁷¹ Scored for tenor in the verse and the chorus joining for an imitative *Alleluia*, the piece is more akin to a devotional consort song with a chorus rather than a consort anthem. The text which narrates Mary Magdalen’s discovery at the empty tomb is found in three of the gospels: Matthew 28:5-6, Mark 16.6, and John 20:13. The same theme has featured in Renaissance compositions including Morley’s four-voice composition *Eheu Sustulerunt Domine Meum* (Alas, they have taken away my Lord).⁷² The terminal inscription read ‘Resurrectio Christi’ (Christ’s Resurrection) and demonstrates Amner’s theological beliefs that Christ died to save mankind. Throughout the collection there is an overbearing theme of penitence and a theology that centres on life after death. The choice of finishing the collection with reference to the Resurrection is significant because it is the cornerstone of Christianity and the promise of eternal life with the Lord.

The final piece in *Sacred Hymnes*, ‘An Elegy in Memory of Master Thomas Hynson’, is a text that is entirely unique and includes Hinson’s surname in the text.⁷³ Both the length of the text and the number of bars of this piece are the longest for any individual movement in the collection. While Morehen suggests that Amner’s patron William Bouchier may have even commissioned the piece, the dense and heavy texture throughout may express Amner’s own grief.⁷⁴ Dawn Grapes maintains that the text of the Elegy in *Sacred Hymnes* follows the ‘standard formula’ for Elizabethan-Jacobean funeral elegies.⁷⁵ This formula comprises an appeal to remember the deceased, a

⁷¹ Track 25.

⁷² Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 1597.

⁷³ See Chapter 1.3, 24-25, 30. Track 26.

⁷⁴ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, Critical Commentary, 144.

⁷⁵ Dawn Grapes, *With Mournfull Musique: Funeral Elegies in Early Modern England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), 7.

testimony to their fine character, a lament by the poet, and concludes with reference to the deceased's eternal reward with God.⁷⁶ Grapes implies that the Elegy is like a consort song and it would have been performed by two sopranos with a viol consort playing the lower parts, due to the instruction 'for voyces and viols' on the title page of *Sacred Hymnes*,⁷⁷ but it is more likely that this piece was performed in the style of a full anthem by six voices and unaccompanied.

3.4 Printed Music, Manuscript Anthologies and Choir Partbooks

The repertoire of consort music including fantasias, *In Nomines*, madrigals, motets, consort songs and dances, was circulated and disseminated in three ways during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. While a large body of music was printed, music collectors also created partbook anthologies in response to a growing market for printed music. Examples of individual partbooks, which are named after their households, include the Dow Partbooks, the Hamond Partbooks and Shirley Partbooks. The needs of the cathedrals, churches and college chapel choirs also witnessed a demand for the copying or transcription of existing consort music into choir partbooks.

The copying of pieces from *Sacred Hymnes* into the 'Former' set of Caroline partbooks and the 'Latter' set at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in the late 1630s determines a time span of more than two decades between the first publication of *Sacred Hymnes* and its transcription into the partbooks.⁷⁸ The similarity between the hand in the 'Latter' set of partbooks and Amner's signature in the Treasury Accounts at Ely Cathedral reveals

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁸ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, vii.

that both are by same hand. The entries in the partbooks also represent Amner's reworking of the pieces for a liturgical setting. There are notable differences between the domestic and liturgical copies of *O ye little flock*. Each of the chorus sections in the liturgical copy is between five and seven bars shorter than the domestic copy. The third part *And they cry* includes a part for bass in the opening verse section and the final chorus provides a reallocation of text which results in the omission of the final alleluia found in the domestic version.

The compositions in *Sacred Hymnes* also feature in personal partbooks and manuscript anthologies from the early seventeenth century, notably those of John Merro and Thomas Hamond.⁷⁹ Merro, a lay clerk of Gloucester Cathedral from 1609 to 1639, compiled three large music manuscripts of which two include music by John Amner.⁸⁰ In Merro's first collection, Drexel 4180-4185 which dates from between 1615 and 1625, Andrew Ashbee suggests the collection was not part of Gloucester Cathedral Choir library but was more likely 'a collection made for informal use of the choirmen and their friends'.⁸¹ Ashbee further observes that the collection which contains anthems, motets, madrigals and instrumental pieces, was used for recreational or domestic music-making as some of the music is secular and instrumental.⁸² Merro taught viol for a time at Gloucester cathedral and the Cathedral Accounts contain three

⁷⁹ US-NYp Drexel 4180-4185 John Merro partbooks and GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17792-17796 John Merro partbooks; GB-Och MSS Mus. F1-28 Thomas Hamond partbooks.

⁸⁰ Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 42; Andrew Ashbee, 'John Merro's Manuscripts Revisited', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 7 (2013), 1.

⁸¹ Ashbee, 'John Merro's Manuscripts Revisited', 2.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 3, Andrew Ashbee and Robert Thompson, et al., *IMCCM The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts containing Consort Music* <www.vdgs.org.uk/indexmss.html> [accessed 2 October 2018], 235.

annual payments ‘to John Merro for a roome which he rented of John Beames to teache the Children to playe upon the Vialls ... 10s’.⁸³

The collection, a set of six partbooks, includes seventeen of the twenty-six pieces found in John Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes* and one other full anthem ‘O sing unto the Lord’.⁸⁴ While Merro does not include any of the three-voice compositions from *Sacred Hymnes*, all of the four-voice pieces are included, together with four of the five-voice pieces and seven of the six-voice pieces.⁸⁵ It is not remarkable that Merro chose to omit the final piece from *Sacred Hymnes*, ‘An Elegy in Memory of Master Thomas Hynson’, in his manuscript as the text of this piece includes Hinson’s name. Surprisingly he excludes ‘Thus sings that heavenly quire’ which is the first part of ‘The Heavens stood all amazed’ and this is unusual as he includes all of the other parts for pieces in sections. It is possible the text in the first part, ‘and all the saints with purest robes’, had too much affiliation with Catholicism for the aristocratic household where Merro performed from his collection. It was common practice in the early seventeenth century for individual manuscript collections to only include part of longer works or those containing *partes*.⁸⁶

⁸³ Gloucester Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Accounts 1628-1630; quoted in Ashbee, ‘John Merro’s Manuscripts Revisited’, 5. John Beames was a lay clerk at Gloucester from 1621-1629.

⁸⁴ Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650*, 149-153.

⁸⁵ The numbers and titles of compositions by John Amner found in US-NYp Drexel 4180 are ‘Sainte Marie Now’ and ‘At Length’ 18^v, ‘But he the God of love’ 19, ‘Sweet are the thoughts’ and ‘Woe is me’ 19^v, ‘Come let’s rejoice’ 21, ‘I will sing unto the Lord’ 32, ‘The heavens stood’ 32^v, ‘He that descended’ 33, ‘Now doth the city’ 33^v, ‘O ye little flocks’ 60^v, ‘Fear not’ 61^v, ‘And they cry’ 62, ‘Lo how from heaven’ 62^v, ‘I bring you tidings’ 63, ‘A stranger here’ 63^v, ‘My Lord is hence removed’ 64, ‘O sing unto the Lord’ 158^v.

⁸⁶ John Milsom, ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’, in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice 1400-1650, Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice*, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), 172.

Ashbee also suggests that the material in Merro's manuscripts such as *Sacred Hymnes* was 'available in Gloucester, perhaps in the cathedral library', but this is conjecture at best as no records survive to confirm the library owned a copy. Morehen suggests that both the Merro and Hamond manuscripts have been proven to derive from the 1615 print of *Sacred Hymnes*.⁸⁷ As the music in the publication was intended for domestic use, it is more plausible that Merro copied from an edition of *Sacred Hymnes* belonging to one of the aristocratic households in the vicinity of Gloucester rather than the cathedral library.

