

**ROMAN VOCAL MUSIC IN ENGLAND,  
1660–1710**

---

Court, Connoisseurs, and the Culture of Collecting

Ester Lavinia Lebedinski

Submitted to Royal Holloway, University of London, for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, December 2014

## Abstract

This thesis examines the dissemination and appropriation of Roman vocal music in England, 1660–1710. Associated with powerful courts and rarefied learning, Roman vocal music was a prestigious object of curiosity for rulers and dilettantes. The lack of musical sources and absence of musicians familiar with the repertoire suggests that Roman vocal music was not introduced into England until the 1660s when the court engaged Vincenzo Albrici (1631–90) as the leader of Charles II’s Italian ensemble. Although the ensemble was previously thought to have been an opera troupe, this thesis uses newly discovered letters to argue that Albrici was hired by Sir Henry Bennet and Sir Bernard Gascoigne on his merits as a church and chamber music composer. I argue that Charles II’s patronage of the Italian ensemble was a means of social distinction and legitimation of power, similar to the use of Roman vocal music by continental rulers including Cardinal Mazarin who introduced Charles to the concept of Roman vocal music during Charles’s exile in Paris.

That Roman vocal music was a connoisseurs’ repertoire carrying significant social cachet is furthermore illustrated by Samuel Pepys’s engagement with it in the little-researched musical environment of the Royal Society of London. In the dilettante culture of collecting and observation, Roman vocal music was treated as a foreign curiosity and examined in concert as a way of better understanding the compositional secrets published in Athanasius Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis* (1650). Kircher’s influence on English attitudes towards Roman vocal music is further illustrated by the collecting and imitative practices of Henry Aldrich (1648–1710), whose famous recompositions of motets by Roman composers were possibly a way of understanding the effects Kircher claimed that Carissimi and Palestrina’s music had on their listeners. Aldrich’s collecting arguably was part of a larger antiquarian enterprise to maintain and improve the English cathedral music tradition, which had repeatedly been thrown into question by the religio-political upheavals of the seventeenth century. This enterprise was later taken up by the early eighteenth-century ancient music movement, which adopted Roman vocal music after Aldrich’s death through collecting efforts and performances of motets and oratorios by Carissimi and Palestrina.

## Declaration of Authorship

I, Ester Lebedinski, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Acknowledgements

This thesis owes its existence, and relatively painless completion, to a number of people; thanks firstly to my supervisor, Stephen Rose, who has habitually gone beyond the call of duty to offer help and support, from much-appreciated nitpicking English grammar to seventeenth-century injokes. Thanks also to Lars Berglund, who let me loose on the Düben Collection as an undergraduate, and who was the first to suggest that I do a PhD on Roman vocal music.

Thanks to several colleagues for help in various forms: Nicolas Bell, Julie Brown, Mariana Brockmann, Katherine Butler, Helen Deeming, Katharine Ellis, Roger Freitas, Kia Hedell, Knud Arne Jürgensen, Mattias Lundberg, Bjarke Moe, Maria Schildt, Sandra Tuppen and Andrew Woolley. Stefano Fogelberg Rota and Clémence Destribois have checked Italian and French translations. The members of the research network ‘Musical-Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, c.1550–1750’ and the Early Music seminar at Royal Holloway have offered invaluable forums for trying out new ideas. Thanks also to the staff at the British Library, the Bodleian Library, Christ Church College library (Oxford), King’s College library (Cambridge), the Pepys library at Magdalene College (Cambridge), and York Minster Library for help with making sources available.

My warmest and most heartfelt thanks are due to the fellow PhD students who have kept me sane through offering plenty of laughs and solid support in both life and PhD matters: Samantha Blickhan, Clare Brady, Sean Dunnahoe, Karin Eriksson, Annika Forkert, Matthew Laube, Christie Majoros, Per-Henning Olsson, Anne Reese-Willén, Maria Schildt, Peter van Tour, and Stephanie Vos. Clare, Sam, Sean, Annika, Matt and Stephanie all deserve special thanks for proofreading a bit of the thesis each, as does Ida Johansson for help with printing and binding. My aunt and uncle have put me up in Uppsala, and—as the family PhDs—asked about my submission plans just as much as one would like them to.

Finally, I present this thesis to my family: to my mum, as thanks for Baroque music, Habermas, Elias, and Bourdieu; to my dad, for being a modern virtuoso, and a fabulous model for any aspiring humanist; to my brother and sister, for always being interested; and to Joacim, who has been involved since that first-year assignment on Binchois.

# Table of Contents

Abstract .....	ii
Declaration of Authorship.....	iii
Acknowledgements .....	iv
Table of Contents .....	v
Lists of Tables, Figures and Music Examples .....	vii
Abbreviations .....	ix
Editorial Note .....	xi
1. Introduction.....	1
‘Never the like must be againe expected, unless in heaven and in Rome’ .....	1
English Relationships with Italy .....	7
Musicological Approaches to Italian Music in England .....	25
Synopsis of Thesis .....	29
2. ‘Obtained by peculiar favour, & much difficulty of the singer’ .....	33
Charles II’s Italian Ensemble and the Function of Roman Vocal Music at the English Restoration Court .....	33
Roman Vocal Music in European Court Culture .....	36
Mobile Musicians: The Recruitment of the King’s ‘Italian Musick’ .....	48
The Function of the Italian Ensemble at the English Court .....	64
The Albricis and Italian Opera in England?.....	81
Conclusion .....	90
3. ‘Members of the Society versed in music’ .....	92
Samuel Pepys, the Royal Society and the Cultural Capital of Roman Vocal Music .....	92
Virtue and Virtuosity: Attitudes Towards Learning and Music in Seventeenth- Century England .....	93
Pepys and the Cultural Capital of Roman Vocal Music .....	113
The Publication of Roman Vocal Music in Restoration London: Girolamo Pignani’s <i>Scelta di canzonette</i> (1679).....	124
Conclusion .....	142
4. ‘Let such teach others who themselves Excel’ .....	144
The Oxford Antiquarian Interest in Roman Music .....	144
Edward Lowe and the Oxford Music School.....	146
Henry Aldrich’s Collection of Roman Vocal Music .....	156
Music and Antiquarianism .....	175
Conclusion .....	196
5. ‘The greatest masters in music, that Italy had ever Bred’ .....	198
The Canonisation of Roman Vocal Music in the Eighteenth Century .....	198

Ancient Music versus the Public Market .....	199
Wanley and the Harley Collection .....	212
Conclusion .....	222
<b>6. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>224</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>229</b>
Appendix I: Table of Manuscript Sources .....	256
Appendix II: Description of the Manuscript Sources in Appendix I .....	264
Appendix III: Table of Roman Latin motets, masses and oratorios with concordances in British sources .....	282
Appendix IV: Roman Latin motets without concordances .....	325
Appendix V: Secular Italian cantatas and arias with concordances in British sources .....	329
Appendix VI: Sacred and secular Italian repertoires copied by Oxford scribes <i>c.</i> 1670–1700 .....	354
Appendix VII: The Music Manuscripts in the Harley collection .....	378
Appendix VIII: Inventory of the seventeenth-century Italian music in the Harley collection .....	381
Appendix IX: Inventory of <i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2961 and 2962—the Henriette Scott manuscripts .....	397
Appendix X: Letters from Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet regarding the recruitment of Italian musicians .....	399

# Lists of Tables, Figures and Music Examples

## List of music examples

- Example 2.1:** Bars 17–36 of ‘Amante che dite’ edited from *Och Mus.* 996. .... 79
- Example 3.1:** Bars 1–35 of Girolamo Pignani’s ‘No, nol credo’, edited from *Scelta di canzonette* (1679), copy in GB *Lbl* K.8.i.15. .... 136
- Example 4.1:** Bars 59–66 of ‘Militia est vita hominis’. The ossia staff shows the misprinted music given at bars 59–64 in *Missa a cinque* (1666) and *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.21*, and the regular treble 2 staff shows the correct music printed and copied at the end..... 151
- Example 4.2:** Bars 81 – 87 from the bass and figured bass parts of ‘Militia est vita hominis’ in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.22* and *Missa a cinque* (1666), showing the omitted bar 85 was in the printed figured bass part. This bar was originally omitted from the individual figured bass part in *Mus.Sch.C.23*. .... 153
- Example 4.3:** Bars 34–47 of ‘Surgamus, eamus’ as printed in *Missa a cinque* (1666) and copied by Lowe in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23*. The violin parts and the bars marked with a box (bars 38–45) were omitted in Aldrich’s copy..... 163
- Example 4.4a+b:** Aldrich ‘Haste thee O Lord’ edited from *Och Mus.* 16, a) bars 57–71 showing the end of the tenor dialogue derived from Carissimi ‘O dulcissimum Mariae nomen’ and the beginning of the chorus derived from *Jephte*; and b) bars 88–103 showing the end of Carissimi’s chorus (as printed in Kircher’s *Musurgia*) and Aldrich’s newly composed ending. .... 194

## List of figures

- Figure 1.1:** Playford’s illustration of the trillo in *A Brief Introduction* (1664), p. 68. .... 22
- Figure 2.1:** Plan of Whitehall palace in the late 1660s. *Reproduced from The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, x, 480–1. .... 69
- Figure 3.1:** Page 15 of Playford’s *Select Ayers and Dialogues* (1659) featuring ‘Fuggi da lieti amanti’ and ‘Amor merere che’. .... 127
- Figure 3.2:** Page 64 from *Scelta di canzonette* (1679), containing ‘Chi non sa fingere’ by Luigi Rossi..... 128

<b>Figure 4.1:</b> Bar 85 squeezed into the figured bass part in <i>Ob</i> MS Mus.Sch.C.23, p. 10, after the part has been copied to correct a mistake in the printed copy text. Also note the extensive figuring which corresponds with that given in <i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666). .....	153
<b>Figure 5.1:</b> London’s public musical life, c.1700. ....	203
<b>Figure 5.2:</b> <i>Lbl</i> Harley 1265, f. 167, containing ‘Sospiri miei de foco’ by Rossi in the hand of Bernard Martin Berenclow Sr. ....	218

### List of tables

<b>Table 3.1:</b> Italian songs published in Playford’s songbooks. ....	130
<b>Table 3.2:</b> The contents of <i>Scelta di canzonette</i> (1679) and concordances. ....	139
<b>Table 4.1:</b> The motets by Carissimi included in <i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (Cologne, 1665), <i>Ob</i> MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19 and <i>Ob</i> MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23. ‘Turbabuntur impii’ was included in the Cologne print but was not used as the copy text for <i>Ob</i> MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19. ....	150



# Abbreviations

CHCH cat.	Christ Church College Library Music Catalogue, by John Milsom and Matthew Phillips, < <a href="http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/">http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/</a> >
Evelyn	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , ed. by E. S. De Beer, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).
GAO	<i>Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online</i> (Oxford University Press), < <a href="http://www.oxfordartonline.com">www.oxfordartonline.com</a> >
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online</i> (Oxford University Press), < <a href="http://oxfordmusiconline.com">http://oxfordmusiconline.com</a> >
Hawkins	John Hawkins, <i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i> , 5 vols., facsimile edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011; originally published London, 1776).
Hughes-Hughes	Augustus Hughes-Hughes, <i>Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum</i> , 3 vols. (London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1908).
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a> >
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online edn., (2014), < <a href="http://www.oed.com">http://www.oed.com</a> >
Pepys	<i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> , ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: Bell & Hyman, 1970–83).
RECM	Andrew Ashbee, <i>Records of English Court Music</i> , 9 vols. (Sondland: Andrew Ashbee, 1986; Aldershot: Scolar, 1991).
SP	State Papers, domestic and foreign, preserved at the National Archives in Kew.

## Library sigla

<b>B</b>	<b>Belgium</b>
<i>Bc</i>	Brussels, Conservatoire royal
<b>F</b>	<b>France</b>
<i>Pn</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
<i>Pthibault</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Geneviève Thibault
<i>V</i>	Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale
<b>D</b>	<b>Germany</b>
<i>B</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek—Preußischer Kulturbesitz
<i>BEB</i>	Bebenhausen, Pfarrbibliothek
<i>BFb</i>	Steinfurt, Fürst zu Bentheimsche Musikaliensammlung Burgsteinfurt
<i>DI</i>	Dillingen an der Donau, Kreis- und Studienbibliothek
<i>Hs</i>	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky
<i>MÜs</i>	Münster, Santini-Bibliothek
<i>SWI</i>	Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern

<i>W</i>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
<b>GB</b>	<b>Great Britain</b>
<i>Cfm</i>	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
<i>Cjc</i>	Cambridge, St John's College
<i>Ckc</i>	Cambridge, King's College
<i>Cmc</i>	Cambridge, Magdalene College
<i>CL</i>	Carlisle, Cathedral Library
<i>DRc</i>	Durham, Cathedral Library
<i>GL</i>	Gloucester, Cathedral Library
<i>Gu</i>	Glasgow, University Library
<i>H</i>	Hereford, Cathedral Library
<i>Lam</i>	London, Royal Academy of Music
<i>Lbl</i>	London, British Library
<i>LF</i>	Lichfield, Cathedral Library
<i>LI</i>	Lincoln, Cathedral Library
<i>Lsp</i>	London, St Paul's Cathedral Library
<i>Lwa</i>	London, Westminster Abbey
<i>Mp</i>	Manchester, Central Public Library
<i>Mu</i>	Manchester, University Library
<i>Ob</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>Och</i>	Oxford, Christ Church
<i>Y</i>	York Minster Library
<b>I</b>	<b>Italy</b>
<i>Bas</i>	Bologna, Archivio di Stato
<i>Bc</i>	Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica
<i>Fc</i>	Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini
<i>Fas</i>	Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze
<i>MOe</i>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense
<i>Nc</i>	Naples, Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella
<i>Rvat</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
<i>Vnm</i>	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
<i>Vqs</i>	Venice, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia
<b>PL</b>	<b>Poland</b>
<i>Kj</i>	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
<i>Wu</i>	Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
<b>S</b>	<b>Sweden</b>
<i>B</i>	Bålsta, Skokloster slott
<i>Sk</i>	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket
<i>Uu</i>	Uppsala, Univesitetsbiblioteket
<b>US</b>	<b>United States of America</b>
<i>BEm</i>	Berkeley, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library—University of California
<i>NYp</i>	New York, Public Library
<i>Wc</i>	Washington D.C., Library of Congress

## Editorial Note

The music examples in this thesis are often intended more to illustrate a specific source than the music of a particular work, and thus represent their sources as closely as possible; variants in other sources relevant to the discussion are shown in round brackets (accidentals and figuring) and in ossia (music). Obvious scribal errors have been corrected without comment; clefs have been modernised and the original ones shown on prefatory staves. Time signatures have been retained, although a seventeenth-century '3' is given as '3/4', and barlines has been modernised; consequently note values have been tacitly changed and ties have been introduced where note values stretch across modern barlines (e.g. a semibreve stretching over a modern barline has been changed to two tied minims). Natural signs intended to modify previously flattened notes have been substituted for sharps. Redundant accidentals have been retained. Figuring has been placed under the affected notes instead of above. Any editorial additions or changes are given in square brackets.

The spelling of all written text, including lyrics, annotations, tempo markings and other performance instructions, and titles both of pieces and movements are given as in the sources. However, contractions in the lyrics have been expanded for clarity. The names of voices have been retained. When quoting from primary sources spelling, punctuation, abbreviations and contractions are given as in the sources; the use of 'v' and 'u' has been modernised in text quotations as well as in lyrics. Any changes, expansions, clarifications or additions are given in square brackets. When quoting from modern editions of primary sources the text is given as in the edition. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

# 1. Introduction

---

## ‘Never the like must be againe expected, unless in heaven and in Rome’

At the death of Giacomo Carissimi in January 1674, his lifetime employers at the Jesuit German College in Rome obtained a papal decree forbidding anyone, on pain of excommunication, to remove his compositions from the college.<sup>1</sup> Almost thirty years earlier, John Evelyn (1620–1706)—the English lawyer, polymath, and founding member of the Royal Society—undertook an edifying tour of the continent, strategically absenting himself from the political turmoil in England. Arriving in Rome in the spring of 1645, he devoted himself to the chief attractions of the Holy City: architecture, art, and church music. On the 11<sup>th</sup> April he acquired a manuscript copy of Carissimi’s motet ‘Si linguis hominum’ for his library in England.<sup>2</sup> In a musical culture where church authorities closely guarded their *maestri*’s prestigious music within the walls of their institutions, this was indeed a rare treasure.<sup>3</sup> Precisely how rare can be illustrated through the overwhelming musical experience of another young Englishman, Francis Mortoft, who visited Rome fourteen years after Evelyn:

Afterwards wee went to the Chiesa Nuova, where wee heard that never enough to be praised and delightful Musicke. The subject was Made by A Prince of Rome and Composed by Charissima, who for that is accounted the best in the world, and sung by Bonnaventure, Sinesia and the two Vuulpies [*sic!*], all which made so sweete a harmonye, that never the like must be againe expected, unless in heaven and in Rome.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The bull is transcribed in Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music. 1, A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970), 195.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript, an upright quarto score annotated ‘Coll:Evelynus: Romae Aprilis: 11: 1645,’ is now in GB-Lbl Add. MS 78416 C. The format suggests that the manuscript was never used for performance, nor is there any evidence that it served as a copy text for English copies. See below p. 166. The manuscript is also discussed in Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-century England: Christopher, first Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), 199.

<sup>3</sup> Of the manuscript sources of sacred Roman vocal music considered in this thesis, only three are of Italian origin. In addition to the Evelyn source above, there is Lbl Add. MS 29292 and Y.M. 35/1–10, both dating from the early eighteenth-century. See further Appendix I and II.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Mortoft, *Francis Mortoft: His Book. Being his Travels through France and Italy, 1658–1659*, ed. by Malcolm Henry Iki Letts (London: 1925), 146. The singers were probably the famous

Mortoft had heard an oratorio in the Chiesa Nuova on 9 March 1659. His rapturous account aptly illustrates the English view of mid-seventeenth-century Roman music as the best in the world and yet out of reach. Mortoft's notion that nothing like it could be heard outside Rome epitomises several central claims of this thesis: Roman vocal music enjoyed a special status among seventeenth-century European monarchs, aristocrats, and intellectuals, but for reasons political as well as musical it was not introduced into England until the restored Charles II engaged Roman musicians, such as Vincenzo Albrici (1631–90), in the early 1660s. Although not responsible for making Roman vocal music known in England, John Evelyn and his manuscript motet illustrate some of the prerequisites of the late seventeenth-century cultural exchange with Rome: Royalist travellers who roamed the continent to escape the Civil War, and returning at the Restoration as patrons of music, art, and science. As such a patron, through his connections at court and his leading role in the Royal Society, Evelyn was highly involved in the English environments into which the new repertoire was absorbed after 1660. Transplanted to England, the Roman music and musicians sometimes received entirely different functions and meanings in this new context: as historian Bernd Roeck observes, the meanings of object, signs and texts change as they are displaced, or recontextualised. The consequence of cultural transfer is that the meanings of cultural artefacts are in a constant process of metamorphosis.<sup>5</sup>

The processes and effects of this relocation from one environment to another are at the heart of the conceptual framework for this thesis. Edward Said's claim that 'the history of all cultures is a history of cultural borrowing'<sup>6</sup> is a particularly suitable description of early modern English musical culture: from the early sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century it was profoundly affected by musical exchanges, particularly with Paris and Italian city-states such as Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples. In the wake of the work of postcolonial theorists such as Said, Homi Bhaba and Mary Louise Pratt, cultural exchange has emerged as a fruitful perspective for

---

castrato Bonaventura Argenti (1620/1–1697), the castrato Giovanni Battista Vulpio (d. 1705), the tenor Francesco Vulpio (d. 1699), and the castrato Sanese (who entered the papal choir in 1661).

<sup>5</sup> Bernd Roeck, 'Introduction', in *Forging European Identities*, ed. by Herman Roodenburg, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), iv, 17, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), 261.

studies in European cultural history.<sup>7</sup> Frequently conceiving of cultures as ‘texts’, cultural theorists have carried Julia Kristeva’s famous claim ‘that all texts are transformations of another’ over to cultural studies.<sup>8</sup> This notion of the interconnectedness of texts resulting from readers’ and authors’ previous encounters with an extant body of texts, has developed into notions of ‘inter-cultural’ relations resulting from cultural encounters. Historian Peter Burke, for instance, has discussed the adaptive processes resulting from the relocation of cultural items and practices: items of culture created within one social set of attitudes, knowledge and values—what Pierre Bourdieu called ‘habitus’—will necessarily be different from items created within another.<sup>9</sup> To be acceptable within a new habitus, items and people need adaptation to conform to the norms and practices of the new environment. This is a reciprocal process of accommodation which changes both the cultural item and the habitus: the item is adapted (e.g. translated) and given new meaning, whilst receivers need to accommodate the new items within their habitus.<sup>10</sup> The attitudes, knowledge and values of the habitus are subject to modification when groups or individuals encounter cultural products and practices that do not fit within their habitus in its current form.

Some of the first scholarship exploring issues of cultural exchange in the early modern period was written by New Historicists such as Stephen Greenblatt, who views culture as ‘a network of negotiations for the exchange of material goods, ideas, and...people’.<sup>11</sup> Greenblatt’s studies show these all-pervasive negotiations as shaping the literary output of canonised figures such as Shakespeare, as well as occurring in the European exploration of the New World.<sup>12</sup> Historians have also addressed questions of cultural exchange, as with Andreas Höfele and Werner von

---

<sup>7</sup> Homi Bhaba, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>8</sup> ‘Toute texte est absorption et transformation d’un autre text.’ Julia Kristeva, *Sémeiotiké* (Paris: Ed. Du Seuil, 1969), 164. Cited in Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, ‘Introduction’, in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 4.

<sup>9</sup> The theory of habitus was outlined in Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), for instance 80–6. Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 36–40, 44.

<sup>10</sup> On accommodation, see Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 42–4.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, ‘Culture’, in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago 1990, 2nd ed., 1995), 225–32 (229–30).

<sup>12</sup> See in particular Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

Koppenfels's *Renaissance Go-Betweens*,<sup>13</sup> and Robert Muchembled's giant European Science Foundation-funded research programme *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, c.1400–c.1700* (1999–2003). The last-named project featured research on the impact, functions and processes of cultural exchange in most areas of art, literature and cultural history, and resulted in a four-volume publication by Cambridge University Press (2007).<sup>14</sup> Apart from Judith Pollmann's essay on the role of song in the European Reformation,<sup>15</sup> this wide-ranging project did not, however, address music. It is the aim of my thesis to show that this strand of cultural theory can be fruitfully combined with traditional musicological methods, such as music philology and archival studies, to elucidate the English musical 'uses of Italy' in the Restoration period. The perspective of cultural exchange has long been lacking in musicology, but recently the published works of Bjarke Moe and Lars Berglund, as well as PhD theses by Elisabeth Giselbrecht, Maria Schildt and Matthew Laube, have shown it to be highly relevant.<sup>16</sup> In addition to research on exchanges within

---

<sup>13</sup> Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, eds., *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> Heinz Schilling and Istvan György Tóth, eds., *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, i (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, eds., *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds., *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, iii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Herman Roodenburg, ed., *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, iv (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Judith Pollmann, "'Hey ho, let the cup go round!'" Singing for Reformation in the Sixteenth Century', in *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Heinz Schilling and Istvan György Tóth, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, i (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 294–316.

<sup>16</sup> Bjarke Moe, 'Italian Music at the Danish Court during the Reign of Christian IV: Presenting a Picture of Cultural Transformation', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 38 (2010/11), 15–32; Elisabeth Giselbrecht, 'Crossing Boundaries: The Printed Dissemination of Italian Sacred Music in German-Speaking Areas (1580–1620)' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012); Lars Berglund, 'Travelling and the Formation of Taste. The European Journey of Bengt Ferrner and Jean Lefebure 1758–1763', in *Sweden in the Eighteenth-Century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans*, ed. by Göran Rydén (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 95–119. Maria Schildt 'Gustav Düben at Work: Musical Repertory and Practice of Swedish Court Musicians, 1663–1690' (PhD thesis, Uppsala University, 2014); Matthew Laube 'Music and confession in Heidelberg, 1556–1618' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2014). Since 2012 the joint project *Musical-Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, c.1550–1750* at Royal Holloway, University of London, Uppsala University, and the Bach Archiv at Leipzig University is investigating issues of exchange in early modern musical cultures. 2012 also saw the launch of the project 'Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South' led by professor Vera Katalinic (Croatian Academy of Science and the Arts) and funded by the Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA).

Europe, David Irving's work on European music in early modern colonies has shown the process of exchange on a global scale.<sup>17</sup>

Whereas previous research on Italian music in England has chiefly focused on the influence of Italian music on the compositional practices of such figures as Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Richard Dering and Henry Purcell,<sup>18</sup> this thesis aims to go beyond the idea of influence and study the processes of exchange in wider musical culture. The distinction between exchange as a reciprocal process and influence, thought of as a one-way transfer, is significant. Recently historians have criticised concepts such as 'influence' and 'reception' as obscuring the creative processes involved in selecting and adapting items of foreign culture.<sup>19</sup> Exchange further emphasises reciprocity in a way that influence does not. Reciprocity does not necessarily imply equal participation; the degree of participation in an exchange is relative and the traffic is not necessarily as heavy in both directions.<sup>20</sup> Whereas England imported the concepts and repertoires of Roman vocal music, in Rome the steady stream of northern tourists changed the structure of church services. Regarding Catholic services as concert opportunities, visitors shamelessly left when the music finished. In order to make them sit to the end of the service, a performance of a motet was usually scheduled for the very end:

In the Church of S. Apollinare, which is declared today to have singing of the greatest exquisiteness in the world, many people assemble, but nota bene that most of them do not assemble because of devotion, or even to hear the sermon, but only to hear the music: this is apparent since, after the motet—which follows the Magnificat—is sung, all depart

---

<sup>17</sup> David R. M. Irving, 'Lully in Siam: Music and Diplomacy in French–Siamese Cultural Exchanges, 1680–1690', *Early Music* 40, (2012), 393–420; *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); 'The Dissemination and Use of European Music Books in Early Modern Asia', *Early Music History*, 28 (2009), 39–59.

<sup>18</sup> Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier songwriter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jonathan Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', *Music and Letters*, 89 (2008), 165–94; Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> Peter Burke, 'The Uses of Italy', in *The Renaissance in National Context*, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 7–8; Lars Berglund, 'The Roman Connection. The Dissemination and Reception of Roman Music in the North', in *The Dissemination of Music in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Celebrating the Düben Collection: Proceedings from the International Conference at Uppsala University 2006*, ed. by Erik Kjellberg (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 210. See also Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edn. (Aldershot: Wildwood, 1988), 60–61.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 42.



without waiting until the end of the service, because they know there is no more singing, so the church is empty.<sup>21</sup>

The tourists happily swallowed the bait, and services could continue without disturbances. In England, the influx of music and musicians changed musical life and discourses in a number of ways. Simultaneously immigrant musicians such as Pietro Reggio were forced to adapt to the particularities of the English musical life, and English musicians such as Henry Aldrich (1648–1710) adapted imported musical artefacts to suit their needs and tastes (see below, p. 86 and p. 171).

Despite the increase in travel during the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the numbers of English men and women who visited Rome and Venice were proportionally few. The majority of English musicians and music lovers came into contact with Italian music via such mediators as returning travellers (for example Evelyn), English students of imported Italian music (such as Henry Cooke or Henry Aldrich), immigrant musicians (for example, Nicola Cosimi or Giovanni Battista Draghi), or imported music books and manuscripts. A few mediators became so familiar with both cultures that they might be called ‘go-betweens’, moving unhampered between English and Italian music cultures and thereby dissolving the border between them.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the English exchange with Italian musical cultures frequently took place as much within England as across national boundaries.

The recontextualisation of Italian music in England was an act of appropriation, whereby individuals actively selected items of foreign culture and integrated them into their own through various processes of adaptation.<sup>23</sup> To elucidate the individual agency behind the dissemination of Roman vocal music to England and its integration into English musical culture, this thesis uses ego-documents such as the travel diaries of John Evelyn, Francis Mortoft, John Raymond

---

<sup>21</sup> Nicolò Farfaro, Italian humanist, in ‘Discorso sopra la Musica Antica, e Moderna’ (MS, 1640). At this point, Carissimi was the *maestro di capella* of S Apollinare. ‘[È] vero che ne la Chiesa di S. Apollinare, dove si fa professione oggi di cantare con la maggiore esquisitezza del mondo, concorre assaissimo popolo, mà chi osserva bene, vede che tutti concorro non per divotione, ne per sentire le funzioni devote, [...] ma solamente per sentire la Musica: il che chiaramente appare, che cantato un Mottetto dopo la Magnificat, perché si sà che non vi è altro canto, tutti si partono, e resta la Chiesa vacua, non aspettando altrimenti il fine del Vespro’ Cited from Gino Stefani, *Musica e religione nell’Italia barocca* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1975), 12–13.

<sup>22</sup> On go-betweens, see Höfele and von Koppenfels, ‘Introduction’, 6, 9. The concept is also introduced in Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 119.

<sup>23</sup> On the concept of appropriation, see Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 36–40; Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Text, Performances, and Audience from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 88–89; Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 241, 48–52.

and Richard Lassels, the diary of Samuel Pepys, and letters from merchants, scholars and diplomats, in addition to the notated musical sources traditionally studied by musicologists. References to music in such ego-documents are notoriously scarce: for most people, music appears to have been a practice they saw little reason to write about. However, music is not an isolated phenomenon. References to it in letters, diaries and other archival material need to be elucidated by related practices in travelling, collecting, social distinction, or scientific study. The context partly compensates for the scarcity of documentary evidence and can allow the scraps of material in letters, diary entries and musical sources to illuminate the environments in which their owners practised music. Researchers have to make do with what documents survive, fully aware that conclusions are subject to revision should new material become available.

The rest of this introduction outlines the background to the late seventeenth-century cultural exchange with Rome, discussing England's ideological and political relationship with Rome. It explains the mechanisms of travel and music dissemination, as well as the religious and political attitudes that shaped English responses to Roman vocal music. The chapter finishes with a discussion of previous research on Italian music in England, followed by a synopsis of the thesis.

## **English Relationships with Italy**

### *The idea of Rome*

Whether viewed as the cradle of ancient learning, art and music, or as a haven for papism, prostitution and gambling, Italy was highly present in the early modern English mind. The focuses, mechanisms and results of cultural exchange depended as much on the political and economic situation in England and abroad as on the reputation of Italian culture. Italy in the early modern period consisted of a number of independent city-states which played radically different parts in culture and international politics. The opening of Richard Lassels's influential *Voyage of Italy* (1670) suggests that Englishmen referred to Italy as a whole:

Before I come to a particular description of *Italy*, as I found it in my Five several voyages through it, I think it not amisse to speak something in General, of the Country itself, its

Inhabitants, their Humours, Manners, Customes, Riches, and  
Religion.<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, Edward Chaney has shown how the city-states' different political roles impacted greatly on travel patterns, and so also on the cultural exchanges with England. As the seat of the Papacy, Rome had always occupied a prominent place in the English imagination. Chaney shows that exchange with Italy started in the fifteenth century with Englishmen travelling to Italy to study at the universities or with one of the humanist teachers; there were lively Anglo-Italian interactions until Henry VIII's schism with Rome.<sup>25</sup> Chiefly considering art and architecture, Chaney depicts a rapidly dwindling cultural exchange between Italy and England after the Reformation, with artists fleeing England after their wealthy ecclesiastical patrons were removed from power.<sup>26</sup> After the schism, Rome became forbidden ground to English travellers for almost a century. The Privy Council habitually vetoed passports to Rome well into the seventeenth century, and defiant travellers risked confiscation of their property at home and arrest by the inquisition abroad if they ventured further south than Florence. The same was true for Italy south of Naples, which was dominated by the Spanish Habsburgs. Only small numbers of recusants, and curious travellers such as Fynes Moryson (1565/6–1630), who dared defy the political pressure at home, prevented the connections from being entirely broken.<sup>27</sup> Moryson, pretending to be a Frenchman on pilgrimage, sneaked into the Jesuit academy in Rome to speak to Cardinal Robert Bellarmine only after leaving his belongings and hired horse at an obscure suburban inn from where he could easily escape if he was discovered.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the frozen political and religious relationship with Rome, northern Italy remained open to English travellers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1572 Philip Sidney managed to get his Huguenot tutor's approval to travel to Italy, provided he did not go further south than Padua. John Dowland's intended study visit to Rome was ended in Florence by the danger of being

---

<sup>24</sup> Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy, or, A Compleat Journey through Italy in Two Parts*, 2 vols. (Paris 1670), i, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), xv, 51.

<sup>26</sup> Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 50–51.

<sup>27</sup> Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 76–79.

<sup>28</sup> Antoni Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. by Ursula Phillips (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), 190–91.

implicated in Catholic conspiracies,<sup>29</sup> and in the early seventeenth century James I set Florence as the limit for southern travel.<sup>30</sup> The Republic of Venice in particular was known for discretion and tolerance. Protestants could travel to Venice without fear of the inquisition, as the young John Raymond remarked in 1646–47:

Neither have the Orientall [Greek Orthodox] Christians alone this Liberty at *Venice*, but *Loyal as Sonnes* being exild thence, the Inquisition reacheth not as far as strangers, which made us *Hereticks* (as they call us) thinke wee were come out of the Land of Bondage, to a more secure Country.<sup>31</sup>

A century earlier the traveller William Thomas claimed about Venetian discretion, ‘if thou be a gospeller, no man shall aske why thou comest not to churche’.<sup>32</sup> Edward Muir has shown how Venice positioned itself against Jesuitism, the Spanish imperialists, and the Barberini papacy, in particular through the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1606. Protecting its citizens from the Inquisition, Venice and its internationally renowned university in Padua emerged as a safe haven for scientific experimentation, scepticism, and libertinism.<sup>33</sup> Although frequently loathed for those very reasons, Venice’s political position made it relatively safe ground for English travellers.

The English relationship with Rome relaxed successively during the reigns of James I and Charles I. Continental travel in general increased after James I’s peace with Spain in 1604, especially among courtiers interested in art.<sup>34</sup> Although England officially disapproved of travel to Rome, the papal authorities treated visiting English aristocrats with extraordinary courtesy in the hope of winning them over; by 1637 reports reached London that since the Pope was impressed with the good treatment of Catholics in England, Englishmen could now safely travel to Rome.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Peter Holman and Paul O’Dette, ‘Dowland, John’, *GMO*.

<sup>30</sup> Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 79–80, 86.

<sup>31</sup> John Raymond, *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage, Made through Italy, in the Yeare 1646, and 1647* (London, 1648), 200–01.

<sup>32</sup> William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1549), f. 85. See also Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 75–6.

<sup>33</sup> Edward Muir, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: Sceptics, Libertines, and Opera* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), especially 1–3, 15–18.

<sup>34</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, ‘Art and Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England’, in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 97–8; R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 8.

<sup>35</sup> Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 86. Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: Tauris, 2014), 155–6.

By the reign of Charles I, the English court's idea of Rome was closely tied to its notoriously positive attitude towards Roman Catholicism. As Malcolm Smuts has suggested, the court's Catholic sympathies derived mainly from its cosmopolitan outlook: given the number of recusants and foreign ambassadors and artists at the Caroline court, plus the presence of the Catholic queen Henrietta Maria and her servants, most courtiers met more Catholics than Puritans in their day-to-day lives. The English liking for forms of culture favoured in the Catholic parts of Europe most likely also bred inter-confessional sympathy.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the liturgical changes emphasising aesthetic and ceremonial elements of worship introduced by William Laud (1573–1645), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, brought official English religious ceremony closer to continental Catholic than Reformed practices.<sup>37</sup>

The outbreak of Civil War in the 1640s (partly caused by the feared popery at court) and the ensuing Commonwealth in the 1650s prevented the importation of Roman vocal music or other forms of European court culture to England in those decades. Yet the upheavals stimulated rather than inhibited travel: like Evelyn, many Royalist Englishmen removed themselves from the troubles and embarked on tours of the continent, which now included Rome.<sup>38</sup> This is particularly true of members of the exiled English court. Although the young Charles II never travelled to Rome, he and his constant companion Buckingham had plenty of time to observe the culture in Paris, where Mazarin was importing Roman art and music. Charles's future secretary of state, Sir Henry Bennet (1618–85, Lord Arlington from 1665), spent time in Paris, Rome and Madrid during the Civil War and Commonwealth years, which, as Helen Jacobsen has noted, helped develop his keen taste for continental court culture. After the Restoration, Bennet would become the chief influence on Charles's artistic and musical tastes and moreover a major force in elite English cultural life.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the young courtier Thomas Killigrew (1612–83) travelled through France to Rome and Naples together with Walter Montague as early as 1635–36. He joined Charles at Saint-Germain in 1647, and was soon sent on the first of his many missions to Italy.

---

<sup>36</sup> Smuts, *Court Culture*, 227.

<sup>37</sup> On William Laud's (1573–1645) reform of the Church of England as bishop of London from 1627 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 132–51.

<sup>38</sup> Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 86.

<sup>39</sup> Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 119–22, 137. On Bennett's role in Restoration court music, see Chapter 2, p. 48.

In 1649 Killigrew's job as Charles's special envoy took him to Turin, Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, and Venice where he served as the English resident 1650–52.<sup>40</sup> After the Restoration, both Bennet and Killigrew were to be involved in the activities of Charles's Italian ensemble (below, p. 49). Furthermore, the recusant Henry Howard (1621–84), future Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, and dedicatee of Girolamo Pignani's *Scelta di canzonette* (1679) (below, p. 124), spent his youth in Padua and continued to travel widely after the Restoration, visiting Vienna, Rome, Constantinople, India, and Morocco.<sup>41</sup> Living in Padua together with his grandfather, the famous collector Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), Henry Howard befriended Evelyn during Evelyn's visit to the town.<sup>42</sup> Thus, whilst no Roman culture was directly imported to England during the 1640s and 1650s, those who would become patrons of it after the Restoration were experiencing it first-hand abroad.

Perhaps because of their experiences in exile, the court of Charles II was even more open to Roman Catholicism and Roman culture than that of his father. The 1662 Act of Uniformity in principle reinstated the religious and musical practices of the early Stuart era, and the Restoration court housed a number of prominent Catholics, including the now queen mother, Henrietta Maria. Charles's queen Catherine of Braganza had her own Catholic chapel, which Peter Leech has shown thrived with a large musical establishment.<sup>43</sup> The queen's Grand Almoner was the influential Philip Howard (1629–94), Dominican friar and younger brother of the recusant future sixth Duke of Norfolk, Henry Howard. Together with his uncle Ludovic d'Aubigny, Philip Howard was heavily involved in the marriage negotiations between Charles and Catherine, and allegedly also facilitated the match between James, Duke of York, and Mary of Modena.<sup>44</sup> In addition, Thomas Clifford (1630–73) and Sir Henry Bennet, members of the Cabal ministry of 1667–73, were both Catholics.<sup>45</sup> All of Charles's mistresses except Nell Gwynn adhered to Rome,

---

<sup>40</sup> J. P. Vander Motten, 'Killigrew, Thomas (1612–1683)', ODNB.

<sup>41</sup> John Miller, 'Howard, Henry, sixth duke of Norfolk (1628–1684)', ODNB.

<sup>42</sup> Evelyn, ii, 466–7, 73, 79.

<sup>43</sup> Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 570–87.

<sup>44</sup> Allan White, 'Howard, Philip [*name in religion* Thomas] 1629–1694', ODNB.

<sup>45</sup> The cautious Bennet (Lord Arlington), however, kept his faith secret and only converted on his deathbed. The name Cabal ministry derives from the initial letter of the names of its chief ministers:

and especially in the 1670s several French courtiers came over to England, including Charles's long-term mistress Louise de K roualle (1649–1734). The conversion of James, Duke of York, probably as early as 1669, also increased the Catholic influence at court.<sup>46</sup>

The issue of Charles's personal religion is both slippery and controversial; most recently Ronald Hutton has portrayed Charles as a religio-political pragmatist whose chief bargaining tool in exile was toleration of English Catholics, but who only kept his word as far as domestic political circumstances permitted: in order to secure a treaty with France in 1670, Charles was prepared to make promises of conversion he had no intention of keeping. In hindsight, Charles's deathbed conversion spurred contemporaries as well as modern historians to search for early signs of Catholicism.<sup>47</sup> After the accession of the openly Catholic James II, the English relationship with Rome became even closer as James dispatched Roger Palmer, earl of Castlemaine (1634–1705), on an expensive embassy to Rome in 1686.<sup>48</sup>

The Stuart court's relationship with Rome and Roman Catholicism differed drastically from the attitudes in parliament and among the wider public, who associated Charles's fondness for continental Catholic culture and the number of Catholics at court with popery and arbitrary government.<sup>49</sup> This tension most obviously manifested itself in the 1673 Test Act (requiring court officials to receive Anglican Communion every year), which forced Charles to disband his Italian ensemble (see Chapter 2, p. 90). The fiercely anti-Catholic sentiments of parliament and public eventually led in 1688–9 to the Stuarts being usurped by the Calvinist William of Orange. The accession of William and Mary changed court culture drastically, with the Whig elite showing strong opposition to Roman Catholicism and

---

Thomas Clifford, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Buckingham, Lord Arlington, and the Duke of Lauderdale.

<sup>46</sup> For the date of James's conversion, see Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (New York: Longman, 1993), 57.

<sup>47</sup> Ronald Hutton examined the evidence of Charles's personal religion in Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 455–7 especially. Hutton regards the evidence of Charles's supposed Catholicism as spurious, and urges his readers to treat even the deathbed conversion with caution. The argument is summarised in Ronald Hutton, 'The Religion of Charles II', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For a somewhat different view on the conversion, see John Miller, *Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991), 381–2.

<sup>48</sup> R. A. P. J. Beddard, 'Palmer, Roger, earl of Castlemaine (1634–1705)', ODNB.

<sup>49</sup> Tim Harris has called this a tension between court and country. See Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (New York: Longman, 1993), 52.

continental culture. Thus, the court climate under Charles I, Charles II, and James II arguably shaped the English response to Rome and Roman culture even within social groups where this culture was never appropriated.

The place of Rome in the seventeenth-century English imagination differed significantly from its place in eighteenth-century minds. Apart from the work of Edward Chaney and Sara Warneke, previous research on English-Italian relations and travel has focused on the eighteenth century, when the phenomenon stood at its height.<sup>50</sup> In the light of Whig attitudes increasingly prevailing after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–9, eighteenth-century interest in Rome focused on its role as the capital of the ancient Roman republic.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, Whig ideals of civic humanism and classical republicanism were frequently invoked against the supposedly emasculating effects of eighteenth-century Italian opera.<sup>52</sup> However, mid-seventeenth-century sources such as John Raymond's *Itinerary Contayning a Voyage* (1648) and Richard Lassels's *The Voyage of Italy* (1670) suggest that seventeenth-century English travellers subscribed to the idea of Rome as the Holy City, emphasising its apostolic history, its many martyrs, and the architecture, art and music of its churches, as well as the grandeur and generosity of the aristocratic families Barberini and Colonna.<sup>53</sup> Lassels's *Voyage*—‘the most influential English guidebook of the period, conditioning the first impressions of many a tourist to that country’<sup>54</sup>—dedicated sixteen pages to justifying Rome's status as ‘the Holy’: ‘First, For being the Seat of *Christs Vicar* upon Earth, *S. Peter* and his *Successors*, to the number of 240 and odd *Popes*’.<sup>55</sup> As a Roman Catholic priest, Lassels's rhetoric is hardly surprising, yet it

---

<sup>50</sup> Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, and Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994). For studies of the eighteenth-century phenomenon, see e.g. Shearer West, ed. *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Clare Hornsby, ed. *The Impact of Italy: the Grand Tour and Beyond* (London: British School at Rome, 2000); Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: the Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996). See also John Wilton-Ely, ‘“Classic Ground”: Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 28 (2004), 136–65.

<sup>51</sup> See Ayres, *Classical Culture*, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas McGeary, ‘Opera and British nationalism, 1700–1711’, *Revue LISA/LISA e-journal*, 4 (2006), <http://lisa.revues.org/2067>.

<sup>53</sup> Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, ii, 4–20. Raymond, *Itinerary*, 67–8.

<sup>54</sup> Edward Chaney, ‘Lassels, Richard (c.1603–1668)’, ODNB. Lassels's book was published in at least five editions between 1670 and 1705, was translated into French and German, and esteemed well into the eighteenth century. See Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and “The Voyage of Italy” in the Seventeenth Century*, 140–43.

<sup>55</sup> Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, ii, 4.



had profound influence on Protestant travel accounts such as Evelyn's, who took great interest in Rome's religious history and practices. Royalist travellers like Evelyn apparently came to regard Lassels as conservative rather than Catholic,<sup>56</sup> and came to view Rome more as a centre for religious than ancient history.

One of the chief attractions of the Holy City was its church music. Travellers such as Evelyn and Mortoft wrote about the music they heard in their travel diaries and so helped to build the musical reputation of Rome in England. Famous churches had famous composers: S Apollinare (attached to the Jesuit German College) and the Chiesa Nuova had Carissimi (in service 1629–74), the Chiesa del Gesù (the church of the Jesuit Seminario Romano) had Bonifacio Graziani (1646–64),<sup>57</sup> and S Giovanni in Laterano had Francesco Foggia (1637–61). The musical reputation of Rome was also widely spread to an English-speaking audience by Lassels's *Voyage*. Though rarely cited in musicological contexts, Lassels wrote at length about the music of Roman churches, which he called the best in the world:

In a word, whosoever loves *musick* and hears but once this of *Rome*, thinks he hath made a saveing journey to *Rome*, and is well payed for all his paynes of coming so farre.<sup>58</sup>

Any tourist arriving in Rome guided by Lassels would have had high expectations of its musical life, and a list of churches to go to for excellent performances. The influence of travel literature on contemporary taste is again illustrated through Evelyn's account of Italy, which was written more than twenty years after his travels and largely based on Lassels's *Voyage* and other available travel literature.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the rapturous account of Francis Mortoft a decade before the *Voyage* was published suggests that word of mouth had heightened Lassels's own expectations already in the 1650s. Mortoft expressed his admiration in similar terms to Lassels,

---

<sup>56</sup> Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion*, 141.

<sup>57</sup> For the spelling 'Bonifacio' instead of the often used 'Bonifazio' or 'Bonifatio', see Ugo Onorati's account of the Graziani's signature in the parish records of Marino: Ugo Onorati, 'Un contributo alla biografia del Bonifacio Graziani', in *Strenna dei romanisti: Natale di Roma* 71 (2010), 497–512 (497–8).

<sup>58</sup> Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, ii, 248.

<sup>59</sup> This observation was made by E.S. de Beer in his introduction to Evelyn's diary, and has recently been elaborated on by Anne Hultsch. See Hultsch 'The "Artificial Sceane": The Re-Creation of Italian Architecture in John Evelyn's Diary', in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 137–47; and Evelyn, i, 89.

suggesting that the wonder and rarity of Roman music was a common trope among English travellers:

Afterwards, it beginning to be night, wee went to the Chiesa Nova, where there is most incomparable Musicke every Sunday and holy day at Night, with Organs and 4 Voyces, and wee heard such sweete Musicke, that a man could not thinke his paines il spent, if he should come two thousand mile, if he was sure to be recompensed with nothing else, but to heare such most melodious voyces.<sup>60</sup>

As Mortoft's comment suggests, it was mainly the vocal style of Roman-trained singers that impressed English visitors; hence performance practice, vocal timbre, and the spaces in which the music was performed were probably as important in the English conception of Roman vocal music as compositional style.

Apart from the distinctive performance style, the striking novelty of the mid-seventeenth-century Roman repertoire was largely due to the new affective compositional styles, utilizing bold chromaticism and dissonant harmonies yet with melodious vocal lines, and contrasts between solo and ensemble sections to represent strong emotions both in sacred and secular music. Some of the most famous composers of this style worked in Jesuit institutions: apart from Carissimi (1605–1674) and Graziani (1604/5–1664), Carlo Cecchelli (*fl.* 1626–64) worked at both the German College and the Seminario Romano, Francesco Foggia (1604–88) trained at the German college, as did Vincenzo Albrici and Giuseppe Peranda (1625–75) who would later both have an immense impact on musical life in Dresden.<sup>61</sup> In Berglund's words 'the careers and compositions of these musicians reflect much of the agenda lying behind the musical activities of the Jesuit Society.' As Berglund has argued, the Roman Catholic Church staged an intensive musical propaganda campaign in mid-seventeenth-century northern Europe, much aided by Jesuit missionary ideals. The musical agenda was to lend prestige primarily to particular Jesuit institutions, secondarily to the Catholic Church and the city of Rome. The Jesuit didactic programme used art and music to move the souls of church-goers to devotion, piety

---

<sup>60</sup> Mortoft, *His Book*, 118–19.

<sup>61</sup> On Albrici in Dresden, see Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), especially 17–75.

and repentance. Music, it was thought, could even bring about conversion.<sup>62</sup> C. Jane Gosine and Erik Oland have also shown how the Jesuit didactic programme affected the music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704), who became *maître de musique* at St Louis (the principal Jesuit church in Paris) in the late 1680s.<sup>63</sup>

The Jesuit society certainly succeeded in spreading the fame and prestige of its composers. The fashion for Roman repertoire and performance style rapidly spread to north European courts after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Carissimi's pupils gained posts as *Kapellmeisters* at northern courts in the 1650s: Kaspar Förster (1616–73) in Copenhagen in 1652–55 and 1661–67, and Vincenzo Albrici as the leader of Christina of Sweden's Italian ensemble between 1652 and 1654.<sup>64</sup> In this capacity, Albrici was the head of twenty-two Roman and Florentine singers, actors, and harpsichord builders (including Albrici's brother Bartolomeo and sister Leonora), who Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt have argued arrived in Sweden to perform Roman motets, oratorios and sacred plays in preparation for Christina's conversion to Roman Catholicism. Albrici himself was recruited after extensive correspondence between the queen, the papacy and the Society of Jesus.<sup>65</sup> Just after the Peace of Westphalia, the intended conversion of a Lutheran monarch to Roman Catholicism was too important a religio-political prospect to be left to chance.

It is not known if or to what extent Roman church authorities were involved in Albrici's activities after their departure to Sweden. Nevertheless, it was hardly a

---

<sup>62</sup> Lars Berglund, 'Marvels of the Holy City: On the Use of Roman Church Music at Lutheran Courts in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', in *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period II: Consolidation of God-Given Power*, ed. by Kathryn Banks and Philiep G. Bossier (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 159–75 (166–7).

<sup>63</sup> C. Jane Gosine and Erik Oland, 'Docere, Delectare, Movere: Marc-Antoine Charpentier and Jesuit Spirituality', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 511–39.

<sup>64</sup> The dissemination of Roman vocal music in northern Europe outside England has been studied for instance by Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*; Lars Berglund, 'The Roman Connection. The Dissemination and Reception of Roman Music in the North', in *The Dissemination of Music in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Celebrating the Düben Collection: Proceedings from the International Conference at Uppsala University 2006*, ed. by Erik Kjellberg (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 193–217; Berglund, 'Marvels of the Holy City'; Peter Wollny, 'Parodie, Imitatio und Aemulatio in der geistlichen Vokalmusik von Dietrich Buxtehude', in *Text-Kontext-Rezeption. Zum 300. Todestag von Dietrich Buxtehude. Konferenzbericht Lübeck 2007*, ed. by W. Sandberger and V. Scherliess (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011), 89–109. On Italian music at the Danish court, see Moe, 'Italian Music at the Danish Court', 17–22 especially. On Förster's engagement, see Berthold Warnecke, *Kaspar Förster der Jüngere (1616–1673) und die europäische Stilvielfalt im 17. Jahrhundert* (Schneverdingen: Wagner, 2004), 209–17; also Mara R. Wade, *Triumphus nuptialis danicus: German Court Culture and Denmark: The "Great Wedding" of 1634* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1996), 90–118, 231–4.

<sup>65</sup> Lars Berglund, and Maria Schildt, 'Italian Music at the Royal Swedish Court of Queen Christina: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe', paper given at the *15th Biennial International Conference for Baroque Music* (University of Southampton, 14 July 2012). On the recruitment of Christina's ensemble, see also Berglund, 'The Roman Connection', 196–201.

coincidence that his next major engagements would be at northern courts whose rulers were rumoured to have ‘Catholic inclinations’: Johann Georg II of Saxony (where Albrici worked 1656–1663, and 1669–1673), and Charles II of England (where he worked 1664–1668). Charles, like Johann Georg, remained Protestant throughout his reign; the widespread suspicions about the two rulers’ personal confession derived from the many Catholics employed at their courts, their perceived reluctance to deal efficiently with the problem of Catholic worship in their respective realms, and their alliances with foreign Catholic powers such as Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire at a time when European Protestantism seemed threatened by those very powers.<sup>66</sup> There is, however, no evidence to prove that Albrici travelled to Dresden or London hoping to bring about more royal conversions. The monarch’s supposed Catholic inclinations may only have signalled a liking for certain forms of culture and thus the possibility of lucrative employment.

#### *Travel and music dissemination*

The fashion for Italian songs in mid-seventeenth-century England is suggested by the preface to Henry Lawes’s publication *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653). Lawes dedicated his preface to discussing the merits of Italian songs compared to English; his main criticism of Italian music was not as much directed towards the music itself, as towards the uncritical English admiration of everything Italian. To illustrate his point, Lawes included a musical practical joke involving an Italianate song (‘In quel gelato core, una voce’) composed to the table of contents of Antonio Cifra’s madrigal book *Scherzi ed Arie* (1614):

And to make them a little sensible of this ridiculous humour, I took a *Table* or *Index* of old *Italian* Songs (for one, two and three *Voyces*) and this *Index* I set to a varied *Ayre*, and gave out that it came from *Italy*, whereby it hath passed for a rare *Italian Song*.<sup>67</sup>

The dissemination of Italian music to England was closely tied to the fortunes of the music print industry in different Italian cities, the same cities’ political

---

<sup>66</sup> On the impact of Charles’s foreign policy on English fears of Popery at court, see Jonathan Scott, ‘England’s Troubles 1603–1702’, in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20–38 (31–2); and Smuts, ‘Introduction’, 18. Regarding Johann Georg’s supposed Catholic inclinations, see Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, 76–95.

<sup>67</sup> Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues, for One, Two, and Three Voyces* (London, 1653), [iv]. On this preface and Lawes’s relationship to Italian music, see also Spink, *Henry Lawes*, 100–05.

relationships with England, and the travel patterns of professional musicians and private individuals affected by those political relationships. When the relationship with Rome warmed in the 1630s, England already had a long and continuous musical relationship with the northern parts of Italy. Whereas Italian artists had fled from the English court in the wake of the Henry VIII's schism with Rome, musicians appear to have remained. Italian musicians such as the Bassano family had been a permanent feature of Henry's musical establishment since the 1520s, and in 1539 agents were sent to Venice to recruit the best available singers and instrumentalists in preparation for his wedding to Anne of Cleves.<sup>68</sup> Despite the restrictions placed on Italian travel under Elizabeth, Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder was a much-valued member of the Elizabethan court, granted an unprecedented pension of £100 per annum.<sup>69</sup> Italian madrigals are furthermore found in English manuscripts from 1564 onwards,<sup>70</sup> and were published with English texts in the late sixteenth century through the printer Thomas East's volumes of Italian madrigals such as Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* and Thomas Morley's *Madrigals to five Voices*.<sup>71</sup> John, Lord Lumley (c.1533–1609) also owned Venetian music prints published as early as the 1540s.<sup>72</sup>

The relatively tolerant atmosphere in Venice not only kept the city open to visitors from northern Europe, but also supported a prolific printing industry. Alongside works of science, philosophy and theology, Venice housed Italy's most important music presses of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In particular the Gardano press, Europe's largest between 1560 and 1620, helped disseminate Venetian and other north Italian music to England.<sup>73</sup> Between 1633 and 1650 the English bookseller Robert Martin imported Venetian madrigals and other north Italian sacred and secular music by composers such as Giulio Caccini (1551–1681), Antonio Cifra (1584–1629), Alessandro Grandi (i) (1586–1630), Edigio

---

<sup>68</sup> Fiona Kisby, 'Minstrels in the City and Suburbs of Early Tudor London: Professional Activities and Private Interests', *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 199–219 (201); John Izon, 'Italian Musicians at the Tudor Court', *The Musical Quarterly*, 44 (1958), 329–37 (329–33).

<sup>69</sup> Izon, 'Italian Musicians at the Tudor Court', 329–33. Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 78–81.

<sup>70</sup> Joseph Kerman, 'Elizabethan Anthologies of Italian Madrigals', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 4 (1951), 122–38 (126).

<sup>71</sup> Kerman, 'Elizabethan Anthologies', 122, 25.

<sup>72</sup> See John Milsom, 'The Nonsuch Music Library', in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (London: The British Library, 1993), 146–82 (157, 161).

<sup>73</sup> On the Gardano Press, see Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 3 vols. (New York: Garland, 1988).

Trabattone (*fl.* 1525–42), Tarquinio Merula (1594/5–1665), Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Giovanni Rovetta (1595–7–1668), and Giovanni Felice Sances (1600–1679), from the Gardano press in particular: Donald Krummel has shown that of 232 editions in Martin’s catalogues, only seventeen were not from the Gardano press and only five not from Venice. All of the music was printed before 1638.<sup>74</sup>

As Jonathan Wainwright has shown, the imported Italian books played an important role in the dissemination of early seventeenth-century north Italian music in England through the music collection of Christopher, first Baron Hatton (1605–70).<sup>75</sup> Hatton was known as an avid collector and patron of the arts, who set up the antiquarian society *Antiquitas Rediviva* together with William Dugdale (1605–86), Thomas Shirley (1597–*c.*1665), and Edward Dering (1598–1644).<sup>76</sup> Hatton’s collection of Italian printed music books was the basis of a vast number of copies made by Hatton-associated copyists such as George Jeffreys and Stephen Bing.<sup>77</sup> Jeffreys and Hatton would later bring the repertoire to the Oxford court, where Wainwright suggests it was performed in the Catholic services of Queen Henrietta Maria at Merton College. The Italian composer Angelo Notari (1566–1663), hired by Prince Henry (1594–1612) in 1610, was also on site in Oxford, further linking Royal and Hatton musical interests.<sup>78</sup> The queen was accustomed to having Italianate motets in her services through the efforts of her organist Richard Dering (1580–1630), who had spent time in Rome and Venice in the 1610s and whose motets remained popular well into the Restoration.<sup>79</sup> In addition to Dering and Notari, the Chapel Royal singer Walter Porter (*c.*1587–1659) studied the music of Monteverdi, and Charles I’s Master of Music, Nicholas Lanier (1588–1666), had travelled widely in Europe and was credited by Ben Johnson for introducing *stile recitativo* into

---

<sup>74</sup> Krummel, ‘Venetian Baroque Music’, 1–2.

<sup>75</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 28–9.

<sup>76</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 10–12.

<sup>77</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 154–59; On Jeffreys’s use of this music in his own compositions, see Andrew Cheetham, ‘Progressive Sacred Music in England 1625–1648: The Italianate Works of Dering and Jeffreys’, in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles, and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014).

<sup>78</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 162–3, 169–77, 194; Wainwright, ‘Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford’, in *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on His Life, Times, and Work*, ed. by Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 121–42.

<sup>79</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 158, 178–9. On Dering’s motets, see also Jonathan Wainwright, ‘Richard Dering’s Few-Voice “Concertato” Motets’, 165–94.

England.<sup>80</sup> The activities of these men imply that there was a practice of importing the latest fashionable musical repertoire to the English court to serve the interests of Catholic or proto-Catholic members before the Civil War.

After the dissolution of the court, the singer and composer Henry Cooke (1615–72) performed privately in London in the 1650s, before becoming Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal after the Restoration. Cooke was widely famous for his ability to perform in the Italian style and in 1654 John Evelyn had called him ‘the best singer after the Italian manner’.<sup>81</sup> Cooke’s diverse career included being music teacher to the Hatton children during the 1650s, and Wainwright has suggested that Cooke learned the Italian style from Hatton’s collection of Italian music.<sup>82</sup>

The performance style Cooke would have learnt from Hatton’s books was the north Italian *stile nuovo*. The library contained a copy of the 1615 edition of Giulio Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche*,<sup>83</sup> famously outlining the styles of solo singing in early seventeenth-century Italy, as conceived by Caccini and his peers in the Florentine Camerata. The Florentine idiom had been brought to England as early as 1610, when two pieces from *Le nuove musiche* appeared in Robert Dowland’s *Musicall Banquet* (1610),<sup>84</sup> and was further advanced by the publication of Angelo Notari’s *Prime musiche nuove* in 1613.<sup>85</sup> That the Florentine style had been known in England for a considerable time and was still current in 1664 is suggested by the publication of Caccini’s preface as ‘A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner’ in the fourth edition of *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Music*. A

---

<sup>80</sup> Ian Spink, ‘Porter, Walter’ and ‘Lanier’, *GMO*.

<sup>81</sup> Evelyn, iii, 144 (28 October 1654).

<sup>82</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 198–9.

<sup>83</sup> Now in *Och Mus.* 796 (3).

<sup>84</sup> Copies of *Le Nuove Musiche* are preserved in GB *Ge* (1602 edition), *Lbl* (1607 edition) and *Och* (1615 edition). See Tim Carter, ‘Amarilli mia bella: some questions (and few answers)’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113 (1988), 250–73 (266–8). Robert Dowland, *A Musicall Banquet, Furnished with a Varietie of Delicious Ayres* (London, 1610). The two arias are no. 18 ‘Dourò dunque morire?’ and no. 19 ‘Amarilli mia bella’. The latter survives in a number of English manuscript copies, using Caccini’s ornaments: GB *Lbl* Egerton MS 2971; the aria also survives in three other English copies: GB *Lbl* Royal Appendix 55, *Lbl* Add. MS 15117 and *Ob* Tenbury 1018, all copied around 1610 or just after. See Carter, ‘Amarilli mia bella’, 268, 271–2. On the ornamented version in *Lbl* Egerton 2971, see John Bass, ‘Would Caccini Approve? A Closer Look at Egerton 2971 and Florid Monody’, *Early Music*, 36 (2001), 81–93; and Mary Cyr, ‘A Seventeenth-Century Source of Ornamentation for Voice and Viol: British Museum MS Egerton 2971’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, (1971), 53–72.

<sup>85</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 164–5; Ian Spink, ‘Angelo Notari and his “Prime Musiche Nuove”’, *Monthly Musical Record*, 87 (1957), 168–77 (169).

comment inserted by Playford at the end of the essay illustrates Cooke's proficiency in the Italian style:

Nor are these Graces any new Invention, but have been used here in England by most of the Gentlemen of His Majesties Chappel above this 40 years, and now is come to that Excellency and Perfection there, by the Skill and furtherance of that Orpheus of our time, Henry Cook[.]<sup>86</sup>

Playford's 'Discourse' also illustrates the difficulty involved in learning the Italian style from books. The musical styles in Caccini's preface were usually taught orally by the pupil imitating the teacher—Caccini wrote 'experience is the teacher of all things'—making the preface a translation from sound to words.<sup>87</sup> Adding a significant amount of information about the trill, the anonymous English translator translated in the reverse direction, from words to sound. Recounting a musical discussion among gentleman amateurs, the translator included an example that would be familiar to his English readers:

I used, said he, at my first learning the *Trill*, to imitate that breaking of a Sound in the Throat, which Men use when they Leuer their Hawks, as *he-he-he-he-he*; which he used slow at first, and by often practice on several Notes, higher and lower in sound, he became perfect therein.<sup>88</sup>

The translator's choice of sounds from falconry to explain the singing of a trill is an interesting instance of what Peter Burke has called 'cultural translation'. Recognising that traditions and concepts can be translated as well as languages, Burke has called cultural translation a 'double process of decontextualisation and recontextualisation' where an item of foreign culture is first claimed for another and then domesticated.<sup>89</sup> By recontextualising the singing of a trill to circumstances familiar to English readers, the translator has translated more than just the Italian language. Associating the trill with falconry presumably made the trills sung in English homes sound quite different from those heard in Florence. Simultaneously, the association must have

---

<sup>86</sup> John Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, ed. by Christopher Simpson and Thomas Campion, 4th edn. (London, 1664), 76. On the attribution of the comment to Playford, see Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 259.

<sup>87</sup> Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, translated in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era*, (New York: Norton, 1950), 384.

<sup>88</sup> Playford, *Brief Introduction*, 70.

<sup>89</sup> Burke, 'Cultures of Translation', 10.



widened the English understanding of the ‘breaking of a Sound in the Throat’ from a technique used in falconry to one that was also used in singing. Playford’s 1664 translation of Caccini indicates that the Italian music current in England in the early years of the Restoration was thus in the northern style, transformed for use in England through various processes of cultural translation. The repertoires and accompanying performance practices collected by Hatton retained their currency in English musical life throughout the seventeenth century: music by Sances, Merula, and Monteverdi originally copied from Hatton’s prints frequently outnumber works by later Italian composers in seventeenth-century manuscript anthologies.<sup>90</sup>

*Figure 1.1: Playford’s illustration of the trillo in A Brief Introduction (1664), p. 68.*

IMAGES UNDER COPYRIGHT REMOVED FROM OPEN ACCESS VERSION

Roman vocal music appeared on the English musical map in the 1630s, when English travellers again started arriving in Rome and the city simultaneously emerged as the new Italian musical centre with a music print industry which seriously challenged the declining Venetian one.<sup>91</sup> During the middle decades of the century, editors such as Don Florido de Silvestris da Barbarano and Giovanni Battista Caifabri published large numbers of sacred music anthologies featuring motets by composers active in Roman churches, such as Orazio Benevoli (1605–72), Foggia, Graziani and Carissimi. (Mid-seventeenth-century Roman motets were concerted compositions to a sacred Latin text for one or more solo voices and figured bass, often featuring virtuosic solos between polyphonic sections, as well as daring chromaticism and affective harmonies.) Music by Foggia and Graziani in particular

---

<sup>90</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 121–32, 200–05. See also below, p. 137.

<sup>91</sup> Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 76–77; Krummel, ‘Venetian Baroque Music’, 2.

was also widely disseminated in single-composer printed editions.<sup>92</sup> By contrast to Venice, the mid-century Roman music printing industry largely limited itself to sacred music. Secular cantatas (vocal chamber works with a succession of arias and recitatives for one, two or sometimes three voices), written for private performances in the palaces of prominent Roman families or foreign residents, remained the property of the patrons and rarely reached print before the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>93</sup>

The dissemination of Carissimi's music requires special comment. Lars Berglund's ongoing research on the diffusion of Carissimi's sacred music in continental Europe and Scandinavia suggests that, as a result of the papal decree prohibiting removal of his compositions from the German College, only the motets published in printed anthologies ever reached the world outside. Despite the precautions taken by the college authorities, Carissimi's compositions perished in the late eighteenth century, most likely at the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. The loss of the autographs has prompted scholarly attempts to reconstruct Carissimi's output from printed and later manuscript sources, always assuming (probably correctly) that much was lost with the autographs.<sup>94</sup> Berglund has recently discovered an inventory of Carissimi motets available in the Chiesa del Gesù (the Jesuit sister institution of S Apollinare) in the hand of Graziani's successor, Giovanni Battista Giansetti (*fl.* 1670–98). Giansetti's inventory only contains motets that were available in print and are still familiar to researchers today. This could suggest that Carissimi's output was smaller than has hitherto been thought and that not very much

---

<sup>92</sup> Silvestris published sixteen widely disseminated anthologies between 1643 and 1672, and Caifabri four between 1665 and 1683. See Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 73–74. Graziani boasts about fifty single prints, and Foggia forty. Susanne Shigihara, 'Bonifazio Graziani (1604/5–1664): Biographie, Werkverzeichnis und Untersuchungen zu den Solomotetten' (PhD thesis, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1984), 75–108; Stephen R. Miller, 'Foggia, Francesco', *GMO*.

<sup>93</sup> Giulia Giovani has recently shown that Roman presses accounted for only 2 % of the Italian printed cantata production, producing two cantata prints between 1620 and 1738 (in 1628 and 1695 respectively). Giulia Giovani, 'La diffusione a stampa della cantata da camera in Italia (1620–1738)' (PhD thesis, Università degli studi di Roma "Tor Vergata", 2011), 54–58. On the dissemination of Roman cantatas, see for instance, Margaret Murata, 'Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of its Place in Society', in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. by Angelo Pomplilio (Bologna, 1991), 272–84; and Alessio Ruffatti, 'Les cantates de Luigi Rossi (1597–1653) en France: diffusion et réception dans le contexte Européen' (PhD thesis, Università degli studi de Padova and Université de Paris 4 Sorbonne, 2006), 27–99.

<sup>94</sup> Andrew Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982), i, 41–45.

was lost with the destruction of the autographs. More likely, it implies that much of Carissimi's sacred music never left the college.<sup>95</sup> An undated document cited by Culley suggests that the college authorities also sought to prohibit the copying of Carissimi's music within the college.<sup>96</sup> The lack of manuscript sources meant that the dissemination of Carissimi's music within and outside Italy, in England and in continental Europe, was dependent on the approximately twenty-five motets published in Silvestris's and other anthologies, and on another twenty-two (including some uncertain attributions) divided between three printed collections of Carissimi motets, *Missa a cinque et a novem* (Cologne, 1666), *Arion Romanus* (Konstanz, 1670), and the *Sacri concerti musicali* (1675) published posthumously by Mascardi in Rome.<sup>97</sup>

My research on the sources of Roman vocal music in British libraries suggests that the situation in England was the same as on the continent: sacred Latin music was disseminated to England in print and secular cantatas in manuscript anthologies. The musical sources chiefly used for this dissertation are gathered in the Christ Church collection at Christ Church College (Oxford), the Oxford Music School collection (now in the Bodleian Library), the Harley collection in the British Library, and individual sources in the holdings of the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge), York Minster Library, and a number of Oxford and Cambridge college libraries (see Appendix I and II). Investigation of these collections shows that sacred Roman compositions (mainly motets) are preserved in imported printed sources or in English manuscript sources copied from imported prints (see Chapter 4, pp. 151, 162). Very few motets appear in Roman manuscript collections: of the sources consulted for this thesis, only two manuscripts of Italian provenance contain Latin motets, both dating from the early eighteenth century.<sup>98</sup> Roman secular cantatas in British libraries are either preserved in Italian sources in the narrow oblong octavo format typical of Roman cantata sources, issued

---

<sup>95</sup> Personal communication, 8 February 2013.

<sup>96</sup> Culley, *Jesuits and Music*, 196.

<sup>97</sup> These volumes contain more than twenty-two motets in total, but only so many had not previously been published. For printed concordances of motets in English manuscript sources, see Appendix III, for concordances of Carissimi motets in general, see Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, ii, Appendix A. The Düben collection at Uppsala University library is unique in containing manuscript copies of Carissimi motets which pre-date the printed sources. They were brought by Albrici in the 1650s and presumably authorised by the German College as part of the Jesuit efforts to secure Christina of Sweden's conversion. See above, p. 23, and Schildt, 'Düben at Work', 109–11.

<sup>98</sup> *Lbl* Add. MS 29292 and *YM*. 35/1–10 (S). On the York manuscript, see below p. 166.

from one of the Roman copyists' shops making cantatas available to noble families and tourists after they had lost their immediate topicality with the Roman elite, or in rare English manuscript copies.<sup>99</sup> Cantatas in English manuscripts are often demonstrably copied from Italian sources in the same or related collections, such as those by Richard Goodson Sr (1655–1718) in the Christ Church collection (see below, p. 166).<sup>100</sup> Once in England, Roman music was disseminated in manuscript form, apart from the cantatas published by Pignani in *Scelta di canzonette de piu autori [sic!]* (1679) and two motets respectively by Carissimi and Graziani printed in Playford's second book of *Harmonia Sacra* (1693).

Roman printed and manuscript sources reached England with travellers such as Evelyn or with itinerant musicians after the Restoration in 1660, or may have been imported by booksellers and agents (see Chapter 4, p. 170). The imported sources and copies made from them were subsequently incorporated into English music collections, like Henry Aldrich's, Richard Goodson's, or the Harley collection. The Christ Church collection is the oldest and most extensive extant English collection of seventeenth-century Roman vocal music. Although some sources may have been lost, the surviving English sources suggest that the Roman repertoire was not systematically copied in England until Edward Lowe (c.1610–1682), Aldrich and Goodson began their copying activities in Oxford in the early 1680s. These collectors were primarily interested in Carissimi, and used the printed publications *Missa a cinque et a novem* (1666) and *Sacri concerti* (1675) as their chief copy texts. Whilst the Whitehall fire of 1698 probably destroyed any earlier copies made at court, the absence of musicians familiar with that repertoire before the arrival of Vincenzo Albrici in 1664 suggests that the members of the king's Italian ensemble were the first to make Roman vocal music available in England.

## **Musicological Approaches to Italian Music in England**

Italian music dominated the European seventeenth-century music market, and continues to dominate research on seventeenth-century music. The supremacy of Italy is especially evident in Lorenzo Bianconi's classic *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (1987), which purports to treat seventeenth-century music in general, but is

---

<sup>99</sup> On the formats of Roman cantata manuscripts, see Ruffatti, 'Les cantates de Luigi Rossi', 27–29.

<sup>100</sup> In *Och Mus.* 51, 52 and 54, see further Chapter 4, p. 173.

almost entirely focused on Italy.<sup>101</sup> Despite the dominance of Italy in modern perceptions of seventeenth-century musical developments, it is only in recent decades that researchers of seventeenth-century English musical life have acknowledged the interaction between England, Italy and other parts of continental Europe. The nationalist concerns of the composers and scholars of the English Musical Renaissance appear to have shackled early research on seventeenth-century English music to the output of the so-called Orpheus Britannicus, Henry Purcell, with limited contextualisation. Imogen Holst and Benjamin Britten's tercentenary volume of 1959 discusses Purcell's music without much reference to his interaction with other musicians, let alone foreign musical cultures.<sup>102</sup> A few notable exceptions to this tendency to treat England as isolated from the musical cultures of continental Europe are the articles by Jack Westrup, W. J. Lawrence, and Margaret Mabbett on foreign musicians in seventeenth-century England, along with Michael Tilmouth's work on music in Robert Bargrave's travel diaries and Ellen Rosand on music in the myth of Venice.<sup>103</sup> Although important in acknowledging the presence of Italian and French musicians in England and the musical experiences of Englishmen abroad, these essays do little to analyse the activities of these musicians or their impact on local musical culture. Similarly, Ian Spink's *English Song* (1974), as well as his later work on cathedral music, acknowledges the presence of Italian music in England but does not discuss its consequences.<sup>104</sup> Eric Walter White's history of English opera includes both a background outlining the birth of opera in Italy and a section on seventeenth-century English accounts of French and Italian opera productions, but the lack of analysis fails to put these into context.<sup>105</sup> This Whig-Protestant view of England as somewhat disconnected from the musical cultures of continental Europe

---

<sup>101</sup> Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*.

<sup>102</sup> See in particular Michael Tippett, 'Our Sense of Continuity in English Drama and Music', in *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: Essays on his Music*, ed. by Imogen Holst (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

<sup>103</sup> Jack Allen Westrup, 'Foreign Musicians in Stuart England', *The Muscial Quarterly*, 27 (1941), 70–89; Ellen Rosand, 'Music in the Myth of Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly* 30, (1977), 511–37; W. J. Lawrence, 'Foreign Singers and Musicians at the Court of Charles II', *The Muscial Quarterly*, 9 (1923), 217–25; Margaret Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90)', *Music & Letters*, 67 (1986), 237–47. Other work on individual musicians sometimes treats the time they spent in England, see for instance Gloria Rose, 'Pietro Reggio: A Wandering Musician', *Music & Letters*, 46 (1965), 207–16.

<sup>104</sup> Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (London: Batsford, 1974); Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

<sup>105</sup> Eric Walter White, *A History of English Opera* (London: Faber, 1983).

is dominant in interpretations of English seventeenth-century music until scholars in the 1990s changed the landscape.

As Rebecca Herissone has recently pointed out, it was only in the mid-1990s that studies of seventeenth-century English music began to consider its wider cultural context. As is still the case today, research was centred on Purcell, but scholars increasingly came to explore other composers and musicians surrounding Purcell in Restoration musical life in order to grasp the context of his work.<sup>106</sup> This exploration of figures previously considered peripheral included the lives and careers of foreign musicians active in England. Michael Burden's *Purcell Companion*, issued in time for the tercentenary of Purcell's death, included an essay by Graham Dixon on 'Purcell's Italianate Circle'.<sup>107</sup> In addition, John Buttrey investigated the French opera productions put on in London by Robert Cambert,<sup>108</sup> Peter Holman explored Giovanni Battista Draghi's connections to Purcell, and later the collecting activities of Gottfried Finger.<sup>109</sup> Martin Adams shed light on possible Italian and French influences on Purcell's stylistic development, and Peter Allsop on his esteem for Italian instrumental composers such as Lelio Colista and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati.<sup>110</sup>

Studies of Italian music in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England have traditionally focused on opera and instrumental music. In addition to the studies mentioned above, Lowell Lindgren's articles on the London sojourns of Nicola Haym and Nicola Cosimi, the extensive operatic exchange with Italy, and English reactions to Italian opera are a significant contribution to understanding the English exchange with Italy.<sup>111</sup> Thomas McGeary's work on Thomas Clayton's visit to Italy

---

<sup>106</sup> Rebecca Herissone, 'Introduction', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 1–12 (2–5).

<sup>107</sup> Graham Dixon, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. by Michael Burden (London: Faber & Faber, 1995).

<sup>108</sup> John Buttrey, 'New Light on Robert Cambert in London, and His "Ballet et Musique"', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 199–220.

<sup>109</sup> Peter Holman, 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life in the 1690s', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 23–38; Peter Holman, 'The Italian Connection: Giovanni Battista Draghi and Henry Purcell', *Early Music Performer*, 22 (2008), 4–19. See also discussions about foreign performers at court in Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court (1540–1690)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 290–1, 343–5.

<sup>110</sup> Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Peter Allsop, 'Problems of ascription in the Roman simfonia of the late seventeenth century: Colista and Lonati', *The Music Review*, 50 (1989), 34–44.

<sup>111</sup> Lowell Lindgren, 'Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705', *Studi musicali*, 11 (1982), 229–48; 'Venice, Vivaldi, Vico and Opera in London, 1705–17: Venetian Ingredients in English Pasticci', *Nuovi studi vivaldiani: Edizione e cronologia critica delle opere*, ed. by Antonio Fanna and Giovanni

and role in introducing Italian opera into England is also notable in this respect.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, Peter Allsop's work on the reception of Corelli in England,<sup>113</sup> Peter Walls's research on the influence of the Italian violin school in seventeenth-century England,<sup>114</sup> Lindgren's study of the influx of Italian musicians and their music,<sup>115</sup> and Simon Jones's thesis on the performing practices of Nicola Matteis have treated the dissemination of Italian instrumental music and performing practices to England.<sup>116</sup> More recently, essays by Alberto Sanna and Lynette Bowring have shed further light on Italian violin repertoires in England.<sup>117</sup> Exceptions to this focus on instrumental music and opera are the aforementioned studies of Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Leech, in addition to Andrew Cheetham's recent work on the Italianate sacred music of George Jeffreys and Richard Dering.<sup>118</sup>

---

Morelli (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), 633–66; 'Critiques of Opera in London, 1705–1719', in *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell'età barocca: atti del V Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secolo XVII, Lovenno di Menaggio (Como), 28–30 giugno 1993=Die italienische Barockoper, ihre Verbreitung in Italien und Deutschland: Beiträge zum Fünften Internationalen Symposium über die Italienische Musik im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Alberto Colzani (Como: A.M.I.S., 1995), 143–65; 'Handel's London–Italian Musicians and Librettists', in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. by Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 78–91.

<sup>112</sup> Thomas McGeary, 'Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England', *Philological Quarterly* 77, (1998), 171.

<sup>113</sup> Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of Our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>114</sup> Peter Walls, 'The Influence of the Italian Violin School in 17th-Century England', *Early Music*, 18 (1990), 575–87.

<sup>115</sup> Lowell Lindgren, 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–1710', in *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica: nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita: atti del Congresso internazionale di studi, Fusignano, 11–14 settembre 2003*, ed. by Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio and Stefano La Via (Firenze: Olschki, 2007), 419–84.

<sup>116</sup> Simon Jones, 'The "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis: An exploration of his Life, his Works for the Violin and his Performing Style' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2003). See also Simon Jones, 'The Legacy of the "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 553–68; and Michael Tilmouth, 'Nicola Matteis', *Musical Quarterly*, 46 (1960), 22–40.

<sup>117</sup> Lynette Bowring, "'The coming over of the works of the great Corelli': The Influence of Italian Violin Repertoire in London 1675–1705' in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles, and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014); Alberto Sanna, 'Learning from "The Most Fam'd Italian Masters": Sonata Composition in the Seventeenth Century', in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles, and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014).

<sup>118</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*; Jonathan Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), 109–24; Jonathan Wainwright, 'The Dissemination and Influence of Monteverdi's Music in England in the Seventeenth Century', in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das internationale Symposium, Detmold 1993*, ed. by Joachim Steinheuer and Silke Leopold (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998); Peter Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718' (PhD, Anglia Polytechnic University, 2003). Parts of the dissertation were published as Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 570–87, and Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the

Italian operatic and instrumental music from the 1670s onwards played a crucial role in English musical life. Nevertheless, both are beyond the scope of this thesis, which aims to investigate the appropriation of mid-seventeenth-century Roman vocal sacred and chamber music in England. As was discussed above, the Roman repertoire and its cultural connotations has hitherto been very little discussed in relation to seventeenth-century English musical life. My thesis shows that the spaces occupied by this repertoire were largely different from those occupied by the more extensively researched genres of opera and instrumental music; whereas opera and virtuosic instrumental music reached high levels of popularity on the public and commercial musical scene, Roman vocal music remained confined to elite circles such as the court, the Royal Society, Oxford academic environments, and later institutions like the Academy of Ancient Music. Since they engaged with a different repertoire and largely also with a different audience, the thesis will not consider such virtuoso performers as the violinist Nicola Matteis (*fl.* c.1674–1713) or singers such as the castrato Siface (Giovanni Francesco Grossi, 1653–97) and Margherita de l'Epine (c.1680–1746). Likewise, due to Peter Leech's recent thorough exploration of the Stuart Catholic chapels, these institutions are only considered when their activities and personnel overlap with other environments discussed in the thesis.

## **Synopsis of Thesis**

This thesis aims to understand the integration of Roman vocal music into English musical culture. Treating Roman vocal music as much as a concept or cultural practice as a musical repertoire, the thesis asks questions about how it was disseminated to England, who used it, and why. To answer these questions, the thesis uses musical sources and archival documents, combined with modern social and cultural theory and close attention to the continental context. Each chapter of the thesis discusses a particular social environment where Roman vocal music was appropriated; the relevant methods and concepts will be further explained in the respective chapters.

The chronological coverage of this thesis starts at 1660 when the Restoration of Charles II brought back the court culture that was a prerequisite for elite Italian

---

Catholic Chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 379–400; Cheetham, 'Progressive Sacred Music in England'.



music. My thesis argues that Roman vocal music was introduced in 1660s England as a courtly representational culture, symbolising the power and artistic refinement of the monarch. Charles's accession to the throne also led to the founding of the Royal Society, one of the musical environments studied in this thesis, and allowed the resumption of diplomatic links with the Catholic powers that promoted Roman vocal music. My chronological coverage ends in 1710 (the year of Handel's arrival), by which time the dynamics of English musical life had changed. From the 1690s, London's musical life underwent drastic changes as the patronage of music shifted from the court to commercial musical life characterised by public concerts, opera, and theatre. At this time, English musical life became public in the sense introduced by Jürgen Habermas: accessible to anyone regardless of social status (as long as they could pay for tickets) and no longer serving the representational purposes of the monarchy and church (for more further discussion of the public nature of English musical life, see Chapter 3, p. 115, and Chapter 5, p. 199).<sup>119</sup> With the decline of courtly patronage, the promotion of the Roman repertoire for the first time shifted to institutions which were part of London's public musical life, such as music clubs. By ending in 1710, my investigation has followed, as it were, the journey of the Roman repertoire from representational culture through the structural transformation of English musical life, until its launch as ancient music in eighteenth-century public musical life.

Chapter 2 discusses the function of Roman vocal music in English court culture during the 1660s and 1670s. It argues that Roman vocal music played an important role in Charles II's attempts to re-establish the aura of the recently restored Stuart monarchy, inspired by Cardinal Mazarin's importation of Roman art and music to Paris. The chapter furthermore challenges the old notion that Charles attempted to introduce Italian opera in England through his Italian ensemble. Instead, I use newly discovered letters to argue that Vincenzo Albrici was hired through the efforts of Sir Henry Bennet and Sir Bernard Gascoigne (1614–87) as the leader of an ensemble which specialised in Roman chamber and sacred music. The ensemble was afforded high social status, which they were able to maintain through performing almost exclusively at court. Limited access to the ensemble's performances enhanced

---

<sup>119</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 27–29.

their function as a cultural trophy; this exclusivity was itself an element of Baroque representational culture in which the power of a ruler was manifested not only through grandiose public spectacles, but also through patronage of rarefied music and culture.