The second collection in Merro's hand, GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17792-17796, dates from 1620 and he continually made additions through to the 1630s.⁸⁸ The initials 'I.M.' on the cover of the manuscript was first identified to be John Merro by Pamela Willetts in 1961.⁸⁹ A significant number of pieces in MSS 17792-17796 are duplicate copies of those found in the Drexel collection. Ashbee suggests that the duplicates may have been 'in part to supply music for groups of consort-playing choristers'.⁹⁰ Of the seventeen pieces by Amner found in the Drexel collection, only eight are duplicated in MSS 17792-17796.⁹¹ Merro also includes one other piece from *Sacred Hymnes*, 'Remember not, Lord, our offences' which does not feature in the Drexel manuscript. The inclusion of almost all the four-, five-, and six-voice pieces from *Sacred Hymnes* in Merro's manuscripts demonstrates a certain popularity for Amner's domestic sacred music in the west counties of England.

⁸⁷ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, vii.

⁸⁸ GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17792-17796; Ashbee, 'John Merro's Manuscripts Revisited', 1.

⁸⁹ Pamela Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *British Museum Quarterly*, 24 (1961), 71-75.

⁹⁰ Ashbee, 'John Merro's Manuscripts Revisited', 6.

⁹¹ The numbers and titles of compositions by John Amner found in GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17792-17796 are 'Sainte Marie Now' 22, 'At Length' 22^v, 'But he the God of love' 23, 'Sweet are the thoughts' 23^v, 'Come let's rejoice' 24^v, 'Remember not. Lord, our offences' 141^v, 'I will sing unto the Lord' 144^v, 'He that descended' 145, 'O sing unto the Lord' 162^v.

In the eastern counties, another prominent seventeenth-century collector, Thomas Hamond of Suffolk, included thirteen pieces from *Sacred Hymnes* in his partbooks.⁹² He has clearly indicated when sections of the collection were notated and in the case of fols 20-24 they are dated '1630' and '1633'.⁹³ This suggests that the compositions in *Sacred Hymnes* continued to be popular in domestic settings for at least two decades after it was first published. All of the pieces in the Hamond partbooks can also be found in Merro's with the exception of 'With mournful music'. It is unusual that Hamond included this elegy or lament written to remember Thomas Hinson and did not include the verse anthem 'My Lord is hence removed'.

3.5 Conclusion

The penitential theme running through the texts in *Sacred Hymnes* is common in other printed collections including instrumental consort music such as Dowland's *Lachrimae* and Michael East's 5-part *Fantasias* where each piece bears a Latin title reflecting the redemption of sinners. The protestant theology of repentance and the grace of God's forgiveness is the focal point of this collection. While some examples in the texts may seem to reflect crypto-Catholic message, they are easily dismissed by the overarching protestant ideology. The texts in *Sacred Hymnes* are all paraphrased or directly quoted from biblical texts and although they have been labelled as 'naïve', Amner's studies to become as a clergyman may have informed this protestant theology which is communicated in a diverse sample of extracts from the bible. Acknowledging

⁹² GB-Ob MSS Mus. f. 20-24; The numbers and titles of compositions by John Amner found in the collection are 'Remember not. Lord, our offences' 4^v, 'Now doth the city' 5^v, 'He that descended man to be' 6^v, 'Thus sings that heavenly choir' 20^v, 'The heavens stood all amazed' 21^v, 'I will sing unto the Lord' 22^v, 'O ye little flock' 69^v, 'Fear not' 70^v, 'And they cry' 71^v, 'Lo, how from heaven' 72^v, 'I bring you tidings' 73^v, 'A stranger here', 75^v 'With mournful music' 74^v.

⁹³ Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650*, 77.

that the publication was originally intended for the domestic market rather than liturgical use, the texts give a clear insight into the piety practised by those who used the collection at home. While it is almost impossible to prove how popular *Sacred Hymnes* was in the early seventeenth century, the fact that excerpts are included in both John Merro's partbooks and Thomas Hamond's collection demonstrates an interest outside of the residence of Amner's patron, William Burchier, in Devon and Amner's connections with Ely.

Chapter Four

Amner's Legacy in Partbooks

4.1 *Sacred Hymnes*: Sources and Manuscript Inscriptions

John Morehen clearly outlines the known extant copies which were consulted in the preparation of his edition of *Sacred Hymnes*.¹ Only four complete copies of *Sacred Hymnes* survive and they are located in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the British Library, London, the Royal College of Music, London, and the Minster Library, York.² There are two further incomplete copies in England found at the University Library Cambridge where the collection lacks the *Cantus Primus* and *Cantus Secundus* books, and a second set of books in the Bodleian Library which is missing the *Tenor* book.³ All of the extant copies in US libraries are incomplete. The most complete copy is found at Sibley Library, University of Rochester, which lacks the *Quintus* book.⁴ The copies at the Houghton Library, Harvard University and the Huntington Library, San Marino contain the *Bassus* book only.⁵ In the two copies found at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, one contains the *Tenor* book only while the other lacks *Tenor* and *Quintus*.⁶ Based on the surviving copies, John Morehen advocates that *Sacred Hymnes* only enjoyed a single print run.⁷ While there are some variants and errors in the copies for *Sacred Hymnes*, none of them had any cancel slips or evidence,

¹ John Morehen, *The English Madrigalists: John Amner Sacred Hymnes* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2000), vi; John Morehen, 'A Neglected East Anglian Madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean Period', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11 (1998), 290-291.

² GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 453-458, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*; GB-Lbl K.3.h.2, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*; GB-Lcm I. C. 22, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*; GB-Ym P13/1-6 S, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*.

³ GB-Cu Syn.6.61.11-14, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*; GB-Ob Tenbury Mus. e. 26, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*.

⁴ US-R Vault/M/1490/A522, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*.

⁵ US-CA Mus 613.1.575, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*; US-SM RB 18372, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes*.

⁶ US-Ws STC 563, John Amner *Sacred Hymnes* (both sources share the same library reference).

⁷ Morehen, *The English Madrigalists: John Amner Sacred Hymnes*, vi.

such as paper discoloration, to indicate where a cancel slip may have been placed and subsequently become detached.⁸ In the *Bassus* book ‘Thus sings that heavenly quire’ a semibreve was inserted by hand during the print run and all extant sources contain the identical correction.⁹ Morehen suggests that this correction was not Amner’s intention as it initiates a rhythmic duration that was not available without a tie. As there are no other ties found throughout *Sacred Hymnes*, it would introduce an uncharacteristic rhythmic duration to the collection, although contemporaries of Amner used them extensively.¹⁰

In 1996 David Greer pinpointed a page of manuscript bound in the front of John Farmer’s *The First Set of English Madrigals* (1599) containing the text ‘Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content’ (Illustration 4.1).¹¹ Greer notes the text to be ‘similar to Robert Greene’s ‘Sweet are the thoughts that savour of content’ but does not elaborate any further.¹² The basis of this article, among others, has informed Greer’s *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music*,¹³ and while he includes the same material the narrative concerning the text still remains.¹⁴ The text is identical to a song found in the Robert Wilson play, *The Cobblers Prophecy*, and it shares the opening two lines of Amner’s setting of the same title. The manuscript leaf offers a

⁸ Errors found in the *Cantus Primus* partbook include *Love we in one consenting* and *O Come thou Spirit divinest* described as *A Motect* although it labelled *An Alleluia* in all other books; *O Come thou Spirit divinest* described as being for 4. *voc.* when it is written for three voices; and *Come Let’s rejoice* described as being for 3. *voc.* when it is written for four voices.

⁹ Morehen, ‘A Neglected East Anglian Madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean Period’, 297.

¹⁰ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, 141.

¹¹ David Greer, ‘Manuscript Additions in ‘Parthenia’ and Other Early Printed Music in America’, *Music & Letters*, 77 (1996), 169-182, US-Cn VM 79.F23f, John Farmer, *The First Set of English Madrigals*.