Chapter 3 considers Roman vocal music within the English culture of the virtuoso (a gentleman dilettante with interests in music, art, antiquarianism, and natural science) in the 1660s and 1670s. The chapter uses Samuel Pepys's (1663–1703) encounters with Charles II's Italian ensemble to argue that familiarity with the Roman repertoire carried considerable cultural capital among English connoisseurs through its status as a foreign curiosity, feeding into an already established culture of collecting among English virtuosi. Knowledge of Roman vocal music signalled wealth and erudition. I also argue that the Royal Society of London, inspired by the 'compositional secrets' published in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (1650), studied Roman vocal music as part of their aim to discover the secrets of art and nature through experiment and examination. Finally, the chapter discusses Girolamo Pignani's anthology *Scelta di canzonette* (1679), the only publication during the Restoration period solely containing untranslated Italian music, and one of very few in Europe to publish secular Roman cantatas. Despite being discussed by scholars such as Graham Dixon as a landmark event in the introduction of Roman composers in London's musical life, I argue that the book had a minimal effect on the dissemination of Roman vocal music in England.

Chapter 4 focuses on the antiquarian interest taken in Roman vocal music in a different culture of collecting: the Oxford of Edward Lowe (professor of music), Henry Aldrich (Dean of Christ Church) and Richard Goodson (professor of music and organist at Christ Church) from 1680 onwards. My examination of musical sources in the Music School and Christ Church collections suggests that the systematic copying of Roman vocal music began in Oxford in the 1680s. It further shows that Lowe, Aldrich and Goodson chiefly copied motets from continental printed sources, and cantatas from Roman manuscript sources. The chapter argues that Aldrich's collection of Roman music was part of an antiquarian attempt to maintain the English cathedral music tradition through his imitation of motets by Palestrina (1525/6–94) and Carissimi (previously studied by Robert Shay). Contrary to Shay, I argue that Aldrich's imitative practices were part of a larger process of appropriating Roman music, and I suggest that Aldrich's chief purpose was to learn

certain important aspects of Roman compositional practice and, by accommodating them to English circumstances, to improve the music performed in English cathedrals.

Chapter 5, though neither comprehensive nor conclusive, discusses Roman vocal music in early eighteenth-century public musical life. The chapter suggests that the restructuring of music at court after the accession of William and Mary in 1689 forced Roman vocal music into a public market governed by very different principles from the representational culture at court. I argue that early eighteenth-century musical life was divided into two spheres: one predominantly commercial, covering the opera, theatres and the music print market, and one convivial and intellectual containing music clubs such as the Mermaid Club in Oxford and the Academy of Ancient Music in London. The chapter suggests that Roman vocal music was assumed into the convivial/intellectual sphere, where it was treated as ‘ancient music’. Manuscripts of Roman vocal music also entered private libraries, such as the Harley collection, where I suggest the books became collectors’ items symbolising education and connoisseurship.

Five decades after Francis Mortoft thought that nothing like Roman vocal music could ‘be againe expected, unless in heaven and in Rome’, this prestigious repertoire and its associated practices had travelled across the continent to England. Yet, Mortoft was in some sense right: recontextualised to a completely different environment, performed by different musicians, and related to by new people in new ways, the Roman vocal music in England was fundamentally different from the form it had taken in Rome.

## 2. 'Obtained by peculiar favour, & much difficulty of the singer'

---

### Charles II's Italian Ensemble and the Function of Roman Vocal Music at the English Restoration Court

Posterity's view of Charles II's musical tastes has forever been coloured by Roger North's claim that 'during the first years of Charles II all musick affected by the *beau-mond* run [*sic!*] into the French way.'<sup>120</sup> Consequently, studies of English Restoration court music have named France as the chief source of musical inspiration at the English court in the 1660s and 1670s.<sup>121</sup> Whilst there can be no doubt about the effects of his French sojourn in the late 1640s and early 1650s on many of Charles's tastes and habits, North's explanation for the French fad reveals a more complex web of European musical exchanges:

[B]ecause at that time the master of the Court musick in France, whose name was Baptista, (an Italian frenchified), had influenced the French style by infusing a great portion of the Italian harmony into it, whereby the Ayre was exceedingly improved.<sup>122</sup>

The French music the young Charles encountered had to a large extent been appropriated from Italian musical culture. Although Lully had been dancing at the French court since 1651, his composing career only started to soar in the 1660s, after Charles had been restored as King of England.<sup>123</sup> Before Lully, numerous Roman-trained singers and composers had visited the French court, through Cardinal Mazarin's (1602–1661) extensive importation of Roman art and music. Without seeking to downplay the significance of the Twenty-Four Violins, this chapter highlights the Italian music at the English court. I argue that Charles II was first exposed to Roman vocal chamber music during his stay at the French court, and that

---

<sup>120</sup> Roger North, *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the Years c.1695–1728*, ed. by John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), 350.

<sup>121</sup> See for instance Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court (1540–1690)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 288–91.

<sup>122</sup> North, *Roger North on Music*, 350.

<sup>123</sup> Jérôme de La Gorce, 'Lully', *GMO*.

the establishment of his Italian ensemble in 1664 mirrors continental practices of power representation ultimately deriving from Barberini Rome. At the hands of Mazarin and Louis XIV such practices reached new heights and inspired imitation at other courts, as Helen Jacobsen has pointed out:

French taste was absolutist, aristocratic, and characterized by an abundance of material trappings. Accordingly it was the representation of power that made it attractive in a court environment, not the fact that it was French, as evidenced by the ubiquity with which it was embraced not just in England but all over *ancien régime* Europe.<sup>124</sup>

This chapter argues that the patronage of Roman chamber music was an important part of such representations of power, in addition to other forms of artistic patronage and the consumption of luxury goods, which Charles II and his courtiers learned in Mazarin's Paris. In 1664 the Roman Vincenzo Albrici (1631–90), his brother and sister, the harpsichord builders Girolamo Zenti and Andrea Testa, and eventually an unknown castrato arrived in London to form Charles's 'Italian Musick'. Augmented by the singers Pietro Cefalo, Giovanni Sebenico, and Matteo Battaglia in 1666, the group served at the English court until the Test Act of 1673 forced Charles to disband his ensemble. Most of the musicians returned to the continent, although some transferred to the queen's Catholic chapel which was exempt from the Act.

Perhaps because of a previous lack of evidence regarding the recruitment of the Italian ensemble (see below, p. 49), or the limited scholarly interest in Italian music in England discussed in Chapter 1 (p. 26), little research has attempted to penetrate the function of the Italian ensemble at court. Margaret Mabbett examined the archival evidence available in 1986, arguing that Charles hired the ensemble to establish Italian opera in England.<sup>125</sup> Since Mabbett, only the work of Peter Leech has considered the Italian ensemble to any extent. Leech's research, however, exclusively treats the ensemble's engagement in the Catholic chapel of Catherine of

---

<sup>124</sup> Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 136.

<sup>125</sup> Margaret Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90)', *Music & Letters*, 67 (1986), 237–47 (237–9).

Braganza.<sup>126</sup> This chapter introduces a series of recently discovered letters regarding the recruitment of Italian musicians for the English court, hitherto unknown to musicologists; some of the letters are mentioned in passing by Jacobsen, but my research is the first to analyse and cite them in their entirety, identify the musicians mentioned, and thereby shed new light on the Italian music at the English court.<sup>127</sup> The chapter also re-examines the already known documentary evidence in a wider European context to argue that the function of the Italian ensemble at court was to perform Roman chamber and sacred music.

The previous chapter argued that the delayed dissemination of Roman vocal music to England was due to English foreign policy until 1630, along with Roman mechanisms of music dissemination; this chapter adds another layer to the argument, suggesting that the nature of secular Roman cantatas as music for princely courts further prevented their introduction into England between 1640 and 1660. It will also argue that the late Stuart court had more in common with its continental counterparts than is sometimes admitted in musicological studies: Charles II and his generation of courtiers were raised by parents of a fundamentally cosmopolitan outlook, and spent their youths in exile on the continent. The chapter shows how the Italian ensemble was initially recruited by the secretary of state, Sir Henry Bennet, 1st Earl of Arlington (1618–85) and analyses how all its documented performances took place in intimate settings at court except for one concert sung before Royal Society members at the home of Viscount Brouncker in 1667, discussed extensively in Chapter 3. This suggests that Charles's Italian ensemble was an instance of what Claudio Annibaldi has called 'humanistic patronage', intended to showcase the patron's refined tastes to fellow connoisseurs. Confined to private spaces at court, the ensemble and their repertoire functioned as a cultural trophy, whose effect primarily depended on their exclusivity. Finally, I will argue that previous scholarly interpretations of the ensemble as an opera troupe are based on the activities of Giovanni Battista Draghi (c.1640–1708), who I suggest was not a member of the Italian ensemble.

---

<sup>126</sup> Peter Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718' (PhD thesis, Anglia Polytechnic University, 2003); see also Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 570–87.

<sup>127</sup> Helen Jacobsen, 'Luxury Consumption, Cultural Politics, and the Career of the Earl of Arlington, 1660–1685', *The Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 295–317 (304–5).

## Roman Vocal Music in European Court Culture

During the past few decades, historians have increasingly argued that seventeenth-century English history needs to be viewed within its continental context. Scholars such as Malcolm Smuts and Jonathan Scott have noted a tendency among political historians to focus on the aspects of English history that differ from continental Europe, neglecting the similarities. This tendency is true also for cultural history. As Smuts has pointed out, England was by no means isolated:

In the seventeenth century England, Scotland and Ireland were ruled by an elite whose mental horizons and social environments were essentially European rather than English or British. Stuart kings and courtiers interacted regularly with European aristocrats and frequently knew more about events in Paris, Madrid or Vienna than about local conditions in Scotland, Ireland or many parts of England. Their culture and intellectual outlook owed at least as much to international as to purely English or British traditions.<sup>128</sup>

Norbert Elias's influential theory of civilization went so far as to outline a common habitus (set of attitudes and practices) for all European court societies, where

The members of this multifarious society spoke the same language throughout the whole of Europe, first Italian, then French; they read the same books, they had the same taste, the same manners, and—with differences of degree—the same style of living.<sup>129</sup>

As Jacobsen has recently shown, foreign art and luxury goods were vital in English diplomacy and domestic politics.<sup>130</sup> Musical patronage at court in the 1660s and 1670s fulfilled the same function; hence, the European context of Roman vocal music (as used in Rome, Paris, Dresden and Stockholm) is relevant also to its English context and elucidates the musical practices adopted by the English court.

Seventeenth-century Roman cultural life was shaped by the balance between its strong ecclesiastical institutions and its many noble families. As Elias posited, the early modern aristocracy increasingly maintained their status by showcasing their

---

<sup>128</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Introduction', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1–19 (1, 7).

<sup>129</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott, Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell, revised edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 190.

<sup>130</sup> Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 1–2, 65.

nobility through various forms of cultural representation.<sup>131</sup> During the papacy of Urban VIII (1623–44) the Barberini family famously manifested their power through ambitious architectural projects and equally ambitious musical patronage;<sup>132</sup> music was as important a tool in the power-play between Roman princes as other art forms. By the mid-seventeenth century the city enjoyed a longstanding reputation as the unrivalled centre for vocal artistry: in 1641 the composer Marco Marazzoli claimed that ‘all men in this world seek to send pupils to Rome to have them study, because that is where the schooling is’,<sup>133</sup> and a few years later the young castrato Atto Melani begged his patron Mattias de’ Medici to allow him an extended stay in Rome so that he could learn from the best *virtuosi*.<sup>134</sup> Henry Prunières has pointed out that although Rome was the focus of contemporary musical development, many of the famous singers of the mid-seventeenth century hailed from Florence where the Medici funded the training of promising boys and girls, many of whom were sent to train in Rome or work with Roman composers.<sup>135</sup> Frequently lent to foreign courts as diplomatic favours, the Medici singers played an important role in the dissemination of Roman vocal music to France and northern Europe.

The repertoire performed by virtuoso singers was equally important for the display of princely splendour as the singers’ vocal prowess. Opera has long dominated discussions of seventeenth-century princely image-building through music, but recently scholars have argued that chamber music played an equally important, although different, role. Drawing on influential studies of Renaissance chamber music patronage, such as Lewis Lockwood’s and Anthony Newcomb’s on the D’Este court in Ferrara, and Iain Fenlon’s on Mantua, Claudio Annibaldi divided early modern musical patronage into two categories where different musical

---

<sup>131</sup> On the ‘courtization of the warriors’, see Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 241–4, 387–97.

<sup>132</sup> See Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 13–47; Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 7, 10 especially.

<sup>133</sup> Sergio Durante, ‘The Opera Singer’, in *Opera Production and its Resources*, ed. by Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, *The History of Italian Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 353–4.

<sup>134</sup> Roger Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 40–1.

<sup>135</sup> Henry Prunières, *L’opéra italien en France avant Lully* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1975), 59.



repertoires served different symbolic purposes.<sup>136</sup> In Annibaldi's terms, 'conventional patronage' supported repertoires and genres commonly associated with displays of power and affluence, such as opera and the elaborate music of a court chapel. By contrast, 'humanistic patronage' cultivated chamber music intended to display refined taste and artistic sensibility. The two forms of patronage were distinguished not so much by a difference in musical repertoire, as by their different symbolic functions in relation to the status of the patron.<sup>137</sup> More recently, Roger Freitas has suggested that seventeenth-century Roman cantatas were composed for performance in private *conversazioni* of Italian princes as a form of courtly recreation emphasising the wit and refined taste of the host and guests. Freitas thus shows that the courtly ideal of music underpinning humanistic patronage was still prevalent in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>138</sup> As Frederick Hammond has shown, the pope and cardinals' musical establishments were modelled on Renaissance north Italian courts; Cardinal Antonio Barberini's employment of the famous castrato Marc' Antonio Pasqualini (1614–91) and the composer Luigi Rossi (1597/8–1653), known for his cantatas, in his private musical establishment suggest that chamber music was as important as operas in the Barberini display of splendour.<sup>139</sup>

Baroque practices increasingly relied on exclusivity as a distinguishing factor safeguarding the aristocracy against social imitators. Kristiaan Aercke has written of how the outdoor Renaissance festivities moved indoors under increasingly absolutist Baroque rulers, substituting a select group of spectator-participants for the public audience. Nocturnal performances further enhanced the exclusivity of court events by taking place after the bedtimes of commoners and labourers.<sup>140</sup> Similarly to the *musica secreta* of late sixteenth-century Ferrara, the performance of cantatas by

---

<sup>136</sup> Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579–1597* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980); Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984); Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). Claudio Annibaldi, 'Introduzione', in *La musica e il mondo: mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento*, ed. by Claudio Annibaldi (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1993). The main argument of Annibaldi's essay was published in English as Claudio Annibaldi, 'Towards a Theory of Musical Patronage in the Renaissance and Baroque: The Perspective from Anthropology and Semiotics', *Recercare*, 10 (1998), 173–82.

<sup>137</sup> Annibaldi, 'Theory of Musical Patronage', 174–6.

<sup>138</sup> Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 215. See also Roger Freitas, 'Singing and Playing: The Italian Cantata and the Rage for Wit', *Music & Letters*, 82 (2001), 509–42.

<sup>139</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 59, 77, 84–5.

<sup>140</sup> Kristiaan P. Aercke, *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 5–6, 33.

composers such as Marco Marazzoli (b. c.1602–5, d.1662), Luigi Rossi or Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74) at Roman courts took place in exclusive contexts, where the presence of a small circle of guests often depended on personal invitation from the patron. The more intimate the circumstances, the greater the honour to the guests.<sup>141</sup> That such exclusive forms of intimate performance were already used in England is suggested by George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), which described private recreation at courts in terms reminiscent of the *musica secreta* of Ferrara. Distinguishing between poetry written for different purposes, including public celebrations of victories at war, weddings and births of a prince's children, Puttenham also describes

An other for private entertainments in Court, or other secret disports in chamber, and such solitary places [...] Others for secret recreation and pastime in chambers with company or alone were the ordinary Musickes amorous, such as might be song with voice or to the Lute, Citheron, or Harpe [.]<sup>142</sup>

In this light, the exclusiveness of intimate courtly gatherings served to further distinguish the cultural activities at court from those elsewhere in society.

Whilst the practices of north European courts lacking the strong humanist underpinnings of Italian counterparts often differed from those of Rome, the Roman practices importantly spread to Paris, where Cardinal Mazarin sought to assert his political authority by similar means to his old Barberini patrons, and where the Barberini sought refuge after the accession of Giovanni Battista Pamphili to the papacy in 1644. As Madeleine Laurain-Portemer has argued, in his tastes and priorities Mazarin was a Roman of the Barberini era. As convinced of the political importance of artistic patronage as of the superiority of the Roman Baroque, Mazarin made strenuous efforts to introduce the Roman Baroque in Paris and educate the young Louis XIV in Roman art and music:

The example of his patrons had forever convinced him that the grandeur of a reign is not measured only by power abroad or peace at home, but that it also requires the influence of culture, that there is no glory without melodies, without statues, without paintings, and that only the artistic formulas

---

<sup>141</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 10, 77; Newcomb, *Madrigal at Ferrara*, 4.

<sup>142</sup> George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker, (Menston: Scolar, 1968), 46.

favoured in Rome could provide that adornment, that brightness without which life would be dull and languid.<sup>143</sup>

In addition to transforming the Hôtel de Chevreuse (known as *Palais Mazarin*) into a veritable museum of Roman art and architecture, Mazarin also imported Roman opera and chamber music.<sup>144</sup> One of the performers called to Paris was the young Atto Melani, who spent the winter of 1644 and spring of 1645 in the service of Mazarin and the queen mother Anne of Austria.<sup>145</sup> Anne was not the only queen to enjoy Atto's services at the time. Earlier in 1644 Henrietta Maria, queen of England, had taken refuge at the French court from the English Civil War. According to Atto, Henrietta Maria enjoyed his singing as much as her sister-in-law:

Hardly two evenings pass that I do not go to serve Her Majesty, and she does me a thousand honours. Music delights her so much that for four hours one must accept the idea of doing nothing else. [The same is true] for the queen of England, so that when I do not go [to serve] one, I go to the other.<sup>146</sup>

The sixteen-year-old Charles escaped England and joined his mother at Saint-Germain in 1646.<sup>147</sup> For political reasons that suited himself and Mazarin equally well, Charles's presence in France was never officially recognised. Nevertheless, Ronald Hutton has showed that he was treated with extraordinary honour by the French royal family. After an 'accidental' meeting was staged between Charles and his French relatives in the forest of Fontainebleau, he was invited to the

---

<sup>143</sup> 'L'exemple de ses "padroni" l'a convaincu pour toujours que la grandeur d'un règne ne se mesure pas seulement par la puissance au dehors, la concorde au dedans, mais qu'il faut encore le rayonnement d'une civilisation, qu'il n'est pas de gloire sans mélodies, sans statues, sans peintures, es que seules les formules artistiques en faveur à Rome peuvent donner cette parure, cet éclat sans lequel le cadre de vie serait fade et languissant.' Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, 'La politique artistique de Mazarin', in *Colloquio italo-francese Il Cardinale Mazzarino in Francia* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1977), 41–76 (41–2). Also cited in Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 44–5.

<sup>144</sup> The main work on Roman music in France is still Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 86–191 especially. The only study on Roman cantatas in France is Alessio Ruffatti, 'Les cantates de Luigi Rossi (1597–1653) en France: diffusion et réception dans le contexte Européen' (PhD thesis, Università degli studi de Padova and Université de Paris 4 Sorbonne, 2006); for music during the Mazarin era, see especially Chapter 5, 'La musica di Rossi in Francia prima la morte di Mazarino', 125–182.

<sup>145</sup> Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 46–9.

<sup>146</sup> Atto Melani to Mattias de' Medici, 22 November, 1644, (*I-Fas* MdP, 5433/240), quoted from Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 47.

<sup>147</sup> A number of biographies deal with various aspects of Charles II's life. The most detailed account of his youth in exile is Antonia Fraser, *Charles II: His Life and Times* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979), 3–176; and Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1–132. The first chapter of John Miller, *Charles II* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991), 1–20, gives a briefer account.

entertainment at the palace. Charles was allowed to walk and sit next to Louis, was given a chair of equal size, allowed to replace his hat in the royal presence, and admitted to the highly exclusive *petit lever* as part of the group attending the king as he got dressed. After this occasion, he appeared regularly at the balls, assemblies, hunts and theatrical productions of the French court.<sup>148</sup>

Charles arrived in Paris just in time for the premiere of Francesco Buti and Luigi Rossi's extravagant *Orfeo* in March and April 1647, again featuring the queens' favourite Atto Melani. In a letter to the Duke of Modena, the singer Venanzio Leopardi suggested that a separate performance was put on for Henrietta Maria:

This evening was represented again l'Orfeo at the Royal Palace, in the presence of the queen, the king, the Cardinal [Mazarin], Mademoiselle, and all the princesses, managed as usual without failure, and his Majesty wished that it should be performed two more times for the Queen of England, and for the numerous nobility in Paris, who are devoted to the court and family.<sup>149</sup>

Plenty of chamber music was performed between the operas; indeed, Alessio Ruffatti has shown that a large number of Rossi's cantatas were performed at the French court by Italian and French musicians.<sup>150</sup> In February 1647 Leopardi described a musical soirée put on by himself, Rossi, and Atto Melani, at which the young Charles was present:

We entered into the cabinet where we found the queen, the cardinal [Mazarin], the Duke of Enghien. The first son of England, the Prince of Wales, sat in front of the queen.<sup>151</sup>

The group then proceeded to perform together with two *putto sopranos* lent to the French court by the Duke of Modena. Charles may even have taken the *prima donna*

---

<sup>148</sup> Hutton, *Charles the Second*, 20.

<sup>149</sup> Venanzio Leopardi to the Duke of Modena, 26 April 1647, transcribed and discussed in Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 131, 382. 'Questa notte si è rappresentato di nuovo l'Orfeo nel Palazzo reale con l'assistenza della Regina e Re, con il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Cardinale, Madamoisella e tutte le Prencipesse, riuscita al solito senza intoppo e S.M. vole si reciti ancora due volte per la Regina d'Inghilterra e per la nurmerosa nobilità di Parigi devote alla Corte e familiari.'

<sup>150</sup> Ruffatti, 'Les cantates de Luigi Rossi', 125–39.

<sup>151</sup> Venanzio Leopardi to the Duke of Modena, 13 February 1647, transcribed and discussed in Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 100–01, 380. 'Si entrò nel gabinetto dove era la Regina, il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Cardinale, il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Duca p. d'Anguien. Il figlio unico Principe di Gales d'Inghilterra sedeva dirimpetto della Regina.'

of *Orfeo* as his mistress. Anna Francesca Costa (fl. 1640–54), known as *La Cecca*, was another Medici client lent to the French court for the first time in 1645. She became a great favourite of Mazarin and Anne of Austria, and sang the role of Euridice in Rossi's opera.<sup>152</sup> In June 1664, Sir Bernard Gascoigne (1614–87) wrote to Sir Henry Bennet about a young female singer under the patronage of Costa's old patron Gian Carlo de' Medici, who

ist in a reasonable Perfection, and ist Excellent voice [...] and besayde, the Gerle, is no vere Ogly and I belive, our Master sciould like her better then Cecca Costa, being nott above 16 yeare of age, and as I think a Mayde, bott for this, I will nott Promise, a truth;<sup>153</sup>

Both John Rosselli and Paola Besutti have interpreted Gascoigne's letter as suggesting that Costa was Charles's mistress.<sup>154</sup>

Between managing the remains of the English fleet in Holland, Charles was in Paris for parts of Rossi's second visit in 1648–9, before the civil disturbances known as the Fronde (1648–53) put a stop to the Parisian lives of both king and composer.<sup>155</sup> After his famous escape from Worcester in 1651, Charles again settled with his mother in the French capital, then still racked by civil war. He was reunited with the French royal family after his attempts to negotiate with the *Frondeurs* on their behalf in 1653, and his subsequent escape from the Louvre to Saint-Germain, where the king, queen mother, and Mazarin had taken refuge from the violence in Paris. Charles rode with the royal party as they re-entered Paris in October the same year, and was once again treated to Mazarin's exceptional entertainments.<sup>156</sup> He left for the last time in July 1654, late enough to have experienced Mazarin's latest operatic extravaganza, Carlo Caproli's *Le nozze di Peleo e di Theti* in April and May, featuring Vittoria Caproli, Antonio d'Imola, Girolamo Pignani, Filiberto Ghiofi, Giuseppe Ghiofi, and the Englishman Thomas Stafford, who had arrived from Rome together with Caproli's troupe.<sup>157</sup> After the 1654 production of his opera, Caproli was appointed *maître de la musique du cabinet du Roi* to Louis XIV; although

---

<sup>152</sup> Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 60–6, 82, 91–9, 138.

<sup>153</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Castello 7 June 1664, in SP 29/99, f. 46. This letter will be further discussed below, p. 50 and 56.

<sup>154</sup> John Rosselli, *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 62; Paola Besutti, 'Costa, Anna Francesca', GMO.

<sup>155</sup> Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 145–6.

<sup>156</sup> Hutton, *Charles the Second*, 80.

<sup>157</sup> Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 168–70.

Caproli returned to Rome the following year, his title suggests something about the esteem for Roman music at the mid-seventeenth-century French court.<sup>158</sup> As Prunières pointed out, the fact the Roman librettist and recruiter of Louis's Italian troupe, Francesco Buti (1604–82), was rewarded with naturalization and a pension of 2000 *livres*, and in effect became a minister for the arts, indicates the value Mazarin placed on his services.<sup>159</sup> Charles thus spent much of his unstable and impoverished youth at a court where Mazarin's promotion of exclusive chamber performances by Roman-trained castrati and lavish opera productions played as important cultural and political roles as the *quatre-vingt violons* and later Lully's *ballets de cour*.

Charles II would have been accustomed to foreign culture not only because he spent formative years in the midst of it, but also because it was part of his upbringing at the cosmopolitan court of Charles I. Scholars such as Edward Chaney and Malcolm Smuts have shown that the Spanish peace treaties concluded during the reigns of James I and Charles I increasingly opened up continental Europe to English travellers, facilitating import of cultural goods to England.<sup>160</sup> In 1610 Charles's older brother Henry (1594–1612) had emerged as the leader of a group of courtiers who collected Italian art and engaged foreign artists and musicians in their service.<sup>161</sup> Henry arguably inherited his interest in continental art and curiosities from his mother, Anne of Denmark (1574–1619), whose brother Christian IV was famous for his patronage of Italian art and music. In addition to his mother, Henry was in close contact with such travelled recusant collectors as John, Lord Lumley (whose Nonsuch library Henry purchased in 1609), and Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.<sup>162</sup>

As Smuts points out, Henry and Charles's generation of courtiers had frequently spent years on the continent learning to appreciate Renaissance and Baroque forms or artistic and intellectual displays favoured in Spain, France, and Italy. Charles I himself spent two years in Madrid wooing the Spanish *infanta* in

---

<sup>158</sup> Margaret M. McGowan, 'The Origins of French Opera', in *Opera and Church Music, 1630–1750*, ed. by Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune, New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 169–205 (192); Caluori Eleanor, 'Caproli, Carlo', *GMO*.

<sup>159</sup> Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 171.

<sup>160</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 8; Smuts, 'Art and Material Culture', 97–8; Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 86.

<sup>161</sup> Smuts, *Court Culture*, 119.

<sup>162</sup> Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 187–8, 200.

person. Back in England, he and his noblemen Buckingham and Arundel soon became some of Europe's most distinguished patrons of art and architecture. Simultaneously, an enclave of Parisian court culture developed around Henrietta Maria, who used Catholic religious art to proselytise the court.<sup>163</sup> Contrary to traditional forms of display—such as pageants, lavish banquets, jewels, precious metal, or rich textiles which were intended to create a public image of royal splendour—the king's paintings and the queen's religious art hung in intimate cabinets accessed and appreciated only by a small number of connoisseurs.<sup>164</sup> As Smuts has noted, what emerged 'was not just a fashion for collecting but a special subculture, which linked appreciation for art to foreign travel, diplomacy, and new forms of knowledge.'<sup>165</sup> This culminated the process of artistic refinement began by Prince Henry in 1610, and partly shifted priorities from extrovert display of grandeur to participation in international patronage displaying refined taste and artistic sensibility.<sup>166</sup> Humanistic patronage had come to England.

The cosmopolitan outlook and strong networks of courtiers, scholars, artists, and musicians built up during the reign of Charles I survived after the Restoration. Like those of his father, many of Charles II's courtiers had spent years on Grand Tours and in enforced exile during the 1640s and 1650s. Jacobsen has mapped a close-knit network of Restoration diplomats and foreign envoys who were all keen collectors of continental art and influential in bringing foreign fashions back to England: Ralph Montague (1638–1709) and Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (1641–1702), in Paris, Sir John Finch (1626–82) and Bernard Gascoigne (1614–87) in Florence, and Thomas Belasyse, viscount Fauconberg (1627/8–1700), in Venice.<sup>167</sup>

Despite tendencies among modern historians to treat the Restoration as the beginning of the long eighteenth century, in the 1660s the English court must still partly be viewed as a Baroque court different from the slimmed 1690s court apparatus of William and Mary.<sup>168</sup> As Peter Rietbergen has argued, Baroque was not just a style of art and music; it was a style of living. The Baroque style of kingship

---

<sup>163</sup> Smuts, *Court Culture*, 185–8.

<sup>164</sup> Smuts, 'Art and Material Culture', 99–101.

<sup>165</sup> Smuts, 'Art and Material Culture', 100–01.

<sup>166</sup> Smuts, *Court Culture*, 119–21, 183.

<sup>167</sup> Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 75–81.

<sup>168</sup> For a critique of this tendency, see Scott, 'England's Troubles 1603–1702', 25.

was representational, performing the symbolic status of the ruler as God's deputy on earth through play and patronage, as in Barberini spectacles, Parisian court opera, or the masques of Charles I.<sup>169</sup> The decapitation of Charles I in 1649 certainly contributed to the English demystification of kingship and questioned the legitimacy of Baroque absolutism before it had even reached its zenith on the continent. Nevertheless, Charles II and his courtiers were raised during the reign of Charles I, which transformed the seat of the English monarchy into a cosmopolitan Baroque court.

Until very recently, the court culture of the Restoration was neglected by scholars. In the last few years, the work of Matthew Jenkinson, Helen Jacobsen, and Anna Keay has contributed significantly to the understanding of late Stuart court culture.<sup>170</sup> Although Charles II operated a much more open court than his father and shared few of his personal interests, some cultural elements of the early Stuart court survived after the Restoration. Jenkinson has convincingly argued that the fact that England developed a commercial cultural market did not eliminate the importance of the court as a cultural force during the reign of Charles II.<sup>171</sup> Charles never fully revived his father's cultural programme, but the king who had spent the first eleven years of his reign exiled and impoverished was eager to imitate continental models to re-establish the aura of the Stuart monarchy. As Jerry Brotton has observed, 'political restoration was meaningless without the material restitution of the trappings of royal power', and Helen Jacobsen has recently shown the lavish material trappings involved in later Stuart representation and diplomacy.<sup>172</sup> Charles was aided by the changing attitudes of his fellow European rulers. Regimes to which Charles had previously been an embarrassment for the first time recognised him as king of England: the Dutch Republic, from whence he had been banished since its treaty with the Commonwealth government in 1654, officially received Charles and his brothers at an extravagant banquet and presented him with a state bed.<sup>173</sup> The states of Holland made Charles a present of Italian and Dutch paintings and classical

---

<sup>169</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Religion*, 11; Aercke, *Gods of Play*, 4–5.

<sup>170</sup> Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*; Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660–1685* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010); Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Continuum, 2008).

<sup>171</sup> Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II*, 9–10.

<sup>172</sup> Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: the Story of Charles I and his Art Collection* (London: Macmillan, 2006), 316; Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, especially 1–2, 65.

<sup>173</sup> Fraser, *Charles II*, 125; Hutton, *Charles the Second*, 131–2.



sculptures in November 1660.<sup>174</sup> The Venetian senate, which had dismissed Charles's ambassador Thomas Killigrew (1612–83) in 1652 for fear of antagonising Cromwell's government, sent him a gift of two gondolas (which he subsequently sold to fund his Italian ensemble).<sup>175</sup> The artistic-diplomatic commerce ensuing from the Restoration shows that Charles was finally regarded as an equal participant in international patronage and diplomatic gift-giving. The conceptual link between kingship and artistic patronage was strong enough for Parliamentarians organising the return of the king to buy back as much of Charles I's picture collection as possible before Charles II arrived at Whitehall, and for Charles himself to spend over £2000 on paintings to accentuate his kingship the day before the Declaration of Breda.<sup>176</sup>

Once in Whitehall, Charles continued his image-building nationally and internationally by putting on such splendid public shows as his entry into London in May 1660 and his coronation the following year,<sup>177</sup> paired with activities intended to showcase his humanistic refinement to fellow connoisseurs, such as intimate performances of music and theatre at Whitehall, and indulging on a daily basis in such curiosities and luxuries as represented the splendour of his court: fashionable imported furniture, upholstery, fabrics, coaches, clothes, and works of art.<sup>178</sup> Charles did not share his father's strong interest in art, but kept an impressive collection of curiosities (including some paintings), which Evelyn marvelled at in November 1660:

I went with some of my Relations to Court, to shew them his Majesties Cabinet and Closet of Rarities: The rare miniatures of *Peter Oliver* after *Raphael, Titian* & other masters, which I infinitely esteem: Also that large piece of the *Dutchesse of Lennox* don in Enamaile by *Petito*; & a vast number of

---

<sup>174</sup> Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*, 335–7.

<sup>175</sup> A letter from the Venetian resident in England, Francesco Giavarina, to the Doge and Senate, shows that the gondolas were presented to Charles on the 22 September 1661, after having been transported by ship from Leghorn. See Allen B. Hinds, ed. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, 38 vols. (London: H.M.S.O., 1932), xxxiii, 35–49. Pepys reported having seen the gondolas on their way up the Thames, and a few years later declared that Thomas Killigew had persuaded the king to sell the 'ridiculous Gundilows' to pay for his Italian musicians. Pepys, ii, 177 (12 September 1661); viii, 56 (12 February 1667).

<sup>176</sup> Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*, 315–23, 324.

<sup>177</sup> For the political impact of the spectacles of the early 1660s, see Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II*, 21–74.

<sup>178</sup> Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 92–3, 108–09.

*Achates, Onyxes, & Intaglios, especially a Medalion of Caesar, as broad as my hand: likewise rare Cabinetts of Pietra Commessa: A Landskip of Needleworke, formerly presented by the Dutch to K Char: I. Here I saw a vast book of Mapps in a Volume of neere 4 yards large: a curious Ship modell, & amongst the Clocks, one that shewed the rising & setting of the son in the Zodiaque, the Sunn, represented in a face & raies of Gold, upon an azure skie, observing the diurnal & annual motion, rising & setting be hind a landscap of hills, very divertisant, the Work of our famous Fromantel, & severall other rarities in this royal Cimelium.*<sup>179</sup>

Similar cabinets had been compiled, and were still added to, by numerous continental princes. The Elector of Saxony's was famous,<sup>180</sup> as was that of the Medici in Florence. In 1657, the merchant Thomas Hill wrote to his brother Abraham from Lucca in Italy:

I returned yesterday from Florence, where we saw the duke's gallery; and I can give you no other account of it, than that the riches there are more than most kings can boast of in their palaces. Here were a cabinet and a table valued at 100,000 l. sterling each; several large rooms filled with gold plate, and others with silver; many cabinet were twelve feet high, about which the worst material was gold; the pictures so many and so fine, as not to be valued; ivory in abundance; medals so many, that they sort them in heaps. I saw the nail you mentioned, half gold and half iron. There is a pair of globes; the compass of them, as I spaced it, was twelve large steps; an instrument, which, they say, has a perpetual motion, and is moved by weights. In short, I think no one, whose memory is not supernatural, can give you a particular account of the rarities of this palace, they are in such amazing quantities.<sup>181</sup>

As in Florence, Charles's cabinet was a way to show favour to visitors, by exposing the privileged few to its cultural treasures. Rarity was a key quality in curiosities and luxury objects, and items imported from abroad through diplomatic contacts carried more prestige than things purchased commercially or produced locally. As Jacobsen has noted, that Charles's and Henry Bennet's Italian marble chimney pieces were imported directly from Carrara distinguished them from other noblemen who had to

---

<sup>179</sup> Evelyn, iii, 260–1 (November 1660).

<sup>180</sup> Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

<sup>181</sup> Thomas Hill to Abraham Hill, Lucca, 1 October 1657, printed in *Familiar letters which passed between Abraham Hill, Esq., and several eminent and ingenious persons of the last century* (London, 1767).

rely on London merchants, or even content themselves with English marble. The inaccessibility of foreign cultural goods was often a greater obstacle than their cost, and thus their rarity carried more prestige than their financial value.<sup>182</sup>

The English court under Charles II was thus an international environment, eager to resume its role in the elite of European intellectual and cultural fashions. At Charles's Restoration, Roman vocal chamber and sacred music was part of these fashions and played an important part in power-representation through the rarity of the repertoire and the financial and logistic difficulty in recruiting musicians able to perform it. It is in this context that the recruitment of his Italian ensemble must be seen.

### **Mobile Musicians: The Recruitment of the King's 'Italian Musick'**

*Bennet, Gascoigne and the process of recruiting Italian musicians*

In the seventeenth century the recruitment of talented court musicians relied on musical and diplomatic networks. Aristocratic patrons used their contacts to find and vet suitable candidates for their musical establishments, and the networks of musicians who had spent their careers travelling between different courts and cities complemented the personal and diplomatic networks of their patrons. Mary Frandsen has shown that rulers used well-connected musicians in their service to make contact with talented performers in faraway places, and subsequently asked diplomats, residents or military men on site to vet the candidate: when in January 1650 Heinrich Schütz found a candidate in Danzig for the long-vacant post of vice-*Kapellmeister* at the electoral court in Dresden, the prince elector Johann Georg II conducted the negotiations via a military officer resident in Danzig.<sup>183</sup> Similarly, the French ambassador to Rome vetted singers for Mazarin in Paris, and the negotiations leading to the recruitment of Queen Christina's Italian ensemble were conducted by her singer *valet de chambre* Alessandro Cecconi.<sup>184</sup>

This section shows that the English court participated in these recruitment networks on a comparable level with other European courts, enabling Charles II to

---

<sup>182</sup> Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 76, 122.

<sup>183</sup> Mary E. Frandsen, 'Allies in the Cause of Italian Music: Schütz, Prince Johann Georg II and Musical Politics in Dresden', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 125 (2000), 1–40 (30–3).

<sup>184</sup> Margaret M. McGowan, 'The Origins of French Opera', 192, n. 3; Berglund, 'The Roman Connection', 196–8.

recruit famous Italian musicians via similar methods and channels to those used by rulers on the continent. In the 1660s London was already a metropolis, and musicians were part of wider networks of courtiers, ambassadors, merchants, artists, craftsmen, and fellow musicians of foreign origin. Foreign musicians returning to the continent ensured that their friends and colleagues abroad were kept abreast of developments in England, and vice versa, whilst correspondence with friends and clients abroad kept patrons aware of the latest continental trends. Such close communication with the continent served to build reputations for musicians, and contributed significantly to the dissemination of repertoire and performance styles.

The story of the recruitment of Charles II's Italian ensemble has previously been told by Margaret Mabbett and complemented by Peter Leech's work on the music and musicians of the Stuart Catholic chapels.<sup>185</sup> The following account offers new interpretations of material already presented by Mabbett and Leech, as well as new documentary evidence, notably a series of letters from 1664–65 discussing the recruitment and duties of Italian musicians at the English court, hitherto unknown to musicologists. These letters, preserved in the National Archives under State Papers Foreign, Tuscany (SP 98, volume 5), are addressed mostly to Sir Henry Bennet and his under-secretary Joseph Williamson. The letters have not been included in the calendars of state papers and are not catalogued or bound; hence there are no folio or item numbers within SP 98/5. For clarity of argument, selected quotations from these letters are presented at relevant places in this chapter, but the full letters are transcribed in Appendix X.

It has hitherto not been known who recruited Italian musicians for the king's ensemble. The closest lead has been the ex-ambassador, courtier and theatre manager Thomas Killigrew, who in February 1667 told Samuel Pepys 'that he hath gathered nine Italians from several courts in Christendome to come to make a consort for the King, which he doth give 200*l* a year apiece to.'<sup>186</sup> When Pepys heard a performance by the ensemble a week later they were escorted by Killigrew (below, p. 75, 117). Apart from Pepys, no evidence to corroborate Killigrew's involvement in their activities has yet surfaced (see also below, p. 54).

---

<sup>185</sup> Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians'; Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts' and 'Chapel of Catherine of Braganza'.

<sup>186</sup> Pepys, viii, 54–7.

My research instead shows that the driving force behind the recruitment of the Italian ensemble was Sir Henry Bennet (Lord Arlington from 1665), helped by his friend and diplomatic contact in Florence, Sir Bernard Gascoigne. Once the Albricis arrived, they themselves initiated recruitment of new musicians (below, p. 62). Jacobsen has shown that Bennet was a highly influential artistic patron, who engineered much of Charles II's cultural patronage by procuring exclusive goods (ranging from food and wine to marble chimney pieces and works of art) through his contacts in Italy and France. Known for his ability to gather intelligence at court and abroad, Bennet also

set himself the role of providing Charles II with the luxuries with which other royal princes were surrounded abroad, but which had been beyond the impoverished king's reach while he lived in exile. Arlington used his diplomatic network to source novelties and luxuries for Charles and to handle the logistical support for such acquisitions; importantly, he also ensured that he personally enjoyed similar access.<sup>187</sup>

Yet Bennet's involvement with the Italian ensemble, or indeed any music at the English court, has hitherto passed unnoticed among musicologists.

Gascoigne was a very useful person in Bennet's diplomatic network. Born in Florence as Bernardo Guasconi, he grew up together with the Medici princes. After embarking on a military career, Gascoigne fought on the Royalist side in the English Civil War. Always an unofficial Medici representative, he was granted denization in October 1661, but travelled between Florence and London for the rest of his life, sourcing Italian art, wine, coaches and musicians for Bennet and the king.<sup>188</sup>

Gascoigne would have been the ideal agent for recruiting Italian singers: he was a native Italian with close links to the Medici, all of whom were famous for their patronage of star singers. In 1664 the outbreak of war between England and Holland forced Gascoigne to repair to his native country, due to the strong Tuscan trading interests in the Dutch Republic;<sup>189</sup> his return to Florence is the context for the series of letters discussing the recruitment of Charles II's Italian musicians. Gascoigne was granted a travel pass for Tuscany on 4 January 1664; by mid-March he was in Paris, treating Bennet to a letter filled with French court gossip. This letter was probably

---

<sup>187</sup> Jacobsen, 'Career of the Earl of Arlington', 301.

<sup>188</sup> Jacobsen, 'Career of the Earl of Arlington', 302–06.

<sup>189</sup> Roderick Clayton, 'Gascoigne, Sir Bernard [Bernardo Guasconi] (1614–1687)', ODNB.

sent towards the end of his stay, because only ten days later Gascoigne wrote to Bennet and Joseph Williamson from Turin.<sup>190</sup> About the same time, in spring of 1664, Gascoigne wrote to Bennet, introducing the leader-to-be of the king's Italian ensemble, Vincenzo Albrici:

Curious to see England comes here Sig.<sup>re</sup> Vincenzo Albrizzi, who has been Chief of the Music of the Duke of Saxony, excellent Composer and Musician. He has asked me to present him to Your Illustrious Eminence as I do thus to favour him of your Protection. [...]. I have send him in England, being a man that have no equall in composing and vere civill[.]<sup>191</sup>

This newly discovered letter suggests that Gascoigne and Bennet were the driving forces behind the recruitment of Vincenzo Albrici, and that Albrici did not arrive in the England until the late spring of 1664 (below, p. 57). It is unclear whether Albrici initially worked at court or for Bennet personally; Gascoigne's letter suggests that he originally envisaged Albrici as Bennet's household musician, providing private musical entertainment and teaching music to the young women in Bennet's household (possibly his daughter Isabella or other girls sent to be educated at his house):

I have hard, from the virginalls maker, that you was willing, to have in your hause, a virtuoso; to divert you, att naight, wen you come att home, weri of bisnisse[.] This man, to be ounder your protection was were willing, to be att your hause, att your officers table; with out any other aantage, bott to serve you; and ist the best master for teycing and composingh of our age; and he can learne, to your yung ladyes and will be all his pretention, to live in your hause, as your domestic servant, with out any stipendy or interesse. [...] I belive will be a man of your satisfaction; and have no

---

<sup>190</sup> SP 44/16, f. 1 (travel pass dated 4 January 1664); SP 92/24, f. 78 (letter to Bennet in Italian, dated Paris ?15 March 1664); SP 29/95, f. 60 (Letter to Williamson dated Turin 25 March 1665); SP 29/95, f. 61 (letter to Bennet enclosed with Williamson's).

<sup>191</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, undated, in SP 98/5. The first paragraph of the letter was written in Italian (probably as a compliment to Bennet who was proficient in several languages) and reads 'Curioso di vedere l'Inghilterra, viene costì il Sig.<sup>re</sup> Vincenzo Albrizzi, stato Capo della Musica del Sig.<sup>f</sup> Duca di Sassonia, e Compositore, e Sonatore eccellente, ha desiderato, che lo facci conoscere a V[ostra] E[minenza] Ill[ustrissima] come faccio per favorirlo della sua Protetione così'. I am grateful to Lars Berglund and Stefano Rota for help with transcription and translation. The letter was received in England in April 1664. Gascoigne sent letters to Bennet from Paris on the 15 March 1664 (SP 92/24, f. 78), and from Turin on 25 March 1664 (SP 29/95, f. 61), on his way to Florence which he reached in late June. This letter was presumably sent from somewhere along the way.

other interesse with you, bott the scieltre of your hause and  
your protection [.]<sup>192</sup>

The virginal makers were Girolamo Zenti (?1609–11–1666/7) and Andrea Testa who had been engaged at the English court in January 1664 (see below, p. 63).

Albrici was certainly working in England by July 1664, since on the 7<sup>th</sup> of that month Gascoigne wrote to Bennet again, and in an oft-cited passage declared

I am vere Glad that the Musicien I sendit to you provs  
learned and Civill; Civility being no ordinarye quality of a  
Musicien, bot Preyde.<sup>193</sup>

Peter Holman has suggested that the musician mentioned in Gascoigne's letter may have been Giovanni Battista Draghi (c.1640–1708),<sup>194</sup> but in the light of Gascoigne's previous letter promising that Albici was 'vere civill', it is clear that this musician was Vincenzo Albrici. After he arrived in England, Albrici was presumably introduced by Bennet to the king, since on 9 December Gascoigne was pleased that Albrici was giving satisfaction to the king.<sup>195</sup> A note of the salaries due to Vincenzo and Bartolomeo Albrici from June 1666 gives their starting date as 1 October 1665, possibly suggesting that Albrici was not formally hired by the court until over a year after his arrival in England.<sup>196</sup>

Bennet's importance as the organising force behind the Italian ensemble continued once the Italian musicians were working at the court and the Albricis had been joined by other musicians (the recruitment of whom will be discussed in the following section). It was to Bennet that the Italian ensemble directed most of their questions and concerns. When, in 1666, the Italian musicians petitioned the king to order a London banker to pay their wages quarterly on his behalf, they had already pleaded with Bennet, who by now was Lord Arlington:

Wherefore, since my Lord Arlington has promised us that he  
will beg Your Majesty on our behalf in this matter, and make  
a London banker called [blank] give us satisfaction, we make

---

<sup>192</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, en route to Florence, March/April 1664, in SP 98/5.

<sup>193</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Castello 7 June 1664, in SP 29/99, f. 46. This and other snippets of this particular letter were cited in Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 245. This letter was sent from Castello, which according to Gascoigne was 'fore mayl from Florence'. See Gascoigne to Bennet, Castello 20 June 1664, in SP 98/5.

<sup>194</sup> Peter Holman, 'The Italian Connection: Giovanni Battista Draghi and Henry Purcell', *Early Music Performer*, 22 (2008), 4–19 (4).

<sup>195</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Florence 9 December 1664, in SP 98/5.

<sup>196</sup> SP 29/160, f. 191.

this most humble request, so that Your Majesty may deign,  
with your innate clemency, to do us this favour.<sup>197</sup>

Some years later Vincenzo's sister, Leonora Albrici, again pleaded with Bennet to ensure the payment of her and their brother Bartolomeo's wages:

My Lord

My ignorance in the English tongue forceth me to relate in this paper unto your Lo:<sup>p</sup> the necessitiyes of my brother, & my owne; which is that after that, by your Lo:<sup>ps</sup> grace, we were againe received in the service of His Ma:<sup>tie</sup> we have allwayes been in our pay a quarter of a year behind the other Italian Musitians; although His Ma:<sup>ties</sup> Royall Bounty had severall times given order to the Privy Purse, that we should be paid as the others, and kept no more backward than the others: for all this we are allwayes a quarter behind the others, and we cannot receive it although many Persons of Honour of the Court has intreated for us at severall times with the said Privy Purse. Now we are creditors of three quarter ended at March last, & the other Italian musitians only of two. I humbly begg that your Lo:<sup>p</sup> will considere that I am a poore Maid, stranger, & in no good health, which bringeth me very scarce of money, and to have the such a goodness for me as to represent this my condition to His Maiestie to the end, that His Royall Bounty will be pleased to order the Privy Purse to pay us the Quarter that we are creditors more than the other Italian Musitians, desiring no more but to be no more behind than they are, and if I took too much boldness, I humbly begg your Lo:<sup>ps</sup> pardon, and remaine for ever

Your Lo:<sup>ps</sup> most humble servant

Leonora Albrici.<sup>198</sup>

In addition to illustrating Bennet's involvement with the Italian musicians at court, Leonora's petition suggests that the Italian ensemble was paid from the king's private accounts, instead of through the usual Treasury of the Chamber or the Exchequer of the Receipt. This suggests that the Italian ensemble unusually was under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State (at this time, Bennet) instead of the

---

<sup>197</sup> SP 19/187/1 f. 79 (1666). Translation in Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 246. 'Onde havendoci il Milord' Arlinton promesso, che supplicar'a V. M. per parte nostra di supplir appresto V. M. questo negotio, e far, ch'un Banchiero di Londra chiamato [blank] ci dia sodisfattione, facciamo questa riverentissima supplica; accio V.M. ci degni con la sua innata clemenza di farci Questa gratia.' Bennet was created Earl of Arlington in March 1665.

<sup>198</sup> Note from Leonora Albrici to Bennet, attached to her formal petition. SP 29/281A, f. 1 (1670).



Lord Chamberlain (Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester).<sup>199</sup> However, when members of the ensemble were presented with gold chains and medals, the requests were sent to the Jewel House from the Lord Chamberlain's office (see also below, p. 74).<sup>200</sup> When in June 1664 Gascoigne found a castrato singer for the court, he left it to Bennet and the king to decide his salary, 'as you sciould tinch that he deserve, after the King and you had heard him';<sup>201</sup> this again suggests that Bennet was responsible for the Italian musicians once they arrived at the English court.

The role of Bennet in the recruitment and management of the Italian ensemble appears to overshadow that of Killigrew, whose name also appears in relation to the musicians. Killigrew's name again appears in connection with the castrato Pietro Cefalo (161?–168?), most likely recruited by the Albricis in 1665 (below, p. 62): Leech has claimed that the appointment of Pietro Cefalo in 1666 was sponsored by Killigrew on the basis of the Lord Chamberlain's establishment book, where Killigrew's name appears in brackets after Cefalo's. Andrew Ashbee has tentatively suggested that such names appearing after musicians in establishment books are the names of individuals acting as sponsors, but simultaneously admits their meaning is not clear.<sup>202</sup> That Killigrew, constantly in financial trouble, would have found it worthwhile to spend £200 (Cefalo's salary) of the £500 per annum granted him by Charles in 1661 on sponsoring one of the king's Italian musicians seems unlikely.<sup>203</sup> Perhaps the travelled Killigrew played a similar role to Gascoigne in recommending musicians he had encountered in Italy to Charles, although he did not venture outside the British Isles after the Restoration. Or perhaps he simply befriended the musicians in England with his ability to speak Italian and admiration for their music (p. 92). His role in relation to the Italian ensemble remains a matter for speculation. Likewise, Edward Corp has suggested that the Italian musicians were chiefly patronised by Catherine of Braganza in an attempt to counteract the French

---

<sup>199</sup> On the Lord Chamberlain's authority over court musicians, and the source of their wages, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 38–40.

<sup>200</sup> Warrants for medals for the Albrici siblings were issued in May and June 1668 (LC 5/107, f. 127, LC 5/12, p. 137, LC 5/139, p. 217r); for Battaglia in July 1670 (LC 5/107, f. 142r, LC 5/12, p. 160); and for Sebenico in July 1673 (LC 5/107, f. 166r, LC 5/140, p. 283). RECM, i, 85, 99.

<sup>201</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Castello 7 June 1664, in SP 29/99, f. 46.

<sup>202</sup> Ashbee, RECM, i, 215, 22. In the original document, LC 3/25, f. 55, it is not clear whether Killigrew's name appears in relation to Cefalo or Sebenico, being written beside and between the two names.

<sup>203</sup> Elsewhere in the book the name Henry Purcell appears in brackets after the replacement Symon Darrant in the Private Music. It does not seem likely that one court musician would sponsor the wages of another.

influence of Louise de K roualle, because the Italian musicians performed in her Catholic chapel, appeared once performing before the queen, and once at the house of Lord Brouncker who was Catherine’s chancellor.<sup>204</sup> These occasions will be discussed thoroughly below, but there is no evidence that the Italian ensemble was under the special protection of the queen.

Instead, my research shows that Bennet was the chief patron of the Italian ensemble. Bennet’s involvement with the Italian musicians further indicates the intricate patterns of patronage at work at early modern courts. Although employed at and seemingly paid by the court, they seem first and foremost to have been clients of Bennet, through whose influence many of them were introduced at court in the first place. The unusual arrangement of musicians answering to the secretary of state may simply be due to Bennet’s personal inclinations towards prestigious continental culture; or, as Jacobsen has pointed out regarding other forms of material display, Bennet considered appropriate musical representation a matter of state that was vital for England’s success in international diplomacy.<sup>205</sup>

#### *The Personnel of the Italian Ensemble*

The forces of the ensemble recruited by Bennet can be determined with relative certainty through records among Charles II’s state papers. The first document indicating the existence of a separate Italian ensemble is an undated proposal written in Italian, outlining the costs and composition of a possible ensemble:<sup>206</sup>

The way used in all courts is to give them, normally fifty pieces [of gold] each for the journey.  
The woman will cost more if she is to have the comforts she requires.  
For salary they will not want less than in Germany which is 200 pieces each per annum.  
The woman will want three hundred pieces\_\_\_\_\_300  
The castrato two hundred pieces\_\_\_\_\_200  
And if his Majesty wanted these also so that the concert was complete and could serve both in the chamber and in the theatre one would need[:]  
[A] Contralto\_\_\_\_\_200

---

<sup>204</sup> Edward Corp, ‘Catherine of Braganza and Cultural Politics’, in *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics*, ed. by Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 59–60.

<sup>205</sup> Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 125.

<sup>206</sup> SP 29/66, f. 44.

[A] Tenor\_\_\_\_\_200  
 [A] Bass\_\_\_\_\_200  
 The poet who is the principal\_\_\_\_\_200  
 Thus for these six people one thousand three hundred pieces  
 per annum would be required. Regarding us, his Majesty can  
 do as he pleases.<sup>207</sup>

Mabbett tentatively dated the proposal 1663, and has suggested that it was submitted by Vincenzo and Bartolomeo Albrici, since the following page in the state paper volume preserving the document contains an English translation of the outline which specifies their names as additional members in the ensemble:

ye yearly salarys and entertainment of his Maj[esty's] Italian  
 Musicke<sup>208</sup>

	£	s	d
One Contralto_____	200	00	00
One Tenore_____			
One Basse_____			
The Poete_____			
The Woman_____	300	00	00
The Eunuche_____	200	00	00
Signor Vincenzo_____	200	00	00
his brother_____	200	00	00
	1700	00	00

These documents are not rosters showing the functions of the musicians actually engaged, but proposals showing the king what sort of ensemble he could hire if he wanted to. The Italian proposal outlines two alternative ensembles: one core group consisting of the woman, the castrato, and presumably the Albrici brothers, and one larger ensemble adding more voices and a poet, should the king want them to perform more functions. Probably written before Albrici came to England, the reference in the proposal to the singers' salary in Germany suggests that it was submitted from there, and that at least some of the other intended members

<sup>207</sup> SP 29/66, f. 44, undated. Translation from Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 244; the original reads: 'La maniera che usa per tutte le corti li da—ordinariamente cinquanta pezze per uno per il Viaggio. / La Donna coster'a d'avvantaggio per che li d'a le comodit'a che vogliono. / Per la provisione non vorranno meno che in germania che sono due cento pezze l'Anno per uno / La Donna vorr'a trecento pezze\_\_\_300 / Il castrato due cento pezze\_\_\_\_\_200 / E se sua Maiest'a volesse havere ancora questi accio fosse tutto finito il concerto che se ne potrebbe servire in Cammera et in teatro sarebbe bisogno / Contralto\_\_\_\_\_200 / Tenore\_\_\_\_\_200 / Basso\_\_\_\_\_200 / Il poeta che e il principale\_\_\_\_\_200 / Che per queste sei persone inportarebbe l'Anno mille e trecento pezze. In quanto a noi sua Maiest'a facci come li piace.'

<sup>208</sup> SP 29/66, f. 45. Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 244.

were based in German countries along with the Albrici brothers.<sup>209</sup> With the addition of a castrato, Vincenzo, Bartolomeo, and Leonora Albrici would have matched the smaller core group outlined in the proposal. I will argue below that this outline was only partly followed, and that not all musicians arrived at the same time.

Vincenzo Albrici probably arrived in England in the early summer of 1664 (above, p. 52), although negotiations to bring him to the country must have begun much earlier. In August 1663, after six years in Dresden, Vincenzo and Bartolomeo Albrici received travel passes for England,<sup>210</sup> and my research in the National Archives has uncovered a hitherto unknown copy of his Saxon travel pass inserted between documents dated June and October 1664 in a volume of state papers relating to the German states.<sup>211</sup> The pass gives safe conduct to Vincenzo Albrici together with his family and all his possessions; this presumably included his brother Bartolomeo Albrici (now a keyboardist) and sister Leonora Albrici, who most likely took the role of ‘the woman’ in the ensemble. The three had another brother, Stefano Albrici; the only known record of Stefano in England is from 1688, when the accounts for secret services to Charles II and James II, drawn up by Henry Guy after the accession of William III, contain a payment to ‘the Lord Godolphin, to repay him the like sum he paid to Stephano Albrici, by his said Ma.<sup>ty</sup> order’. This suggests that Stefano Albrici had been in England and in the service of the king, but his role and dates in England remain unknown.<sup>212</sup>

Naming the castrato has, however, proved difficult. Mabbett speculated that the castrato was Hilario Suarez who had performed with the Albricis during their previous employment with queen Christina of Sweden. The only record of Suarez in England is dated 18 November 1679, when Suarez, together with Giovanni Battista Draghi, Bartolomeo Albrici and Francisco Galli, petitioned the king for payment of

---

<sup>209</sup> Frandsen, ‘Albrici, Vincenzo’, GMO. See SP 29/66, f. 44.

<sup>210</sup> Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, 56.

<sup>211</sup> SP 81/56, f. 81.

<sup>212</sup> 2 October 1688, transcribed in John Yonge Akerman, ed. *Moneys Recieved and Paid for Secret Services to Charles II. and James II. From 30th March, 1679, to 25th December, 1688* (London: Camden Society, 1851), 209. On Stefano’s relationship with Vincenzo, Bartolomeo, and Leonora, see Mary Frandsen, ‘Albrici, Vincenzo’, GMO.

wages four years in arrears. Suarez thus cannot be proved to have been in England before 1675.<sup>213</sup>

An equally (un)likely option is the castrato Girolamo Pignani. Pignani is known in England for publishing the only printed collection of Roman vocal music during the seventeenth century, *Scelta di canzonette de piu autori [sic!]* (1679). Although it has been claimed that nothing is known about Pignani,<sup>214</sup> continental research suggests he had an active career before arriving in England. Pignani was recruited from Rome to Paris for Mazarin's production of Carlo Caproli's *Nozze di Peleo et di Theti* (1654).<sup>215</sup> Mazarin's opera productions took place during the time the future Charles II, his mother and brothers, were sheltering at the French court, and singers involved in the productions demonstrably performed for the English royal family (above, p. 40). Pignani proceeded to the Danish court, where he translated *Die Lobwürdige Cadmus* for the wedding of Princess Anna Sophia to the Prince Elector Johann Georg III of Saxony in 1663, choreographed and sang in the performance.<sup>216</sup> He was dismissed from the Danish court on 14 March 1664.<sup>217</sup> Pignani's whereabouts between his dismissal in 1664 and publishing *Scelta di canzonette* in England in 1679 are unknown; perhaps he was at the English court. As with Suarez, the time-span between his first known appearance in England and the recruitment of the Albricis is too large to be convincing.

Again, Gascoigne's letters to Bennet shed light on the issue, and suggest that recruiting a castrato singer took longer than has hitherto been known; it probably took until February 1665 before Gascoigne found a singer who may actually have

---

<sup>213</sup> Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 238. SP 44/55, pp. 52–3. Mabbett transcribes this record on pp. 246–7 (although her reference to SP 44/51 is incorrect), but fails to note the large time-span between Suarez's petition and the Albricis siblings' engagement.

<sup>214</sup> See for instance Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 33; Graham Dixon, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. by Michael Burden (London: Faber & Faber, 1995), 39.

<sup>215</sup> Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 168. McGowan, 'Origins of French Opera', 191–2.

<sup>216</sup> Girolamo Pignani, *Il Cadmo, Introduttione d'un giocoso Combattimento è Balletto rappresentato in Musica* (Copenhagen, 1663). See also Knud Arne Jürgensen, 'Il baletto Italiano nella Copenhagen del secolo XVIII', in *Prima la danza! Festschrift für Sibylle Dahms*, ed. by Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, et al. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004), 163–88 (165–6); Mara R. Wade, *Triumphus nuptialis danicus: German Court Culture and Denmark: the "Great Wedding" of 1634* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 118; Berthold Warnecke, *Kaspar Förster der Jüngere (1616–1673) und die europäische Stilvielfalt im 17. Jahrhundert* (Schneverdingen: Wagner, 2004), 210.

<sup>217</sup> Copenhagen, *Rigsarkivet*, Rentekammeret, Skatkammeret, Rentemesterregnskaber 1660–1679, 1664–1665, f. 51r. I am grateful to Bjarke Moe for showing me this document.

been sent to England. He had begun the hunt as soon as he reached Florence in June 1664, writing to Bennet in the letter of the 7<sup>th</sup>:

I finden in Florence, one Eunuche of 16 yeare of Age; that ist vere excellent voice, bott have nott itt such Perfection as Antonio had that was in England. And I belive I could prevaile with his father, to give him to me, to send him in England; ist vere Civill boy and sing extremely well and ist learned; and for his entertenement, I sciould rewrite him to your Pleasire, after ist com in England, as you sciould tinch that he deserve, after the King and you had heard him.

Besayde, hier e is a Girle of 16 yeare, that the last Cardinall John Carlo, kept in his one house under a Severe discipline of Musica, e, I could to, prevayle with her mother to bring her in England att this present, ist in a reasonable Perfection, and ist Excellent voice: that I believ and, with the licence for both the Great duke, and I belive that a moderate Pension, could Satisfeye this Gerle too; if his Mag:<sup>ty</sup> was willing to have this boy and Gerle, and send a way thos Frenchmen that nott worth a fidelstich, I will serve him, and he sciall spend not vere much [...]

For bringhinh, the Gerle, and the Boy in England and give some money tho the boy father, make Close, for the gerle for the mother, and for the boy, and to send them Honorably in England, I belive 400 pound could serve, or ther abouts; if his Mag:<sup>ty</sup> Encline to itt write me, and I sciall Serve him.<sup>218</sup>

There are no records of either of the young singers ever arriving in England.

Gascoigne's subsequent letter on the matter suggests that he was still hunting for a suitable castrato; back in Florence from a sojourn in the country he wrote to Bennet: 'Hier I sciall finde, one excellent Eunuche, fitt, for his Mag:<sup>ty</sup> service; I will doo my endeavor, to send him over'.<sup>219</sup>

In addition to revealing the recruitment strategies of Bennet, and by extension Charles, Gascoigne's letters shows the king's interest in patronage of Italian singers. Charles's involvement with Anna Francesca Costa, nicknamed La Cecca, was discussed above (p. 42); the letter of 7 June also mentioned a castrato singer named Antonio 'that was in England', suggesting that a castrato had visited England and left before June 1664. Antonio has to date not been identified, but another hitherto

---

<sup>218</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Castello 7 June 1664, in SP 29/99, f. 46. 'Cardinall John Carlo' was Cardinal Gian Carlo de' Medici.

<sup>219</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Florence 20 August 1664, in SP 98/5.

uncited letter from Gascoigne to Bennet reveals him to be the famous Antonio Rivani (1629–86), also known as Ciecolino:

By your last letter you are pleased to tell me that His Mag:<sup>ty</sup> for his pleasure was willingh to have one Eunuche. I believe that ist possibile, that I persuade Sig:<sup>te</sup> Antonio the Ciecolino, to come to serve his Mag:<sup>ty</sup>; Concerningh his qualities and his perfection in singinh I sciall say nothing; haveing bein with his Mag:<sup>ty</sup> al ready; and by him well known.<sup>220</sup>

Rivani has hitherto not been known to have visited England. Originally from Pistoia, Rivani had trained with Felice Cancellieri together with the Melani brothers, and was subsequently engaged by Cardinal Gian Carlo de' Medici. After successes in Florence and Rome, Rivani was in Paris in 1660 and 1662,<sup>221</sup> perhaps during this time he also crossed the channel to perform at the English court, although no evidence exists to confirm the dates of his visit. Another letter from Gascoigne, dated 9 December 1664, shows that Rivani did not visit a second time; Gascoigne was now considering several other options:

About Ciecolino, I hieare his Mag:<sup>ty</sup> pleasure; and he ist al ready in the service of the quin of Sweden att Rome; I am vere glad, that Sig:<sup>te</sup> Vincentio, give good satisfaction to the King; and I will too the best, to get a young castrato, to send to you. S:<sup>r</sup> I have one that att this present ist att Rome, under the discipline, of one Sig:<sup>te</sup> Abbatini, mester of capelle, to San Luigi de Francesi; that ist 16 yeares old; and ist vere good musicien as the tell me; ist a Florentine born; and his father have bin with me; and I believe, if I like him, he will be content he sciould come; bott I must give to his father 200 corones, some thingh to him selfe and to his master, close for him selfe, and his voyage, that I feare will coste, before he ist in England 150 pound sterling or ther abouts[.]

Ther ist now, a nother young boy of 11 yeares of age, that ist nott itt gelde; and ist willing to be; ist of a vere good kepe, and sing prittly well for his age; if you order me, I will treathe with his father, and master, and tray if I can aggruie with him, and have the boy geld; and after send the same in England; bott this I belive will cost as much, or a little lesse. I sciall expect your forther order, and in the same tyme, will loke about if can finden any better; and ist enough you order me wath I sciall doo; bott send no mony, because, you sciall reemburse me after, of wath I sciall spend in itt.

---

<sup>220</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Florence 23 September 1664, in SP 98/5.

<sup>221</sup> Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 244–5, 64, 78; Jean Grundy Fanelli, 'Rivani, Antonio', GMO.

With Rivani scooped up by queen Christina in Rome, the decision was between the 16-year-old student of Antonio Maria Abbatini (1595–1679), *maestro di capella* of S Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, or a younger boy who had not yet been castrated. Such practices were common in seventeenth-century Italy where promising boys and their parents would enter contracts with teachers or noble patrons who paid for the operation.<sup>222</sup> Gascoigne was evidently familiar and comfortable with such procedures. In England, however, attitudes towards castrati were ambivalent; their voices were increasingly admired, but their physical status regarded with suspicion and contempt. Gascoigne’s final letter on the matter, from February 1665, suggests that Bennet quailed when faced with the alien cultural practice of castrating boys to produce the voices he wanted:

As for the reliefe of your conscience, to nott pott you in a necessity, to doo so greatt a sinne as to geld a boy I sciall sciortly send you one al ready geld, and as good musicien, about 16 yeare of age, nott ist perfect, because wath he sciall want Sig:<sup>re</sup> Albrici sciall adde to him[.]<sup>223</sup>

Since that damage of castration was already done (and on somebody else’s conscience), Bennet might as well take advantage of the boy’s lovely voice; he wanted the product, but preferred to forget how it had been produced.<sup>224</sup>

The correspondence between Gascoigne and Bennet during 1664 suggests that their strategy for engaging castrato singers was to find a talented young singer who could be further trained ‘to perfection’ by Albrici at the English court, unless they could persuade a star like Rivani to come to England. A similar strategy was employed by the Medici, who frequently took promising singers, such as Atto Melani, Anna Francesca Costa, and Antonio Rivani into their employ, and subsequently saw their singers’ fame soar all over Europe.<sup>225</sup>

The name of the castrato who was sent to England remains shrouded in mystery. That one was eventually sent seems clear from the diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn in the first months of 1667: Evelyn heard ‘Rare *Italian* Voices, 2 *Eunuchs* & one Woman’ in January, and in February Pepys also heard two castrati

---

<sup>222</sup> John Rosselli, ‘The Castrati as a Professional Group and a Social Phenomenon, 1550–1850’, *Acta Musicologica*, 60 (1988), 143–79 (152–6).

<sup>223</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Florence 10 February 1665, in SP 98/5.

<sup>224</sup> See also Jacobsen, ‘Career of the Earl of Arlington’, 305.

<sup>225</sup> See for instance Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*; Fanelli, ‘Rivani, Antonio’, GMO; Besutti, ‘Costa, Anna Francesca’, GMO; Prunières, *L’opéra italien*, 59–60.



perform with the ensemble.<sup>226</sup> The second castrato was likely the Paduan Pietro Cefalo (161?–168?), who had been hired in 1666 after the Albrici brothers undertook recruitment tours to the continent in 1665 and 1666.

Vincenzo and Bartolomeo travelled widely after their appointment at the English court. Just before Easter 1665, on 25 March, the two brothers were given safe passage, ‘one of them with all his family and possessions’, to go abroad and return.<sup>227</sup> In 1665 Vincenzo Albrici was married with at least one child born in 1662, named Johann Georg after his godfather the Elector of Saxony.<sup>228</sup> Contrary to the convention of musicians leaving their families behind as they travelled abroad, Albrici’s Saxon and English passports suggest that he brought his family to England, and that they travelled with him back to the continent in 1665. Part of their 1665 journey took the Albrici family to the Wittelsbach court in Neuburg, where they convinced the singer Matteo Battaglia to join them in England.<sup>229</sup> Originally from Bologna and possibly a pupil of Maurizio Cazzati, Battaglia had spent two years in Neuburg and returned there when leaving England in 1685.<sup>230</sup> Perhaps the brothers also escorted Gascoigne’s young castrato when they returned on 25 October 1665. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 1666 Bartolomeo was again ‘to go abroad on the King’s affairs, thence to return shortly, bringing back some companions for His Majesty’s use.’<sup>231</sup> The purpose of this journey was apparently to escort Battaglia, Pietro Cefalo, and the Venetian tenor Giovanni Sebenico (c. 1640–1705) to England. Cefalo had previously been employed in the choir of S Antonio in Padua, and sang the role of the ‘old wife’ Nerina in a Venetian production of Aurelio Aureli and Pietro Ziani’s *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* in 1657.<sup>232</sup> Sebenico was originally from Dalmatia in Croatia, studied with Legrenzi, and had served as *vicemaestro di capella* at Cividale del

---

<sup>226</sup> Evelyn, iii, 474 (24 January 1667); Pepys, viii, 64 (16 February 1667).

<sup>227</sup> ‘una cum omni familia et rebus suis’. SP 29/116, f. 29

<sup>228</sup> Frandsen, ‘Albrici, Vincenzo’, GMO. In November 1696 a travel pass for Holland was given to one Federico Albrici, possibly a son of Vincenzo since Bartolomeo is not known to have married: SP 44/346, f. 473.

<sup>229</sup> Frandsen, ‘Albrici, Vincenzo’, GMO; SP 44/23, f. 29.

<sup>230</sup> Leech, ‘Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718’, 95–7; Leech, ‘Chapel of Catherine of Braganza’, 579.

<sup>231</sup> SP 29/152, f. 84.

<sup>232</sup> Beth Glixon and Jonathan Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: the Impresario and his World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 190, 196; Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa, dalle origini a 1800: catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 7 vols. (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–94), ii, 216. See also Leech, ‘Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718’, 101.

Friuli, and in the choir of S Marco in Venice.<sup>233</sup> The three newcomers entered the king's service on 1 April;<sup>234</sup> assuming that another castrato had arrived before them, they nearly completed the ensemble outlined in the Albrici's proposal.

However, in January 1664, before the arrival of Albrici, the court had employed other Italians, perhaps again to boost their competitiveness on the international music scene. The harpsichord builder Girolamo Zenti, 'perhaps the best known Italian keyboard maker of his day', was awarded a pension on 27 January, but received a passport for Italy on the 29<sup>th</sup> and appointed his assistant Andrea Testa to be his deputy.<sup>235</sup> Zenti had become the keeper of Pope Urban VIII's (Barberini) instrument collection in 1641, was employed together with Testa by queen Christina during the sojourn of her Italian ensemble, and was in Paris 1660–62.<sup>236</sup> Although the 1664 pension is the first record of Zenti in England, his rapid disappearance perhaps suggests that he had arrived earlier from France together with Testa. In 1667 Zenti died in the service of Louis XIV, and Testa petitioned to formally replace him. As is suggested by Antonio Rivani's visit to England and the recruitment of the guitarist Francesco Corbetta (1615–81) and Zenti, several Italian musicians were recruited via France in the first years of the 1660s.

Over several years in the mid-1660s Bennet and Charles gradually built up an ensemble that vaguely resembled the outline in the Italian document of c.1663, with the addition of Andrea Testa to look after the instruments; by January 1667 it consisted of the three Albrici siblings, Cefalo, Sebenico, Battaglia, and an unidentified castrato. This ensemble resembles the small core ensemble that Johann Georg brought with him on holiday to the warm baths of Hirschberg in the summer of 1661. In addition to a number of German instrumentalists and his two *Kapellmeisters* Vincenzo Albrici and Giuseppe Peranda, Johann Georg brought two sopranos, one alto, one tenor, one bass, and Bartolomeo Albrici as organist.<sup>237</sup> These forces would have enabled the ensemble to perform the ensemble motets and cantatas in vogue, which were frequently written for two sopranos, two sopranos and bass, or alto, tenor, and bass, with figured bass accompaniment. In England, the

---

<sup>233</sup> Županović Lovro, 'Sebenico, Giovanni', GMO.

<sup>234</sup> SP 29/160, f. 191.

<sup>235</sup> Edwin M. Ripin and Denzil Wraight, 'Zenti, Girolamo', GMO; SP 29/91, f. 79r (Zenti's pension); SP 44/16, p. 21 (Zenti's passport).

<sup>236</sup> Edwin M. Ripin and Denzil Wraight, 'Zenti, Girolamo', GMO.

<sup>237</sup> Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, 51.

addition of a contralto, tenor, and bass to the core ensemble of Leonora Albrici, a castrato and the Albrici brothers would have expanded their possible repertoire even within the remit of sacred and chamber music. The musicians had been recruited partly through the mediation of Gascoigne in Italy and partly by the Albrici brothers on their trip to the continent in 1665. Gascoigne's letters and the Albricis' recruitment trip show that Charles II employed the same strategies for recruiting singers as his counterparts on the continent, utilizing the networks of musicians already in his employ and the geographic location and political connections of his diplomats, ambassadors, and acquaintances abroad.

Thus, through the efforts of several of his courtiers, the king of England could finally boast of an Italian ensemble matching those that his continental rivals had nurtured for many years. My discoveries within the Bennet–Gascoigne correspondence show that England was by no means peripheral on the European music scene. After the Restoration, Charles II's court managed to secure the services of some of Europe's most esteemed musicians, such as Antonio Rivani, Girolamo Zenti, and Vincenzo Albrici, competing for their services with heavyweight cultural patrons like Christina of Sweden, Louis XIV, and Johann Georg II of Saxony. Charles's information regarding singers' abilities and recent musical trends came from the heart of the elite musical environments of France and Italy, with Gascoigne doubtlessly taking advantage of his links to the influential Medici family to secure singers suitable for the king's and Bennet's needs. The musicians who arrived in England had to a large extent been handpicked for their musical abilities by courtiers such as Gascoigne or respected musicians such as Albrici; the following section discusses what was expected of them at the English court.

### **The Function of the Italian Ensemble at the English Court**

When Bennet arranged for the arrival of the Italian ensemble, Charles II was not simply importing musicians and repertoire. He appropriated a concept, the prestige of which he would have become aware of during his youth on the continent. Brought up by a French mother, and spending time at the French court during the time it was dominated culturally and politically by one of the Barberini's most famous protégés, the restored king's tastes were perhaps too continental for England's peace of mind. Reviewing the evidence of the Italian ensemble's activities in the dual light of

Bennet's correspondence and musical patronage abroad elucidates some new aspects of their possible function at court.

No specific document outlining the duties of the Italian ensemble survives, and there has been very little documentation of their work at the English court. However, Gascoigne's correspondence with Bennet provides some new information hitherto unknown to musicologists. Although Gascoigne recommends Albrici to Bennet personally in his letter from March/April 1664, his description of Albrici's abilities suggests that they both intended Albrici to serve at court by training young boys and girls assigned by the king and by composing chamber music and sacred music in English for the Chapel Royal, as he had done in Dresden:

And if the king will give to him some boyes, and gerles, to learne, ist vere confident in little tyme, to make them, att his Mag:<sup>ty</sup> satisfaction[.] and besayde, he can compose, in Englice; and in all languages; to have the king Englice musicien of the Ciappel; sing his composition as well for the cerch, as for the ciamber; att the Italian way.<sup>238</sup>

As with the uncastrated young singer, this letter further reveals the discrepancy between Italian and English musical cultures and implies that Gascoigne did not entirely understand English musical life. Gascoigne's suggestion that Albrici compose music for the Chapel Royal suggests that Gascoigne envisaged arrangements similar to those at the Dresden court, where Italian musicians gradually replaced native ones in important positions rather than functioning as a separate ensemble. Gascoigne's suggestion that Albrici train girls as well as boys is furthermore reflective of Italian practices of giving professional music education to girls, which was very unusual in England.

There is no further evidence to suggest that Albrici educated young singers at the English court, with Henry Cooke remaining responsible for the children of the Chapel Royal throughout the 1660s.<sup>239</sup> Albrici did, however, teach ladies in circles around the court, a task that carried more social prestige than training the boys for the Chapel or undertaking freelance teaching on the open market; as Frances Purcell wrote in a 1697 dedication to her late husband's pupil Rhoda Cavendish, it was an

---

<sup>238</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, en route to Florence, March/April 1664, in SP 98/5.

<sup>239</sup> Peter Dennison and Bruce Wood, 'Cooke, Henry', GMO.

honour for famous musicians to teach noble ladies.<sup>240</sup> Following his suggestion that Albrici train the young castrato that he intended to send to England in February 1665, Gascoigne wrote:

I hope by this tyme, [Albrici] have maket perfect Pretty mestresse Rebecha Williams; in the Musicke, and in the virginall, scince my goings a way. that I entreate you give me some niws of itt; and if ever you mitt her by ciance doo me the favour to presente my service to her.<sup>241</sup>

Rebecca Williams was the widow of Sir Abraham Williams, whose house in Palace Yard had been used to entertain foreign ambassadors in the 1650s: for instance, the Lord Ambassadors from Holland and the States General of the United Provinces were brought to Williams's house in December 1651, the French ambassador was there in March 1654, and in May the same year parliament signed a warrant to pay for furnishing Williams's house for the reception of the French and Dutch ambassadors.<sup>242</sup> The house was still used for foreign guests in August 1668, when Robert Francis wrote to a Dr Ludkin of Ipswich that the French ambassador was staying at Leicester House and would be given money instead of entertainment, since he had not gone to Sir Abraham Williams's house as others did.<sup>243</sup> Although Bennet is known to have received foreign ambassadors at his own house, it is possible that Charles and Bennet valued Rebecca's experience in entertaining foreign guests.<sup>244</sup> Being able to play the latest Italian music would doubtlessly have made her a more attractive hostess.

The duties of the Italian ensemble in the late 1660s are indicated in a document from 1668. When Vincenzo Albrici returned to Dresden, Giovanni Sebenico petitioned for the post of Master of the Italian music of the king's chamber and cabinet and the queen's cabinet and chapel:

The humble petition of Giovanni Sebenico one of your  
Majestys Musicians[:]

Humbly shewth that haveing served your Majesty for the  
space of two years and the place of Master of y. Italian Mu-

---

<sup>240</sup> See Michael Burden, "'He Had the Honour to be Your Master": Lady Rhoda Cavendish's Music Lessons with Henry Purcell', *Music & Letters*, 76 (1995), 532–39 (532).

<sup>241</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Florence 10 February 1665, in SP 98/5.

<sup>242</sup> SP 25/66, f. 71; SP 25/75, f. 183; SP 25/105, f. 22.

<sup>243</sup> Robert Francis to Dr. Ludkin, Whitehall 18 August 1668, in SP 29/244, f. 234.

<sup>244</sup> Jacobsen, 'Career of the Earl of Arlington', 309.

sick being now vacant as well as for your Majestys Chamber or Cabinet as of her Majestys Chapell and Cabinet[.]

Most humbly begs your Majestys gracious favour to be pleased to confer upon me the sayd place and I shall be ever ready with my fellow Musicians to serve your Majesty and every festival day her Majesty in her Chappell as wee shall be ordred [*sic!*].<sup>245</sup>

Sebenico was appointed the same day.<sup>246</sup> His petition shows that by 1668 the Italian ensemble performed in the king and queen's private apartments<sup>247</sup> and in the queen's Catholic chapel. Importantly, Sebenico's petition suggests that the ensemble only appeared in the queen's Catholic chapel on feast days and was not incorporated in the chapel's day-to-day musical establishment.<sup>248</sup> Pepys's only comments on the Italian ensemble performing in the chapel are from Easter Day 1667 and 1668.<sup>249</sup> (Similarly, at the Swedish court of Queen Christina, the English ambassador Bulstrode Whitlocke rarely heard the Italian ensemble in the chapel, apart from at Easter.<sup>250</sup>) Although Leech has claimed that the ensemble arrived in the Catholic chapel in 1666, and argues that Battaglia was *maestro di capella* by 1669, I would argue that the routine of providing Easter music for the queen's Catholic chapel started in 1667: Pepys commented specifically on the Italian music and castrati in the Catholic chapel at Easter 1667, but did not mention either after his visit in 1666.<sup>251</sup> That year, Easter Day fell on 15 April; two weeks before, Bartolomeo Albrici had

---

<sup>245</sup> SP 29/239, f. 45.

<sup>246</sup> SP 29/239, f. 46, and SP 44/30, p. 28.

<sup>247</sup> The *OED* gives three possible definitions of 'cabinet' in the seventeenth century: 1) a private room or small apartment, a boudoir; 2) a room for displaying pictures and curiosities, 3) a private/intimate political council chamber, also as a name for the body of people involved in that council; says of the Chamber 'section of the Royal household concerned with their master's private quarters and affairs.' All of these would imply private, restricted space.

<sup>248</sup> As Leech has suggested; see Leech, 'Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', 578.

<sup>249</sup> Pepys, viii, 154 (7 April 1667); ix, 126 (27 March 1668), 515 (11 April 69).

<sup>250</sup> In Sweden the Easter celebrations took place on Easter Monday. Bulstrode Whitlocke, *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitlocke, 1605–1675*, ed. by Ruth Spalding (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1990), 345.

<sup>251</sup> Pepys, vii, 87, 99; viii, 154. See Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 239; Leech, 'Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', 578. Leech cites Giovanni Battista Gornia, physician of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo III, who visited England in 1669 and met 'Matteo Battaglia Bolognese Musico della Regina' on the 23 April (travel diary preserved in *Lbl Add. MS 16504*, f. 107). There are no other sources to suggest that Battaglia was more involved in the queen's Catholic chapel than the other musicians until he transferred there when Sebenico and Cefalo left in the wake of the 1673 Test Act. The day-to-day establishment of the queen's chapel consisted of musicians of several nationalities; a group of Portuguese musicians accompanied the queen to England, an ensemble of French and English musicians had been recruited for her chapel before her arrival in England, and by the 1670s, there were certainly Italians not associated with the king's Italian ensemble serving in the chapel. Leech, 'Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', 574–8, 579–80.

received a passport to fetch Cefalo, Sebenico, and Battaglia from abroad and could hardly have made it back in time for the Easter service. Similarly, in 1665 both Albrici brothers received a pass to go abroad the day before Easter, which fell on 26 March.<sup>252</sup> Lent was an ideal recruiting season, as bans on concerted church music and opera gave musicians the opportunity to travel. Thus the ensemble apparently only started performing in the Catholic chapel after it had been reinforced by the three new singers. Since Leonora Albrici would not have been allowed to perform in the chapel, the arrival of the new singers would have been necessary for the ensemble to perform in the religious setting.<sup>253</sup>

The private character of the Italian ensemble is further suggested by the locations of their documented performances: of four recorded performances, three took place in the private parts of court. The fourth was a private concert at Lord Brouncker's house, and will be discussed extensively below (p. 106).