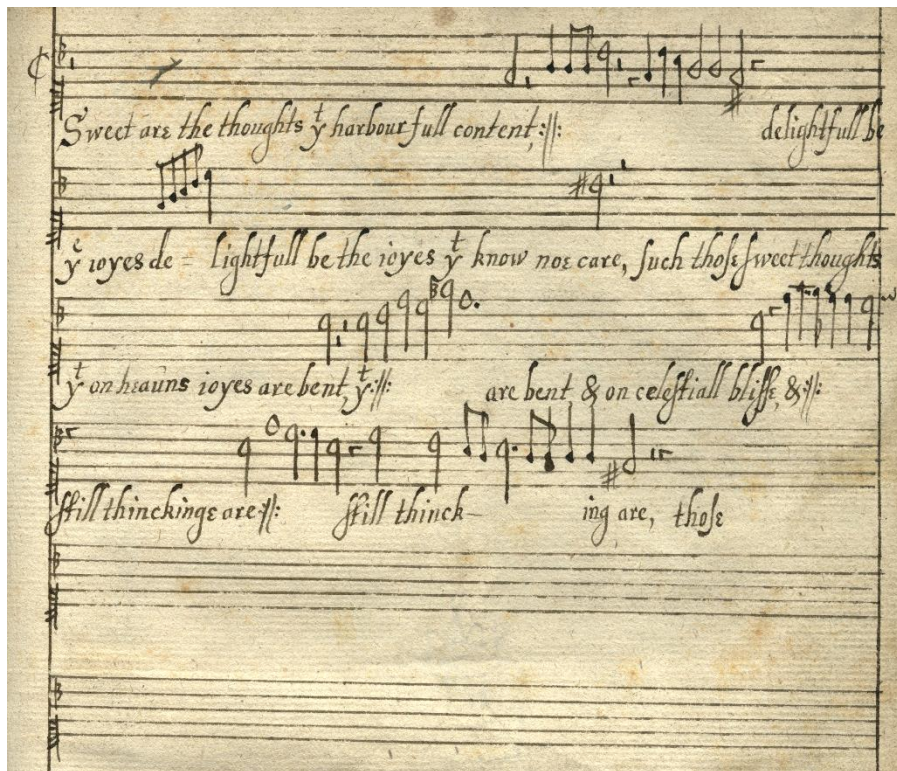
¹² David Greer, ‘Manuscript Additions in ‘Parthenia’ and Other Early Printed Music in America’, *Music & Letters*, 77, (1996), 177.

¹³ David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

¹⁴ See 79-81.

partial copy of one of the parts of ‘Sweet are the thoughts’ from Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes*, but with the complete text.¹⁵ The short rhythmic motif, comprising a crotchet and two quavers with the interval of a minor third, is sung imitatively by all voices at the start of Amner’s setting. The melody which follows this motif, including the rests on either side, is identical to the melody found in *Cantus Primus*. The rising scale figure on de- which resolves chromatically, although melodic notes are missing, consolidate that the music in this manuscript is indisputably Amner’s setting. Illustration 4.2 compares the reading offered by the inserted leaf copied by Darcy against the printed *Cantus* line: it presumably shows the passages with which he had trouble memorising.

Illustration 4.1: US-Cn VM 79.F23f, John Farmer, *The First Set of English Madrigals*, the transcription of Amner’s ‘Sweet are the thoughts’ by Conyers Darcy, bound into the cover



¹⁵ Track 7.

Illustration 4.2: Comparative notation of the cantus part of ‘Sweet are the thoughts’ with Darcy’s transcription

The image displays a musical score for the cantus part of 'Sweet are the thoughts', comparing the original notation with Darcy's transcription. The score is presented in two columns: 'Cantus' and 'Darcy Notation'. The music is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The lyrics are: 'Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content, sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content, Delightful be the joys delightful be the joys that know no care, Such those sweet thoughts that on heav'n's joys are bent, that on heav'n's joys are bent, are bent, And on celestial bliss, and on celestial bliss still thinking are, still think - ing are, still think - ing are; These joys delight, these thoughts content do send, content do send, content do send, these joys delight, these thoughts content do send, All earthly thoughts and joys in sorrow end, all earthly thoughts and joys in sorrow end, in sorrow end, in sorrow end.' The score is divided into systems, with measure numbers 5, 9, 14, 18, 22, and 26 marked at the beginning of each system. The 'Cantus' part is written in a single staff, while the 'Darcy Notation' part is written in two staves (C and DN). The lyrics are placed below the corresponding musical lines.

Cantus
Sweet are the thoughts that har-bour full con-tent, sweet are the thoughts that har-bour full con- tent, De-

Darcy Notation
Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content ://:

5
C
light-ful be the joys, de - light-ful be the joys that know no care. Such those sweet thoughts that on -

DN
delightful be the joys de lightful be the joys that know no care, such those sweet thoughts that on

9
C
heav'n's joys are bent, that on heav'n's joys are bent, are bent, And on ce-les-tial bliss,

DN
heav'ns joys are bent, that ://: are bent & on celestial bliss

14
C
and on ce-les-tial bliss still think-ing are, still think - ing are, still think -

DN
& ://: still thinking are ://: still think -

18
C
- ing are; These joys de-light, these thoughts con- tent do send, con- tent do send, con

DN
ing are, those

22
C
tent do send, these joys de- light, these thoughts con-tent do send, All earth-ly thoughts and joys in

DN

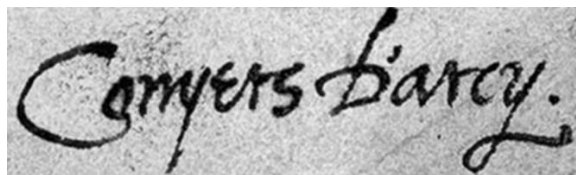
26
C
sor - row end, all earth-lythoughts and joys in sor - row end, in sor - row end, in sor - row end.

DN

Greer's *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* is the culmination of his scholarly research of markings and alterations on printed music added after it left the print house ranging from music by John Rastell from c1520 to William Child's *First Set of Psalmes* in 1639.¹⁶ The book offers a unique insight into the patrons and performers who used these scores in early modern England. Although Kirsten Gibson maintains that a 'haphazard noting of manuscript additions over many years (since the early 1960s) is combined with more recent systematic research to gather an extensive (though by no means exhaustive) list of inscriptions in English printed music', this book will undoubtedly be used to assist further research across many scholarly fields.¹⁷

Greer postulates that the notation was written by Conyers Darcy's 'to serve as an *aide-mémoire* to an otherwise familiar piece'. The hand of Conyers Darcy is frequently referred to in Greer's research and it is important to note that Darcy also owned a copy of *Sacred Hymnes* which bears his signature as well as handwritten notation of other music (Illustration 4.2).¹⁸

Illustration 4.3 US-Ws STC 563, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, Signature of Conyers Darcy

A close-up photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "Conyers Darcy." and is written in dark ink on a light-colored, slightly textured paper. The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent flourish at the end of the word "Darcy".

¹⁶ David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

¹⁷ Kirsten Gibson, Review: *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* by David Greer, *Music & Letters* 97 (2016), 504.

¹⁸ Bodleian Library, Oxford, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 453-458.

Conyers Darcy was baptised at St Michael le Belfry, York on 27 August 1570 and took up residence at Hornby Castle after he was knighted in 1603.¹⁹ He was admitted as a fellow to Caius College Cambridge on 15 December 1588 and subsequently worked as a magistrate in Yorkshire.²⁰ Darcy died on 3 March 1653 and throughout his life accumulated a substantial collection of music publications (Illustration 4.3).²¹ He is of particular importance in this research, not only because he made performance direction notes on his copy of *Sacred Hymnes*, but his entire collection indicates what was popular in domestic recreational music settings during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Illustration 4.4 List of Music Books bearing the handwriting of Conyers Darcy

| Library | Composer/Title | Signature | Music Added |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------|-------------|
| Glasgow University | Morley, <i>Madrigalls</i> , 1594 | * | |
| | Weelkes, <i>Madrigals</i> , 1597 | * | |
| London, British Library | Bateson, <i>First set</i> , 1604 | * | |
| | Morley, <i>Balletts</i> , 1595 | * | |
| | Morley, <i>Madrigalls ... celected</i> , 1598 | * | |
| | Pilkington, <i>First Set</i> , 1613 | * | |
| | Watson, <i>Italian Madrigalls englished</i> Tract Vols K.1.e.8-11 (Ravenscroft) | * | * |
| London, Roy. Coll. Mus. | Corkine, <i>Ayres</i> , 1610 | * | |
| Oxford, Bodleian Library | Amner, <i>Sacred Hymnes</i> , 1615 | * | * |
| Chiacago, Newberry Lib. | Farmer, <i>First set</i> , 1599 | * | * |
| Washington Congress | Corce, <i>Musica sacra</i> , 1608 | * | |
| | Morley, <i>Madrigalls</i> , 1594 | * | |
| Washington, Folger | Bateson, <i>First set</i> , 1604 | * | |
| | Bennet. <i>Madrigalls</i> , 1599 | | * |
| | Yonge, <i>Musica transalpine</i> , 1588 | * | * |

¹⁹ George E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom: Extant Extinct or Dormant* (London: St Catherine Press, 1913), 406. Conyers Darcy inherited Hornby Castle from his maternal ancestors, Elizabeth Conyers.