---

<sup>252</sup> SP 29/152, f. 84 (travel pass for Bartolomeo, 31 March 1666); SP 29/116, f. 29 (travel pass for both brothers, 25 March 1665).

<sup>253</sup> With the exception of nuns performing in the semi-private context of convents, women were not allowed to perform in Catholic churches. Women performers were not permitted in Anglican contexts, and the issue was highly contentious in German church music. See for instance, Mattheson's comment that his attempt to introduce female singers in oratorio performances (not regular worship) caused *furor* in early eighteenth-century Hamburg: Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* (1739), 482; and Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era, A History of the Oratorio*, iii, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 347. Leech's argument that Leonora performed in the queen's Catholic chapel because women singers occasionally appeared in church performances in the early eighteenth century if they got appropriate dispensations is unconvincing. Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718', 92.

*Figure 2.1: Plan of Whitehall palace in the late 1660s. Reproduced from The Diary of Samuel Pepys, x, 480–I.*

IMAGES UNDER COPYRIGHT REMOVED FROM OPEN ACCESS VERSION

Like to most courts in Europe, Whitehall was constructed to allow different levels of access to the monarch. Although Charles II's court was more open than those of his predecessors, access to the Privy Chamber, the Privy Gallery, and the king's private apartments was still restricted; physical proximity to the king was a sign of power.<sup>254</sup> The location of a performance thus offers some indication of its audience. For instance, in January 1667 Evelyn heard 'Rare *Italian* Voices, 2 *Eunuchs* & one Woman, in his Majesties greene Chamber next to his Cabinet.'<sup>255</sup> The green chamber was a meeting room where Pepys attended meetings with the king and members of his cabinet, consisting of the Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, secretaries Bennet and Morice, Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry.<sup>256</sup> The 'Cabinet' may have been the room where the king kept

---

<sup>254</sup> Jennifer Uglow, *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration, 1660–1670* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009), 121–5.

<sup>255</sup> Evelyn, iii, 474.

<sup>256</sup> T. F. Reddaway, 'Whitehall Palace', in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, x: Companion*, ed. by Robert Latham (London: Bell & Hyman, 1983), 479, 80–1. Pepys, vii, 260 (26 August 1666), 311–12 (7 October 1666); ix, 17 (10 January 1668), 150 (4 April 1668).



paintings and curiosities on display, which Evelyn had visited in November 1660.<sup>257</sup> Both rooms were located on the Privy Gallery and accessible only to those privileged with access to the Privy Chamber. Similarly, Pepys witnessed a performance intended for the queen and her ladies-in-waiting when visiting Whitehall in September 1668:

So I to White-hall, and there all evening on the Queen's side; and it being a most summerlike day and a fine warm evening, the Italians came in a barge under the leads before the Queen's drawing-room, and so the queen and the ladies went out and heard it for almost an hour; and it was ended very good together but yet there was but one voice that alone did appear considerable, and that was Seignor Joanni.<sup>258</sup>

Whitehall palace was situated on the bank of the Thames, with the queen's apartments facing the river. The barge with the musicians appeared under the terrace outside the queen's drawing room made up of the roof of the low buildings by the water next to the Privy Stairs, the landing place for the king's and queen's apartments.<sup>259</sup> Whilst outdoors and possibly overheard by people in boats on the crowded river, the performance was aimed at listeners placed deep in restricted court territory.

The largest-scale occasion at which the ensemble is known to have performed is a court masque of 1671. In the early eighteenth century, Roger North wrote about the event as a singing competition between different nations:

Once the King had a fancy for a comparison to hear the singers of the severall nations, Germans, Spanish, Italian, French, and English, performe upon the stage in Whitehall. The Italians had that mentioned elsewhere—*Che dite che fatte*, &c. The English brought up the arrere under great disadvantage, with—*I pass all my hour in a shady old grove*,

---

<sup>257</sup> Evelyn, iii, 260–1 (November 1660). See above, p. 46.

<sup>258</sup> Pepys, ix, 322 (28 September 1668). As Mabbett has suggested, Seignor Joanni was probably Giovanni Sebenico, at this point the leader and tenor of the Italian ensemble. A footnote in the Matthews and Latham edition of Pepys's diary suggests Joanni was Giovanni Battista Draghi. Firstly, I will argue below (p. 81) that Draghi was not a member of the Italian ensemble, and, secondly, Pepys commented after hearing Draghi sing in February 1667 that 'he pretends not to voice, though it be good but not excellent.' Pepys, viii, 55 (12 February 1667). It seems unlikely that Pepys would consider him the best voice in the ensemble just over a year later.

<sup>259</sup> Uglow, *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration, 1660–1670*, 66. See also the plan of Whitehall palace around 1669 published in the companion volume to Robert Latham and William Matthew's edition of Pepys's *Diary* which shows the locations of the rooms discussed here. See Reddaway, 'Whitehall Palace', 480–1, 83. This plan is reproduced here as Figure 2.1.

&c; for tho' the King chose that song as the best, others were not of his opinion.<sup>260</sup>

The contribution of the Italian ensemble was the final trio 'Amante che dite' from Carissimi's cantata *Sciolto havean dall' alte sponde*, which was to become the most widely disseminated secular piece by Carissimi in seventeenth-century England (see Appendix V).<sup>261</sup>

It is likely that the event remembered by North as a staged competition between different nations was in fact a masque devised by Charles's queen, Catherine of Braganza, in February 1670. The masque featured a number of musical ensembles to represent different nations, and a manuscript collection of song texts and poems in GB *Lbl* Harley 3991 contains a copy of the lyrics for the English contribution to the contest, Pelham Humfrey's 'I pass my hours in a shady old grove', headed '1st song in the Masque 1670', in the same hand that copied the text.<sup>262</sup> Many of the songs in the collection derive from 1650s and 1660s publications such as Henry Lawes's books of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1652–59), Playford's *Catch that Catch Can* (1667), and *The Treasury of Music* (1669), but 'I pass my hours' appears on the last page of the collection after 'Calm was the evening' from Dryden's *An Evening's Love* (1671) and 'Break distracted heart' from Locke and Shadewell's *Psyche* (1675), suggesting that at least the latter part of the manuscript dates from the mid-1670s.<sup>263</sup> This implies that 'I pass all my hours' was in fact sung at the queen's masque, suggesting that the masque and the singing contest were the same event remembered in different ways by different people.

Roger North is the only extant source of the supposed singing contest, whereas there are multiple references to the queen's masque. Spiced with piquant

---

<sup>260</sup> North, *Roger North on Music*, 350–1.

<sup>261</sup> North appended a copy of the trio to his *Musical Grammarian* (1728). See Roger North, *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian, 1728*, ed. by Mary Chan and Jamie Croy Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 273–8.

<sup>262</sup> The song was also published as a song in the ball at court in the first volume of *Westminster Drollery* (1671), as well as in *Choice Ayres* (1673 and 1684). Holman noted the occurrence of the song in these sources but suggested that the masque and the contest were two separate events, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 366.

<sup>263</sup> 'Break distracted heart' is on f. 129 as the first of a collection of songs numbered 1–32 (ff. 129–140v). The collection does not correspond to any known printed collection, and 'Break distracted heart' appears before many songs deriving from 1650s and 1660s publications, suggesting that the copyist mixed old and new material. 'Calm was the evening' is on f. 149 headed 'An Evening Love'; the majority of the songs on ff. 141–155 derive from plays, and as with 'Calm was the evening', songs are often headed by the name of the play. *Lbl* Harley 3991 does not contain musical notation.

details of related court intrigues, Anthony Hamilton's memoirs include a long account of the event:

She had contrived, for this purpose, a splendid masquerade, where those, whom she appointed to dance, had to represent different nations; she allowed some time for preparation, during which we may suppose, the tailors, the mantua makers, and embroiderers, were not idle: nor were the beauties, who were to be there, less anxiously employed[.]

Hamilton's choice of an extravagant French costume (which his servant allegedly lost in quicksand outside Calais) implies that the European nations described by North were represented in the queen's masque.<sup>264</sup> Accounts transcribed in Eleanore Boswell's *Restoration Court Stage* suggest that the preparations consisted of substantial alterations to the Whitehall theatre in order to accommodate the many ensembles. Boswell suggested that the Italian musicians were placed below the stage at one side of the pit, and so did not perform onstage.<sup>265</sup> It is perhaps likely that the nearly fifty years that separate the event and Roger North's writings had somewhat dimmed his memory of the occasion.

The lack of evidence of performances outside the private parts of court or the Catholic chapel suggests that the Italian ensemble did not perform in public, but limited itself to invitation-only appearances connected with the court. This is consistent with continental practices. The exclusivity of performances served the patron through enhancing his status and eliminating the risk of social imitators, but also greatly benefited the social status of the performer. Successful musicians, especially singers, often enjoyed close access to their patron, and those with social ambitions frequently sought to establish themselves as courtiers rather than servants. The Italian castrato singers of Johann Georg II in Dresden often carried out prestigious diplomatic or administrative jobs in addition to singing, and a few were even ennobled.<sup>266</sup> In England, the guitarist Francisco Corbetta was not included in the musical establishment, but named Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen and

---

<sup>264</sup> Anthony Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont: Containing the History of the English Court under Charles II*, trans. by Horace Walpole, ed. by Sir Walter Scott and Mrs. Jameson, (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1911), 143, 47–8, 52–3. Although Hamilton's accounts of events should not be taken at face value, the memoirs evolve around events known to have taken place.

<sup>265</sup> Eleanore Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage (1660–1702): With a Particular Account of the Production of 'Calisto'* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966), 139, 250. See also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 362.

<sup>266</sup> Rosselli, 'The Castrati', 169–73; Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, 46–9.

Page of the Back Stairs to the King.<sup>267</sup> Labour was, however, incompatible with courtiership and thus musicians would attempt to restrict their appearances to select audiences inclined to treat them as equals. In John Roselli's words:

In a court whose ruler had an interest (from whatever motive) in music, there were opportunities for those musically gifted to advance themselves as courtiers; but the more prominent and regular their musical performances, the more they needed to establish and maintain their courtly credentials.<sup>268</sup>

Freitas cites the example of Atto Melani, who used his extreme favour with some rulers to climb the social ladder. The favourite of the Holy Roman emperor, Melani refused to sing other than on request from the emperor's closest representatives. Like a courtier, and the Papal singers in Rome, Atto was rewarded with gifts instead of money; direct contact with money was considered vulgar (and was problematic to penurious courts).<sup>269</sup> In Dresden in 1662, the Elector Johann Georg II became the godfather of Vincenzo Albrici's infant son, indicating that the Albrici family too rubbed shoulders with the great and powerful.<sup>270</sup>

Gascoigne's letters to Bennet again prove that Italian musicians in England enjoyed the same social advantages as on the continent. Planning to bring Antonio Rivani to England in September 1664, Gascoigne wrote:

For his pencion I tinch the Kingh can give to him, no lesse then 300 pound [per] annum; and make him serve as Page of the Bacch Steres, as the Emperour, and all other Princes have done, when he have bin att ther Court, and so the Cardinall Gian Carlo his old master, and that ist for havingh him ready, att any tyme, att their pleasure, and to satisfye this boyes ambition.<sup>271</sup>

The letter shows that giving minor court positions to singers was a widespread practice, and singers expected the same in England as elsewhere. When Gascoigne sought Bennet's protection on behalf of Vincenzo Albrici, he made it clear that Albrici expected to be placed 'att your officers table' and thus would not be treated

---

<sup>267</sup> Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 239.

<sup>268</sup> John Rosselli, 'From Princely Service to the Open Market: Singers of Italian Opera and Their Patrons, 1600–1850', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 1 (1989), 1–32 (2).

<sup>269</sup> Durante, 'Opera Singer', 360; Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 84.

<sup>270</sup> Frandsen, 'Albrici, Vincenzo', GMO.

<sup>271</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, Florence 23 September 1664, in SP 98/5.

like a servant.<sup>272</sup> Such arrangements also benefited the patron, who always had their favourite singers at hand. Although numerous petitions for payments of wages in arrears suggest that the members of Charles II's Italian ensemble expected to be paid in money, they were occasionally rewarded with gifts in accordance with continental practices. In May 1668 a request was sent from the Lord Chamberlain to the Jewel House, asking for gold medals and chains worth £30 each to be prepared and given to Vincenzo, Bartolomeo, and Leonora Albrici. Similar gifts, worth £70, were made to Battaglia in 1670 and Sebenico in 1673.<sup>273</sup>

Performing in public also posed problems for a singer with ambitions for social elevation. Although Melani's career had started in the public opera houses of Northern Italy, he never returned to them after the 1640s. Whereas roles in court productions indicated favour with the ruler, singing in public could signal servitude and was counterproductive to a singer's social ambitions.<sup>274</sup> This situation was to change in England and on the continent, as court patronage gave way to commercial concert and opera ventures in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the 1660s, however, the Baroque court mentality still held sway.<sup>275</sup> As late as 1687, Evelyn observed that Pepys's private concert with the famous castrato Siface (Giovanni Francesco Grossi, 1653–97) was 'obtained by peculiar favour & much difficulty of the Singer, who much disdained to shew his talent to any but Princes.'<sup>276</sup> At this time Pepys had gained significant influence in London society, but Siface was apparently reluctant to risk his reputation by performing in a less prestigious context than court.

The inclusion of Leonora Albrici in the Italian ensemble further suggests that the ensemble did not perform in public. If performing in public could carry connotations of servitude for men, female performers in public were regarded as prostitutes.<sup>277</sup> These attitudes are aptly illustrated by the frequent casting of Mary Magdalene as a musician and dancer in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings.

---

<sup>272</sup> Gascoigne to Bennet, en route to Florence, March/April 1664, in SP 98/5.

<sup>273</sup> Warrants for medals for the Albrici siblings were issued in May and June 1668 (LC 5/107, f. 127, LC 5/12, p. 137, LC 5/139, p. 217r); for Battaglia in July 1670 (LC 5/107, f. 142r, LC 5/12, p. 160); and for Sebenico in July 1673 (LC 5/107, f. 166r, LC 5/140, p. 283). See also Ashbee, RECM, i, 85, 99.

<sup>274</sup> Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 70–1, 85; Rosselli, 'From Princely Service', 3–4.

<sup>275</sup> Rosselli, 'From Princely Service', 13–22 especially.

<sup>276</sup> Evelyn, iv, 547.

<sup>277</sup> Rosselli, 'From Princely Service', 3.

Women performers needed powerful patrons to protect their reputations, but such measures did not always prevent women from becoming mistresses of their protectors: Anna Francesca Costa had probably been involved with the young Charles in Paris (above, p. 42), and the famous Roman singer Leonora Baroni, whose patrons included Mazarin and pope Clement IX Rospigliosi, was the mistress of Camilo Pamphili.<sup>278</sup> That Gascoigne recommended a young Florentine girl to Charles in 1664 based as much on her looks and supposed virginity as on her singing abilities suggests that he expected the same to happen in England (above, p. 59).

Nothing is known about Leonora Albrici's relationship with the male members of the English court, but a comment by Pepys in February 1667 suggests that she was concerned about her reputation and was treated with greater respect than other performing women in London:

Seignor Vincentio, who is the maister Composer, and six more where of two Eunuches (so tall, that Sir T. Harvy said well that he believes they did grow large by being gelt, as our Oxen do) and one woman, very well dressed and handsome enough but would not be kissed, as Mr. Killigrew, who brought the company in, did acquaint us.<sup>279</sup>

That Killigrew needed to tell the company to leave Leonora alone suggests how women performers were otherwise treated. In England women started to appear in the public theatres only after the Restoration. Whilst the appearance of women on stage delighted spectators like Pepys, they were frequently accused of immorality. As John Wilson has pointed out, no 'lady' could ever consider a career on the stage; families would rather let their daughters starve than allow them to dishonour the family name.<sup>280</sup> Many actresses became mistresses of powerful men, who would pay their keep and thus offer some financial security. The most notorious one was probably Nell Gwyn, an orange-girl-turned-actress at Killigrew's King's Theatre, whose lovers ranged from fellow actors to the king himself.<sup>281</sup> Indeed, Pepys's habit

---

<sup>278</sup> Rosselli, 'From Princely Service', 12; Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 3–4.

<sup>279</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, viii, 64–5.

<sup>280</sup> John Harold Wilson, *All the King's Ladies: Actresses of the Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 9.

<sup>281</sup> S. M. Wynne, 'Gwyn, Eleanor (1651?–1687)', ODNB. Wilson supplies a long list of actresses and their principal lovers: Jane Long was taken away by the courtier George Porter, Susanna Uphill by Sir Robert Howard, Betty Hall by Sir Philip Howard, Mrs Johnson by Henry, Earl of Peterborough, Elizabeth Barry by John, Earl of Rochester, Peg Hughes by Prince Rupert, and Moll Davies and Nell Gwynn by Charles II. Wilson, *All the King's Ladies*, 14.

of going backstage to watch the ladies change, or taking frequent liberties with his favourite actress Mrs Knipp, indicates his expectations of women performing in public but contrasts starkly with the treatment of Leonora Albrici at Brouncker's concert.<sup>282</sup> Leonora Albrici's position at court was apparently strong enough for her employers to ensure that she was treated with respect. Had she performed in public, her standing would have been much harder to maintain.

Although gaps in the evidence surrounding the king's Italian ensemble prevent any definitive conclusions about their activities, the evidence that has been preserved suggests that the circumstances of their employment at the English court were more similar to continental practices than what was otherwise usual for English court musicians. Arguably, the ensemble gradually assembled from the summer of 1664 as a chamber ensemble. In accordance with continental practices, they were kept separate from the rest of the musical establishment and did not perform in public. I have also suggested that they did not start performing in the queen's Catholic chapel until after the ensemble was reinforced by the arrival of Cefalo, Sebeico and Battaglia after Easter 1666. Even then, they only appear to have performed on feast days.

No repertoire from the ensemble's employment at the English court survives. Their repertoire thus has to be guessed on the basis of what they performed at other courts, and the only piece the ensemble certainly performed in England: Carissimi's cantata *Sciolto haven dall' alte sponde* and its final trio 'Amante che dite'. Roger North recorded it being performed at the 1671 masque; it was most likely also part of the ensemble's repertoire in Sweden. *Sciolto havean* is included in two manuscript volumes, now in Christ Church Library, Oxford, preserving some of the ensemble's secular repertoire from their Swedish employment. *Och Mus.* 377 and 996 contain secular cantatas predominantly by Carissimi and Luigi Rossi, and also Marco Marazzoli and Antonio Cesti. Both were copied by Angelo Bartolotti during the ensemble's sojourn in Uppsala, where the Swedish court was located during the final months of Christina's reign. *Och Mus.* 377 was presented to Oliver Cromwell's ambassador to Sweden, Bulstrode Whitelocke, after a concert in 1653; *Och Mus.* 996

---

<sup>282</sup> See for instance Pepys, vii, 2 (2 January 1666); viii, 29 (24 January 1667), 371 (2 August 67); ix, 170 (21 April 1668), 172 (23 April 68), 188 (6 May 88), 189–90 (7 May 68).

probably reached England in a similar way.<sup>283</sup> In addition, John Blow's scorebook *Och Mus.* 14 contains two secular cantatas by Carissimi; unlike other English copies of Carissimi cantatas, these do not have concordances in sources extant in Britain that could have served as copy texts.<sup>284</sup> However, Blow was active at court in the early 1670s, and could have copied the cantatas from material belonging to the Italian ensemble.

The repertoire of these manuscripts differs greatly from the north Italian repertoire common in England in the first half of the seventeenth century. Instead of the largely declamatory style of *stile nuovo* composers such as Sances, Rovetta, and Grandi, the Roman cantatas of Rossi and Carissimi are multi-sectional, semi-dramatic works, mixing *stile recitativo* with lyrical arias, dialogues, or trios, featuring long expressive melismas and bold dissonances. In *Sciolto havean dall' alte sponde*, also known as *I naviganti*, two trios of imitative counterpoint in c minor frame an allegory of two lovers on a tempestuous sea told in passionate recitatives and duets by two sopranos, and intermittently commented on in recitative by the bass. The lovers' passion and vanity eventually lead to their destruction among the waves. The moral of the story surfaces in the final trio (Example 2.1):

---

<sup>283</sup> Geoffrey Webber, 'Italian Music at the Court of Queen Christina', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning / Swedish journal of musicology*, 75 (1993), 47–53 (47–50). Peter Leech suggested that Pietro Reggio carried both *Och Mus.* 996 and *Mus.* 377 with him on his travels and deposited it in Oxford when the court sought refuge there from the plague in 1665, which does not seem plausible. Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718', 89.

<sup>284</sup> 'Il mondo tace' on ff. 95v–97r, and 'Tronchisi, pensieri, il volo' on ff. 101r–104r. The first is not included in Gloria Rose's thematic catalogue and may be misattributed, see Gloria Rose, *Giacomo Carissimi, 1605–1674: A Thematic Catalogue of his Cantatas*, The Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1966). As was mentioned in Chapter 1 and will be further discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 161), the copy texts of other English copies of cantatas can often be identified as manuscripts of Italian provenance brought to England during the seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.



<p>Amante, che dite? / Sospirate, piangete, /  lagrimate, fuggite, /fate quanto sapete /  non si cangia in Amor, Fortuna, o Fato. /  Ahi, ch'è sempre infelice, un sventurato.</p>	<p>Lovers, what do you say? / Sigh, cry, /  Weep, flee, / Do what you may: /  Nothing changes in Love, Fortune, or  Fate. / Alas, an unfortunate one is ever  unhappy.</p>
--	--

Roger North revealed something about the English reception of Carissimi's music when he appended the final trio, 'Amante che dite' to his *Musical Grammarian* in 1728. North used 'Amante che dite' in a discussion of grief:

And how aptly is this passion (quasi) pictured in the ayre of a musically flat key? as thus,[...] is more passionate because it is put in the F key, with more flats. This should be sung in an upper octave but the accords are here which is enough for the purpose. It is wonderful that sounds so pleasing as these should represent those made by persons in sorrow, but it is purely by virtue of the flats; and it is so completely expressed in this latter canzona, that I have thought fit to annex it in full harmony of 3 parts con basso continuo at the end of these papers where it will be found in score. And the air is so interwoven thro all the parts that of 3 voices there is as it were but one single song.<sup>285</sup>

Although 'Amante che dite' is clearly in c minor, North perceived it as a piece in 'the F key.' This is probably explained by the three-flat key signature in North's copy; three flats usually indicated f minor whereas c minor was customarily notated with two, or just one, flat. Because the piece is notated 'with more flats' with a bass motion from A<sup>b</sup> to G, it has a stronger Phrygian feeling than perhaps North would have expected from c minor. This would certainly have sounded old-fashioned and foreign to North who was used to the more tonally articulated music of Purcell and Handel, but perhaps not so much to court listeners in the 1660s.

North similarly commended Carissimi's tonal language via a simile that compares the composer to a Roman Catholic priest by the altar:

The magnificence of the sublime is found in the plainest dress, and the practice of Signor Charissime, and Signor Bassano, with many others of the best note have bin accordingly, who allwais kept near to their key, as priests to their altar, and after a little swerving, but never farr, made hast to returne againe.<sup>286</sup>

---

<sup>285</sup> North, *Musical Grammarian*, 176–7.

<sup>286</sup> North, *Musical Grammarian*, 183–4.

As Beverly Ann Stein has shown, Carissimi's music frequently changes tonal area between phrases, being on the cusp of including clear modulation.<sup>287</sup> 'Amante che dite,' however, stays in c minor throughout and, with its use of the descending minor fourth in the bass, has echoes of an ostinato movement evoking grief. North's comments were written long after the disbanding of the Italian ensemble, and he may never have heard them perform. Nevertheless, his writings about one item from their repertoire gives some indication of how it was received in Restoration England. Although it is difficult to know exactly what Roger North meant by 'the magnificence of the sublime', North, Charles and other European patrons were clearly attracted by certain musical qualities in the Roman repertoire, such as the compositional craftsmanship, controlled modulation, and depiction of emotions. These aspects of the repertoire later caught the interest of other patrons in seventeenth-century England, such as the members of the Royal Society and Henry Aldrich, discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 107) and 4 (p. 191) respectively.

Example 2.1: Bars 17–36 of 'Amante che dite' edited from *Och Mus.* 996.

The musical score for Example 2.1 consists of four staves: S1 (Soprano 1), S2 (Soprano 2), B (Bass), and bc (Basso Continuo). The music is in 3/2 time and c minor. At bar 17, there is a modulation from two flats (B-flat and E-flat) to one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: S1: for - tu - na ò fa - - -; S2: for - tu - na ò fa - - -; B: non si can - gia in; bc: (no lyrics). The score includes a key signature change at bar 17 and a fermata over the final note of the first phrase.

<sup>287</sup> Beverly Ann Stein, *Between Key and Mode: Tonal Practice in the Music of Giacomo Carissimi* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 2002), 182–4.

19

S1 -to non si can - gia in Amor for -

S2 to non si can - gia in Amor for - tu - na for -

B Amor for - tun - na ò fa - - - to

bc.

7 6 6 5  
4 3

23

S1 tu - na ò fa - - to.

S2 tu - na ò fa - - to Ahi che

B Ahi che sempre in - fe - li - ce un sven - tu -

bc.

6 7 6

29

S1 Ahi che sempre in - fe - li - ce che

S2 sempre in - fe - li - ce che sempre in - fe - li - ce che

B ra - - - to ahi che

bc.

6 5  
4 3

33

S1  
sempre in - fe - li - ce un sven-tu - ra - to.

S2  
sempre in - fe - li - ce un sven-tu - ra - to.

B  
sempre in - fe - li - ce un sven-tu - ra - to. Fa - te

bc.

6 7 6

### The Albricis and Italian Opera in England?

I have argued above that Charles II's Italian ensemble consisted of Vincenzo, Bartolomeo, and Leonora Albrici, Pietro Cefalo, Giovanni Sebenico, and Matteo Battaglia. They were recruited as a chamber ensemble to perform primarily Roman motets and cantatas in a private context, which was the fashion of European courts at the time. However, it has traditionally been assumed that the Italian ensemble was recruited as an opera troupe in a bid to introduce Italian opera into England. Linking Catherine of Braganza's organist Giovanni Battista Draghi to the Albrici troupe through Pepys's recollection that Draghi composed both the words and the music of an opera in 1667, Mabbett asserted that Draghi was the poet (taken to mean librettist) in Albrici's proposal (above, p. 55) and that the Italian ensemble was an opera troupe brought in to fulfil Charles II's wish for an Italian opera house in England.<sup>288</sup> This assumption was later built on by Peter Holman and Peter Leech.<sup>289</sup> Below I argue that Draghi was not part of the Italian ensemble. In the light of the above discussion, I would suggest that the assumption that opera was Charles's primary intention is influenced by what Nigel Fortune, echoed by Freitas, identified as a twentieth-century tendency to emphasise opera over other forms of seventeenth-century secular vocal music.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>288</sup> Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 237–8.

<sup>289</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 302–3, 364; Holman Peter, 'Draghi, Giovanni Battista', *GMO*, and Holman, 'Italian Connection'; Leech, 'Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', 578.

<sup>290</sup> Nigel Fortune, 'Italian Secular Monody from 1600 to 1635: An Introductory Survey', *The Musical Quarterly*, 39 (1953), 171–95 (172); Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 203.

The notion that the Albricis arrived to introduce Italian opera has been based on a patent granted by Charles II to Giulio Gentileschi in June 1660. The patent allowed Gentileschi to set up an Italian opera house in London, and import the necessary machines and singers:

Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland; Defender of the Faith, etc. Since Giulio Gentileschi wishes to bring from Italy to England a company of musicians to perform in the city of London musical works, with machines, scene changes and other effects, and it therefore being necessary for him to erect a theatre suitable for such works, we accordingly grant him the liberty and opportunity to build the said theatre and perform in it the said musical works without let or hindrance from anyone. Indeed we grant him the particular privilege that only the said Gentileschi and his company, and no others, may cause such musical works to be performed for the space of five years to come, granting him also the power to substitute in his place anyone he pleases, with the same opportunity and authority granted to him. Furthermore we wish the said Gentileschi and his followers to enjoy the title of our servants, and that in crossing the sea, both coming and going through all our ports, their persons and their goods be granted free passage, without any let or hindrance, indeed we desire them to be given every assistance and favour. Given in our royal palace at Whitehall, 22 October 1660.<sup>291</sup>

Margaret Mabbett interpreted this document as a sign of Charles's personal engagement in the issue of English opera. On the contrary, I would argue that Gentileschi's patent was issued in the same spirit as those given to other faithful courtiers. Giulio Gentileschi was the second son of the famous Roman painter Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639), who had been hired as court painter by Charles I in 1626. Charles I was genuinely interested in the techniques of painting, and befriended

---

<sup>291</sup> SP 29/19, f. 23. Translation from Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 244. 'Carlo per la Iddio gratia Re d'Inghilterra Scotia, Francia, et Irlanda. Difensore della fede etc. Douendo Giulio Gentileschi condurre d'Italia in Inghilterra una Compagnia di Musici, per rappresentare nella Citta di Londra opere musicali, con machine mutationi di scene et altre apparenze, et 'a tal' effetto essendogli necessario imporre un teatro confacente 'a tali opere, per tanto gli concediamo libert'a et facult'a di fabbricare d.o teatro, et rappresentare in esso d.e. opere musicali, senza essere da alcuno impedito et molestato, anzi gli concediamo particolare Privilegio che solo il d.o Gentileschi con la sua compagnia, per il spatio di cinque anni venturi possa fare rappresentare simili opere musicali, et non altri, concedendogli anco il potere sustituire in suo luogo chi gli piacer'a, et vorr'a con l'istessa facult'a, et autorit'a a lui concessa, volendo di piu che il d.o. Gentileschi, con li suoi seguaci, godino il titolo de nostri servi, et che nel passare il mare, tanto nella loro venuta, come nel loro ritorno, in tutti le nostri porti gli sia concesso libero passaggio tanto alle persone loro, come alle loro robbe, senza impedimento et molestia alcuna, anzi desideriamo gli sia data ogn' assistenza et favore, che tanto e il nostro volere. Data nel nostro Reale Palazzo d Whitehall il di 22 ottobre 1660.'

Gentileschi personally. By 1635 the painter knew the king well enough to advise the Papacy on what gifts to send him.<sup>292</sup> Accompanying their father to England, Giulio and his older brother Francesco (Julio and Francis in English sources) undertook trips to Italy to buy art for the king, while their younger brother Marco acted on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham. Orazio died in England in 1639, leaving Giulio ‘a little more of my estate then my sonne Fransisco because he hath a greate charge of children and is not soe well able to get his livinge as my sonne Fransisco is’.<sup>293</sup> Giulio apparently had a family in England; perhaps he stayed with the English court and was presumably rewarded for his loyalty when granted the patent by Charles II in 1660.<sup>294</sup> Trusting a painter’s son with an opera house would have been unremarkable at a time when many famous directors of staged entertainments, such as Inigo Jones at Charles I’s court and Nicodemus Tessin in early eighteenth-century Sweden, were architects and painters. Nothing more is ever heard of Gentileschi, who would have been an elderly man in 1660. His sister Artemisia and brother Francesco were born in 1593 and 1597 respectively; assuming that Giulio was relatively close in age to his siblings, he would have been about 60 years old at the Restoration. Artemisia Gentileschi had died in 1653, it is possible that Giulio followed her before he could implement his plans. As John Roselli has remarked, issuing patents was a convenient way for European princes facing financial and political problems to reward artists without much expense. Such an arrangement also made the patentee freer than under traditional forms of patronage.<sup>295</sup> At his Restoration Charles was overwhelmed by the number of supporters who demanded rewards for the services during the difficult 1650s;<sup>296</sup> issuing patents was a convenient way of rewarding those to whom he could not award peerages or positions in government. In this light, Gentileschi’s patent seems no different from those granted to Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant, loyal Royalists and long-time members of the Stuart court, at the Restoration.<sup>297</sup> Gentileschi’s patent should

---

<sup>292</sup> Smuts, *Court Culture*, 122–3.

<sup>293</sup> Ann Sutherland Harris and Judith W. Mann, ‘Gentileschi’, GAO; Keith Christiansen and Judith W. Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi* (New York; New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Yale University Press, 2002), 225, 226, 250.

<sup>294</sup> Patents and offices was Charles’s chief means of rewarding faithful supporters, see Hutton, *Charles the Second*, 142–5.

<sup>295</sup> Roselli, ‘From Princely Service’, 14.

<sup>296</sup> Hutton, *Charles the Second*, 142–5.

<sup>297</sup> See for instance Vander Motten, ‘Killigrew, Thomas (1612–1683)’, ODNB.

thus not necessarily be interpreted as a sign of Charles's personal musical interests in opera.

The notion of the Italian ensemble as an opera troupe is further linked to Draghi's supposed membership of the ensemble. Assuming that the Albricis were hired as an opera troupe, Mabbett linked Draghi to the ensemble through an entry in Pepys's diary on 12 February 1667. On this occasion, Pepys apparently witnessed the embryo of a joint operatic venture between Killigrew, Sir Robert Moray, and Lord Brouncker, with Draghi at its centre. Pepys arrived at Brouncker's house, together with his host, to 'hear some Italian musique:'

[H]ere we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Rob Murray, and the Italian Seignor Baptista—who hath composed a play in Italian for the Opera which T. Killigrew doth intend to have up; and here did sing one of the acts. Himself is the poet as well as the Musician, which is very much[.]<sup>298</sup>

After a while the company took coaches to the lodgings of Elizabeth Knipp, a leading singer-actress in Killigrew's company, to watch Draghi teach her to sing her part.<sup>299</sup> Pepys's statement (that Draghi had written both the music and the libretto of the opera) led Mabbett to suggest that Draghi was the poet of the Albrici brothers' proposal. However, I argue that Draghi was not part of the king's Italian ensemble.

The first record of Draghi in England is Pepys's diary entry of 12<sup>th</sup> February 1667. On this occasion Pepys explicitly separates Draghi from the Italian ensemble; after having heard Draghi at Brouncker's, he wrote:

[B]y hearing this man [Draghi] tonight, and I think Captain Cooke tomorrow and the Quire of Italians on Saturday, I shall be truly able to distinguish which of them pleases me truly best, which I do much desire to know and have good reason and fresh occasion of judging.<sup>300</sup>

When trying to decide which of the Italian or Italianate performers he liked best, Pepys compared Draghi and the Italian ensemble with each other, suggesting that he did not perceive Draghi as a member of the ensemble. Moreover, Pepys refers to

---

<sup>298</sup> Pepys, viii, 54 (12 February 1667). The music and the libretto for Draghi's opera are both lost.

<sup>299</sup> Pepys, viii, 57 (12 February 1667). On Knipp, see Cheryl Wanko, 'Knipp, Elizabeth [Mary] (d. 1680x82)', ODNB.

<sup>300</sup> Pepys, viii, 57 (12 February 1667).

Albrici as ‘Vincentio, who is one of the Italians the King hath here, and the chief composer of them’ but does not include Draghi among the king’s Italians.<sup>301</sup>

The Albrici troupe seemingly arrived in early summer 1664 and was reinforced in spring 1666, without court records mentioning Draghi. The first record of Draghi at court is as organist in the queen’s Catholic chapel in 1677. However, Roger North claimed that Draghi replaced Sebenico as organist as early as 1673.<sup>302</sup> As I argue above (p. 67), the Italian ensemble began performing in the Catholic chapel on feast days after Easter 1666, and since they were disbanded in 1673 the ensemble as such had probably ended their engagement in the chapel by the time Draghi was appointed.<sup>303</sup> Furthermore, in 1702 Draghi petitioned Queen Anne for the continuation of a pension granted him by William III as a reward for nearly thirty years’ service in the Royal Family. The petition itself is lost, but the Treasury minute book from 1702 summarises its content:

That about 3 years since in consideracion of near 30 years service in the Royall Family, & of his being—Incapacitated by the Gout to provide for himself in the way of his Profession His late Ma<sup>ty</sup> was pleased to allow him 100*l.* a year, of which he has yet not received but 100*l.* for one year thereof[.] Prays the Continuation the said Pencion for his support.<sup>304</sup>

The queen was unimpressed and it was simply noted that she had ‘always given him 50*l.* per annum’; but the minute suggests that Draghi was not appointed earlier than 1668. He may even have been appointed later considering that it was only ‘near 30 years’ since he had entered the service of the Royal Family.

---

<sup>301</sup> Pepys, viii, 56 (12 February 1667).

<sup>302</sup> North suggested that Draghi succeeded Sebenico, who left the English court in 1673. I have argued that the Italian ensemble did not belong to the day-to-day establishment in the queen’s Catholic chapel. This suggests that there might have been space for the Italian organist Draghi before Sebenico left England in 1673. North, *Roger North on Music*, 348. Hawkins, on the other hand, claimed that Draghi succeeded Locke in 1677; see, Hawkins, iv, 426. See also Jack Allen Westrup, ‘Foreign Musicians in Stuart England’, *The Muscial Quarterly*, 27 (1941), 70–89 (72–3); Leech, ‘Chapel of Catherine of Braganza’, 581; Leech, ‘Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718’, 98–9, 102–8.

<sup>303</sup> Although some of its members, such as Matteo Battaglia and Bartolomeo Albrici, continued to serve in the Catholic chapel. Leech, ‘Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718’, 107–09; Leech, ‘Chapel of Catherine of Braganza’, 578–9, 81.

<sup>304</sup> National Archives, T 29/13, f. 233. This record is cited by Leech and Holman. However, neither considers the implications of the dates for Draghi’s court engagements. Leech, ‘Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718’, 102; Peter Holman, ‘Draghi, Giovanni Battista’, *GMO*.



Records of Draghi at court and his behaviour on the public music market further suggest that he was not part of the Albrici troupe. Similar observations also apply to the singer Pietro Reggio, who Mabbett suggested was the bass of the ensemble since he had sung with the Albricis in Queen Christina's Italian ensemble, and seemed to appear in England about the same time as Charles II hired his former colleagues.<sup>305</sup> Whereas I argued above that the Albrici troupe almost exclusively performed privately at court and never appeared in public, Draghi and Reggio launched themselves on London's public music market. Draghi participated in Killigrew's opera project of 1667 and provided music for a number of London theatre productions in the 1670s and 1680s,<sup>306</sup> and Reggio earned a living as an itinerant singer and teacher, publishing songs and teaching material. By contrast, Bartolomeo Albrici only began to appear in music meetings in the 1680s long after the Italian ensemble was disbanded.<sup>307</sup> Reggio had led a wandering existence after leaving Sweden. He spent some time at the French court, but according to the Genoese musician Giovanni Francesco Tagliavacca he was 'useless' and thus dismissed:

To a bass, or rather baritone named Pietro Reggio, a Genoese of little worth, I wrote yesterday, on our masters' orders, that he is no longer to follow the Court, that he is useless and should secure another service. He was discharged once before, but did so much that he attached himself to us again.<sup>308</sup>

It seems unlikely that Charles, who employed esteemed musicians previously engaged by the French court, would hire a singer whom his cousin and Mazarin thought useless. Moreover, H. Diack Johnstone has suggested that Reggio arrived in England several years before the engagement of the Italian ensemble. Johnstone points out that a song in a manuscript anthology of English songs, now in the

---

<sup>305</sup> Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 238.

<sup>306</sup> 'Draghi, Giovanni Battista', GMO.

<sup>307</sup> The first references to Bartolomeo Albrici appearing in public are John Evelyn hearing him at the Master of the Mints in November 1679, and subsequently engaging him as Mary Evelyn's teacher. Evelyn, iv, 186–7 (20 November 1679), 271 (7 January 1682), 421 (14 March? 1685).

<sup>308</sup> 'A un basso detto Pietro Reggio, o per dir meglio baritone, che era genovese e valeva poco, gli ho scritto hieri, d'ordine dei Padroni, cho non sta più a seguir la Corte, che e frustratorio et che si provenga d'altro servizio; fu licenziato un'altra volta, ma fece tanto che si è riattacato.' Giovanni Francesco Tagliavacca to the Duke of Mantua, 24 September 1657, transcribed in Prunières, *L'opéra italien*, 185–6. Translation from Gloria Rose, 'Pietro Reggio: A Wandering Musician', *Music & Letters*, 46 (1965), 207–16 (210).

Jagellonian Library in Kraków, titled ‘Upon ye death of ye Duke of Gloucester’, is attributed to Reggio. Charles II’s youngest brother Henry, Duke of Gloucester, died of smallpox in September 1660, which implies that Reggio must have come to London in the summer of 1660.<sup>309</sup> He could thus not have arrived as a member of the Italian ensemble. It is furthermore interesting to note that John Hawkins’s *General History* (1776) contains long articles on Draghi and Reggio, but does not mention Albrici or Sebenico.<sup>310</sup> This probably does not reflect a lack of interest on Hawkins’s part, but instead suggests that Draghi and the Italian ensemble operated in largely different contexts, and that information about the members of the ensemble was scarce also in the 1760s and 1770s. Hawkins could presumably only include people, music and events remembered by his informants, for instance William Boyce, or who had been mentioned to Boyce by his teachers. Probably the Italian ensemble’s activities in the 1660s and early 1670s did not leave a significant enough mark on public musical life to be remembered a century later. Thus, if a poet was ever engaged for the Italian ensemble, he is not likely to have been Draghi.

The linking of the Italian ensemble, Draghi, and opera is also founded on the assumption that Draghi was a Venetian who specialised in opera.<sup>311</sup> Following Hawkins’s speculation that Draghi was ‘probably the brother of Antonio Draghi, *maestro di capella* in Vienna, and of Carlo Draghi, organist to the emperor Leopold,’<sup>312</sup> Holman argues that Draghi studied in Venice, and may have arrived in 1664 since ‘it is possible that he [Draghi] is the musician mentioned in a letter dated 7 June 1664 from the English resident in Venice, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, to Henry Bennett, first secretary of state in London.’<sup>313</sup> As was demonstrated above (p. 50) Gascoigne was based in Florence, from whence he sent the letter, and the musician mentioned in it was Vincenzo Albrici. Moreover, Draghi is known more as a keyboardist, and composer of songs and instrumental music. The opera Pepys heard in February 1667 is the only one that Draghi is known to have written, and it is now

---

<sup>309</sup> The anthology is in PL-*Kj* Mus.ant.pract. P 970. H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Ayres and Arias: An Hitherto Unknown Seventeenth-Century English Songbook’, *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), 167–201 (182–3).

<sup>310</sup> Hawkins, iv, 426–8 (Draghi), 429 (Reggio).

<sup>311</sup> Holman states ‘He may have studied in Venice, as Antonio did, for it was the main operatic centre in Italy, and he came to England initially to join an Italian opera venture in London.’ Holman, ‘Draghi, Giovanni Battista’, *GMO*.

<sup>312</sup> Hawkins, iv, 426. Hawkins was not clear on Draghi’s background, however, suggesting that he arrived in England as part of Mary of Modena’s retinue in 1673.

<sup>313</sup> Holman, ‘Italian Connection’, 4.

lost. The only other large-scale vocal work Draghi is known to have composed is the ode for St Cecilia's day, *From Harmony, from Heavn'ly Harmony* (1687).<sup>314</sup> This reduces Draghi's possible links with Venetian opera to a shared surname with a Venetian composer known to have composed operas at the Viennese court. The question then needs to be asked whether Killigrew, Bouncker, and Moray recruited Draghi for their opera experiment because he was known as a talented opera composer and librettist combined, or because he was the only competent Italian musician in London willing to participate. Perhaps the fact that Draghi was made to provide both music and libretto suggests just how scarce competence in Italian opera was in 1660s London. Potentially newly arrived, and not known to have had any steady employment before 1673, Draghi might have been grateful for the commission.

In any case, an opera troupe in residence at the English court would have been an unlikely thing in 1660. With the exception of the north Italian itinerant *Febiarmonici*, fixed opera ensembles did not exist. Groups of musicians were hired for specific performances, such as Mazarin's commissioning singers for his opera projects, but they rarely appeared as a self-contained group and most of the singers soon moved on to new engagements. Writing about singers of opera, John Roselli has succinctly summarised the problem:

We are used to thinking of 'opera singer' as a profession. But no such profession existed when opera emerged as a genre at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the first public opera house opened in Venice in 1637, or for three or four decades after that: operas were too few to occupy most of anyone's time.<sup>315</sup>

As I have argued above, the Italian ensemble was hired as a more permanent musical feature. The reputation of Vincenzo Albrici was built on sacred and chamber music rather than opera. Moreover, the exclusive nature of their performances at court, the lack of records of public appearances, and the respectful treatment of Leonora Albrici, which was otherwise denied female performers, suggests that the family might not have been willing to appear in public staged performances such as the ones planned by Killigrew and indicated on Gentileschi's patent.

---

<sup>314</sup> Holman, 'Italian Connection', 6, 8–12; Holman, 'Draghi, Giovanni Battista', GMO.

<sup>315</sup> Rosselli, 'From Princely Service', 1.

That the ensemble assembled from 1664 onwards was not an opera troupe does not mean that there was no interest in Italian opera in Restoration England. Charles is known to have enjoyed French opera, suggested by performances of Robert Cambert's *Ariadne* (1674), and French-inspired court entertainments such as *Calisto* (1675). In addition to Killigrew's attempts, Nicholas Staggins and John Bleau petitioned the king for permission to create 'an academy or opera of musick',<sup>316</sup> and in February 1674 Evelyn reported having heard 'an *Italian Opera* in musique, the first that had ben in England of this kind.'<sup>317</sup> Nothing is known about this alleged opera, which perhaps was a one-off event staged by court musicians, but it nevertheless shows that there was an awareness of opera in Restoration England.

Many travelled aristocrats would also have experienced opera on the continent, especially at the Roman and Venetian carnivals: John Evelyn, for instance, gave a rapturous account of an opera performance in Venice in 1645.<sup>318</sup> Killigrew above all would have had a prolonged experience of the Venetian public opera during his embassy to Venice in 1649–52.<sup>319</sup> As a result of the strict Venetian laws prohibiting interaction between senators and foreign ambassadors outside the Senate, Edward Muir has showed that foreign ambassadors found the darkness of opera boxes an ideal place for unofficial political transactions.<sup>320</sup> Documentation from Killigrew's embassy shows that he was granted very few audiences of the Senate, which suggests that he too may have found the opera a useful arena to further the cause of his sovereign.<sup>321</sup> Opera in Republican Venice (and Killigrew's experience of it) would thus have had a very different ethos from the opera productions sponsored by the Barberini in Rome or Mazarin in Paris. Charles would primarily have experienced opera in Paris, which suggests that he and Killigrew may have had different ideas about the forms and functions of opera. However, as has often been pointed out, Charles never had the resources to mount representational spectacles like those of Mazarin and Louis XIV in Paris.<sup>322</sup>

---

<sup>316</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 303.

<sup>317</sup> Evelyn, iv, 30 (17 February 1674).

<sup>318</sup> Evelyn, ii, 449–50 (June 1645).

<sup>319</sup> J. P. Vander Motten, 'Killigrew, Thomas (1612–1683)', ODNB.

<sup>320</sup> Edward Muir, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 123–4.

<sup>321</sup> The papers concerning Killigrew's north Italian commission are preserved in *Lbl* Add. MS 20032.

<sup>322</sup> For a succinct summary of baroque representation in relation to Charles's chronically bad finances, see Fraser, *Charles II*, 195–6.

## Conclusion

The activities of the King's 'Italian Musick' came to an end with the Test Act of 1673, which required all members of court to receive Anglican Communion and thus barred the Italian musicians from their positions. Vincenzo Albrici had left in 1669; Cefalo received a pass to return to Italy in April 1673, and Sebenico followed him in July.<sup>323</sup> Battaglia and Bartolomeo Albrici transferred to the Catholic chapel, whose members were exempt from the Test Act. Bartolomeo Albrici remained in England for the rest of his life, making a living as a harpsichord teacher to, among others, Mary Evelyn, and was still listed as a Gregorian in the Catholic chapel of James II in 1687.<sup>324</sup> Battaglia remained for over a decade after the disbanding of the Italian ensemble, also serving in the Catholic chapel. Mabbett suggests that he married Leonora Albrici, and he was paid £300 from the Secret Service accounts for unspecified services in September 1677.<sup>325</sup> He returned to Neuburg in 1685, where he had served before being recruited for the English court nearly 30 years earlier.<sup>326</sup>

This chapter has argued that the cultural activities of the English Restoration court need to be viewed in a European context. Charles II and his courtiers had been raised at the cosmopolitan court of Charles I, spent their youths in exile, and were thus highly aware of the activities of continental courts. On the continent, Roman vocal chamber music was performed by skilled musicians in intimate aristocratic settings designed to showcase the good taste and erudition of the patron. Lending singers between rulers became a kind of diplomatic gift-giving. This status of Roman cantatas as music for princely courts prevented their introduction into England before the Restoration. The fashion for Roman vocal music peaked on the continent in the late 1640s and early 1650s, when there was no royal patronage of music in England.

Charles II was primarily exposed to this mid-seventeenth-century continental fashion during his stays at the French court during the times Mazarin most actively imported Roman music and musicians. After the Restoration, Charles and his secretary of state, Sir Henry Bennet, engaged an ensemble of singers whose previous experiences suggest they were specialists in the new Roman repertoire that

---

<sup>323</sup> SP 44/40, f. 29 (Cefalo), SP 44/40 f. 73 (Sebenico).

<sup>324</sup> Peter Leech, 'Music and musicians in the Catholic chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 379–400 (384); Evelyn, iv, 271 (7 January 1682), 421 (14 March 85).

<sup>325</sup> Ashbee, RECM, v, 271; Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', 240.

<sup>326</sup> Leech, 'Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', 579.

previously had not been heard in England. My discoveries within the correspondence between Bennet and Sir Bernard Gascoigne have revealed new information about the means of recruiting Italian musicians to the English court, and the duties and social status of the musicians once they were recruited. Gradually, over the year spanning from the summer of 1664 to the spring of 1665, the ensemble probably came to consist of Vincenzo, Bartolomeo, and Leonora Albrici, an unknown castrato, and the harpsichord builder Andrea Testa as the deputy for the already absent Girolamo Zenti. The ensemble was reinforced by the singers Pietro Cefalo, Giovanni Sebenico and Matteo Battaglia from March 1666, which enabled it to sing in the queen's Catholic chapel on feast days from 1667. Otherwise it mainly served in the king's and queen's private apartments, arguably performing a repertory of Roman motets and cantatas.

Roger North's jibe that Charles 'could not bear any musick to which he could not keep the time' has led scholars to comment that Charles's musical tastes were not above average.<sup>327</sup> Whatever his understanding of the actual music, Charles and his advisors were evidently sophisticated enough to understand the importance of following current European musical fashions in order to establish his credentials with the continental ruling elite. With his Italian ensemble Charles signalled a fondness for what was regarded as Catholic culture; his international background had equipped him with tastes suited to impress fellow monarchs, but turned out to be too continental to convince his subjects of his commitment to the Protestant faith. Hired in imitation of Baroque rulers on the continent, the ensemble was disbanded almost for the same reason. Charles's pro-Catholic court, his cultural imitation of absolutist continental courts, and his dalliances with France raised fear of Papism and arbitrary government in the English parliament. It was in essence a clash of expectations: between the king's own expectations of kingly behaviour, and the religious and political sensibilities of Parliament.

---

<sup>327</sup> Hutton, *Charles the Second*, 450; North, *Roger North on Music*, 350.

### 3. ‘Members of the Society versed in music’

---

#### Samuel Pepys, the Royal Society and the Cultural Capital of Roman Vocal Music

One early spring day in 1667 Samuel Pepys (1663–1703) recorded a conversation with the ex-diplomat, courtier, and theatre manager Thomas Killigrew (1612–83) about the latter’s love of Roman music:

He tells me that he hath gone several times, eight or ten times he tells me, hence to Rome to hear good music; so much he loves it, though he never did sing or play a note.<sup>328</sup>

Killigrew’s visits to Rome to hear music, without the ambition of ever being able to sing or play it, represented a new way of engaging with music among gentlemen in seventeenth-century England. The increasing professionalisation of musical life, and the development of more demanding repertoires forced musically interested gentlemen to adopt roles as listeners, patrons, collectors, and scholars, rather than participating in performance. One of the repertoires requiring this approach was Roman vocal music.

Although the Roman repertoire had first been introduced in England in the highly exclusive and representational context of the court, it had been known to English travellers since they first started arriving in Rome; from the 1640s onwards, numerous young men (and a few women) who were not inner-circle courtiers travelled to Rome on Grand Tours. Not distinguished enough to be invited to private performances at Roman courts, they instead received their Roman musical experience in the way advocated by guidebooks such as Lassels’s *Voyage of Italy* (1670): through free and open performances of sacred music in the Roman churches (above, p. 14). This musical experience, merging with general tourist activities (studying the architecture of the churches and palaces, admiring sculptures, and collections of curiosities such as the *Museum Kircherianum*), arguably created a

---

<sup>328</sup> Pepys, viii, 56 (12 February 1667).

different concept of Roman vocal music for English gentlemen tourists: rather than an essential feature of the fashionable court, it was simply one of the many marvels of the Holy City. John Evelyn (1620–1706) came back from his tour of Italy with a rare manuscript copy of a Carissimi motet, even rarer anatomical tables from Padua, and a curiosity cabinet made in Florence, in addition to many smaller items.<sup>329</sup>

This chapter argues that the status of Roman vocal music as a foreign curiosity was crucial for the ways English intellectuals engaged with it at home. Many would become collectors of art and curiosities after they returned to England, and some became members of the Royal Society of London. I argue that the society's emphasis on observation and experiment framed the members' approach to Roman vocal music as a foreign curiosity. The chapter furthermore argues that these foreign curiosities constituted significant cultural capital among the London intelligentsia. Using Samuel Pepys's (1633–1703) first reactions to Roman vocal music as a case-study, I will show that knowledge of and access to the Roman repertoire could increase a person's social status. Pepys actively accommodated the Roman repertoires in the 1660s, and this helped his social ambitions and gave him access to social and musical circles he would otherwise have been excluded from.

Finally, the chapter considers Girolamo Pignani's *Scelta di canzonette de piu autori* [*sic!*] (London, 1679), and the publication of Italian music in Restoration London. I will argue that Pignani's anthology was unsuccessful because it presented a repertoire of interest only to a small elite circle in a format geared towards the commercial music market. This in turn implies that the audience for Italian music in London did not participate in the commercial market, whose emphasis on affordable publications for domestic performance by recreational musicians included little of the socially prestigious Italian repertoires that were more suitable for professional musicians.

## **Virtue and Virtuosity: Attitudes Towards Learning and Music in Seventeenth-Century England**

In Restoration London the study of foreign art and curiosities typically occurred in clubs of varying degrees of formality for gentlemen dilettantes interested in art,

---

<sup>329</sup> Gillian Darley, *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 44, 46, 63–64. On the motet, see above p. 1.



science, music and antiquarianism, the chief of which was the Royal Society.<sup>330</sup> Officially named the Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge (*Regalis Societas Londini pro Scientia naturali promovenda*), it was originally founded as a gentlemen's club for experimental science, partly for the intellectual development of its members and partly for the good of the nation.<sup>331</sup> Although the society is commonly associated with natural science, Craig Ashley Hanson has shown that the gentlemen of the Royal Society frequently merged their scientific interests with serious engagement with fine art and architecture as a natural and integral part of being a 'virtuoso': a gentleman with a well-rounded education in a number of fashionable fields. Indeed, Hanson has suggested that the Royal Society was the first English institution for the arts.<sup>332</sup> Penelope Gouk and Christopher Field have shown that music also featured in the activities of Royal Society members.<sup>333</sup> In the light of travelling gentlemen's experience of the music abroad, the increasing professionalisation of musical life (whereby music was increasingly regarded as something to be listened to, rather than something to be performed), and the Royal Society's focus on experimental science, I will suggest that the Royal Society treated Roman vocal music less as repertoire to be performed than as curious foreign artefacts or phenomena to be collected, observed, and explained. In this way, it was treated by the same standards as other curiosities or antiquities, such as statues, paintings, coins, exotic plants, insects or other curious natural and historical specimens that were the domain of the English virtuoso.

The early modern English understanding of 'virtuoso' differed from the contemporary Italian definition of the word as a person highly skilled in music or painting.<sup>334</sup> In his *Dictionary* of 1755 Samuel Johnson defined a virtuoso as 'a man skilled in antique or natural curiosities; a man studious of painting, statuary, or

---

<sup>330</sup> As Hanson writes 'the Royal Society emerged as the institutional base for England's virtuosic culture'. Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 5.

<sup>331</sup> Alfred Rupert Hall, 'The Royal Society', in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, x: *Companion*, ed. by Robert Latham (London: Bell & Hyman, 1983), 361–2; Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 3.

<sup>332</sup> Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 3.

<sup>333</sup> Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 26–7, 37–8; Birchensha, John, *John Birchensha: Writings on Music*, ed. by Christopher Field and Benjamin Wardhaugh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 9–20 especially.

<sup>334</sup> Johann Mattheson explained that 'Virtuosos, according to the Italians (to whom the word belongs) are those who excel in a specific art, such as music or painting.' ('Virtuosi heissen bey den Italiänern (denen das Wort zugehört) diejenigen/ so in einer gewissen Kunst/ Z. E. in der Musik/ Mahlerey/ &c. Excelliren'). See Mattheson, *Der brauchbare Virtuoso* (Hamburg, 1720), 2.

architecture’;<sup>335</sup> a century earlier Edward Phillips’s *New World of English Words* had contented itself with defining a virtuoso as ‘A man accomplisht in vertuous Arts and Ingenuitie.’<sup>336</sup> The virtuosi of the mid-seventeenth century dabbled in many different fields; they were simultaneously antiquarians, connoisseurs of art and music, and dilettantes in natural science.<sup>337</sup> Wholeheartedly disapproving of the virtuoso’s activities, Mary Astell (1666–1731) satirized his interest in natural curiosities:

Of these the most Egregious is the *Virtuoso*, who is one that has sold an Estate in Land to purchase one in *Scallop, Conch, Sea Shrubs, Weeds, Mosses, Sponges, Coralls, Corallines, Sea Fans, Pebbles, Marchasites, and Flint stones*; and has abandon’d the Acquaintance and Society of Men for that of *Insects, Worms, Grubbs, Maggots, Flies, Moths, Locusts, Beetles, Spiders, Grasshoppers, Snails, Lizards, and Tortoises*. His study is like *Noah’s Ark*, the general Rendezvous of all Creatures in the *Universe* [...] He trafficks to all places, and has his Correspondents in e’ry part of the World [...]<sup>338</sup>

These were also among the interests of the Royal Society. In *The Virtuoso* (1676), Thomas Shadwell caricatured the members of the Royal Society through the character Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, who concerns himself with the ‘Bottling of Air, studying spiders and Glow-worms, stinking Fish and rotten Wood’ whilst also trying to find the Philosopher’s Stone and corresponding with like-minded gentlemen about curious phenomena in remote places of the world:

I keep a constant correspondence with all the *Virtuoso’s* in the North and North-East parts. There are rare Phænomena’s in those Countrys. I am beholding to *Finland, Lapland, and Russia*, for a great part of my Philosophy. I send my Queries thither.<sup>339</sup>

---

<sup>335</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary*, 2 vols. (London, 1755), ii, [1034]; see also Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 7.

<sup>336</sup> Edward Phillips, *The New World of English Words: Or, a General Dictionary* (London, 1658), 343.

<sup>337</sup> For a survey on the activities of virtuosi, see Walter E. Houghton, Jr., ‘The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century: Part I’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 (1942), 51–73.

<sup>338</sup> Mary Astell, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex in which are Inserted the Characters of a Pedant, a Squire, a Beau, a Virtuoso, a Poetaster, a City-Critick, &c.: in a Letter to a Lady* (London, 1696), 96–7. This essay has sometimes been attributed to Judith Drake; for a discussion of authorship, see Florence Mary Smith, *Mary Astell* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916), 173–82.

<sup>339</sup> Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso*, *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, ed. by Montague Summers, 5 vols. (London: Fortune Press, 1927), iii, 142, 178.

Contrary to Shadwell and Astell's caricatures, the society's purpose in studying seemingly insignificant artefacts and natural curiosities was to discover new things and uncover the hidden secrets of nature for the advancement of knowledge and learning for the greater good.<sup>340</sup>

The Royal Society's attitudes towards learning, antiquities, and art were built on the legacy of early seventeenth-century virtuosi, in particular Thomas Howard (1585–1646), fourteenth Earl of Arundel, famous collector of Italian art, antiquities, and patron of scholars such as Francis Bacon, whose writings would become crucial for the Royal Society.<sup>341</sup> The first English writer to define a virtuoso was Arundel's protégé Henry Peacham in *The Compleat Gentleman* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1634). Peacham mentions the virtuoso in relation to the benefits of collecting and studying antiquities such as coins, statues, or inscriptions:

The pleasure of them is best known to such as have seene them abroad in *France, Spaine, and Italy*, where the Gardens and Galleries of great men are beautified and set forth to admiration with these kinds of ornaments. And indeed the possession of such rarities, by reason of their dead costlinesse, doth properly belong to Princes, or rather to princely minds [...] Such as are skilled in them, are by the Italians termed *Virtuosi*, as if others that either neglect or despise them, were idiots or rakeheels.<sup>342</sup>

The *Compleat Gentleman* was dedicated to William Howard (1612–80), Arundel's youngest son. Peacham was the tutor of the Arundel children, and David Howarth has suggested that the *Compleat Gentleman* reflected Arundel's values in addition to Peacham's own.<sup>343</sup> The pro-Catholic Arundel had been one of the first English collectors to brave the journey to Rome when the political tensions relaxed in the early seventeenth century.<sup>344</sup> Arundel's collections were displayed at Arundel House. He had himself toured Italy together with Inigo Jones to study art, sculpture, and architecture, and in later years his agent William Petty scoured Italy for new prizes on his behalf, while other employees such as Fransiscus Junius corresponded with foreign scholars about items in the collection. Arundel was part of an international

---

<sup>340</sup> William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 269, 284, 299.

<sup>341</sup> David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 126.

<sup>342</sup> Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London, 1634), 105.

<sup>343</sup> Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, 104, 120.

<sup>344</sup> Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 86.

community of collectors, in which famous members such as Francesco Barberini and Cassiano dal Pozzo always were keen to hear about his purchases.<sup>345</sup> In this community, virtue came from learning, and learning came from studying art and antiquities. As Hanson has pointed out, Arundel set a landmark for collecting, and his legacy remained important for the Royal Society after the Restoration.<sup>346</sup>

Assembling collections of rare and valuable objects was a standard way of aristocratic display in early modern Europe. Curiosity cabinets such as the ones of Charles II and the Medici described in the previous chapter (p. 46) signalled wealth and erudition and thereby projected an image of power and exclusivity. Charles I and his courtiers had brought the English practice of collection to new heights through purchasing whole collections from other court, such as the famous Gonzaga collection, which transformed the modes of representation at the English court from traditional displays of extravagance to projections of power through taste and erudition.<sup>347</sup> Simultaneously, less illustrious collectors like John Tradescant amassed their own collections of plants, coins and other curiosities, opening their collection rooms for like-minded people to marvel at their acquisitions.<sup>348</sup>

As with Charles II's Italian ensemble, the purpose of Arundel's patronage was not so much to display wealth and power to his social inferiors, but to increase his status among his social equals and fellow collectors in England and abroad. Arundel's collection served an important function as what Pierre Bourdieu has called cultural capital. Recognising that forms of exchange other than economic may determine the interaction between individuals, their place in society and in specific social groups, Bourdieu posited that an individual can be endowed with three forms of capital: economic (money), social (social connections), and cultural (cultivation, ownership of cultural goods, formal qualifications).<sup>349</sup> Items in collections such as Arundel's, Charles II's, or the Medici's, whether paintings, sculptures, coins, jewels, plants, stuffed crocodiles, or scientific instruments, were important generators of

---

<sup>345</sup> Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, 150.

<sup>346</sup> Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 24–5; Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, 126.

<sup>347</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Art and Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 100–01.

<sup>348</sup> Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: the Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 27–38.

<sup>349</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital (1986)', in *The Sociology of Economic Life* ed. by Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg, 3rd edn. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2011), 78–89 (79).

cultural capital in an era that placed high value on their cost and rarity, as well as the paradoxical relationship between the wonder they provoked and the learning required to penetrate their secrets. In their materiality, the items in Arundel's collection constituted economic capital and signify wealth; as Peacham pointed out, the possession of antiquities was normally the domain of princes because of their 'dead costliness'. Even more, they represent Arundel's embodied cultural capital in terms of the learning needed to understand and properly appreciate the items in his collection. Marjorie Swann has written about art collections: 'although paintings were not composed of intrinsically valuable raw materials, they were considered desirable markers of status because they embodied a kind of knowledge that transformed them into high culture: their value was understood in cultural rather than financial terms.'<sup>350</sup> Antiquities did not only belong to princes, Peacham wrote, 'but rather to princely minds', minds that according to the principles of Renaissance humanism derived their virtue from their learning.<sup>351</sup> Peacham added that travellers visiting houses to view their collections needed to know something about antiquities if they were not to make themselves unwelcome:

Sure I am that he that will travell, must both heed them and understand them, if he desire to be thought ingenious, and to bee welcome to the owners.<sup>352</sup>

In the circles of Arundel, knowledge of art, antiquities and other curiosities carried significant social cachet.

Such attitudes remained prominent among the members of the early Royal Society, although as Swann has noted, attitudes changed towards viewing collections as repositories for scientific inquiry.<sup>353</sup> Hanson observes that seventeenth-century antiquarianism was based on the materiality of physical evidence and thus merged easily with the experimentalism of the Royal Society.<sup>354</sup> The Society occasionally engaged antiquarian investigations: in July 1663, Walter Charlton presented a plan of the Neolithic stone circle at Avebury (Wiltshire), with the hypothesis that it contained the grave of an old Danish king, and John Aubrey together with Sir James

---

<sup>350</sup> Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 17.

<sup>351</sup> Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 104–5.

<sup>352</sup> Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 105.

<sup>353</sup> Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 4.

<sup>354</sup> Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 13.

Long were ordered to investigate the matter further.<sup>355</sup> Antiquities thus remained a firm interest with virtuosi after the Restoration: as Astell remarked ‘his Cash consists much in old Coins, and he thinks the face of *Alexander* in one of ’em worth more than all his Conquests.’<sup>356</sup>

John Evelyn was the archetypal virtuoso. As Hanson has described, Evelyn spent several years between 1643 and 1653 on the continent, where he interested himself in such varied things as palaces, paintings, churches, hospitals, ancient ruins, gardens, Venetian glass production, and ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, in addition to matriculating at the University of Padua to study ‘Physick & Anatomie’.<sup>357</sup> He also attended numerous musical performances.<sup>358</sup> Back in England, he designed the garden of Arundel’s Albury Park, and published books on trees, fruit trees, gardening, and medals, and translated works on art and architecture. Evelyn was a friend of Arundel and later of his grandson Henry Howard (1628–84), created Duke of Norfolk in 1677. Arundel hosted Evelyn in Padua, and gave him directions for what to see during his tour in Italy.<sup>359</sup> After its foundation, Evelyn became a core member of the Royal Society; he donated his own priceless anatomical panel to the society’s collection, and persuaded Henry Howard to do the same with the library of Arundel House.<sup>360</sup>

Howarth has suggested that *The Compleat Gentleman* signals a change in attitudes towards learning among the English gentry. Peacham and Arundel shared the belief that the education of young English gentlemen was inferior to that of their continental counterparts, and strove to improve the situation by advancing learning as a socially useful quality.<sup>361</sup> However, as Steven Shapin has pointed out, despite books like Peacham’s, scholarly learning was never regarded particularly favourably by the wider English gentry. Although the seventeenth-century gentry and nobility increasingly sent their sons to university, the characteristics of scholars and gentlemen were considered direct opposites: scholars were expected to live in

---

<sup>355</sup> Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society for the Improving of Natural Knowledge, from its First Rise*, 2 vols. (London, 1756), i, 272. See also Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 299.

<sup>356</sup> Astell, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*, 98.

<sup>357</sup> Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 59–63.

<sup>358</sup> For instance, Evelyn, ii, 232–3 (8 November 1644), 277 (20 November 1644), 283 (24 November 1644), 291 (January 1645), 387 (May 1645), 449–50 (June 1645), 503 (May 1646).

<sup>359</sup> Evelyn, ii, 466–7, 473, 479.

<sup>360</sup> Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 66.

<sup>361</sup> Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, 104, 120–21.

seclusion, be pedantic, and have bad manners and bad tempers, whilst gentlemen were supposed to take an active part in social and political life, be polite, jovial, and have something of Castiglione's *sprezzatura* (nonchalance).<sup>362</sup> The chief motivation for a young gentleman to attend university was to increase his chances for public office, and the learning required for public office differed dramatically from what was expected of a scholar.<sup>363</sup> Learning was, after all, only a small part of the skills that Peacham recommended young gentlemen to acquire, along with music, fencing, riding and rhetoric—skills that would serve them in public, social and political lives. The circle of virtuosi around Arundel was limited to a small group of people often connected to the court; polite society in general still regarded learning and scholarship as largely anti-social.

Such circles of virtuosi, and those who sympathised with their endeavours, remained small throughout the Restoration period. As Shapin has argued, the Royal Society sought legitimacy in a culture hostile to scholars through setting up Robert Boyle, son of the Earl of Cork and a prolific scientist, as a model who was able to combine the learning of a scholar with the characteristics of a gentleman.<sup>364</sup> The new Baconian experimental science distinguished the society's practices from earlier scholarship, and the term virtuoso separated its members from the scholastic pedants so despised by polite society.<sup>365</sup> Still, as Astell's caustic remarks show, virtuosi and their intellectual pursuits were by no means universally admired. Despite their efforts, the society was largely unsuccessful in reforming attitudes outside their own circle, and many of their collections and interests carried prestige only among other virtuosi.<sup>366</sup> The society's members furthermore distinguished themselves through mainly belonging to a social class with sufficient capital to conduct their scholarly investigations from their own resources instead of seeking the patronage of a university or a nobleman. Monetary dependence was ungentlemanly, unless one's job was of a gentlemanly kind.<sup>367</sup> The society's curator of experiments, Robert

---

<sup>362</sup> Steven Shapin, "'A Scholar and A Gentleman: The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early Modern England', *History of Science*, 29 (1991), 279–327 (287–92).

<sup>363</sup> Shapin, 'A Scholar and A Gentleman', 283–6.

<sup>364</sup> Shapin, 'A Scholar and A Gentleman', 282, 294–9.

<sup>365</sup> Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 301; Shapin, 'A Scholar and A Gentleman', 282.

<sup>366</sup> Shapin, 'A Scholar and A Gentleman', 300–01, 305–9.

<sup>367</sup> There are grey zones regarding what jobs were gentlemanly: the Royal Society included several people in public office as well as physicians, and Peacham counted lawyers and gentleman-merchants (opposed to ordinary merchants) as gentle. Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 10–12. See also Steven

Hooke, is a good example of the problematic identity of a scientist accepting patronage. Hooke's status as a gentleman fellow of the society was ambiguous because he was paid for his services to the society.<sup>368</sup> The only socially acceptable arrangement for the fellows of the Royal Society was as patrons of science, not as scientists working under patronage; the fact that the word *dilettante* (denoting somebody doing something for pleasure) was used synonymously with 'virtuoso' illustrates this gentlemanly approach to learning in science. Instead of specialising in one field, virtuosi were fashionable dilettantes in a number of areas from antiquities and art to natural science.<sup>369</sup>

One area of virtuosic interest that has rarely been discussed in scholarly literature is music. (Gouk has written extensively about speculative music theory and acoustics in the Royal Society, but links this more to the members' interest in mathematics, physics, and natural magic, than to the culture of virtuosity).<sup>370</sup> Musical skills had long been a required part of a gentleman's education: in the 1634 edition of his *Compleat Gentleman* Peacham thought music 'a skill worthy the knowledge and exercise of the greatest Prince' and further went on to outline the musical proficiency of a complete gentleman:

I desire no more in you than to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withall, to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to your self.<sup>371</sup>

Peacham's requirement echoes Thomas Morley's Philomathes, who embarrassed himself at a dinner party for not being able to sing at sight:

But supper being ended, and Musicke books, according to the custom being brought to the table: the mistresse of the house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting mee to sing. But when after manie excuses, I protested unfainedly that I could not: everie one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demaunding how I was brought up: so that upon

---

Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

<sup>368</sup> Patri J, Pugliese, 'Hooke, Robert (1635–1703)', ODNB.

<sup>369</sup> Houghton, 'The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century', 53–4; Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 13, 21–5; Parry, *Trophies of Time*, 276–80.

<sup>370</sup> See Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, and 'Acoustics in the Early Royal Society 1660–1680', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 36 (1982), 155–75. The same can be said of Christopher Field's and Benjamin Wardhaugh's recent writings on John Birchensha's dealings with the Royal Society: Birchensha, *Writings*, 9–20 especially.

<sup>371</sup> Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 98–9, 100.



shame of mine ignorance I go nowe to seeke out mine old  
frinde master *Gnorimus*, to make myselfe his scholler.<sup>372</sup>

Among the skills Peacham required of English gentlemen was knowledge of, and ability to sing, Italian music. The repertoire Peacham recommends consists mainly of sixteenth-century madrigals, polyphonic motets and chansons by among others Victoria, Orlando di Lasso, Luca Marenzio, Orazio Vecchi, Giovanni Croce, Claudio Monteverdi, Andrea Gabrieli, and Cipriano de Rore, suggesting that this was still the fashionable Italian repertoire in England in the mid-1630s.<sup>373</sup>

Mid-century, English gentlemen virtuosi also experimented with the Florentine *stile nuovo*. The fourth edition (1664) of Playford's music textbook featured an English translation of Giulio Caccini's preface to *Le nuove musiche* (1602) under the title:

A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the  
*Italian* manner: Wherein is set down those Excellent Graces  
in Singing now used by the *Italians*: Written some time since  
by an *English* Gentleman who lived many years in *Italy*, and  
Taught the same here in *England*; intending to publish the  
same, but prevented by Death.<sup>374</sup>

Ian Spink has speculated that the translation was made by Walter Porter (c.1587–1659) before his death in 1659, since Porter would fit the description of the translator in Playford's title.<sup>375</sup> However, Rebecca Herissone has suggested that the title of the essay implies that 'Playford was clearly unaware of its origins'.<sup>376</sup> Possibly Playford was not even aware that the essay was translated from an Italian book.

Nevertheless, the 'Discourse' suggests that mid-seventeenth-century English gentlemen were familiar with early seventeenth-century Italian ornamentation practice: further explaining the trillo, Playford asserted that he had recently been 'in the Company with three Gentlemen at a Musical practice, which sung their parts very

---

<sup>372</sup> Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke set downe in Forme of a Dialogue* (London, 1597), 1.

<sup>373</sup> Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 100–03.

<sup>374</sup> John Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, ed. by Christopher Simpson and Thomas Campion, 4th edn. (London, 1664), 57.

<sup>375</sup> Ian Spink, 'Playford's "Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner"', *Monthly Musical Record* July–August (1959), 130–35 (130–31). The notion that Porter lived in Italy is based on his studying the music of Monteverdi, which Wainwright points out Porter could have done without leaving England. See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 165–6.

<sup>376</sup> Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 258–9.

well, and used this Grace (call'd the *Trill*) very exactly'.<sup>377</sup> Peacham's list of recommended composers together with the connection between Cooke, the Hatton collection, and the 'Discourse' indicates that his performance style was close to the *stile nuovo* (see above, p. 18), and that sixteenth-century madrigals and the *stile nuovo* were the Italian repertoires and performance styles known to English music-lovers at the Restoration. Both the *stile nuovo* and the sixteenth-century Italian madrigals recommended by Peacham were well suited for the sort of genteel domestic performance advocated by Peacham and Morley. As both their books suggest, singing Italian and other songs was not just a pleasant recreational activity, it was an important social skill.

Practical music skills were possessed by several members of the Royal Society. Gouk has previously outlined the practical musical skills of some of the Royal Society's most prominent members, such as Lord Brouncker, William Holder, Narcissus Marsh, Francis North, Sir Robert Moray, Lord William Brereton, and, of course, Samuel Pepys.<sup>378</sup> As Gouk has observed, however, not all Royal Society members who took an interest in music were active performers. For instance, William Petty (Gresham Professor of Music 1650–59) took more interest in speculative music theory than in performing music, and was elected to the Gresham professorship more on his credentials as a philosopher than for his musical accomplishments.<sup>379</sup> Furthermore, the seventeenth century saw increasing professionalisation of musical life; the more demanding music written during the second half of the seventeenth century excluded less skilled performers, and changed the roles of gentlemen from equal participants in viol and vocal consorts to listeners in concerts.<sup>380</sup> Although Roger North complained that English gentlemen and women became passive listeners under the new order, among the refined circles of the Royal Society gentlemen succeeded in engaging actively with music without performing it.<sup>381</sup> Instead new roles emerged for non-professional music lovers, such as becoming

---

<sup>377</sup> Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Music*, 70.

<sup>378</sup> Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 26–7.

<sup>379</sup> Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 26, 37–8.

<sup>380</sup> See Stephen Rose, 'Music in the Market-Place', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Tim Carter, John Butt, and Stephen Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 65–6.

<sup>381</sup> Roger North, *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the Years c.1695–1728*, ed. by John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), 314.

collectors, sponsors and audiences of public concerts or private music-meetings, or scientists interested in the theory of music.

Several Royal Society members engaged with music in non-practical ways, some taking on the traditional role of patron of musicians and musical projects, and other contributed to speculative discussions about music theory. Among the patrons, John Evelyn described his own musical skills as ‘some formal knowledge, though to small perfection of hand’, but frequently attended private music-meetings as a listener, including one organised by Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in Arundel House, where a group of French and English musicians presumably engaged for the Catholic chapel of Catherine of Braganza were performing.<sup>382</sup> Moray and Brouncker were both apparently involved in the operatic experiment involving Giovanni Battista Draghi and Thomas Killigrew, which Pepys witnessed on the 12<sup>th</sup> February 1667 (discussed above, p. 84). On the theoretical side, Pepys claimed that Sir Robert Moray understood ‘the doctrine of Musique and everything else I could discourse of very finely’, and Brouncker contributed to William Charleton’s translation and critique of Descartes’s *Musicae compendium* in 1653.<sup>383</sup> Brouncker and Morey were part of society committees set up to investigate the claims of the music teacher and viol player John Birchensha, whose first paper had been brought to the society by John Brooke in April 1662.<sup>384</sup> Two more papers were presented, in November 1662, and April 1664.<sup>385</sup> Before the April meeting, the society’s minutes announced Birchensha as

a gentleman who pretended to discover some musical errors, generally committed by all modern masters of music, touching the scales, and the proportions of notes; and desired to be heard by some members of the Society versed in music.<sup>386</sup>

---

<sup>382</sup> Evelyn, iii, (11 January 1662), see also Peter Leech, ‘Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92’, *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 570–87 (572). For performances featuring Italian music, see for instance Evelyn, iii, 144 (28 October 1654), 307 (23 January 1662), 474 (27 January 1667); iv, 30 (17 February 1674), 48 (19 November 1674), 49 (2 December 1674), 51 (19 January 1675), 186–7 (20 November 1680), 220 (23 September 1680), 270 (27 January 1682), 384–5 (25 July 1684), 403 (27 January 1685), 404 (28 January 1685), 547 (19 April 1687); v, 289 (30 June 1698).

<sup>383</sup> Pepys, viii, 64 (16 February 1667). Birchensha, *Writings*, 12; C.S. McIntyre, ‘Brouncker, William, second Viscount Brouncker of Lyons (1620–1684)’, ODNB.

<sup>384</sup> Birchensha, *Writings*, 12–15.

<sup>385</sup> Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i, 125–6, 416. See also Birchensha, *Writings*, 12, 15. Gouk identified the gentleman as Birchensha in *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 69.

<sup>386</sup> Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i, 416.

The members versed in music who investigated Birchensha's claims in 1664 were Brouncker, Moray, the Earl of Sandwich (Pepys's cousin Edward Montagu), Sir Paul Neile, Robert Boyle, Nathaniel Henshaw, William Ball, John Pell, William Croone, Peter Ball, and Philip Packer.<sup>387</sup>

Brouncker's opinion in musical matters was apparently highly regarded by musically inclined fellows of the Royal Society; he alone was asked to examine Birchensha's paper of November 1662.<sup>388</sup> In a series of letters from 1663 hitherto not cited by musicologists, John Brooke, who had retired to the provinces, pestered Abraham Hill for reports on Brouncker's opinion on Birchensha's theories: 'I do, with a longing impatience, expect my lord Brouncker's judgement concerning Mr. Berkenshaw's Synopsis of Music, which you are pleased to promise me.'<sup>389</sup> The answer was dispatched on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1663:

What my lord Brouncker said of Mr. Berkenshaw's Synopsis of Music, was, that he divided an octave into twenty-four equal parts; and hence, he says, it will follow, in the practice and nature of it, that some one (I think the twentieth) note, will be as big as the two next to it; so that the design, though perhaps productive of much advantage, yet arrives not at the proposed exactness.<sup>390</sup>

The society's theoretical discussions were occasionally complemented with live musical performances. In connection with Birchensha's papers to the society, practical demonstrations of his theories were held at a venue known as the Post Office in August and October 1664. Although not yet a fellow of the Royal Society, Pepys attended in August in the company of his naval colleague, the Royal Society member Silas Taylor, Brouncker, and Moray.<sup>391</sup> In October Pepys went again:

So to the Coffee-house and there fell in discourse with the Secretary of the Virtuosi of Gresham College,<sup>392</sup> and had

---

<sup>387</sup> Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i, 416.

<sup>388</sup> Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i, 126. See also Leta E. Miller and Albert Cohen, *Music in the Royal Society of London, 1660–1806* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1987), 37.

<sup>389</sup> John Brooke to Abraham Hill, York, 25 March, 1663. Printed in *Familiar Letters which passed between Abraham Hill, Esq., and Several Eminent and Ingenious Persons of the last Century* (London, 1767), 99.

<sup>390</sup> Abraham Hill to John Brooke, London 28 March 1663, printed in *Familiar Letters*, 101–02. On Birchensha's theories, see Leta E. Miller, 'John Birchensha and the Early Royal Society: Grand Scales and Scientific Composition', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115 (1990), 63–79. On the Royal Society's interest in acoustics and speculative music theory, see Gouk, 'Acoustics in the Early Royal Society 1660–1680'; Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 199–200.

<sup>391</sup> Pepys, v, 238 (10 August 1664).

<sup>392</sup> Henry Oldenburg (c.1619–77).

very fine discourse with him. [...] Thence to the Musique-meeting at the post office, where I was once before. And thither anon come all the Gresham College and a great deal of noble company.<sup>393</sup>

Birchensha's musical experiments were not official Royal Society events recorded in the minutes. However, Gouk and Field respectively have suggested that these performances functioned as unofficial demonstrations following Birchensha's papers earlier that spring.<sup>394</sup> Possibly located at the corner of Threadneedle Street and Cornhill, the Post Office was conveniently close to Gresham College for members to walk down after their Wednesday evening meetings.<sup>395</sup> Following Field's suggestion that these concerts were as much scientific demonstrations, the concerts potentially illustrate the fellows of the Royal Society's engagement with music: observing rather than participating, as much a scientific experiment as an aesthetic experience.

This way of engaging with music is arguably also evident in the circumstances surrounding a performance of the king's Italian Music before Royal Society members at Lord Brouncker's in 1667. In the previous chapter I argued that the king's Italian ensemble were the first musicians to bring seventeenth-century Roman music and performance practice to England, and that the ensemble performed for court circles, except the sole documented occasion at Brouncker's. As will be discussed below (p. 117), Pepys wrote extensively about the performance in his diary: from his description it can be deduced that the ensemble performing consisted of Vincenzo, Bartolomeo, and Leonora Albrici, an unknown castrato, Pietro Cefalo, Giovanni Sebenico, and Matteo Battaglia, escorted by Charles II's friend Killigrew.<sup>396</sup> This ensemble was large enough to perform larger-scale pieces, such as larger-scale cantatas or even oratorios. Pepys commented (below, p. 118) that the ensemble used two harpsichords, which potentially suggest an antiphonal performance such as Carolyn Gianturco has shown was common practice in mid-seventeenth-century Rome.<sup>397</sup> The concert was not officially a Royal Society event;

---

<sup>393</sup> Pepys, v, 290 (5 October 1664). Hall, 'Royal Society', 363.