²⁰ John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 10.

²¹ Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 407; the illustration of music books owned by Darcy is quoted in Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions*, Table 2.1, 55.

All of the books with Darcy's signature date from the late-Elizabethan to the early-Jacobean era. Members of Darcy's extended family, including the Kytson and Hengrave families, had many connections with leading renaissance composers. Thomas Weelkes dedicated his 1598 publication *Balletts and madrigals* to Darcy's uncle, Edward Conyers, while John Dowland dedicated four lute pieces to Darcy's cousin, Katherine.²² Thomas Morley dedicated his *Madrigalls ... celected out of the best approved Italian authors* to Gervase Clifton, the husband of Katherine Darcy who became Lady Clifton in 1591.²³ These dedications to Darcy's extended family members witness a strong patronage of the arts and practice of domestic recreational music.

The manuscript inscriptions found in the extant copies of *Sacred Hymnes* offers a unique insight into the performance practice and pairing of other Renaissance compositions that may have been performed together. The first example was Amner's 'Sweet are the thoughts' copied into Farmer's *First Set of English Madrigals*. The second example occurs in the Bodleian copy of *Sacred Hymnes*, where Weelkes's 'Hosannah to the Sonne of David' is copied into *Sacred Hymnes*. Both examples were written by Darcy and this demonstrates a distinct possibility that other amateur musicians freely copied music into different publications in the early seventeenth century. Darcy was an avid copyist and another example in his hand include thirty four catches copied into the Thomas Ravenscroft *Tract Volume*, now housed at the British Library.²⁴ Other examples of copying can be seen in the Royal Academy of Music's

²² David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 81; Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), 144.

²³ Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions*, 54.

²⁴ GB-Lbl K.1.e.8-11, Thomas Ravenscroft *Tract Volume*.

copy of John Wilbye's *First Set of English Madrigals*, where Weelkes's 'When David heard' is notated, and at the Folger Library, Washington, Weelkes's 'Come, sirra Jack, ho' is copied into Thomas Morley's *Canzonets*.²⁵

In the copy of *Sacred Hymnes* at Rochester Library (Illustration 4.4), there is some hand written notation on the printed score.²⁶ In 'O ye little flock', the sketches on the right-hand side of the page and towards the end may indicate a reworking of the piece for fewer voices than originally scored. The tracing the vocal entries and the implied harmony where two notes are written as a chord may have been written to assist in coordinating the vocal entries.

Illustration 4.5 US-R Vault/M/1490/A522, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, 'O ye little flock', notation on the score

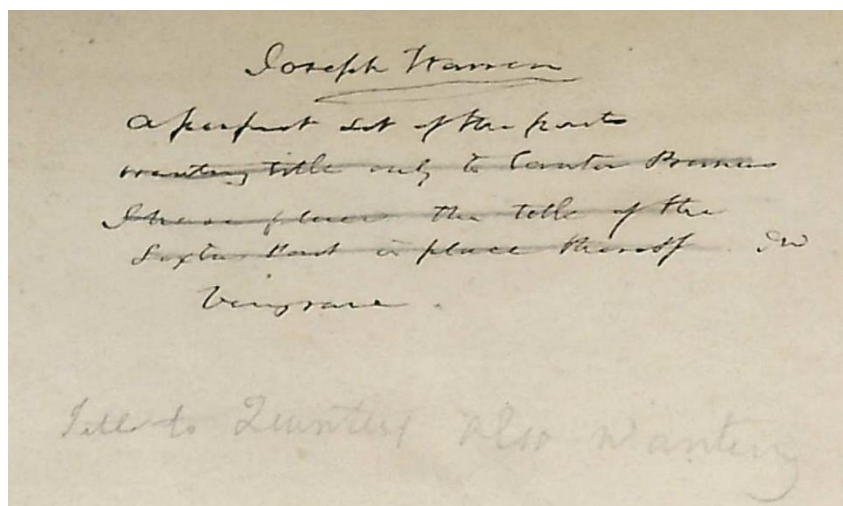


²⁵ GB-Lam 160362-1001, John Wilbye, *The First Set of English Madrigals*.

²⁶ US-R Vault/M/1490/A522, Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*.

The copy of *Sacred Hymnes* at the Royal College of Music was purchased from the Sacred Harmonic Society's library collection in 1883, a year after the society disbanded.²⁷ This copy of *Sacred Hymnes* was presented to the Sacred Harmonic Society by the soprano Amelia Lyons and was catalogued in the Society's library as number 692.²⁸ Lyons is described as a 'principal vocal performer' for a series of Subscription Concerts in 1842-1843, and in a review of one of her performance *The Musical World* states that she was 'very successful in "Bid me discourse" and "Una voce"'.²⁹ The library records at the Royal College of Music list two former owners on their website, Joseph Warren and the Sacred Harmonic Society.³⁰ Joseph Warren has written a short note on the top of the left fly page before the volume begins (Illustration 4.5).

Illustration 4.6 GB-Lcm B196, John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, inscription by Joseph Warren



²⁷ GB-Lcm B196, Amner *Sacred Hymnes*; quoted in Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions*, 218-219.

²⁸ William Henry Husk, *Catalogue of the Library of The Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: The Sacred Harmonic Society, 1872), 74;

²⁹ E. B. Taylor, *The Musical World: A Record of Science, Literature, Intelligence, and Criticism, connected with the Art Vol 17* (London: The Musical World, 1842), 395, 404, 409.

³⁰ GB-Lcm B196, Amner *Sacred Hymnes*, <<https://rcm.koha-ptfs.co.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=23331>> [accessed 3 July 2018].

The inscription, which begins with the name Joseph Warren is followed by the text ‘a perfect set of the parts ...’.³¹ As this text is a description of the score, it is possible that Warren wrote these details on the score after Amelia Lyons presented it to the Sacred Harmonic Society’s library, perhaps while assisting Husk in cataloguing the scores. Warren was an organist, writer on music and editor, who published several tutor books for organ and singing between 1840 and 1860.³² Based on the assessment that the inscription was written after Lyons presented to the Sacred Harmonic Society Library, she is the former owner of the copy of *Sacred Hymnes* in the Royal College of Music Library. It is doubtful that *Sacred Hymnes* was ever performed by the Society as they specialised in the production of large scale oratorio, including the London premiere of Felix Mendelssohn’s *Elijah* in 1847 which was conducted by the composer.³³

All of the four-, five- and six-part compositions in *Sacred Hymnes* also survive in early-seventeenth-century liturgical partbooks and indicate the popularity of Amner’s music during his life time.³⁴ The consort anthem ‘O ye little flock’ in *Sacred Hymnes* also exists in another authoritative version at Peterhouse, Cambridge (Illustration 4.5).³⁵

³¹ GB-Lcm B196, Amner *Sacred Hymnes*, left fly page.

³² William Henry Husk and Bruce Carr, ‘Warren, Joseph’ in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29920>> [accessed 1 July 2018]

³³ Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 103.

³⁴ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, vii. Records include British Library, Add. MSS 17792-6; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS Mus. F.20-24; and Peterhouse, Cambridge, GB-Cp MSS 475-491. See Chapter 3, footnote 54, 59-60, 90-91.

³⁵ Caroline Set of Partbooks, Peterhouse, Cambridge, MSS 485-491.

alterations for the choir and organ part.³⁶ Of the surviving incomplete evening canticles of Amner, the 2nd *Verse Service*, is relevant as the final *Amen* is identical with the ending of ‘O ye little flock’.

4.2 Amner’s Verse Anthems in MS 56-60

The collection of five partbooks MS 56-60 (c1612-1625) in Christ Church Oxford contains two five-voice consort anthems composed by John Amner namely ‘I am for peace’ and ‘Consider all ye passers by’.³⁷ The partbooks only includes vocal compositions and unlike other early seventeenth century collections there are no instrumental compositions. Of the eighty compositions in the collection, thirty-six are consort anthems and this reveals a remarkable interest in music written for voices and viols to be used in a domestic setting. The majority of these compositions are not found in seventeenth century publications and also displays a preference for more contemporary composers of the Jacobean era.³⁸ The partbooks MS 56-60 are believed to have been prepared for the use of Sir Henry Fanshawe at his London residence in Warrick Lane.³⁹ Fanshawe was the patron of the composer John Ward, who dedicated his 1613 collection *The First Set of English Madrigals* to Fanshawe.⁴⁰ The collection includes anthems and elegies for five voices (items 1-47) and six voices (items 48-80), and initially contained six partbooks. The fifth book, *Bassus*, is lost and none of the

³⁶ John Morehen, *Sacred Hymnes*, vii; Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 66. (Tracks 29-30).

³⁷ Christ Church Oxford, GB-Och Mus. 56-60 (Mus. 56 *Cantus*, Mus. 57 *Quintus*, Mus. 58 *Sextus*, Mus 59. *Contratenor*, Mus. 60 *Tenor*); David Pinto, *John Amner: The Consort Anthems* (Teddington: Fretwork Editions, 2015), iii. Tracks 29-30.

³⁸ Monson, *Voices and Viols in England*, 67-69.

³⁹ John Aplin, ‘Sir Henry Fanshawe and Two Sets of Early Seventeenth-Century Part-Books at Christ Church, Oxford’, *Music & Letters*, 57 (1976), 11-24.

⁴⁰ Michael Foster, Ian Payne and Roger Bowers, ‘Ward, John’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29903>> [accessed 14 April 2014]

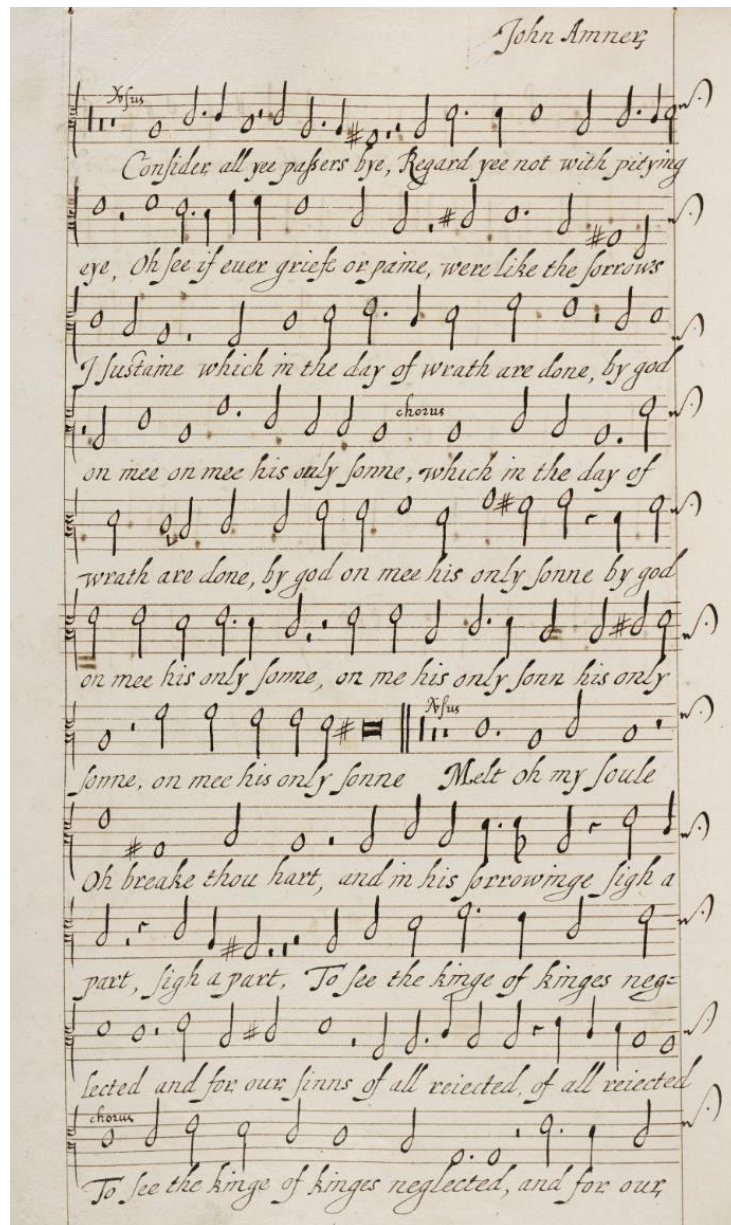
five-part bass lines are contained in the sixth book, *Sextus*. In 2015 David Pinto published both of Amner's consort anthems from MS 56-60 by reconstructing the bass line with variants found in the 'Batten' Organ Book at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁴¹ This organ book was first attributed to Adrian Batten of St Paul's Cathedral, but it was copied Giles Tomkins for use at Salisbury Cathedral.⁴² The notation of 'Consider all ye passers by' appears in the Batten Book untitled without the composer's name, although there is a heading suggesting the anthem is for Good Friday.⁴³ This text is freely based on Lamentations 1:12 and Matthew 27:46 or Mark 15:34. The composition has three distinct sections and the verse is scored for tenor (Illustration 4.7).

⁴¹ GB-Ob Tenbury 791 unascrbed and untitled *Consider all ye passers by* fol. 371-372 and *I am for peace* fol. 437-438.

⁴² Peter Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603-c1640' (PhD dissertation, University of Sheffield, 2001), 129.

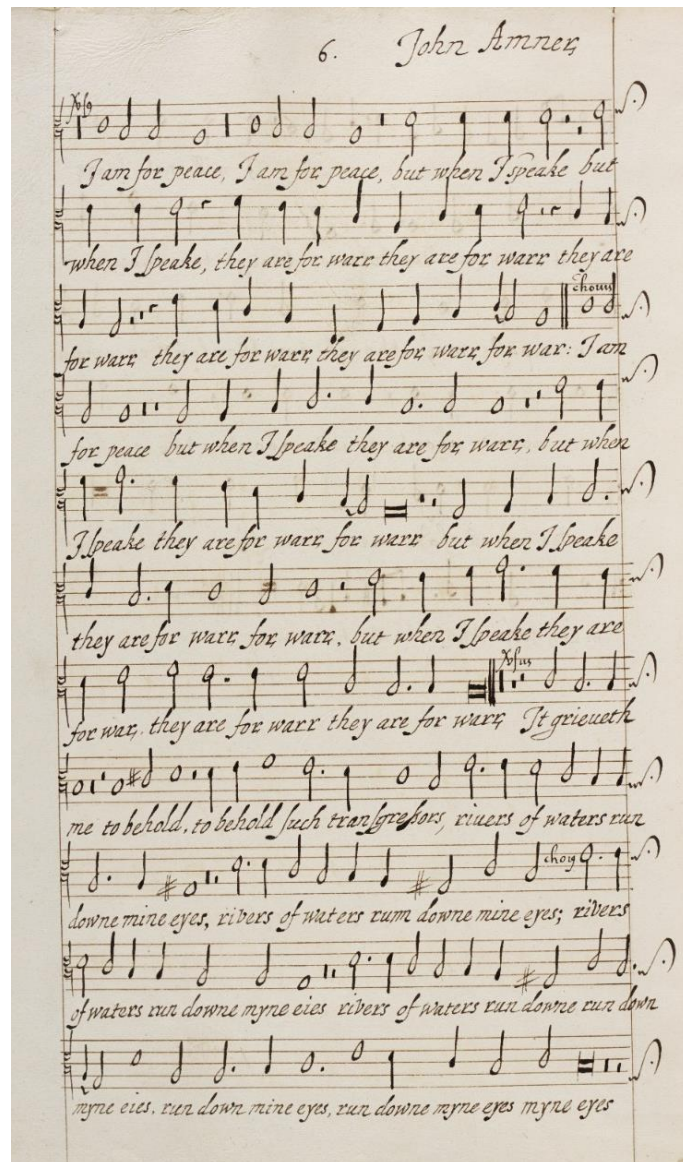
⁴³ GB-Ob Tenbury 791, fol 371.