<sup>394</sup> Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 60–2; Birchensha, *Writings*, 19.

<sup>395</sup> Birchensha, *Writings*, 19.

<sup>396</sup> Pepys described 'Signor Vincentio, [...] and six more where of two Eunuches [...] and one woman.' Pepys, viii, 64–5 (16 February 1667). For full quotation, see above p. 75. For a discussion of the members of the ensemble, see Chapter 2 (p. 59).

<sup>397</sup> Gianturco describes performances of Stradella's cantatas for Roman academies, where the accompanying ensemble was divided into *concerto grosso* and *concertino*, but where the *concerto grosso* was occasionally divided into 'Primo Choro' and 'Secundo Choro' and voices were supported

it does not appear in the society minutes and has never before been associated with the Royal Society. Nevertheless, Brouncker was President of the society at the time of the concert, and the guests consisted of several Royal Society fellows such as Sir Robert Moray, Robert Hooke, Sir George Ent, Christopher Wren, ‘and many others’, in addition to Pepys himself who had been elected to the society in 1665. The gathering also included some non-society members, such as Sir Thomas Harvey, of the navy, and the leading specialist on Italian music in England, the singer Captain Henry Cooke.<sup>398</sup> The private nature of the concert at Brouncker’s somewhat resembles that in Uppsala, Sweden, in 1653, when Queen Christina’s Italian ensemble (also led by Albrici) visited the house of Bulstrode Whitlocke for an evening. Whitlocke was Cromwell’s ambassador to Sweden (and Abraham Hill’s future father-in-law)<sup>399</sup> and on very good terms with the Queen.<sup>400</sup> Similarly, Brouncker was a personal friend of Charles II. Both men were important members of the respective courts, and presumably honoured with permission to borrow the ensemble for an evening concert. Below, I will argue that this concert makes sense in relation to the Royal Society’s engagement with Athanasius Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis* (1650) and with the view of music as a curiosity to be marvelled at and examined.

At the time of the 1667 concert many Royal Society members had some awareness of Roman vocal music, although they had not necessarily experienced it. Many aristocratic members of the society, such as Henry Howard and the Duke of Buckingham, had been raised by virtuosi of the early Stuart era, brought up on the ideals of cosmopolitanism discussed in the previous chapter. Many, like John Evelyn and Henry Howard, had spent time abroad and experienced Rome’s music and culture first-hand. Others, such as Pepys and the society’s treasurer Abraham Hill, had travelling acquaintances who could supply them with the latest news from abroad and would at least be familiar with the reputation of Roman composers (below, pp. 109, 116). Some, such as Brouncker, Moray, Evelyn, and Howard, were

---

by their own continuo during arias. See Carolyn Gianturco, *Alessandro Stradella: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 106–8.

<sup>398</sup> Pepys, viii, 64–5 (16 February 1667).

<sup>399</sup> Lotte Mulligan, ‘Hill, Abraham (bap. 1635, d. 1722)’, ODNB.

<sup>400</sup> The ensemble visited Whitlocke on 17 April 1654. He had previously attended their performances at the queen’s request. See Bulstrode Whitlocke, *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitlocke, 1605–1675*, ed. by Ruth Spalding (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1990), 332, 334, 345, 353.

closely connected with the court and could have heard the Italian ensemble many times before its appearance at Brouncker's in February 1667.

The members of the Royal Society would also have received information about Rome and Roman music through their scholarly contacts with intellectuals on the continent. In the context of Roman vocal music the most important contact was the German Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher. Kircher had been the authority on contemporary Roman music since the publication of his widely disseminated *Musurgia universalis* (1650). The members of the Royal Society discussed Kircher's music theory on several occasions: in February 1661, Abraham Hill 'was desired to procure from his brother Kircher's secret way of music' for discussion at their meetings.<sup>401</sup> Abraham Hill's brother, Thomas Hill, had spent many years in Italy and may still have been based there at this time, and could easily have obtained Kircher's publications.<sup>402</sup> The 'secret way of music' most likely refers to Kircher's many arcane compositional methods which he reveals in the *Musurgia*, such as the chapter 'De secreto canonis harmonici musarithmorum ope perficiendi' ('On the Secret of the Harmonic Canon to be Made through Musical Numbers'), and the two compositional machines described in the *Musurgia*. The *arca musarithmica*, designed to set literary texts to music, was described at length in the book, whereas Kircher only whetted his readers' curiosity regarding the *arca musurgica*, which supposedly composed music in five different styles, by reserving its secrets only for 'princes and some worthy friends'.<sup>403</sup> Statements such as these projected an aura around Kircher, suggesting that he had discovered secrets of music yet unknown to mankind. Such an aura would have attracted the interest of the Royal Society, whose agenda was to find out the secret workings of nature and the arts, and who saw themselves moreover as successors to Kircher's quest for universal knowledge.<sup>404</sup> The society's awareness of Kircher's musical methods is revealed by Robert Hooke's 1664 letter to Robert Boyle, comparing Birchensha's theories to Kircher's:

---

<sup>401</sup> Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i, 76.

<sup>402</sup> He wrote to Abraham Hill from Lucca in October 1657 (see Chapter 2, p. 45) See also D. Pepys Whiteley, 'My Friend the Merchant', *History Today*, 15 (1965), 576–81 (576, 78).

<sup>403</sup> The 'princes and worthy friends' included the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, and the keyboardist Johann Jakob Froberger. See Claudio Annibaldi, 'Froberger in Rome: From Frescobaldi's Craftsmanship to Kircher's Compositional Secrets', *Current Musicology*, 58 (1995), 5–27 (19–21). Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta*, 2 vols. (Rome 1650), ii, 165–66, 184, 185–90.

<sup>404</sup> Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 57; Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 269, 278.

There is a gentleman here in town, that has a better way of teaching musick than what *Kircher* causelessly enough vaunted in his *Ars Combinatoria* to be, whereby he has presently taught the duke of *Buckingham* to compose very well, though he knows nothing of the practick part of musick.<sup>405</sup>

In March 1668, Pepys, who had also had composition lessons with Birchensha, spent a large sum of money buying and binding his own copy of the *Musurgia*, ‘a book I am mighty glad of, expecting to find great satisfaction in it.’<sup>406</sup> As Field has pointed out, Birchensha’s claim to teach people without musical training to compose music within a very short time are similar to Kircher’s.<sup>407</sup> Kircher’s musical theories were certainly on the Royal Society’s agenda.

In addition to engaging with his work on music, several members of the society were personally acquainted with Kircher through correspondence or visits to the Roman College in Rome. A postscript in a letter from the English Catholic and Latin poet James Alban Gibbes (1611?–77), who was a reader at the Sapienza in Rome and physician to Cardinal Spada, suggests that Abraham Hill knew Kircher: ‘Father Kircher wishes to be remember’d to you’.<sup>408</sup> In addition to Hill, Moray had corresponded with Kircher since the 1640s and John Fletcher has suggested that Kircher may have facilitated Moray’s release from Ingolstadt in 1645, where Moray had been a prisoner of war since November 1643.<sup>409</sup> In a letter to Abraham Hill from November 1663, the Oxford astronomer and Royal Society member Walter Pope (c.1628–1714) reported from Rome that Kircher wanted Moray’s opinion on his *Polygraphia nova* (1663):

---

<sup>405</sup> Robert Hooke to Robert Boyle, July 1664 (?), published in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, 2nd edn. (London, 1772), vi, 495.

<sup>406</sup> He spent 35 s on the actual book, and then about as much getting the volumes extravagantly bound. Pepys, ix, 85, 101–02.

<sup>407</sup> Birchensha, *Writings*, 42–3.

<sup>408</sup> James Alban Gibbes to Abraham Hill, Rome 15 February 1659, published in *Familiar Letters*, 36.

<sup>409</sup> David Allan, ‘Moray, Sir Robert (1608/9?–1673)’, ODNB; John Edward Fletcher and Elizabeth Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, ‘Germanus incredibilis’: with a Selection of his Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of his Autobiography* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 271. A large number of Moray’s letters to Kircher are preserved in Archivio della Pontificia Università Georgiana in Rome, APUG 557, 563, and 568. None of them, however, concerns music.



Since I came to Rome, I have more than once visited Kircher, and seen his tradescant's shop;<sup>410</sup> but he is so continually accompanied with his admiring countrymen, that I have not yet had any competent time of discourse with him. He has lately printed here a book, which, if we may believe him, is very curious; it is something like the universal character; it pretends to teach one of an indifferent capacity, in a small time, to understand all languages, and to make himself understandable to all. He intends to send it speedily to Sir Robert Moray; in his fine microscope are shewn the worms in milk, and upon sage leaves, &c.<sup>411</sup>

Like Pope and numerous other travellers, John Evelyn also visited Kircher during his stay in Rome in 1645:

Here Father Kercherus (Mathematical Professor, and of the Oriental Tongues) shew'd us many singular courtesies, leading us into their Colledge, and carrying us into their Refectory, Dispensatory, Laboratory, Gardens; & finally (through an hall hung round with the pictures of such of their Order as had been executed for their pragmatistical & buisy adventures) into his owne study, where he with Dutch patience shew'd us his perpetual motions, Catoptics, Magnetical experiments, Modells, and a thousand other crotches & devises, most of them since published, either by himselfe, or his industrious Scholar Schotti.<sup>412</sup>

As the examples above suggest, the networks between scholars and intellectuals in mid-seventeenth-century Europe extended well beyond national borders, enabling interested English gentlemen to keep informed about cultural developments in Rome and elsewhere on the continent. Like Shadwell's and Astell's caricatures, they had correspondents in every part of the world.

Despite the fascination that Kircher held for his English visitors, his methods were sometimes at odds with those of the Royal Society. As Penelope Gouk has shown, the *Musurgia* was epistemically situated half-way between Kircher's background in scholasticism and natural magic, and the observational approaches of experimental philosophy.<sup>413</sup> To some of the Royal Society's members, Kircher was

---

<sup>410</sup> Probably a reference to the museum of curiosities established by the collector John Tradescant, the elder (d. 1638) at Lambeth. On Tradescant's museum, see Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 27–38. See also Chapter 4, p. 153.

<sup>411</sup> Walter Pope to Abraham Hill, Rome 24 November, 1663, published in *Familiar Letters*, 48–9 [paginated as 84–5].

<sup>412</sup> Evelyn, ii, 230.

<sup>413</sup> Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 101–7, 266.

still too much rooted in the old ways; in March 1661 Robert Southwell wrote to Robert Boyle from Rome:

Father Kircher is my particular friend, and I visit him and his gallery frequently. Certainly he is a person of vast parts, and of as great industry. [...] On the other side, he is reputed very credulous, apt to put in print any strange, if plausible, story, that is brought unto him.<sup>414</sup>

Likewise in September 1665 the secretary of the Royal Society, Henry Oldenbourg, wrote to Boyle about Kircher's *Mundus subterraneus*: 'I do much fear he gives us rather a collection, as is his custom, of what is already extant and known, than any considerable new discoveries.'<sup>415</sup> Oldenbourg's statement reveals the scientific priorities of the Royal Society: to find out what scholastic science had found unknowable, through studying natural curiosities and artefacts like the ones in their own and Kircher's collections. The occult qualities of such curiosities, and the wonder they provoked, was the beginning of the experimental research of the society, whose aim was to discover the hidden causes of natural phenomena. Their priority was with discovering new things, rather than explaining what was already known.<sup>416</sup>

This approach to knowledge and curiosities might arguably explain the society's engagement with Roman vocal music, as implied by the concert at Brouncker's. Book seven of the ten-volume *Musurgia* treats the differences between ancient (Greek) and modern music, classifying different musical styles and their ability to arouse various affects in listeners. Based in the midst of the flourishing Roman musical life, Kircher's understanding of 'modern' music is based on music primarily by composers active in Rome during the period 1550–1650.<sup>417</sup> Although various composers are singled out for their ability to write in one particular style (for instance, Palestrina and the *stylus ecclesiasticus*, see below, p. 189), Carissimi was lauded for his ability to master all affects:

---

<sup>414</sup> Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle, Rome 30 March, 1661, published in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London, 1744), v, 404–5.

<sup>415</sup> Henry Oldenbourg to Robert Boyle, 28 September 1665. Published in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, vi, 196.

<sup>416</sup> Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 271–2, 284, 298–9.

<sup>417</sup> Penelope Gouk, 'Making Music, Making Knowledge: The Harmonious Universe of Athanasius Kircher', in *The Great Art of Knowing: the Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, ed. by Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 71.

Giacomo Carissimi, a most excellent and famous composer, for many years the most revered master of the St Apollonari of the German college, through ingenuity and the felicity of his compositions, surpasses all others in moving the minds of the auditorium towards whatever affection he so wishes. His compositions are truly filled with the quintessence and life of the spirit.<sup>418</sup>

As a number of scholars have pointed out, the wide dissemination of the *Musurgia* in Europe probably enhanced Carissimi's fame outside Rome.<sup>419</sup> Like Kircher, Carissimi was employed by a Jesuit institution; as Lars Berglund has suggested the affective music written by Jesuit composers such as Carissimi and Bonifacio Graziani corresponds to the order's didactic aim to engage all the senses in worship (see above, p. 15). Potentially, Brouncker's motivation for arranging a musical evening with Albrici (Carissimi's pupil) was to create an opportunity to observe and discuss the musico-emotional phenomena described by Kircher in the *Musurgia* to discover their causes and effects. The wonder created by the Roman music became a gateway for discovering the secrets behind its composition.

As the activities of the Royal Society show, music was an intrinsic part of Restoration virtuoso culture. Although the technical demands of increasingly virtuosic music and the rise of commercial concerts changed the role of gentlemen music-lovers from participants to observers, they continued to engage actively with music. A gentleman's musical activities were still regulated by strict social protocol. The fellows of the Royal Society were potentially scientifically interested in the music of the Italian ensemble, but the interaction between the musicians and the society was arguably facilitated by the ensemble's high social status and the exclusivity of the repertoire. The society was socially as well as intellectually exclusive, and would never have admitted anyone to its activities who was not a gentleman. Economic independence was a key feature of gentility, and the society

---

<sup>418</sup> I am grateful to Mattias Lundberg for translating this passage. 'Iacobus Carissimus excellentissimus, & celebris famae symphoneta, Ecclesiae Sancti Apollinaris Collegij Germanici multorum annorum spatio Musicae Praefectus dignissimus, prae alijs ingenio pollet & felicitate compositionis, ad Auditorium animos in quoscunque affectus transformandos. Sunt enim eius compositiones succo & vivacitate spiritus plenae.' Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, i, 603. See also Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris*, A History of the Oratorio, i (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 220.

<sup>419</sup> See for instance, Smither, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era*, 220; Lars Berglund, 'Marvels of the Holy City: On the Use of Roman Church Music at Lutheran Courts in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', in *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period II: Consolidation of God-Given Power*, ed. by Kathryn Banks and Philipe G. Bossier (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 159–75 (168).

did not extend membership to professional musicians who would be economically dependent on the fees they charged for performances and tuition, and who had more practical than academic skills.<sup>420</sup> Gouk has argued that Birchensha was the only musician summoned before the society, suggesting that he was accepted because of his social connections with Pepys and Buckingham. The Italian ensemble was not summoned to an actual society meeting, but to an informal gathering of gentlemen closely related to the society. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the ensemble had high social status at court, and its members were treated with extraordinary respect compared to other musicians (see above, p. 72). Association with the ensemble and knowledge of their repertoire thus carried significant social cachet. As will be discussed in relation to Pepys's reaction to their performance in the following section, Roman vocal music had an important function as a generator of cultural capital necessary for acceptance in such socially and intellectually exclusive contexts as the Royal Society.

### **Pepys and the Cultural Capital of Roman Vocal Music**

Music was an important social skill, the knowledge or ignorance of which could determine somebody's appearance in important social contexts, as illustrated by Morley's embarrassed Philomathes. One who knew how to use his musical interests to his advantage was Samuel Pepys. Pepys was a social climber, with an extraordinary ambition to improve himself and his image. A tailor's son, Pepys started making his way early on and graduated BA from Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1654. He never undertook a Grand Tour of the continent, but spent the years after his graduation working as secretary to his cousin Edward Montagu, then a councillor of state in the Protectorate. In 1660, he gained a post as clerk of the acts at the Navy Board through the mediation of Montagu.<sup>421</sup>

Over the course of the years, Pepys would use his naval and other social connections to improve his social image, aspiring to become a gentleman-virtuoso like John Evelyn. Whilst Pepys's professional success and ever-increasing wealth certainly helped his social aspirations, I argue that his engagement with music in general, and Italian music in particular, was one way of cultivating his image as a

---

<sup>420</sup> Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, 48; Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 61.

<sup>421</sup> C. S. Knighton, 'Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703)', ODNB.

gentleman-virtuoso. This section will discuss Pepys's reaction to the Italian ensemble's performance at Brouncker's, and will suggest that Pepys was originally unfamiliar with the Roman styles and repertoire esteemed by his travelled friends. Once the repertoire was available in London, Pepys familiarised himself with the Roman music and thus increased his cultural capital.

Pepys's remarkable honesty when recording his responses to music provides us with a unique insight into the processes of negotiation and accommodation that resulted from the arrival of the, for England, new Roman vocal music. Pepys's views are not representative of the musical tastes governing the public music market in Restoration London. Pepys was unusually interested in music and spent much more time and money indulging his musical interests than the average person; simply the fact that he wrote about it in his diary was unusual (see also above, p. 6). Because of his social climbing and carefully recorded experiences, Pepys was a unique witness to the social exclusivity of Roman vocal music.

As with Arundel's collection of paintings and antiquities discussed above, Roman vocal music functioned as two forms of cultural capital: objectified and embodied, where objectified cultural capital means ownership of (or at least consumption of) cultural goods, whilst embodied cultural capital denotes internalised cultural values. Since very few apart from the king were able to 'own' Roman vocal music in the form of scores or as an ensemble of musicians who were able to perform it, I would suggest that the 'objectified' state of this cultural capital for most people amounted to having heard some of the Roman repertoire. The embodied state, then, means having appropriated and internalised the music and its values. In practice, this perhaps means appreciating the music, and having enough knowledge and experience to be able to judge and make intelligent conversation about it. For most people, Roman music could only be heard in Rome and familiarity with it implied a sojourn abroad and thus carried connotations of wealth and education, similarly to having seen a certain painting or met a certain person in some exotic location. Moreover, the Roman repertoire was the latest fashion among the social and intellectual elite. Knowledge of Roman vocal music thus carried significant social and intellectual prestige among English gentlemen.

Such prestige arguably facilitated access to institutions such as the Royal Society. Hanson has suggested that the Royal Society was the first ‘public’ institution for the arts.<sup>422</sup> In a Habermasian sense, the Royal Society was public insofar as admission did not depend on noble titles, and in that science, art, and music in the Royal Society did not serve the representational ends of the monarchy or of the church; freely thinking men came together to discuss art and science as an end in itself.<sup>423</sup> ‘I seldom put any thing to use, ’tis not my way, Knowledge is my ultimate end’, said Gimcrack in Shadwell’s *The Virtuoso* (1676).<sup>424</sup> Despite its emerging ‘publicness’, the Royal Society was still a gathering exclusively for gentlemen which demanded all of Bourdieu’s three forms of capital for access (see above, p. 97). Membership of the society required nomination by a fellow, election by the other fellows, and the payment of an annual fee. This, firstly, demanded sufficient economic capital to be considered a gentleman, and to pay the fee. Secondly, it required the right social contacts to obtain a recommendation for membership, and finally enough knowledge and culture (cultural capital) to make a future member useful to the society and thus merit their nomination.<sup>425</sup>

Pepys was nominated for fellowship by Thomas Povey (1613/14—in or before 1705) and unanimously elected in February 1665, but had long been on friendly terms with many of the society’s members.<sup>426</sup> Pepys’s career and curiosity had brought him in contact with members such as John Dryden (whom he knew from Cambridge), John Wilkins, the secretary Henry Oldenburg, the shipwright Peter Pett, Dr Alexander Fraizer, Lord (George) Berkeley, Sir Ellis Leighton, and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.<sup>427</sup> Rupert Hall has suggested that Pepys was elected to the society partly because of his curiosity and education, but primarily because his career had shown him to be an efficient and reliable person who was well connected in the

---

<sup>422</sup> Hanson, *The English Virtuoso*, 3.

<sup>423</sup> For a discussion of authentic publicness, see Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 27–29.

<sup>424</sup> Shadwell, *The Virtuoso*, 127.

<sup>425</sup> As Shapin has pointed out, the social and cultural capital (‘virtue’) of gentlemen still depended on their wealth: one needs money to lead the lifestyle expected of a gentleman, and to obtain the education and social connections expected of one. Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, 49.

<sup>426</sup> Povey had put Pepys’s name forward for a fellowship on 8 February 1665, see Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society*, ii, 13. He was elected on the 15<sup>th</sup>, and signed the charter the same day. See also Pepys, vi, 36.

<sup>427</sup> Hall, ‘Royal Society’, 362.

navy and who could provide useful information to the society.<sup>428</sup> Pepys did prove useful when on 8 March 1665 he was sent to investigate a suspected error in an account of Major Holmes's sea journey to Guinea. He reported back to the society on 15 March, a month after his election.<sup>429</sup>

Pepys also shared an interest in music with other society members. He was an avid music lover, who had lessons in singing, instrumental performance and composition for many decades. In his famous portrait by John Hayls (1666; National Portrait Gallery, London) Pepys is pictured holding his composition 'Beauty retire', emphasising his musical aspirations. Much of Pepys's musical engagement was of the type discussed by Morley and Peacham—domestic recreational performances with his friends as a social activity, for instance with Thomas Hill (Abraham Hill's merchant brother) and Thomas Andrews. Singing with Hill and Andrews appears to have been Pepys's favourite evening activity between April 1664 and December 1665 (when Hill left for Lisbon). The trio's repertoire seems to have consisted of psalms and songs by Henry Lawes, suitable for domestic performance.<sup>430</sup> Pepys organised music lessons for his wife so that she would 'become very good company for me'.<sup>431</sup> He was also keen to learn about new Italian repertoires; he laboured for years to learn the *trillo*, and in December 1663 praised Henry Cooke's performance of Italian songs as 'fully the best musique that I ever yet heard in all my life'.<sup>432</sup> In addition to performances by Cooke, Pepys learned about Italian music from Thomas Hill, who had travelled widely in Italy. Hill kept Pepys spellbound with stories about Italy: one evening Pepys and Hill had 'a discourse of Rome and Italy' which Pepys thought 'the most pleasant that I ever had in my life'.<sup>433</sup>

---

<sup>428</sup> Hall, 'Royal Society', 362–3.

<sup>429</sup> Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, ii, 21, 23. The issue concerned the name of the island where Major Holmes's ship had anchored to replenish supplies. Pepys reported that it was not Fuego (as the fellows had been told), but another island some thirty leagues away. Pepys also gave an account of an experiment with pendulum watches that the major had conducted in Guinea, concluding that pendulum watches were as accurate as other watches.

<sup>430</sup> See for instance, Pepys, v, 120 (12 April 1664), 194 (1 July 1664), 199 (8 July 1664), 209 (15 July 1664), 349 (18 December 1664); vi, 27 (1 February 1665), 32 (5 February 1665), 44 (26 February 1665), 55 (12 March 1665), 73 (2 April 1665), 88 (23 April 1665), 125 (11 June 1665).

<sup>431</sup> Pepys, viii, 205–6 (8 May 1667).

<sup>432</sup> Pepys started working on his *trillo* in June 1661 (Pepys, ii, 128); in September 1667 he was still trying (Pepys, viii, 424). He heard Cooke sing Italian songs on the 21 December 1663, (Pepys, iv, 428).

<sup>433</sup> Pepys, v, 332 (27 November 1664).

In July 1664 Hill introduced Pepys to the Genovese bass Pietro Reggio, formerly a member of Queen Christina's Italian ensemble. Pepys returned home to find Hill, Andrews, and Reggio singing Italian songs:

[I] find, as I expected, Mr. Hill and Andrews and one slovenly and ugly Italian fellow, Seignor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to ye Theorbo most neatly; and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of musique, counted of all hands in the world, made by Seignor Charissimi the famous master in Rome. Fine it was ended, and too fine for me to judge of.<sup>434</sup>

This is Pepys's first recorded encounter with Roman vocal music; although he would later be very keen to explore *avant garde* Italian music performed by Roman-trained singers, on this occasion his comment that the music 'was too fine for me to judge of' seems to suggest that he did not know what to think. The diary entry also suggests that Thomas Hill, on the contrary, had learned to perform Italian music, and perhaps found Reggio's company more stimulating than Pepys, who tired of him only a few days after first being introduced: 'I begin to be weary of having a master with us, for it spoils methinks the ingenuity of our practice.'<sup>435</sup> Possibly Pepys did not want to subject his evening music-making to the expectations of a professional, nor soil his reputation by socialising too closely with someone he would have regarded as little more than a servant.

On other occasions, Pepys was content to take the role of critical listener, for instance at Brouncker's concert. I argue below that Pepys was confused the first time he heard the music performed by the Italian ensemble, and that the confusion stemmed from a clash between his awareness of the status of the ensemble and their repertoire, and the unfamiliarity of their sound. A few days before the concert with the Italian ensemble, Pepys visited Brouncker's house to hear Giovanni Battista Draghi sing excerpts from an opera. Draghi gossiped about Carissimi in Rome, and afterwards Pepys met Killigrew, who bragged about his connections with the Italian ensemble at court (on Killigrew, see above, pp. 49 and 54), Killigrew talked up the ensemble and their music, so that Pepys was looking forward to the concert with no ordinary degree of anticipation:

---

<sup>434</sup> Pepys, v, 217 (22 July 1664).

<sup>435</sup> Pepys, v, 226 (29 July 1664).



Saturday next is appointed to meet again at my Lord Brouncker's lodgings and there to have the whole Quire of Italians. But then I do consider that this is all the pleasure I live for in the world, and the greatest I can ever expect in the best of my life.<sup>436</sup>

When the day of the concert eventually came, it ended in disappointment:

They sent two Harpsicons before; and by and by, after tuning them, they begun; and I confess, very good music they made; that is, the composition exceeding good, but yet not at all more pleasing to me than what I have heard in English by Mrs. Knipp, Captain Cooke and others. Nor do I dote of the Eunuchs; they sing ended pretty high and have a mellow kind of sound, but yet I have been as satisfied with several women's voices, and men also, as Crispe of the Wardrobe.<sup>437</sup>

[...] So home and to supper, not at all smitten with the music tonight, which I did expect should have been so extraordinary, Tom Killigrew crying it up, and so all the world, above all things in the world; and so to bed.<sup>438</sup>

Pepys spilt much ink trying to negotiate an apparent uneasiness at disliking the music he thought he should have liked. In the same diary entry he wrote about how his failure to comprehend the text-setting prevented him from being taken by the music:

The woman sung well, but that which distinguishes all is this: that in singing, the words are to be considered and how they are fitted with notes, and then the common accent of the country is to be known and understood by the hearer, or he will never be a good judge of the vocall music of another country. So that I was not taken with this at all, neither understanding the first nor by practice reconciled to the latter, so that their motions and risings and fallings, though it may be pleasing to an Italian or one that understands that tongue, yet to me it did not; but do from my heart believe that I could set words in English, and make music of them, more agreeable to any Englishman's eare (the most judicious) then any Italian music set for the voice and performed before the same man, unless he be acquainted with the Italian accent of speech. The composition as to the Musique part was exceeding good, and their justness in keeping time by practice much before any that we have, unless it be a good band of practiced fiddlers.<sup>439</sup>

---

<sup>436</sup> Pepys, viii, 57 (12 February 1667).

<sup>437</sup> Pepys, viii, 65–66 (16 February 1667).

<sup>438</sup> Pepys, viii, 65 (16 February 1667).

<sup>439</sup> Pepys, viii, 65 (16 February 1667).

Despite the anticlimax in February, Pepys was still drawn to the Italian ensemble and on Easter Day 1667 he heard them again in the Queen's Catholic Chapel. The occasion only served to strengthen the impression that not understanding the music prevented him from enjoying it. This had been his impression already when hearing Draghi sing through the opera he had written for Killigrew, apparently sponsored by Brouncker.<sup>440</sup> Although Pepys emphasises language, the music he heard in the Catholic Chapel was almost certainly performed in Latin, which he knew. Perhaps the singers pronounced the Latin words in an Italian accent unfamiliar to Pepys, but arguably the style of text-setting and the overall musical and performance style were as problematic to Pepys as the language. He wrote:

And then to walk in the park, and heard the Italian music at the Queen's chapel; whose composition is fine, but yet the voices of the Eunuchs I do not like like our women, nor am I more pleased with it at all then with English voices, but that they jump most excellently with themselves and their instrument—which is wonderful pleasant; but I am convinced more and more, that as every nation hath a peculiar accent and tone in discourse, so as the tone of one not to agree with or please the other, no more can the fashion of singing to words; for that the better the words are set, the more they take in of the ordinary tone of the country whose language the song speaks; so that a song well composed by an Englishman must be better to an Englishman than it is to a stranger, or then if set by stranger in foreign words.<sup>441</sup>

Pepys's confused attempts to negotiate between his English understanding of music and his new experience of Roman music and performance differs from the two most common responses to Italian music in England: whether wholeheartedly embracing 'the fashion for the foreign' or Italophobicly claiming that England was forsaking its Protestant dramatic heritage for Italian operas wholly unsuited to the English nature,<sup>442</sup> few of Pepys's contemporaries attempted his level of analysis. Despite not enjoying the sound, Pepys was keen to point out the high quality of the composition and performance. He was evidently torn between his awareness of the value ascribed to the Italian music by expert music lovers, his friend Hill, Killigrew and 'all the

---

<sup>440</sup> Pepys, viii, 55 (12 February 1667). As when hearing the Italian ensemble, Pepys believed that the different 'accent[s] in every country's discourse' prevented him from fully enjoying the music.

<sup>441</sup> Pepys, viii, 154 (7 April 1667).

<sup>442</sup> One such critic was John Dennis, see his *An Essay on the Operas after the Italian Manner* (London, 1706), 11–12, 14–15.

world' singing its praises, and his bewilderment before the foreignness of the Italians and their music. Arguably the physical otherness of castrato singers was as problematic to Pepys as their sound; England was hostile towards the emasculated physical status of castrati, 'whose throates and complexions scandalize their breeches'.<sup>443</sup>

Some of Pepys's uneasiness can perhaps be understood through parts of Kircher's discussion of national styles and characteristics. In the *Musurgia* Kircher initially claims that a nation's musical preferences are tied to the temperament of the people, which itself depends on the climate of the region. Though clearly also aware of the idea, Pepys seems more inclined towards Kircher's subsequent and somewhat less essentialist view that musical preferences are due to habit and early cultivation:

As for the fact that the style of the Italians pleases the Germans very little, and that of the Germans hardly pleases the Italians or the French, I think happens for a variety of reasons. Firstly, out of patriotism and inordinate affection to both nation and country, each nation always prefers its own above others. Secondly, according to the opposing styles of their innate character and then because of custom maintained by long-standing habit, each nation enjoys only its own music which it has been used to since its earliest age.<sup>444</sup>

National pride and habit are certainly more permeable categories than natural disposition. Kircher further stresses the power of habit through an example of ancient Eastern peoples living in Rome. These peoples could, according to Kircher, not endure the 'refined music' of the Romans because they were more used to their own 'confused and discordant voices'. Kircher maintained that if the Eastern peoples had been given the time, eventually 'they would not only have preferred it to other music, but they would also have desired it avidly and seemed to love it.'<sup>445</sup> Kircher's argument suggests that cultural encounters will lead to a form of accommodation, but it also stipulates a cultural hierarchy in which Italian/Roman music is superior to other musics.<sup>446</sup> (Presumably Romans living in the east would not as easily have accommodated the local musical culture, since they were used to something

---

<sup>443</sup> John Raymond, *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage, made through Italy, in the yeare 1646, and 1647* (London, 1648), [f. 19r]. Evelyn, although impressed with his voice, called Siface 'a meere wanton, effeminate child'. See Evelyn, iv, 547 (19 April 1687).

<sup>444</sup> From Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, i, 543–4, translated by Margaret Murata in Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler, eds., *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1998), 710.

<sup>445</sup> Strunk and Treitler, *Source Readings in Music History*, 710.

<sup>446</sup> Also suggested by his earlier excessive praise of Carissimi.

ostensibly better). This argument implies that it is possible for anyone regardless of origin to learn to recognise and appreciate superior music. Like an early nature-culture binary, Kircher implicitly creates a form of musical-intellectual class distinction between those who are bound by their national preferences and those able to overcome them. In England in the 1660s, familiarity with the Roman repertoire implied that one had spent time in Rome, which many of Pepys's travelled acquaintances had. This added connotations of wealth and education to Kircher's hints about cultural superiority, and probably created a feeling in Pepys that he needed to be familiar with the Roman repertoire in order to be accepted as a virtuoso.

Hence Pepys's distress: in acknowledging his dislike for the music and explaining it as lack of familiarity, he implicitly acknowledges his own insufficiency. Acknowledging this insufficiency simultaneously reveals Pepys's intellectual listening ideal. Again echoing Kircher, Pepys believed that Englishmen familiar with the Italian 'accent of speech' and compositional practice had a similar capacity to enjoy Italian music as native speakers. This reaction also emphasises the difference between Roman vocal music as objectified and embodied cultural capital. The latter implies a process of internalisation and appropriation, an investment in time and effort for one's self-improvement.<sup>447</sup> Pepys's travelled acquaintances had done this during journeys to Rome and the continent, whereas Pepys had to find another way to better himself and increase his cultural capital.

Accordingly, Pepys invested time and effort in self-improvement, and actively set about to accommodate the Roman repertoire. Through attending performances with the Italian ensemble, Pepys was able to familiarise himself with the Roman repertoire, internalise its concepts and thereby expand his previous understanding of Italian music.<sup>448</sup> In September 1667 he visited the Queen's Catholic Chapel and admired the composition but still disliked the voices. However, on Easter Day 1668 he proved Kircher right by enthusiastically exclaiming 'endeed, their music did appear most admirable, to me, beyond anything of ours—I was never so well satisfied in my life with it.'<sup>449</sup> Part of this process was probably reading the

---

<sup>447</sup> Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital,' 80–1.

<sup>448</sup> On accommodation as a process during which a mindset changes to assimilate a new impression, see above, p. 3, and Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 44. In Pepys's case, it is not the ensemble that has to adapt to suit Pepys, but rather his understanding that needs to accommodate the new experience of the Italian ensemble and their repertoire.

<sup>449</sup> Pepys, ix, 126. He also heard excellent music there in September 1668.

*Musurgia*, which he had bought in February 1668 for a huge amount of money (above p. 109). It is nevertheless illuminating that when he heard the ensemble perform at court in September 1668, Pepys still preferred the voice of the tenor Giovanni Sebenico over the others.<sup>450</sup> That Pepys's chief arena for listening to Roman vocal music was the queen's Catholic chapel furthermore shows the inaccessibility of the repertoire. The Catholic chapel was apparently the only place in England where ordinary citizens could hear Roman-trained castrati perform. Fear of Catholic propaganda, however, presumably prevented music-lovers from visiting the chapel; Pepys, for instance, waited until Easter Day 1669 before bringing his wife to hear the music in the Catholic chapel.<sup>451</sup>

Pepys gave up his diary in 1669 due to failing eyesight. His subsequent musical activities are thus harder to follow. However, he seems to have steadily become closer to his ideal of the gentlemanly virtuoso. On 1 December 1684 he was elected president of the Royal Society, and served in that role for two years. He also spent much time in the 1680s and 1690s completing his magnificent library of printed books and manuscripts, sending his nephew on a tour of France and Italy to find new books for his shelves. In 1697 his collection merited inclusion in Edward Bernard's catalogue of manuscripts in England and Ireland.<sup>452</sup>

Musically, it is telling that Pepys employed the Italian Cesare Morelli as his household musician in 1673. Morelli was recruited with the help of Thomas Hill, who recommended him to Pepys in a letter from Lisbon, in April 1673:

Mentioning Music putts me in the mind to acquaint you, That here is a Young Man, borne in Flanders, but breed at Rome, who has the most admirable Voyce, and sings rarely to his Theorba, and with great skill. This young man Lives with a Nobleman, upon a very mean Sallary, and having been formerly in England, most passionately desires to returne thither againe. If either your self, or any friend bee desirous to favor an ingenious person, I know none more deserving than hee. He speaks Latin, Italian, French and Spanish, and tis then thousand pittyes to Let him Live here among People,

---

<sup>450</sup> Pepys, ix, 322 (28 September 1668).

<sup>451</sup> Pepys, ix, 515 (11 April 1669). Pepys wariness may be explained by the fact that Elizabeth Pepys was from a French Catholic background, and had attended convent school. Potentially he was afraid that exposure to a Catholic mass would waken any remaining Catholic feelings in his wife, or simply of being accused of being overly sympathetic to Catholicism himself, which happened frequently in the 1680s due to his close association with James, Duke of York.

<sup>452</sup> Knighton, 'Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703)', ODNB. Edward Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti cum indice alphabetico* (London, 1679).

who will see no Virtue but their owne; if I were going home,  
I should entertaine him my self. For besides his Parts, hee is a  
very ingenious, and which is more, a very good, and discreet  
young man.<sup>453</sup>

Morelli arguably helped Pepys in the process of accommodating the Roman music through copying some of the repertoire and setting the accompaniment in guitar tablature, since figured bass was an aspect of Italian music that Pepys never quite mastered.<sup>454</sup> The copies are not in the oblong octavo books one would expect of secular Roman repertoire at the time, but in upright folios which was the English songbook format Pepys was used to.<sup>455</sup>

As a patron of Italian music Pepys finally triumphed in April 1687, when (after much intriguing) he was able to arrange a music-meeting at his house featuring the famous castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi, who was also known as Siface and had been engaged by the court a few months earlier. According to Evelyn, who attended the meeting,

this was before a select number of some particular persons  
whom Mr. Pepys (Secretary of the Admiralty & a greate  
lover of Musick) invited to his house, where the meeting was,  
& this obtained by peculiar favour & much difficulty of the  
Singer, who much disdained to shew his talent to any but  
Princes.<sup>456</sup>

Pepys's triumph was twofold. He had successfully appropriated the sounds and concepts of an unfamiliar music culture; he had also made it into an exclusive social circle, attaining a sufficient social and cultural force for the singer to consider performing at his house, much like the Albricis had appeared at Brouncker's two decades earlier. Pepys's social connections and enhanced cultural capital enabled

---

<sup>453</sup> Thomas Hill to Samuel Pepys, Lisbon 14 April 1673. Published in R. G. Howarth, ed. *Letters and the Second Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1932), 42–3.

<sup>454</sup> On Pepys and figured bass, see Richard Lockett, 'Music', in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, x: *Companion*, ed. by Robert Latham (London: Bell & Hyman, 1983), 258–82 (275–6). There is still relatively little Roman repertoire in Pepys's musical manuscripts, which contains 'Come ahi come cade' (GB *Cmc* Pepys 2802 and 2591) and 'Lucifer caelestis olim' (GB *Cmc* Pepys 2803) by Carissimi, 'Gia di scitiche brine' by Cesti (Pepys 2591), and 'Lucide faci' and 'Tanto rigida' by Stradella (Pepys 2591). This is, however, equivalent to the amount of Roman music in other late seventeenth-century English manuscript collections (see below p. 126) although the repertoire is partly different.

<sup>455</sup> Roger Short, 'Morelli, Cesare', *GMO*. Pepys's copies are preserved in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

<sup>456</sup> Evelyn, iv, 547. See also Peter Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 379–400 (387).

him to invite distinguished people to his house, rather than going to theirs. Peacham said about a true gentleman: ‘We must attend him, and come to his house, and not he to ours.’<sup>457</sup> Pepys’s conscious engagement with elite musical repertoires arguably facilitated his transition from humble clerk to virtuoso patron of the arts.

### **The Publication of Roman Vocal Music in Restoration London: Girolamo Pignani’s *Scelta di canzonette* (1679)**

Pepys education in Roman vocal music shows how the Roman repertoire remained exclusive to the English court and intellectual elite in the 1660s and 1670s. Previous research by Graham Dixon and Jonathan Wainwright has suggested that Roman vocal music in general, and by Carissimi in particular, was very popular after the Restoration.<sup>458</sup> My research shows that Roman vocal music was generally not available in England until after the Restoration, and then largely in sonic form disseminated by the king’s Italian ensemble, who only performed in very exclusive contexts such as the queen’s Catholic chapel. Within the public music market, particularly the growing trade in printed music, awareness of Roman vocal music was even more limited. The only Roman repertoire published in England with clear attributions was included in Girolamo Pignani’s *Scelta di canzonette de piu autori [sic!]* (1679), advertised in the *London Gazette* as

A New Printed Book of choice *Italian* Songs in Musick.  
Compos’d by several Excellent Masters. Dedicated to the  
several Lovers thereof. And are to be sold by *John Carr*  
within the *Middle Temple-Gate*.<sup>459</sup>

Dixon has argued that this book testifies to the growing interest in Roman vocal music in Restoration England. However, the *Scelta di canzonette* was the only printed volume wholly dedicated to Italian-texted music published in England since

---

<sup>457</sup> Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 13.

<sup>458</sup> Graham Dixon, ‘Purcell’s Italianate Circle’, in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. by Michael Burden (London: Faber & Faber, 1995). Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 199.

<sup>459</sup> *London Gazette*, 31 March 1679. See also Michael Tilmouth, ‘Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 1–107 (4). The imprint does not give Carr’s name but the *London Gazette* advertisement does. *Scelta di canzonette* must have been one of John Playford (ii) and Anne Godbid’s first publications after the death of William Godbid in 1679. Playford (i) and Godbid became John Playford (ii) and John Carr’s principal printers during the 1680s. See Stephanie Carter, ‘Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650–1700’ (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2010), 67, 258–61; also Donald W. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553–1700* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975), 121–22; Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, ‘Playford’, *GMO*.

Angelo Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* (1613); none other was printed until Walsh published the arias from Mancini's *Hydaspes* in 1710 in Italian without English translations.<sup>460</sup> In the 1650s and 1660s, Playford had published a total of twenty Italian songs spread over three publications, which included four unattributed arias by Rossi, Carissimi and Loreto Vittori (1600–1670) (below, p. 128). Otherwise, Italian music was rarely published in England. The *Scelta di canzonette* was moreover anomalous in a European context by presenting secular cantatas in print, when they were otherwise usually transmitted in exclusive manuscript collections.<sup>461</sup> The following section presents the first complete list of concordances for the pieces in Pignani's volume, and for the Italian pieces in Playford's *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1659; reprinted in *The Treasury of Music*, 1669) and *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1669). It argues that *Scelta di canzonette* was a commercial failure, because it did not match the tastes and abilities of the English musical public and yet its format was too much associated with the commercial market to be attractive to the virtuosi who took an interest in the repertoire the book presented. I also suggest that *Scelta di canzonette* had minimal impact on the dissemination of the Roman repertoire in England.

The Italian repertoires available on the English music market depended on the availability of printed music and on English political relationships with different Italian city-states in the seventeenth century, as well as the domestic political situation. Before the Restoration, English musical exchanges with Italy had focused on Venice and the north. As Chapter 1 has summarised, Venetian printed editions were sold by Robert Martin and form an important part of Christopher Hatton's music collection. Music by early seventeenth-century north Italian composers continued to be an important part of English music libraries and manuscript anthologies later in the century (see above, p. 18). Indeed, music by early seventeenth-century north Italian composers such as Rovetta, Sances, Cazzati, Monferrato, Merula, and Gasparo Casati (c.1610–41) outweighs the Roman

---

<sup>460</sup> Earlier in the decade Walsh had published collections of opera arias with English words underneath the Italian original, for instance Scarlatti's *Phyrrus and Demetrius* (1709), and *Almahilde* (1710); earlier operas, such as Bononcini's *Camilla* (1703, reissued continuously) and Fedeli's *The Temple of Love* (1706) were translated into English. See David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703–1726: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1997), 45, 168, 181, 188.

<sup>461</sup> See above, p. 24, and Giulia Giovani, 'La diffusione a stampa della cantata da camera in Italia (1620–1738)' (PhD thesis, Università degli studi di Roma "Tor Vergata", 2011), 54–58.



repertoire in late seventeenth-century English scribal collections of Italian music, such as John Blow's manuscript songbook *Och Mus.* 14 (mid-1670s), Edward Lowe's partbooks *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* (before 1682), Henry Bowman's songbook *Lbl Add. MS 30382* (c.1678–85), and Charles Morgan's collection *Lbl Add. MS 33234* (c.1682–92). These anthologies contain four of the five Carissimi motets published in *Missa a cinque et a novem* (1666): 'In te Domine speravi', 'Militia est vita hominis', 'Surgamus, eamus', and 'Suscitavit dominus' (below, p. 150), in addition to the widely disseminated trio 'Amante che dite' (see above p. 71). They all also contain the two widely disseminated motets 'Audite sancti' and 'Lucifer caelestis olim', both of which would later be published in Henry Palyford's second book of *Harmonia Sacra* (1693, after the manuscripts under discussion were copied), and the three Graziani motets 'O dulcis Jesu', 'Per asperos mundi errores' and 'Velut palma, velut rosa' (this last also published in *Harmonia Sacra*).<sup>462</sup> The Roman motets compete for attention with far more numerous motets by North Italian composers (see Appendix VI). The copyists in question were all well-connected and influential figures—Blow was a court composer with an Oxford doctorate in music, Lowe and Goodson were Oxford professors of Music, and Bowman and Morgan were proficient musicians active in Oxford musical life—and this further testifies to the inaccessibility of Roman vocal music.<sup>463</sup>

---

<sup>462</sup> Blow included two secular pieces attributed to Carissimi, 'Tonchisi pensieri' and 'Il mondo tace' (above, p. 74), and Lowe also copied the fifth motet from *Missa a cinque*, 'Turbabuntur impii', and 'Tronchisi pensieri' (which he probably got from Blow).

<sup>463</sup> *Och Mus.* 14 contains three Carissimi; *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* four (further discussed below, p. 143); *Lbl Add. MS 33234* has three Carissimi, one Graziani, and one Silvestro Durante [?]; *Lbl Add. MS 30382* has two Carissimi, one Antonio Cesti [?], and one Silvestro Durante [?], compared to four Sances, two Marini, eleven Casati, four Monferrato, one Rovetta, and one Trabattone. See further Appendix VI. On the dissemination of 'Amante che dite', see also Ester Lebedinski, "'The Magnificence of the Sublime: Carissimi's Music in Restoration England'", in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 151–80.

**Figure 3.1:** Page 15 of Playford's *Select Ayers and Dialogues* (1659) featuring 'Fuggi da lieti amanti' and 'Amor merere che'.

IMAGES UNDER COPYRIGHT REMOVED FROM OPEN ACCESS VERSION

*Figure 3.2: Page 64 from Scelta di canzonette (1679), containing 'Chi non sa fingere' by Luigi Rossi.*

IMAGES UNDER COPYRIGHT REMOVED FROM OPEN ACCESS VERSION

Although the earlier Italian repertoires reached England in printed music books, within England they circulated in manuscript copies and were disseminated in sonic form by English musicians such as Henry Cooke. These were still relatively elite media: as Stephanie Carter has pointed out, there is a significant difference between musical amateurs with strong social connections and contact with professional musicians, and musical amateurs without those connections.<sup>464</sup> A few unattributed pieces, mainly in the north Italian style but intermixed with four Roman pieces, were published by Playford in the 1660s, but as Pepys's comments on the Italian ensemble suggest, the Italian language would probably still have made them inaccessible to a large portion of Playford's clientele (see Table 3.1 for an inventory). Four unattributed Italian pieces appear in Playford's *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1659; reprinted in *The Treasury of Music*, 1669); the two on page 15, 'Fuggi da lieti amanti' and 'Amor merere che' are both short, syllabic pieces with a range of about an octave (Figure 3.1), whereas 'Vittoria mio core' (p. 66) by Carissimi has more demanding rhythms, melismas, and ranges, as does the duet 'Con bell se gella' (p. 67). The ten anonymous Italian songs published at the back of Playford's *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1669; book II of the *Treasury of Musick*) constitute a similarly eclectic mix. The by far most difficult piece to perform is 'Ah, che lasso credero' (p.

---

<sup>464</sup> Carter, 'Music Publishing,' 30–4.

99) by Luigi Rossi, followed by ‘Amante a consiglio’ (p. 100) by Rossi’s Roman colleague Loreto Vittori (1600–1670),<sup>465</sup> and another aria by Rossi, ‘Si tocchi tamburo’ from the opera *Il palazzo incantato* (1642) produced for Antonio Barberini in Rome. These modern songs are mixed with older and more widely disseminated Italian songs, such as ‘S’io moro, che dira’ and ‘Dove corri, mio core’, and numerous anonymous Italian songs (see **Table 3.1**).<sup>466</sup> The vast majority are short and simple strophic songs, with ranges typically of an octave or less and stepwise moving melodies. In addition to the songs in these books, six unidentifiable Italian pieces were published in Playford’s *Catch that Catch can* (1667) as ‘Italian and Latin Ayres for 3. voc.’

Thus about twenty anonymised Italian pieces, of widely varying provenance and level of difficulty, had been published in England by 1669. That Playford should publish music by already famous composers without brandishing their names suggests that he did not know the origins of the music. Possibly some travelled musical contact supplied Playford with copies of the music; Playford was evidently in touch with the Englishman Thomas Stafford (*fl.* from 1653), who had studied with Rossi in Rome and performed together with Pignani in Caproli’s *Nozze di Peleo* in Paris in 1654, since he published some of Stafford’s songs in *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* (1675) and *New Ayres and Dialogues* (1678).<sup>467</sup> With so little Italian music available on the open market, it was only Pepys’s social connections with Henry Cooke, Thomas Hill, Brouncker, the Royal Society and the court that enabled him to become as proficient in any kind of Italian music as he did. Music-lovers lacking such connections would have been dependent on the commercial music print market for access to Italian musical repertoire.

---

<sup>465</sup> This was also published in *Arie a voce sola* (Venice, 1649). See H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Ayres and Arias: An Hiterto Unknown Seventeenth-Century English Songbook’, *Early Music History* 16, (1997), 167–201 (176–7).

<sup>466</sup> In the Playford edition, these are spelled ‘Sio moro, chi dira’ and ‘Dove Corri, mio Corri’. On their wide dissemination during the seventeenth century, see Gordon J. Callon, ed. *Songs with Theorbo (ca. 1650–1663)*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxbourne 84.9 London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1041 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2000), 20, 22.

<sup>467</sup> Besutti, Paola, ‘Stafford, Thomas (*fl.* from 1653)’, GMO.

*Table 3.1: Italian songs published in Playford's songbooks.*

<b>Transcribed title</b>	<b>Standard title<sup>468</sup></b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Published in</b>	<b>Concordances</b>
An Italian Ayre / Fuggi da lieti amanti	Fuggi, fuggi, fuggi diletta amante	[unattributed]	<i>Select Musically Ayres</i> (1652); <i>Select Ayres</i> (1659); <i>Treasury of Music</i> (1669).	GB <i>Ob</i> Broxbourne 84.9; I <i>Fc</i> Codex Barbera G.F.83; I <i>Bas</i> Malvezzi-Campeggi MS serie IV, b.86/746. <sup>469</sup>
A French Ayre / Amor merere che	[unidentifiable]	[unattributed]	<i>Select Ayres</i> (1659), <i>Treasury of Music</i> (1669).	[unidentifiable]
An Italian Ayre / Victoria mio core	Vittoria, mio core (Amante sciolto d'amore)	[Carissimi, Giacomo]	<i>Select Ayres</i> (1659), <i>Treasury of Music</i> (1669).	B <i>Bc</i> 586; D <i>W</i> Cod. Guelf. 11 Noviss. 2lo (Nr. 8); GB <i>Och</i> Mus. 350; Mus. 17; <i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 11608; S- <i>Sk</i> S231.
Con bel se gella de se crezza	Con bell' sigilla	[unattributed]	<i>Catch that Catch Can</i> (1667); <i>Select Ayres</i> (1659), <i>Treasury of Music</i> (1669); <i>Musical Companion</i> (1672–3).	GB <i>Gu</i> R.d.61, <i>Lbl</i> Harley 7549, both incomplete.
Dove dove Corri mio Corri	Dove corri mio core	[unattributed]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669).	F <i>Pn</i> Rés.Vm <sup>7</sup> 501; GB <i>Ob</i> Broxbourne 84.9; <i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29396. <sup>470</sup>
Intenerite voi	[unidentifiable]	[unattributed]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669).	GB <i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31440

<sup>468</sup> As given in RISM, cited scholarly articles or editions.

<sup>469</sup> Callon, *Songs with Theorbo*, 79.

<sup>470</sup> A poem with a similar text was published in Annibale Pocaterra, *Dialoghi della vergogna* (1607), see Callon, *Songs with Theorbo*, 22.

Occhi Belle o've Imperai	[unidentifiable]	[unattributed]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669).	[unidentifiable]
Ah che lasso credero	Ah, chi lasso crederò	[Luigi Rossi]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669).	D SWI Mus.4718a; <i>BFb</i> C-ha pract.anh; GB <i>Lbl</i> Harley 7549; <i>Och</i> Mus. 17, Mus. 350.
Sio moro, chi dira	S'io morrò, che dira	[unattributed]	<i>Catch that Catch Can</i> (1667); <i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669); <i>Musical Companion</i> (1672–3).	F <i>Pn</i> Rés.2489, f. 311; GB <i>Gu</i> R.d.58–61; <i>Lbl</i> Harley 7549; <i>Mu</i> Tabley Song Book; <i>Ob</i> Broxbourne 84.9 <sup>471</sup>
Amante a consiglio	Amante, a consiglio	[Loreto Vittori]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669); <i>Arie a voce sola</i> (Venice, 1649).	PL <i>Kj</i> MS Mus.ant.pract. P 970. <sup>472</sup>
Si tocchi tambuco	Si tocchi tamburo	[Luigi Rossi, from <i>Il palzzo incantato</i> (1642)]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669).	D <i>B</i> Mus.ms. 30342 (3); GB <i>Och</i> Mus. 949, <i>Lbl</i> Harley 7549.
Si garde che puo	[unidentifiable]	[unattributed]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669); <i>Musical Companion</i> (1672–3).	[unidentifiable]
Fugite l'inganni d'Amore	[unidentifiable]	[unattributed]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669).	B <i>Bc</i> 17059; GB <i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31440.
De' quei Belle occhi	[unidentifiable]	[unattributed]	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1669).	[unidentifiable]

<sup>471</sup> Poem probably by Diacinta Fedele, reworked from *Scelta di vilanelle napolitane bellissime con alcune ottave siciliane nove, con le sue intavolature quitarra alla Spagniola* (Venice, 1628). See Callon, *Songs with Theorbo*, 85.

<sup>472</sup> Diack Johnstone, 'Ayres and Arias', 176–7.

*Scelta di canzonette* is a small inelegant volume compiled by the Italian castrato singer Girolamo Pignani, who had sung in France in the 1650s and Copenhagen in the early 1660s. Presumably he was resident in London in the late 1670s (see above, p. 58). Pignani included a mix of arias by contemporary Roman composers such as Alessandro Stradella, Carlo Caproli, and Antonio Cesti, four arias dubiously attributed to Carissimi and Rossi, and pieces by Italians based in London such as Giovanni Battista Draghi, Nicola Matteis, Bartolomeo Albrici, and Pignani himself (see Table 3.2 for complete contents of the book). The book is an oblong sexto, printed by Anne Godbid and John Playford Jr, on cheap paper in moveable type;<sup>473</sup> the page signatures start with B, suggesting that another gathering was meant to be included, but left out before the volume was published.

Pignani's target audience is difficult to pin down; *Scelta di canzonette* survives in two issues, one with a preface to the reader, and one dedicated to Henry Howard, who had recently succeeded his brother as Duke of Norfolk. The preface to the reader suggests that Pignani attempted to tap into a music market eager for fashionable Italian music. It was dedicated to 'all lovers of music':

SCELTA/ Di Canzonette/ DE/ PIU AUTORI./ DEDICATE/  
A GLI AMATORI DELLA MUSICA./ Printed at London, by  
A. Godbid and J. Playford, in Little-Britain. 1679.

TO THE READER.

Observing how favourably Italian compositions are received by lovers of music in this city, I resolved to print this volume, and to make it as admirable as possible, I have selected the most beautiful songs by the most excellent composers of our century, to the end that the variety of style may render it more pleasurable and no less useful. Some of these have been composed in London specially for your pleasure by persons whose ability you fully recognize, and I trust that your approval and praise will repay their efforts on my behalf. I refrain from dedicating these volumes to many people of great merit and nobility, only in order that each one of these virtuosi may be able to elect his own patron. I know that I shall be ridiculed for inserting my name among such an illustrious catalogue, but one cannot drown in a sea of virtue,

---

<sup>473</sup> According to Donald Krummel this format is typically English. Donald W. Krummel, 'Oblong Format in Early Music Books', *The Library*, s5-XXVI (1971), 312–24 (316). The book does not correspond to John Playford's (ii) typical folio songbooks. The smaller format and lack of Playford's characteristically lavish engraved title pages may suggest that *Scelta di canzonette* was even cheaper than the average Playford anthology.

and any one who is not bold and rather timid clings to the shore and can never carry cargo. Dear Reader, I know you understand me: Adieu, and live well.<sup>474</sup>

The inclusion of two pieces each by himself, Draghi, Matteis, and Bartolomeo Albrici, coupled with Pignani's statement that he refrained from dedicating the volume to specific persons (which is untrue given the dedication to Howard) so that each composer could choose his own patron, potentially suggests that the volume was a bid for patronage for Pignani and his fellow Italian musicians in London. If this was the case, showcasing the four musicians' work alongside famous Italian composers may have been a conscious strategy to enhance their own reputation. The idea that *Scelta di canzonette* was a bid for patronage is further supported by the dedication of the other issue of the volume, preserved in a copy in the Vatican Library, which was specifically dedicated to a person 'of great merit and nobility', the Catholic sixth Duke of Norfolk and Fellow of the Royal Society, Henry Howard. The two prefatory leaves in both issues lack page signatures, suggesting that these leaves could be inserted or removed as required by the relationship between musician and patron. The Vatican copy's title-page and dedication are as follows:

SCelta DI/ CANZONETTE ITALIANE/ DI DIVERSI  
AUTORI./ DEDICATE ALL' EXCELLENTISSIMO /  
Henrico Howard,/ DUCA DI NORFOLK, E GRAN  
MARESCIAL D'INGHILTERRA./ Printed at London, by A.  
*Godbid* and J. *Playford*, in *Little-Britain*. 1679.

Excellent Lord. There is no corner of the earth that does not resonate with the immortal name of Your Excellence[,] and where (together with the nobility of your gentle birth) [your] infallible Prudence, incomparable Virtue, and invincible Valour is not known. It is not necessary to call upon illustrious forefathers to confirm these remarkable facts. He who desires to reach a true idea of perfection, shall reflect on the lofty prerogatives of Your Excellence, and he will find a

---

<sup>474</sup> Translation by Dixon, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', 39. 'AL LETTORE. / *Havendo osservato, quanto favorevolmente sono ricevute le Composizioni Italiane dagli amatori dell Musica, in cotesta Città, mi fece risolvere imprimere il presente Volume, & per renderlo più stimabile, hò scielto le più belle Canzoni de più Eccellenti autori del nostro secolo, accio che la varietà dello stile, lo rendo più dilettevole, è non meno utile. Alcune di esse sono state composte in Londra espressamente per compiacerti, de Persone, la di dui virtù, ti e molto ben nota, espero che la tua approvazione, e lode, ricompenseranno per me la lor fatica. Io ne consacro gli esemplari a più Persone di gran merito, e Nobilità, solo a fine, di procurare a ciascheduno di cotesti Vituosi il suo Protettore. Io so bene che sarò biasmato, d'havere inserito il mio nome fra un Catalogo si degno, ma pure nel mare della Virtù, non può ingolfari, chi non è audace è chi timido rade le sponde, non si carica mai di merce pellegrine. Caro Lettore, so che m'intendi Addio, e vivi sano. / GIROLAMO PIGNANI.'*



compendium of every virtue among which shines so much that kindness, which today assures me that it is not to displease him, that I take the boldness to cover these labours of the most famous authors of our time with Your Excellence's mantle of protection. I also beg [Your Excellence] to accept them with the most sincere sign of deference from him who desires to be admitted among the number of Your Excellence's most humble, devoted, and obliged servants, Girolamo Pignani.<sup>475</sup>

Although it was signed by Pignani alone, the dedication implicitly asks for protection of other authors in the volume as well. Dedicating the volume to Henry Howard was a sensible choice for Italian musicians; in addition to being a powerful nobleman, Howard had spent much of his youth in Italy with his grandfather, the virtuoso Thomas Howard (see above, p. 99). Very little is known about Howard's personal musical interests but, as was discussed above, he represented a coterie whose members took an active interest in new Italian music.

Despite Pignani's efforts, or perhaps because of them, *Scelta di canzonette* was most likely a failure both on the commercial market and as a bid for patronage from connoisseurs in the Royal Society. Apart from the British Library and Vatican copies discussed here, only two other copies of the book survive.<sup>476</sup> No similar anthologies appeared after 1679, and nothing more is heard of Pignani in England. I would argue that the case of *Scelta di canzonette* resembles what Rebecca Herissone has suggested as an explanation for the limited success of Henry Purcell's *Dioclesian* score: it tried simultaneously to appeal to two different sections of the music market, and thus missed both marks.<sup>477</sup> With its repertoire and its format, *Scelta di canzonette* falls between the same different sections of the market. In terms of its format, the

---

<sup>475</sup> Girolamo Pignani, *Scelta di canzonette di diversi autori, dedicate all' eccellentissimo Henrico Howard* (London 1679). This edition of the book is preserved in I-Rvat, Stamp. Barb. N. XIII. 1. 'ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNORE./ Non u'è angolo della terra che non risuoni il nome immortale di Vos[tra] Ecc[el]lenza/ et ove non sia nota (con la nobiltà de i Natali) l'infalibile Prudenza, l'imparaggiabile Virtù l'invincibile Valore. Non v'è d' [u]opo d'amplificare ne mendicare da gli Avi Illu[stri] fatti egregi. Chi desia formare una vera Idea di perfezione, rifletta pure nell' eccelse prerogative di Vos[tra] Ecc[el]lenza/ che troverà il compendio d'ogni virtù tra le quali tanto riluce quella benignità, che in oggi m'assicura che non sia per dispiacergli, l'ardire ch'io prendo di coprire con il manto della protezione di Vo[tra] Ecc[el]lenza/ queste piceole[sic!] fatighe de i più celebri Autori de nostri tempi. Esupplicarla [sic!] altresì di gradire con esse la più sincera Rimonstranza d'ossequio di chi brama esser' ammesso fra il numero de i più/ Di Vo[stra] Ecc[el]lenza/ Humili e Devoti, et Obligati Servitori./ GIROLAMO PIGNANI.'

<sup>476</sup> In US NYp, and US Wc (incomplete).

<sup>477</sup> Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63 (2010), 243–89 (280).

small, cheaply produced volume resembles popular instrumental anthologies intended for domestic performance published by John Playford (the elder) after the Restoration. Its repertoire, however, would have been familiar only to the travelled and educated men of the Royal Society and their like.

*Scelta di canzonette* was different from anything published on the Restoration music market.<sup>478</sup> It was the only Italian-texted music book published between Notari's *Prime Musiche Nuove* (1613) and Mancini's *Hydaspes* (1710), and its untranslated Italian lyrics and prefatory material alone would have seemed foreign to English professional and recreational musicians alike. Apart from the language, the pieces in *Scelta di canzonette* are musically different and on average more challenging than the Italian pieces in the Playford anthologies discussed above. Pignani's own 'No, nol credo' (Example 3.1), for instance, has a range of an octave and a half with demanding rhythms, leaps and runs, and modulations in the singing voice. There are also unusual changes of metre between the duple-time continuo ritornello and the triple-time vocal writing. The continuo part, moreover, contains figuring rarely encountered in England in the 1670s. The first extensive English instructions for playing figured bass were published in Matthew Locke's *Melothesia* (1673),<sup>479</sup> and by 1679 the 7–6 progressions and  $\frac{6}{5}$  figuring in Pignani's piece (and the majority of the pieces in *Scelta*) would arguably have presented a significant challenge even to professional English musicians. The unfamiliar harmony deriving from unusual bass figuring probably reinforced the sense of foreignness created by the untranslated lyrics and prefatory material.

Although it would certainly have been possible for skilled recreational singers to perform the music in Pignani's anthology, they would likely have been deterred either by its blatant foreignness or by the cheap format. The exclusive status of Roman vocal music in Restoration England would have clashed with the format of *Scelta di canzonette*. Virtuosi treating Roman vocal music as curiosities cherished for

---

<sup>478</sup> 'Canzonette' in the title does probably not refer to the poetic form *canzonetta* but is more likely used in the looser seventeenth-century sense, as defined by Ruth I. DeFord: 'In the 17th century the term "canzonetta" was often interchangeable with "villanella", "aria", "arietta", "scherzo" and "cantata". It was applied to pieces of relatively serious character, as well as to songs in popular styles. After about 1640 it could also refer to chamber works combining recitative and aria styles.' Ruth I, DeFord, 'Canzonetta', *GMO*. *Scelta di canzonette* contains pieces that could be defined as *canzonette* (notably combining recitative and aria style), as well as arias and two duets.

<sup>479</sup> Matthew Locke, *Melothesia, or, Certain General Rules for Playing upon a Continued-Bass* (London, 1673).

their rarity, as intellectual trophies or exclusive souvenirs from sojourns abroad, would not have been interested in a cheap printed volume of dubiously attributed songs. For instance, *Scelta di canzonette* does not survive in the well preserved personal libraries of Pepys or Henry Aldrich, both of whom were known for their interest in Italian music. In Italy, secular cantatas were the property of the patron for whom they were written and were very rarely printed. When made accessible, they were disseminated in exclusive manuscript collections, such as *Och Mus.* 996 and 377, acquired by diplomats and wealthy tourists as much as status items as for the music they contained. The two volumes of late seventeenth-century vocal music in *Lbl Egerton* 2961 and 2962, bought by Henriette Scott in Rome in May 1697, are good examples of this practice (see Appendix II and IX). From the perspective of the commercial sheet music market, however, the cheap format of *Scelta di canzonette* belied its elite repertoire, which would have been unknown to most English music-lovers. It thus appears that the English market for Roman vocal music was separated and governed by different interests from the commercial music market that made music available to recreational performers in (relatively) affordable and accessible formats.

**Example 3.1:** Bars 1–35 of Girolamo Pignani’s ‘No, nol credo’, edited from *Scelta di canzonette* (1679), copy in GB Lbl K.8.i.15. The falling scale in bar 11 has been transposed down by one degree. This and other editorial changes are shown in square brackets.

**Prestissimo.** 1 5

[voice] 

[bce] 7 # # 6 6 6

10 15

b # 7 6 # 7 6 # b6

20  
cor ti - ran-no se non ve-de'in mar-d'af - fan - no\_ nau - fra - gar l'al - trui cos-

25 30  
tan - - - - - za no no

The volume apparently did not play a significant role in the dissemination of Roman vocal music in England. Dixon has claimed that the pieces in *Scelta di canzonette* derive from sources close to the composer, and that most of them are unique to the source.<sup>480</sup> However, as Table 3.2 below shows, only eight pieces in *Scelta di canzonette* by composers based in Italy do not have identifiable manuscript concordances. The lack of concordances for these eight is easily accounted for: the two pieces attributed to Carissimi are probably misattributions, since *Scelta di canzonette* is the only source of ‘Crudo amore’ and the only one to attribute ‘La mia fede altrui giurata’ to Carissimi.<sup>481</sup> Of the two arias attributed to Luigi Rossi, Eleanor Caluori has questioned the legitimacy of ‘Non m’affligete piu’.<sup>482</sup> The four remaining pieces by Boretti and Pasquini are hitherto unidentifiable, but could plausibly derive from operas. In addition, the book contains identifiable misattributions, such as the ascription of Pasquini’s ‘Amor ben io intendo’ to Stradella.<sup>483</sup> The remaining pieces by Italian-based composers have multiple concordances in continental sources (see Table 3.2). Very few pieces have concordances in English sources; where English concordances exist they were most likely copied from Italian manuscript copies of cantatas in English collections. For instance, Cesti’s ‘Cara e dolce libertà’ in Harley 1273 was more likely copied from a

<sup>480</sup> Dixon, ‘Purcell’s Italianate Circle’, 41.

<sup>481</sup> See entries for the respective cantatas in Gloria Rose, *Giacomo Carissimi, 1605–1674: A Thematic Catalogue of his Cantatas*, The Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1966).

<sup>482</sup> Eleanor Caluori, *The Cantatas of Luigi Rossi: Analysis and Thematic Index*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), i, 93–4.

<sup>483</sup> Carolyn Gianturco and Eleanor McCrickard, *Alessandro Stradella (1639–1682): A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1991), 265.

lost Italian exemplar or the Roman *Och Mus.* 958 than from *Scelta di canzonette* (below, p. 210). This suggests that Pignani's collection, much like Playford's ten years earlier, was a compilation of music he could access, and was not used as an exemplar for English manuscript copies of Roman vocal music. It thus had little impact on the dissemination of Roman repertoire in England.

*Table 3.2: The contents of Scelta di canzonette (1679) and concordances.*

<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Comment</b>	<b>Concordances</b>
Dite che far poss'io	p. 1	Carlo Caproli	Song attrib. to Caproli with the same text but different music preserved in I-Nc C.I.4 (A.45), f. 140r.	
Cara e dolce libertà	p. 8	Antonio Cesti <sup>484</sup>		D <i>BFb</i> C-ha 60, f. 12r; <i>Hs</i> ND VI 1023 (51), f. 64v; GB <i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273, f. 41v; <i>Och</i> Mus. 958, f. 126r; Hawkins iv, 94–5); I <i>Nc</i> 33.5.16; <i>Nc</i> Arie 484/3, f. 1; <i>Nc</i> Cantate 31 (A 49), f. 139 r; PL <i>Wu</i> RM 6366; S <i>B</i> NB holm 215, p. 5; US <i>BEm</i> MS 175, p. 111.
Non m'affliggete piu	p. 13	Luigi Rossi	Attribution uncertain. <i>Scelta</i> only known source. <sup>485</sup>	B <i>Bc</i> MS M.17196, pp. 6–8, (MS copy of <i>Scelta</i> ).
Amor ben io intendo	p. 20	Bernardo Pasquini	Aria in <i>La donna ancora è fedele</i> (1676 (?) II, 10). <sup>486</sup> Attributed to Stradella in <i>Scelta</i> .	B <i>Bc</i> 55858; I- <i>Bc</i> V286 no.4.
Mia tiranna oh' Dio pietà	p. 25	Antonio Cesti	Shortened version.	F <i>Pthibault</i> , 5 P 2, f. 152r; I <i>Rvat</i> , Chigi Q.IV.11, f. 31r, and Barb.lat.4147; <i>MOe</i> Mus.E.300; <i>Nc</i> C.I.13, f. 34 r; <i>Nc</i> 33.5.33

<sup>484</sup> On these cantatas, see entries in David L. Burrows, *Antonio Cesti (1623–1669) [Thematic catalogue.] Compiled by D. Burrows*, Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1964).

<sup>485</sup> Eleanor Caluori has questioned the attribution to Rossi on stylistic grounds. See Caluori, *The Cantatas of Luigi Rossi*, i, 93–4.

<sup>486</sup> Gianturco, *Thematic Catalogue*, 265.

				and 60.1.49.
Crudo Amore il mio Cuore	p. 32	Giacomo Carissimi <sup>487</sup>	<i>Scelta</i> earliest known source.	D <i>DI</i> Mus. 1-J-1. F. 19r
Chi non ama non hà Cuore	p. 35	Bernardo Pasquini	Opera aria?	
Tu partisti Idolo amato	p. 37	Carlo Ambrogio Lonati		I <i>Rvat</i> Barb. Lat. 4158, no. 16.
So ben che mi saettano	p. 43	Alessandro Stradella <sup>488</sup>	Aria in <i>Il Biante</i> (Rome (?), 1670–1;II, 1).	B <i>Bc</i> MSM 17196, p. 19; I <i>Bc</i> V286, p. 26 (incomplete MS copy of <i>Scelta</i> ); <i>Rvat</i> , Chigi Q.IV.13, f. 55; <i>Vnm</i> , It.IV, 463 (=9987), f. 188.
Quant'e' folle Amante	p. 46	Bernardo Pasquini	Opera aria?	
Il dolce content	p. 49	Nicola Matteis (Sr.) <sup>489</sup>	<i>Scelta</i> only known source.	
Ninfe vezzose movete il pie	p. 53	Bartolomeo Albrici <sup>490</sup>	<i>Scelta</i> only known source	
La mia fede altrui giurata	p. 58	Giacomo Carissimi	Attribution in <i>Scelta</i> unique.	D <i>MŪs</i> 4086 (misattributed to Stradella); <sup>491</sup> I <i>Fc</i> 36; <i>MOe</i> Mus.G.260, No. 4; <i>Rvat</i> , Barb. 4158, f. 87; <i>Vqs</i> MS Cl.VIII.18 (1440), f. 41r.
Occhi belli voi siete vezzosi	p. 61	Giovanni Battista Draghi <sup>492</sup>	<i>Scelta</i> only known source.	

<sup>487</sup> Rose, *Thematic Catalogue*.

<sup>488</sup> Gianturco, *Thematic Catalogue*, 154–5, 83–4.

<sup>489</sup> For the attribution to Matteis Sr, see Simon Jones, ‘The “Stupendious” Nicola Matteis: An Exploration of his Life, his Works for the Violin and his Performing Style’ (PhD thesis, University of York, 2003), 14–16.

<sup>490</sup> Gloria Rose and Mary Frandsen, ‘Albrici, Bartolomeo’, *GMO*.

<sup>491</sup> Gianturco lists this among pieces misattributed to Stradella, *Thematic Catalogue*, 266

<sup>492</sup> Holman, ‘Draghi, Giovanni Battista’, *GMO*.

Chi non sa fingere	p. 64	Luigi Rossi	<i>Scelta</i> only known source.	B <i>Bc</i> MS M.17196, p. 29, (MS copy of <i>Scelta</i> ).
Celar d' Amor la fiamma	p. 66	Giovanni Antonio Boretti	Unidentified opera aria?	
Che cupido chi fugge lo strale	p. 68	Bartolomeo Albrici	<i>Scelta</i> only known source	
Oh' tiranna gelosia	p. 73	Giovanni Battista Draghi	<i>Scelta</i> only known source.	
Con l' assalto d' ardenti	p. 78	Giovanni Antonio Boretti	Unidentified opera aria?	
Voglio morte e voglio vita	p.81	Carlo Caproli	Attributed to Lonati in <i>Scelta</i> .	GB <i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264, f. 44v; <i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273, f. 30; I <i>Vqs</i> MS CI.VIII.12 (1443), f. 13r; <i>MOe</i> MS Mus.G.308, f. 43.
Ah crudele e perche	p. 85	Girolamo Pignani		
Nò nol credo nò speranza	p. 90	Girolamo Pignani		
Lidio in vano presumi	p. 97	Carlo Caproli		GB <i>Och</i> Mus. 953, f. 55v.
Caro volto pallidetto	p. 100	Nicola Matteis (Sr.)	<i>Scelta</i> only known source.	
Non sa mai Amor ferir, a. 2.	p. 102	Alessandro Stradella	Duet in <i>Il Biante</i> (III, 7).	B <i>Bc</i> Ms. M.17196, p. 48; F <i>Pn</i> D.14.107, f. 44; GB <i>Cfm</i> MS 182, p. 42; I <i>Bc</i> V286, p. 69 (incomplete MS copy of <i>Scelta</i> ).
Care labbra, a. 2.	p. 109	Alessandro Stradella	Dated before 1679.	B <i>Bc</i> Ms.M.17.196, p. 50; F <i>Pn</i> D.14.107, f. 45v; GB <i>Cfm</i> MS 182, f. 67v; I <i>Bc</i> , V286 p. 74, (MS copy of version in <i>Scelta</i> ).



## Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Roman music was of interest not just to the court for representational purposes, but also to English gentlemen virtuosi seeking rare curiosities. Consisting as much of lower gentry as high aristocracy, this social group both encountered Roman vocal music in a different context from the court, and appropriated it in a different way. English gentlemen had often first heard Roman vocal music as part of their Grand Tours, and their experience of Roman vocal music merged with the other marvels of Rome; arguably, this gave Roman vocal music the status of foreign curiosities—equivalent to books, paintings, medals, and plants—in the minds of English virtuosi.

After the Restoration, the centre for English virtuosic activity was the Royal Society. This chapter has argued that when Roman vocal music entered the activities of the society, it was treated similarly to other artefacts and natural curiosities that needed to be examined in order to explain their inner workings. Arguably, some of the society's interest in discovering the secrets of the Roman repertoire came from Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (1650), which deals extensively with compositional secrets in Roman music.

I have also argued that the knowledge of, and ability to engage with, Roman vocal music carried significant social prestige among English virtuosi. The discussion of Samuel Pepys's conscious accommodation of Roman vocal music suggested that appreciation of the Roman repertoire was linked to the idea of it as the best in Europe, and to the notion, implied by Kircher, that individuals are able to recognise and appreciate superior music when exposed to it. Pepys's uneasiness at his initial dislike of the Roman repertoire is easily understood in an environment where appreciation of art, music, and science (i.e. cultural capital), rather than primarily wealth or social connections, was what earned a fellow respect among the others.

In the light of the status of Roman vocal music, and the interest taken in it by the members of the Royal Society, it seemed logical for Girolamo Pignani to dedicate his *Scelta di canzonette* (1679) to the Duke of Norfolk, Henry Howard. However, I have argued that *Scelta di canzonette* failed as a commercial publication because it did not conform to the expectations of the English music market of a publication of songs they could perform at home, by presenting untranslated Italian

repertoire often too foreign for recreational performers to attempt. As a presentation volume, a bid for patronage for professional Italian musicians who could both perform and compose in the Roman style, it was equally unsuccessful; it presented music normally transmitted in exclusive manuscript collections in a cheap printed volume unlikely to appeal to connoisseurs aware of the high social status of the repertoire. The publication of *Scelta di canzonette*, compared to other English publications featuring Italian or Italianate music, suggests that the Roman repertoire never successfully reached the commercial music market in England; it remained music for the elites who relished it for its social cachet and intellectual value.

## 4. 'Let such teach others who themselves Excel'

---

### The Oxford Antiquarian Interest in Roman Music

On the title page of the Oxford Music Professor William Hayes's vitriolic counterattack on Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* (1752–3) are printed the following lines from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (1711):

Let such teach others who themselves excel,  
And censure freely who have written well.<sup>493</sup>

The ensuing text, chauvinistic and antiquarian in the extreme, makes clear that Hayes considered Avison to be neither a competent teacher nor a legitimate censor. Hayes's inclusion of the two lines from Pope, as well as his criticism of Avison, highlights the prevailing attitude towards musical creativity and learning in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England: imitation of suitable exemplary authors and appropriation of their techniques into a style of one's own. Avison's chief fault was choosing the wrong models; he advocated the modern instrumental and operatic styles issuing from Italy since the turn of the century, whereas the antiquarian Hayes preferred the more learned counterpoint usually associated with sixteenth-century composers such as Thomas Tallis (c. 1505–85) and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/6–94).

Hayes's 1753 *Remarks* are one of the most extreme utterances of the musical antiquarian movement that originated in Oxford in the late seventeenth century. At this point, musical interest in the past was not an isolated phenomenon. Antiquarian interest in the history of Britain blossomed in England during the seventeenth century, having originated in Renaissance historical scholarship and the post-Reformation search for national identity and religious ancestry. Antiquarianism expanded during the course of the century from a specialist interest among limited circles, to a common interest in coins, medals, manuscripts, and archaeological

---

<sup>493</sup> Alexander Pope, *Essay on Criticism* (1711), cited on the title page of William Hayes, *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: Printed for J. Robinson, 1753).

excavation among gentlemen all over the British Isles.<sup>494</sup> After the Restoration, antiquarianism thrived in the collective environments of the universities, where new generations were inspired and instructed by older colleagues. Although antiquarianism proper was rarely concerned with music, there was a parallel movement of increasing historical awareness and interest in early Anglican composers among a small group of enthusiasts in Restoration England.<sup>495</sup> Like antiquarianism proper, the gaze back to early Anglican music was arguably an attempt to understand and legitimise the English traditions after the religious upheavals of the Civil War and continuing controversies throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>496</sup>

This chapter investigates the interest taken in Roman vocal music by the early participants in the musical-antiquarian movement in late seventeenth-century Oxford: Edward Lowe (c.1610–1682), Henry Aldrich (1648–1710) and Richard Goodson Sr (1655–1718). My research shows that the manuscripts of these men contain the earliest extant English copies of Roman vocal music, copied from imported prints and manuscript sources not available in England until the late 1670s; Christ Church holds the most extensive collection of Carissimi, Graziani and Palestrina in Britain to this day. Aldrich, canon and later Dean of Christ Church College, emerged in the 1680s and 1690s as the spider in a web of musically interested antiquarians and musicians with antiquarian interests. Contrary to the 1660s London perception of Roman vocal music as a representation of humanistic patronage, this chapter argues that Aldrich and Goodson treated Roman repertoire as ancient music similar to old English composers such as William Byrd and Thomas Tallis. Aldrich's collection of Roman vocal music was thus a significant part of his antiquarian activities. The provenance of the manuscript collections listed in Appendix I shows that the majority of extant English copies of Roman vocal music originated in Aldrich's Oxford.

---

<sup>494</sup> Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1–2.

<sup>495</sup> William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 7–9. See also Robert Shay, 'Henry Purcell and "Ancient" Music in Restoration England' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991).

<sup>496</sup> On historicism as a response to historical trauma, see below, and John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 165.

In the most substantial previous work on ancient music in England, William Weber has acknowledged Aldrich as the leader of the early musical antiquarian movement. Weber's discussion of musical antiquarianism is limited to collections and performances of old English music emerging in the eighteenth century as a political counterweight to the Whig support of Italian opera;<sup>497</sup> building on Robert Shay's previous research on Aldrich's recompositions of motets by Palestrina and Carissimi, this chapter will link seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century antiquarian practices with the practice of *imitatio* through Aldrich's use of Palestrina and Carissimi. I will argue that the main function of collections of older repertoire was as examples to aid the preservation and improvement of a perceived ancient English church music tradition.<sup>498</sup> By creatively engaging with Roman models, Aldrich arguably sought to inject fresh musical competence into Anglican music-making and thereby to reinvigorate English traditions of cathedral music.

### **Edward Lowe and the Oxford Music School**

Mid-seventeenth-century Oxford was a centre of convivial music-making of the kind where gentlemen still participated in music-meetings rather than watching concerts. When the outbreak of the Civil War silenced music in the traditional college institutions, Oxford's musical communities relocated to the private lodgings of university members; the most famous music-meetings were those held weekly by the organist of St John's College, William Ellis, beginning around 1656 and continuing through at least 1669.<sup>499</sup> By charging 6d for attendance, Ellis managed to sustain a large number of Oxford musicians during a time when work at the regular institutions was scarce. The music-meetings organised by Narcissus Marsh overlapped with Ellis's, beginning around 1666 during Marsh's fellowship at Exeter College, and continuing at St Alban's Hall in 1673 (when Marsh was made principal)

---

<sup>497</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 94–5.

<sup>498</sup> For the coinage of the term 'recomposition', see Robert Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina and Carissimi in late seventeenth-century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions', *Music and Letters* 77, (1996), 368–400 (368).

<sup>499</sup> 1669 was the year when Anthony Wood, the chief witness of Ellis's music meetings, ceased to attend. However Gouk has suggested that the meetings could have continued until Ellis's death in 1672. Penelope Gouk, 'Music', in *The history of the University of Oxford. Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 633. Further information on Ellis's music meetings and the Oxford musical circle is available in Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 19, (1982), 6–70.

until he assumed the post of Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1678.<sup>500</sup> In the mid-1640s, the presence of the court in Oxford also enriched the musical life of the city. Jonathan Wainwright has suggested that the latest Italian repertoires were performed in Queen Henrietta Maria's Catholic chapel at Merton College, and the musicians John Wilson and Edward Lowe were frequent participants in Ellis's and Marsh's music-meetings.<sup>501</sup> Thus, even in the supposed musical dearth of the Commonwealth years, the ingenuity of Oxford musicians kept the city's musical life alive and receptive to new repertoire.

Like the *collegia musica* of continental universities, the Oxford Music School was an institution primarily dedicated to practical music-making. Although the endowment of the school in 1627 by the recent DMus William Heather (c.1563–1627) provided for practical as well as theoretical training in music, the theory lectureship lapsed early on. Practical music-making, however, flourished throughout the seventeenth century, especially after the accession of John Wilson (1595–1674) to the Heather Professorship in 1656.<sup>502</sup> Edward Lowe's tenure (1661–1682) saw many improvements to the School and its collection; as organist of Christ Church from the 1630s, Lowe had attended Ellis's meetings on a regular basis.<sup>503</sup> Margaret Crum's and Penelope Gouk's respective investigations of the activities at the Music School suggest it was one of the central performing spaces in late seventeenth-century Oxford, and the music-meetings an occasion both for performers and audiences to regularly acquaint themselves with new repertoire.<sup>504</sup> During his professorship Lowe remained a leading figure in Oxford musical life through organising performances at the Music School, complying with Heather's vision of

---

<sup>500</sup> Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 50; Gouk, 'Music', in *The History of the University of Oxford: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 621–40 (631, 633).

<sup>501</sup> Gouk, 'Music', 624, 632; Jonathan Wainwright, 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford', in *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on His Life, Times, and Work*, ed. by Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 121–42 (127–9); Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, first Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), 169–177.

<sup>502</sup> Margaret Crum, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Music School Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: A Guide and Index to the Harvester Microfilm Collection*, ed. by Roger Bray (Brighton: Harvester, 1979), 14–16; Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5; Gouk, 'Music', 624–26.

<sup>503</sup> He is listed as one of the 'masters' (i.e. professional musicians) in Anthony Wood's account of Ellis's music-meetings. Anthony Wood, *The Life of Anthony à Wood from the year 1632 to 1672*, ed. by Thomas Hearne, (Oxford: [1772]), 89–91.

<sup>504</sup> Gouk, 'Music', 622–6; Crum, 'Introduction', 14–16.

informal weekly meetings for singers and instrumentalists at the university. Heather most likely also envisaged an audience attending the meetings, since the endowment instructs the professor to perform three-part music together with two boys if no other musicians attended.<sup>505</sup> The endowment stipulated:

Thirdly, I do appoint that the said Master bring with him two boys weekly, at the day and time aforesaid, and there to receive such company as will practise Musick, and to play Lessons of three Parts, if none other come.<sup>506</sup>

This suggests that those attending the Music School meetings could either perform together with the professional musicians or sit and listen. The activities at the Music School, along with the long survival of Ellis's and Marsh's music-meetings and the beginnings of Aldrich's in the 1680s, suggest that these semi-private activities remained an important forum for musical performance and the introduction of new repertoire even after the collegiate choirs and organists had been restored in 1660.

Among Lowe's contributions to the repertoire of the Music School are the two sets of vocal partbooks, *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19*, and *Ob Mus.Sch.C.20–23*.<sup>507</sup> *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* is the older of the sets; Margaret Crum's investigation of the early lists of the Music School collection has shown that *Ob MS Mus.Sch.12–19* was acquired during Lowe's professorship (after 1661),<sup>508</sup> and the inclusion of John Blow's Act music 'Awake my lyre' (from 1678–9) and 'Go perjured man' (from 1680), towards the end of the volumes, suggests that the books had been filled around 1680.<sup>509</sup> *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23* was begun in 1680, as suggested by a note on the front flyleaf of the figured bass part (*Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.23*): 'The paper and binding of thes 4 Bookes cost 9<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>. the 1st May 1680'. Andrew Jones has previously claimed that both sets of partbooks were copied around 1680 by Lowe's successor, Richard Goodson Sr,<sup>510</sup> but as Jonathan Wainwright has shown, the

---

<sup>505</sup> Crum, 'Introduction', 13, 15.

<sup>506</sup> Cited in Anthony Wood, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols. (1769), ii, 358–59. See also Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters*, 48 (1967), 23–34 (23).

<sup>507</sup> These two sets are briefly described in Andrew Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982), i, 80–81. A detailed inventory of *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* is available in Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 304–13.

<sup>508</sup> Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', 28, 30.

<sup>509</sup> Bruce Wood, 'Blow, John', *GMO*.

<sup>510</sup> Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, i, 80.

majority of the music in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* is in Lowe's hand.<sup>511</sup> Only two items at the back appear to be in Goodson's hand, apparently added after his accession to the professorship in 1682.

Despite being catalogued as two separate sets of partbooks, *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* and *20–23* are closely related and were demonstrably used together. *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* consists of eight parts, of which five are vocal parts copied together with the continuo part: First Treble (no. 12), Second Treble (no. 13), Contralto (no. 14), Tenor (no. 15), 'Singer Base' (no. 16), first and second violin parts (nos. 17 and 18), and figured bass (no. 19). *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23* consists of two treble parts (nos. 20 and 21), a bass part (no. 22) and figured bass (no. 23), and was seemingly begun when Lowe ran out of space in the vocal books of the older set. The beginning of *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23* contains the same repertoire as the latter part of *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19*: as is shown in Table 4.1, Lowe copied violin parts for the Carissimi motets in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23* into the violin partbooks *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.17* and *18* which still had plenty of empty pages. This suggests that Lowe in fact conceived of *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* and *20–23* as one collection of Latin motets.

The order in which Lowe copied pieces into his partbooks indicates when in his career he had access to a certain type of repertoire. *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* contains 'Latin songs for 1. 2. 3. voices' by early-mid-seventeenth-century composers. The larger part of this set contains mainly early-mid-seventeenth-century repertoire by composers such as Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676), Matthew Locke (1621/3–1677), Gasparo Casati (c. 1610–41), Edigio Trabattone (*fl.* 1625–42), Maurizio Cazzati (1616–78), and Giovanni Felice Sances (1600–79). These Italian composers were all active in northern Italy, and their sacred music was widely disseminated in seventeenth-century Europe via Venetian prints and reprints from Antwerp, including those brought to Oxford by Baron Hatton in the 1640s (see above, p. 18). In addition to this earlier northern Italian repertoire, motets by Henry Bowman (*fl.* c.1669–85) and six motets by Carissimi are copied after Blow's Act

---

<sup>511</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 304–7. For the identification of Lowe's hand, see for instance Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 216, 311–12.



music at the back.<sup>512</sup> The appearance of the Carissimi motets among music datable to 1678–80 suggests that Lowe did not have access to this repertoire until the late 1670s or early 1680s.

Lowe’s choices of copy text confirm that Roman Latin motets were chiefly disseminated in printed form (above p. 24). His sources were nevertheless far less accessible than the earlier Italian repertoire. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Italian motets were very rarely disseminated in manuscript and only three printed editions wholly dedicated to Carissimi appeared during the seventeenth century: *Missa a cinque et a novem* (Cologne, 1666), which contained five motets in addition to the mass, *Arion Romanus* (Konstanz, 1670) and the motet collection *Sacri concerti musicali* (Rome, 1675).<sup>513</sup> *Arion Romanus*, however, seems to have had minimal impact on the English dissemination of Carissimi’s motets (see Appendix III).

Lowe’s partbooks contain the same five motets as were published in *Missa a cinque*. One of them, ‘Turbabuntur impii’, was later also published in *Sacri concerti musicali*. Table 4.1 shows the motets included in *Missa a cinque* (1666) and copied into *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* and *20–23* by Lowe; together with the copies of Henry Aldrich and Richard Goodson below, this suggests that *Missa a cinque* and *Sacri concerti* were the two main copy texts used for copies of Carissimi motets in late seventeenth-century Oxford.

**Table 4.1:** The motets by Carissimi included in *Missa a cinque et a novem* (Cologne, 1665), *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* and *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23*. ‘Turbabuntur impii’ was included in the Cologne print but was not used as the copy text for *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19*.

<i>Missa a 5. &amp; a 9.</i>	MS vocal parts	MS violin parts
In te Domine speravi	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23</i>	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19</i>
Militia est vita hominis	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23</i>	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19</i>
Surgamus eamus properemus	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23</i>	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19</i>
Suscitavit Dominus	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23</i>	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19</i>
Turbabuntur impii	<i>Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19</i>	

<sup>512</sup> More than half of the pages in the new volumes remain empty, suggesting that Lowe passed away before he could add more repertoire. On Henry Bowman, see Peter Holman, ‘Bowman, Henry’, *GMO*.

<sup>513</sup> *Arion Romanus* (Konstanz, 1670) was important in disseminating his music on the continent. This publication seems to have had little influence in England. There are few traces of its being used as a major copy text, and no copy survives in the UK. On the *Arion Romanus*, see further Andrew Jones, ‘Carissimi’s “Arion Romanus”: A Source Study’, *Music & Letters*, 69 (1988), 151–210.

Lowe's copy of Carissimi's 'Militia est vita hominis' in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23*, with violin parts in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.17 and 18*, reveals a close affinity with the only printed version in *Missa a cinque* (1666). Two errors and a printed erratum reproduced in Lowe's copy show that he was copying from the *Missa a cinque* partbooks. The first misprint occurs in the second cantus part, in the section beginning 'Non coronabitur', where bars 59–64<sup>514</sup> inadvertently duplicate the first cantus part. The mistake has been corrected with a printed erratum at the end of the part: five staves headed by the instruction 'NB. Inseratur in locum superioris, & hic repetatur'<sup>515</sup> give the correct music a third higher than the first cantus part (Example 4.1). The other parts have no additional music at the end of the piece, but simply refer the singer back to the beginning of the 'Non coronabitur' section. Copying 'Militia est' into his own partbooks, Lowe followed the print and copied the incorrect music in bars 59–64. Later, he crossed the incorrect bars out and referred the performer to the 'page over leafe' to sing the music at 'non coronabitur over the leafe on the right hand'.<sup>516</sup> At the end of the second cantus part, Lowe has copied the correct music, instructing the singer 'this side to be sunge in the middle. & at last with violins.'<sup>517</sup> This is very close to the Latin instructions given in the printed part. Lowe's manuscript erratum appears to have been copied at the same time as the rest of the part; presumably he did not discover the misprint until near the end, and then added instructions to substitute the erratum for the incorrect section.

*Example 4.1: Bars 59–66 of 'Militia est vita hominis'. The ossia staff shows the misprinted music given at bars 59–64 in Missa a cinque (1666) and Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.21, and the regular treble 2 staff shows the correct music printed and copied at the end.*

---

<sup>514</sup> Bar numbers given in this chapter are calculated from transcriptions made by the author.

<sup>515</sup> 'Insert in the space above [at "Non coronabitur"], and repeat from there.'

<sup>516</sup> *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.21*, p. 20–21.

<sup>517</sup> *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.21*, p. 22. Other seventeenth-century English copies of this piece are extant in *Och Mus.13 and 53*, *Ob Tenbury 335*, and *Lbl Add. MS 31472 and Add. MS 33235*, which all give the correct music. These copies are all associated with Oxford musical circles, see below p. 161.

59

[Treble 1] ni - si qui le - gi - ti - me cer - ta - ve - rit ni - si qui le - gi - ti - me cer -

[Treble 2] ni - si qui le - gi - ti - me cer - ta - ve - rit ni - si qui le - gi - ti - me cer -

[Bass] tur non co - ro - na - bi - tur

[bc.]

62

[Tr. 1] ta - ve - rit ni - si qui le - gi - ti - me cer - ta - - - - ve -

[Tr. 2] ta - ve - rit ni - si qui le - gi - ti - me cer - ta - - - - ve -

[B.] ni - si qui le - gi - ti - me cer - ta - ve - rit non co - ro - na - bi -

[bc.]

7/3      6/4      5/3

65

[Tr. 1] rit non co - ro - na - - - bi - tur non co - ro -

Tr. Solo rit non co - ro - na - - - bi - tur non co - ro -

[B.] tur non co - ro - -

[bc.]

A similar reproduction and correction of a printed error occurs in bars 84–86 of the figured bass part in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.23*, at the end of the solo bass section ‘State ergo’. At the end of this section, the printed figured bass part lacks one bar [85], resulting in misalignment between the figured bass and vocal parts (Example 4.2). Figure 4.1 suggests that Lowe discovered the mistake only after having copied the part, and was forced to correct the error by squeezing in an additional semibreve G after the D breve at the end of the section. When copying the vocal score for the bass part, Lowe was apparently aware of the mistake as he left enough space for the additional G. The exact reproduction of the misprint and erratum, the very similar instructions to the performer in the second cantus part, and the hastily added missing bar in the figured bass part, are all strong evidence that Lowe was copying directly from the printed partbooks in *Missa a cinque et a novem* (1666).

**Example 4.2:** Bars 81 – 87 from the bass and figured bass parts of ‘Militia est vita hominis’ in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.22* and *Missa a cinque* (1666), showing the omitted bar 85 was in the printed figured bass part. This bar was originally omitted from the individual figured bass part in *Mus.Sch.C.23*.

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The top system covers bars 81 to 83. The upper staff is for the Bassus (Bass) with lyrics: '& pug na - - te & pug- na - - te cum Dra-co -'. The lower staff is the figured bass. The bottom system covers bars 84 to 87. The upper staff is for the Bassus with lyrics: '- - - - - ne'. The lower staff is the figured bass. Bar 85 is squeezed into the figured bass part. A 'Treble 2' marking is present above bar 86.

**Figure 4.1:** Bar 85 squeezed into the figured bass part in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.23*, p. 10, after the part has been copied to correct a mistake in the printed copy text. Also note the extensive figuring which corresponds with that given in *Missa a cinque et a novem* (1666).

IMAGES UNDER COPYRIGHT REMOVED FROM OPEN ACCESS VERSION

The copies of Carissimi motets in the Music School partbooks not only suggest at what time and via what sources the repertoire was made available in Oxford; they also offer significant insights into how the repertoire was absorbed into the musical environment, and further suggest the kind of repertoire current in Oxford

in the late seventeenth century. Crum as well as Penelope Gouk have suggested that instrumental music was the chief priority at the Music School and elsewhere in mid-seventeenth-century Oxford musical life. Gouk highlights a conservative repertoire of music for viol ensembles from the first half of the century, with upper parts for violin being preferred after the triumphant visits of Davis Mell and Thomas Baltzar in the late 1650s.<sup>518</sup> Candace Bailey's examination of a number of Oxford manuscripts containing repertoire from Ellis's meetings has furthermore suggested a mix between English early seventeenth-century virginal pieces and new French and Italian harpsichord music dominated by the Roman Frescobaldi.<sup>519</sup> However, my examination of Lowe's vocal partbooks shows that vocal music in Italian styles was relevant to Oxford musical life. This is supported by Anthony Wood, who commented specifically on the 'Musick, especially vocal' performed at William Ellis's music-meetings:

After the Cathedrals and Organs were put down in the grand Rebellion, he kept up a weekly Meeting in his House opposite to that Place where the [Sheldonian?] Theatre was afterwards built, which kept him and his wife in a comfortable Condition. The Meeting was much frequented and many Masters of Musick were there, and such that had belonged to Choirs, and being out of all Employ, and therefore the Meeting, as all other Musick-Meetings, did flourish; and Musick, especially vocal, being discountenanced by the Presbyterians and Independents, being the more used. [Wood's MSS. Mus. Ashm. 8568.106]<sup>520</sup>

Wood implies that the meetings served as musical resistance towards the Puritans, through performing the music they had prohibited.<sup>521</sup> Lowe's partbooks of Italian

---

<sup>518</sup> Crum, 'Introduction', 15; Gouk, 'Music', 633–34. See also Peter Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 5, 9.

<sup>519</sup> Candace Bailey, 'William Ellis and the Transmission of Continental Keyboard Music in Restoration England', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 20 (2001), 211–42 (212, 218–21). Bailey has also investigated the repertoire of Lowe and Richard Goodson Sr in 'Keyboard Music in the Hands of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson I: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 1176 and Mus. 1177', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 32 (1999), 119–35. Further evidence of the repertoire performed at Oxford music-meetings is found in for instance Pamela J. Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 24 (1961), 71–75; Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', 23–33; Richard Charteris, 'Matthew Hutton (1638–1711) and his Manuscripts in York Minster Library', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 28 (1975), 2–6.

<sup>520</sup> Wood, *The Life of Anthony à Wood*, 91–2.

<sup>521</sup> Although Bailey has suggested that instrumental music was the focus of Ellis's meetings due to the absence of singers from the lists of participants given by Anthony Wood. See Bailey, 'William Ellis',

sacred music with Latin texts also illustrate the blurring of boundaries between sacred and secular music at the music-meetings. Originally intended for Catholic worship in Italy and doubtlessly recognised as sacred music also in England, in late seventeenth-century Oxford these Latin motets were performed by predominantly Anglican musicians in a secularised context. Lowe's process of choosing a repertoire, copying it in an adapted format, and introducing it into a context far removed from its original, is one of many smaller processes which appropriated Roman vocal music for English musical culture.

Much of the vocal music in Lowe's partbooks was copied several decades after its composition. Rather than suggesting that the partbooks were part of an antiquarian enterprise, Margaret Crum proposed that the apparent datedness can be explained by the time-lag between music becoming popular and the school being able to acquire the parts.<sup>522</sup> Certainly there was a considerable time-lag between the spread of Carissimi's reputation across Europe and his music becoming available in print. However, Robert Thompson has suggested that Lowe's frequent and extensive annotations with historical and practical details suggest he had a genuine interest in some older repertoires.<sup>523</sup>

My investigation of the Music School partbooks has shown that motets by Carissimi reached Oxford and the Music School through printed anthologies around 1680. The fact that Lowe's partbook copies are the earliest extant sources of Carissimi motets in England suggests that Carissimi's sacred music was disseminated late and in printed sources; even allowing for the possibility of the losses of other English manuscript collections, copy-texts containing more than occasional motets, such as *Missa a cinque* (1666), were not available anywhere in Europe until the end of Carissimi's career. Arguably, Oxford provided an ideal environment for the introduction of this repertoire, housing a large number of professional and amateur musicians who were both curious and proficient enough to play it. The partbooks finally show that vocal music played a significant role both as education in new musical styles and as a political act against the Puritans who had silenced it during the Civil War.

---

230. He lists two among six instrumentalists and eight participants from various colleges, Wood himself not counted. Wood, *The Life of Anthony à Wood*, 89–92.

<sup>522</sup> Crum, 'Introduction', 13.

<sup>523</sup> Robert Thompson, 'Lowe, Edward', *GMO*; Crum, 'Introduction', 13, 15.

## Henry Aldrich's Collection of Roman Vocal Music

[Carissimi] appears to have been the favourite composer and model of Dr. Aldrich, who was possessed of a complete collection of his works, which he scored with his own hand, and seems to have studied with great attention.<sup>524</sup>

Notwithstanding Lowe's early copies, the most prolific collector of Roman vocal music in early modern England was Henry Aldrich. Aldrich took BA and MA degrees at Christ Church in the 1660s, and during his student years he would have been exposed to Oxford's lively musical life, including sung services at Christ Church and other colleges with choral foundations, and numerous private music meetings. He may also have received musical instruction from Lowe.<sup>525</sup> Aldrich gained the degree of Doctor Divinorum in 1682, and became a canon of Christ Church the same year. In 1682 Aldrich also took over supervision of the Christ Church cathedral choir; as a canon and, from 1689, Dean of Christ Church, Aldrich became a paragon of High-Church Anglican policies, especially concerning music.<sup>526</sup> William Laud's chancellorship from 1630 to 1641 had made Oxford University a stronghold of High-Church Anglicanism and Royalism,<sup>527</sup> reinforced by the presence of the court during the Civil War. Such attitudes persisted after the Restoration, and Aldrich defended Anglican cathedral music against attempts to curtail it after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–9.

Although not a member of the Royal Society, Aldrich shared many cultural and scientific interests with his fellow virtuosos. As a polymath trained in mathematics, he engaged in architecture, printing, engraving and music, and attended the meetings of an Oxford science club whose experiments occasionally reached the *Transactions of the Royal Society*.<sup>528</sup> Unlike many of the fellows of the Royal Society, Aldrich sought practical applications for his interests: he practised architecture (designing the Peckwater Triangle at his college), and he performed and

---

<sup>524</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1798), ed. by Frank Mercer, 2 vols. (London: G. T. Foulis, 1935), ii, 615.

<sup>525</sup> The colleges with choral foundations were New College, Christ Church, Magdalen, and St John's. See Gouk, 'Music', 621. Robert Shay, 'Aldrich, Henry', GMO.

<sup>526</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina', 370; Weber, *Musical Classics*, 32–36.

<sup>527</sup> Anthony Milton, 'Laud, William (1573–1645)', ODNB.

<sup>528</sup> Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 53–4. Stuart Handley, 'Aldrich, Henry (1648–1710)', ODNB.

composed music in addition to collecting it.<sup>529</sup> As Robert Shay has argued, Aldrich was well respected in musical circles: his anthems and English adaptations of Carissimi and Palestrina were widely sung, and some of his catches appeared in Playford anthologies.<sup>530</sup> Aldrich's greatest impact, however, was as an authoritative collector of music. Although many studies have touched on Aldrich's role as a music collector, there has hitherto been no systematic investigation of the Roman vocal music in the Christ Church collection, and hence no discussion about Aldrich's motivations or the effects of his practices on English musical life beyond adapting Carissimi and Palestrina for use in English cathedrals.<sup>531</sup> The text below investigates Aldrich's method of collecting, showing that he systematically sought out works by Carissimi, Graziani, and Palestrina which he collected in manuscript volumes dedicated to each composer. Aldrich's collection of, and esteem for, Roman composers arguably laid the foundation for the canonisation of Carissimi and Palestrina among ancient music enthusiasts in the early eighteenth century (see below, p. 204).

The Christ Church collection today is the fruit of four different collecting efforts, which, thanks to recent research, can be distinguished from one another: the music collection of Christopher, first Baron Hatton (discussed above, p. 18); Aldrich's music books and manuscripts; the manuscripts of the Heather Professor of Music (from 1682) and Christ Church Cathedral Organist (from 1692), Richard Goodson Sr (1655–1718); and the manuscripts of his son and successor in both posts Richard Goodson Jr (1688–1741).<sup>532</sup> The Goodsons' music makes up an important part of the Christ Church collection: in their roles as Professor of Music, both father and son also contributed to the manuscripts in the Music School Library, but their personal collections were bequeathed to Christ Church at the death of Richard Goodson Jr in 1741. Most of this material is associated with the older Goodson. Goodson and Aldrich apparently knew each other well and often copied volumes in

---

<sup>529</sup> Walter Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church: 1648–1710* (Oxford: Printed for Christ Church at the Hollywell Press, 1960), 4–5.

<sup>530</sup> Aldrich's anthems and adaptations were copied into a large number of contemporary cathedral partbooks, and were honoured with a place in Thomas Tudway's *History of Music* (1714–20). Aldrich's catches were published, for instance in *The Musical Companion* (1672). See also Shay, "'Naturalizing' Palestrina', 273–4.

<sup>531</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing' Palestrina', 400.

<sup>532</sup> For a catalogue of the holdings, see John Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, Christ Church College Library, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music>, henceforth referred to as CHCH cat.



collaboration; that his personal collection was bequeathed to Christ Church and not the Music School reflects his deep involvement at Christ Church. The Goodson sources consist of material evidently intended for performance by the choir, and volumes apparently intended for a different collecting effort, such as the Roman cantata book *Och Mus.* 998. Such dual purposes reflect Goodson Sr's dual role as organist at Christ Church cathedral and as Aldrich's collaborator in building up his music library; Goodson Sr's hand is found in many manuscripts from the Aldrich bequest.<sup>533</sup> Although Goodson Sr's independent musical activities are certainly worthy of study, it is as Aldrich's collaborator that he is considered in this thesis.

Aldrich apparently laid the foundation of his collection in 1670 when he purchased Hatton's entire collection of early seventeenth-century Italian printed music from the London bookseller Robert Scott.<sup>534</sup> William Weber has accused Aldrich of indiscrimination as a collector because of his *en masse* acquisition of the Hatton library, which contradicts the idea of a collector purchasing rare items selectively.<sup>535</sup> Shay has to some degree defended Aldrich by pointing out that his post-1670 acquisitions were bought and copied with great discrimination.<sup>536</sup> The notion of *en masse* acquisitions as indiscriminate hoarding disregards wider contemporary collecting practices, as well as the rarity of Italian music books in seventeenth-century England. Buying up the contents of an esteemed colleague's collection indicated a collector's awareness of the achievements of his rivals and the value of the items in their collections. The founder of the Ashmolean Museum, Elias Ashmole (1617–92), greedily sacked John Tradescant's cabinets after the latter's death in 1662.<sup>537</sup> Similarly, Humfrey Wanley sold the music collection of Bernard Martin Berencloew (d. 1705) to Robert Harley (below, p. 215). He also managed to procure for the Harleian library a large number of valuable items from the library of the seventeenth-century antiquarian Sir Simonds D'Ewes (d. 1650), and from the famous collection of Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), bishop of Worcester (whose

---

<sup>533</sup> For a list of manuscripts copied by Goodson, see CHCH Cat., 'Richard Goodson Sr: The Autograph Manuscripts'. Note that the Christ Church music catalogue is still under construction, hence new details may become available.

<sup>534</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 42–3.

<sup>535</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 34.

<sup>536</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing' Palestrina', 377, 380–1.

<sup>537</sup> Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: the Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 9.

collection Evelyn entreated William III to buy for the Royal Library).<sup>538</sup> To a well-connected antiquarian like Aldrich, Hatton's merits as a collector were well known, and his music library no less so. According to Anthony Wood, Hatton was 'a person greatly affected to antiquities', whose manuscripts were purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1671, also via Scott.<sup>539</sup> This suggests that Aldrich bought the Hatton music prints fully aware of their origin and value. As Wainwright's research has shown, a large number of manuscript copies of Italian music printed before 1638 are related to Hatton's music books, suggesting the rarity of Italian music books in England at the time. That Aldrich incorporated Hatton's library into his own is entirely consistent with seventeenth-century practices of obtaining valued items from other people's collections.

Over the years, Aldrich increased the Hatton collection with new prints, copies of the extant ones, and imported foreign manuscripts. As the respective efforts of David Pinto, Jonathan Wainwright and Robert Shay have shown, it is now possible to distinguish between the Hatton acquisitions and Aldrich's additions to the collection.<sup>540</sup> Shay has noted that the printed music purchased by Aldrich after 1670 was frequently published in Rome, and suggests that these acquisitions reveal much about Aldrich's interests as a composer.<sup>541</sup> Whilst Shay mainly considers the printed sources in Aldrich's collection, my investigation of the Christ Church manuscripts of Roman vocal music confirms Shay's point, and shows that sacred and secular music by the famous Romans Carissimi, Palestrina and Graziani was one of Aldrich's chief interests as a collector, along with 'ancient' English composers such as Thomas Tallis, William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons.

Aldrich's collection of Roman sacred and secular music was one of the unique aspects of his library. As a member of the same gentlemanly elite and scientific community as the virtuosos of the Royal Society, Aldrich's awareness of Roman vocal music arguably stemmed from the same sources: Aldrich owned a number of Kircher's works, including the *Musurgia univesalis* (1650) and would also

---

<sup>538</sup> Humfrey Wanley, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715–1726*, ed. by Cyril Ernest Wright and Ruth Cadogan Wright, 2 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), i, xx-xxi. On Berencloew and the music collection, see below p. 215.

<sup>539</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 42.

<sup>540</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing' Palestrina', 378–80; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*; David Pinto, 'The music of the Hattons', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), 79–108.

<sup>541</sup> "'Naturalizing' Palestrina', 377–80.

have been aware of Carissimi's reputation among English travellers.<sup>542</sup> Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commentators often noted Aldrich's knowledge of Roman masters. Hawkins asserted that Aldrich spent his leisure time making 'a noble collection of church music, consisting of the works of Palestrina, Carissimi, Victoria, and other Italian composers'.<sup>543</sup> When Henry Playford dedicated the second book of *Harmonia Sacra* (1693) to Aldrich, he invoked Aldrich's judgement to motivate the inclusion of two motets each by Carissimi and Graziani:

To make this Collection Compleat, and that it might consist of some of the best Foreign Hands as well as our own, I have at the End inserted some of Gratiano's and Carissime's Compositions, which you, with the rest of the just Judges of Musick, so much Esteem.<sup>544</sup>

This was the first time Roman motets were published in England, and seeking Aldrich's support for including them in *Harmonia Sacra* suggests that his opinion in matters concerning church music in general and Roman music in particular was respected outside Oxford.<sup>545</sup> Soon after Aldrich's death Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726), librarian to Robert Harley and a friend of Aldrich, congratulated himself on having found a cantata by Carissimi that Aldrich did not have in his collection:

This Giacomo Charissimi, was in his Time the best Composer of Church-Music in all Italy. Most of his compositions were, with great Labor & Expense, collected by the late Learned Dean of Christ-Church, Dr. Henry Aldrige. However, some things of Charissimi I had the Luck to light upon, which the great man could not procure in Italy; of which this cantata was one. Charissimi living to be about 90 years old, composed much, & died very Rich, as I have heard.<sup>546</sup>

---

<sup>542</sup> Aldrich's copy of the *Musurgia* is preserved in Christ Church as Oh.1.11 (1–2). Aldrich also owned Kircher's *Magnes sive de arte magnetica* (Rome, 1654) now in Oh.2.4, and *China monumentis* (Antwerp, 1667), in Arch. Inf. C.2.16. Kircher's role in Aldrich's engagement with Roman vocal music is further discussed on p. 177, 183.

<sup>543</sup> Hawkins, v, 10. Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611) was in fact Spanish, although he worked in Rome for several years.

<sup>544</sup> *Harmonia Sacra: or, Divine Hymns and Dialogues* (London: Playford, 1693). The motets included were Carissimi's 'Lucifer caelestis olim' and 'Audite Santi', and Graziani's 'Velut palma' and 'Venite pastores'. Interestingly, the 1726 edition of *Harmonia Sacra* omits the reference to Aldrich's authority and also one motet each by Carissimi and Graziani.

<sup>545</sup> Shay has suggested that the inclusion of Roman motets was due to some degree of interference on Aldrich's part, or at least to Playford being aware of Aldrich's interests. I take the latter to be the most likely. See Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina', 373, note 22.

<sup>546</sup> *Lbl* Add. MS 45704, f. 91. The cantata in question was 'Ferma, lascia ch'io parli' (also known as 'Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots) in *Lbl* Harley 1265. See further below, p. 210.

If the Hatton library was the centre for copying and studying northern Italian vocal music in the 1640s and 1650s, Aldrich's collection became the centre for English interest in Roman vocal music from the 1680s onwards. The Christ Church hegemony in circles interested in Roman vocal music is perhaps illustrated by the fact that all the extant large Carissimi collections not copied by Aldrich or Goodson (*Och Mus.* 53, *Mus.* 37, *Lbl Add.* MS 31472, *Add.* MS 17835, *Ob Tenbury* 335, and *F Pn Rés.F.934<sup>c</sup>* (see Appendix I, II and III) are in the hand of the Christ Church singing-man Francis Smith (*fl.* 1681–98), who was paid for copying at Christ Church in the mid-1690s and whose hand frequently appears in Christ Church manuscripts as well as in sources now scattered among English collections.<sup>547</sup> Smith's hand was long unidentified; in *The Motets of Carissimi* Andrew Jones correctly noted that the same scribe was largely responsible for the Carissimi copies above together with several other manuscripts featuring items by Carissimi.<sup>548</sup> This omnipresent hand has since been identified by Shay and Thompson; arguably Smith was commissioned to copy Carissimi motets available at Christ Church. Furthermore, a large number of manuscript anthologies containing Carissimi motets are in the hands of Oxford musicians such as Charles Morgan and Henry Bowman (above, p. 125). This suggests that the copying of Roman vocal music in late seventeenth-century England had its centre in Oxford.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the fame of Carissimi, his music is well represented in Aldrich's collection. The Dean owned eight folio volumes entirely dedicated to cantatas and motets by Carissimi, and two volumes of Graziani motets. Although not all these copies are in Aldrich's hand, John Milsom has shown that the Christ Church volumes of music by Carissimi and Graziani belong to the Aldrich bequest, suggesting that he commissioned them for his collection.<sup>549</sup> Of the eight volumes, *Och Mus.* 9, *Mus.* 55 and parts of *Mus.* 13 and 37 are in Aldrich's own hand; *Och Mus.* 51, 52, 54 and parts of *Mus.* 13 in Richard Goodson Sr's; *Och Mus.* 53 and parts of *Mus.* 37 were copied by Francis Smith.

---

<sup>547</sup> Regarding Smith's employment at Christ Church, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 313–14.

<sup>548</sup> Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, i, 83–86. *Lbl Add.* MS 31472 and *Och Mus.* 53 are both entirely devoted to motets attributed to Carissimi, whereas the others contain a mix of Latin music by Italian composers where Carissimi is dominating. See the list of manuscript sources in Appendix I.

<sup>549</sup> On account of the presence of bookplates frequently inserted in volumes from the Aldrich bequest during the eighteenth century. See CHCH Cat., 'The Music Collection at Christ Church'.

*Och Mus. 13* is probably the oldest of Aldrich's volumes of Carissimi motets. It is an upright large folio score in five layers; the first was copied by Richard Goodson Sr probably after his appointment as Cathedral organist in 1692, and the other layers by Aldrich. Goodson's layer starts with three motets by Graziani followed by the complete set of motets from *Sacri concerti musicali* (1675); the motets in Goodson's copy appear in the same order as in the print, except for 'Cum Reverteretur David', which appears last rather than as number six in the print. The following layers contain Latin motets by Carissimi copied by Aldrich from a variety of printed anthologies containing one or a few Carissimi motets each (see Appendix III). Three of the five motets from *Missa a cinque* (1666) feature in the manuscript; 'In te Domine speravi' is missing altogether and 'Turbabuntur impii' was copied by Goodson from *Sacri concerti* in the first layer. The order in which the layers of *Och Mus. 13* have been bound does not necessarily suggest any particular chronology of copying. I have shown above that at least *Missa a cinque* (1666) had been available in Oxford since around 1680; it is likely that Aldrich began collecting motets before the 1690s, copying the ones he could find into other layers of *Och Mus. 13* and only subsequently having them bound together. Not all motets from *Missa a cinque* are included among Aldrich's copies; since the music was available in Oxford, this suggests that Aldrich actively selected items to copy rather than gathering everything available.

Unlike Lowe, who appears to have copied slavishly from the printed parts, Aldrich edited the music in *Mus. 13*, occasionally adding accidentals and figuring where they are missing in the printed source. He also abbreviated the motets, suggesting that the manuscript was intended for study rather than performance. The motet 'Surgamus, eamus' was printed in *Missa a cinque* and copied by Lowe in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23* and *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.17–18*, scored for alto, tenor, bass, figured bass and two violins. It consists of 119 bars of solo or polyphonic sections interspersed with instrumental *ritornelli* and repetitions of the refrain 'Surgamus, eamus, properemus ad oreolam aromatum' as a dialogue between the upper voices and the bass. In Aldrich's copy, the instrumental parts have been omitted and the repetitions of 'Surgamus, eamus' cut out and replaced by cues and double barlines (Example 4.3). This shortens the motet from 119 to 85 bars, but makes the copy difficult to perform from. Arguably, this was Aldrich's first collection of Carissimi

motets; its format and the practice of abbreviating pieces suggests it was intended as a file copy of motets rather than for performance.

**Example 4.3:** Bars 34–47 of ‘Surgamus, eamus’ as printed in *Missa a cinque* (1666) and copied by Lowe in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23*. The violin parts and the bars marked with a box (bars 38–45) were omitted in Aldrich’s copy.

The image displays a musical score for the motet 'Surgamus, eamus'. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes staves for Violin 1 (VI 1), Violin 2 (VI 2), Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Cello/Double Bass (bc.). The Alto part begins with the lyrics 'pas-ci tur in - ter li - li - a'. The Bass part begins with 'do - nec as-pi - ret di - es\_\_\_ & in - cli-na - tur um -'. The second system includes staves for Violin 1 (VI. 1), Violin 2 (VI. 2), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), and Cello/Double Bass (bc.). The Alto part begins with the lyrics 'sur-ga - mus e - a-mus pro-pe-re mus e - a-mus pro-pe-re mus ad o-'. The Tenor part begins with 'sur-ga - mus e - a-mus pro-pe-re mus e - a-mus pr-pe-re mus ad o-'. The Bass part begins with 'bra sur-ga - mus e - a-mus pro-pe-re mus pro-pe-re mus e - a-mus'. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and notes. A box highlights bars 38-45 in the original manuscript. The page number 163 is at the bottom.

40

VI. 1

VI. 2

A.

T.

B.

bc.

re - o-lam a-ro - ma-tum pro-pe-re mus ad o-re - o-lam a-ro - ma - tum

re - o-lam a-ro - ma-tum pro-pe-re mus ad o-re - o-lam a-ro - ma - tum

e - a mus pro-pe-re mus ad o-re - o man a - ro-ma-tum

44

VI. 1

VI. 2

A.

T.

B.

bc.

e - a - mus e - a - mus vi-de-a - mus de-

4  
2

Presumably not content with the miscellany in *Och Mus.* 13, in the mid-1690s Aldrich apparently commissioned Goodson and Francis Smith to copy a set of volumes containing Carissimi motets and cantatas for his library. This set is probably what Burney referred to as Aldrich's 'complete collection of [Carissimi's] works,

which he scored with his own hand, and seems to have studied with great attention'.<sup>550</sup> The volumes are preserved in the Christ Church collection as *Och Mus.* 51–55. The first four volumes have the same upright folio format and the same binding of thick grey card, with edges and spine reinforced with vellum. As will be discussed below, *Och Mus.* 55 was probably compiled by Aldrich at a later stage, and has a binding of marbled paper over board.

*Och Mus.* 53 seems to have been intended as a fair copy of the motet miscellany in *Och Mus.* 13: the majority of the motets in *Mus.* 13 were copied into the new book by Francis Smith. *Och Mus.* 53 was probably copied between 1693 and 1696, when Smith was paid for music copying at Christ Church.<sup>551</sup> Smith was most likely copying from *Mus.* 13; for example in 'Militia est vita hominis' the problem with the missing bar 85 in the figured bass part described in relation to the Music School partbooks (above p. 151) has been solved in both *Mus.* 13 and *Mus.* 53 through an added breve G after the D breve in bar 84, whereas all other extant sources use a semibreve. Moreover, the figured bass parts are identical in all other ways, omitting and adding the same figures to those found in the print. Not all copies in *Mus.* 53 are identical with those in *Mus.* 13: in *Mus.* 53 the repetitions of 'Surgamus, eamus' have been copied out in full, perhaps further suggesting its status as fair copy. Only three motets in *Mus.* 53 are missing in *Mus.* 13: 'Lucifer coelestis olim' and 'Audite sancti' (perhaps the most widely disseminated motets in late seventeenth-century England and published in *Harmonia Sacra* (1693)), and 'In te Domine speravi', which was the only motet from *Missa a cinque* not to be included in *Mus.* 13.

Aldrich seemingly complemented the set in *Mus.* 53 with four other motets and a three-voice mass in *Och Mus.* 55, and another three motets in *Och Mus.* 9. Three of the motets in *Och Mus.* 55 have printed concordances but neither of the two printed sources (*Arion Romanus*, 1670 and *Scelta di motetti*, 1675) survives in Britain. The three motets in *Och Mus.* 9 ('Ecce nos relinquimus omnia', 'Euge serve bone', and 'Si linguis hominus') and the first motet in *Mus.* 55 ('Dixit Dominus Domino meo') do not have any printed concordances. Jones has suggested that an early eighteenth-century Italian source, now in York Minster Library, may have

---

<sup>550</sup> Burney, *General History of Music*, ii, 615.

<sup>551</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 313.



served as a copy text for the motets in *Och Mus.* 9 and 55: *Y M35/1–10 (S)* consists of ten motets copied in parts but bound together individually.<sup>552</sup> Their link with Oxford was arguably Matthew Hutton (1638/9–1711) whose collection of Graziani and Carissimi motets was also deposited in York as *Y M36 (S)* through the mediation of Marmaduke Fotheringill.<sup>553</sup> Jones suggests that the Italian parts date from 1697, based on Heawood's dating of the type of fleur-de-lis-in-circle watermark which Jones identifies in the source.<sup>554</sup> However, such watermark types would have been in use for many decades and thus cannot be used to date sources securely. For this reason, it cannot be ascertained that the Italian parts pre-date Aldrich's copies which Milsom has dated late seventeenth to early eighteenth-century.<sup>555</sup> Jones has also speculated that 'Hodie Simon Petrus' in *Och Mus.* 13 was copied from *Y M35/6 (S)*, but the Christ Church source almost certainly pre-dates the Italian parts.

Jones furthermore argues that there is 'textual evidence' to suggest that Aldrich copied from the York set, but does not specify what this consists of. My own comparison of Aldrich's copy of 'Si linguis hominum' in *Och Mus.* 9 and the copy in *Y M35/10 (S)*<sup>556</sup> shows that there are major differences: for instance, the Italian set lack the figured bass part, whilst Aldrich's score has one complete with figuring. Moreover, the triple time sections in *Y M35/10 (S)* are notated as  $\frac{3}{2}$ , in contrast to the more old-fashioned  $\frac{3}{1}$  in Aldrich's copy. Such differences, I would argue, suggest that Aldrich was not copying from this Italian set of parts, but got his motets from an unknown source.<sup>557</sup> Although it may not have contributed to Aldrich's collection, *Y M35/1–10 (S)* is nevertheless interesting as a rare instance of Carissimi motets disseminated in manuscript.

Aldrich's set of works by Carissimi also contains three volumes of secular cantatas, *Och Mus.* 51, 52, and 54, copied by Goodson Sr in the 1690s. Unlike the sacred motets, the cantatas were invariably copied from Roman cantata manuscripts, many of which survive in the Christ Church collection. There are vast numbers of

---

<sup>552</sup> A complete inventory is available in David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York: York Minster Library, 1981), 103–4.

<sup>553</sup> Charteris, 'Matthew Hutton', 2. For Hutton's musical activities, see Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood', 72–3; Margaret Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club, 1690–1719', *Bodleian Library Record*, 9 (1974), 83–99.

<sup>554</sup> Jones refers to Heawood's watermark no. 1568. Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 92.

<sup>555</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 9' and 'Mus. 55'.

<sup>556</sup> There is another Italian manuscript copy of this motet in the UK: John Evelyn's souvenir of 1645 now in *Lbl Add. MS 78416 (C)*, see above p. 1.

<sup>557</sup> Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, i, 92–3.

Italian cantata scores in British libraries, especially in the collections of the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and Christ Church. However, the Roman cantata manuscripts in the Christ Church collection are the earliest such sources extant in Britain; many date from the third quarter of the seventeenth century and contain repertoire by Carissimi, Luigi Rossi (?1597/8–1653), Carlo Caproli (before 1620–?after 1675), Antonio Cesti (1623–1669) and Marco Marazzoli (b. c.1602–5, d. 1662), whilst others date from later in the same century and add cantatas by composers such as Alessandro Stradella (1639–1682) and Antonio Farina (active late seventeenth century). The majority are scores in the long and narrow oblong octavo format typical of seventeenth-century Roman cantata sources.<sup>558</sup> This format can be compared to the large number of early eighteenth-century cantata manuscripts preserved in the British Library and among the Music School manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, which typically are very large oblong quartos or folios, containing repertoire by composers like Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747), Agostino Steffani (1654–1728), Baron Emanuele d’Astorga (1680–1757), and occasionally Georg Frideric Handel (1685–1759). Although the collection of Roman cantata manuscripts at Christ Church reflects a general interest in Roman vocal music, the primary interest of English scribes copying Italian secular music seems to have been Carissimi. No other seventeenth-century composer had their cantatas systematically picked out of the Italian manuscripts available and copied into separate manuscript collections.

The cantata copies made by Goodson for Aldrich’s Carissimi set were probably copied about the same time as Francis Smith copied Mus. 53, after Goodson was appointed Cathedral organist at Christ Church in 1692. As can be seen in Appendix V, the cantatas in *Och* Mus. 51, 51 and 54 have large numbers of concordances in the Roman manuscripts *Och* Mus. 949 and 996, and occasional ones in Mus. 947, 950, 951 and 998. For instance, Mus. 996 contains a set of ten Carissimi cantatas copied by Angelo Bartolotti during his time in Sweden (see above, p. 76), which were all copied into Mus. 52 and 54; Mus. 52 contains only one item not

---

<sup>558</sup> Alessio Ruffatti, ‘Les cantates de Luigi Rossi (1597–1653) en France: diffusion et réception dans le contexte Européen’ (PhD thesis, Università degli studi de Padova and Université de Paris 4 Sorbonne, 2006), 27–29.

copied from Mus. 996.<sup>559</sup> Goodson similarly copied the six Carissimi cantatas in Mus. 949 into Mus. 51. However, ten of the twenty-two cantatas in Mus. 51 are unique to Mus. 51, perhaps implying that Goodson was copying from a now-lost source. The practice of copying select items from Roman sources into English manuscript collections suggests that Aldrich went about collecting cantatas in a similar way to collecting motets, first locating a possible source such as a motet anthology or Roman cantata manuscript and then having the desirable items copied into his own collections.

Music that was extensively published required less work to collect than Carissimi motets and cantatas that were scattered in many different printed and manuscript anthologies. Aldrich's second interest appears to have been the solo motets of Bonifacio Graziani, which had conveniently published in six volumes in Rome. Aldrich had all six copied and bound into one collection of solo motets, *Och Mus. 7*. In addition, he owned a copy of Graziani's *Motetti a due, e tre voci* (1667), which was probably copied into *Och Mus. 83* by William Dingley (c. 1673–1735, elected fellow of Corpus Christi in 1698).<sup>560</sup>

The manuscript copies in *Och Mus. 7* are straightforward transcriptions of the printed books and in most cases acknowledge their sources. *Mus. 7* consists of four layers; the first preserves manuscript copies of Graziani's *Il primo libro de' motetti a voce sola* (op. 3, 1652),<sup>561</sup> *Il secondo libro de' motetti a voce sola* (op. 6, 1655),<sup>562</sup> and *Il terzo libro de' motetti a voce sola* (op. 8, 1658),<sup>563</sup> in the hands of the Christ Church singing men Francis Withy (?1645–1727, at Christ Church from 1670) and Edward Hull (fl. c.1690). The other layers preserve scribal copies of Graziani's *Il quarto libro de motetti a voce sola* (op. 10, 1665),<sup>564</sup> *Quinto libro de motetti a voce*

---

<sup>559</sup> 'A piè d'un verde alloro assisi un dì' on f. 21r. This piece does not have any concordances in Italian sources extant in Britain.

<sup>560</sup> CHCH Cat., 'Mus. 83', and 'Mus. 620, pp. 1–101'. Five motets from *Och Mus. 7* have also been copied in *Och Mus. 17* by Aldrich and Godson, see Appendix III.

<sup>561</sup> Bonifacio Graziani, *Il Primo Libro de Mottetti a Voce Sola* (Rome: Mascardi, 1652, reprinted 1655, 1661, 1669 and 1677).

<sup>562</sup> Bonifacio Graziani, *Il secondo libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome: Maurizio Balmonti, 1655, reprinted 1659).

<sup>563</sup> Bonifacio Graziani, *Il terzo libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1658, reprinted 1664, 1665, 1668 and 1677).

<sup>564</sup> Bonifacio Graziani, *Il quarto libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1665, reprinted 1677).

*sola* (op. 16, 1669),<sup>565</sup> and *Sacrae cantiones a voce sola* (op. 19, 1672)<sup>566</sup> respectively. Milsom has suggested that layer two may be in the hand of Edward Lowe, whilst three and four were copied by an unidentified scribe.<sup>567</sup> Given the dates of the copyists at Christ Church, the printed editions do not seem to have reached Christ Church in chronological order; if Lowe copied the fourth book, that layer must date from before 1682, whereas the copies of book one and two were made in the 1690s given Hull's involvement. However, three solo motets from *Il primo libro* are also copied in Richard Goodson's *Och Mus.* 350. Milsom has argued that approximately the first half of this volume was copied before 1677 on the basis of John Blow being referred to as 'Mr' (his doctorate having been awarded that year). Given the early publication dates of the Graziani motets, this is entirely plausible. Another copy of *Il primo libro*, by an unidentified scribe probably copying earlier than the Christ Church copyists, is preserved in *Ob Tenbury* 1227c, suggesting that the book was available in England.

Finally, Aldrich collected music by Palestrina. As Shay has observed, Aldrich was the first seventeenth-century composer and collector in England to engage with Palestrina, and was most likely responsible for the ensuing eighteenth-century cult of the composer.<sup>568</sup> Unlike Carissimi, whose reputation stood high, Palestrina was relatively unknown in seventeenth-century England. Despite the great number of eighteenth-century sources containing music by Palestrina, manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century are scarce. Apart from two late seventeenth-century manuscript sources of Latin motets and one of spiritual Italian madrigals at Christ Church, the extant sources date from the earliest decades of the seventeenth century. These sources tend only to include isolated pieces, and thus do not indicate systematic copying.<sup>569</sup>

Similarly to the copies of Carissimi and Graziani, the Christ Church manuscript sources of Palestrina motets derive from printed publications. The motets

---

<sup>565</sup> Bonifacio Graziani, *Quinto libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1669, reprinted 1684).

<sup>566</sup> Bonifacio Graziani, *Sacrae cantiones a voce sola* (Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1672, reprinted 1676).

<sup>567</sup> CHCH Cat. 'Mus. 7'.

<sup>568</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing' Palestrina', 380.

<sup>569</sup> These are *Lbl* Add. MS 29246 and 29247, and Add. MS 41156–58, along with Francis Tregian's collection in *Lbl* Egerton 3665. See Bertram Schofield and Thurston Dart, 'Tregian's Anthology', *Music & Letters*, 32 (1951), 205–16. An interesting anomaly is *Lbl* Add. MS 35084, which contains figured bass for Palestrina's 1593 *Offertoria*; as the original lacks figured bass, this is most likely a seventeenth-century performance adaptation which merits further investigation.

in *Och Mus.* 10 were copied in the late 1680s by William Husbands from the printed collection *Motetorum quinque vocibus* (1601);<sup>570</sup> and Aldrich himself copied *Och Mus.* 521–4, a set of partbooks preserving motets from *Motecta festorum totius anni* (1622).<sup>571</sup> Milsom has suggested that the motets in *Mus.* 521–4 were copied from an intermediary source on account of the precise durations given to the final notes in each voice part, but considering his editorial practices when copying *Carissimi*, it seems equally likely that Aldrich adapted his copy to contemporary notational habits and amended the note values himself.<sup>572</sup> At the reverse end of the partbooks Aldrich began copying his recompositions of Palestrina motets; he evidently intended the partbooks to become a complete set containing original motets by Palestrina side by side with his own recompositions. The set was never finished: the original motets copied at the front of the volumes only represent half of the motets printed in *Motecta festorum*, excluding ‘Nativitas tua’, ‘Nos autem gloriari’ and ‘Doctor bonus’ that Aldrich would famously recompose. Of his own works, Aldrich only copied three, leaving the majority of the leaves blank. Despite the relatively limited number of motets, Aldrich’s knowledge and ownership of music by Palestrina was unique in England at a time when, for political and religious reasons, Palestrina was largely unknown.

Aldrich’s means of acquiring Italian music has long been debated. Humfrey Wanley (cited above, p. 160) thought that Aldrich procured his music during travels in Italy, but the complete lack of documentary evidence has led Andrew Jones and David Pinto to believe that Aldrich never travelled to Italy. Instead, they suggest that he purchased material through travelled friends and agents on the continent.<sup>573</sup> Shay, on the contrary, argues that Aldrich’s documented 1673 journey to Cologne was extended to Rome, where he would have acquired the printed sacred music in the set *Och Mus.* 887–92, which contains Aldrich’s copy of *Sacri concerti* (1675), and the

---

<sup>570</sup> William Husbands was a chorister at Christ Church between 1673 and 1682, and served as organist until 1690. He was paid for copying 1687–8. See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 310; CHCH Cat., ‘Mus. 1220–4’.

<sup>571</sup> Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Festorum totius anni cum communi sanctorum quaternis vocibus a Ioanne Petro Aloysio Praenestino aedita. Liber primus* (Rome, 1622); and *Ioannis Petraloysii Praenestini motetorum quinque vocibus. Liber quintus* (Venice, 1601). The two are bound as *Och Mus.* 887–92 (4) and *Och Mus.* 887–92 (8) respectively. See CHCH Cat., ‘Mus. 887–92’.

<sup>572</sup> CHCH Cat., ‘Mus. 521–4’.

<sup>573</sup> Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, i, 82; Pinto, ‘The Music of the Hattons’, 92.

two books of Palestrina motets.<sup>574</sup> The documentary situation is such that it can neither be proved nor disproved that Aldrich went to Italy.<sup>575</sup> Whether he did or not, Aldrich could not possibly have collected all the Roman music in his collection during one journey. The improved trade and postal routes, and generally increasing travel to the continent, would have made it possible for him to assemble much of his collection without leaving England. Aldrich did not own all the printed editions that his scribes copied for him. An inscription on the cantus part of Graziani's *Motetti a due, e tre voci* (1667) suggests that what Aldrich did not possess, he sometimes borrowed from friends: 'This set of books I borrow'd of Mr Tim.[othy] Nourse near Paynswick Glou[cester]'. Nourse was a Catholic convert and ex-fellow of University College who travelled widely on the continent.<sup>576</sup> Perhaps Aldrich borrowed the partbooks from Nourse to get them copied and, as Milsom has suggested, assumed ownership when Nourse died in 1699.<sup>577</sup> Arguably, Aldrich borrowed other books as well; presumably whenever a musical rarity became available, he took the opportunity to have it copied, as is suggested by the chronology of his Graziani copies.

Possibly Nourse, or someone similar, could also have been the agent who acquired Aldrich's copies of the Carissimi oratorios *Jephte* and *Judicium Salomonis*.<sup>578</sup> Manuscript copies of Carissimi oratorios were rare in seventeenth-century Europe, and the Oxford sources are the earliest extant in England. The surviving continental seventeenth-century sources of *Jephte* and *Judicium Salomonis*

---

<sup>574</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing' Palestrina', 378–9. Although published in the early seventeenth century, the printed books of Palestrina motets do not belong to the bulk of music Aldrich bought from Hatton, nor do they appear on the lists of Hatton's supplier, Robert Martin. See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 425–30; and Donald Krummel, 'Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop: the Robert Martin Catalogues, 1633–50', in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. by Oliver Neighbour (London: Bingley, 1980), 21.

<sup>575</sup> All his personal papers were destroyed at his death, making any kind of biographical research difficult.

<sup>576</sup> David Souden, 'Nourse, Timothy (c.1636–1699)', ODNB.

<sup>577</sup> CHCH Cat., 'Mus. 887–92'.

<sup>578</sup> *Jephte* is in *Och Mus.* 37, pp. 1–24 (music copied by Francis Smith and words by Aldrich), and *Judicium Salomonis* in *Mus.* 13 and *Mus.* 53 (copied by Aldrich and Smith respectively). Other seventeenth-century copies are preserved in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.9* (*Jephte* only, in the hand of Francis Smith), as late seventeenth-century performing parts in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.204*, ff. 50–68, and in Sampson Estwick's collection in *Ob MS Mus.c.590*. Iva Buff and Janet Beat have previously thought the scribe of *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.204* to be Edward Lowe, but as Wainwright has shown it is in fact Henry Bowman. See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 325–6; Iva M. Buff, *A Thematic Catalog of the Sacred Works of Giacomo Carissimi* (Clifton, NJ: European American Music Corp., 1979), 61–3; and Janet Beat ed., *Giacomo Carissimi: Jephte* (London: Novello, 1974), ii. On Sampson Estwick's collection, see H. Diack Johnstone, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and Now Partially Recovered', *Music & Letters*, 95 (2014), 329–73 (344).

are confined to France.<sup>579</sup> Although at present it cannot be proven how Aldrich gained access to rare copies of Carissimi oratorios, it seems likely that they derive from French sources. The collection of Carissimi motets, *Jephte* and *Jonas* in F V MS Mus. 58 (part of the Toulouse-Philidor collection) was copied by a scribe who, Edward Corp has speculated, was the Scotsman David Nairne (1655–1740), who settled in Paris in 1676 collected Italian music alongside his employment at the Stuart court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.<sup>580</sup> Exiled Catholics would have been natural contacts for Aldrich, given his documented dealings with travelling recusants such as Nourse. However, the Oxford copies of Carissimi oratorios are in the hand of Francis Smith; since it is unlikely that Smith travelled to Paris, he was probably copying from a now lost exemplar.

Aldrich also purchased Roman cantata manuscripts secondhand in England. He probably acquired the Bartolotti anthology *Och* Mus. 996 from Nourse (see Chapter 2, p. 76 and Appendix II), and the three volumes of Roman cantatas *Och* Mus. 946, 947 and 958 previously belonged to a ‘Mr Jones’ who purchased them in the late 1690s.<sup>581</sup> English collectors also frequently employed agents on the continent. As Stephen Rose’s recent research has shown, the botanist William Sherard (1659–1728) acted as an agent for English colleagues, obtaining music and books for Humfrey Wanley (then still at the Bodleian library) during his 1698 travels in Italy. Sherard sent catalogues of available music to England and received orders in

---

<sup>579</sup> On the extant sources of *Jephte* and *Judicium Salomonis*, see Buff, *Thematic Catalog*, 61–3, 67–8. Apart from the autograph of Marc-Antoine Charpentier (F Pn Vm<sup>1</sup>1477), scores are preserved in F Pn Vm<sup>1</sup>1475, belonging to the music collector Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730), and in D Hs ND VI 2425, a French manuscript now in Hamburg, Germany. *Jephte* only is also preserved in a manuscript collection of Carissimi motets and oratorios in the Toulouse-Philidor collection at Versailles (F VMS Mus. 58), and in F Pc Rés.F.934a. On this source, see Gloria Rose, ‘A Portrait called Carissimi’, *Music & Letters*, 51 (1970), 400–03.

<sup>580</sup> If Nairne himself was not the copyist, Corp suggests that he at least had a close connection with the scribe and owned the manuscript, see Edward Corp, ‘The Musical Manuscripts of “Copiste Z”’: David Nairne, François Couperin, and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-En-Laye’, *Revue de Musicologie*, 84 (1998), 37–62 (48). Catherine Massip identified and labelled the hand ‘copiste Z’ in ‘La collection musicale Toulouse-Philidor à la Bibliothèque Nationale’, *Fontes artis musicae*, 30 (1983), 184–207. Nairne was also involved in the collection of French and Italian belonging to his cousins, the Scottish Earls of Panmure. See Edward Corp, ‘The Acquisition of French and Italian Music in the Panmure Collection: The Role of David Nairne’, in *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the 17th Century*, ed. by James Porter (Bern: Lang, 2007), 139–153.

<sup>581</sup> The front flyleaf of *Och* Mus. 996 is inscribed ‘Timothy Nourse 1672’. *Och* Mus. 946 and 947 are partner volumes of common provenance, judging by content, binding and scribal hands. Mus. 947 has the annotation ‘[?Mar]ch ye 4th [16]97’ in the same unidentified hand that wrote ‘Mr Jones March ye 25<sup>th</sup>’ on the front flyleaf of Mus. 958. See also CHCH Cat., ‘Mus. 946’, ‘Mus. 947’ and ‘Mus. 958’.

return.<sup>582</sup> Aldrich and Sherard knew each other: a letter from the botanist Jacob Bobart (1641–1719) to Sherard expresses sadness at Sherard’s departure for Smyrna and says that the Dean of Christ Church ‘seem’d much concern’d that you had not this Book before’, indicating that Sherard and Aldrich engaged in some form of book trade.<sup>583</sup> Thus it seems likely that some of Aldrich’s music was purchased by friends and agents abroad.

Aldrich’s collecting practices appear to have been a balancing act between what he wanted and what he could acquire. Motets and cantatas by Carissimi were difficult to obtain, but their value justified the effort of searching through numerous printed and manuscript anthologies for them. Although it might seem that Aldrich’s efforts to collect Graziani motets were less painstaking than his search for motets by Carissimi, the systematic collection of six successive publications of solo motets suggests otherwise; that Aldrich did not own the printed books but took pains to find and borrow them implies that he knew what he wanted. The Christ Church collection holds several other Graziani prints of more miscellaneous character that were apparently never copied, suggesting that Aldrich was content to have them in printed exemplars.<sup>584</sup> This reveals the system behind Aldrich’s collections of Roman music: Graziani’s solo motets in one volume, Carissimi motets in another, and three volumes of cantatas organised by number of voices, implying that Aldrich was striving to create as complete and systematic a music library as possible.

It has often been assumed that all the vocal music in Aldrich’s collection, including Carissimi and Graziani, was performed at Aldrich’s famous music-meetings at Christ Church.<sup>585</sup> From the beginning of his canonry, Aldrich convened weekly music-meetings at Christ Church:

In order to keep up the Spirit of Music, and to promote social Harmony, the whole Body attended him duly, on a certain Evening in the Week, at his Lodgings; where he not only

---

<sup>582</sup> Rose, *Leipzig Church Music*, xi, and notes 33–5.

<sup>583</sup> Jacob Bobart to William Sherard, 18 June 1703, in Royal Society MS 252, letter 105. I am grateful to Stephen Rose for showing me this letter.

<sup>584</sup> Bonifacio Graziani, *Motetti a due, tre, e cinque voci* (Rome: Mauritio Balmonti, 1657) in *Och Mus.* 220–2; Bonifacio Graziani, *Litanie della Madonna* (Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1665) in *Och Mus.* 887–92 (13); Bonifacio Graziani, *Mottetti a due, tre, quattro, e cinque voci* (Rome: Mascardi, 1676) in *Och Mus.* 887–92 (14).

<sup>585</sup> Shay, ‘Aldrich, Henry’, *GMO*; Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich*, 33–6.



appointed the Pieces that should be performed, but assisted in the Performances himself.<sup>586</sup>

According to Hayes's *Remarks* (1753) this extra performance time improved the singing standards of the Cathedral choir, although there is no evidence that the meetings served as direct rehearsals for performances in the Cathedral. The meetings served as an important social forum for the musicians and music-lovers in Oxford and also as a means of strict social control, whereby regular and punctual attendance was rewarded with the Dean's approval expressed through alcohol allowances. Consequently, singing-men and senior college members alike took care to arrive on time.<sup>587</sup> Several of the attenders acted as copyists of manuscripts now preserved at Christ Church: among them were, apart from Aldrich and Goodson, the singers and copyists Francis Smith and Francis Withy, the chaplain and composer Sampson Estwick (c.1656–1739), who would become a founding member of the Academy of Ancient Music in London (below p. 207), and the Oxford amateur composer Henry Bowman. Lowe, whose hand is occasionally found in Christ Church manuscripts, may have joined in the early years.

Although the music-meetings highlight an important convivial aspect of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century musical life and the later English appropriation of Roman vocal music, the format of Aldrich's manuscripts of music by Carissimi and Graziani suggests that the repertoire he collected was not performed. Some motets in Aldrich's eight Carissimi volumes had previously only been available as parts, but have been scored into the upright folio volumes frequently regarded as 'library copies' in seventeenth-century England.<sup>588</sup> The practice of cutting out repetitions and instrumental *ritornelli* in *Och Mus.* 13, and the frequent omission of performance instructions which otherwise frequently appear in performing copies, such as Lowe's partbooks, suggests that Aldrich's copies of Roman vocal music were for study rather than performance.

---

<sup>586</sup> Charles Avison and William Hayes, *Charles Avison's Essay on Musical Expression: with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison*, ed. by Pierre Dubois (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 108–9.

<sup>587</sup> See Avison and Hayes, *Essay and Remarks*, 109.

<sup>588</sup> Both *Missa a cinque* (1666) and *Sacri concerti* (1675) were published as sets of parts. The characteristics and functions of 'file' or 'library copies' are discussed in Rebecca Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *The Journal of Musicology*, 23 (2006), 569–619 (587); and further Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 13–63 (38–42).

This is not to say that no Roman music was ever performed at Christ Church. Aldrich's collection of Palestrina motets was copied into partbooks rather than in score, which suggests that they may have been intended for performance. Furthermore, a number of manuscripts mostly belonging to the Cathedral organist Richard Goodson Sr contain a few items of Roman vocal music that are more likely to have been performed. Goodson's songbook score *Och* Mus. 350, for instance, contains three solo motets by Graziani,<sup>589</sup> his organ book Mus. 46 includes the motet 'O vulnera doloris' attributed to Carissimi, the teaching book Mus. 598 a copy of Carissimi's popular 'Lucifer coelestis olim', and the set of partbooks Mus. 623–6 copied by Henry Bowman contains the likewise popular 'Audite sancti.'<sup>590</sup> These manuscripts belong to the Goodson bequest. Although Aldrich actively directed the performances, it is logical that the performing material belonged to the Cathedral organist. How the many imported Roman manuscripts were used at Christ Church, apart from being used as exemplars, remains an unresolved question. Their narrow oblong format would certainly enable performance, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were performed from. If not used for performance, the Roman manuscripts potentially functioned as symbolic objects (souvenirs or collectors' items) or as repositories of music for study (on music manuscripts as semiophores, see Chapter 5, p. 220).

The following section will discuss Aldrich's engagement with Roman vocal music within the framework of the emerging musical antiquarianism of the late seventeenth century, arguing that Carissimi and Palestrina in particular achieved status as 'ancient' composers in Aldrich's collection and were treated as venerable models for imitation rather than as novel repertory.

## Music and Antiquarianism

Musical antiquarianism emerged in the context of a general burgeoning interest in Britain's past, which Graham Parry has described as a search for national identity

---

<sup>589</sup> 'O anima mea suspira', 'O dulcis Jesu, o amor cordis mei' and 'Per asperos mundi errores' were all printed in *Il primo libro* (1652). Peter Leech has further discussed *Och* Mus. 350, but incorrectly claims it was copied by Lowe. See Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 570–87 (577).

<sup>590</sup> The two were published in Playford's *Harmonia Sacra* (1693) and survive in seventeen ('Lucifer') and fourteen ('Audite sancti') seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century copies respectively. This makes them the two most widely disseminated Roman motets in England.

and religious ancestry taking the form of extremely broad scholarly inquiries. Restoration antiquarians were interested in origins, in tracing Britannia's glorious past through the physical remains of its cultural and religious practices. Aware of the ephemerality of historical remains (whether manuscripts, coins, or inscriptions in churches), antiquarians greedily gathered them into collections of antiquities and curiosities where they would be safe and accessible for examination.<sup>591</sup> Music too was the subject of antiquarian enquiry—less because it epitomised the ephemerality of life, more because it had a strong symbolic value and the capacity to represent the past through its association with certain institutions and cultural practices. As William Weber has argued, eighteenth-century musical antiquarianism stemmed from a desire among conservative churchmen, politicians and musicians to preserve old social, political and religious orders represented by ancient music.<sup>592</sup> I suggest that there is yet another dimension to Aldrich's antiquarianism, with ancient music in general and Roman music in particular being put to practical use to maintain and improve the English cathedral music tradition, itself symbolic of certain social and religious values. This, I argue, is the context of Aldrich's famous recompositions of motets by Palestrina and Carissimi. Chiefly with the purpose of defending Aldrich from accusations of plagiarism, Robert Shay has convincingly argued that Aldrich used his collection of Roman vocal music as models for his own compositions according to the classic educational principle of *imitatio*. Shay argues that Aldrich's chief motivation was to make Roman compositions more palatable to English taste, and his means of doing this was through *imitatio*.<sup>593</sup> I argue that Aldrich's appropriation and imitation of Roman music had wider aims than personally motivated study; it was an attempt to boost compositional competence within the English cathedral music tradition, which Aldrich perceived as threatened. Even more than the ephemerality of music itself, the religio-political tosses and turns of the seventeenth century would have made Aldrich acutely aware of the fragility of the Anglican church music tradition, and with it the ancient style of composition.

The notion of an ephemeral tradition of English cathedral music arguably stemmed from the experience of iconoclasm during the Reformations and the Civil

---

<sup>591</sup> Parry, *Trophies of Time*, 2, 9, 14.

<sup>592</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 66–73, 199–213.

<sup>593</sup> Shay, "Naturalizing" Palestrina', 400. In addition to Aldrich, Shay has investigated Henry Purcell's practice of copying ancient music and using the styles in his own compositions. See Shay, 'Henry Purcell and "Ancient" Music in Restoration England'.

War, which repeatedly threw church music practices into question. As historian Aleida Assmann observes, it is such awareness of the vulnerability of one's identity that releases the energy to construct durable continuities; tradition is only distinguishable from habit when circumstances change, but habit is actively retained as an act of preservation.<sup>594</sup> Weber has suggested that the musical-antiquarian tradition started in English cathedrals at the Restoration, necessitated by the perceived musical dearth of the Civil War years.<sup>595</sup> The Chapel Royal revived the most recent music available (early Stuart anthems and services by William Child and Henry Lawes), whilst outside London there was heavy demand for John Barnard's *First Book of Church Music* (1641), which contains Tudor repertoire.<sup>596</sup> The use of sixteenth-century repertoire is also indicated by the texts included in James Clifford's word-book *Divine Services and Anthems, usually sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in the Church of England* (1663).<sup>597</sup> More than a pragmatic solution to a shortage of repertoire, the gaze back to earlier church music practices was a response to the trauma of the Civil War; as John Butt has argued, the restoration of the monarchy and Church of England to *status quo* before the upheavals of the 1640s was an attempt to redress the violence of the Civil War.<sup>598</sup>

For church musicians, the troubles once again threw into question the existence of their entire craft and profession. The Reformation had brought about a complete restructuring of church music to match the Protestant demand for intelligible text-setting in church music. The requirement for clearly audible words was incompatible with the old tradition of florid polyphony, and many sources were destroyed in iconoclastic raids.<sup>599</sup> With the greater flexibility of Elizabeth I's 1559

---

<sup>594</sup> Aleida Assmann, *Tid och Tradition: Varaktighetens kulturella strategier*, trans. by Peter Jackson (Nora: Nya Doxa, 2004), 96–7, 131; originally published as *Zeit und Tradition. Kulturelle Strategien der Dauer* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999), 71–73, 105.

<sup>595</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 7–9, 26.

<sup>596</sup> The partbook set was, for instance, purchased by the cathedrals in Worcester, Lichfield and Gloucester in the early 1660s. Detailed information on the uses of Barnard's books after the Restoration is provided in Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Music*: Genesis, Production and Influence' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2009), 239–41, 279–333. See also John Morehen, 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music' 2 vols. (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969), ii, 4.

<sup>597</sup> James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems Usually Sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in the Church of England Collected by J. C.* (London, 1663). Although Clifford's publication does not contain printed music, he gives a composer's name after each anthem text. Composers represented are Thomas Tallis, William Mundy, Orlando Gibbons, Richard Farrant and others.

<sup>598</sup> Butt, *Playing with History*, 165.

<sup>599</sup> The Eton choirbook is famously one of the few surviving sources of fifteenth-century English church music.

injunctions, composers such as Tallis and Byrd succeeded in reconciling polyphony with Protestant theology. During the early Stuart era the royally backed High Church faction under Archbishop Laud encouraged elaborate music as part of re-emphasising the theological significance of religious ritual,<sup>600</sup> but during the Civil War and Interregnum organs and cathedral choirs were again silenced through the Puritan doctrine of salvation through faith alone.

Without elaborating further, Weber has suggested that church music in general received a distinct political identity in Restoration England resulting from ‘the memory of Puritan acts and policies, and the continued close association of church music with high churchmen’.<sup>601</sup> Similarly, Parry notes a widespread antiquarian hostility towards Puritanism, stemming from an awareness of how Protestant zeal during the Reformation and the Civil War had been wiping out England’s historical heritage through iconoclasm and purging of popular pagan and Catholic customs.<sup>602</sup> Butt again observes, ‘the revolutionary age had exposed the vulnerability of ancient buildings and the threat to one’s own historicity—that sense of historical and geographical roots.’<sup>603</sup>

In his capacity of Anglican divine, Royalist and music lover, Aldrich’s position was in defence of cathedral music. After the accession of the Calvinist William III the religious power balance shifted again, giving priority to the Puritan ideals backed by the king. Attempting to accommodate Protestant Dissenters within the Church of England, one of the articles of the 1689 Comprehension Bill stipulated ‘that the chanting of divine service in cathedral churches be laid aside that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people’;<sup>604</sup> Aldrich allegedly left the meeting of the ecclesiastical commission called to revise the Book of Common

---

<sup>600</sup> On William Laud’s (1573–1645) reform of the Church of England as bishop of London from 1627 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 132–51.

<sup>601</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 27.

<sup>602</sup> Parry, *Trophies of Time*, 17–18, 295–6. These religious and political attitudes would become known as ‘Tory’ during the 1680s. Although not all antiquarians were Tory supporters of the Church of England; as Parry points out, antiquarians versed in the classical and medieval civil law tended to side with parliament on the ground that the parliamentary form of government was more historically correct.

<sup>603</sup> Butt, *Playing with History*, 165.

<sup>604</sup> Cited in Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 5.

Prayer in protest.<sup>605</sup> For Aldrich and those who shared his beliefs, the choral tradition as established by Tallis and Byrd was an integral part of High Church culture, merging with a doctrine stressing the importance of the sacraments and other forms of religious ceremony more reminiscent of Catholic than of Reformed practices. This conviction was presumably not weakened by the frequent allegations of Papism from churchmen of more radical Protestant views.<sup>606</sup> Such allegations were probably fuelled by Aldrich's well-attested interest in Roman church music. However, unlike many of the courtiers who exhibited an interest in Roman vocal music in the 1660s, Aldrich was by no means a closet Catholic and resisted James II's attempts to appoint a Catholic Dean of Christ Church in 1686.<sup>607</sup> Despite the religious climate under William III, music thrived at Christ Church Cathedral, according to Aldrich's conviction. Arguably, it was the conscious continuation of church music when it was no longer a given—along with the feeling of threat towards an established profession, craft and religious conviction—that gave birth to the notion of an Anglican cathedral music tradition in need of preservation.<sup>608</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century, the identity of the Anglican cathedral music tradition had been under construction for much longer than has previously been acknowledged. Weber has drawn attention to Barnard's *First Book of Church Music* (1641) as 'the most important antecedent of the idea of ancient music.'<sup>609</sup> Although Barnard's book was indeed the first Anglican publication to feature only dead composers, the idea of an ancient church music tradition which had been disrupted at the Reformation had been expressed much earlier. In his 1575 autobiography, the composer and traveller Thomas Whythorne (c.1528–1596) praised the music of Rome and claimed that the decline of English church music had begun with the dissolution of the monasteries:

---

<sup>605</sup> Spink, *Cathedral Music*, 6, 31, 320. On the Comprehension Bill and the associated Toleration Act of 1689, see John Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', *The English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), 927–46.

<sup>606</sup> Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 141–45. For a similar problem in a different context, see Bridget Heal, "'Better Papist than Calvinist': Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany", *German History*, 29 (2011), 584–609.

<sup>607</sup> Stuart Handley, 'Aldrich, Henry (1648–1710)', ODNB.

<sup>608</sup> Cf. Weber's statement that the historical awareness of Chapel Royal musicians increased with the use of older repertoire at the Restoration, and Butt's that 'historical consciousness depends on the perception of difference and change.' Weber, *Musical Classics*, 7–9; Butt, *Playing with History*, 169.

<sup>609</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 25.

In tym past miuzik waz chiefly maintained by Cathedrall chiurches Abbeis. Colleges. parish chiurches, Chauntries, gyls, Fraternities &c. but when þe Abbeiz, and kollezes without þe vuniursities, with gyls, and fraternities &c wer suppres, þen went miuz[ik] into deokay.<sup>610</sup>

Closer in time to Aldrich than Whythorne, the Academy of Ancient Music member William Croft (1678–1727) lamented the destruction of England’s early church music tradition in the preface to his *Musica Sacra* (1724). Croft singled Thomas Tallis out as the link between the old and the new:

What was the State of *Church-Musick* before the Reformation, does not appear from any Memorials or Entries thereof, in Books remaining in our *Cathedral Churches*: The immortal Mr. *Thomas Tallys*, (who was Organist to the Court in the Reigns of *King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*) was the first that ever composed a *Cathedral-Service* in the *English Tongue*, from which excellent Work, justly esteemed at this very Day, We may conclude, that the Art of *Musick* was not Young in this Kingdom in his Days; We may therefore lament the Spoil and Havoc that was made at the Reformation, as of Books of all other Kinds, so more especially of *Church-Musick*, which being composed to Words in an unknown Tongue, we may reasonably imagine, suffer’d more than ordinary Violence, from the Rage of those *Times*, when every Thing that had the Appearance of Learning and Ingenuity was treated with Contempt, and indiscriminately destroyed, as being tainted with *Popery* and *Superstition*; by Means whereof the Art of *Musick*, especially of *Church-Musick*, was brought so low, That were it not for a very few industrious Artists that apply’d themselves to the composing *Musick* to *English Words*, in the Way of Services and Anthems, for the Use of *Churches*, (at the Beginning of the Reformation,) The Solemnity, Gravity, and Excellency of *Style*, peculiarly proper to *Church-Musick*, had been utterly lost: But it so happened, That what was by Mr. *Tallys* so happily begun, was with great success carried on, by other great Masters, his Contemporaries and Successors[.]<sup>611</sup>

In the 1660s anything dating from before the Reformation was considered a legitimate antiquarian object of study.<sup>612</sup> Weber has suggested that the consolidation of a sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century repertoire of church music in collegiate

---

<sup>610</sup> Transcribed from Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. by James M. Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 243–44.

<sup>611</sup> William Croft, *Musica Sacra: or, Select Anthems in Score* (London, 1724), 2–3.

<sup>612</sup> Parry, *Trophies of Time*, 358–59.

and cathedral environments was linked chiefly to the cult of Queen Elizabeth, whose reign was regarded as a golden age.<sup>613</sup> As Croft's preface implies, the almost total destruction of sources of florid polyphony at the hands of sixteenth-century iconoclasts left seventeenth-century music antiquarians with little material from before the sixteenth century, explaining the focus on post-Reformation music in Aldrich's antiquarian circle. My examples of Whythorne and Croft show that Restoration musical antiquarians sensed the depths of a much older tradition, which they would have been equally interested in had they been able to access it.

The survival and improvement of this supposedly ancient tradition was arguably at the heart of the antiquarian enterprises of Aldrich and Croft, as well as of Aldrich's music collection. Croft's preface exhibits a strong sense of tradition: what Tallis had begun, others continued so that

[...] every Age having since produc'd one or more Persons famous in their Generation for reviving the Credit of that useful *Art*, who by their excellent Performances from Time to Time, have been able to lay a sure Foundation for perpetual Improvement thereof.<sup>614</sup>

The tradition with which Aldrich and Croft affiliated themselves is perhaps best understood as adherence to the genres and compositional techniques of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As Assmann points out, traditions have different functions in different times: their chief function during the early modern period was to legitimise current practices. At a time when history was assumed to be like the present, history functioned as a repository of useful examples to be imitated, whose norms justified claims to truth and authority.<sup>615</sup> Before the musical work-concept as later days have come to know it, the musical-antiquarian concern was more with preserving (i.e. continuing) an old tradition of composing church music than with gathering musical classics.<sup>616</sup> Croft himself, Aldrich before him, and eighteenth-century figures such as Maurice Greene and William Boyce carried the tradition on, not only by collecting ancient music but also composing anthems in the old style.<sup>617</sup>

---

<sup>613</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 27.

<sup>614</sup> Croft, *Musica Sacra*, 3.

<sup>615</sup> Butt, *Playing with History*, 169; Assmann, *Tid och Tradition*, 113–14 (*Zeit und Tradition*, 88–90).

<sup>616</sup> Cf. Weber's claim that no canon of musical classics existed in England before the mid-eighteenth-century. Weber, *Musical Classics*, 1–5, 13.

<sup>617</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', *Music & Letters*, 56 (1975), 26–40, (32).



In order to be able to compose according to tradition, composer-antiquarians needed examples of the old styles of composition to study and imitate.

How does the music of Carissimi—a composer who was still alive when Aldrich commenced his music collection—count as ancient? The English translation of François Ragueneau's *A Comparison between the French and Italian Musick and Opera's* [*sic!*] (London, 1709) shows that Carissimi figured along with sixteenth-century contrapuntists as an ancient composer. Lowell Lindgren has speculated that the translation was annotated with information supplied by the Roman cellist Nicola Haym (1678–1729), who would later become the secretary of the Academy of Ancient Music (then known as the Academy of Vocal Music).<sup>618</sup> The annotations group Palestrina, Francesco Foggia, Orazio Benevoli, and Carissimi together as ancients:

Among the ancient Composers of Church Musick, besides *Carissimi*, we may add, *Oratio Benevoli*, and *Francisco Foggia*, and one more ancient than either, *Palestrina*, who was the Inventor of a Style in Musick, call'd from his own Name, *alla Palestrina*, or rather *à Capella*, being the only Style suffer'd to be perform'd in the Pope's Chappel, a Style which none but *Palestrina* cou'd Invent, so none but *Foggia* has been ever able to Copy after him. These Compositions consist of four or five Parts. *Oratio Benevoli* was the Author of four Chorus's, or sixteen real Parts, every Chorus consisting of four Parts each. This *Benevoli* has been so far from being excell'd by any Masters since, that no one hitherto has been able to Rival him. *Carissimi's* Excellence Ias [*sic!*] in Compositions of two Chorus's, or eight Parts, as likewise for Chamber Songs accommodated to the gust [*sic!*] of the Age he lived in.<sup>619</sup>

The division between ancients and moderns partly rests on chronology; the 'ancient' Roman flourishing early to mid-century, whereas the 'moderns' were active towards the end of the seventeenth century. Eighteenth-century conceptions of Carissimi as

---

<sup>618</sup> The text was originally published as *Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce qui regarde la musique et les operas* (Paris, 1702). It is unclear who translated and annotated Ragueneau's piece: Stoddard Lincoln follows Hawkins and suggests John Ernest Galliard, whereas Lowell Lindgren argues that Haym (whilst not the translator) supplied information for the notes, since Haym was the only musician in London to have the kind of first-hand information about Roman musical life displayed in the notes. See Stoddard Lincoln, 'J. E. Galliard and "A Critical Discourse"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 53 (1967), 347–64, (347–52); and Lowell Lindgren, 'The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)', *Studi Musicali*, 25 (1987), 246–380, (292).

<sup>619</sup> François Ragueneau, *A Comparison between the French and Italian Musick and Opera's* (London, 1709), 31.

chronologically ancient are further elucidated by Hayes's *Remarks*: commenting on the chronology of Italian composers, Hayes writes 'we find some of Carissime's most capital Works in Kircher's Book on Ancient and Modern Music, printed above a hundred years ago; so that he flourished some Years before that[.]' Referring to book seven of Kircher's *Musurgia*, Hayes evidently thought that Carissimi's career was over at its publication in 1650.<sup>620</sup> Hayes's misconception illustrates the limited information available to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music collectors; the lack of information apparently led antiquarians to believe that Carissimi was more ancient than in fact he was.

The categorisation of Carissimi as ancient arguably depended less on chronology than on the notion of a particular church music style associated with late sixteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century Roman composers. Despite being published in a Whig context politically opposed to the antiquarian movement (see below, p. 210), the stylistic opinions in the annotated *Comparison* echo more conservative seventeenth-century classifications of style. Such classifications are, as Lorenzo Bianconi observes, uneasy attempts to pigeonhole styles and composers according to various musical, social and psychological criteria which allow for great variety within styles. In the stylistic division outlined by Marco Scacchi (Roman *maestro di capella* to the king of Poland, c.1600–1662) and elaborated by his pupil Angelo Berardi (c.1636–1694), the *stylus ecclesiasticus* (church style) encompassed composers from Josquin and Willaert, via Palestrina, to Carissimi and Graziani.<sup>621</sup> Kircher thought Palestrina's ability to evoke suitable affects in listeners was representative of both the *stylus ecclesiasticus* and its more florid relative the *stylus motecticus* (motet style). Similarly, Carissimi's outstanding handling of the affects was the determining factor in Kircher's classification of his music.<sup>622</sup> Kircher's judgement remained influential in English conservative circles: as late as the 1770s, Hawkins cited Kircher's authority concerning Palestrina and Carissimi, crediting Carissimi as the inventor of cantatas for the church.<sup>623</sup> Thus, Kircher's *Musurgia*

---

<sup>620</sup> Avison and Hayes, *Essay and Remarks*, 93.

<sup>621</sup> Although Berardi allowed for subdivisions, categorising Carissimi as more modern than Josquin because he composed church music with instruments. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 47–9.

<sup>622</sup> Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1650), ii, 581, 598, 603.

<sup>623</sup> Hawkins, iii, 183; iv, 91–2.

both contributed to the reputation of Carissimi in England and affected the English notion of him as a composer of ancient church music.