Illustration 4.8 GB-Och MS 57, John Amner, 'Consider all ye passers by', tenor



The second consort anthem, 'I am for peace', also comprises three sections but the verse is scored for three voices namely cantus, quintus and contratenor. (Illustration 4.8)

Illustration 4.9 GB-Och MS 59, John Amner 'I am for peace', contratenor,



The edition by Pinto 'takes some account of a variant form in the 'Batten' Organ Book' in his reconstruction of the piece.⁴⁴ The text is a unique composite of Psalms 119 and 120.

⁴⁴ Pinto, *John Amner: The Consort Anthems*, vii.

4.3 Dissemination of *Sacred Hymnes* and Music Collectors

Sacred Hymnes is dedicated to the 3rd Earl of Bath, William Bouchier, who was a longstanding patron of Amner. This has prompted some Amner scholars to assume that his music was envisaged for recreational or devotional use in the Earl's residence, but Amner's *Sacred Hymnes*, together with publications from the aforementioned consortium of lesser composers, travelled much further afield and is recorded in the library of King John IV of Portugal.⁴⁵ His collection of printed and manuscript music, which has been described as 'second only to the Vatican' was obliterated by an earthquake and ensuing fires in 1755.⁴⁶ Since 1649 a catalogue of the collection has existed and confirms that the music composed by English composers of the early seventeenth century travelled abroad during their lifetime.⁴⁷

The inventories of Sir Charles Somerset (1588-1665) held in the Muniments Room of Badminton House, Avon, contain two separate lists of an extensive music collection, comprising 102 printed collections, was recorded in 1622 at Worcester House, The Strand, London, a residence of his father, Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester. Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* is listed in the inventory along with madrigalian works and sacred music by English composers as well as European composers.⁴⁸ The Worcester family were staunch Catholics and great supporters of the arts which included providing a 'lodginge' at Worcester House for Byrd who dedicated his *Liber primus*

⁴⁵ David Cranmer, 'English music in the Library of King Joao IV of Portugal', *Sideri Yearbook*, 16, 2006, 158.

⁴⁶ Michael Ryan, 'John IV of Portugal, King and Musician: An Anniversary Assessment', *Musical Times*, 145 (2004), 62.

⁴⁷ Richard Turbet, 'Music by Byrd and his British Contemporaries in European Libraries', *Musical Times*, 154 (2013), 35.

⁴⁸ Michael G. Brennan, 'Sir Charles Somerset's Music Books (1622)', *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993), 502 and 512; David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 16.

sacrarum cantionum to the Earl of Worcester in 1589.⁴⁹ In 1610 Charles and Edward Somerset were made Knights of the Bath when Prince Henry was invested as Prince of Wales. This marked a recognition of the relationship between the royal family, particularly Prince Henry, and the Worcester family. An early seventeenth-century biography records that Prince Henry ‘loved Musicke, and namely good consorts of Instruments and voices joined together’ and Somerset’s inventory of printed collections demonstrate a common appreciation of music between them.⁵⁰ In addition to the book inventory it also records the instruments at Worcester House stating ‘one greate Chest of violles with eleven violles & bowes in it; whereof one is a double base viol; standing in the same room’.⁵¹

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed the diverse range of manuscript inscriptions found on the extant copies of *Sacred Hymnes*. Each relates an individual story outlining, not only how the scores were passed on, but also a verifiable insight into the performance of the music in the publication. Furthermore these inscriptions highlight the use of publications by different composers with examples of other collections handwritten on the partbook or short excerpts for use as an aide-mémoire. The two consort anthems found in the partbooks MS 56-60 attest to what may have been a broader compositional output by Amner for the domestic sacred music market both in England and throughout Europe.

⁴⁹ Michael G. Brennan, ‘Sir Charles Somerset’s Music Books (1622)’, *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993), 508.

⁵⁰ William Haydone, *The True Picture and Relation of Prince Henry* (Leiden: 1634), p.31; quoted in Michael G. Brennan, ‘Sir Charles Somerset’s Music Books (1622)’, *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993), 504.

⁵¹ Michael G. Brennan, ‘Sir Charles Somerset’s Music Books (1622)’, *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993), 518.

Conclusion

This dissertation began with comprehensive archival and biographical evidence concerning John Amner, his extended family and patrons, which has not been presented in previous research or publications and in turn has enhanced the insight into the composer's life and the circumstances surrounding his compositional output. The erroneous data cited in other publications and media has been addressed. Amner's contribution to domestic sacred music in the first half of the seventeenth century is witnessed not only by the publication of *Sacred Hymnes* in 1615, but the subsequent copying of this music in the collections by John Merro and Thomas Hamond. The compositions in liturgical partbooks, such as the 'latter' and 'former' set at Peterhouse, are examples of how music first written for domestic use was subsequently incorporated into liturgical manuscripts. Amner's liturgical compositional output at Ely was considerable too and a substantial number of his pieces are included in other English cathedral partbooks. The two consort anthems in MS 56-60 are fine examples of consort anthems written for the domestic music market and are an indication of perhaps a greater, but unknown, output of this music.

This dissertation has identified the practice of domestic sacred music in aristocratic households as not merely a recreational activity but also as an expression of private devotion and piety. It has also examined the role of teaching viols in choir schools and the subsequent employment opportunities gained by these musicians in aristocratic circles. Although only a small canon of music exists for this genre, it is distinguishable from the sacred or secular parameters associated with Renaissance music.

Throughout the twentieth century numerous individual pieces from *Sacred Hymnes* were published but it was only in 2000 that the complete collection was printed in full by Stainer & Bell. The publication is entirely scholarly and both the transcriptions and editorial approach by John Morehen are rightfully celebrated. A flaw with the edition was the failure on the part of Stainer & Bell to produce individual viol part scores to facilitate the performance of the collection. These are now available from Fretwork Publications resulting in *Sacred Hymnes* gaining a place on the performance platform following three centuries of silence.

The term ‘Consort Anthem’ has been employed throughout this dissertation as it is currently accepted as the standard label for domestic sacred music composed for voices and viols. As concluded in Chapter two, this term is an oxymoron and the more appropriate term for this canon of music would be ‘Verse Consort’. The research and labelling of this small canon of music could be reconsidered in the future.

The texts and terminal inscriptions found in *Sacred Hymnes* are predominantly biblical and conforms to a protestant theology which struggles with the sin of mankind and the grace of God. The plethora of influences and origins of the remaining texts are so diverse it is not possible to suggest that Amner was a puritan or laudian, but rather an equal mix of the two. The texts demonstrate a broad knowledge and familiarity with church literature both in Latin and English, the writings of St Augustine and contemporary secular dramatists. The compositions in *Sacred Hymnes* were undoubtedly written in the years immediately preceding the publication and it is likely that one or two of the five-voice compositions were submitted for supplication of Amner’s music degree in 1613.

It is difficult to determine the popularity of *Sacred Hymnes* in the sacred domestic music practices during the seventeenth century. The examples highlighted in Chapter three and Chapter four indicate that not only did the scores travel beyond England during the composer's lifetime, but that some of the pieces possibly enjoyed performances even by memory, considering the partial transcription found in Farmer's *First Set of English Madrigals*.

The compositional output of John Amner has often been designated insignificant as he only published one collection of music and his geographical location in Ely has attached provincial status to him. While these elements support the biographical details of the composer, it does not lessen the artistic quality of his composition. It is now possible to return the legacy of his music to the performance arena and to share in the beauty of his music.