In this light the primary function of Aldrich's collection of Roman repertoire was arguably as examples of the ancient church music style. Referring to Aldrich's famous recompositions of motets by Palestrina and Carissimi, Hawkins neatly summarised Aldrich's use of his collection:

Amidst a variety of honourable pursuits, and the cares to which the government of his office subjected him to, Dr. Aldrich found leisure to study and cultivate music, particularly that branch of it which related both to his profession and his office. To this end he made a noble collection of church-music, consisting of the works of Palestrina, Carissimi, Victoria, and other Italian composers for the church, and by adapting with great skill and judgement English words to many of their motets, enriched the stores of our church, and in some degree made their works our own.<sup>624</sup>

Hawkins's statement highlights two processes highly relevant for Aldrich's early musical antiquarianism: imitation and appropriation. Although the concept of *imitatio* has sometimes been disputed, Robert Shay has convincingly argued that Aldrich's use of motets by Palestrina and Carissimi as models for his own compositions is an outgrowth of this seventeenth-century pedagogical model. Imitation was the standard method of learning in grammar schools and universities, where boys copied canonised works in order to internalise the styles of the authors or collected stylistically excellent passages in thesaurus-like notebooks for future reference.<sup>625</sup> Although Shay argues that Aldrich's practices were unique, Rebecca Herissone has recently established *imitatio* as a common creative and pedagogical strategy in Restoration England.<sup>626</sup> Similarly, Lars Berglund and Peter Wollny have recently showed the concept's relevance for the musical culture in mid-seventeenth-century Germany and the Baltic region, highlighting the importance of Roman composers as models for north European musicians:<sup>627</sup> the music theorist and

---

<sup>624</sup> Hawkins, v, 10.

<sup>625</sup> Shay, "Naturalizing" Palestrina', 386–7. For a sceptical account of *imitatio*, see Honey Meconi, 'Does Imitatio Exist?', *The Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), 152–78.

<sup>626</sup> Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 25–6.

<sup>627</sup> Lars Berglund, "Imitatio autorum": Roman Music as a Model for Composers in the Baltic Area', paper presented at the *Gustav Leonhardt Symposium* (Utrecht, October 2012); and Peter Wollny,

Dresden vice-*kapellmeister* Christoph Bernhard (1628–92) presented a list of approximately thirty recommended models, commenting that ‘contemporary Roman musicians would well-nigh take the prize of all the others.’<sup>628</sup> Aldrich’s recompositions suggest that the imitation of Roman composers was taken up in England some decades later. Compared to the court in the 1660s, these composers no longer represented the state of the art, but were regarded as venerable examples of a particular tradition.

Already Quintilian noted that the choice of model was the most crucial part of learning through imitation.<sup>629</sup> The Christ Church sources of Aldrich’s recompositions show that he primarily selected his models from English and Roman traditions of church music: Carissimi, Palestrina, Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons and Mundy.<sup>630</sup> Aldrich also adapted music from other Italian composers; Shay has suggested that the five recompositions in *Och Mus.* 16 whose sources have not been identified derive from works by Carissimi.<sup>631</sup> I have, however, identified Aldrich’s ‘God is our refuge’ as an adaptation of Giovanni Battista Bassani’s ‘Regina coeli’, and ‘It is a good thing’ as a recomposition of ‘O bone Jesu’ by Alessandro Grandi (i).<sup>632</sup> Grandi’s piece was published with a correct attribution in Richard Dering’s *Cantica sacra* (Playford, 1662), suggesting that Aldrich would have been aware of the origin of the music. There is no copy of ‘Regina coeli’ at Christ Church, but Bassani is identified as the original author of ‘God is our refuge’ in a manuscript collection of English anthems dated 1716 (now in US *BEm* MS 173) previously belonging to a series of New College organists, including Simon Child (*fl.* early 18th century), Richard Church

---

‘Parodie, Imitatio und Aemulatio in der geistlichen Vokalmusik von Dietrich Buxtehude’, in *Text-Kontext-Rezeption. Zum 300. Todestag von Dietrich Buxtehude. Konferenzbericht Lübeck 2007*, ed. by W. Sandberger and V. Scherliess (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011).

<sup>628</sup> In the *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (c. 1660), translated in Walter Hilse, ‘The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard’, *The Music Forum*, 3 (1973), 31–196 (122–3).

<sup>629</sup> See John Muckelbauer, ‘Imitation and Invention in Antiquity: An Historical-Theoretical Revision’, *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 21 (2003), 61–88 (69).

<sup>630</sup> For a list of Aldrich’s recompositions and their sources, see Shay, ‘“Naturalizing” Palestrina’, 389–90. *Och Mus.* 16 contains fair copies of the majority of Aldrich’s recompositions. Other copies are extant in Christ Church manuscripts Mus. 11 and 12, Mus. 614, the cathedral partbooks and organ books in Mus. 1220–4 and 1230, as well as Mus. 521–4 and occasional items in Mus. 22 and Mus. 48. Furthermore, *Lbl* Add. MS 17840 contains a large number of Aldrich adaptations. The format, layout, content and presence of the hands of Christ Church scribes Charles Husbands, Francis Smith, and William Saunders, in addition to the ownership of Philip Hayes, strongly suggest that it originated in early eighteenth-century Oxford musical circles. See also Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 150–1.

<sup>631</sup> Shay, ‘“Naturalizing” Palestrina’, 389.

<sup>632</sup> ‘God is our refuge’ is found in *Och Mus.* 16, Mus. 12, Mus. 614, and Mus. 1246; ‘It is a good thing’ in *Och Mus.* 16.

(1699–1776) and Philip Hayes (1738–97). The anthem has been annotated ‘This Anthem is a Duetto of Bassani viz: Regina coeli &c’ indicating that the origin of the piece was known in Oxford soon after Aldrich’s death.<sup>633</sup> This shows that Aldrich studied a wider range of Italian composers than solely Carissimi, suggesting the need for a broader search for the sources of the remaining three recompositions.

Shay’s investigation of Aldrich’s technique of *imitatio* show how Aldrich adapted Roman music to suit an English context. Interestingly, Shay has shown that Aldrich’s procedures differ between his adaptations of Palestrina and Carissimi. In both cases Aldrich frequently replaced the Latin texts with appropriate English psalms. Shay’s analysis of Aldrich’s adaptation procedures in ‘We have heard with our ears’ (adapted from Palestrina’s ‘Doctor Bonus’) and ‘Hold not thy tongue’ (adapted from ‘Nativitas tua,’) has shown that Aldrich’s recompositions go far beyond accommodating the English psalm texts. Whilst retaining Palestrina’s contrapuntal framework, Aldrich frequently compresses it, rendering Palestrina’s linear and melismatic counterpoint more homophonic. Long melismas are either cut out, or syllabified. Similarly, Aldrich often breaks long notes into shorter ones to accommodate the English text. By omitting the melismas and compressing the polyphony, Aldrich brings the style closer to an English syllabic full anthem while still retaining much of the Palestrinian touch.<sup>634</sup>

Shay has argued that whereas the outcome of Aldrich’s recompositions of Palestrina brings the motets closer to an English full anthem, those of Carissimi motets more often resemble verse anthems, showing that Aldrich often used pastiche technique by bringing borrowings from several works together into a new whole. Shay exemplifies this practice with a thorough analysis of the widely disseminated ‘I am well pleased’, which is adapted from both ‘Prevaluerunt in nos’ and ‘Vidi impium’;<sup>635</sup> my analysis of ‘Haste thee o God’ below (p. 191) shows a similar, albeit simplified, procedure. Shay has also showed that Aldrich occasionally paraphrased instead of quoting, and sometimes changed textures and performing forces. As Shay notes, Carissimi’s motets typically lack the punctuating choruses and return of thematic material characteristic of English verse anthems. To adapt the music for its new context, Aldrich added newly composed choruses or expanded three-part

---

<sup>633</sup> The anthem is in US *BEm* MS 173, p. 104–7, and the annotation on p. 107.

<sup>634</sup> Shay, “‘Naturalizing’ Palestrina’, 388–91.

<sup>635</sup> Shay, “‘Naturalizing’ Palestrina’, 396–97.

textures, and allowed passages to reappear where they do not in the original motet.<sup>636</sup> The result of these adaptations, Shay argues, is a composition similar to an English verse anthem, which like the Palestrina-derived full anthems would be more suitable to the English musical taste.

Despite convincingly linking Aldrich's recompositional activities with the concept of *imitatio*, Shay treats the practice as an end in itself and does not explore the possible motives and functions of imitation.<sup>637</sup> Shay suggests that the chief motivation behind Aldrich's recompositions was to naturalise the Roman compositions to the English taste. Perhaps more than a musical taste, they were adapted for a different discourse on church music and made an integral part of English cathedral music culture.<sup>638</sup> Ian Spink has suggested that Aldrich endeavoured to compose anthems acceptable to the more radically Protestant attitudes dominating after the accession of William and Mary.<sup>639</sup> Spink's suggestion implies that Aldrich's largely syllabic Palestrina adaptations were an attempt to find a balance between the elaborate cathedral music tradition and the more radically Protestant demand for modest music. Indeed, Aldrich's 'We have heard' and 'Hold not thy tongue' with few exceptions adhere to the famous principle 'for every syllable a note.'<sup>640</sup> In practical terms, Aldrich's appropriation of Latin motets to suit the principles for Anglican cathedral music, and their subsequent inclusion into the cathedral repertory,

---

<sup>636</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina', 388.

<sup>637</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina', 400.

<sup>638</sup> Aldrich's adaptations appear in the performance material of a number of English cathedrals, for instance the Chapel Royal (parts in *Lbl* R.M.27.a.1, R.M.27.a.2, R.M.27.a.3, R.M.27.a.4, R.M.27.a.5, R.M.27.a.6, R.M.27.a.7, R.M.27.a.8, R.M.27.a.9, R.M.27.a.10, R.M.27.a.11, R.M.27.a.12 and R.M.27.a.13); Durham (*DRc* A20, A28, B6, B9, B10, B11, B12, B17, B20, B21, B24, B26, B27, B29, B32, B33, B36, C19, C19A, C21, C27, C28, C29, C35, and E40/1–4); Gloucester (*GL* MS 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 20, 53, and 56); Hereford (*H* MS 30.A.20, 30.A.30, 30.B.1 and 30.B.2); Lichfield (*LF* MS Mus. 10, 12, 15–18, 19, 21–22, 24, 25, 26, and 27–28); Lincoln (*LI* MS 2–4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 15); St Paul's (*Lsp* MS Treble 1–2, Alto 1, Alto 3, Alto 5, Tenor 2, Tenor 4, Tenor 7, Bass 1–2, Bass 3, Bass 4–5, Organ vol. 3, and Organ vol. 5 part 2); and St John's Chapel, Cambridge (*Cjc* Chapel MS O.11, O.12, O.14, R.1, T.1, T.2, T.3, T.4, T.5, T.6, T.7, T.8, and T.9); Carlisle (*CL* 'the chest'); Manchester (*Mp* BRm340Rb15 and BRm370, Cr71). They were also included in Tudway's collection of ancient music in *Lbl* Harley 7337–42, and were printed in Samuel Arnold, *Cathedral Music, being a Collection in Score of the Most Valuable & Useful Compositions for that Service by the Several English Masters of the Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Edward F. Rimbaud (London: D'Almaine & Co, 1843). Interestingly, Aldrich's recompositions do not appear in Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, 3 vols. (London, 1760–73). For further discussion on the dissemination of Aldrich's works, see Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina', 371–72.

<sup>639</sup> Spink, *Cathedral Music*, 6, 31, 320. On the Comprehension Bill and the associated Toleration Act of 1689, see Spurr, 'Comprehension and the Toleration Act'.

<sup>640</sup> As Archbishop Thomas Cranmer described his principles for church music in a letter to Henry VIII in 1544, printed in Henry Jenkys, *The Remains of Thomas Cranmer, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury*, 4 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1833), i, 315.

led to the expansion of the English choral tradition with new and acceptable repertoire.

Whilst, as Herissone has pointed out, *imitatio* was a standard inventive technique among English Restoration composers,<sup>641</sup> the concept of *imitatio* is readily connected with the idea of continuing a tradition, and thus with Aldrich's antiquarian enterprise. As Assmann notes, tradition as a sequence of giving, taking, preserving, and passing on requires learning the particulars of the tradition from an authoritative source in order to preserve them. This sequence of learning was itself inherent in early modern education with its emphasis on memory and authority through the practice of memorising and reproducing the style and content of authoritative literary models.<sup>642</sup> John Muckelbauer has observed that such imitative practices function in several different modes, the first being 'repetition-of-the-same' which strives towards an exact replica of the model.<sup>643</sup> Given Aldrich's substantial changes to his models, the first mode cannot describe the function of Aldrich's imitative practice. By contrast, within the second mode of imitation

...the poet encounters the model less as a determinate content than as an indeterminate one, a constellation of possible effects upon a future audience. Indeed, this outward orientation becomes an internal principle of imitation itself. Within this dynamic [...] imitating a model indicates not an attempt to reproduce that model identically, but the effort to reproduce particular effects associated with the model. Unlike repetition-of-the-same, the resulting copy does not aspire to internal correspondence with the model, but only to the capacity to induce its effects. To imitate through this movement, then, means not only that one must structure a particular series of actions to appeal to larger, more universal principles but also that this structure must be capable of producing very particular effects on an audience.<sup>644</sup>

The 'repetition-of-difference' mode of imitation arguably links Aldrich's recompositions-as-imitations to the antiquarian enterprise: it elucidates Aldrich's practices and simultaneously shows how his imitations would contribute to the preservation and improvement of the cathedral music tradition beyond 'enriching the

---

<sup>641</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 25–6.

<sup>642</sup> Assmann, *Tid och Tradition*, 120–1 (*Zeit und Tradition*, 94–5).

<sup>643</sup> Muckelbauer, 'Imitation and Invention', 68–76.

<sup>644</sup> Muckelbauer, 'Imitation and Invention', 79–80.

stores of our church'<sup>645</sup> with new repertoire. Unlike Hayes, who flinched at the idea of foreign 'influence' on English music, Aldrich's practice invigorated the tradition through internalising the best known techniques in Europe. I argue that the effect Aldrich was interested in was the famous ability of Palestrina and Carissimi to invoke pious affects in listeners.

The ability of Palestrina and Carissimi to invoke certain affects in listeners is most famously discussed in book eight of Kircher's *Musurgia*. The notion of imitating a model's ability to produce certain effects on an audience, along with the importance of choosing suitable models, recalls Kircher's way of describing affects side-by-side with examples of composers he considers most proficient in evoking the affect in question. Kircher treats the relationship between music and rhetoric, suggesting that music can awake three general affects under which many others are gathered. The three are ordered on a scale of high to low tension or exaltation: *laetitia* (joy), *remissionis affectus generalis cum tardo moto gaudeat* (describing a quiet feeling of moderate joy), and *misericordiae affectus* (compassion).<sup>646</sup> The second general affect comprises a number of sub-affects:

The second, a quiet feeling of general relaxation which may be joyous, generates affects of piety, love of God, and also of constancy, modesty, seriousness, chastity, religiosity, of contempt of worldly things, in short inspires love towards the heavenly.<sup>647</sup>

As Berglund points out, the restraint and moderation stressed in Kircher's second affect is also a characteristic of contemporary liturgical polyphony, which Kircher termed the *stylus ecclesiasticus* and of which he considered Palestrina one of the best exemplars.<sup>648</sup> Kircher's description also echoes the normative ideal effects of church music to 'move men to religion, piety and devotion' voiced by, for instance, Bernadino Crillo.<sup>649</sup> Similar notions of the benefits of church music are also evident

---

<sup>645</sup> Hawkins, v, 10.

<sup>646</sup> Lars Berglund, 'De musica pathetica: Diskussionen om musik och affekt i Anthanaius Kirchers *Musurgia universalis*', in *Själens uttryck: Passion, dygd och andakt-samspel mellan själ och kropp i 1600-talets människosyn*, ed. by Peter Gillgren (Stockholm: Konstvetenskapliga institutionen, 2008), 97–8.

<sup>647</sup> 'Secundus remissionis affectus generalis cum tardo motu gaudeat, generat affectus pietatis, amoris in Deum, item constantiae, modestiae, severitatis, castitatis, religionis, contemptus rerum humanarum, ad amorem denique caelestium movet.' Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, ii, 142.

<sup>648</sup> Berglund, 'De musica pathetica', 99; and Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 50.

<sup>649</sup> 'Letter to Ugolino Gualteruzzi (1549)' in *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler (New York: Norton, 1998), 372.



in Richard Lassels's *Voyage of Italy* (1670). A Roman Catholic priest, Lassels tellingly included his praise of Roman church music in a section on devotion in the city. Lassels's discussion of Roman music has not to my knowledge been cited before, and is worth quoting in full:

In other Churches of Rome upon their festival dayes (which happen almost every day, in one place or other) they have the best musick can begot [*sic!*] and though it seems to draw mens eares to the Church rather than their hearts; yet when I remember what elevated thoughts it breed in the minde; and how innocently it detaines men from doing worse, I cannot but place Church musick among the acts of devotion.

Now, as for the musick, it is the best in the world, and in the best kinde, which is voyces. For my part, having read in a learned Author, that the hateing of musick is a signe of a soul quite out of tune, and not right strung for predestination; and that the Scythian king, who held the neighing of his horse, to be farre better musick, than the pipe of famous Thimotheus, was held for an ass himself; I thought it both comely and lawfull to love musick: and being in a place where the best musick was, I frequented it often with singular satisfaction. Now the best musick I heard, was the musick of the Popes Chappel, consisiting of pure voyces, without any organ, or other instruments: every singer here knowing his part so well, that they seem all to be masters of musick. The musick of the Chiesa Nuova; of S. Apollinaris; upon S. Cecilyes day in the Church of that Saint the Patronesse of singers; of the Oratory of S. Marcello every Friday in Lent; of the Jesuits during the Quarante hore in Shroftide; of every good Church of Nunns upon their patrons day; especially that of the Nunns of Campo Marzo, where I heard often Fonseca sing so rarely well, that she seemed to me, to cheer up much of the Church in its combats; and to make the Church Militant either looke like the Church Triumphant, or long for it.<sup>650</sup>

The music Lassels would have heard in the Sistine Chapel would have been of the *a capella* polyphonic tradition, possibly by Palestrina himself who was still performed in the mid-seventeenth century. In the Chiesa Nuova he could have heard oratorios by Carissimi, motets by the same in S Apollinare, and motets and masses by Graziani in the Jesuit Chiesa del Gesù. The influence of Lassels's book in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century suggests that his opinion on the virtue of Roman church

---

<sup>650</sup> Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy, or, A Compleat Journey through Italy in Two Parts*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1670), ii, 246–48.

music was widely known (see above, p. 14). Although Aldrich was Protestant, his ideas of church music would have been much closer to those of the Catholic Lassels than of the more radical Protestants arguing against church music. This is further suggested by a sermon preached and subsequently printed by Aldrich's friend Sampson Estwick (1656/7–1739), a chaplain at Christ Church and a minor canon at St Paul's, on 'the usefulness of church-musick':

In short, we are all too subject to be distracted in our Addresses to the Throne of Mercy, too liable to bring a Sacrifice without a Heart, and to be present in Body, and at a distance in Spirit. This being too often our unhappy Condition, what better Remedy can be thought of for the Cure of these Evils, than agreeable Harmony, which has a great Force and Efficacy to hush and quiet the Cares and Business of Life, to quell and lay asleep the thought of our Innocent Diversions or forbidden Pleasures, and by bringing the Mind into a calm even frame and temper, dispose it to attend to the concerning Matters on which our Salvation depends.<sup>651</sup>

Aldrich's imitation of Palestrina's ability to inspire devotion had the potential both to infuse the English cathedral music tradition with improved techniques and to convince its opponents of the inherent goodness of church music.

Perhaps more out of curiosity than because he wished to expand the cathedral repertory in practice, Aldrich also used his models to master more specific affects. Carissimi was singled out by Kircher to an even greater extent than Palestrina for his ability to represent a large number of affects, and in particular for sudden moves between them.<sup>652</sup> Similarly to the Royal Society, Aldrich may have been interested in this ability (above, p. 111). Suggesting that Aldrich was too traditionalist to use the florid and affective motets of Carissimi in a liturgical context, Shay has pointed out that many Palestrina recompositions appear in Christ Church performance material, but only one of the Carissimi adaptations ('I am well pleased') appears in the Christ Church Cathedral Partbooks *Och Mus.* 1220–4.<sup>653</sup>

Although the Carissimi adaptations were mainly unsuitable for the Anglican liturgy, my brief analysis of 'Haste thee o God', based on the final chorus 'Plorate

---

<sup>651</sup> Sampson Estwick, *The Usefulness of Church-Musick a Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Novemb. 27, 1696, Upon Occasion of the Anniversary-Meeting of the Lovers of Musick, on St. Cæcilia's Day* (London, 1696), 14.

<sup>652</sup> Kircher, *Musurgia*, i, 603–5.

<sup>653</sup> Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina', 375–76.

filiae Israel' from *Jephte*, suggests that Aldrich may still have been interested in the affective potential of Carissimi's music. Kircher himself used 'Plorate filiae Israel' to illustrate Carissimi's masterly handling of the affects, and included the chorus as a musical example. 'Haste thee O Lord' begins with a dialogue between two tenors derived from 'O dulcissimum Mariae nomen' and ends with a six-part chorus based on 'Plorate filiae Israel' (Example 4.4). Although amounting to little more than contrafacta, both pieces have been transposed down by a tone, blurring their Phrygian identity and making them sound like tonal g minor. The chorus from *Jephte* evokes the Phrygian mode on E (with repeated Phrygian cadences characterised by the *f–e* movement in the bass) until the last fifteen bars, which move to the concluding cadence on G. The cadence on G gives tonal closure to the oratorio, which begins in G *durus* (a G tonal centre but no key signature). Aldrich retains Carissimi's harmony with a cadence on F in bar 92; Aldrich however adds ten bars of music paraphrasing the dotted rhythm motifs of Carissimi's lament, in order to bring the music back to a g minor plagal cadence in bar 103 and avoid a tonally open anthem (Example 4.4).<sup>654</sup>

Kircher used the chorus as an example of pain and grief, praising Carissimi's depiction of the distress of Jephte's daughter. The Phrygian mode, often used to depict harsh emotions, strengthens the dolorous impression.<sup>655</sup> Aldrich's transposition of Carissimi's piece into g minor is significant in this context; Curtis Price has suggested that g minor was the key most frequently used by Restoration composers to depict death, which suggests Aldrich was seeking to translate Carissimi's imitation of despair at the impending death of Jephte's daughter into musical terms suitable for late seventeenth-century English audiences.<sup>656</sup> Aldrich also retained Carissimi's affective intervals, rhythmical motifs, and changing keys, supposedly to depict the distress of the 'poor and needy' supplicant. This example

---

<sup>654</sup> Aldrich apparently based his chorus on the one published in the *Musurgia*. Although Kircher does not publish the full chorus, the extra material in Aldrich's work is different from the actual end of *Jephte* which still ends on a G major chord.

<sup>655</sup> Joachim Burmeister, for instance, described the Phrygian mode as suitable for 'lamentful and doleful subjects', and Christoff Bernhard called it 'melancholy and inclined towards sad things' ('wehmütig und zu traurigen Sachen geneigt'). See Joachim Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, trans. by Benito V. Rivera (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 135; and Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926), 95.

<sup>656</sup> Curtis A. Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 21–5.

suggests that the function of Aldrich's imitation was what Muckelbauer has called 'repetition-of-difference', an attempt to imitate a model's ability to invoke certain effects on an audience. Aldrich had to change the harmonic context to more modern g minor, but chose a key that would have a similar effect as the sorrowful Phrygian mode. This further suggests that Aldrich's imitation was more than a technical means of recomposition; it was both means and purpose for Aldrich to acquire the abilities Plaestrina and Carissimi had become famous for.

**Example 4.4a+b:** Aldrich 'Haste thee O Lord' edited from *Och Mus. 16*, a) bars 57–70 showing the end of the tenor dialogue derived from Carissimi 'O dulcissimum Mariae nomen' and the beginning of the chorus derived from Jephthe; and b) bars 88–103 showing the end of Carissimi's chorus (as printed in Kircher's *Musurgia*) and Aldrich's newly composed ending.

a)

57

[C1] Haste thee un-to

[C2] But I am poor and needy Haste thee un-to

[C3] But I am poor and needy Haste thee un-to

[A] But I am poor and needy Haste thee un-to

[T1] Lord bepraised. Haste thee un-to

[T2] [prai] - sed.

[B] But I am poor and needy Haste thee un-to

[bc.]

64

[C1] me O God For thou art my helper and redeemer

[C2] me O God For thou art my helper and redeemer

[C3] me O God For thou art my helper and redeemer

[A] me O God For thou art my helper and redeemer thou

[T] me O God For thou art my helper and redeemer

[B] me O God For thou art my helper and redeemer thou art my hel - per

b)

Kircher end.

88

[C1] tar - ry long Do not tar - ry long Do not tar - ry long

[C2] Do not tar - ry long Do not tar - ry long Do not do not tar-ry long do not tar-ry

[C3] tar - ry long Do not tar - ry long Do not tar-ry long

[A] Do not tar-ry Do not tar - ry long Do not tar-ry do not

[T] Do not tar-ry Do not tar - ry long Do not tar - ry long

[B] Do not tar - ry long Do not Do not tar - ry long Do not tar - ry

96

[C1] Do not tar-ry do not do not tar - ry long do not tar - ry long O Lord.

[C2] long Do not tar - ry long O Lord O Lord O Lord.

[C3] Do not tar-ry do not tar-ry long O Lord O Lord.

[A] do not tar - ry Long Do not tar - ry long o Lord.

[T] Do not tar - ry long O Lord O Lord.

[B] long Do not tar - ry long O Lord.

## Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the earliest extant English manuscript sources of the music of Carissimi and Graziani, showing that Oxford emerged around 1680 as a centre for the copying and use of Roman vocal repertoire. Sacred Roman vocal music arrived in Oxford through printed editions: Edward Lowe's copies of Carissimi motets in the Music School partbooks (*Ob Mus.Sch.C.12–19 and 20–23*) were copied around 1680 from the printed motet collections *Missa a cinque et a novem* (Cologne, 1666), and Henry Aldrich similarly collected motets from published printed collections such as Carissimi's *Missa a cinque et a novem* and *Sacri concerti musicali*, the six printed editions of Graziani solo motets, and two early seventeenth-century books of motets by Palestrina. The secular cantatas in Aldrich's collection were copied from Roman cantata manuscripts in his collection. Aldrich was not content to have prints and foreign manuscripts in his library, but had motets and cantatas by Carissimi copied into special sets of volumes. Similarly, he had all the Graziani solo motets copied and bound into one coherent collection. Aldrich was importantly the first English collector to engage with Palestrina, and was arguably responsible for the ensuing eighteenth-century cult of Palestrinian polyphony. I have suggested that Aldrich obtained the music in his collection via travelled friends and agents in Italy, and that the Roman repertoire in his collection was perceived as ancient music because of its chronology and its style.

Regarding Aldrich's imitative practices I agree with Robert Shay's observation that Aldrich 'may in fact have been the best practitioner of a true, if textbookish, *stile antico* in late seventeenth-century England, which is not surprising given his studious approach to old polyphony'.<sup>657</sup> Contrary to Shay, this chapter suggests that Aldrich's imitations of Carissimi and Palestrina were more than a means of recomposition to make Latin motets suitable for English cathedral services. Rather, the imitation of Roman models was part of an antiquarian attempt to maintain and improve the English cathedral music tradition in the face of a perceived threat to church music from radical Protestants. The improvement consisted of learning and incorporating some of the qualities of Roman sacred music which influential writers like Athanasius Kircher and Richard Lassels claimed made it best perform its function to inspire hearts to devotion. Underlying this was the idea that

---

<sup>657</sup> Shay, "Naturalizing" Palestrina, 385.

true church music would legitimise itself through its beneficial emotional effects on church-goers. At least Hawkins considered Aldrich's attempt successful, claiming that adaptations such as 'We have heard with our ears' and 'I am well pleased' were 'frequently sung in our cathedrals as an anthem'.<sup>658</sup> Some of Aldrich's recompositions indeed became widely disseminated, and so helped maintain the Anglican cathedral music tradition in a practical way. His collection and imitation of Carissimi and Palestrina goes beyond antiquarianism in reinventing Roman church music practices for English usage, thus properly appropriating the foreign music in making it an integral part of the English tradition.

Aldrich's reputation as an authoritative collector of Roman church music lasted throughout the eighteenth century. Both Hawkins and Burney drew heavily on the Christ Church collection for their respective histories: Aldrich's selection influenced their view of Italian music. As Chapter 5 will argue, the approaches to Roman vocal music displayed in Aldrich's collection were taken up in eighteenth-century antiquarian environments such as the Academy of Ancient Music, where imitation of venerable models became a fundamental principle in the quest to promote contrapuntal music of high quality.

---

<sup>658</sup> Hawkins, iii, 183; iv, 92.



## 5. 'The greatest masters in music, that Italy had ever Bred'

---

### The Canonisation of Roman Vocal Music in the Eighteenth Century

English musical life changed drastically during the final years of the seventeenth century. The story is familiar: William and Mary cut down on their musical patronage at court after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–9, forcing musicians to seek their fortunes on the commercial music market which in turn expanded dramatically. As scholars such as Lowell Lindgren have shown, early eighteenth-century London was swamped with immigrant Italian musicians attracted by its opera and public concerts; Italian opera arias or instrumental pieces by foreign virtuoso musicians were hot on the market; yet, as this chapter will discuss, music by Rossi, Carissimi, and Graziani was conspicuously absent from the commercial market. Without aspiring to be comprehensive or conclusive, this final chapter offers some tentative pointers to the uses of Roman vocal music in early eighteenth-century England, noting some possibilities for future research. Originating conceptually and stylistically in Baroque court culture and Jesuit religious ceremony, the Roman repertoire was deprived of its given context at court after the dissolution of Charles II's Italian ensemble, the departure of James II and the subsequent dissolution of the Catholic chapel, and was suddenly thrust out into a musical public dominated by Whig politics, commercialism, and Avisonesque attitudes towards musical progress. The social, political and cultural elite, which had included Catholic sympathisers during the reigns of Charles II and James II, swung to fierce anti-Catholicism in the new political climate under the Calvinist William III. However, England's burgeoning musical life also featured groups of gentlemen and musicians, whom William Weber has described as resisting Whig politics and commercial Italian opera

through engaging in ancient vocal music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>659</sup>

Although not investigating the issue comprehensively, this chapter suggests that Roman vocal music entered public musical life in the eighteenth century by being absorbed into the repertoire of music clubs devoted to ancient music, notably the Academy of Ancient Music, and by being collected in the libraries of antiquarians such as Robert Harley. Weber has argued that there was an ideological divide between Italian opera (supported by the Whigs) and the reactionary ancient music movement (supported by the Tories).<sup>660</sup> This chapter goes a step further to suggest that this polarisation was part of a larger divide in English musical life between a broadly commercial strand (represented by the opera, theatres, and print market) linked with a spreading consumer culture, and a convivial/intellectual strand (represented by music clubs such as the Academy of Ancient Music or the Castle Tavern music society) linked to older forms of institutional patronage, engaging largely with different repertoires, occupying different spaces, and requiring different forms of capital for access.<sup>661</sup> This divide is illustrated in Figure 5.1. Although there was significant overlap between the two spheres, I suggest that the Roman vocal music belonged mainly to the intellectual and convivial sphere in the capacity of ‘ancient music’ whilst ‘Italian music’ within the commercial music market mainly consisted of Italian opera and virtuosic instrumental music.

### **Ancient Music versus the Public Market**

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the commercialisation of London’s musical life made it accessible to people regardless of their social status, and thereby public in the terms defined by Jürgen Habermas; theatre, opera, concerts, and sheet music were there for anyone who could afford it.<sup>662</sup> As Tim Blanning has pointed out, Habermas’s notion of a specifically bourgeois public sphere is inaccurate for eighteenth-century London, where the urbanised gentry and

---

<sup>659</sup> William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), especially 73–4.

<sup>660</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 94–5.

<sup>661</sup> For a discussion of Bourdieu and the forms of capital, see above, p. 97.

<sup>662</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 27–29.

aristocracy quickly adapted to the new order and participated in public cultural life alongside aspiring people from the middling station.<sup>663</sup> The range of Italian music available on the commercial market has been relatively well explored: virtuoso instrumentalists such as Nicola Matteis drew large audiences and often profited further from the attention by publishing ‘signature pieces’ for people to attempt at home; Corelli’s sonatas swept English music lovers off their feet; famous singers appeared both in opera performances and concerts, and in other entertainment establishments such as Vauxhall Gardens (which opened in 1661 and refurbished extensively in 1732);<sup>664</sup> and the Walsh publishing firm successfully made arias from popular operas available in engraved songbooks intended for domestic recreational performance. Whilst Walsh published opera arias by Scarlatti (see above, p. 125, fn. 460), mid-seventeenth-century Roman music was conspicuous by its absence from the early eighteenth-century recreational repertoire. As I argue below, at this time the Roman repertoire was considered ancient music and hardly fulfilled the requirement of novelty in commercial music publications.

Although musical life was technically public, ticket prices and the cost of music books and lessons remained high, rendering Italian opera and instrumental music inaccessible to all but the topmost layer of the social spectrum.<sup>665</sup> Indeed, prohibitive ticket prices became a new means of social distinction; when the *British Apollo* initiated a free concert series in 1709, the initiative sparked the following comment in the *Female Tatler*:

... and for their saying, *All Ranks of People are received at Plays on equal Terms*, ’tis so lame an excuse for their ridiculous *Consort*, that they ought eternally to blush for’t. The *Theatre* has *Pit, Box* and *Galleries* for Distinction, and when

---

<sup>663</sup> Tim Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11–13.

<sup>664</sup> Roger North claimed that it was Matteis who converted the English taste from French to Italian music, Roger North, *Roger North on Music*, ed. by John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), 307. On Italian singers in London, see Lovell Lindgren, Lowell Lindgren, ‘Handel’s London—Italian Musicians and Librettists’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. by Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 78–91 (82–4), and ‘Venice, Vivaldi, Vico and Opera in London, 1705–17: Venetian Ingredients in English Pasticcis’ in *Nuovi Studi Vivaldiani: edizione e cronologia critica delle opere*, ed. by Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (Firenze: Olschki, 1988), 633–66 (635). For a critical discussion of London’s public musical life, see Harold Love, ‘How Music Created a Public’, *Criticism*, 46 (2004), 257–71.

<sup>665</sup> David Hunter, ‘Music’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, v, ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 750–61 (752); Robert D. Hume, ‘The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 487–533 (498).

the meaner sort have the assurance to crowd into the best Places, how they are jostl'd and ridicul'd; at *Consorts* of Note the Prices are extravagant purposely to keep out inferiour People; but as their Tickets are to be delivered *gratis* to each Subscriber, ev'ry purse-proud Ale-Wife thinks her self as good as Quality, and as she does'em as much Service, expects as forward a Seat; and what Woman o'Fashion will lessen her Character, or care to have her Cloaths sullied by sitting *Jig* by *Jole* with *Apollo's* Taplashes[.]<sup>666</sup>

Despite being publicly available, opera, concerts and music books remained elite luxuries that generated social status for those who could afford them. Of course, cheaper alternatives such as broadside ballads also belonged to the commercial music trade (as shown in Figure 5.1), but these rarely featured Italian music.

As Rebecca Herissone has recently pointed out, the emphasis on the commercialisation of eighteenth-century musical life has obscured the fact that ‘the vast majority of the significant composers in the period still earned their livings through the closed, traditional system of musical patronage, working for the court, the church, the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or in private households in salaried positions.’<sup>667</sup> Although not primarily engaged in commercial activities, these musicians also took an active role in public musical life through music societies such as the Academy of Ancient Music (founded as the Academy of Vocal Music) or the Mermaid club in Oxford.<sup>668</sup> The members of these societies were primarily made up of church musicians: Margaret Crum has shown that the Mermaid club’s membership list contained several figures discussed in Chapter 4, including Richard Goodson Sr (Heather Professor of Music and organist of Christ Church), Sampson Estwick (chaplain at Christ Church and a minor canon at St Paul’s in London), William Husbands (chorister and later organist at Christ Church), Charles Morgan (chorister at Christ Church and later lay clerk of Magdalen College, Oxford), Simon Child (singing-man at Christ Church and later organist of New College, Oxford), and Edward Hull (singing-man at Christ Church until 1692). Similarly, the bulk of the

<sup>666</sup> Rosamond McGuinness, ‘Musical Provocation in Eighteenth-Century London: The “British Apollo”’, *Music & Letters*, 68 (1987), 333–42, 340.

<sup>667</sup> Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 52–3. On the importance of patronage in eighteenth-century London, see also Stephen Rose, ‘The Musical Map of Europe’, in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3–26 (9).

<sup>668</sup> For a discussion of the publicness of the Academy of Ancient Music, see also Weber, *Musical Classics*, 59.

members of the Academy of Ancient Music consisted of the choir members of the Chapel Royal, St Paul's and Westminster Abbey. Indeed, the ordinances stated that any member of these choirs was entitled to membership in the Academy whilst 'vocal performers' (i.e. theatre and opera singers) were excluded.<sup>669</sup> Such societies operated with different musical and social priorities, compared to the commercial market's focus on novelty and fashion. They presented all-male, musically and politically conservative environments that engaged with specialised repertoires, often polyphonic vocal music in the shape of sixteenth-century motets, catches and glees. Herissone shows that musicians employed in traditional forms of patronage often adopted creative strategies based on *imitatio*, judging compositions more on their adherence to contrapuntal traditions than on their novelty.<sup>670</sup> The societies' focus was strictly on the music: the 1731 by-laws of the Castle Tavern music society (founded 1724) prescribed rigid codes of concert behaviour for its members, imposing fines of between one and five shillings for anyone who disrupted performances.<sup>671</sup> At the meetings of both the Castle Tavern society and the Academy of Ancient Music, only those women related to a member were allowed in limited numbers, and were required to sit separately from the men. At Academy meetings women were seated in a separate room that, in the words of Hawkins's daughter Lætitia-Matilda, was 'certainly no show-shop for themselves or their finery'.<sup>672</sup> At the Castle Tavern, the box and gallery of the concert room was reserved for women, and male members who remained with the ladies after the music started were fined five shillings.<sup>673</sup> Presumably the music societies felt that the presence of women would turn meetings into a social spectacle similar to the opera, distracting the members from a serious intellectual engagement with the music.

---

<sup>669</sup> However, by May 1726 the castrati Giuseppe Riva and Senesino were entered as members, followed by Pier Francesco Tosi in November. See Christopher Hogwood, "'Gropers into Antique Musick" or "A very ancient and respectable Society"?: Historical Views of the Academy of Ancient Music', in *Coll' astuzia, col giudizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, ed. by Cliff Eisen (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein, 2009), 128–9.

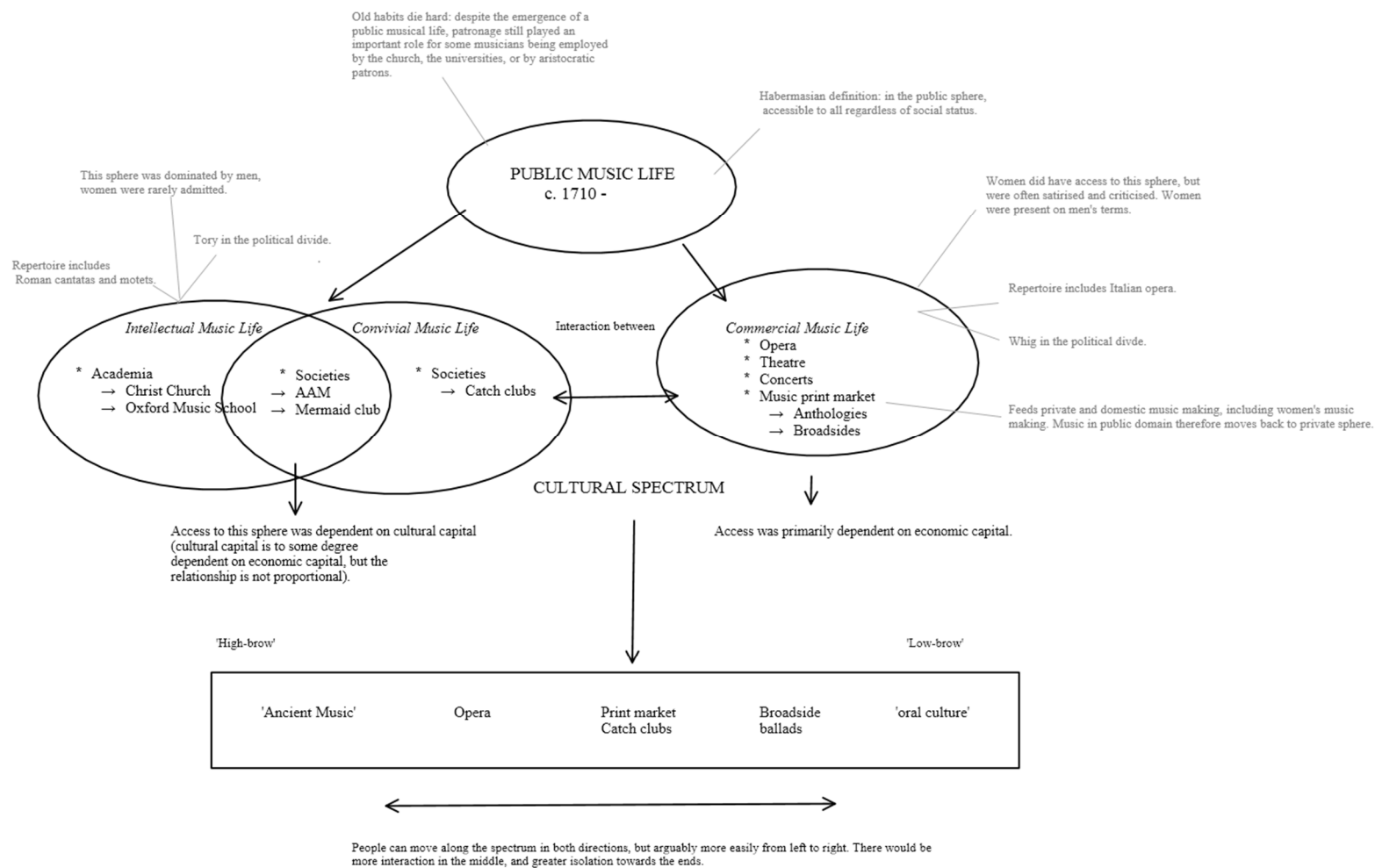
<sup>670</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 33, 58.

<sup>671</sup> *The By-Laws of the Musical Society at the Castle Tavern, in Pater-Noster-Row* (London, 1731), 10–13.

<sup>672</sup> Cited in Hogwood, "'Gropers into Antique Musick'", 132.

<sup>673</sup> *The By-Laws of the Musical Society at the Castle Tavern*, 13.

Figure 5.1: London's public musical life, c.1700.



That these music societies were ‘public’ in the Habermasian sense does not necessarily mean that they were accessible; similar to the Royal Society discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 115), membership in music societies—in addition to requiring the payment of a subscription fee (which could vary in size)—depended more on cultural capital in the form of knowledge and interest in (and sometimes also ability to perform) the music of interest to the club, rather than on high social rank or noble titles. As with the Royal Society, ability to pay the membership fee was not in itself a sufficient criterion for membership, and the participants in the Academy or Mermaid club ranged from high nobility to poor clergy and musicians.<sup>674</sup> Like the commercial side of musical life, convivial musical life reached across the social and musical spectrum from performances of Roman motets at the Academy of Ancient Music to craftsmen singing catches in an unfashionable tavern. Although Figure 5.1 represents the two as separate spheres, there was, of course, considerable overlap between them, for instance, members of the Academy purchasing music books or attending the opera, or the cellist Nicola working both in the employ of an aristocratic patron and in commercial musical life, just as he became deeply involved both with the opera and with the Academy.<sup>675</sup> Some repertoires also travelled between the spheres; instrumental music by Corelli was played as frequently in music-meetings as in concerts,<sup>676</sup> and players like Matteis were required to play both in ensembles with amateurs as well as solo on the concert stage.<sup>677</sup> Presumably the lack of words in instrumental music allowed it to move with greater ease between different environments. Despite the overlap of people and repertoire, I argue that the ethos of the two spheres was fundamentally different.

Convivial music environments at the upper end of the social and musical spectrum demonstrably took an interest in Roman vocal music, in London as well as in Oxford. Records of the Mermaid club’s activities during its first two decades are scarce, but Margaret Crum’s examination of the ‘club book’ covering 1712–19

---

<sup>674</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 67–73; Hogwood, “Gropers into Antique Musick”, 128–9; Margaret Crum, ‘An Oxford Music Club, 1690–1719’, *Bodleian Library Record*, 9 (1974), 83–99 (86–90).

<sup>675</sup> Although Haym’s patron, the Duke of Bedford, seems to have taken measures to ensure that it was not immediately obvious that his private musicians performed in public. Lowell Lindgren, ‘The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)’, *Studi Musicali*, 25 (1987), 246–380 (252–269, 79–80).

<sup>676</sup> Peter Allsop, *Archangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 196–7; Weber, *Musical Classics*, 77–89.

<sup>677</sup> Roger North related how Matteis had to be charmed into playing with gentlemen in order to be accepted in English musical life. North, *Roger North on Music*, 308.

suggests that the Carissimi motets published in *Missa a cinque et a novem* (1666; above p. 150) and copied into Edward Lowe's Music School partbooks were performed at the meetings: Carissimi's 'Surgamus, eamus' and 'In te Domine speravi' were both performed in 1712/13, together with pieces by Purcell, Corelli, Bassani, and Croft.<sup>678</sup> Shay and Thompson have previously suggested that Charles Morgan's manuscript *Lbl Add. MS 33234* contains part of the club's repertoire,<sup>679</sup> I would also suggest that other sources of Oxford provenance containing similar repertoire and belonging to Mermaid club members, such as Simon Child's *Lbl Add. MS 33235*, also illuminate the club's interests.<sup>680</sup> These sources contain the *Missa a cinque* motets that were performed in 1712, along with large amounts of North Italian repertoire and some English songs and anthems (see above p. 126).

Similar to the Mermaid club, the Academy of Ancient Music also occasionally engaged with Roman vocal music. The political context of the Academy's activities has previously been studied by William Weber, and more recently Stephen Rose has shown the importance of the concept of *imitatio* and correct composer attributions for the Academy.<sup>681</sup> The greater part of the Academy's activities fall beyond the chronological scope of this thesis, but the possibility that it was founded in 1710 justifies my inclusion of some tentative suggestions about its engagement with Roman vocal music.

The founding date of the Academy of Ancient Music (originally known as the Academy of Vocal Music) has been subject to some controversy. Hawkins began his history of the Academy by stating:

The Academy of Ancient Music, at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern in the Strand, was instituted about the year 1710, by a number of Gentlemen, performers on different instruments, in

---

<sup>678</sup> Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club,' 93.

Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 271.

<sup>680</sup> Philip Hayes bought the manuscript from Child's widow in 1757 according to a note on the front flyleaf. Shay and Thompson suggest that Child is the main scribe (*Purcell Manuscripts*, 271), whereas Wainwright argues that it was copied by Richard Goodson Sr (*Musical Patronage*, 264). To me the hand (the clefs, in particular) looks more like Goodson's style than Child's.

<sup>681</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 36–47. Stephen Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music: A Case Study in Authorship, Style and Judgement,' in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013). For a recent account of the Academy of Ancient Music, see also Hogwood, "'Gropers into Antique Musick'".



conjunction with some of the most eminent masters of the time.<sup>682</sup>

This is also the founding date on the plaque on the grave of the Academy's director, Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752).<sup>683</sup> Hawkins's date has subsequently been questioned by scholars such as Donald Cook and H. Diack Johnstone on the basis of a minute book setting out the rules for the society, which is dated 1726.<sup>684</sup> Whereas Cook and Johnstone have presumed that one date must be right and the other wrong, it seems plausible that the Academy existed as an informal society for approximately fifteen years before becoming formalised with minutes and rules in 1726. Music clubs were on the rise in the early eighteenth century; apart from the Mermaid club and the Castle Tavern society, there were Thomas Britton's weekly concerts in Clerkenwell, and probably others as well.<sup>685</sup>

Although the Academy famously declared that their main concern was ancient music and that by 'ancient' they meant music from the sixteenth century, much of their repertoire was chronologically relatively modern.<sup>686</sup> In 1770, Hawkins wrote in his account of the Academy:

[T]he studies of such men as Palestrina, Tallis, Bird, Carissimi, Colonna, Stradella, Purcell, Bassani, Gasparini, Lotti, Steffani, Marcello, Bounoncini, Pergolesi, Handel, Perez, and many others, abounding in evidences of the deepest skill and finest invention, when duly attended to, will be though worthy the admiration of every musical ear, and afford a manly and rational delight to all votaries of this noble science.<sup>687</sup>

The eighteenth-century wordbooks documenting the performances at the Academy indeed contain many motets by Palestrina, whose music arguably reached fame in

---

<sup>682</sup> John Hawkins, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. With a Comparative View of the Music of the Past and Present Times. By a Member* (London, 1770), 3.

<sup>683</sup> 'The Academy of Ancient Music, established in 1710, of which he was one of the Original Founders.' Cited in Hawkins, v, 402.

<sup>684</sup> Donald Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with Special Reference to his Dramatic Works and Cantatas' (PhD thesis, King's College, London, 1982), 310. 1726 is also the date given in Diack Jonstone's recent article 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library once Lost and now Partially Recovered', *Music & Letters*, 95 (2014), 329–73 (329).

<sup>685</sup> See Curtis Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult,' *The Musical Times*, 119 (1978), 1032–34.

<sup>686</sup> On the Academy's definition of 'ancient music', see Cook, 'Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch,' 315; Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music,' 184–5. Weber has previously suggested that the Academy's fascination with Handel and Pergolesi seems anomalous in the context of ancient music, see Weber, *Musical Classics*, 65–6.

<sup>687</sup> Hawkins, *An Account*, 22–3.

England through the activities of Henry Aldrich (1648–1710) (see above, p. 169). There was some overlap between the participants in Aldrich’s music-meetings and the members of the Academy; Sampson Estwick was a founding member of the Academy and also famously attended Aldrich’s musical evenings, in addition to being a member of the Mermaid club.<sup>688</sup> Probably also through Estwick’s connection with Aldrich, the Academy performed the Carissimi oratorios *Jepthe* and *Judicium Salomonis*. Johnstone has recently identified the Academy’s copy of *Judicium Salomonis* as preserved in the Westminster Abbey music library, bearing the annotation that it was obtained ‘out of m<sup>r</sup>. Estwick’s collection’, which Johnstone suggests is *Ob MS Mus.c.590* containing copies of *Jepthe* and *Judicium Salomonis* in Estwick’s hand.<sup>689</sup> *Jepthe* was performed with instrumental parts added by Pepusch.<sup>690</sup>

As was discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 182), Palestrina and Carissimi would have passed for ancient in eighteenth-century England both chronologically and stylistically; they shared the Academy’s attention, however, with works by Giovanni Colonna (1637–1695), Giovanni Battista Bassani (1650–1716), Giovanni Battista Bononcini (1670–1747), Pepusch, and Handel, many of whom the English translator of Raguenet’s *Comparison* determinedly classified as modern:

Colonna, and Perti at Bologna, Legrenzi at Venice, Francisco Grassi, call’d Bassetto, Ottaviò Pitoni, and Melani at Rome, Bassani at Ferrara, with several others.<sup>691</sup>

Age was thus evidently not the chief criterion in the Academy’s selection of music. Of the composers listed by Hawkins, only Palestrina, Tallis and Byrd are sixteenth-century composers; the rest were active between the middle of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. In its early days, the Academy also engaged with the music of living composers, such as recently composed motets by Agostino

---

<sup>688</sup> L. M. Middleton, rev. Susan Wollenberg, ‘Estwick, Sampson (1656/7–1739)’, ODNB.

<sup>689</sup> Diack Johnstone, ‘Westminster Abbey and the Academy’, 344.

<sup>690</sup> A comment in the wordbook says ‘This piece being originally designed for voices only, the instrumental parts are added by Dr. Pepusch.’ See, Academy of Ancient Music, *The Words of Such Pieces, as are Most Usually Performed by the Academy of Ancient Music* (London, 1761), 22. *Jepthe* is preserved in GB *Lwa* CG 29 (b) and *Judicium Salomonis* in *Lwa* CG 10. Johnstone has confirmed that the hand that entered the instrumental parts in the *Lwa* CG 29 (b) is Pepusch’s own. See Diack Johnstone, ‘Westminster Abbey and the Academy’, 344.

<sup>691</sup> Raguenet, *Comparison*, 31. Johnstone has also identified some manuscript volumes belonging to the Academy, which contain ‘a body of concerted vocal works for chorus, soloists, and orchestra mainly by Italian composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries’ in addition to motets and madrigals. Diack Johnstone, ‘Westminster Abbey and the Academy’, 334.

Steffani (1654–1728) and madrigals by Antonio Lotti (1666–1740), and oratorios by Handel, in addition to music by Colonna, Bassani and Bononcini.<sup>692</sup> Rather than repertoire defined in chronological terms, the Academy arguably strove to preserve specific musical styles and genres through study, imitation, and performance.

As Rose has pointed out, the ideal of composers educating themselves in harmony and counterpoint by studying and emulating the works of celebrated predecessors was a key feature in the Academy's engagement with ancient music.<sup>693</sup> This concept of *imitatio* was arguably linked with Aldrich's study and imitation of ancient music and is one key to the Academy's attitudes towards music (Roman and otherwise) (above, p. 184). That seventeenth-century Roman composers featured in the Academy's canon of examples worthy of imitation is suggested by Hawkins's *Memoirs of Dr William Boyce* (here using the term 'Romish' to refer to a wider group of Catholic composers):

[Boyce] set himself to explore the principles of harmony, and to improve his natural genius by all the aids that learning could afford: to this end, as did also many young men of the time, *Travers, Keeble* and others, he took lectures with Dr. *Pepusch*, the greatest theorist then living; perusing with a most sedulous attention, as well the works of the Romish Church-musicians, such as *Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, Stradella*, and *Carissimi*, and the no less excellent composers of our own church, namely Tallis, Bird, Purcell, Dr. Orlando Gibbons, and others.<sup>694</sup>

The Academy's educational approach is also indicated by their plans to start a 'seminary for the instruction of youth in the principles of music, and the laws of harmony'.<sup>695</sup> Pepusch, perhaps London's most prominent scholar and collector of ancient music, was responsible for the boys' tuition.<sup>696</sup> Herissone's observation that *imitatio* does not necessarily mean direct borrowing of melodic material, but rather serves as a model for style, texture, and instrumentation rings true for the Academy

---

<sup>692</sup> See for instance, Hogwood, "'Gropers into Antique Musick'", 136–8; Colin Timms, 'Steffani and the Academy of Ancient Music', *The Musical Times*, 119 (1978), 127–30; and Rose's discussion of the 1731 plagiarism scandal involving madrigals by Lotti and Bononcini, Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music', 184–90.

<sup>693</sup> Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music', 191–2.

<sup>694</sup> Gwilym Beechey, 'Memoirs of Dr. William Boyce', *The Musical Quarterly*, 57 (1971), 87–106 (92).

<sup>695</sup> Hawkins, *An Account*, 8.

<sup>696</sup> Hawkins, *An Account*, 8–9; Cook, 'Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch', 318; Hogwood, "'Gropers into Antique Musick'", 134.

as well.<sup>697</sup> similarly to Aldrich, it appears that the Academy's priority was not a specific chronology or even specific composers, but a certain musical style and approach to musical craftsmanship exemplified in the output of certain composers, both ancient and modern. This style and craftsmanship was probably what Hawkins referred to when writing about the Academy's aim to preserve the 'science of music':

[T]hey desire, if possible, to perpetuate the existence of a Society calculated for the improvement of one of the noblest of the sciences, and the communication of rational and social delight, to which end they wish for the assistance of those, who profess to love and admire music; such as are susceptible to its powers, such in short as are capable of distinguishing between the feeble efforts of simple melody, and the irresistible charms of elegant modulation and well-studied harmony.<sup>698</sup>

Hawkins's emphasis on skill and invention suggests that musical quality in the form of a learned contrapuntal style based on thorough study was a priority for the Academy. This strict focus on musical qualities probably also alleviated the problematic Catholic connotations of Roman vocal music. According to Hawkins's biography, Boyce's intention in publishing his *Cathedral Music* collection of old and new English anthems and service music was to gather enough high-quality music for twice-daily services during one year.<sup>699</sup> Neither Boyce nor Hawkins was averse to including recently composed anthems (for instance by Aldrich or Maurice Greene) into a collection of ancient music as long as they had a seriousness of purpose and were written in the learned contrapuntal style; Boyce, like Greene, Croft and Aldrich before him, made it his business to compose anthems in the old style (on Croft and Aldrich, see above p. 181). As Rose has observed, pieces written for Academy meetings by contemporary composers, such as Agostino Steffani's 'Qui diligit Mariam', conform to an early eighteenth-century codification of *stile antico*;<sup>700</sup> these pieces were most likely thought of as an intellectual exercise and demonstration of a musician's mastery of perceived ancient contrapuntal and harmonic codes. Hence, seventeenth-century Roman composers such as Carissimi and Stradella were in effect incorporated into a canon of suitable examples for young composers to study not

---

<sup>697</sup> Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 32–4.

<sup>698</sup> Hawkins, *An Account*, 11–12.

<sup>699</sup> Beechey, 'Memoirs of Dr. William Boyce', 94–5.

<sup>700</sup> Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music', 197.

because they were chronologically ancient but because their music showed a form of compositional craftsmanship that the Academy considered threatened.<sup>701</sup> Their admiration for Steffani is evident in their election of him as president of the Academy in 1727, and the early eighteenth-century reputation of Stradella is aptly illustrated by an anecdote inserted into the Harleian catalogue by Humfrey Wanley (quoted below, p. 219), claiming that Purcell was devastated at the news of Stradella's death.

The previous chapter described Aldrich's antiquarianism as a wish to improve and preserve the English church music tradition from the perceived threat from radical Protestantism (p. 176), through studying the compositional methods of ancient Roman and English composers. The Academy of Ancient Music was concerned with the same tradition; Weber has suggested that the members of the Academy regarded the preservation of English cathedral music as a firm point in a rapidly changing world, symbolised by the popularity of the Italian opera.<sup>702</sup> The root of this new threat was arguably the increasing separation of elite secular and church music through the commercialisation of the music market and decline of aristocratic representational culture in the final decades of the seventeenth century. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the printing industry and public theatres suddenly made fashionable secular music available to more people than the aristocratic elite that had previously monopolised opera and certain categories of chamber music. In the early eighteenth century, Italian opera for the first time had a potentially larger audience in London than cathedral music, whether English or Italian. Hawkins lamented the new order in his memoirs of Boyce. Referring to anthems by Greene and Boyce, he suggested that church music was under threat from commercial forces:

Concerning this species of vocal harmony, it may be observed that in an age in which the love of music prevails even to affectation, its merits are but little known. The gay and fashionable crowd to places of public entertainment, to the opera, to the theatres, and to concerts, and pretend to be charmed with what they hear. It was once as fashionable to be like attracted by the charms of choral music, where the hearers were sure of enjoying all the delight that could result

---

<sup>701</sup> On Roman composers as suitable models for imitation, see Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music', 192.

<sup>702</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 24–5, 67–73.

from the united powers of sublime poetry, and harmony the most exquisite.<sup>703</sup>

Many years earlier, Sampson Estwick had voiced similar concerns in his sermon for St Cecilia's Day. In the preface to the printed sermon, Estwick professed to be

willing to do whatever lay in my Power to keep up a due Esteem of Church-Musick, in an Age that seems hastening on apace to a neglect, if not a disuse of it.<sup>704</sup>

The perceived threat against traditional choral music was double-edged: audiences were not interested, and hence composers did not write any. Encouraging young composers to study the harmony and counterpoint of esteemed musicians such as Palestrina, Carissimi, Tallis and Byrd was one way of counteracting this trend; actively performing contrapuntal church music despite its perceived declining popularity was another. Such reactionary strategies can also be seen on the continent, where church musicians such as J. S. Bach increasingly studied and also performed Palestrinian counterpoint.<sup>705</sup> The incorporation of Roman composers into the canon of the Academy of Ancient Music illustrates the point made in Chapter 3 (p. 134) that Roman vocal music was rarely successful on the commercial market, suggesting that Italian vocal music in general was not commercially successful in the music trade until Walsh started publishing untranslated Italian opera arias in 1710. This observation in itself elucidates the processes of popularisation for Italian vocal music in England; the repertoire that became commercially successful was that which was performed at theatres and in public concert rooms, as opposed to the Roman and earlier Italian repertoire.<sup>706</sup> Seventeenth-century Italian music, Roman music in particular, remained the domain of semi-public music clubs and never reached the commercial market. The polarisation between Italian opera and the ancient music movement depicted by Weber is thus, in a way, a polarisation between different

---

<sup>703</sup> Beechey, 'Memoirs of Dr. William Boyce', 96.

<sup>704</sup> Sampson Estwick, *The Usefulness of Church-Musick a Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Novemb. 27, 1696, Upon Occasion of the Anniversary-Meeting of the Lovers of Musick, on St. Cæcilia's Day* (London, 1696), [ii].

<sup>705</sup> See for instance Christoph Wolff, 'Bach and the Tradition of the Palestrina Style' in *Bach: Essays on Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 84–194 (84–5, 88–9, 93).

<sup>706</sup> Wainwright's research has shown that the Hatton library was the centre for Italian music in the 1640s and 1650s, a time when there were no public musical performances. The repertoire in the Hatton library seems primarily to have been performed in a court context, and at Oxford music-meetings. See above p. 18 and p. 147.

Italian repertoires as much as between Italian opera and English church music.<sup>707</sup>

Ultimately this polarisation was between the two different spheres of London musical life each representing different social and musical priorities, different expectations, and means of access as illustrated in Figure 5.1 above.

## Wanley and the Harley Collection

The Harley collection, assembled by Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724) and his son Edward Harley (1689–1741), is another context for Roman vocal music in early eighteenth-century England. Robert Harley was in control of the library until his political opponents had him impeached in the Tower in 1715, when the charge of the library was taken over by Edward. The main focus of Robert Harley’s collection was genealogy, heraldry, historical and political material, theology, Bibles and prayer books in many languages and editions. Edward Harley shared his father’s interests but added his own mark to the library through his accumulation of illuminated and oriental manuscripts.<sup>708</sup> In addition, the Harley collection contains just over 40 musical manuscripts that can be roughly divided into three categories: medieval manuscripts (including fragments), ancient English church music (including Tudway’s six-volume set,<sup>709</sup> a volume of early Tudor church music, and two Restoration volumes with anthems by Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Tomkins, Child, Bull et al.), and fourteen late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century manuscripts of secular Italian arias and cantatas. This chapter focuses on the manuscripts of Italian music. Edward Harley had been an undergraduate at Christ Church in the final years of Aldrich’s deanship, and probably encountered the music performed at Aldrich’s music-meetings.<sup>710</sup> Nevertheless, the Harleys’ collecting habits differ from Aldrich’s; I argue that the Harley collection of Roman vocal music was bought in bulk from the estate of Bernard Martin Berencloew (d. 1705) via

---

<sup>707</sup> All Academy of Ancient Music members were not wholly averse to opera; Nicola Haym was heavily involved in both, and Hawkins lauded the ‘graces and elegancies which music has derived from the introduction of Italian opera into this kingdom, and the subsequent improvements of Handel and Bononcini.’ Beechey, ‘Memoirs of Dr. William Boyce’, 96.

<sup>708</sup> Humfrey Wanley, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715–1726*, ed. by Cyril Wright and Ruth Cadogan Wright, 2 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), i, xxix–xxx.

<sup>709</sup> Discussed in Weber, *Musical Classics*, 36–47. Weber inaccurately equates the Tudway volumes with the Harleian music collection which contains significant amounts of other music than Tudway’s volumes of English church music. Weber is right, however, that the Harleian collection is in many ways an antiquarian enterprise.

<sup>710</sup> Edward Harley was at Christ Church from 1707. See David Stoker, ‘Harley, Edward, Second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741)’, ODNB.

Harley's librarian Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726) as a statement of education and connoisseurship instead of being used practically for studies and compositional invention like Aldrich's collection. Although the Harley manuscripts were collected privately, the library was open to visitors and Wanley took an active part in contemporary scholarly debates, which gave the Harleian collection a wider public significance. The Harleian collection of music is many times smaller than Aldrich's collection at Christ Church, but nevertheless Roman vocal music seems to have been a primary interest for Wanley and his employers.

Humfrey Wanley was a vicar's son from Coventry who early on gave up his intended career as a draper for a university education and studies of palaeography and Old English at Oxford. Wanley worked as assistant at the Bodleian Library from 1695, but left Oxford in December 1700 when he found his career at the library blocked. In London, Wanley worked as secretary to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and as assistant to the secretary of the Royal Society, Hans Sloane (1660–1753). Wanley was recommended to Harley for his palaeographical skills in 1701, and undertook small jobs for Harley parallel with his work for the SPCK and Royal Society until Harley employed him to catalogue the Harleian manuscripts in 1708.<sup>711</sup>

The Italian music in the Harley collection is preserved in *Lbl* Harley 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1501, 1792, and 1863, which overwhelmingly contain secular Italian music from the mid- and late seventeenth century. The composers represented include Luigi Rossi, Giacomo Carissimi, Carlo Caproli, Antonio Cesti, Alessandro Melani, Bernardo Pasquini, Alessandro Scarlatti, Alessandro Stradella, Pietro Reggio, and Pier Francesco Tosi (1654–1732, present in London 1693–1701, and from 1724), with Rossi and Scarlatti dominating over the others. Over half the Italian pieces in the collection remain unattributed (see inventory in Appendix VIII). Although collecting with great discrimination, Wanley's interests were apparently different from, for instance, Henry Aldrich. The contents of the Harleian music collection suggest that Wanley collected manuscripts rather than music; with one exception (Harley 1273) he bought books for the library that were already copied, instead of gathering pieces of music to create new books for the library, like Aldrich, Goodson, or Tudway. This is not to say that Wanley did

---

<sup>711</sup> Peter Heyworth, 'Wanley, Humfrey (1672–1726),' ODNB.



not care about the content of the books;<sup>712</sup> his careful annotations in the Harleian catalogue show that he was interested in the origins of the music in the collection.

Wanley's manuscript catalogue of the Harleian collection (later expanded and printed as the Harley catalogue still used today) indicates the provenance and acquisition dates of Harley's musical manuscripts.<sup>713</sup> In the catalogue Wanley stated that the music manuscripts Harley 1264, 1265, 1268, 1269, 1501, and 1863 were 'bought of me', meaning that he sold them to the collection. The manuscripts 1264–5 and 1268–69 are all included in volume four of the catalogue (*Lbl Add. MS 45704*), which according to Cyril and Ruth Wright was completed in December 1712. Harley 1501 and 1863 are both included in volume five (*Lbl Add. MS 45705*), completed in July 1717. The different shelfmarks do not reflect chronology: Wanley categorised books according to size and format rather than content, unless he was keeping a 'collection-within-the-collection' together. The inclusion of the manuscripts in volume four of the catalogue suggests that they were acquired on the watch of Robert Harley, when Wanley was relatively new as librarian to the family.

Wanley was undoubtedly musically educated; when at Oxford he owned a folio manuscript book of sonatas by Gottfried Finger and Ralph Courteville.<sup>714</sup> Although he was not a Christ Church man, he could plausibly have attended Aldrich's meetings. In a letter to Narcissus Marsh, Wanley professed that 'as for Painting and Music, they are Arts that I have always had a great Love and Affection for', and suggesting that he considered the ability to recognise the style of well-established composers essential for serious musical connoisseurs:

When he comes to an Opera, to a Consort, or to Church, not knowing before-hand what Music is to be perform'd, yet he may soon discern that it was compos'd by Corelli, Baptist [Lully], Bassani, Charissimi, Blow, Purcell, &c.<sup>715</sup>

---

<sup>712</sup> *Lbl Harley 1273* was copied by Wanley, probably from a no longer extant Italian manuscript. *Harley 1273* does have some concordances with other manuscripts in the collection, but many fewer than the total number of items, and a large number of pieces are unattributed. Furthermore, many arias and cantatas are headed by dates, Italian place-names, and names supposedly of the singers. Wanley (who never went abroad) could hardly have known when, where and by who a certain aria was performed unless he copied the information from elsewhere.

<sup>713</sup> Humfrey Wanley et al., eds., *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts... Preserved in the British Museum* (London, 1759–63; reprinted 1808–12).

<sup>714</sup> *Lbl Harley 4899*, inscribed 'Humfredus Wanley./ i Coll. Univ. Oxon/ Deceb. 24. 1697'.

<sup>715</sup> Humfrey Wanley to Narcissus March, 11 July 1701, published in *Letter of Humfrey Wanley: Paleographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian, 1672–1726*, ed. by Peter Heyworth (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 178.

There is no firm evidence that Wanley engaged with the Academy of Ancient Music, but if, as I have suggested, the Academy's activities started informally in 1710 Wanley would probably have known Academy members through his interests in music, old books, and his work at the SPCK.<sup>716</sup> Wanley's primary interest centred nevertheless on palaeography and ancient history. A letter to John Jackson (Pepys's nephew), who was ending his Grand Tour in Spain, suggests that Wanley's interest in palaeography extended to musical notation:

One thing more I have to trouble you with. They Say, the Spaniards are very good Musicians. I desire some of their best Airs, or Solo's, put down upon five Lines, with Bars, and in our modern Notes, together with their Graces. As when they Prick a long Note, and in performing do run a Division upon it, I would have the long Note made big & gross, and then the division made above or below it in smaller Notes. I hear the Spanish Musicians have a strange sort of Musical Notes peculiar to themselves; if it be so, I desire a short tune in them Explain'd by the same in those that are most usual to us.<sup>717</sup>

None of Wanley's letters mentions the music books he sold to the Harleian library; considering Wanley's habit of discussing other acquisitions (whether for himself or for his employers) in his letters, it would seem strange if he assembled a fine music collection without ever mentioning it. Instead I argue that Wanley inherited the music manuscripts from the composer Bernard Martin Berencloew (d. 1705) via his widow Anne, whom Wanley married in May 1705 after having lodged with the family since 1704.<sup>718</sup>

Little is known about Berencloew, who according to Hawkins was a 'musician of some eminence in queen Anne's reign, and the son of a Dr. Bernard Martin Berencloew'.<sup>719</sup> Berencloew was in fact active earlier than that: he died on 19 January 1705.<sup>720</sup> About seventeen of his songs were published in Playford anthologies, the *Mercurius Musicus*, and Thomas Cross's single-sheet engravings between 1689 and

---

<sup>716</sup> Supposing that the Academy started in 1726, Rose has suggested that Wanley would have been a member, had he lived longer. See Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music', 195. Wanley also refers to Nicola Haym as 'my friend' in the Harleian catalogue *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 92.

<sup>717</sup> Humfrey Wanley to John Jackson, 7 April 1717, published in Heyworth ed., *Letters of Humfrey Wanley*, 160.

<sup>718</sup> Heyworth, 'Wanley, Humfrey (1672–1726)', ODNB.

<sup>719</sup> Hawkins, iv, 253 n.

<sup>720</sup> Cyril Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1972), 71.

1704 (some were reprinted in *Songs Compleat* and *Wit and Mirth* until 1720); his hand is also found in Harley 1270, 1272, and 1863.<sup>721</sup> Berencloew's father was a German physician and collector who had made his fortune across the continent. Wanley's annotation in the Harleian catalogue under Harley 1265 gives the following information:

This is of the Hand-writing of Doctor Bernard-Martin Berencloew, father to Mr Berencloew mentioned in the account of 68.A.14 [Harley 1264]. I take leave to mention, that this Doctor Berencloew was born in the Dutchy of Holstein near Toninghen; his mother was a Berchem, a family sufficiently eminent both in the Upper & Nether Germany. He married Katherine one of the Daughters of Mr Lanier, Clerk of the Closet to K, Charles I. He was Professor of Physic in the university of Padua, & practiced with Success & Reputation in Italy, France, Germany, Holland, Flanders, & England. And notwithstanding his frequent Journeys & Removals, died Rich in Ready money, jewels, Plate, Pictures, Drawings, &c. of great Price & Curiosity; which his Widow notwithstanding (by true pains-taking) made a shift to Overcome & utterly squander away, in about five years [...] after his decease.<sup>722</sup>

Berencloew Sr, and probably his son, was evidently interested in Italian music, which Berencloew Sr supposedly encountered during his travels through Europe, and perhaps through his father-in-law, [Nicholas?] Lanier. According to Wanley, Berencloew Sr's hand is found in one item in Harley 1265, a miscellany of Roman cantatas copied on individual fascicles in a number of Italian hands, one of which Alessio Ruffatti has identified as the Chigi copyist Antonio Sardo.<sup>723</sup> 'Sospiri miei de foco' (f. 167, see Figure 5.2) in Berencloew's hand is copied on different paper from the other cantatas, and was likely bound together with the rest when the manuscript was in Berencloew's possession. Berencloew Sr also copied Harley 1270 together with his son, and my research has identified his hand alongside Berencloew Jr's in Harley 1863.<sup>724</sup> Berencloew Jr also copied the music in Harley 1272 in collaboration with Wanley. Wanley clearly worked with Berencloew before he died, since he wrote

---

<sup>721</sup> Wanley identified Berencloew's hand in the Harleian catalogue, *Lbl* Add. MS 45704, f. 95–6, and Add. MS 45705, f. 272.

<sup>722</sup> *Lbl* Add. MS 45704, f. 92. Also cited in Hawkins, iv, 253–4.

<sup>723</sup> Alessio Ruffatti, "'Curiosi e bramosi l'oltramantani cercano con grande diligenza in tutti i luoghi': La cantata romana del Seicento in Europa", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 13 (2008).

<sup>724</sup> Augustus Hughes-Hughes thought that 'most of [the cantatas were] in the hand of B. M. Berencloew.' Hughes-Hughes, ii, 495. I suggest that Berencloew Sr copied ff. 56v–65r, 96v–99r, 101v–106r, 109r–161v, see further Appendix VIII.

about Harley 1272 that it was ‘begun at both ends by Mr. B. Martin Berenclow, and filled up by me during his Life time’.<sup>725</sup> Berenclow also seems to have been Wanley’s source of information about music and musicians from the previous generation. In the catalogue entry for Harley 1264, Wanley’s knowledge about the manuscript and its copyist seemingly comes from Berenclow:

An oblong book written & prick'd by the Hand of Signior Cornelio Galli, who (as I have been told) was a native of Lucca, and was one of the Gentlemen of the Chapell to Queen Catherine, in the time of King Charles II. Mr Berenclow told me, that He was a very great master of the finest manner of singing, & was one of the First that Introduced it in England. Whether the Italian songs in this Book are of his Composing as well as of his writing, I cannot certainly remember.<sup>726</sup>

Similarly, in his account of Stradella Wanley referred to Berenclow’s opinion of his mistress’s (Agnese van Uffele) singing voice:

The Baroness (or Countess) was afterwards sent for to France by the present French King, & has been heard sing both in Italy & France by Mr. Berenclow, who said she was a perfect mistress of the best manner, for w<sup>ch</sup> with her, he only admired Cornelio Galli, and the two Eunuchs Tossi & Sifaccio.<sup>727</sup>

The references to Tosi, Siface, and Galli—in addition to the publication dates of his songs—suggest that Berenclow was active in English musical life in the last decades of the seventeenth century (rather than during Anne’s reign); Siface visited England in 1687 (p. 123), and Tosi appeared in London in 1693.<sup>728</sup> Before he died, Berenclow evidently had some influence on Wanley’s musical taste and attitudes. It seems likely that the manuscripts sold by Wanley to the Harley collection, Harley 1264, 1265, 1268, 1269, 1501 (originally copied in 1685 by Pietro Reggio for a Monsieur Didie in London), and 1863 originally belonged to the Berenclows, were passed on to Anne Berenclow at the death of Berenclow Jr, and came into Wanley’s possession after his

---

<sup>725</sup> *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 96.

<sup>726</sup> *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 90. No other records survive of Cornelio Galli in the Catholic chapel of Catherine of Braganza (there was, however, a Francesco Galli), but Mabbett has shown that he was one of the musicians in James II’s Catholic chapel from 1686. Margaret Mabbett, ‘Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90)’, *Music & Letters*, 67 (1986), 237–47 (242).

<sup>727</sup> *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 96. It is unclear whether Berenclow actually heard Agnese van Uffele in France; Carolyn Gianturco has suggested that she stayed in the convent of S. Maria Maddalena in Venice after Stradella failed to marry her in 1677, see Carolyn Gianturco, *Alessandro Stradella, 1639–1682: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 45.

<sup>728</sup> Malcolm Boyd and John Rosselli, ‘Tosi, Pier Francesco’, *GMO*.

marriage to Anne. Although the catalogue does not record them as bought from Wanley, a similar argument could plausibly be made for Harley 1270 and 1272, both in the hands of father and son Berenclow.<sup>729</sup>

*Figure 5.2:* Lbl Harley 1265, f. 167, containing 'Sospiri miei de foco' by Rossi in the hand of Bernard Martin Berenclow Sr.

IMAGES UNDER COPYRIGHT REMOVED FROM OPEN ACCESS VERSION

Wanley's instincts as a scholar and librarian are clearly shown by his meticulous cataloguing of the manuscripts, where he included what he knew about the provenance of the manuscript, classifying each piece as cantata, aria, or arietta, attributing the pieces he could, and supplying anecdotes about the composers and scribes. Wanley's annotations of pieces and composers show both the information about Roman composers available to him in the early eighteenth century, and his attitudes towards them and their music. Almost all annotations concern Roman composers, and Hawkins used most of them for his *General History* many years after. Nearly all of Wanley's composer anecdotes are about famous Roman composers (the Carissimi one was cited above, p. 160); none of the other music manuscripts catalogued by Wanley himself were annotated in the same way as the Italian music manuscripts.

For instance, Luigi Rossi is credited as the inventor of opera:

This Luigi Rossi, as I have heard, lived long since, even before Charissimi. 'Tis said he first introduced Dramaticall Music in the stage, & composed the First Opera for it. This Cantata, La Fortuna, is reputed one of his best Cantatas. He died very old, at Venice, as I have been told.

---

<sup>729</sup> Cyril Wright has previously suggested that the whole sequence Harley 1264–1273 was bought from Wanley. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*, 343.

Wanley was not particularly impressed with Alessandro Scarlatti, or Bernardo Pasquini:

This Alessandro Scarlatti is a Neapolitan by Birth; and by long Practice, is as Ready a Composer as any other man. His Reputation is very Great, among ours & other nations, as well as in Italy his native Countrey. I have seen many of his Works; and (to say the truth) more trivial Things of Him, & Bernardo Pasquini, than of any other Italian Masters.

Stradella, on the other hand, is described with a sort of awe that had previously been reserved for Carissimi. But then Stradella's life was infinitely more picaresque than Carissimi's:

This Alessandro Stradella, was as I think, a Venetian, and was in his Time, one of the greatest masters in music, that Italy had ever Bred, with respect either to the church, stage, or chamber. He excelled not only in composition, but in an extraordinary Hand, so as to be accounted the best Organist in Italy. He was a comly Person, and of an amorous Nature. And finding a Baroness who was admired by and Heir of the Family of Cornaro (or Colonna, I remember not exactly which) to be a most beautiful personage, witty, airy, Mistress of an admirable voice, and a professed Lover of Music, He instructed her therein, and she was so far improved by Him, as to sing the best of any Woman in Italy. He undermined her other adorer, and render'd himself so agreeable to Her, as that at last she consented to Run away with Him to Genoa, where (soon after his Coming) he was shot in the back by his revengeful Rival [...] When Mr. Henry Purcel (who had only seen 2. or 3. of his compositions) heard that Stradella was Assassinated, & upon what account, he lamented him exceedingly; nay so far, as to declare, that he could have forgiven him any Injury in that kind; which those who remember how lovingly Mr. Purcel lived with his Wife, (or rather what a Loving Wife she proved to him) may understand without farther Explanation.<sup>730</sup>

Although more than thirty years younger, Stradella worked in very similar Roman contexts as Carissimi, including the intimate circles of Queen Christina. Compared to Carissimi, Stradella's music was not very widely copied by English scribes, even at

---

<sup>730</sup> Wanley did not have all the facts at hand: Stradella was Tuscan by birth, and the woman with whom he eloped was Agnese van Uffele, the mistress of Alvisi Contarini. They ran away to Turin, where Stradella survived an assassination attempt ordered by Contarini. Stradella travelled to Genoa alone in 1678, and was killed four years later, not by Contarini and for reasons unknown. See Gianturco, *Alessandro Stradella*, 38–45, 57–8.

the end of the seventeenth century in the circles interested in Roman vocal music (see Appendix III and IV). Stradella's compositional focus on genres that were not typically published (cantatas, oratorios, and operas) meant that even less of his music was disseminated in printed collections, making it highly inaccessible to English music-lovers. Similarly to Carissimi earlier in the century, Stradella's reputation (musical and otherwise) seems to have had a wider reach than his compositions. Wanley's anecdote about Purcell's reaction to Stradella's death is unverified, but his statement that Purcell had only seen two or three of Stradella's compositions is entirely plausible.<sup>731</sup>

Wanley's meticulous cataloguing and annotation of the manuscripts is indicative of a certain kind of collecting, different from the practical music library of Henry Aldrich. In the influential *Collectors and Curiosities*, Krzysztof Pomian has formulated a set of key criteria for a collection: it is a set of natural or artificial objects, kept outside of the economic circuit, and afforded special protection and put on display in specially adapted places. In addition, collection pieces have lost their original function and serve no practical purpose; they become semiophores, items which represent something beyond themselves.<sup>732</sup> As Weber has argued, ancient music in antiquarian collections came to represent the musical, social and religious orders that antiquarians considered threatened. In the circles of English virtuosos, Roman vocal music also represented education and musical connoisseurship. This, I argue, was its chief function in the Harley collection.<sup>733</sup>

Although Aldrich's music library achieved semiophoric status when integrated into the Christ Church College collections on his death, at its genesis it was not a collection in the Pomian sense. I have shown above that although not all of the Roman music in Aldrich's collection was performed, it was used in a variety of ways for imitation and study. Aldrich was not content to have music prints or Roman manuscripts standing in his bookcases, but very often scored it up in manuscript, compiling new collections from a variety of printed and manuscript sources. The result was more or less complete collections of motets and cantatas, such as the set *Och Mus.* 51–55 of Carissimi motets and cantatas. Aldrich went further than copying

---

<sup>731</sup> The anecdote is included in Michael Burden, *Purcell Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995), 113, but is there attributed to Hawkins. Hawkins made great use of the Harleian catalogue and almost certainly had the story from Wanley.

<sup>732</sup> Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 8–9.

<sup>733</sup> On virtuosos, collecting, and cultural capital, see above p. 93.

the music and used it as models for imitations, recomposing motets by Palestrina, Carissimi, Bassani and Grandi into pieces more similar to English anthems. These activities are a form of practical use, and suggest that Aldrich was interested in the music's intrinsic qualities and long-standing reputation as much as its capacity to represent historical practices.

On the contrary, the Harleian music manuscripts appear semiophoric to a much greater extent than Aldrich's library. The Harley collection overall is a true collector's enterprise, an effort to build up a library as complete as possible, especially in genealogy and heraldry. Again in contrast to Aldrich's practices, Wanley's annotated catalogue is an important element in a semiophoric collection. Marjorie Swann has pointed that early modern English collectors tend to textualise their collections through compiling and sometimes publishing catalogues containing detailed descriptions and anecdotes relating to the content of the collections.<sup>734</sup> Wanley's catalogue did just that, giving details about the origins of pieces, anecdotes about composers or performers.<sup>735</sup> Admittedly some of Aldrich's volumes have been ordered into sequences depending on repertoire, labelled for instance FANT (fantasias), MOT (motets), or MAD (madrigals) as a finding aid for musical volumes used practically, but there was no catalogue of the collection.<sup>736</sup> It is important to distinguish between the descriptive or anecdotal catalogues such as Wanley's from classification systems or shelving lists; a classification system is mainly systematising, a way of knowing where a certain piece of music can be found, whereas an anecdotal catalogue puts the collection on display through a written medium. Displaying the collection is one of Pomian's key criteria for a semiophoric collection.

Unlike the vibrant musical community at Christ Church, the musical scores in the Harleian library were kept far away from music stands, musical instruments and other tools for musical performance, and must thus have been purchased with other intentions than a desire to perform or copy the music.<sup>737</sup> By contrast, Aldrich's music

---

<sup>734</sup> Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 9.

<sup>735</sup> The manuscript catalogue is preserved in *Lbl Add. MS 45701–10* and supplied the text for the printed catalogue of 1759. Only *Add. MS 45701–7* were compiled by Wanley, the rest of the collection was catalogued by his successors after his death.