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Appendix A

PHANTASM

Consort of Viols - Director: Laurence Dreyfus
Dublin Consort Singers - Director: Mark Keane

JOHN AMNER

SACRED HYMNES FOR VOYCES AND VYOLS (1615)

St Ann's Church, Dawson Street

Wednesday 15 April, 8pm

Tickets €15

BACH ART OF FUGUE

AND MOZART TRANSCRIPTIONS OF FUGUES

FROM BACH THE WELL-TEMPERED CLAVIER II

THE Rotunda, City Hall, Dame Street

Thursday 16 April, 8pm

Tickets €15



GUEST LECTURE

LAURENCE DREYFUS (UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD)

*BEYOND GUILT AND SHAME: HISTORICAL
PERFORMANCE AS CONTEMPORARY EXPERIENCE*

Recital Hall, RIAM, Westland Row,

Wednesday 15 April, 1pm

Admission free

Royal Irish
Academy of
Music

LECTURE RECITAL

MARK KEANE

DOMESTIC DEVOTIONAL MUSIC

IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND c1580-c1640

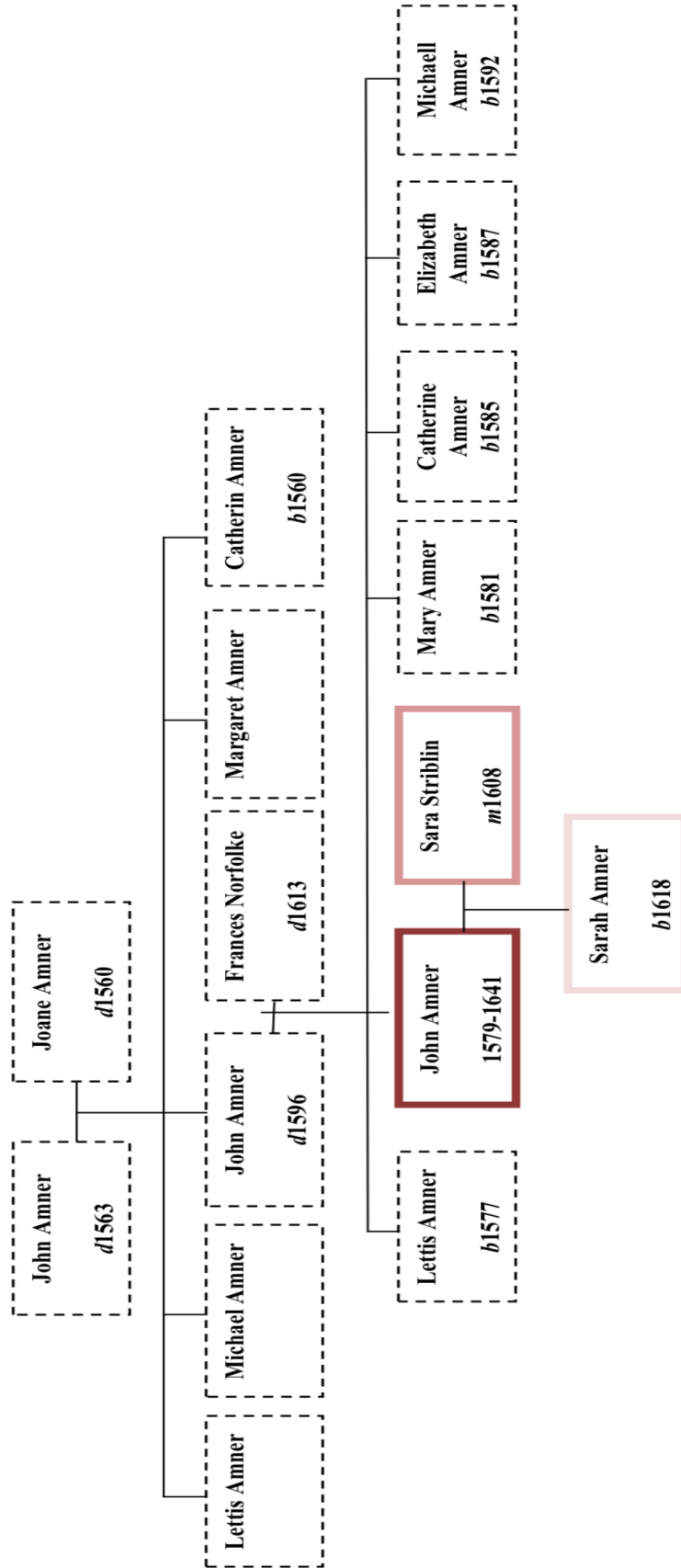
Katherine Brennan Hall, RIAM, Westland Row,

Thursday 16 April, 1pm

Admission free

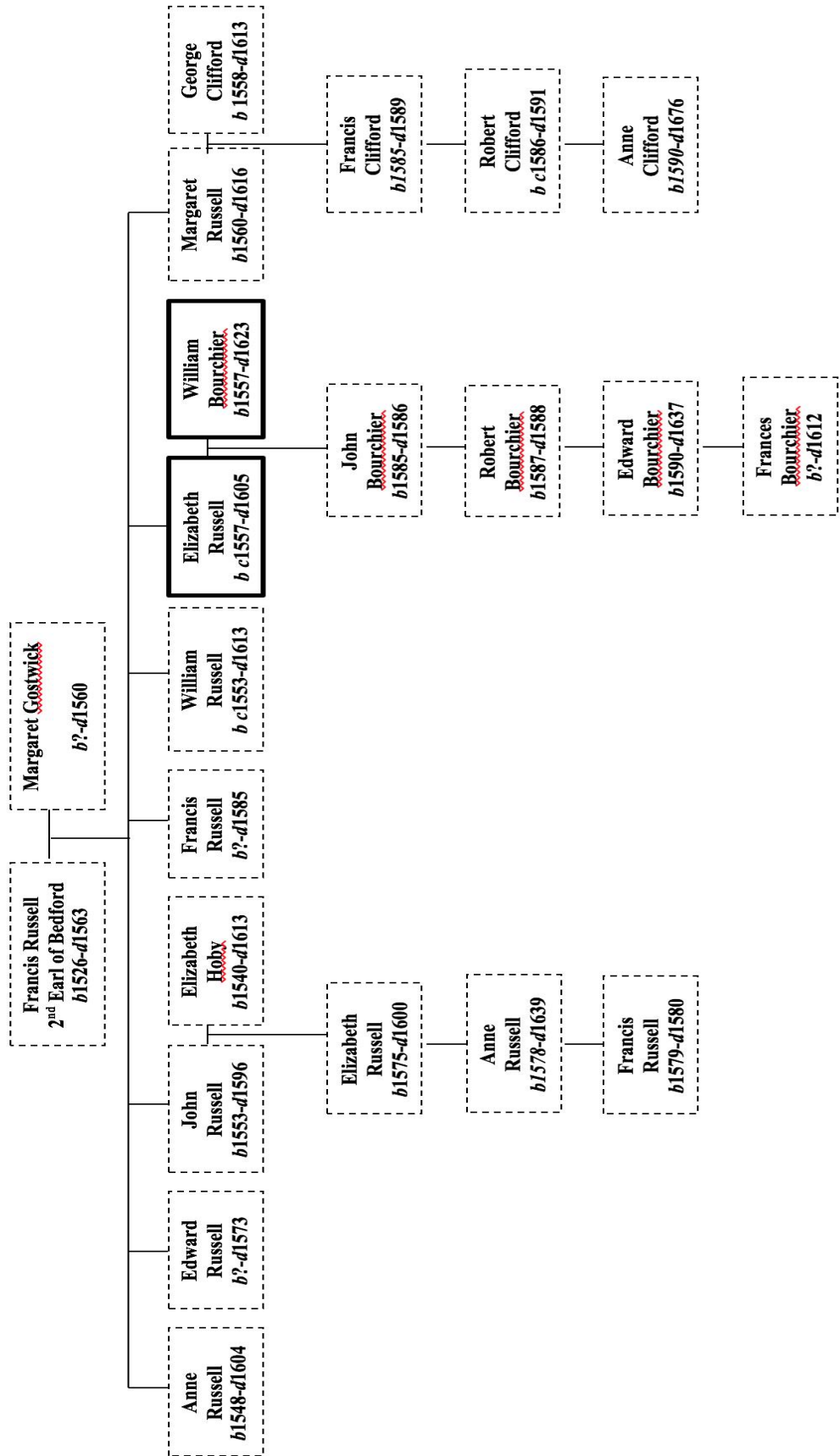
Appendix B

John Amner Family Tree



Appendix C

Bourchier-Russell Family Tree



Appendix D

CD Recording – Track List Fretwork & Dublin Consort Singers – directed by Mark Keane

| | |
|--|------|
| 1. Love we in one consenting | 1:50 |
| 2. Let false surmises perish | 1:34 |
| 3. Away with weak complainings | 1:53 |
| 4. O come thou spirit divinest | 2:06 |
| 5. O love beseeming well | 1:45 |
| 6. Distressed soul | 2:39 |
| 7. Sweet are the thoughts | 1:38 |
| 8. Come let's rejoice | 1:41 |
| 9. Saint Mary now | 1:17 |
| 10. At length to Christ | 1:01 |
| 11. But he the God of love | 1:27 |
| 12. Woe is me | 2:05 |
| 13. Remember not, Lord, our offences | 2:58 |
| 14. Thus sings that heavenly quire | 1:36 |
| 15. The heavens stood all amazed | 1:53 |
| 16. Now doth the city remain solitary | 2:59 |
| 17. He that descended man to be | 1:58 |
| 18. I will sing unto the Lord | 1:46 |
| 19. O ye little flock | 2:10 |
| 20. Fear not | 2:20 |
| 21. And they cry | 1:40 |
| 22. Lo, how from heaven | 2:19 |
| 23. I bring you tiding | 2:38 |
| 24. A stranger here | 3:37 |
| 25. My Lord is hence removed and laid | 1:26 |
| 26. An Elegy in Memory of Master Thomas Hynson | 5:15 |
| 27. Pavan | 3:20 |
| 28. Galliard | 1:53 |
| 29. Consider, all ye passers by | 5:55 |
| 30. I am for peace | 5:40 |

Appendix E

Texts from John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*

1

Love we in one consenting,
Each other's heart contenting.
Alleluia.
Our heavenly Lord that bought us,
This holy lesson taught us.
Alleluia.

2

Let false surmises perish,
True Faith true Love doth cherish.
Alleluia.
Let envy be removed,
Who loves shall be beloved.
Alleluia.

3

Awake with weak complainings,
And all unkind disdainings.
Alleluia.
Sith he who us redeemed
Hath all for good esteemed.
Alleluia.

4

O come thou spirit divinest,
That sweetly hearts combinest.
Alleluia.
Unite our minds for ever,
That we in love persever.
Alleluia.

5

O love beseeming well the God of love.
Alleluia.
He made that good which ill was grown,
He bought the good that was his own.
Alleluia.
He begs the good that he hath bought,
He crowns the good that he hath wrought.
Alleluia.
O depth of love.
Alleluia.

6

Distressed soul, and thou deceitful eye,
Cease not to moan my misery,
Cease not to mourn,
Sith you cease not to sin,
Better else you had never been,
For now no hope, no help for you is left,
But grief for that whereof you are bereft,
Aye me, poor wretch forlorn,
That ever I was born, aye me.

7

Sweet are the thoughts that harbour full content,
Delightful be the joys that know no care,
Such those sweet thoughts that on heaven's joys are bent,
And on celestial bliss still thinking are;
These joys delight, these thoughts content do send,
All earthly thoughts and joys in sorrow end.

8

Come let's rejoice unto our Lord,
Let us make joy to God our Saviour.
Let us approach to his presence in confession,
And in Psalms let us make joy to him.
Alleluia.

9 *Part 1*

St *Mary* now, but erst the worst of many,
When with dishevelled hairs
She wiped the feet that she with tears
Had washed before,
With knees full lowly bent,
And many a grievous groan to heaven sent.

10 *Part 2*

At length to Christ her saddest eyes upheaving,
Deign holy Lord, said she,
To cast thine heavenly eye on me,
The sinful'st wretch,
With that she fell to ground
And wept as if with tears she would have drowned.

11 *Part 3*

But he the God of love and mercy's wonder,
Seeing the plight she's in,
Though nothing less he loved than sin,
And many crimes had brought her into thrall,
Because she loved much forgave her all.

12

Woe is me, that I am a stranger so long,
And that I dwell in the tents of Kedar.
My soul hath too long dwelt in a strange place.
O that I had wings like a dove,
Then would I fly away and be at rest.

13

Remember not, Lord, our offences,
Nor the offences of our forefathers;
Neither take thou vengeance of our sins:
Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people,
Whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood,
And be not angry with us for ever.
Amen.

14 *Part 1*

Thus sings that heavenly quire
With zeal, burning like fire.
Alleluia.
And all the Saints with purest robes attending
Upon the *Lamb*, with knees full lowly bending.
Alleluia.

15 *Part 2*

The Heavens stood all amazed,
The earth upon them gazed.
Alleluia.
At length both heaven and earth for joy confounded,
With voice as loud as thunder sweetly resounded.
Alleluia.

16

Now doth the city remain solitary that was full of people.
For these things I weep, and mine eye,
even mine eye casteth out water.
O Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together
As the hen gathereth her brood under her wings,
O that thou hadst even known at the least in this thy day,
Those things which belong unto thy peace.

17

He that descended man to be
Is now ascended God on high.
Alleluia.
The trumpets sound, the *Angels* sing
The glorious triumphs of our King.
Alleluia.

18

I will sing unto the Lord,
For he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and him that rode upon him
Hath he overthrown in the sea.
Alleluia.

19 *Part 1*

O ye little flock, O ye faithful shepherds,
O ye hosts of heaven, give ear unto my song.
The shepherds were awatching of their flocks by night,
And behold, an *Angel*.
And the glory of the Lord shone round about them,
And they all quaked for fear.

20 *Part 2*

Fear not, for unto you in born a Saviour,
And not to you but all people,
Which is Christ the Lord.
And suddenly an host of heavenly *Angels*
sung and praised God, and said,
'Glory be to God on high, peace be on earth,
good will to men'.
Alleluia.

21 *Part 3*

And they cry one to another
'Holy is the Lord of hosts.
All the world is full of his glory'.
Alleluia

22 *Part 1*

Lo, how from heaven like stars the *Angels* flying,
Bring back the day to earth in midnight lying,
Up shepherds, up, this night is born your King,
You never heard the *Spheres* such *Musique* sing.

23 *Part 2*

I bring you tiding of joys aye biding,
The *Prince* of Light is born this night,
So up he sprang and all heaven sang,
'Joy to the sorry, to God be glory'.
Alleluia.

24

A stranger here, as all my fathers were,
That went before, I wander to and fro,
From earth to heaven is my pilgrimage,
A tedious way for flesh and blood to go.
O thou that art the way, pity the blind,

And teach me how I may thy dwelling find.
Amen.

25

My Lord is hence removed and laid.
But where? O where? An *Angel* said,
'He is on here, himself did raise,
Himself, God, Man, to him be praise'.
Alleluia.

26

With mournful *Musique* now remember him
That while he lived did oft remember thee,
And filled his *Musique*'s Fountain to the brim,
With thy sweet songs and pleasant harmony,
Who was to Master, Children and to friend
So faithful, kind and true as no man more,
So wise, so learned, so careful of his end,
As graced his living actions, and therefore
His death, with sobs and sighs, I will deplore,
And wish to die, to live in heavenly bliss,
Where worthy *Hynson* through God's mercy is.

Finis

Consider, all ye passers by,
Regard ye not with pitying eye
Oh see if ever grief or pain
Were like the sorrows I sustain,
Which in the day of wrath are done
By God on me, his only Son.
Melt oh my soul, oh break thou heart,
And in his sorrowing sigh a part,
To see the king of kings neglected
And for our sins of all rejected.
Witness his 'Eli, Eli' crying
In the last agony of his dying,
Come let us mourn and mourning sing
Our thanks with tears for his suffering.

I am for peace
but when I speak they are for war.
It grieveth me to behold such transgressors.
Rivers of waters run down mine eyes
Because they forget thy law.
O look thou upon me, and be merciful unto me,
As thou usest to do unto those that fear thy name.
Amen.