<sup>736</sup> The first extant is the so-called 'Dowding' manuscript shelf list from the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

<sup>737</sup> I have been unable to find any signs that the Harleian manuscripts of Italian music were used as copy texts. For concordances, see Appendix V.



was used for practical musical purposes. The music collection created by Wanley and Harley instead resembles the way regular antiquarians, such as Thomas Brown, used collections of historical remains such as ancient coins and urns to tease out the history of Britannia, not as coins or urns.<sup>738</sup> In this vein, some of the medieval music manuscripts came with the books Harley bought from Sir Simonds D'Ewes (Harley 275 and 322) and Edward Stillingfleet (Harley 978 and 746) and were arguably valued as historical and palaeographical sources. Similarly, Thomas Tudway's sequence of ancient English cathedral music represented a lost order of music and society rather than functioning as sources of repertoire.<sup>739</sup> The manuscripts of Italian music are nearly all in performing score format, although this is more a reflection of the priorities of the Berencloves who copied and commissioned them rather than of Harley. It is interesting to note that Harley 1270, 1272, and 1273 (copied by the Berencloves and Wanley) have the same narrow oblong format characteristic of cantata manuscripts copied in Rome such as Harley 1265. These replicas of Roman performing scores make the Harleian manuscripts of Roman vocal music seem similar to Chigi and Barberini practices of collecting beautiful volumes or repertoires no longer current, which Margaret Murata has suggested represented musical performances no longer taking place.<sup>740</sup> Like the collections of genealogical, heraldic, and palaeographic material, the musical scores represent an old cultural and historical practice.

## Conclusion

With the structural changes of English musical life in the early eighteenth century, Roman vocal music emerged into public musical life through clubs such as the Academy of Ancient Music engaging with the works of Roman composers as models for imitation. This chapter has argued that early eighteenth-century English musical life was divided into two sub-spheres: a convivial/intellectual sphere mainly consisting of music clubs requiring membership and engaging with specific

---

<sup>738</sup> Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 276–78.

<sup>739</sup> In *Lbl MS Harley 7337–7342*. See Weber, *Musical Classics*, 36–37; Percy Lovell, “‘Ancient’ Music in Eighteenth-Century England”, *Music & Letters* 60, (1979), 401–15 (403).

<sup>740</sup> Margaret Murata, ‘Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of Its Place in Society’, in *Atti del xiv congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. by Angelo Pompilio (Torino: EDT, 1991), 272–84 (276–79).

repertoires, and a commercial sphere with its emerging consumer culture consisting of the operas, theatres, and music print market. Since very little Italian music was published during the seventeenth century, this suggests that Italian vocal repertoires were not commercially viable until the Walsh firm started publishing collections of opera arias in the 1710s.

Antiquarian collectors such as Robert Harley, via his librarian Humfrey Wanley, consolidated the place of Roman vocal music in the intellectual tradition through gathering musical manuscripts containing Roman music as well as information about the composers represented in their manuscript volumes. This was a different form of collecting from the practical library of Henry Aldrich; in the Harleian library (as in the performances of the Academy of Ancient Music) the music transcended its original function and came to represent something new; as Weber has suggested, the ancient music represented a musical and social order that conservative musicians and amateur music-lovers considered under threat from the commercialisation of musical life. This chapter has shown that English antiquarians were not only interested in English church music, but took an active interest in Italian repertoires as well, perhaps as a relic of the older notions of virtuosity and cosmopolitanism discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 93). Comparing the Christ Church and Harley collections of Roman vocal music shows two different music collecting practices. Aldrich's collection was to be used practically for the basis of compositional activity and the copying of performance material, and was not put on display textually or visually. The Harley collection, however, displays the characteristics of a semiophoric library collection, and as such indicates what I would suggest is the direction taken by Roman vocal music in English musical life as it firmly entered the eighteenth century. The inclusion of Roman vocal (especially Palestrina's) music in numerous later eighteenth-century manuscripts belonging to antiquarians and collectors such as Henry Needler (1685–1760), William Gostling (1696–1777), Richard Goodson Jr (1688–1741), and Philip Hayes (1738–1797) testifies to the transformation of Roman vocal music from exclusive court music representing princely power in the mid-seventeenth century to ancient music representing lost musical and social orders by the mid-eighteenth. Collections such as those of Hayes and Gostling are beyond the scope of this thesis, but present interesting questions for future research into eighteenth-century antiquarianism and music collecting.

## 6. Conclusion

---

The aim of this thesis has been to understand the integration of imported Roman vocal music into English musical culture. Since Roman vocal music is treated as a concept as well as a musical repertoire, the thesis has been concerned more with attitudes and practices than with stylistic analysis or composer attributions. The definition of Roman vocal music as cantatas, motets and oratorios by mid-seventeenth-century composers active or trained in Rome inevitably means that the thesis omits other aspects of Roman musical culture: there was a vibrant tradition of instrumental music represented by Corelli, which appears to have been the chief interest of late seventeenth-century English musicians and tourists such as John Ravenscroft (d. before 1709), Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755), and Wriothsley Russell (1680–1711), who travelled to Rome in 1698–99 together with William Sherard and later hired the instrumentalists Nicola Haym and Nicola Cosimi for his English household.

My focus on particular English environments such as the court, the Royal Society and Oxford has meant that the scope of this thesis could not extend to the roles of individuals such as Cosimi and Haym (already well researched by Lowell Lindgren). Similarly, networks between English and Italian musicians working in northern Europe, such as between the Academy of Ancient Music and Agostino Steffani, as well as the role taken by the Stuart court at Saint-Germain and Urbino in disseminating Italian music to England, have not been considered, although all of these are worthy of exploration. Apart from the brief discussion in Chapter 2, opera does not feature in the thesis. Yet, English travellers did see opera performances in Rome during the carnival; their attitudes towards Roman opera and their subsequent engagement with early eighteenth-century English productions of operas by Scarlatti and Bononcini would be an interesting topic for future research.

Examining the dissemination of Roman vocal music in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England, this thesis has challenged previous scholarly notions about the popularity of Roman vocal music, and Carissimi in particular, in Restoration England. Chapter 1 showed how the dissemination of Italian music was affected by English political relationships with different Italian city-states and the music print industries in Venice and Rome, demonstrating the importance of travel

and trade for music dissemination. In accordance with Roman publishing practices, sacred genres such as motets were copied from printed sources such as *Missa a cinque et a novem* (Cologne, 1666) and *Sacri concerti musicali* (1675), whereas secular cantatas were invariably disseminated in manuscripts from one of Rome's copying shops. Through analysing scribal hands and possible copy texts of the extant English sources of Roman vocal music, Chapter 4 suggests that this repertoire was not systematically copied until the 1680s. Even at this time, interest was confined to the limited circle of Henry Aldrich (1648–1710), with the majority of late seventeenth-century sources copied by Oxford musicians. Despite the marked interest in Carissimi and Graziani at Christ Church, the Roman works were frequently outnumbered by earlier north Italian repertoire introduced into England through the music library of Christopher Hatton: the ratio of Roman to north Italian repertoire in the Christ Church collection is approximately the same as in the smaller manuscript anthologies copied by Henry Bowman, Charles Morgan and Richard Goodson.

The thesis has also challenged long-held notions about the patronage of Italian music at the English court. A series of newly discovered correspondence shows that Vincenzo Albrici (1631–90), previously thought to have been the leader of an opera troupe, was hired in 1664 by Sir Henry Bennet (1618–85) and Sir Bernard Gascoigne (1614–87) on his merits as a church and chamber music composer. Albrici gained his reputation during previous employments with Christina of Sweden and Johann Georg II of Saxony, both known for their patronage of Roman musicians. Chapter 2 argued that Charles II's patronage of Albrici and the Italian ensemble functioned in similar ways to other European patrons, including Cardinal Mazarin in Paris who first introduced Charles to the Roman repertoire. This patronage corresponds to what Claudio Annibaldi has called 'humanistic patronage': exclusive performances of chamber music representing the patron's taste and artistic refinement as a means of social distinction and representation of power. Italian musicians at court were kept separate from the regular musical establishment: they performed in different contexts, and were afforded a higher social status than ordinary musicians. This shows that the patronage of foreign music and musicians differed from the patronage of English music, and indicates the limits of approaching

English musical life through the study of individual composers.<sup>741</sup> This further emphasises the importance of studying wider cultural practices: imported musical repertoire and musicians were associated with musico-cultural concepts and practices, as well as with specific compositional techniques and performance practices.

My research has also elucidated the little-known musical culture of English virtuosi and the Royal Society. Whilst the musical activities of the Royal Society have previously been discussed only in relation to acoustics and music theory, Chapter 3 has shown that English virtuosi treated Roman music simultaneously as a means of social distinction and scientific experiment. Many English gentlemen first heard Roman vocal music on their Grand Tours to Rome: this first encounter then conditioned their relationship to Roman vocal music after their return to England. Chapter 3 suggests that the Royal Society treated Roman vocal music as curiosities, and that they examined it during a concert at Lord Brouncker's in February 1667 as part of the society's aim to discover the secrets of art and nature through experiment and observation. The society's research may have been inspired by the 'compositional secrets' published in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (1650), which the society procured in 1661.

The social cachet of Roman vocal music in seventeenth-century England relied on its material and musical inaccessibility. Until printed copy texts such as the collections of Carissimi motets in *Missa a cinque* (1666) and *Sacri concerti* (1675) were made available in England, access depended on rare imported manuscripts, foreign travel, or contact with the Italian ensemble at court. Girolamo Pignani's anthology *Scelta di canzonette de piu autori [sic!]* (1679) made Roman cantatas available on the public market for sheet music. Contrary to Graham Dixon's argument that Pignani's book signifies the popularity of Roman composers in Restoration London,<sup>742</sup> Chapter 3 suggests that the anthology was commercially unsuccessful and insignificant for the dissemination of Roman cantatas in England. Gentlemen who considered Roman vocal music a valuable rarity would not have been interested in a crudely printed commercial publication. Considering the limited

---

<sup>741</sup> See Rebecca Herissone, 'Introduction', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 1–12 (6).

<sup>742</sup> Graham Dixon, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. by Michael Burden (London: Faber & Faber, 1995), 38–51 (38–40, 44–6).

amount of Italian repertoire on the English music market, the audience for English commercial publications was arguably not familiar enough with Italian music or the Italian language to buy the book, as my example of Samuel Pepys's (1663–1703) first encounter with the Italian ensemble suggests.

The concept of Roman vocal music as foreign curiosities was also at the heart of its uses in 1680s and 1690s Oxford. Chapter 4 further shows how one repertoire can receive different functions and meanings in different environments within the same country: just over a decade after the Test Act (1673) forced Charles to disband his Italian ensemble, music by Carissimi was regarded as ancient music both by virtue of his compositional style and through chronological misconceptions which led English antiquarians to believe that Carissimi's career was over by 1650. Aldrich's collection included sacred and secular music by Carissimi, the solo motets of Bonifacio Graziani, and motets by Palestrina as models for study; Robert Shay has previously argued that Aldrich's recompositions of motets by Carissimi and Palestrina are linked to the classic educational concept of *imitatio*, and a means of making Roman motets acceptable to English taste. I take this idea further to argue that Aldrich's imitative practices were part of a larger antiquarian enterprise to maintain and improve the English cathedral music tradition. Aldrich's use of *imitatio* was what John Muckelbauer has called imitation-of-difference, in other words the imitation of a model's effects on an audience. In this situation, adaptation of the model is necessary in order to induce the same effects on a different audience. Aldrich's interest was in the famous ability of Carissimi and Palestrina to invoke piety and devotion in listeners praised by Kircher in the *Musurgia*. This is illustrated by Aldrich's adaptation of the final chorus from Carissimi's *Jephte*, where the choice of key and text seem intended to evoke similar affects as Carissimi's chorus.

Aldrich's circle partly constituted the basis for the early ancient music movement, which adopted Roman vocal music in the early eighteenth century as Chapter 5 argues. By Aldrich's death in 1710, English musical life was undergoing a drastic structural transformation. William and Mary had cut down on musical activity at court, forcing musicians to seek employment from the commercial market. I have suggested that the public musical life of the early eighteenth-century can be conceived as split in two spheres driven by different musical and ideological interests. One sphere was characterised by commercial musical activity such as concerts, opera, theatre, and the music print market, whilst the other was dominated

by conservative music clubs (such as the Mermaid Club or the Academy of Ancient Music), emphasising the convivial and intellectual aspects of music-making. Following Aldrich, these conservative, all-male environments adopted Roman vocal music as ancient music in order to further their cause in promoting the learned contrapuntal style of composition. Collections such as the Harley collection also belonged to the intellectual sphere of music life. The Harleian library contains manuscripts of Roman vocal music which their librarian, Humfrey Wanley, inherited from his wife's late husband, Bernard Martin Berenclow (d. 1705), and sold to the collection. Following Krzysztof Pomian, I argue that Wanley's catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts reflects eighteenth-century collectors' interest in the history of the Roman music and thus its symbolic value in signifying ancient musical practices.

As Chapter 5 shows, Aldrich's circle at Oxford was intimately connected with the early eighteenth-century ancient music movement through figures such as Sampson Estwick (Chaplain at Christ Church and founding member of the Academy of Ancient Music) and Wanley. This suggests that interest in Roman vocal music remained limited to specific groups even after the emergence of a strong public musical life in the early eighteenth century. Although Roman vocal music was highly esteemed and had a profound impact on certain English audiences, it was out of reach for the majority of the English population.

This investigation of the dissemination and appropriation of Roman vocal music in England has finally shown that England had stronger musical and cultural links with the continent than is usually acknowledged in musical research. Despite its limited reach, the appropriation of Roman vocal music was an important part of English musical and intellectual life in the second half of the seventeenth-century, not least in non-professional contexts such as the court, the English virtuosi around the Royal Society, and Oxford academic life. These musico-cultural exchanges shed new light both on the English musical environment and on the Europe-wide migration of musicians, musical repertoire, and patronage practices, suggesting that attention to the continental context has the potential to strengthen research on English musical life whilst also giving a richer sense of the pan-European dimensions of seventeenth-century musical culture.

# Bibliography

---

- Academy of Ancient Music, *The Words of Such Pieces, as Are Most Usually Performed by the Academy of Ancient Music* (London, 1768).
- Adams, Martin, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Allsop, Peter, 'Problems of Ascription in the Roman Simfonia of the Late Seventeenth Century: Colista and Lonati', *The Music Review*, 50 (1989), 34–44.
- Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of Our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Annibaldi, Claudio, 'Introduzione' in *La musica e il mondo: Mecenasismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra quattro e settecento*, ed. by Claudio Annibaldi (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1993).
- 'Froberger in Rome: From Frescobaldi's Craftsmanship to Kircher's Compositional Secrets,' *Current Musicology*, 58 (1995), 5–27.
- 'Towards a Theory of Musical Patronage in the Renaissance and Baroque: The Perspective from Anthropology and Semiotics', *Recercare*, 10 (1998), 173–82.
- Annibaldi, Claudio, ed., *La musica e il mondo: Mecenasismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra quattro e settecento*, (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1993).
- Aercke, Kristiaan P., *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994).
- Akerman, John Yonge Esq., ed. *Moneys Received and Paid for Secret Services to Charles II. And James II. From 30th March, 1679, to 25th December, 1688* (London: Camden Society, 1851).
- Allan, David, 'Moray, Sir Robert (1608/9?–1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/19645>, accessed 3 October 2013.
- Arnold, Samuel, *Cathedral Music, Being a Collection in Score of the Most Valuable & Useful Compositions for That Service by the Several English Masters of the Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Edward F. Rimbaud (London: D'Almaine & Co., 1843).
- Ashbee, Andrew, *Records of English Court Music*, vol. 1 (Snodland: Andrew Ashbee, 1986).
- Records of English Court Music*, vol. 5 (Aldershot: Scolar, 1991).
- Astell, Mary, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex in which are Inserted the Characters of a Pedant, a Squire, a Beau, a Virtuoso, a Poetaster, a City-Critick, &C.: In a Letter to a Lady* (London, 1696).
- Assmann, Aleida, *Tid och tradition: Varaktighetens kulturella strategier*, trans. by Peter Jackson, original title *Zeit und Tradition. Kulturelle strategien der Dauer* (Nora: Nya Doxa, 2004).



- Zeit und Tradition. Kulturelle Strategien der Dauer* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999).
- Avison, Charles, and William Hayes, *Charles Avison's Essay on Musical Expression: with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison* ed. by Pierre Dubois (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- Ayres, Philip, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Bailey, Candace, 'Keyboard Music in the Hands of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson I: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 1176 and Mus. 1177', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 32 (1999), 119–35.
- 'William Ellis and the Transmission of Continental Keyboard Music in Restoration England', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 20 (2001), 211–42.
- Bamford, Daniel, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production and Influence' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2009).
- Banks, Chris, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner, eds., *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday* (London: The British Library, 1993).
- Banks, Kathryn and Philiep G. Bossier, eds., *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period II: Consolidation of God-Given Power* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).
- Barnett, Gregory, Antonella D'Ovidio and Stefano La Via, eds., *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica: nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita: atti del Congresso internazionale di studi, Fusignano, 11–14 settembre 2003* (Firenze: Olschki, 2007).
- Bass, John, 'Would Caccini Approve? A Closer Look at Egerton 2971 and Florid Monody', *Early Music*, 36 (2001), 81–93.
- Beddard, R. A. P. J., 'Palmer, Roger, earl of Castlemaine (1634–1705)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: < 10.1093/ref:odnb/21209>, accessed 20 November 2014.
- Beechey, Gwilym, 'Memoirs of Dr. William Boyce', *The Musical Quarterly*, 57 (1971), 87–106.
- Bellingham, Bruce, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 19, (1982). 6–70.
- Berglund, Lars, 'Studier i Christian Geists Vokalmusik' (PhD thesis, Uppsala, 2002).
- 'De musica pathetica: Diskussionen om musik och affekt i Anthanaius Kirchers *Musurgia universalis*', in *Själens uttryck: Passion, dygd och andakt–samspel mellan själ och kropp i 1600-talets människosyn*, ed. by Peter Gillgren (Stockholm: Konstvetenskapliga institutionen, 2008), 91–107.
- 'The Roman Connection: The Dissemination and Reception of Roman Music in the North', in *The Dissemination of Music in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Celebrating the Düben Collection: Proceedings from the International*

- Conference at Uppsala University 2006*, ed. by Erik Kjellberg (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 193–217.
- ‘Marvels of the Holy City: On the Use of Roman Church Music at Lutheran Courts in the Mid-Seventeenth Century’, in *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period II: Consolidation of God-Given Power*, ed. by Kathryn Banks and Philiep G. Bossier (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 159–75.
- ‘Imitatio Autorum: Roman Music as a Model for Composers in the Baltic Area’ paper presented at the *Gustav Leonhardt Symposium*, Utrecht, October 2012.
- ‘Travelling and the Formation of Taste: The European Journey of Bengt Ferrner and Jean Lefebure 1758–1763’ in *Sweden in the Eighteenth-Century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans*, ed. by Göran Rydén (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 95–119.
- Bernard, Edward, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in Unum Collecti Cum Indice Alphabetico* (London, 1679).
- Besutti, Paola, ‘Costa, Anna Francesca’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 23 July 2014.
- ‘Stafford, Thomas (fl. from 1653)’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 21 October 2014.
- Bethencourt, Francisco, and Florike Egmond eds., *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, vol. iii, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Bhaba, Homi, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Bianconi, Lorenzo, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Bianconi, Lorenzo, and Giorgio Pestelli, eds., *Opera Production and its Resources*, The History of Italian Opera, vol. iv (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- Birch, Thomas, *The History of the Royal Society for the Improving of Natural Knowledge, from its First Rise*, 2 vols. (London, 1756).
- Birchensha, John, *John Birchensha: Writings on Music*, ed. by Christopher Field and Benjamin Wardhaugh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).
- Blanci, Domenico, ed., *Sacrarum Modulationum ex variis selectis auctoribus collectarum selectio prima studio et diligentia Domenici Blanci quae partim binis ac ternis partim vero quaternis quinisque vocibus concinuntur* (Rome, 1642).
- Blanning, Tim, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Boswell, Eleanore, *The Restoration Court Stage (1660–1702): With a Particular Account of the Production of ‘Calisto’* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966).

- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of Atheory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- ‘The Forms of Capital’, in *The Sociology of Economic Life* ed. by Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg, 3rd edn. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2011), 78–89.
- Bowring, Lynette. “The Coming over of the Works of the Great Corelli”: The Influence of Italian Violin Repertoire in London 1675–1705’, in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 181–209.
- Boyd, Malcolm, and John Rosselli, ‘Tosi, Pier Francesco’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 9 September 2014.
- Bray, Roger, ed., *The Oxford Music School Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: A Guide and Index to the Harvester Microfilm Collection* (Brighton: Harvester, 1979).
- Brossard, Sébastien de, *Dictionnaire de musique, contenant une explication des termes Grecs, Latins, Italiens & François les plus usitez dans la musique*, (Amsterdam, c.1708),
- Brotton, Jerry, *The Sale of the Late King’s Goods: The Story of Charles I and His Art Collection* (London: Macmillan, 2006).
- Buff, Iva M., *A Thematic Catalog of the Sacred Works of Giacomo Carissimi* (Clifton, NJ: European American Music Corp., 1979).
- Burden, Michael, *Purcell Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995).
- “‘He Had the Honour to be Your Master’”: Lady Rhoda Cavendish’s Music Lessons with Henry Purcell’, *Music & Letters*, 76 (1995), 532–39.
- Burke, Peter, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, reprinted (Aldershot: Wildwood, 1988).
- ‘The Uses of Italy’ in *The Renaissance in National Context*, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6–20.
- The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione’s Cortegiano* (London: Polity, 1995).
- ‘Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe’, in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 7–38.
- Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).
- Burke, Peter, and R. Po-Chia Hsia, ‘Introduction’, in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–4.
- Burke, Peter, and R. Po-Chia Hsia, eds., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

- Burmeister, Joachim, *Musical Poetics*, trans. by Benito V. Rivera (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).
- Burney, Charles, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1798)*, ed. by Frank Mercer, 2 vols. (London: G.T. Foulis, 1935).
- Burrows, David L., *Antonio Cesti (1623–1669) [Thematic Catalogue]*, Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series. Fasc.1 (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1964).
- Burrows, Donald, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Handel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Butt, John, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Buttrey, John, ‘New Light on Robert Cambert in London, and His “Ballet et Musique”’, *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 199–220.
- Caifabri, Giovanni Battista, ed., *Scelta de motetti a 2, e 3 voci, composti da diversi eccellentissimi autori, dati in luce da Gio. Battista Caifabri* (Rome, 1667).
- Scelta de’ motetti da cantarsi a due e tre voci composti in musica da diversi eccellentissimi autori romani, raccolti dal molto Rev. Sig. D. Francesco Cavallotti, benefiziato della Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso. E dati alle stampa da Gio. Battista Caifabri* (Rome, 1665).
- Scelta di motetti sacri raccolti da diversi eccellentissimi autori à 2. e 3. voci, dedicate al molto rev. Padre mio in Christo osservandissimo il Padre Simone Stiava... da Giovanni Battista Caifabri* (Rome, 1675).
- Calabi, Donatella, and Stephen Turk Christensen, eds., *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, vol. ii, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Callon, Gordon J., ed., *Songs with Theorbo (ca. 1650–1663): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxbourne 84.9; London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1041* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2000).
- Caluori, Eleanor, *The Cantatas of Luigi Rossi: Analysis and Thematic Index*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981).
- ‘Caproli, Carlo’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 30 September 2013.
- Campbell Orr, Clarissa, ed., *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- Carissimi, Giacomo, *Missa a quinque et a novem, cum selectis quibusdam cantoribus* (Cologne, 1666).
- Arion Romanus sive liber primus sacrarum cantiorum* (Konstanz, 1670).
- Sacri concerti musicali* (Rome, 1675).
- Carter, Stephanie, ‘Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650–1700’ (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2010).

- Carter, Tim, 'Amarilli Mia Bella: Some Questions (and Few Answers)', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113 (1988), 250–73.
- Carter, Tim, John Butt and Stephen Rose, eds., *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Chaney, Edward, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'the Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Genève: Slatkine, 1985).
- The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).
- 'Lassels, Richard (c.1603–1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/16083>, accessed 21 March 2013.
- Chaney, Edward and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: Tauris, 2014).
- Charteris, Richard, 'Matthew Hutton (1638–1711) and his Manuscripts in York Minster Library', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 28 (1975), 2–6.
- Chartier, Roger, *Forms and Meanings: Text, Performances, and Audience from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).
- The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).
- Cheetham, Andrew, 'Progressive Sacred Music in England 1625–1648: The Italianate Works of Dering and Jeffreys', in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 91–150.
- Cheetham, Andrew, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan Wainwright, eds., *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2014).
- Christiansen, Keith, and Judith W. Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi* (New York, NY; New Haven, CT: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Yale University Press, 2002).
- Clayton, Roderick, 'Gascoigne, Sir Bernard [Bernardo Guasconi] (1614–1687)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/10420>, accessed 17 September 2013.
- Clifford, James, *The Divine Services and Anthems usually Sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in the Church of England Collected by J. C.* (London, 1663).
- Colzani, Alberto, ed., *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell'età barocca: atti del V Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secolo XVII, Lovenno di Menaggio (Como), 28–30 giugno 1993=Die italienische Barockoper, ihre Verbreitung in Italien und Deutschland: Beiträge zum Fünften Internationalen Symposium über die Italienische Musik im 17. Jahrhundert* (Como: A.M.I.S., 1995).

- Cook, Donald, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with Special Reference to his Dramatic Works and Cantatas' (PhD, King's College, London, 1982).
- Corp, Edward, 'The Musical Manuscripts of "Copiste Z": David Nairne, François Couperin, and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-En-Laye', *Revue de Musicologie*, 84 (1998), 37–62.
- 'Catherine of Braganza and Cultural Politics' in *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics*, ed. by Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 53–73.
- 'The Acquisition of French and Italian Music in the Panmure Collection: The Role of David Nairne', in *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the 17th Century*, ed. by James Porter (Bern: Lang, 2007), 139–53.
- Croft, William, *Musica Sacra: Or, Select Anthems in Score* (London, 1724).
- Crum, Margaret, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters*, 48 (1967), 23–34.
- 'An Oxford Music Club, 1690–1719', *Bodleian Library Record*, 9 (1974), 83–99.
- 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Music School Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: A Guide and Index to the Harvester Microfilm Collection*, ed. by Roger Bray (Brighton: Harvester, 1979), 13–18.
- Culley, Thomas D., *Jesuits and Music: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome During the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970).
- Cyr, Mary, 'A Seventeenth-Century Source of Ornamentation for Voice and Viol: British Museum Ms. Egerton 2971' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, no 9 (1971), 53–72.
- Darley, Gillian, *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Dean-Smith, Margaret, and Nicholas Temperley, 'Playford', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 15 June 2012.
- DeFord, Ruth I., 'Canzonetta', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 25 March 2015.
- Dennison, Peter, and Bruce Wood, 'Cooke, Henry', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 6 October 2014.
- Dering, Richard, *Cantica sacra ad duas & tres voces composita cum basso continuo ad organum* (London, 1662).
- Diack Johnstone, H., 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', *Music & Letters*, 56 (1975), 26–40.
- 'Ayres and Arias: An Hiterto Unknown Seventeenth-Century English Songbook', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), 167–201.

- 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library once Lost and now Partially Recovered', *Music & Letters*, 95 (2014), 329–73.
- Dickens, A. G, *The English Reformation* (London: Batsford, 1989).
- Dixon, Graham, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. by Michael Burden (London: Faber & Faber, 1995), 38–51.
- Dowland, Robert, *A Musciall Banquet, Furnished with Varietie of Delicious Ayres* (London, 1610).
- Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- Durante, Sergio, 'The Opera Singer', trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane, in *Opera Production and its Resources, The History of Italian Opera*, vol. iv, ed. by Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 345–417.
- Eamon, William, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Eisen, Cliff, ed., *Coll' Astuzia, Col Giudizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw* (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein, 2009).
- Elias, Norbert, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, ed. by Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).
- Estwick, Sampson, *The Usefulness of Church-Musick a Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Novemb. 27, 1696, Upon Occasion of the Anniversary-Meeting of the Lovers of Musick, on St. Cæcilia's Day* (London, 1696).
- Evelyn, John, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by E. S. De Beer, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).
- Familiar Letters which Passed between Abraham Hill, Esq..., and Several Eminent and Ingenious Persons of the Last Century. Transcribed from the Original Letters* (London, 1767).
- Fanelli, Jean Grundy, 'Rivani, Antonio', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 23 July 2014.
- Fanna, Antonio, and Giovanni Morelli, eds., *Nuovi studi vivaldiani: Edizione e cronologia critica delle opere* (Firenze: Olschki, 1989).
- Fenlon, Iain, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- Fletcher, John Edward, and Elizabeth Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis': With a Selection of his Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of his Autobiography* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
- Florda verba. A celebrissimis musices auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque tam vocibus quam instrumentis. Suavissimis modulis concinnata* (Antwerp, 1661).

- Fortune, Nigel, 'Italian Secular Monody from 1600 to 1635: An Introductory Survey', *The Musical Quarterly*, 39 (1953), 171–95.
- Frandsen, Mary, 'Allies in the Cause of Italian Music: Schütz, Prince Johann Georg II and Musical Politics in Dresden', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 125 (2000), 1–40.
- Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- 'Albrici, Vincenzo', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 20 October 2012.
- Fraser, Antonia, *Charles II: His Life and Times* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979).
- Freitas, Roger, 'Singing and Playing: The Italian Cantata and the Rage for Wit', *Music & Letters*, 82 (2001), 509–42.
- Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Geertsom, Jan van, ed., *Scelta di motetti di diversi eccellentissimi autori raccolti da Gio. Van Geertsom. A due, e tre voci. Con il basso continuo par l'organo clavicembalo spinetto ò altro instromento* (Rotterdam, 1656).
- Gialdroni, Teresa, 'Bibliografia della cantata da camera Italiana (1620–1740 ca.)', *Le fonti musicali in Italia. Studi e ricerche*, 4 (1990), 31–131.
- Gialdroni, Teresa, ed., *La cantata da camera intorno agli anni Italiani di Händel: Problemi e prospettive di ricerca: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 12–14 ottobre 2007* (Rome: Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Fondazione, 2009).
- Gianturco, Carolyn, and Eleanor McCrickard, *Alessandro Stradella (1639–1682): A Thematic Catalogue of His Compositions* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1991).
- Alessandro Stradella, 1639–1682: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).
- Gillgren, Peter, ed., *Själens uttryck: Passion, dygd och andakt–samspel mellan själ och kropp i 1600-talets människosyn* (Stockholm: Konstvetenskapliga institutionen, 2008).
- Giovani, Giulia, 'La diffusione a stampa della cantata da camera in Italia (1620–1738)' (PhD thesis, Università degli studi di Roma 'Tor Vergata', 2011).
- Giselbrecht, Elisabeth, 'Crossing Boundaries: The Printed Dissemination of Italian Sacred Music in German-Speaking Areas (1580–1620)' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012).
- Glixon, Beth Lise, and Jonathan Emmanuel Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and his World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Gosine, C. Jane, and Erik Oland, 'Docere, Delectare, Movere: Marc-Antoine Charpentier and Jesuit Spirituality', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 511–39.



- Gouk, Penelope, 'Acoustics in the Early Royal Society 1660–1680', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 36 (1982), 155–75.
- 'Music', in *The History of the University of Oxford. Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 621–40.
- Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
- 'Making Music, Making Knowledge: The Harmonious Universe of Athanasius Kircher', in *The Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, ed. by Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 71–84.
- Granovetter, Mark and Richard Swedberg eds., *The Sociology of Economic Life*, 3rd edn. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2011).
- Graziani, Bonifacio, *Il primo libro de mottetti a voce sola* (Rome, 1652).
- Il secundo libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome, 1655).
- Motetti a due, tre, e cinque voci* (Rome, 1657).
- Il terzo libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome, 1658).
- Il quarto libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome, 1665).
- Litanie della madonna*, (Rome 1665).
- Quinto libro de motetti a voce sola* (Rome, 1669).
- Sacrae cantiones a voce sola* (Rome, 1672).
- Mottetti a due, tre, quattro, e cinque voci* (Rome, 1676).
- Greenblatt, Stephen Jay, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).
- Haigh, Christopher, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Hall, Alfred Rupert, 'The Royal Society', in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. x: *Companion*, ed. by Robert Latham (London: Bell & Hyman, 1983), 361–68.
- Hamilton, Anthony, *Memoirs of the Count De Grammont: Containing the History of the English Court under Charles II*, ed. by Sir Walter Scott and Mrs. Jameson (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1911).
- Hammond, Frederick, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).
- Handley, Stuart, 'Aldrich, Henry (1648–1710)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/314>, accessed 12 May 2013.
- Hanson, Craig Ashley, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

- Harper, John, and Lowell Lindgren, 'Pasquini, Bernardo', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 24 November 2014.
- Harris, Ann Sutherland, and Judith W. Mann, 'Gentileschi', *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordartonline.com>, accessed 15 February 2012.
- Harris, Tim, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (London; New York: Longman, 1993).
- Hawkins, John, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. With a Comparative View of the Music of the Past and Present Times. By a Member* (London, 1770).
- A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London, 1776; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Heal, Bridget, 'Better Papist Than Calvinist': Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany', *German History*, 29 (2011), 584–609.
- Herissone, Rebecca, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- '"Fowle Originals" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *The Journal of Musicology*, 23 (2006), 569–619.
- 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63 (2010), 243–89.
- Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Herissone, Rebecca, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
- Herissone, Rebecca, and Alan Howard, eds., *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013).
- Heyworth, Peter, ed., *Letter of Humfrey Wanley: Paleographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian, 1672–1726* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989)
- 'Wanley, Humfrey (1672–1726)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/28664>, accessed 17 September 2014.
- Hilse, Walter, 'The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard', *The Music Forum*, 3 (1973), 31–196.
- Hinds, Allen B., ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, 38 vols, vol. xxxiii (London: H.M.S.O., 1932).
- Hiscock, Walter George, *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church: 1648–1710* (Oxford: Printed for Christ Church at the Hollywell Press, 1960).
- Höfele, Andreas, and Werner von Koppenfels, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).

- Höfele, Andreas, and Werner von Koppenfels, eds., *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).
- Hogwood, Christopher, 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. by Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 19–47.
- '"Gropers into Antique Musick" or "a Very Ancient and Respectable Society"? Historical Views of the Academy of Ancient Music', in *Coll' Astuzia, Col Giudizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, ed. by Cliff Eisen (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein, 2009), 127–82.
- Hogwood, Christopher, and Richard Lockett, eds., *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Holman, Peter, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court (1540–1690)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Henry Purcell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- 'The Italian Connection: Giovanni Battista Draghi and Henry Purcell', *Early Music Performer*, 22 (2008), 4–19.
- Draghi, Giovanni Battista', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 29 September 2011.
- 'Bowman, Henry', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 8 May 2013.
- 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life in the 1690s', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 23–38.
- Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).
- Holman, Peter, and Paul O'Dette, 'Dowland, John', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 5 May 2013.
- Holst, Imogen, ed., *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: Essays on his Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).
- Hornsby, Clare, ed, *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (London: British School at Rome, 2000).
- Houghton, Walter E., Jr., 'The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century: Part I', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 (1942), 51–73.
- Howarth, David, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
- Howarth, R. G., ed., *Letters and the Second Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1932).

- Hultsch, Anne, 'The "Artificial Sceane": The Re-Creation of Italian Architecture in John Evelyn's Diary, in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 137–47.
- Hume, Robert D., 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 487–533.
- Hunter, David. *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703–1726: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1997).
- 'Music', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. v, ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 750–61.
- Hutton, Ronald, *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- 'The Religion of Charles II', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 228–46.
- Irving, David R. M., 'The Dissemination and Use of European Music Books in Early Modern Asia', *Early Music History*, 28 (2009), 39–59.
- Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 'Lully in Siam: Music and Diplomacy in French–Siamese Cultural Exchanges, 1680–1690', *Early Music*, 40 (2012), 393–420.
- Izon, John, 'Italian Musicians at the Tudor Court', *The Musical Quarterly* 44, (1958), 329–37.
- Jacobsen, Helen, 'Luxury Consumption, Cultural Politics, and the Career of the Earl of Arlington, 1660–1685', *The Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 295–317.
- Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Jenkinson, Matthew, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660–1685*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).
- Jenkys, Henry, *The Remains of Thomas Cranmer, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury*, 4 vols., vol. i (Oxford: University Press, 1833).
- Johnson, Samuel, *A Dictionary of the English Language: in which the Words are Deduced from their Originals, and Illustrated in their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers*, 2 vols. (London, 1755).
- Jones, Andrew V., *The Motets of Carissimi*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982).
- 'Carissimi's "Arion Romanus": A Source Study', *Music & Letters*, 69 (1988), 151–210.
- Jones, Simon, 'The Legacy of the "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 553–68.

- 'The "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis: An Exploration of his Life, his Works for the Violin and his Performing Style (PhD thesis, University of York, 2003).
- Jürgensen, Knud Arne, 'Il baletto Italiano nella Copenhagen del secolo xviii', in *Prima la danza! Festschrift für Sibylle Dahms*, ed. by Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, Daniel Brandenburg, and Monika Woitas (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004), 163–88.
- Keay, Anna, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Continuum, 2008)
- Keefe, Simon P., ed., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Kerman, Joseph, 'Elizabethan Anthologies of Italian Madrigals', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 4 (1951), 122–38.
- Kircher, Athanasius, *Musurgia universalis, sive ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1650).
- Kisby, Fiona, 'Minstrels in the City and Suburbs of Early Tudor London: Professional Activities and Private Interests', *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 199–219.
- Kjellberg, Erik, ed., *The Dissemination of Music in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Celebrating the Düben Collection: Proceedings from the International Conference at Uppsala University 2006* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010).
- Knighton, C. S., 'Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/21906>, accessed 12 September 2012.
- Kristeva, Julia, *Sémeiotiké* (Paris: Ed. Du Seuil, 1969).
- Krummel, Donald W., 'Oblong Format in Early Music Books', *The Library*, s5-XXVI (1971), 312–24.
- English Music Printing, 1553–1700*, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975).
- 'Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop: The Robert Martin Catalogues, 1633–50', in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. by Oliver Neighbour, (London: Bingley, 1980), 1–27.
- La Gorce, Jérôme de, 'Lully', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 4 October 2013.
- Lake, Peter, and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
- Lassels, Richard, *The Voyage of Italy, or, a Compleat Journey through Italy in Two Parts*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1670).
- Laurain-Portemer, Madeleine, 'La politique artistique de Mazarin', in *Colloquio italo-francese Il Cardinale Mazzarino in Francia* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1977), 41–76.
- Lawes, Henry, *Ayres and Dialogues, for One, Two, and Three Voyces* (London, 1653).

- Lawrence, W. J., 'Foreign Singers and Musicians at the Court of Charles II', *The Muscial Quarterly*, 9 (1923): 217–25.
- Lebedinski, Ester, "'The Magnificence of the Sublime:'" Carissimi's Music in Restoration England', in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 151–80.
- Leech, Peter, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early music*, 29 (2001), 570–87.
- 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718' (PhD thesis, Anglia Polytechnic University, 2003).
- 'Music and Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 379–400.
- Lewis, Anthony, and Nigel Fortune, eds., *Opera and Church Music, 1630–1750*, New Oxford History of Music, vol. v (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).
- Lewis, Mary S., *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 3 vols. (New York: Garland, 1988).
- Lindgren, Lowell, 'Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705', *Studi musicali*, 11 (1982), 229–48.
- 'The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)', *Studi Musicali*, 25 (1987), 246–380.
- 'Venice, Vivaldi, Vico and Opera in London, 1705–17: Venetian Ingredients in English Pasticci', *Nuovi studi vivaldiani: Edizione e cronologia critica delle opere*, ed. by Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), 633–66.
- 'Critiques of Opera in London, 1705–1719', in *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell'età barocca: atti del V Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secolo XVII, Lovenno di Menaggio (Como), 28–30 giugno 1993=Die italienische Barockoper, ihre Verbreitung in Italien und Deutschland: Beiträge zum Fünften Internationalen Symposium über die Italienische Musik im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Alberto Colzani (Como: A.M.I.S., 1995), 143–65.
- 'Handel's London–Italian Musicians and Librettists', in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. by Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 78–91.
- 'The Great Influx of Italians and Their Instrumental Music into London, 1701–1710', in *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica: nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita: atti del Congresso internazionale di studi, Fusignano, 11–14 settembre 2003*, ed. by Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio and Stefano La Via (Firenze: Olschki, 2007), 419–84.
- Lincoln, Stoddard, 'J. E. Galliard and "A Critical Discourse"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 53 (1967), 347–64.

- Locke, Matthew, *Melothesia, or, Certain General Rules for Playing Upon a Continued-Bass* (London, 1673).
- Lockwood, Lewis, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).
- Lovell, Percy, ‘Ancient’ Music in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Music & Letters*, 60 (1979), 401–15.
- Lovro, Županović, ‘Sebenico, Giovanni’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 12 September 2013.
- Lucca, Valeria de, “‘Dalle sponde del Tebro alle rive dell’Adria’”: Maria Mancini and Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna’s Patronage of Music and Theatre Between Rome and Venice (1659–1675)’ (PhD thesis, University of Princeton, 2009).
- Luckett, Richard, ‘Music’, in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Robert Latham (London: Bell & Hyman, 1983), vol. x, 258–82.
- Mabbett, Margaret, ‘Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90)’, *Music & Letters*, 67 (1986), 237–47.
- Maczak, Antoni, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. by Ursula Phillips (Cambridge: Polity, 1995).
- Massip, Catherine, ‘La collection musicale Toulouse-Philidor à la Bibliothèque Nationale’, *Fontes artis musicae*, 30 (1983), 184–207.
- Mattheson, Johann, *Der Vollkommene Kapellmeister* (1739).  
*Der Brauchbare Virtuoso* (Hamburg, 1720).
- McIntyre, C.S., ‘Brouncker, William, Second Viscount Brouncker of Lyons (1620–1684)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/3597>, accessed 3 October 2013.
- McGeary, Thomas, ‘Opera and British Nationalism, 1700–1711’, *Revue LISA/LISA e-journal*, 4 (2006; published electronically 22 October 2009), <<http://lisa.revues.org/2067>>.  
‘Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England’  
*Philological Quarterly*, 77 (1998), 171–86.
- McGowan, Margaret M., ‘The Origins of French Opera’, in *Opera and Church Music 1630–1750*, ed. by Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune, New Oxford History of Music, vol. v (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 169–205.
- McGuinness, Rosamond, ‘Musical Provocation in Eighteenth-Century London: The “British Apollo”’, *Music & Letters*, 68 (1987), 333–42.
- Meconi, Honey, ‘Does Imitatio Exist?’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), 152–78.
- Middleton, L. M., rev. Susan Wollenberg, ‘Estwick, Sampson (1656/7–1739)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/8898>, accessed 8 October 2014.

- Miller, John, *Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991).
- ‘Howard, Henry, Sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628–1684)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/13907>, accessed 27 December 2011.
- Miller, Leta E., ‘John Birchensha and the Early Royal Society: Grand Scales and Scientific Composition’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115 (1990), 63–79.
- Miller, Leta E., and Albert Cohen, *Music in the Royal Society of London, 1660–1806* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1987).
- Miller, Stephen R., ‘Foggia, Francesco’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 11 May 2013.
- John Milsom, ‘The Nonsuch Music Library’, in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (London: The British Library, 1993), 146–82.
- Milsom, John, ed., *The Christ Church Library Music Catalogue* (Christ Church College Library, 2004–11), <<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music>>, accessed 19 September 2011–3 December 2014.
- Milton, Anthony, ‘Laud, William (1573–1645)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/16112>, accessed 7 February 2013.
- Moe, Bjarke, ‘Italian Music at the Danish Court During the Reign of Christian IV: Presenting a Picture of Cultural Transformation’, *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 38 (2010/11), 15–32.
- Morehen, John, ‘The Sources of English Cathedral Music’ (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969).
- Morelli, Arnaldo, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell’oratorio dei Filippini in Roma, 1575–1705* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991).
- ‘L’archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento. Una ricostruzione’, *Fonti Musicale Italiane*, 2 (1997), 37–67.
- Morley, Thomas, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke Set Downe in Forme of a Dialogue* (London, 1597).
- Mortoft, Francis, *Francis Mortoft: His Book. Being His Travels through France and Italy, 1658–1659*, ed. by Malcolm Henry Iki Letts (London, 1925).
- Muckelbauer, John, ‘Imitation and Invention in Antiquity: An Historical-Theoretical Revision,’ *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 21 (2003), 61–88.
- Muir, Edward, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: Sceptics, Libertines, and Opera* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
- Müller-Blattau Joseph, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926).



- Mulligan, Lotte, 'Hill, Abraham (bap. 1635, d. 1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/13265>, accessed 4 October 2013.
- Murata, Margaret, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981).
- 'Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of its Place in Society', in *Atti del xiv congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. by Angelo Pompilio (Torino: EDT, 1991), 272–84.
- 'Why the First Opera Given in Paris Wasn't Roman', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 7 (1995), 87–105.
- Musica Romana D. D. Foggiae, Charissimi, Gratiani, aliorumque excellentissimorum authorum, hactenus tribus duntaxat vocibus decantata, nunc verò ad plurimorum instatiam duobus instrumentis, vulgò violinis as libitum exornata & aucta per R. P. Spiridionem à monte Carmeli* (Bamberg, 1665).
- Neighbour, Oliver, ed., *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King* (London: Bingley, 1980).
- Newcomb, Anthony, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579–1597* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).
- North, Roger, *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the Years c.1695–1728*, ed. by John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959).
- Roger North's the Musically Grammarian, 1728*, ed. by Mary Chan and Jamie Croy Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Oberzaucher-Schüller, Gunhild, Daniel Brandenburg, and Monika Woitas, eds., *Prima la danza! Festschrift für Sibylle Dahms* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004).
- Onorati, Ugo, 'Un contributo alla biografia del Bonifacio Graziani', in *Strenna dei romanisti: Natale di Roma* 71, (2010), 497–512.
- Pace, Benedetto, ed., *Motetti d'autori eccellentissimi, a 2. 3. 4. 5. e 6. voci con un Laudate à 3 & un Confitebor à 4 & un Dialogo A quattro in ultimo. Seconda raccolta di D. Benedetto Pace* (Loreto, 1646).
- Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da, *Ioannis Petraloysii Praenestini motetorum quinque vocibus. Liber quintus. Nunc denuo in lucem aeditus* (Venice, 1601).
- Festorum totius anni cum communi sanctorum quaternis vocibus a Ioanne Petro Aloysio Praenestino aedita. Liber primus* (Rome, 1622).
- Parry, Graham, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Peacham, Henry, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 2nd edn. (London, 1634).
- Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: Bell & Hyman, 1970–83).
- Phillips, Edward, *The New World of English Words: Or, a General Dictionary* (London, 1658).

- Pignani, Girolamo. *Il Cadmo, introduttione d'un giocoso combattimento è balletto rappresentato in musica* (Copenhagen, 1663).
- Scelta di canzonette de piu autori [sic!]* (London, 1679).
- Pinto, David, 'The Music of the Hattons', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), 79–108.
- Playford, Henry, ed. *Harmonia Sacra: or, Divine Hymns and Dialogues* (London, 1693).
- Playford, John, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, ed. by Christopher Simpson and Thomas Campion, 4th edn. (London, 1664).
- Poggioli, Giovanni, ed., *Scelta di motetti de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Rome, 1647).
- Delectus Sacrarum Cantionum* (Antwerp, 1652) [reprint of above].
- Pollmann, Judith, "'Hey Ho, Let the Cup Go Round!'" Singing for Reformation in the Sixteenth Century', in *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Heinz Schilling and Istvan György Tóth, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Robert Muchembled, vol. i (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 294–316.
- Pomian, Krzysztof, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. by Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).
- Pompilio, Angelo, ed., *Atti del xiv congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale* (Torino: EDT, 1991).
- Porter, James, ed., *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the 17th Century* (Bern: Lang, 2007).
- Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Price, Curtis A., 'The Small-Coal Cult', *The Musical Times*, 119 (1978), 1032–34.
- Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Prunières, Henry, *L'opéra Italien en France avant Lully* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1975).
- Przybyszewska-Jarmiska, Barbara, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazow* [Music at the Courts of the Polish Vasas] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe "Semper", 2007).
- Puttenham, George, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. by Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Menston: Scolar, 1968).
- Raguenet, Francois A *Comparison between the French and Italian Musick and Opera's* (London, 1709).
- Raymond, John, *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage, Made through Italy, in the Yeare 1646, and 1647* (London, 1648).
- Reddaway, T. F., 'Whitehall Palace', in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Robert Latham, vol. x (London: Bell & Hyman, 1983), 477–84.

- Rietbergen, Peter, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
- Ripin, Edwin M., and Denzil Wraight, 'Zenti, Girolamo', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 23 July 2014.
- Roeck, Bernd, 'Introduction' in *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*, ed. by Herman Roodenburg, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Robert Muchembled, vol. iv (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–29.
- Rolla, Giorgio, ed., *Teatro musicale de Concerti ecclesiastici a due, tre, e quattro voci di diversi celebri e nomati autori con una Messa, Antifone et Letanie della B. Virgine Maria nuovamente esposto alla luce da Giorgio Rolla musico milanese* (Milan, 1649).
- Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici à due, trè e quattro voci di diversi celebri, e nomati autori. Con una messa, antifone, & letanie della S. Verg. Maria, di nuovo ristampato, con aggiunta di un Magnificat, e Letanie* (Milan, 1653).
- Roodenburg, Herman, ed., *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Robert Muchembled, vol. iv. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Rosand, Ellen, 'Music in the Myth of Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 30 (1977), 511–37.
- Rose, Gloria, 'Pietro Reggio: A Wandering Musician', *Music & Letters*, 46 (1965), 207–16.
- Giacomo Carissimi, 1605–1674: A Thematic Catalogue of his Cantatas*, The Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series, vol. fasc. 5 (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1966).
- Rose, Gloria, and Mary E. Frandsen, 'Albrici, Bartolomeo', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 23 October 2013.
- Rose, Stephen, 'Music in the Market-Place', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Tim Carter, John Butt and Stephen Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 55–87.
- 'The Musical Map of Europe', in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3–26.
- 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music: A Case Study in Authorship, Style and Judgement', in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 181–200.
- Rose, Stephen, ed., *Leipzig Church Music from the Sherard Collection: Eight Works by Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle, and Johann Kuhnau*, Collegium Musicum: Yale University, vol. 20 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2014).

- Rosselli, John, 'The Castrati as a Professional Group and a Social Phenomenon, 1550–1850', *Acta Musicologica*, 60 (1988), 143–79.
- 'From Princely Service to the Open Market: Singers of Italian Opera and Their Patrons, 1600–1850', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 1 (1989), 1–32.
- Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Ruffatti, Alessio, 'Les cantates de Luigi Rossi (1597–1653) en France: diffusion et réception dans le contexte Européen' (PhD thesis, Università degli studi de Padova and Université de Paris 4 Sorbonne, 2006).
- “‘Curiosi e bramosi l’oltramontani cercano con grande diligenza in tutti i luoghi’”: la cantata romana del Seicento in Europa', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 13 (2008). <<http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/ruffatti.html>>.
- Rydén, Göran, ed., *Sweden in the Eighteenth-Century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
- Said, Edward W., *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994).
- Sandberger, W. and V. Scherliess, eds., *Text-Kontext-Rezeption. Zum 300. Todestag von Dietrich Buxtehude. Konferenzbericht Lübeck 2007* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011).
- Sanna, Alberto, 'Learning from “the Most Fam’d Italian Masters”': Sonata Composition in the Seventeenth Century', in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Jonathan Wainwright (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 43–90.
- Sartori, Claudio, *I libretti italiani a stampa, dalle origini a 1800: catalogo analitico con 16 indice*, 7 vols. (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–94).
- Schofield, Bertram and Thurston Dart, 'Tregian's Anthology', *Music & Letters*, 32 (1951), 205–16.
- Schildt, Maria, 'Gustav Düben at Work: Musical Repertory and Practice of Swedish Court Musicians, 1663–1690' (PhD thesis, Uppsala University, 2014).
- Schilling, Heinz, and Istvan György Tóth, eds., *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, vol. i (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Scott, Jonathan, 'England's Troubles 1603–1702', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20–38.
- Silvestris, Florido de, ed., *Floridus Conventus Sacras continens laudes a celeberrimis Musices eruditus Auctoribus, Binis, Ternis, Quaternis Quinisque Vocibus suavissimis modulibus concinnatas. Quas in unum collegit R. Floridus Canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano* (Rome, 1643).
- R. Floridus Canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano, Has alteras sacras Cantiones in unum ab ipso collectas, suavissimis modulibus ab excellentissimis Auctoribus Concinnatas binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus Curavit in Lucem edendas* (Rome, 1645).

*R. Floridus Canonicus de Sylvestis a Barbarano Florida Verba a Celeberrimis Musices Auctoribus Binis, Ternis, Quaternisque Vocibus suavissimis modulis Concinnata. Curavit in lucem edendas. Superiorum Permissu* (Rome, 1648; Venice, 1649).

*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvetris a Barbarano has quatuor missas ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus suavissimis modulibus quatuor, quinque et octo vocibus concinnatas curavit in lucem edendas* (Rome, 1651).

*Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barabano has sacras cantiones ab excellentissimis musicae auctoribus, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus suavissimis modulibus concinnatas in lucem denuo curavit edendas* (Rome, 1652).

*R. Floridus Canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano. Has alias Cantiones sacras ab Excellentissimis Musices Auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus suavissimis modulibus concinnatas, in lucem edendas curavit* (Rome, 1654).

*R. Floridus Canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano. Alias Cantiones Sacras ab Excellentissimis Musices Auctoribus Concinnatas suavissimis Modulibus Tribus Vocibus Paribus cum organo in lucem edendas curavit* (Rome, 1655).

*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano alias cantiones sacras ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus concinnatas suavissimis modulibus tribus vocibus cum organo in lucem edendas curavit* (Rotterdam, 1657).

*R. Floridus Canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano has alias sacras Cantiones, ab Excellentissimis musices Auctoribus Suavissimis Modulibus Unica Voce Contextas. In lucem edendas curavit* (Rome, 1659).

*R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano. Psalmos istos ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus suavissimis modulibus tribus diversis vocibus concinnatos in lucem edendos curavit* (Rome, 1662).

*R. Floridus Canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano Has alteras Sacrae Cantiones, ab Excellentissimis Musices Auctoribus Suavissimis Modulibus Unica Voce Contextas, in lucem edendas curavit. Pars Secunda* (Rome, 1663).

Shadwell, Thomas, *The Virtuoso*, The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. by Montague Summers, 5 vols., vol. ii (London: Fortune, 1927).

Shapin, Steven, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

“‘A Scholar and a Gentleman:’ The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early Modern England”, *History of Science*, 29 (1991), 279–327.

Shay, Robert, ‘Henry Purcell and “Ancient” Music in Restoration England’ (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991).

“‘Naturalizing’ Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions’, *Music & Letters*, 77 (1996), 368–400.

‘Aldrich, Henry’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 9 October 2014.

- Shay, Robert, and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Shigihara, Susanne, 'Bonifazio Graziani (1604/5–1664): Biographie, Werkverzeichnis und Untersuchungen zu den Solomotetten' (PhD thesis, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1984).
- Short, Roger, 'Morelli, Cesare', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 12 September 2012.
- Smith, Florence Mary, *Mary Astell* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916).
- Smither, Howard E., *A History of the Oratorio*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).
- Smuts, R. Malcolm, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).
- 'Introduction', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1–19.
- 'Art and Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England' in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 86–112.
- Smuts, R. Malcolm, ed., *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Souden, David 'Nourse, Timothy (c.1636–1699)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/20376>, accessed 7 April 2012.
- Spagnoli, Gina, ed., *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz, 1656–1672: An Annotated Translation* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1990).
- Spink, Ian, 'Angelo Notari and his "Prime Musiche Nuove"', *Monthly Musical Record*, 87 (1957), 168–77.
- 'Playford's "Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner"', *Monthly Musical Record*, July-August (1959), 130–35.
- English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (London: Batsford, 1974).
- Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Restoration Cathedral Music 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).
- 'Lanier', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 31 March 2015.
- 'Porter, Walter', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 31 March 2015.
- Spurr, John, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', *The English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), 927–46.
- Stefani, Gino, *Musica e religione nell' Italia barocca* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1975).
- Stein, Beverly Ann, *Between Key and Mode: Tonal Practice in the Music of Giacomo Carissimi* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 2002).

- Stolzenberg, Daniel, ed., *The Great Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).
- Stoker, David, 'Harley, Edward, Second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <10.1093/ref:odnb/12337>, accessed 9 October 2014.
- Strunk, Oliver, *Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era*, (New York: Norton, 1950)
- Strunk, Oliver, and Leo Treitler, eds., *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1998).
- Suarez, Michael F., and Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. v (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Sundström, Einar, 'Notiser om drottning Kristinas italienska musiker', *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 43 (1961), 297–309.
- Swann, Marjorie, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).
- Temperley, Nicholas, 'Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 2 February 2012.
- The By-Laws of the Musical Society at the Castle Tavern, in Pater-Noster-Row* (London, 1731)
- The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, vol. v (London, 1744).
- The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, 2nd edn., vol. vi (London, 1772).
- Thomas, William, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1549).
- Thompson, Robert, 'Goodson, Richard (i)', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 7 May 2012.
- 'Lowe, Edward', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 10 October 2014.
- 'Sources and Transmisson', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 13–63.
- Tilmouth, Michael, 'Nicola Matteis', *The Musical Quarterly*, 46 (1960), 22–40.
- 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 1–107.
- Timms, Colin, 'Steffani and the Academy of Ancient Music', *The Musical Times*, 119 (1978), 127–30.
- Tippett, Michael, 'Our Sense of Continuity in English Drama and Music', in *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: Essays on his Music*, ed. by Imogen Holst (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 42–51.

- Trevelyan, G. M., *England under the Stuarts* (London: Methuen, 1965).
- Turnbull, Edward, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8 (1955), 203–07.
- Tyacke, Nicholas, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
- Tyacke, Nicholas, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford. Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).
- Uglow, Jennifer, *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration, 1660–1670* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009).
- Vander Motten, J. P., 'Killigrew, Thomas (1612–1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/15538>, accessed 18 November 2013.
- Wade, Mara R., *Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus: German Court Culture and Denmark: The "Great Wedding" of 1634* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1996).
- Wainwright, Jonathan, 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), 109–24.
- Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997).
- 'The Dissemination and Influence of Monteverdi's Music in England in the Seventeenth Century', in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das internationale Symposium, Detmold 1993*, ed. by Joachim Steinheuer and Silke Leopold (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 105–21.
- 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford', in *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on his Life, Times, and Work*, ed. by Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 121–42.
- 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', *Music & Letters*, 89 (2008), 165–94.
- Walls, Peter, 'The Influence of the Italian Violin School in 17th-Century England', *Early Music*, 18 (1990), 575–87.
- Wanko, Cheryl, 'Knipp, Elizabeth [Mary] (d. 1680x82)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/15751>, accessed 3 October 2013.
- Wanley, Humfrey, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715–1726*, ed. by Cyril Wright and Ruth Cadogan Wright (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966).
- Wanley, Humfrey, David Casley, Francis Douce, William Hocker, Charles Morton and Stebbing Shaw, eds., *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts... Preserved in the British Museum* (London, 1759–63; reprinted 1808–12).
- Warnecke, Berthold, *Kaspar Förster der Jüngere (1616–1673) und die europäische Stilvielfalt im 17. Jahrhundert* (Schneverdingen: Wagner, 2004).
- Warneke, Sara, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).



- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
- Webber, Geoffrey, 'Italian Music at the Court of Queen Christina', *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning/Swedish Journal of Musicology*, 75 (1993), 47–53.
- Weber, William, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).
- West, Shearer, ed., *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Westrup, Jack Allen, 'Foreign Musicians in Stuart England', *The Musical Quarterly*, 27 (1941), 70–89.
- White, Allan, 'Howard, Philip [*name in religion* Thomas] (1629–1694)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/13930>, accessed 6 November 2014.
- Whiteley, D. Pepys, 'My Friend the Merchant', *History Today*, 15 (1965), 576–81.
- Whitlocke, Bulstrode, *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitlocke, 1605–1675*, ed. by Ruth Spalding (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Willets, Pamela J., 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 24 (1961), 71–75.
- Wiley Hitchcock, H., 'Charpentier, Marc-Antoine', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 5 May 2013.
- Wilson, John, *All the King's Ladies: Actresses of the Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).
- Wilton-Ely, John, "'Classic Ground": Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 28 (2004), 136–65.
- Wilton, Andrew, and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996).
- Wolff, Christoph, 'Bach and the Tradition of the Palestrina Style' in *Bach: Essays on Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 84–194.
- Wollenberg, Susan, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Wollny, Peter, 'Parodie, Imitatio und Aemulatio in der geistlichen Vokalmusik von Dietrich Buxtehude', in *Text-Kontext-Rezeption. Zum 300. Todestag von Dietrich Buxtehude. Konferenzbericht Lübeck 2007*, ed. by W. Sandberger and V. Scherliess (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011), 89–109.
- Wood, Anthony, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii (Oxford, 1769).
- The Life of Anthony à Wood from the Year 1632 to 1672*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford, [1772]).

Wood, Bruce, 'Blow, John', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <[www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com)>, accessed 7 February 2013.

Wright, Cyril, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1972).

Wynne, S. M., 'Gwyn, Eleanor (1651?–1687)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: <[10.1093/ref:odnb/11816](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11816)>, accessed 13 December 2013.

# Appendix I

## Table of Manuscript Sources

Shelfmark	Date	Hand(s)	Provenance	Rep.	Format
<i>Bu</i> MS 5002	late 17	Edward Hull, Richard Goodson Sr, et al.	unknown English	English/Latin/Italian	2o score
<i>Cfm</i> MS 129	early 18	unidentified Italian	Andrea Adami de Bolsena/Hooker/Fitzwilliam	Cantatas (Stradella)	score 16x22 cm
<i>Cfm</i> MS 153 [Layer 1]	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin	score 19x25 cm
<i>Cfm</i> MS 209	after 1675	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin	score 33x25 cm
<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
<i>Cfm</i> MS 48	c.1676	unidentified Italian?	Italy (Asnaldi)/Fitzwilliam	Latin oratorio (Stradella)	score 23x33 cm
<i>Ckc</i> MS Rowe 206	c.1704	Nicola Haym?	unknown/William Boyce	Latin/Italian (Haym, Stradella, Carissimi)	oblong 4o score
<i>Ckc</i> MS Rowe 207	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin	4o score
<i>Cmc</i> MS Pepys 2803	1675–82	Cesare Morelli	Samuel Pepys	Latin	2o score
<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	late 17	Francis Smith?	Oxford/New College?	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score

<i>Lam</i> MS 43	late 17	Francis Smith? et. al.	Oxford/Christ Church	Italian/Latin	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 17835 [Layer 1]	c.1690–98	Francis Smith et. al.	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin (Carissimi et al)	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 22099	early 18	unidentified	England	Mixed	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 22100	c.1682	John Walter	England/Gilbert Dolben/James Hart	Mixed	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 22104	c.1700	unidentified Italian	Rome/British Library	Italian (Stradella, Bononcini)	4o obl. score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin	4o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29397	1682–1690	Daniel Henstridge	Oxford/Daniel Henstridge	English	12o obl. score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	1670–90	Henry Bowman et. al.	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31461	early 18	Daniel Purcell; James Kent; unidentified	unkown English	English (anthems)	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31473	late 17–early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Italian (cantata)	4o obl. score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31476	1678–88	unidentified	London/Catholic chapel	Latin (Fede, Carissimi, Steffani)	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31479	1638–46/1670s	George Jeffreys	Oxford/Jeffreys/Hatton	Italian	2o partbooks
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31480	late 17	unidentified Italian; unidentified English	Italy/James II catholic chapel?	Latin	4o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31487	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/J. Pears/ Oxford?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31488	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/Charterhouse auctions 1817	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score

<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31518	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	1690s	William Husbands; Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 63626	late 17–early 18	unidentified English	England/Stoneleigh Abbey	Mixed	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 78416 C	c.1645	unidentified Italian	Rome/John Evelyn	Latin	4o score
<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	1678–82	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2961	c.1697	unidentified Italian	Rome/Henriette Scott	Italian (cantatas)	8o obl. score
<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2962	c.1697	unidentified Italian	Rome/Henriette Scott	Italian (cantatas)	8o obl. score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1265	late 17	unidentified Italian (Antonio Sardo?); Berenclow Sr	Rome/Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 4o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1266	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian (arias)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1267	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/Harley	Italian (part of operas: Boretti, Pasquini)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1268	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Italian (arias, unattributed)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1269	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Italian (arias, unattributed)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	late 17	Berenclow Sr; Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1271	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley?	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score

<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1272	late 17–early 18	Berenclow Jr; Humfrey Wanley	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	early 18	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	late 17	Berenclow Sr; Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 4899	c.1697	unidentified English	Oxford?/Humfrey Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian/instrumen tal	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7549	mid-17	unidentified English	England/John Holles 1694/Harley	Italian (earlier styles)	4o obl. melody only
<i>Ob</i> Mus.c.590	late 17–early 18	Sampson Estwick	Oxford	Latin/Italian (Carissimi, Grazinai, Bassani)	2o score
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.11	c.1680?	Edward Lowe; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (English + Roman)	2o score
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	before 1682	Edward Lowe; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.204 (ff. 50–68)	c.1670–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford	Carissimi ( <i>Jephthe</i> )	2o performing parts
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	before 1682	Edward Lowe; Matthew Hutton; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks

<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	c.1675–82; c.1690–98	Edward Lowe; Francis Smith; Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o score
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1226 (Layer 2)	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	after 1661	unidentified English	unkown English	Latin (Graziani)	2o score
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	c.1690–98	Francis Smith et. al.	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 579–80	c.1700	unidentified Italian	unknown Italian	Latin (Stradella)	8o obl. score
<i>Och</i> Mus.1210	late 17	unidentified/Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o bc part
<i>Och</i> Mus.1215(8)	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Christ Church	Italian (Carissimi)	2o fragment
<i>Och</i> Mus.13	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score
<i>Och</i> Mus.14	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin/Italian	2o score
<i>Och</i> Mus.17	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/Italian	2o score
<i>Och</i> Mus.18	before 1670?	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Mixed	2o score
<i>Och</i> Mus.23	late 17	Edward Lowe; Richard Goodson Sr; Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford (Goodson)	French/English/Latin	2o score
<i>Och</i> Mus.350	c.1675–90 [before 1677?]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+bc)
<i>Och</i> Mus.37 (pp. 1–24)	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score

<i>Och Mus.377</i>	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
<i>Och Mus.4</i>	early 18	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Latin	2o score
<i>Och Mus.43</i>	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Henry Bowman	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin	2o score
<i>Och Mus.46</i>	early 18	unidentified	Oxford (Goodson)	English	2o? organ book
<i>Och Mus.48</i>	late 17–early 18	Richard Goodson Sr/unidentified/Henry Aldrich/John Church	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin	2o score
<i>Och Mus.49</i> (pp. 152–92)	c.1670–80	Charles Husbands Sr/Edward Lowe/Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (N. Italy)	2o score
<i>Och Mus.51</i>	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
<i>Och Mus.52</i>	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
<i>Och Mus.53</i>	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score
<i>Och Mus.54</i>	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
<i>Och Mus.55</i>	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o score
<i>Och Mus.598</i>	c.1685	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	8o obl. keyboard/melody
<i>Och Mus.623–6</i>	c.1670–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford? (Goodson)	Latin	2o partbooks



<i>Och Mus.7</i>	late 17	Francis Withy; Edward Hull; Edward Lowe; unidentified	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (Graziani)	2o score
<i>Och Mus.83</i>	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin/French	2o score
<i>Och Mus.9</i>	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score
<i>Och Mus.946</i>	c.1650–1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones 1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi et. al.)	obl. 275 x 123 mm, score
<i>Och Mus.947</i>	c.1650–1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones 1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi et. al.)	obl. 275 x 123 mm, score
<i>Och Mus.949</i>	c.1675–1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 285 x 125 mm, score
<i>Och Mus.950</i>	c.1650–1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi, Leopardi, Caproli)	obl. 283 x 113 mm, score
<i>Och Mus.951</i>	c.1650–1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian	obl. 283 x 113 mm, score
<i>Och Mus.953</i>	c.1650–1675	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Caproli)	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
<i>Och Mus.955</i>	after c.1687	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Scarlatti)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score
<i>Och Mus.956</i>	c.1675–1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Luca et. al.)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score

<i>Och Mus.958</i>	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones 1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Farina)	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
<i>Och Mus.959</i>	1670s	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Cesti)	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
<i>Och Mus.993</i>	c.1700	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Goodson)	Italian (Bononcini, Scarlatti)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)
<i>Och Mus.994</i>	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich+Goodson)	Italian (Carissimi)	8o obl. score??
<i>Och Mus.996</i>	c.1652–1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
<i>Och Mus.998</i>	c.1644–1676?	unidentified Italian	Rome (Andreoli)/Christ Church (Goodson)	Italian	4o obl. score
Y M 35/1–13 (S)	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin (Carissimi)	4o bound sets of parts
Y M 36 (S)	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin (Carissimi/Graziani)	2o score
Y M 93 (S)	c.1660–85	unidentified English	unkown English	Latin/English	Organ score

# Appendix II

---

## Description of the Manuscript Sources in Appendix I

### **F Pn Rés.F.934<sup>c</sup>**

Late seventeenth-century 2o score of Carissimi motets. According to Jones in the hand of Francis Smith (*fl.* 1681–98), and with the annotation ‘An Heount of what books I have in my hands / belonging to [...] Music’s meeting : of New : Coll : / Charissimy’s Score of Songs / Bassany’s Score of Songs [...] Symm: / Purcell’s Sonatas / Purcell’s Tunes / Bassany’s Sonatas’, suggesting Oxford provenance. The content is very similar to GB *Lbl* Add. MS 31472, *Ob* Tenbury 335 and *Och* Mus. 53, also in Smith’s hand.<sup>1</sup>

### **Bu MS 5002**

Late seventeenth-century folio volume in several sections which Shay and Thompson have suggested once were different volumes; the three first contains songs by Purcell, Blow, Pelham Humfrey and Matthew Locke copied by among others Edward Hull, Richard Goodson Sr and Ralph Palmer. The fourth section contains Italian songs and Latin motets by Monteverdi, Sances and Carissimi in an unidentified hand.<sup>2</sup>

### **Cfm MS 44**

Italian 2o score of mainly secular music by Stradella, but also featuring Carissimi, Rossi, and Cesti. Also contains a few Latin motets. Dated 1704, but acquired by Fitzwilliam (probably on the continent) in 1769. Sometimes claimed to have the same content as *Lbl* Harley 1264, but the volumes have a mere eight concordances between them.<sup>3</sup>

### **Cfm MS 48**

Italian score (*c.*1676) of Stradella’s *S Giovanni Battista à 5*, acquired by Fitzwilliam in 1769, probably during his sojourn in Paris and thus probably not available in England during the period 1660–1710.

### **Cfm MS 129**

Early eighteenth-century Italian volume of cantatas by Stradella with a binding in red morocco. The binding possibly bears the initials of Andrea Adami da Bolsena (1663–1742). Donated to the Fitzwilliam museum by Emma Jane Hooker (*née* Greenland)

---

<sup>1</sup> See Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 84; also *BnF Catalogue Générale*, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/servlet/biblio?idNoeud=1&ID=39579298&SN1=0&SN2=0&host=catalogue>.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account and inventory of this manuscript, see Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 266–71.

<sup>3</sup> Hughes-Hughes, iii, 294.

in 1836, and thus arguably had no part in the dissemination of Roman vocal music in Restoration England.<sup>4</sup>

### ***Cfm* MS 153 [Layer 1]**

Early eighteenth-century copy of Carissimi's 'Surgamus eamus' by an unidentified scribe, bound together with copies of Cazzati motets in the same hand as copied the first part of *Cfm* Ms 209.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Cfm* MS 209**

Early eighteenth-century English volume of motets by Carissimi (copied from *Sacri concerti musicali* [1675]) and Maurizio Cazzati in two layers, with scribe and paper changing at f. 112; the first half of the source was copied by the same scribe as the second layer of *Cfm* Ms 153. Several motets by Cazzati misattributed to Carissimi.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Ckc* MS Rowe 206**

Large oblong 4o score of Italian cantatas and Latin motets by Carissimi, Bononcini, and Haym, and Stradella's oratorio *S Giovanni Battista*, mainly in the hand of Nicola Haym. Dated December 1704.

### ***Ckc* MS Rowe 207**

Upright 4o score of Carissimi's 'Dicite nobis sanctorum civium' in the hand of Francis Smith, and thus dateable to c.1690–98 when Smith was a singing-man at Christ Church.<sup>7</sup> Bookplate of James Mathias.

### ***Cmc* Pepys MS 2803**

Large upright folio score copied by Cesare Morelli (1660s–1686) for Samuel Pepys. Morelli was in Pepys's service 1675–82. The book contains Carissimi's 'Lucifer caelestis olim' in addition to other English and Italian songs set with guitar tablature, presumably for Pepys to play at home.

### ***Lam* MS 43**

Late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century large upright folio score of motets and arias by Bassani, Stradella, Carissimi and Thomas Tudway. Several scribes were involved in the manuscript: one unidentified copyist copied Bassani motets up to f. 35v, where a second hand (possibly Smith) took over until f. 61v. Yet a third hand copied arias and other vocal works with instrumental accompaniment by 'Segn.r Hugo Wilderer/Mastro di Capella/del Segn.r Elettore Palatino' on f. 62–71v.

At the reverse end of the volume, are two cantatas by Carissimi, one unattributed, one by Tudway, one by Stradella and one by Bononcini. Many hands were involved in these items, sometimes different hands have provided text and music. Jones suggests that the items by Carissimi are in the hand of Francis Smith,

---

<sup>4</sup> See also entry for MS 129 'Cant: Tom. II / Stra.' in the Cambridge University Library Online Catalogue: <<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=ldpfacfmdbl56627>>.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 66.

<sup>6</sup> Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 66–7.

<sup>7</sup> See Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 84; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 313–14.

which is possible but not certain;<sup>8</sup> the signature of Philip Hayes and the date 1757 suggests Oxford provenance, as does the general layout and contents of the manuscript. A list of Bassani motets on the back flyleaf is headed: 'Those with x are in Mr Awbrey's Booke'.

### ***Lbl Add. MS 17835***

Folio score in four layers bound together and paginated continuously. Layer 1 (ff. 2–48v) contains mostly sacred music by Carissimi, Bassani, Stradella and Gianetti, copied by Francis Smith (ff. 9–36) and three unidentified Oxford scribes. The first is responsible for the items on ff. 2–8 and 43–45, a second for the Bassani motets on ff. 36v–42v, and a third for the Gianetti duet at the end of the layer. The presence of Smith's hand suggests that this layer dates from the mid-1690s.<sup>9</sup> The content corresponds closely to that of *Lbl Add. MS 31472*, *Och Mus. 13*, *Och Mus. 53* and *Ob Tenbury 335*.<sup>10</sup>

The second layer (ff. 49–86) contains a much later copy a Carissimi mass based on the cantata *Sciolto havean dall' alte sponde*, copied in black ink on printed music paper. Layer 3 (ff. 87–88) consists of the motet 'Anima mea in aeterna' by Edigio Trabbattone (but attributed to Carissimi) copied in a different hand on ruled music paper which is slightly smaller than the pages in the rest of the volume. Finally, layer 4 (ff. 89–141) contains Purcell's *Celebrate this Festival* ((1693) ff. 89–110r), Blow's *Te Deum* (ff. 110v–125r) and *Jubilate* (ff. 125v–133), and *An Ode Compos'd for the Queen's Birthday* (ff. 134–41) by Thomas Tudway. Scribal concordances with *Lbl Add. MS 17840* suggest that this layer dates from the mid-1690s.<sup>11</sup>

### ***Lbl Add. MS 22099***

Early eighteenth-century large upright folio containing anthems, popular tunes and drinking songs by composers such as John Weldon, Purcell, John Blow, and Orlando Gibbons, mixed with Italian and Latin pieces by Graziani, Bassani, Steffani, and Corelli, copied by a number of unidentified hands.

### ***Lbl Add. MS 22100***

Folio volume of English songs and anthems, dated c.1682, in the hand of John Walter. The volume also contains Carissimi's 'Lucifer caelestis olim'. Inscription on f. 151v (reversed): 'Mr Dolbin's Book / Anno domini 1681/2', referring to Sir Gilbert Dolben (1658–1722), a steward of the 1684 St Cecilia celebrations. On f. 150v (reversed) is written: 'Mr James Hart / Mr Dolbin's Booke'.<sup>12</sup>

### ***Lbl Add. MS 29292***

Upright 4o of Latin motets by the Ercole Bernabei, Domenico Pellegrini, Carissimi and Foggia for soprano and figured bass, copied in one Italian hand throughout. Inscription on verso of front flyleaf 'From the collection of Mr Jos: Kelway'

---

<sup>8</sup> Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 68.

<sup>9</sup> Jones suggests that folios 2–36 are all in Smith's hand. See Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 84.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>11</sup> See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 152-3.

<sup>12</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 169.

referring to the English organist Joseph Kelway (c.1702–1782). After Kelway, the manuscript passed to Thomas Beaver.

### ***Lbl Add. MS 29397***

Oblong 12o score, Daniel Henstridge's pocket manuscript containing songs John Blow, Henry Purcell, Captain Pack, Henry Aldrich, Matthew Locke, and others, and also 'Dite o cieli si crudeli' by Rossi, and 'Ecco l'alba luminosa' by Carissimi. Rebecca Herissone has suggested that some of the music was transcribed during performances.<sup>13</sup>

### ***Lbl Ad. MS 30382***

Small folio score containing English songs and anthems by John Blow, Henry Bowman, Richard Deering, Henry Lawes, Henry Purcell and Michael Wise, and Latin motets by Giacomo Carissimi, Gasparo Casati, Francesco Maria Marini, Natale Monferrato, Silvestro [Durante], and Giovanni Rovetta. All items are in the hand of Henry Bowman (fl. c.1669–85), but possibly copied separately and only subsequently bound together. Also contains 'Amante che dite' by Carissimi. Inscription 'Katherine Sedley sole daughter and heyre of Sr Charles Sedley of South fleet in Kent Baronet'.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Lbl Add. MS 31460***

Early eighteenth-century oblong 4o ('organ book format') containing a large number of motets by Giovanni Felice Sances and a few items by Graziani and Carissimi, in addition to English anthems for a single voice, in the hand of Henry Bowman and six unidentified scribes. Among the Italian pieces there are multiple concordances with Henry Bowman's collection in Egerton 2960. Notes on f. 1 show that the volume belonged first to William and then to Philip Hayes, and also provide an outline of Christ Church organists from Simon Child until the late eighteenth century. The verso contains a biography of William Child.<sup>15</sup>

### ***Lbl Add. MS 31461***

Late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century 2o score of anthems by Daniel Purcell copied by himself 'London E', and James Kent (1700–1776) of Trinity College, Cambridge. The volume also features Casati's 'Bone Jesu, verbum patris', possibly in Kent's hand, and Rossi 'Dite o cieli si crudeli'.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Lbl Add. MS 31472***

Large 2o score in the hand of Francis Smith (fl. 1681–98), probably dating 1690s. The volume is entirely dedicated to works by Carissimi; all items except the trio 'Amante che dite' are Latin motets, structured after the number of voices required. The content corresponds closely to that of *Lbl Add. MS 17835*, *Och Mus. 13*, *Och*

---

<sup>13</sup> Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 361, 377–83.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed account and inventory, see Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), 239–42.

<sup>15</sup> See further, Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 251–3.

<sup>16</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 241, 317. Hughes-Hughes, i, 50, 294.

Mus. 53 and *Ob* Tenbury 335. The table of contents and attributions to ‘Carissime’ are also in Smith’s hand.<sup>17</sup>

### ***Lbl* Add. MS 31473**

Late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century Italian oblong 4o score of Carissimi’s cantata *Sciolto havean dall’ alte sponde* (‘I naviganti’). Roman cantata manuscript, with elaborate initials.

### ***Lbl* Add. MS 31476**

2o score containing Latin music by Carissimi, Monferrato, Steffani, and Innocenzo Fede, which Peter Leech has suggested was copied between 1678 and 1688 and associated with the Stuart Catholic chapel.<sup>18</sup>

### ***Lbl* Add. MS 31479**

Mid-17th-century set of partbooks containing motets in the hand of George Jeffries. Jonathan Wainwright suggests that the majority of the music it was copied in Oxford from printed editions belonging to the Hatton family between 1638 and 1646, with items by Carissimi probably added in the 1670s.<sup>19</sup>

### ***Lbl* Add. MS 31480**

Late seventeenth-century upright 4o containing fragments of Latin motets by among other Cesti and Fede in Italian hands; Leech suggests that the volumes is associated with James II’s Catholic chapel.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Lbl* Add. MS 31487**

Italian late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century oblong 2o score containing secular cantatas by Melani, Stradella, Scarlatti and Bononcini. Has inscriptions on the verso of the front flyleaf: ‘E. Libris J Pears’ and ‘ex aula B.M.V./ Oxon’. A comment on the initial page of Melani’s: ‘All armi pensieri’ says ‘Nato a Pistoja nell 1672 maestro di capella nella chiesa francese di St Luigi a Roma en 1698’.

### ***Lbl* Add. MS 31488**

Same kind of late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century Italian oblong 2o volume as Add. MS 31487 above, containing cantatas by Carissimi (*Sciolto havean dall’ alte sponde*), Stradella, Scarlatti, Bononcini and Gregorio Cola.

### ***Lbl* Add. MS 31518**

Early eighteenth-century Italian oblong 2o score of cantatas by Scarlatti, Bononcini, and Piombi.

---

<sup>17</sup> See also Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 83–4. See also Appendix III.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Leech, ‘Music and Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688’, *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 379–400 (392); Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 69.

<sup>19</sup> Jonathan Wainwright, ‘George Jeffreys’ Copies of Italian Music’, *RMA Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), 109–24; *Musical Patronage*, 254–60; Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 69–75.

<sup>20</sup> Leech, ‘Catholic Chapel of James II’, 390.

### **Lbl Add. MS 33234**

Upright folio score copied by Charles Morgan of Magdalen College (Oxford) c.1682–92: has Morgan's signature and the date 1682 on the front flyleaf. The collection contains English songs and anthems by Purcell, Blow, Locke and a number of other English composers, alongside Italian items chiefly by Carissimi, Gasparo Casati, Graziani, Natale Monferrato (whose compositions are frequently misattributed to Bassani in the manuscript), Giovanni Felice Sances and Alessandro Stradella. Notably, the Roman pieces by Carissimi, Graziani and Stradella are in the minority compared to those by the previous generation of north Italian composers. Shay and Thompson has suggested that this collection represents the performing repertory of the Mermaid Club in Oxford.<sup>21</sup>

### **Lbl Add. MS 33235**

Upright folio score containing very similar repertoire to Lbl Add. MS 33234: anthems and songs by English composers such as Purcell, Blow, Gibbons and Pelham Humfrey, in addition to Italian and Latin pieces by Casati, Rovetta, Monferrato (frequently misattributed to Bassani), Rossi, Carissimi and Graziani. The first folios are in the hand of William Husbands, but there is some uncertainty about the main scribe: Wainwright suggests Richard Goodson Sr, whereas Shay and Thompson argue Simon Child:<sup>22</sup> to me the hand (in particular the clefs) looks more similar to Goodson's than Child's. However, the volume once belonged to Simon Child, as suggested by a note by Philip Hayes on f. 2 of the volume: 'This is one of the books I purchased of Mr. Simon Child's widdow at Oxford. N.B. he was organist of new Coll: in that university'.<sup>23</sup> Like Lbl Add. MS 33234 above, this manuscript may reflect the musical interests of the Mermaid Club.

### **Lbl Add. MS 63626**

Upright folio score containing anthems by Child and Aldrich, and theatre music by Purcell for bass voice and bass/figured bass. Also contains Carissimi's 'Lucifer caelestis olim'. Part of the Stoneleigh Abbey music manuscripts, with the title 'The Song Book of Mr. Monriot'.<sup>24</sup>

### **Lbl Add. MS 78416C**

John Evelyn's copy of 'Si linguis hominum' by Carissimi, purchased in Rome in April 1645. Small upright and unbound 4o score.<sup>25</sup>

### **Lbl Egerton 2960**

Large late seventeenth-century folio consisting of two layers, bound together and paginated continuously. Layer 1 (ff. 2–53), ff. 2–44, is in the hand of Henry Bowman (fl. 1678–82), and contains Latin motets by Carissimi, Sances and Casati. The last

---

<sup>21</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 271. A detailed account and inventory is also available in Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 260–4.

<sup>22</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 264; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 271.

<sup>23</sup> See also Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 264–6.

<sup>24</sup> See also John P. Cutts, 'An Unpublished Purcell Setting', *Music and Letters*, 38 (1957), 1–13.

<sup>25</sup> See also Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 199.



nine folios of the layer are copied in a different hand and contains three English items, the last of which is attributed to Pietro Reggio. This layer has a large number of concordances with *Lbl* Add. MS 31460, and a very similar composer line-up to Add. MS 30382, also in Bowman's hand. Layer 2 (ff. 54–99), contains sacred music by Henry Aldrich, Henry Purcell, John Blow, Ralph Courteville, Robert Ramsey, Pelham Humfrey, Matthew Lock, Orlando Gibbons and Henry Cooke in a different hand.<sup>26</sup>

### ***Lbl* Egerton 2961 and 2962**

Roman cantata manuscripts (narrow oblong 8o scores) containing arias and part of cantatas by Bernardo Sabadini, Alessandro Scarlatti, Giovanni Lulier and Bernardo Pasquini, annotated 'Henriette Scottt her book from Rome 1697.'

### ***Lbl* Harley 1264**

Late seventeenth-century narrow oblong 8o score of Italian arias and cantatas copied by Cornelio Galli, a singer in James II's Catholic chapel, and containing music by among others Luigi Rossi, Carlo Caproli, Antonio Cesti and Alessandro Melani. Hughes-Hughes claimed that most of the songs occur in *Cfm* MS 44, but in fact only half of the items in *Lbl* Harley 1264 are found in the Cambridge source.<sup>27</sup> The final English song 'Happy and free' is in the hand of Bernard Martin Berencloew Sr; the manuscript likely belonged to Berencloew's collection, passed to Humfrey Wanley and was sold by him to the Harleian library.<sup>28</sup>

### ***Lbl* Harley 1265**

Late 17th-century Roman miscellany of secular cantatas and arias, narrow oblong 4o score, copied in Italian hands throughout, one of which Alessio Ruffatti has noted to be similar to that of Francesco Antonio Sardo, a copyist hired in the Chigi household in 1667.<sup>29</sup> Contains cantatas mainly by Luigi Rossi, but also Alessandro Scarlatti, Carlo Caproli, Giovanni Battista Vulpio, Marco Marazzoli, Domenico Gabrielli, Pietro Simone Agostino, and Carissimi. 'Sospiri miei di foco' on f. 167 is in the hand of Berencloew Sr: the manuscript was probably part of his collection and came to the Harley collection via Wanley.<sup>30</sup>

### ***Lbl* Harley 1266**

Late seventeenth century narrow oblong 8o score of unattributed Italian arias, in four unidentified Italian hands. The manuscript does not feature in Wanley's manuscript

---

<sup>26</sup> A detailed account and inventory is available in Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 282–4.

<sup>27</sup> Hughes-Hughes, iii, 494.

<sup>28</sup> See Wanley's comments in the Harleian catalogue, *Lbl* Add. MS 45704, f. 90, and Chapter 5 of this thesis, p. 209.

<sup>29</sup> Alessio Ruffatti, "'Curiosi e bramosi L'oltramantani cercano con grande diligenza in tutti i luoghi': La Cantata Romana Del Seicento in Europa', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 13 (2008), paragraph 5.12.

<sup>30</sup> See *Lbl* Add. MS 45704, f. 91, and Chapter 5, p. 209.

catalogue *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, suggesting that it was acquired after the catalogue was completed in 1712.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Lbl Harley 1267***

Late seventeenth-century narrow oblong 8o score containing selections of operas *Seleuco* and *Alessandro Amante*, attributed to Bernardo Pasquini and Antonio Boretti respectively: the attribution to Pasquini allegedly derives from Nicola Haym, but may be spurious.<sup>32</sup>

### ***Lbl Harley 1268 and 1269***

Two late seventeenth-century narrow oblong 8o scores bound together; the volume has been misbound so that the music belonging to Harley 1268 is bound after the flyleaf of 1269 and vice versa. Contains opera arias, some of which are attributed to Boretti or Giovanni Felice Tosi, occasionally with notes identifying singers such as Signora Rosana or Fernandino. Sold to the Harleian library by Humfrey Wanley, probably from the collection of Bernard Martin Berenclow.<sup>33</sup>

### ***Lbl Harley 1270***

Late 17th-early 18th-century very small narrow oblong 8o containing cantatas and arias mainly by Pasquini and Scarlatti, and a large number of unattributed arias, in the hands of Berenclow Sr and Jr. A third hand has added Purcell's 'From silent shades' at the end of the manuscript. The manuscript has a large number of concordances with other manuscripts in the Harley collection, in particular Harley 1273 where many of the songs occur in the same order. The volume contains one piece by Carissimi: 'No, no mio core'.<sup>34</sup>

### ***Lbl Harley 1271***

Late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century Roman cantata manuscript, oblong 8o score, of unattributed cantatas for solo voice and figured bass. Unknown provenance.

### ***Lbl Harley 1272***

Late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century narrow oblong 8o score of secular Italian cantatas by Carissimi, Pier Francesco Tosi, Scarlatti, Stradella, Gabrielli, Draghi, and Bernard Martin Berenclow, copied by Berenclow Jr and Humfrey Wanley. The items up to f. 37v are in Berenclow's hand, and those on f. 37v onwards are in Wanley's. The volume contains two cantatas by Carissimi, 'Sovra il sen' and 'Almeno un pensiero'. The manuscript was sold by Wanley to the Harley collection.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> For completion dates of Wanley's catalogues, see Humfrey Wanley, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, ed. by Cyril Ernest Wright and Ruth Cadogan Wright (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), xv.

<sup>32</sup> *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 92: 'Part of an Opera entitled Seleuco, which my Friend Mr Nicolino Haim told me he believed was made by Bernardo Pasquini, still, or lately, Organist to the Papal Chapel. Whether it be so, or not, I cannot say. But the style, is, as I think, more Easy than His'. See also Hughes-Hughes, iii, 234, 496, 650; and John Harper and Lowell Lindgren, 'Pasquini, Bernardo', *GMO*.

<sup>33</sup> See *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 92-3, and Chapter 5, p. 209.

<sup>34</sup> See *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 95, and Chapter 5, p. 209.

<sup>35</sup> See *Lbl Add. MS 45704*, f. 96, and Chapter 5, p. 209.

### ***Lbl* Harley 1273**

Early eighteenth-century narrow oblong 8o score of cantatas and opera arias by Scarlatti, Pasquini, Stradella, Rossi, Bononcini, Caproli, Gabrielli, Cesti, Colonnese, Agostini, Ziani, Badalli, Lorenzani and Vincenzo Albrici, copied by Humfrey Wanley after 1699 (considering the inclusion of pieces from Scarlatti's *Il prigionero fortunato* (1699)). A large number of works have concordances elsewhere in the Harley collection; some may have been copied from a now lost Italian source given references to singers and places of performance which Wanley could not have had access to first hand.

### ***Lbl* Harley 1501**

Large 2o score dated 1681, containing mainly secular Italian arias and cantatas by Rossi (dominating), Carissimi, Vincenzo Albrici, Reggio and others, in the hand of Pietro Reggio. Colophon: 'Scritto a richestra di monsieur Didie/ In Londra. Anno Domini. 1681./ Pietro Reggio' in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript.<sup>36</sup> In addition to the secular music, the volume contains two widely disseminated Latin motets by Carissimi ('Audite sancti'), and Gasparo Casati ('O bone Jesu'), as well as one motet by Bonifacio Graziani ('Gaudia partores'). The manuscript was sold to the Harleian library by Humfrey Wanley, who may have inherited it from Bernard Martin Berencloew Jr.<sup>37</sup>

### ***Lbl* Harley 1863**

Late seventeenth-century oblong 4o score containing secular Italian cantatas by composers such as Rossi (dominating), Carissimi, Cesti, Reggio in the hands of Berencloew Sr and Jr. The front flyleaf is annotated 'March the 20 1693 Mr B: book his Song/ July the 6 1694 Mr B: book his Song—most likely referring to Berencloew Jr as his father was Dr Berencloew—and 'LIBRO V.to' suggesting that the volume was once part of a series. Humfrey Wanley sold the manuscript to the Harley collection.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Lbl* Harley 4899**

Late seventeenth-century large 2o score containing part of a mass for 3 voices by Carissimi, a litany by Bassani and single parts of six Italian songs in addition to Rossi's widely disseminated 'Dite, o cieli'. The volume is annotated 'Humfredus Wanley./ i Coll. Univ. Oxon/ Deceb. 24. 1697' although it is not in Wanley's hand.

### ***Lbl* Harley 7549**

Mid-seventeenth-century short oblong 4o containing unattributed Italian music in an earlier style than most Roman cantata manuscripts; melodies only copied, often with texts scribbled on verso sides of leaves. Contains the bookplate of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, whose daughter Henrietta married Edward Harley in 1713.

---

<sup>36</sup> For identification of Reggio's hand, see Pamela J. Wiletts, 'A Neglected Source of Monody and Madrigal', *Music and Letters*, 43 (1962), 329-39 (329-33).

<sup>37</sup> See *Lbl* Add. MS 45704, f. 272, and Chapter 5, p. 209.

<sup>38</sup> See *Lbl* Add. MS 45705, f. 272.

### **Ob Mus.Sch.C.9**

Large eighteenth-century 2o miscellany, containing seventeenth-century copies of Carissimi motets in the hand of Edward Lowe and Francis Smith, Carissimi's *Jephthe* copied by Smith, in addition to motets by Carissimi, Palestrina, Stradella and Bassani copied by Richard Goodson Jr.<sup>39</sup>

### **Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.11**

Late seventeenth-century upright 2o score of sacred Latin and secular Italian music by Richard Dering, Edward Lowe, George Jeffreys, Maurizio Cazzati and Tarquino Merula in the hand of Edward Lowe.<sup>40</sup>

### **Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19**

Set of eight partbooks for two trebles, alto, tenor, bass, two violins and figured bass copied by Edward Lowe presumably from his accession to the Oxford professorship in 1661 until the early 1680s (see notes for *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23* below). The vocal partbooks are vocal scores with unfigured bass accompaniment. Contains Latin and Italian music by English and north Italian composers, in addition to five motets by Carissimi copied towards the end of the volumes.<sup>41</sup>

### **Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.20–23**

Set of four vocal partbooks, begun by Lowe in 1680: the bass partbook (*Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.23*) has the inscription 'the paper and bindinge of thes 4 Bookes cost 9.s 6.d the 1st of May. 1680.' The set continues the one in *Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.12–19* as suggested by a note in the second cantus partbook (*Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.21*): 'New Bookes for vocall/Cantus 2dus/4 Bookes'. The partbooks contains Carissimi motets with violin parts in *Ob Mus.Sch.C.17–18*, and also Latin sacred music by Henry Bowman. Richard Goodson Sr contributed a few items after his accession to the professorship in 1682.<sup>42</sup>

### **Ob MS Mus.Sch.C.24–27**

Set of four partbooks containing sacred music by Agostino Facchi, Aloisi, Sances, Francesco Maria Marini, Monferrato, Sacrani, in addition to Carissimi's 'Audite sacti', copied by Charles Husbands, Edward Lowe and Matthew Hutton in 1670s with a few items added by Goodson Sr after his accession to the Oxford professorship.<sup>43</sup>

### **Ob Mus.Sch.C.204**

Guardbook containing loose-leaf performing parts of mainly unattributed Latin sacred music, in addition to late seventeenth-century performing parts of Carissimi's *Jephthe* in the hand of Henry Bowman (not Edward Lowe's as claimed by Iva Buff

---

<sup>39</sup> See also Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 297-300.

<sup>40</sup> See also Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 302-4.

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 143. A detailed account and inventory is available in Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 304-13.

<sup>42</sup> See further Chapter 4, p. 143.

<sup>43</sup> For a detailed inventory, see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 314-15.

and Janet Beat), thus potentially copied before 1685.<sup>44</sup> Some of the earlier items in the volume are found on Lowe's list of list of 'Loose papers in this Cubberd' made towards the end of his professorship; *Jephte* is not among them, nor on any of the pre-1682 lists described by Margaret Crum.<sup>45</sup>

### **Ob MS Mus.c.590**

Large 2o score in the hand of Sampson Estwick, containing Latin and Italian music by Bassani, Graziani, Stradella and Carissimi, among others, including Carissimi's oratorios *Jephte* and *Judicium Salomonis*.<sup>46</sup> This may originally have been two manuscripts: pagination starts over after p. 192.

### **Ob Tenbury 335**

Very large upright 2o score containing motets by Carissimi, and occasional pieces by Sances, Bassani, Bernabei, Marini, Reggio and Fiocco, mainly in the hand of Francis Smith.<sup>47</sup> Smith's hand implies Oxford 1690s provenance; regarding the Carissimi motets, the content is very similar to Smith's other Carissimi collections, eg. *Lbl* Add. MS 31472 and *Och* Mus. 53.<sup>48</sup>

### **Ob Tenbury 579–80**

Early eighteenth-century oblong Italian 8o score of Stradella's *S Giovanni Battista*.

### **Ob Tenbury 1226c**

Single upright 2o score of Carissimi's motet 'Surgamus eamus' copied by Francis Smith, most likely in the 1690s. The manuscript has been bound at the back of *Ob* Tenbury 1226, but is on different paper and in a different hand.<sup>49</sup>

### **Ob Tenbury 1227a**

Mid-seventeenth-century 2o score, transcription of Graziani's *Primo libro de motteti a voce sola* (1661) in an unidentified English hand, bound together with a manuscript copy of a Roman antiphonal (*Ob* Tenbury 1227c), and an early eighteenth-century collection of English anthems (*Ob* Tenbury 1227b). At the end of *Ob* T 1227a is a piece by Dr Pickering, 'Arise awake put on thy strength O Sion'.

### **Och Mus. 4**

Early eighteenth-century single upright copy of Carissimi's 'In te Domine speravi' in the hand of Richard Goodson Jr.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 321–6; Iva M. Buff, *A Thematic Catalog of the Sacred Works of Giacomo Carissimi* (Clifton, N.J.: European American Music Corp., 1979), 61–3; Janet Beat ed., *Giacomo Carissimi: Jephthe* (London: Novello, 1974), ii.

<sup>45</sup> Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters*, 48 (1967), 23–34 (32–3). Some pieces on Lowe's list are now in *Ob* MS Mus.Sch.C.203.

<sup>46</sup> See further, H. Diack Johnstone, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and Now Partially Recovered', *Music and Letters*, 95 (2014), 329–73 (344).

<sup>47</sup> See also Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 84.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>49</sup> Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 84.

<sup>50</sup> See John Milsom's CHCH cat., 'Mus. 4'.

### **Och Mus. 7**

Aldrich's collection of Graziani's solo motets. Large 2o score containing manuscript transcriptions of the six printed collections in four layers. Layer one contains *Il primo libro* (op. 3, 1652), *Il secundo libro* (op. 6, 1655) and *Il terzo libro* (op. 8, 1658) in the hands of Francis Withy (?1645–1727, at Christ Church from 1670) and Edward Hull (*fl.* c.1690); given Hull's involvement this layer likely dates from the 1690s. The other three each contain *Il quarto libro* (op. 10, 1665), *Quinto libro* (op. 16, 1669) and *Sacrae cantiones* (op. 19, 1672). Milsom has suggested that layer two may be in the hand of Edward Lowe (thus copied before 1682), whilst three and four were copied by an unidentified scribe.<sup>51</sup>

### **Och Mus. 9**

Small folio score of Latin sacred music by Carissimi and Thomas Tallis in the hand of Henry Aldrich, copied late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The manuscript contains motets not published in print. Jones suggests a relationship with Y M35/1–10, but this is unverified.<sup>52</sup>

### **Och Mus.13**

Aldrich's scorebook of Carissimi motets, copied by himself and Richard Goodson Sr in the late seventeenth-century. The first layer contains three Graziani motets and all the Carissimi motets from *Sacri concerti musicali* (1675), and the others contains Carissimi motets copied by Aldrich from various printed sources. The content of the volume again corresponds closely to that of *Och Mus. 53*, *Ob Tenbury 335*, *Lbl Add. MS 17835* and *Add. MS 31472*. Aldrich bequest.<sup>53</sup>

### **Och Mus. 14**

Upright 2o score with sacred and secular vocal music by English composers Christopher Gibbons, Locke, Child, Blow, Michael Wise and Henry Cooke and Italians Rovetta, Monteverdi, Stradella, Pesenti, Crivelli, Carissimi, Savioni and Cecchelli, copied by John Blow in the mid-1670s.<sup>54</sup> Contains Carissimi's 'Amante che dite' and two other cantatas by Carissimi which may derive from the Italian ensemble at Charles II's court. Goodson bequest.<sup>55</sup>

### **Och Mus. 17**

A late 17<sup>th</sup>-century collection of English songs and catches, Italian cantatas and French airs by composers as diverse as Aldrich, Carissimi, George Jeffreys, Mario Savioni, John Jenkins, John Wilson, Nicholas Lanier, Henry Lawes, Edward Lowe, Luigi Rossi, Jean-Baptiste Lully, Vincenzo Albrici, in addition to a set of Latin motets by Graziani. Large upright folio score, in which the secular music at the front

---

<sup>51</sup> See CHCH cat., 'Mus. 7', and Chapter 4, p. 163.

<sup>52</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 160; CHCH cat., 'Mus. 9'; Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 92-3.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 156; CHCH cat., 'Mus. 13'. See also Appendix III.

<sup>54</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 14'.

<sup>55</sup> See Chapter 2, p. 74.

is copied by Aldrich, and the Latin motets further back by Goodson Sr. Aldrich bequest.<sup>56</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 18***

A late seventeenth-century upright 2o score copied by Aldrich, containing English and Italian sacred and secular music. Milsom and Wainwright have suggested that it dates from before 1670.<sup>57</sup> The volume includes cantatas by Francesco Turini, Marco Marazzoli, Giacomo Carissimi and Alessandro Grandi (i), along with music by various English mid-century composers. Some pieces derive from Mus. 377. Contains one of the earliest copies of 'Lucifer caelestis olim'. Aldrich bequest.

### ***Och Mus. 23***

Late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century score containing odes and anthems by Purcell, Blow, Croft, Jeremiah Clarke and John Banister, and motets by Bassani copied by father and son Goodson and Edward Lowe. Also contains a copy of Carissimi's 'Lucifer caelestis olim' in an unidentified hand. Goodson bequest.<sup>58</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 37 (pp. 1-24)***

2o score of Carissimi's *Jephthe*, music in the hand of Francis Smith, words copied by Aldrich. Given Smith's involvement, the copy probably dates from the 1690s. Aldrich bequest.<sup>59</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 43***

Mutilated late seventeenth-century 2o score containing sacred music Sances, with single items by Trabattone, Monferrato, Matthew Locke, Nicholas Lanier, Edward and Christopher Gibbons, Pelham Humfrey and Pietro Reggio in addition to Carissimi's 'Audite sancti', copied by Aldrich and Henry Bowman. Aldrich bequest.<sup>60</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 46***

Early eighteenth-century keyboard book containing organ accompaniments to anthems by English composers such as Benjamin Rogers, Robert King, Henry Loosemore, Henry Lawes, Francis Pigott, Jeremiah Clarke and Henry Purcell, in addition to Carissimi's 'O vulnera doloris', copied by five unidentified scribes. Goodson bequest.<sup>61</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 48***

Seventeenth and early eighteenth-century miscellany containing sacred music by among others Colonna, Bassani, Sances, Reggio, Stradella, Edward and Christopher Gibbons, Palertrina, Tallis, Blow and Aldrich in the hands of Goodson Sr, Aldrich,

---

<sup>56</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 17'.

<sup>57</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 18'; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 204.

<sup>58</sup> See CHCH cat., 'Mus. 23'.

<sup>59</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 37'.

<sup>60</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 43'.

<sup>61</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 46'.

John Church and a number of unidentified scribes. Also contains a copy of Graziani's 'Dedit abyssus vocem suam' with English words by Dr Pickering. Aldrich bequest.<sup>62</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 49 (pp. 152–92)***

Motets by Giovanni Felice Sances copied by Charles Husbands Sr, 1670s, with additions by Lowe and Francis Withy. Also contains the voice part of Mazzaroli's 'Amante sentite amor' copied by Lowe.<sup>63</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 51***

Aldrich's collection of Carissimi cantatas, the first of a set of three also including *Och Mus. 52* and *54*. Late seventeenth-century upright 2o score containing 22 secular cantatas by Carissimi copied by Richard Goodson Sr in the 1690s, from Roman cantata manuscripts within the Christ Church collection. There are a particularly large number of concordances with *Och Mus. 949*. Aldrich bequest.<sup>64</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 52***

Aldrich's collection of Carissimi cantatas, the second in a set of three also including *Och Mus. 51* and *54*. Upright 2o score with five cantatas by Carissimi, copied by Richard Goodson Sr, four of which derive from *Och Mus. 996*. Aldrich bequest.<sup>65</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 53***

Aldrich's collection of Carissimi motets. 2o score of motets by Carissimi, in the hand of Francis Smith (thus probably copied mid-1690s). The volume is entirely dedicated to Carissimi; the content is very similar to that of *Och Mus. 13*, *Ob Tenbury 335*, *Lbl Add. MS 17835* and *Add. MS 31472*, but is the only one of these to feature the otherwise very widely disseminated motet 'Lucifer caelestis olim'. The volume has the same binding as the cantata collections in *Och Mus. 51*, *52* and *54*. Aldrich bequest.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 54***

Aldrich's collection of Carissimi cantatas, the third of a set of three also including *Och Mus. 51* and *52*. 2o score containing six cantatas by Giacomo Carissimi, copied by Goodson Sr from *Mus. 996*. Aldrich bequest.<sup>67</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 55***

Aldrich's collection of Carissimi motets: four motets and a mass in score copied by Aldrich, late seventeenth-century. Jones has suggested that some of the motets were copied from *Y M35/1–10* but this is unverified. Aldrich bequest.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 48'.

<sup>63</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 49 (pp. 152–92)'.

<sup>64</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 161; CHCH cat., 'Mus. 51'. See also Appendix III.

<sup>65</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 161; CHCH cat., 'Mus. 52'. See also Appendix III.

<sup>66</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 160; CHCH cat., 'Mus. 53'. See also Appendix III.

<sup>67</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 161; CHCH cat., 'Mus. 54'. See also Appendix III.

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 160. See also CHCH cat., 'Mus. 55'.



### ***Och Mus. 83***

Late seventeenth-century upright 2o score, possibly in the hand of William Dingley, containing cantatas Cesti, Rossi and Henry du Mont, and a copy of Graziani's *Motetti a due, e tre voci* (1667). Aldrich bequest.<sup>69</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 350***

Upright 2o score containing a variety of French, Italian and English music, including by Graziani, Rossi, Lully, Blow and Banister, copied by Goodson Sr c.1670–90. Milson suggests that most of the manuscript was copied before 1677, since Blow is referred to as 'Mr Blow' on p. 102.<sup>70</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 377***

Mid-seventeenth-century oblong 8o containing 19 cantatas for solo voice and continuo by Giacomo Carissimi, Marco Marazzoli, Marc'Antonio Pasqualini and Luigi Rossi, copied in Sweden during the visit of the Albrici troupe (c.1652–4) by an Angelo Bartolotti who was also responsible for Mus. 996 (below). Geoffrey Webber suggests that the manuscript was presented to the English ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke at a dinner party in Uppsala in 1653, and was subsequently brought to England.<sup>71</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 598***

Small oblong volume containing teaching material used by Goodson Sr c.1685, mainly in Goodson's hand but with additions by unidentified scribes. Contains music by Aldrich, Lawes, Purcell and Lully, in addition to an incomplete copy of the voice part for Carissimi's 'Lucifer caelestis olim', transposed for treble.<sup>72</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 623–6***

Set of four partbooks containing anthems and motets by Monferrato, Casati, Rovetta, Monteverdi, Scarani, Filippi, Marini, Sances, Facchi, Christopher Gibbons, Lowe, Orlando Gibbons and John Blow, copied by Henry Bowman, in the 1670s or first half of the 1680s. Also contains Carissimi's 'Audite sancti'.<sup>73</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 946***

Roman cantata manuscript, narrow oblong 8o score of cantatas by Caproli, Pasqualini, Rossi and Abbatini, copied in three unidentified Italian hands, who were also responsible for Mus. 947. Probably from c.1650–75, and from the Aldrich bequest.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 83'.

<sup>70</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 350'.

<sup>71</sup> Geoffrey Webber, 'Italian Music at the Court of Queen Christina', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning/Swedish Journal of Musicology*, 75 (1993), 47–53 (49). See also Chapter 2, p. 85, and CHCH cat., 'Mus. 377'.

<sup>72</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 598'.

<sup>73</sup> For further details, see CHCH cat., 'Mus. 623–6'.

<sup>74</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 946'.

### ***Och Mus. 947***

Roman cantata manuscript, narrow oblong 8o miscellany score of cantatas by Benedetto Bartorelli, Carissimi, Cesti, Atto Melani, Rossi and Antonio Francesco Tenaglia, copied in two unidentified Italian hands. There are also scribal concordances with Mus. 950 and Mus. 951. The inscription '[?Mar]ch ye 4th [16]97' on the inside cover in the same (unidentified) hand as the annotation 'Mr Jones March ye 25th' on the front flyleaf of Mus. 958, suggests that the two manuscripts have common provenance. Probably from c.1650–75, and from the Aldrich bequest.<sup>75</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 949***

Late seventeenth-century Roman oblong 8o miscellany, c.1675–1700, containing cantatas for solo voice and continuo by Carissimi and Rossi. This manuscript served as copy text for Goodson Sr's copies of Carissimi cantatas in *Och Mus. 51*. Aldrich bequest.<sup>76</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 950***

Roman cantata manuscript, oblong 8o score, c. 1650–75, containing cantatas by Venazio Leopardi, Rossi, Carissimi, and Caproli copied in several unidentified Italian hands, some of which also appear in *Och Mus. 951*, Mus. 946 and Mus. 947. Aldrich bequest.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 951***

Roman cantata manuscript, oblong 8o score, c. 1650–75, containing cantatas by Antimo Liberati, Rossi and Carissimi, copied by unidentified Italian hands, some of which appear in *Och Mus. 950*, Mus. 947 and Mus. 946. Aldrich bequest.

### ***Och Mus. 953***

Narrow oblong score of Italian cantatas by Rossi and Caproli in addition to several unattributed pieces, copied by several unidentified Italian scribes, probably c.1650–75. Aldrich bequest.<sup>78</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 955***

Oblong score containing arias from operas by Alessandro Scarlatti, copied in two layers by three unidentified Italian hands: the main hand also appear in *Och Mus. 952*, 948 and 956. Probably copied after 1680. Aldrich bequest.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> See also CHCH cat., 'Mus. 947'.

<sup>76</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 949'.

<sup>77</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 950'.

<sup>78</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 953'.

<sup>79</sup> See CHCH cat., 'Mus. 955'.

### ***Och Mus. 956***

Oblong Italian score of cantatas by Severo di Luca, Scarlatti, Caproli, Cesti and Farina, c.1675–1700, in the hand of Luca and two unidentified copyists; the hand of the main copyist also appear in *Och Mus. 948* and *Mus. 955*. Aldrich bequest.<sup>80</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 958***

Roman cantata manuscript containing cantatas mainly by Antonio Farina, copied by one unidentified Italian hand, c.1675–1700. Aldrich bequest.<sup>81</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 959***

Oblong score of unattributed cantatas for one, two and three voices, copied by a main unidentified Italian hand, with additions by four other hands, probably in the 1670s. Aldrich bequest.<sup>82</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 993***

Early eighteenth-century oblong score of cantatas by Scarlatti and Bononcini by an unidentified Italian scribe, whose hand also appears in *Och Mus. 992* and *Mus. 994*. Goodson bequest.<sup>83</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 994***

Short oblong 4o manuscript containing four cantatas for solo voice and continuo, copied with attributions to Carissimi by a single Italian hand, c.1675–1700. The same hand was also responsible for *Och Mus. 992* and *Mus. 993*.<sup>84</sup>

### ***Och Mus. 996***

Oblong 8o score in two layers, the first containing cantatas by Carissimi headed 'Arie à tre, et à Dui, del / Sign. Giacomo Carissimi / Mastro in santo Apolinare / di Roma', and the second cantatas by Luigi Rossi with the heading 'Arie à quattro, à tre, et à Dui del / Sign. Luigi Rossi', with a few cantatas by Carlo Caproli, Marco Marazzoli and Marc'Antonio Pasqualini at the end. The volume was copied partly on Swedish paper (watermark 'Kristina Uddby') by Angelo Bartolotti during the visit of the Albrici troupe to Stockholm and Uppsala 1652–4. Aldrich acquired it from Timothy Nourse, presumably at some point between 1672 when it was passed on to Nourse from one Dr/W. Rogers (inside cover inscribed 'W Rogers' and '29<sup>th</sup> May 1672', and front flyleaf signed 'Timothy Nourse 1672), and Nourse's death in 1699. The Carissimi cantatas in the volume were subsequently copied into *Och Mus. 52* and *Mus. 54* (above) by Richard Goodson Sr.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 956'.

<sup>81</sup> See also CHCH cat., 'Mus. 958'.

<sup>82</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 959'.

<sup>83</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 993'.

<sup>84</sup> See CHCH cat., 'Mus. 994'.

<sup>85</sup> I am grateful to Maria Schildt for information about Swedish paper manufacture and the visit of the Italian musicians to the court of queen Christina'. See also CHCH cat., 'Mus. 996'.

### ***Och Mus.* 998**

Late seventeenth-century Roman volume of cantatas for solo voice and continuo, chiefly by Giacomo Carissimi, Mario Savioni and Luigi Rossi, copied by a single Italian hand, which Alessio Ruffatti notes is similar to that of the prolific Roman copyist Antonio Chiusi. The volume has a brown leather binding with elaborate gold tooling; Ruffatti has identified this as *Stile Rospigliosi* from the Roman Andreoli shop. Thus, the manuscript was supposedly bound between 1644 and 1676 when Andreoli produced such bindings.<sup>86</sup>

### ***Och Mus.* 1210**

Single copy of Carissimi's 'O vulnera doloris' by an unidentified copyist, with text cues added by Aldrich. Probably Aldrich bequest.<sup>87</sup>

### ***Och Mus.* 1215 (8)**

Fragment of Carissimi's *Sciolto havean dall' alte sponde*, now in the guardbook *Och Mus.* 1215.<sup>88</sup>

### ***YM.* 35/1-13 (S)**

Italian set of thirteen Carissimi motets copied in upright oblong parts stitched together motet-by-motet. Copied by three unidentified Italian hands, and probably dating from early eighteenth century. Jones has suggested that this source was a copy text from Aldrich's copies in *Och Mus.* 9 and 55, but this cannot be verified.<sup>89</sup>

### ***YM* 36 (S)**

Late seventeenth-century upright 2o score of motets by Carissimi and Graziani (those by Graziani frequently misattributed to Carissimi) copied by Matthew Hutton (1639-1711). Richard Charteris has shown that the manuscript was deposited in York Minster library via Hutton's friend Marmaduke Fortheringill.<sup>90</sup>

### ***YM* 93 (S)**

Organ score of English and Latin Italian sacred music by Aldrich, Blow, Giovanni Felice Sances, in addition to Carissimi's motet 'Audite sancti', copied between 1660 and c.1685.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Ruffatti.[paragraph 4.3]; see also CHCH cat., 'Mus. 998'.

<sup>87</sup> See further CHCH cat., 'Mus. 1210'.

<sup>88</sup> CHCH cat., 'Mus. 1215(8)'.  
<sup>89</sup> For further discussion, see Chapter 4, p. 172-3. See also Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 92-3, and David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York: York Minster Library, 1981), 103-4.

<sup>90</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 172; Jones, *Motets of Carissimi*, i, 94; ii, 197; Richard Charteris, 'Matthew Hutton (1638-1711) and his Manuscripts in York Minster Library', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 28 (1975), 2-6.

<sup>91</sup> Griffiths, *Catalogue*, 135.

## Appendix III

### Table of Roman Latin motets, masses and oratorios with concordances in British sources

This table shows Roman Latin motets and oratorios in British sources that have concordances in other British sources or in seventeenth-century printed editions. Manuscript copies of the motets are listed vertically in alphabetical order (one entry per copy), while information about the source and its provenance along with printed publications of each motet is given horizontally in the table. The table shows what Roman sacred music was copied by English musicians, approximately when, and in what environment; it supports the arguments made in Chapters 1 and 4 that Roman vocal music was copied late in seventeenth-century England, and then primarily in Oxford.

Incipit	Composer	Source	p./ f.	Date	Hand(s)	Provenance	Repertoire	Format	Printed in
Ad caelestum Jerusalem	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	f. 11r– 12r	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 14v– 16r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Ad laudes ad carmina	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.17	ff. 33r– 35v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 128v– 130v	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)

Ad matrem venite o gentes imbelles	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 160r– 161v	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
Adeste turba caelitum	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	pp. 225– 230	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Advenisti clivinus ignis	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 205v– 207r	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
Alleluia de funere ad vitam	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.17</i>	ff. 45 <sup>r</sup> – 46 <sup>v</sup>	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 147r– 148v	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
Alma redemptoris mater	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 74r– 76r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Anima nostra sustinet Dominum	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 37– 44	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Och Mus.55</i>	pp. 25– 29	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)

Annunciate gentes	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Ckc</i> MS Rowe 206	pp. 188– 95	c.1704	Nicola Haym?	unknown/William Boyce	Latin/Italian (Haym, Stradella, Carissimi)	oblong 4o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	pp. 186– 95	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 17835	f. 18r– 22r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 73– 79	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	17 f. 12v; 18 p. 20; 10 p. 106	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 148– 55	Lowe c.1675– 82; Goodson 18thC	Edward Lowe; Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	pp. 156– 166	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>YM</i> 35/1	no. 1	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Ardens est cor meum	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 99v– 102v	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)

Ardent amans	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	f. 1r–2v	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 1r– 3v	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Audi clementissime domine	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 170v– 173r	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
Audite sancti	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Bu</i> MS5002	191–197	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Chrurch?	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	
		<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	pp. 56– 63	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 13v– 15v	1678–82	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	f. 27r– 30v	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31479	vols. 1– 4: f. 55v– 56r, f. 50, f. 46r, f.	1638– 46/1670 s	George Jeffreys	Oxford/Jeffreys/ Hatton	Italian		<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)



43v								
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 112	c.1682	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)	
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	f. 48	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclo w?]/Wanley/Har ley	Latin/Italia n	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)	
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	12 pp. 93-104; 13 pp. 96-98; 16 pp. 57-59s; 19 p. 67	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)	
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24-7	24 ff. 13r- 14v; 25 ff. 13r- 14r; 26 ff. 13v- 14v; 27 ff. 11v- 12r	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)	
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	p. 70	c.1690- 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1645); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)	

		<i>Och Mus.43</i>	ff. 12r– 14r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Lat in	2o score	<i>Florido(1645); Arion Romanus(1670); Harmonia Sacra(1693)</i>
		<i>Och Mus.623–6</i>	623: pp. 68–9; 624: pp. 64–5; 625: pp. 46–7; 626: p. 54	c.1670– 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford? (Goodson)	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Florido(1645); Arion Romanus(1670); Harmonia Sacra(1693)</i>
		<i>Y M 93 (S)</i>	f. 12v– 16r	c.1660 –85	unidentified English	unkown English	Latin/Engl ish	Organ score	<i>Florido(1645); Arion Romanus(1670); Harmonia Sacra(1693)</i>
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 51– 55	c.1675– 82	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Florido(1645); Arion Romanus(1670); Harmonia Sacra(1693)</i>
		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	pp. 65– 70	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Florido(1645); Arion Romanus(1670); Harmonia Sacra(1693)</i>
Ave dulcissime angelorum panis	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 149– 152	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Arion Romanus (1670)</i>
Ave millies beata	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	pp. 231– 227	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti (1667)</i>

Caeli cives con gaudete [?]	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 196v– 199v	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
Caeli Duces festinate	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 90r– 92r	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
Canite filiae Sion	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.17</i>	ff. 36 <sup>r</sup> – 39 <sup>r</sup>	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 139r– 141v	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
Cantabo Domino in vita mea	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	pp. 27– 32	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 17835	f. 30v– 33r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 29397	ff. 16– 18v	1682– 1690	Daniel Henstridge	Oxford/Daniel Henstridge	English	12o obl. score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 31472	f. 12v– 15r	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 37027	ff. 19– 21	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English	Mixed	2o + 4o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 175– 79	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 42– 46	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)

		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	pp. 46– 52	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Cantate Domino	Durante, Silvestro	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	f. 33v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwillia m	Latin/Italia n	score 23x28 cm	<i>Floridus</i> (1649)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 80v– 82r	1678–82	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31479	vols. 1,4: f. 1v–2r; f. 5v	1638– 46/1670 s	George Jeffreys	Oxford/Jeffreys/ Hatton	Italian	2o partbooks	<i>Floridus</i> (1649)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 132v– 134v	c.1682	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	20 p. 8– 10; 21 pp. 8– 10; 23 p. 4	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Floridus</i> (1649)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 134– 141; 13 pp. 135– 138; 19 p. 93 [bass voice part missing ?]	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Floridus</i> (1649)

Care selve beate	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	pp. 18– 20	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	
(opening only)		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	p. 97	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	
Confitebor tibi Domine	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 156– 68	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti d'autore</i> (1646); <i>Floridus</i> (1662)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	p. 195	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti d'autore</i> (1646); <i>Floridus</i> (1662)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 229– 241	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti d'autore</i> (1646); <i>Floridus</i> (1662)
('Sicut erat' only)		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	17 f. 11v; 18 p. 18	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Motetti d'autore</i> (1646); <i>Floridus</i> (1662)
Convertimini ad me	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	pp. 234– 236	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Crudelis infernus inimicus	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.17	ff. 39 <sup>r</sup> – 42 <sup>r</sup>	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)

		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 141v–144v	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
Cum reverteretur David / Cum ingrederetur N.	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.53</i>	pp. 103–111	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	pp. 103–10	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	f. 49v–53r	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 192–98	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob Tenbury 335</i>	p. 136	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 80–86	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Dedit abyssus vocem suam	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Lbl Add. MS 22099</i>	f. 28v–29r	early 18	unidentified English	England	Mixed	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 31v–34r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob Tenbury 1227a</i>	pp. 122–125	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)

(Eng. trans. by Dr Pickering 'They that go down to the sea')		<i>Och Mus.48</i>	vols. 1–4: f. 54, f. 48v–49r, f. 44v–45r, f. 42v	late 17–early 18	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Desiderata nobis	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl Add. MS 31479</i>	pp. 1–12	1638–46/1670s	George Jeffreys	Oxford/Jeffreys/Hatton	Italian	2o partbooks	<i>Scelta de' motetti</i> (1667)
Dicite nobis sanctorum civium	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Ckc MS Rowe 207</i>	pp. 162–72	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin	4o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	f. 13r–17v	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 17835</i>	f. 79r–84r	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	pp. 64–72	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 132–142	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	ff. 62v–66r	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Diem festum celebrate	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 42v–46r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)

Dilecte mi quid volo	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	pp. 1–18	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Dixit dominus domino meo	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.55</i>	no. 3	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed
		<i>Y M 35/3</i>	pp. 5–13	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	Not printed
Domine Deus meus	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	f. 9r–12v	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Floridus</i> (1663); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 17835</i>	f. 4r–7v	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1663); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	pp. 17–24	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1663); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 9–17	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1663); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	pp. 202–207	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1663); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)



Domine ne in furore tuo	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	f. 60v– 64v	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Domine quis habitabit	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	pp. 56– 64	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	3v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Y M</i> 36(S)	pp. 94– 102	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	p. 157	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	pp. 125– 33	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	ff. 95r– 97v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Dominus illuminatio mea	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 173v– 176v	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
Dum sedet Beatus/Beata N.	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	no. 4	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
Ecce nos relinquimus omnia	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Y M</i> 35/5	ff. 7r– 10r	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	Not printed

		<i>Och Mus.9</i>	pp. 64– 69	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed
Egredimini caelestes curiae	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	f. 30v– 33v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Delectus sacrarum cantonum (1652)</i>
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	pp. 198– 203	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Delectus sacrarum cantonum (1652)</i>
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	p. 144	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Delectus sacrarum cantonum (1652)</i>
		<i>Ob Tenbury 335</i>	pp. 125– 128	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Delectus sacrarum cantonum (1652)</i>
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 52– 58	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Delectus sacrarum cantonum (1652)</i>

		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	ff. 66r– 70r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1652)
Erumpe Mariam	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	no. 5	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Erumpite flammae	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 10r-v	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Egue serve bone	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Y M 35/5</i>	pp. 33– 39	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	Not printed
		<i>Och Mus.9</i>	f. 33v– 36r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed
Exulta gaude filia Sion	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	f. 15v– 18v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 17835</i>	ff. 21v– 24	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	pp. 170– 75	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 37027</i>	pp. 24– 29	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English	Mixed	2o + 4o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 42– 46	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)

		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	ff. 38r– 42r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	pp. 88– 102	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Exulta júbila accurre	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	f. 42v– 49r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Exultabunt justí	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	pp. 128– 36	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		Not printed.
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	p. 173	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 195– 202	c.1675– 82	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Ob Tenbury 335</i>	pp. 80– 94	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	ff. 9r– 11r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	f. 1v– 10v, f. 11r– 14vr	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
Fermite currite ad arma	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	pp. 62– 78	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)

Filiae Jerusalem	Cesti, Antonio	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31480	ff. 83r– 85v	late 17	unidentified Italian; unidentified English	Italy/James II catholic chapel?	Latin	4o score	
		<i>Och</i> Mus.83	ff. 187r– 189r	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	
Florete prata frondete lilia	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	pp. 163– 164	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
Gaude cor meum	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	pp. 118– 121	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
Gaudete exercitus caeli	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.13	f. 54v	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed. <i>Och</i> only.
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	ff. 34v– 38r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed. <i>Och</i> only.
Gaudia Patores optate	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	ff. 46r– 49r	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclo w?]/Wanley/Har ley	Latin/Italia n	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Germinate campi	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	pp. 208– 212	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)

Haec est laeta	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	pp. 193– 197	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Haec est vera fraternitas	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	f. 12v– 15r	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Hic est panis qui de caelo	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	ff. 16v– 20r	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Hodie colletantur caeli cives	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob Tenbury 1227a</i>	pp. 53– 56	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	f. 7v–8v	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Hodie Simon Petrus	Carissimi, Giacomo	F <i>Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	f. 25v– 27r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		Not printed.
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 17835</i>	f. 80	c.1690– 98	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	pp. 121– 123	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Lbl Egerton 2960</i>	no. 6	c.1670– 90	unidentified English	Oxford?	English	2o score	
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 25– 28	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.

		Y M 35/6	14 p. 120 (rev); 17 f. 6; 18 p. 7	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	Not printed.
		Och Mus.53	20 p. 14–18; 21 pp. 11–15; 23 pp. 8–9; 23 pp. 6–7	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
In te Domine speravi	Carissimi, Giacomo	Ob Mus.Sch.C.12–19	p. 226	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666)
		Ob Mus.Sch.C.20–23	(only work)	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666)
		Ob Tenbury 335	pp. 167– 171	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666)
		Och Mus.4	vols. 1– 4: f. 52v– 53r, f. 47v– 48r, f. 43v– 44r, f.	early 18	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Latin	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666)

42r									
		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	ff. 85v– 87v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666)
Insurrexerunt in nos	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 31479	pp. 82– 99 (layer 2)	1638– 46/1670 s	George Jeffreys	Oxford/Jeffreys/ Hatton	Italian	2o partbooks	<i>Sacrarum modulationum</i> (1642); <i>Teatro musicale</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1651); <i>Teatro musicale</i> [2] (1653)
Jacebam in tenebris	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 50– 68	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
<i>Jephte</i>	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Ob Mus.c.590</i>	pp. 95– 118	late 17- early 18	Sampson Estwick	Oxford	Latin/Italia n (Carissimi, Grazinai, Bassani)	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Ob</i> <i>Mus.Sch.C.204</i> (ff. 50–68)	pp. 1–24	c.1670– 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford	Carissimi ( <i>Jephte</i> )	2o performin g parts	Not printed.
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 119– 120	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	Not printed.



		<i>Och</i> Mus.37 (pp. 1–24)	pp. 172–85	c.1690–98	Francis Smith + Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin		Not printed.
(‘Plorate filiae Israel’ only)		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	f. 84r–90v	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Musurgia</i> (1650)
<i>Judicium Salomonis</i>	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	pp. 10–21 (layer 2)	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		Not printed.
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	p. 184	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.c.590	pp. 203–215	late 17-early 18	Sampson Estwick	Oxford	Latin/Italian (Carissimi, Grazinai, Bassani)	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	13r	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 137–47	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Y M</i> 36(S)	pp. 143–155	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	17 f. 14v; 18 p. 22–23	c.1675–82	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	f. 8v–11r	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.

('Et populi venite' only)		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	ff. 11r- 14r	before 1682	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	Not printed.
Laboravi clamans	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	ff. 113v- 116	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.7	pp. 47- 52	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Laudemus virum gloriosum	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Cfm</i> MS 209	f. 5v-7v	after 1675	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilli am	Latin	score 33x25 cm	<i>Scelta di moetti</i> (1656); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		F <i>Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	f. 22v- 25r	c.1690- 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Scelta di moetti</i> (1656); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 17835	pp. 187- 91	c.1690- 98	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di moetti</i> (1656); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	pp. 30- 34	1681-98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di moetti</i> (1656); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 36- 41	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di moetti</i> (1656); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)

		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 252– 255	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di moetti</i> (1656); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	f. 82v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di moetti</i> (1656); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Lucifer caelestis olim	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Bu</i> MS5002	ff. 80v– 87v	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Chrurch?	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	
		<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	pp. 13– 17	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwillia m	Latin/Italia n	score 23x28 cm	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Cmc</i> MS Pepys 2803	f. 57v	1675–93	Cesare Morelli	Samuel Pepys	Latin		<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	f. 56v– 58v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 22099	f. 5r–7v	early 18	unidentified English	England	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 22100	vols. 3– 4: f. 7r– 8r + 1 ms. score: f. 8v–9	c.1682	John Walter	England/Gilbert Dolben/James Hart	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	ff. 103– 104v	early 18	Simon Child	Oxford?	Latin	4o obl. organ book	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)

	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31479	f. 103r– 104v	1638– 46/1670 s	George Jeffreys	Oxford/Jeffreys/ Hatton	Italian	2o partbooks	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 117v– 120r	c.1682	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 2–4	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 63626	pp. 23– 25	late 17- early 18	unidentified English	England/Stonele igh Abbey	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 2v– 3v	1678–82	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
	<i>Och</i> Mus.18	pp. 5–9	before 1670?	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.23	ff. 24 <sup>r</sup> – 22 <sup>r</sup>	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford	French/English/Latin		<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.53	ff. 180v– 182r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.598	pp. 39– 65	c.1685	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	8o obl. keyboard/ melody	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)

Magnificate omnes	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7		late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
Mass a3	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.55	ff. 15– 34v	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 80– 88	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 4899	f. 38v– 42r	c.1697	unidentified English	Oxford?/Humfre y Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italia n/instrumen tal	2o score	Not printed.
Militia est vita hominis	Carissimi, Giacomo	F <i>Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	ff. 4–7	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Florido</i> (1648/9); <i>Floridus</i> (1657); <i>Florida verba</i> (1661)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	14 p. 114 (rev); 17 f. 8; 18 p. 11	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1643); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Musica romana</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	20 pp. 23–24; 21 pp. 20–22; 22 pp. 12–14; 23 p. 10	1680s	William Husbands + Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1643); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Musica romana</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)

		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	p. 128	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Floridus</i> (1643); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Musica romana</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20-23	pp. 145- 148	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Floridus</i> (1643); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Musica romana</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	pp. 58- 64	c.1690- 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1643); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Musica romana</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 221- 224	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1643); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Musica romana</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	11v	c.1690- 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1643); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Musica romana</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
Mille tormenta vicimus	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	f. 175v- 190r	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
		Y M 36(S)	ff. 167v- 170r	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)

Missa a quinque et a novem. Anno MDCLXVI	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	pp. 14–21	c.1682	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
Multiplicate sunt iniquitates mea	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 148v–150v	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
O anima mea suspira	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.350	f. 3r–5r	c.1675–90 [before 1677?]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+bc)	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 3v–4r	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
O cor meum	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	f. 40v–43v	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.7	f. 42r–44r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
O dulcis Jesu	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	pp. 22–27	early 18	Simon Child	Oxford?	Latin	4o obl. organ book	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 133r–134r	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)

		<i>Och Mus.350</i>	pp. 117– 118	c.1675– 90 [before 1677?]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voic e+bc)	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 177r– 180r	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
O dulcissimum Mariae nomen	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.13</i>	pp. 31– 37	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1647); <i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1652)
O hilaris est fausta dies	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	pp. 34– 37	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
O quam mirabilia sunt	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	ff. 210v– 213r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och Mus.55</i>	f. 84v	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1675)
O quam pulcher/pulchra	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	pp. 1–4	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
O vulnera doloris	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Cfm MS 44</i>	ff. 78– 76v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwillia m	Latin/Italia n	score 23x28 cm	Not printed



		<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>e</sup></i>	f. 2r–3v	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		Not printed
		<i>Lam MS 43</i>	pp. 215–220	late 17	Francis Smith?	Oxford	Italian/Latin		Not printed
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31472</i>	ff. 12v–14r	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	Not printed
		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	(only work)	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed
		<i>Och Mus.46</i>	pp. 1–4	early 18	unidentified English	Oxford (Goodson)	English	2o? organ book	Not printed
	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.1210</i>	p. 123	late 17	unidentified/Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o bc part	Not printed
		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	pp. 198–202	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed
(opening only)		<i>Och Mus.13</i>	ff. 131r–132v	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed
Omnes gentes plaudite	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	f. 44r–47v	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin/French	2o score	<i>Motetti (1667)</i>

Per asperos mundi erores	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	f. 44r– 46r	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 31460	pp. 28– 35	early 18	Simon Child	Oxford?	Latin	4o obl. organ book	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 33235	f. 17r– 19v	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
		<i>Och Mus.350</i>	pp. 118– 25	c.1675– 90 [before 1677?]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voic e+bc)	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
Plaudite vocibus ludite	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob Tenbury</i> 1227a	f. 56v– 60v	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown English	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Praevaluerunt in nos inimici nostri	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	p. 150	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Florido</i> (1648/9); <i>Floridus</i> (1657); <i>Florida verba</i> (1661)
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 31472	pp. 135– 139	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1648/9); <i>Floridus</i> (1657); <i>Florida verba</i> (1661)

		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	ff. 92v– 94v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1648/9); <i>Floridus</i> (1657); <i>Florida verba</i> (1661)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	ff. 26r– 31v	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Florido</i> (1648/9); <i>Floridus</i> (1657); <i>Florida verba</i> (1661)
Quam dilecta tabernacula	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	f. 15r– 17r	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
Quam praetiosa virtutum	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	f. 5r–7r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	ff. 6v– 9r	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown English	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Quasi sol nitidissimus inter mortalium	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	ff. 88r– 89v	after 1661	unidentified English	Unknown English	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.7	pp. 70– 79	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Qui cumque amat te	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	f. 34r– 38v	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)

Quis est hic vir beatissimus	Carissimi, Giacomo	F Pn Rés.F.943 <sup>e</sup>	p. 106	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1647); <i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1652)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	pp. 129– 134	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti d'autori</i> (1646); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1647); <i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1652)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	pp. 71– 79	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti d'autori</i> (1646); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1647); <i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1652)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	ff. 189v– 196r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti d'autori</i> (1646); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1647); <i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1652)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	pp. 39– 47	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti d'autori</i> (1646); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1647); <i>Delectus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1652)
Quis me territat	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	f. 2r–5v	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)

Quo tam laetus progrederis	Carissimi, Giacomo	F Pn Rés.F.943 <sup>e</sup>	f. 18v– 22v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 17835	pp. 180– 87	c.1690– 98	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	pp. 34– 41	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 29– 36	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	no. 9	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	1r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		YM 35/9	pp. 226– 229	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		YM 36(S)	ff. 98r– 99r	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
Quomodo facti sunt impii	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.13	ff. 70v– 74r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin		<i>Floridus</i> (1654)

Regina caeli laetare	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 144v– 146v	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
Rorate nubes	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 20v– 25r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Salve caelestum Regina	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 213v– 215r	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
Salve Regina	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	ff. 50	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	full score	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
<i>San Giovanni Battista</i>	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Cfm MS 48</i>	ff. 162r– 165r	c.1676	unidentified Italian?	Italy (Asnaldi)/Fitzwi lliam	Latin oratorio (Stradella)	score 23x33 cm	Not printed.
		<i>Ob Tenbury 579– 80</i>	ff. 11r– 14r	c.1700	unidentified Italian	unknown Italian	Latin	8o obl. score	Not printed.
Senite me dimite me	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	no. 10	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
Si linguis hominum	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.9</i>	C	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	Not printed.

		YM 35/10	ff. 165v–167r	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	Not printed.
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 78416 C	pp. 25–30	c.1645	unidentified Italian	Rome/John Evelyn	Latin	4o score	Not printed.
Si quis diligit me	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	pp. 30–33	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Quinto libro</i> , op. 16 (1669)
Sicut mater consolatur filios suos	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 18–26	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o score	<i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.55	ff. 91v–87v	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
Sicut stella matutina	Carissimi, Giacomo	F <i>Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	f. 8r–12r	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Floridus</i> (1659); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Lam</i> MS 43	pp. 105–107	late 17	Francis Smith?	Oxford	Italian/Latin		<i>Floridus</i> (1659); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	pp. 17–25	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1659); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	16r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1659); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)

		<i>Och Mus.53</i>	ff. 199v–205r	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1659); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
		<i>YM 36(S)</i>	no. 11	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1659); <i>Arion Romanus</i> (1670)
Sponsa tua peresia	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	pp. 92–95	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
Summi regis puerpera	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>YM 35/11</i>	ff. 2–6v	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Latin	4o bound sets of parts	Not printed.
		<i>Och Mus.83</i>	pp. 141–47	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin/French	2o score	Not printed.
Surgamus eamus properemus	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Cfm MS 153</i> [Layer 1]	f. 68v–71v	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin	score 19x25 cm	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666)
		<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	ff. 1–4v	c.1690–98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666)



<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	ff. 33– 36	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31476	14 p. 115 (rev); 17 f. 7v; 18 p. 10	1678–88	unidentified	London/Catholi c chapel	Latin (Fede, Carissimi, Steffani)	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	20 pp. 20–22; 21 pp. 17–19; 22 p. 11; 23 p. 9	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	f. 125r– 128r	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	p. 100	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)

		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1226 (Layer 2)	pp. 159– 162	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	pp. 111– 118	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	ff. 4r– 6r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	ff. 30 <sup>v</sup> – 33 <sup>r</sup>	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1649); <i>Floridus</i> (1652); <i>Scelta di motetti</i> (1656); <i>Missa a cinque et</i> <i>a novem</i> (1666)
Surge cor meum	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 126– 128r	late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Primo libro</i> , op. 3, (1661/1677)
Surge dilecte mi	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.17	pp. 213– 220	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)

		<i>Och Mus.7</i>	pp. 188– 192	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
Surge, veni, gaude, jubila	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	6r	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Surrexit Christus	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	ff. 207r– 210r	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
		<i>Y M 36(S)</i>	ff. 30v– 32v	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Surrexit pastor bonus	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och Mus.7</i>	p. 166	late 17	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , op. 19 (1672)
Susciatavit Dominus	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 33235	pp. 111– 17	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score	<i>Scelta de'motetti</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Ob Tenbury 335</i>	f. 43v– 56v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta de'motetti</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>F Pn Rés.F.943<sup>c</sup></i>	14 p. 115 (rev); 17 f. 7; 18 p. 9	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Scelta de'motetti</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)

		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	20 pp. 18–19; 21 pp. 15–17; 22 pp. 10–11; 23 p. 8	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta de'motetti</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	pp. 140– 144	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Scelta de'motetti</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	pp. 228– 233	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Scelta de'motetti</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 151– 61	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Scelta de'motetti</i> (1665); <i>Missa a cinque</i> (1666)
Transeamus pastores	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	f. 73v– 78v	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Turbabuntur impii	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	14 pp. 79–83; 15 pp. 75–79; 16 pp. 111– 115; 19 p. 98	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)

		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	p. 119	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	pp. 47– 56	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	pp. 121– 132	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	ff. 134v– 138v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.53	f. 49v– 54r	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Missa a cinque et a novem</i> (1666); <i>Sacri concerti</i> (1675)
Ubi est dilectus meus	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	f. 163r– 165v	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il quarto libro</i> , op. 10 (1665)
Velut palma velut rosa	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 39v– 42r	early 18	Simon Child	Oxford?	Latin	4o obl. organ book	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)

		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	ff. 27 <sup>r</sup> – 29 <sup>r</sup>	c.1682	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 76v– 79r	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.17	pp. 181– 187	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Lat in/Italian	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
Venerat illa dies	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	7v	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
Venite gentes	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	pp. 1–5	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Lati n/French	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
		<i>YM</i> 36(S)	ff. 150v– 152v	late 17	Matthew Hutton	Oxford	Latin	2o score	<i>Motetti</i> (1667)
Venite pastores	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 134– 40	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.7	f. 65r– 68r	late 17	Edward Lowe?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> (1693)
Vidi impium superexaltatum	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	p. 113	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin		<i>Floridus</i> (1655); <i>Floridus</i> (1657)

		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	pp. 153– 158	1681–98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church/?	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1655); <i>Floridus</i> (1657)
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	ff. 80r– 82v	c.1690– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1655); <i>Floridus</i> (1657)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	ff. 49v– 53r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Floridus</i> (1655); <i>Floridus</i> (1657)
Vidi Luciferum superexaltum	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7	ff. 53v– 56v	late 17	Edward Hull	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il terzo libro</i> , op. 8 (1668)
Vola te caelestes currite	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7		late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)
Vos qui statis in haec vita	Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Och</i> Mus.7		late 17	Francis Withy	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin	2o score	<i>Il secundo libro</i> , op. 6 (1659)

## Appendix IV

### Roman Latin motets without concordances

This table shows Roman Latin motets that are found in British late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century sources and do not have manuscript or printed concordances. In particular, the table suggests that the few imported Italian manuscripts of Roman cantatas were not used as copy texts.

Incipit	Composer	p./f.	Source	Date	Hand(s)	Provenance	Repertoire
Beatus Vir	[unattributed]	f. 1	<i>Cfm</i> MS 153 [Layer 1]	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin
Lauda Sion	[unattributed]	f. 19	<i>Cfm</i> MS 153 [Layer 1]	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin
Veni gaude dilecta mea	Graziani, Bonifacio	ff. 183r– 187r	<i>Cfm</i> MS 153 [Layer 1]	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin
Venite Sacte Spiritus	[unattributed]	f. 10	<i>Cfm</i> MS 153 [Layer 1]	early 18	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin
[a set of motets in praise of a martyr]	Carissimi, Giacomo	ff. 13	<i>Cfm</i> MS 209	after 1675	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin
Dies felices aeterna, Noe, Noe	Carissimi, Giacomo	unpaginated	<i>Cfm</i> MS 209	after 1675	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin



Exultate colles	Carissimi, Giacomo	p. 1	<i>Cfm</i> MS 209	after 1675	unidentified English	unknown English/Fitzwilliam	Latin
Benedictus Dominus Deus	Stradella, Alessandro	f. 1	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian
Fremebat furore ductus	Benevoli, [Orazio?]	f. 57	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian
Cum audisset Gedeon	Bernabei, Ercole	f. 36r–45v	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Elevamini porte Sion	Foggia, Francesco	f. 58r–65v	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Heu me miseram	Bernabei, Ercole	f. 10r–15r	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
In himnis et canticis	Bernabei, Ercole	f. 26r–35v	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
O quam pulchra es amica mea	Carissimi, Giacomo	f. 46r–57v	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Quando videbo dilectum meum	Bernabei, Ercole	f. 2r–9v	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Salve puellule regalis animi	Carissimi, Giacomo	f. 16r–25v	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Spirate o venti	Foggia, Francesco	f. 66r–73v	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29292	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Exsurgat Deus	Fede, Innocenzo	f. 15r–18r	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31480	late 17	unidentified Italian; unidentified English	Italy/James II catholic chapel?	Latin
Promiso	Graziani, Bonifacio	f. 7r–8v	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	after 1661	unidentified English	unkown English	Latin (Graziani)

Salva nos Deus	Graziani, Bonifacio	f. 21v–25r	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1227a	after 1661	unidentified English	unkown English	Latin (Graziani)
In te Domine	Barnabei, H. [Ercole?]	p. 9	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	c.1690–98	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin
Tribularer ego	Barnabei, H. [Ercole?]	p. 18	<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	c.1690–98	unidentified English	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin
Benedicite omnes angeli	Carissimi, Giacomo	pp. 221–225	<i>Och</i> Mus.13	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin
Pastores dum custodistis	Graziani, Bonifacio	pp. 5–11	<i>Och</i> Mus.13	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin
Quid agis cor meum	Graziani, Bonifacio	pp. 11–17	<i>Och</i> Mus.13	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin
Salve, salve coelitum regina	Graziani, Bonifacio	ff. 42v–44v	<i>Och</i> Mus.17	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church	Mixed
Maria et flumina	Cesti, Antonio	pp. 59–61	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church	Italian/Latin/French
O quam suave est regnum caelorum	Carissimi, Giacomo	pp. 117–124	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church	Italian/Latin/French
Properate, mortales	Cesti, Antonio	pp. 54–58	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church	Italian/Latin/French
Sicut virgula fumi	Graziani, Bonifacio	pp. 163–170	<i>Och</i> Mus.83	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church	Italian/Latin/French
Super flumina babylonis	Carissimi, Giacomo	no. 12	<i>YM</i> 35/12	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Martyres [Tollite sancti]	Carissimi, Giacomo	no. 13	<i>YM</i> 35/13	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Beatus vir	Carissimi, Giacomo	no. 2	<i>YM</i> 35/2	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
Laudate Pueri à 5	Carissimi, Giacomo	no. 7	<i>YM</i> 35/7	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin

Laudate Pueri à 3	Carissimi, Giacomo	no. 8	YM 35/8	early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Rome?	Latin
-------------------	-----------------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------------	-------------	-------

## Appendix V

### Secular Italian cantatas and arias with concordances in British sources

This table is to show what secular Italian music was available and copied in England, c. 1660–1710. Although I have conducted searches as widely as possible, the table does not aspire to include every cantata in England from the period, but to illustrate the point that concordances frequently are between a Roman cantata source and an English collection, and that the majority of sources are in the Christ Church and Harley collections. See in particular Chapter 4, p. 174 onwards, and Chapter 5, p. 220 onwards. Manuscript copies are listed vertically in alphabetical order (one entry per copy), while information about the source and its provenance is given horizontally in the table.

Incipit	Composer	Source	p. /f.	Date	Hand(s)	Provenance	Repertoire	Format
A chi spera di gioir	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 12v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 20	after c. 1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
A pie d'un verde alloro assisi (duetto)	Carissimi, Giacomo [?]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 203– 211	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.52	ff. 21r– 26r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
Alma, che fai, che pensi?	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.52	ff. 10v– 14v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	ff. 38v– 44v	c. 1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?

Almeno un pensiero	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.51	pp. 94–99	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.949	ff. 7r–12v	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 285 x 125 mm, score
Ama pur mio cor	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 22	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 21	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Amanti, ardire o goder o morire	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Och</i> Mus.377	ff. 49v– 51r	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	ff. 85v– 87r	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Amanti, piangete a miei pianti	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 78	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.951	ff. 25r– 28v	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian	obl. 283 x 113 mm, score
Amanti, sentite Amor	Marazzoli, Marco	<i>Och</i> Mus.18	pp. 1–4	before 1670?	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.350	pp. 53–57	c.1675 –90 [befor e 1677? ]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+ bc)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.377	ff. 12v– 17r	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)

		<i>Och Mus.49</i> (pp. 152–92)	p. 190	c.1670 –80	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (N. Italy)	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.623–6</i>	set of partbooks	c.1670 –85	Henry Bowman	Oxford? (Goodson)	Latin	2o partbooks
		<i>Och Mus.996</i>	ff. 134v– 136r	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Amor, se devo piangere	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Och Mus.377</i>	ff. 47v– 49r	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
		<i>Och Mus.996</i>	ff. 131v– 132v	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Anime voi che sete	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Cfm MS 44</i>	f. 100	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Och Mus.350</i>	pp. 84–89	c.1675 –90 [befor e 1677? ]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+ bc)
		<i>Och Mus.950</i>	ff. 53r– 60r	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 283 x 113 mm, score
Apri le luci amanti (from <i>Dal male il bene</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Harley 1270</i>	f. 15v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	f. 18	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley et. al.	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.955</i>	ff. 225r– 230r	after c.1687	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Scarlatti)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score

Ardo, lassa, o non ardo?	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.998	ff. 41r– 52v	c.1644 – 1676?	unidentified Italian	Rome (Andreoli)/Christ Church (Goodson)	Italian	4o obl. score
(incomplete at end)		<i>Och</i> Mus.51	pp. 129– 133	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
Armati, cieca Dea	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 37v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 25	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Bel tempo per me se n'andò	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.51	pp. 90–93	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.949	ff. 19r– 22v	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 285 x 125 mm, score
Biondi crini	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	f. 41v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 29	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Cangia il cielo	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 22104	f. 120r– 122v	c.1700	unidentified Italian	Rome/British Library	Italian (Stradella, Bononcini)	4o obl. score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 102v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Che mi giova in alto scoglio	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	f. 58	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/ Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.17	f. 16r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score

Che spero, ahi lasso da un duro sasso	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 34v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 25v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Che volete da me	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	f. 106v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	f. 51v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
Chi d'amor paventa il foco	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 24	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 22	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Chi dirà che nel veleno	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 17835 [Layer 1]	f. 22v–30r	c.1690–98	Francis Smith et. al.	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin (Carissimi et al)	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 59	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31487	f. 170r–197r	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/J. Pears/Oxford?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
Chi fugge d'amor gl'affanni	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.52	ff. 6r–10r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	ff. 31v–38r	c.1652–1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Chi mi credeva instabile	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	f. 36v	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score



		<i>Och Mus.17</i>	ff. 18r– 19r	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/Italian	2o score
Chi si fida d'amor	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1264</i>	f. 73v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	f. 30v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Credei col gir lontano dal bel'idolo mio	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1266</i>	f. 126	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian (arias)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.946</i>	ff. 15r– 24v	c.1650 – 1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones 1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi et. al.)	obl. 275 x 123 mm, score
Da perfida speranza	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl Harley 1265</i>	f. 153	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.946</i>	ff. 53r– 60v	c.1650 – 1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones 1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi et. al.)	obl. 275 x 123 mm, score
Deh, rendi al cor la pace	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1268</i>	f. 41v	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Italian (arias, unattributed)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1270</i>	f. 30v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
Del famoso oriente ('La madre Ebreia')	Cesti, Antonio	<i>Lbl Harley 1863</i>	pp. 27–32	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
		<i>Och Mus.83</i>	ff. 131r– 136v	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin/French	2o score
Di due ciglia al bel fulgore	Farina, Antonio	<i>Och Mus.956</i>	ff. 123r– 125r	late 17 (c.1675– 1700?)	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Luca et. al.)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score

		<i>Och Mus.958</i>	f. 83v– 84r	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones 1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Farina)	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
Dite o cieli se crudeli	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 31461	f. 46v	early 18	unidentified English	unkown English	English (anthems)	2o score
		<i>Lbl Add. MS</i> 33235	f. 69r– 69v	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score
	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl Harley 1501</i>	ff. 33v– 35r	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/ Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.377</i>	f. 28v	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
Docle colpo	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	f. 38v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1264</i>	f. 36	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
Dolce speranza non far languire	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1270</i>	f. 26	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	f. 78v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
D'una bell' Infedele	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	f. 10r	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.17</i>	pp. 11–15	late 17	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
È bello l'ardire	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.51</i>	ff. 23r– 28r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score

		<i>Och Mus.949</i>	f. 91	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 285 x 125 mm, score
E chi non v'ameria	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl Harley 1265</i>	f. 96	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Berenclow/Wa nley/Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 4o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1272</i>	ff. 1r–5v	late 17- early 18	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score
E pur vuole il cielo	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.52</i>	ff. 24r– 31r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.996</i>	f. 143	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Erminia sventurata	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl Harley 1265</i>	ff. 91r– 96v	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.946</i>	ff. 13v– 14r	c.1650 – 1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones 1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi et. al.)	obl. 275 x 123 mm, score
Fanciulla son'io	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Och Mus.17</i>	f. 10	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 7549</i>	f. 47	mid- 17	unidentified English	England/John Holle1694/Harley	Italian (earlier styles)	4o obl. melody only
Fidarsi d'Irene	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1264</i>	f. 17v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score

		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1272	f. 101v	late 17-early 18	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Fileno, Idolo mio	Melani, [Alessandro?]	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	f. 136	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	f. 17v	late 17	Berenclow Sr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	pp. 100–104	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
Filli, non t'amo piu	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.51	ff. 29r–34v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.949	f. 38v	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 285 x 125 mm, score
Fra dolci martiri	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 24	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	pp. 82–89	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Fuggi, o mio core, dal seno	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.51	ff. 43r–52v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.950	f. 86v	c.1650 – 1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 283 x 113 mm, score
Già languiva la notte	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	f. 128r–151v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm

		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31487	f. 5	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/J. Pears/ Oxford?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
Hor dunque perche	Abbate Colonnese	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 17v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	unfoliated	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Il più misero amante	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Cfm</i> MS 129	f. 165v	early 18	unidentified Italian	Andrea Adami de Bolsena/Hooker/Fitz william	Cantatas (Stradella)	score 16x22 cm
		<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	f. 35r– 38v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
Impara a non dar fede	Bononcini, Giovanni	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31518	pp. 301– 305	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
	Bononcini, Giovanni	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 74–78	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o score
In un mar' di pensieri	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.51	ff. 37r– 44v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.947	f. 7	c.1650 – 1675?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Mr. Jones1697/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi et. al.)	obl. 275 x 123 mm, score
Io non sò se potrai fingere (from <i>L'Aldimiro</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 18v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	ff. 1r–8v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley et. al.	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score

		<i>Och Mus.955</i>	f. 173	after c.1687	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Scarlatti)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score
La gioia verace (from <i>Dal male il bene</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Harley 1265</i>	ff. 219r– 223r	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.955</i>	f. 82	after c.1687	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Scarlatti)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score
La ragion m'assicura ( <i>L'Amore e lo sdegno</i> )	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Harley 1272</i>	pp. 277– 283	late 17- early 18	Humfrey Wanley	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.9</i>	pp. 144– 149	18thC	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.48</i>	f. 52	late 17- early 18	Richard Goodson Sr/unidentifie d/Henry Aldrich/John Church	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin	2o score
La speranza in chi ben ama	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1272</i>	f. 8v	late 17- early 18	Humfrey Wanley	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 4899</i>	ff. 53v– 56v	c. 1697	Bernard Martin Berenclow et al?	Harley/Humfrey Wanley?	Latin/Italian	2o score
Lasso, benché mi fugga ognor lontano	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Och Mus.377</i>	ff. 83v– 85r	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)

		<i>Och Mus.996</i>	pp. 30–40	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Le ferite d'un cor	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.54</i>	ff. 41r– 54v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.994</i>	ff. 18r– 23v	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich+Goodson)	Italian (Carissimi)	8o obl. score??
		<i>Och Mus.996</i>	ff. 55v– 59r	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Lidio, invano presumi*	Caproli, Carlo	<i>Och Mus.953</i>	f. 69	c.1650 –1675	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Caproli)	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
Lontan dall'idol mio	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	pp. 19–29	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley et. al.	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.993</i>	f. 115v– 118r	c.1700	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Goodson)	Italian (Bononcini, Scarlatti)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)
Lontani del core	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Add. MS 33234</i>	f. 82r–84r	c.1682	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 33235</i>	ff. 97r– 99v	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.14</i>	12 pp. 107–108; 13 pp. 102–03; 16 pp. 72–74; 19 p. 50	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score

		ObMusschc12–19	pp. 13–14	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Lungi, homai, deh spiega	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och Mus.54</i>	ff. 59r–60r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.996</i>	f. 40v	c.1652–1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Mai più, stelle spietate	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1264</i>	f. 29v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	f. 16	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Mesto in sen d'un antro ombroso	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl Harley 1271</i>	pp. 59–68	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley or Wanley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.51</i>	f. 105v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
Nel Giardin della speranza	[unattributed]	<i>Cfm MS 44</i>	f. 34	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Lbl Harley 1264</i>	f. 30v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
No, no, mio core, non ingolfarti	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl Harley 1270</i>	f. 40v	late 17	Berenclow Sr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1501</i>	pp. 16–20	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.51</i>	pp. 33–38	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score



Non chiede altro che vita	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.51	ff. 13r– 18r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.949	pp. 1–12	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 285 x 125 mm, score
Non piangete, ò ciechi amanti	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.54	ff. 52r– 58v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	f. 11v	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
O Cieli, pietà	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	ff. 27v– 30r	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
		<i>Och</i> Mus.377	ff. 119v– 120v	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	ff. 1r–20r	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
O me infelice ('Falsirena disperata')	[unattributed]	<i>Och</i> Mus.959	pp. 165– 88	1670s	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Cesti)	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.13	pp. 5–6	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score
Occhi belli, ohime	[unattributed]	<i>Och</i> Mus.18	ff. 4v–6r	before 1670?	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.377	f. 4v	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
Occhi quai vaghi azuri	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	f. 95	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
		<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	ff. 13r– 12v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm

Or ch'il core arde'al foco	[unattributed]	<i>Och</i> Mus.17	pp. 36–37	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.350	f. 5	c.1675–90 [before 1677?]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+bc)
Pene, che volete da me?	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	ff. 40v–42r	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.377	f. 23	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitlocke/Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
Pensier mio, che vuoi da me	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 27	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	p. 4	late 17	Berenclow Sr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
Pensieri quietate	[unattributed]	<i>Och</i> Mus.18	p. 52	before 1670?	Henry Aldrich	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.350	f. 17v–18v	c.1675–90 [before 1677?]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+bc)
Pensieri, consigliatemi	Pasquini, Bernardo	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 16	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score

		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 97	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Pensoso afflitto	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	f.1	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	f. 16v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
Per dar Lampo à tuoi Lumi	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 1	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 40v–41	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
Per didere un cor amante	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 20b	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 7	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Perche piangete	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	f. 78v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	f. 98v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
		<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	ff. 15r– 20v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
Più non ti chieggio, ò Filli ( <i>Dialogo à due, Tirsi e Filli</i> )	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.52	ff. 45r– 51v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	ff. 223r– 236v	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?

		<i>Och Mus.998</i>	f. 4v	c.1644 – 1676?	unidentified Italian	Rome (Andreoli)/Christ Church (Goodson)	Italian	4o obl. score
Potrei non amar' più	[unattributed]	<i>Och Mus.17</i>	pp. 38–39	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.350</i>	f. 110r– 119r	c.1675 –90 [befor e 1677? ]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+ bc)
Povera pellegrina ( <i>La Pellegrina</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Add. MS 22104</i>	f. 96	c.1700	unidentified Italian	Rome/British Library	Italian (Stradella, Bononcini)	4o obl. score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>	f. 74v– 77v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Quanti affanni ad un core ('Pene amorose lontananza')	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Add. MS 31518</i>	f. 35r–42r	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31487</i>	pp. 20–26	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/J. Pears/ Oxford?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
Quanto sete per me pigri	Cesti, Antonio	<i>Och Mus.83</i>	ff. 10r– 20r	late 17	William Dingley?	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin/Fre nch	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.956</i>	f. 136	late 17 (c.167 5– 1700? )	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Luca et. al.)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score
Rispondete sì ò nò	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Harley 1266</i>	pp. 74–77	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian (arias)	obl. 8o score

		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.11	f. 136	c.1680 ?	Edward Lowe + unidentified (text)	Oxford/Music school	Latin (English + Roman)	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1266	ff. 20 (only work)	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian (arias)	obl. 8o score
Sciolto havean d'all alte sponde ('I Naviganti')	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31473	f. 56r–87r	late 17- early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?	Italian (cantata)	4o obl. score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31488	f. 72r–73r	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/Charterhouse auctions 1817	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31472	Fragment	1681– 98	Francis Smith	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.377	pp. 82–85	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
		<i>Och</i> Mus.54	f. 29r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	f. 99r– 100r	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
(fragment)		<i>Och</i> Mus.1215(8)	f. 99r– 100r	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Christ Church	Italian (Carissimi)	2o fragment
(final trio 'Amanti che dite')		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.9	pp. 148– 50	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	p. 97	1678– 82	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score

		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	12 pp. 114–115; 13 pp. 109–110; 16 pp. 80–81; 19 p. 51	c.1682	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 94r– 95r	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score
		<i>F Pn</i> Rés.F.943 <sup>c</sup>	f. 19	c.1690 –98	Francis Smith	Oxford	Latin	
		<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 335	f. 21v	1681– 98	Francis Smith et. al.	Oxford/Christ Church	Latin	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12– 19	f. 253	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Och</i> Mus.14	f. 79	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
Se mi condanni	Pasquini, Bernardo	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 22	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	ff. 156r– 65v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Se nel ben sempre inconstante	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1265	f. 24	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Berenclow/Wa nley/Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 4o score

		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	f. 115v	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Se Nerone le vuole	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	f. 9v	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31488	f. 19	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/Charterhouse auctions 1817	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
Sera alquanto addormentato	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	pp. 79–81	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	ff. 64r– 67r	late 17	Berenclow Sr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
Si bacia, stringi e godi	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	f. 28v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	ff. 55r– 60r	after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Si dia bando alla speranza	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.51	f. 8	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.951	f. 152r– 169r	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian	obl. 283 x 113 mm, score
Si tocchi tamburo* (from <i>Il palazzo incantato</i> )	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7549	f. 136r– 155r	mid- 17	unidentified English	England/John Holles1694/Harley	Italian (earlier styles)	4o obl. melody only

		<i>Och</i> Mus.949	pp. 70–79	c.1675 – 1700?	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Rossi, Carissimi)	obl. 285 x 125 mm, score
Sopra un eccelsa torre (‘Il Nerone’)	Stradella, Alessandro	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	12 pp. 112–113; 13 pp. 107–108; 16 pp. 78–79; 19 p. 77	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31487	ff. 100r– 101r	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/J. Pears/ Oxford?	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31488	75v–76v	early 18	unidentified Italian	Rome?/Charterhouse auctions 1817	Italian (early 18 cantatas)	4o obl. score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.48	f. 108v	late 17- early 18	Goodson Sr/unidentifie d/ Aldrich/John Church	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian/Latin	2o score
Sospire che fate?	Savioni, Mario ?	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12– 19	f. 58v	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Och</i> Mus.14	f. 37	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 9	1680s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child	Mixed	2o score
Sospiri olà che fate	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Cfm</i> MS 44	ff. 118r– 119r	c.1704	unidentified Italian?	unkown Italian/Fitzwilliam	Latin/Italian	score 23x28 cm
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	f. 1v	late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score



		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	f. 105	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
Spiega un volo così altero	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	ff. 103r– 105v	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/ Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	pp. 17–29	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	ff. [0]v– 7r	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
Tormentosa gelosia (from <i>Il Pompeo</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2962	f. 11r	c.1697	unidentified Italian	Rome/Henriette Scott	Italian (cantatas)	8o obl. score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.955	p. 8	after c.1687	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Scarlatti)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score
Tra più riposti abissi	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.54	f. 10v	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	ff. 115v– 116v	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Tronchisi, pensieri, il vuolo	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 6v– 10r	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12– 19	f. 3	before 1682	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Troppo'è ver' quel ch'io credo	[unattributed]	<i>Och</i> Mus.17	f. 8v	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.350	pp. 15–16	c.1675 –90 [befor	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153

				e 1677? ]				mm)(voice+ bc)
Tu giuri che è mio	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	ff. 60v– 62r	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/ Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	f. 2 <sup>v</sup>	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Tu sarai sempre il mio bene	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Och</i> Mus.377	pp. 40–42	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	f. 59	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/ Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	f. 20v	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
Vaghi rai, pupille ardenti	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.54	f. 171	late 17	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Carissimi)	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.996	ff. 17r– 22r	c.1652 –1654	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Timothy Nourse/Aldrich	Italian (Carissimi, Rossi)	4o obl. score (voice+bc)?
Vittoria, mio core (Amante sciolto d'amore)	Carissimi, Giacomo	<i>Och</i> Mus.17	f. 44v	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score

		<i>Och Mus.350</i>	f. 30	c.1675 -90 [before 1677? ]	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford (Goodson)	Mixed	4o? obl. score (235 x 153 mm)(voice+ bc)
Vo cercando la speranza	Albrici, Vincenzo	<i>Lbl Harley 1501</i>	f. 1	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/ Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
		<i>Och Mus.17</i>	f. 20v	late 17	Henry Aldrich; Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Christ Church (Aldrich)	English/Latin/It alian	2o score
Voglio amar chi mi disprezza (from <i>L'Aldimiro</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro	<i>Lbl Harley 1265</i>	ff. 1r-4r	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley	Italian	obl. 8o score
		<i>Och Mus.955</i>		after c.1687	unidentified Italian	Rome/Christ Church (Aldrich)	Italian (Scarlatti)	obl. 275 x 105 mm, score
Voglio morte*	Caproli, Carlo	<i>Lbl Harley 1264</i>		late 17	Cornelio Galli	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
		<i>Lbl Harley 1273</i>		after c.1699	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
Vorrei scoprirti un dì	Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl Harley 1501</i>		c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/ Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score

Rossi, Luigi	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	late 17	Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/ Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
Rossi, Luigi	<i>Och</i> Mus.377	c.1653	Angelo Bartolotti	Uppsala/Whitelocke/ Goodson	Italian	8o obl. score (voice+bc)

\* Rossi's 'Si tocchi tambura' was published in Playford's *Select Ayres* (1669); see Chapter 3, p. 125–7.

\* Caproli's 'Lidio in vano presumi' and 'Voglio morte' were published in Pignani's *Scelta di canzonette* (1679), see Chapter 3, p. 134–6.

## Appendix VI

### Sacred and secular Italian repertoires copied by Oxford scribes c.1670–1700

The purpose of this table is to illustrate the dominance of early seventeenth-century north Italian styles over Roman vocal music in late seventeenth-century anthologies, discussed in particular in Chapter 3, p. 120–21. Works are listed alphabetically in the left-hand column, and information about the sources is given horizontally in the table. Works by Roman composers are shown in bold type to distinguish them from north Italian works.

Incipit	Composer	Source	p. /f.	Date	Hand(s)	Provenance	Repertoire	Format
Ad te levavi oculos meos	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	19 p. 96	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Adoro te laudo te	Martinengo, Giovanni Paulo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 47–49; 13 pp. 50–52; 19 p. 42	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Al lume delle stelle	Monteverdi, Claudio	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 70r–72r	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Alleluia iubilat ecclesia	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 41r–43v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	16 pp. 107–110 [a voice part missing?]; 19 p. 94	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks

Ancor non sapev'io bella	Pesenti, Martino	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 77r–80r	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Anima mea in aeterna dulcedine	Trabattone, Egidio	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 70	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 92–94	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 6–8; 16 pp. 14–16; 19 p. 18	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Anima mea liquefacta est	Marini, Francesco Maria	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 44r–45v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	13 pp. 93–95; 14 pp. 52–54; 16 pp. 47–48; 19 p. 62	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 4v–5r; 25 ff. 5r–5v; 26 ff. 5v–6r; 27 ff. 4v–5r	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Anima mea suspira	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 36v–40v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
<b>Annunciate gentes</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	17 f. 12v; 18 p. 20; 10 p. 106	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Ardet cor meum et anima mea	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 18r–21r	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book

		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 12–15	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	13 pp. 7–11; 19 pp. 4–5	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Asurgite de vincis	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 37v–39v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
Audite caeli	Facchi, Agostino	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 91–92; 13 pp. 91–92; 16 pp. 44–45; 19 p. 61	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 f. 3v; 25 f. 3v; 26 ff. 3v–4r; 26 ff. 3v–4r; 27 f. 3r	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Audite me divini fructus	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 24v–27v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 17v–20	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	16 pp. 1–5; 19 pp. 13–14	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>Audite sancti</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 13v–15v	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 112	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 93–104; 13 pp. 96–98; 16 pp. 57–59s; 19 p. 67	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks

		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24-7	24 ff. 13r-14v; 25 ff. 13r-14r; 26 ff. 13v-14v; 27 ff. 11v-12r	before 1682	Edward Lowe + unidentified English	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	13 pp. 3-6; 19 p. 2-3	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 11v-14r	c.1670- 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 7-9	c.1670- 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
Bone Jesu Verbum Patris	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 59r-62r	c.1678- 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 96r-99v	c.1682- 92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 87v-89v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	12 pp. 25-28; 13 pp. 29-32; 19 pp. 35-36	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Canite tuba jubilate pastores	Filippi, Gaspare	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	12 pp. 59-60; 13 pp. 61-62; 19 p. 46	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>Cantate Domino</b>	<b>Silvestro [Durante?]</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 132v-134v	c.1682- 92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 80v-82r	c.1678- 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score



		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	20 p. 8–10; 21 pp. 8–10; 23 p. 4	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 134–141; 13 pp. 135–138; 19 p. 93 [bass voice part missing?]	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Cantemus Deo adjutori	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 56v–59r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 p. 134; 16 pp. 103–107; 19 p. 93	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Chi vuol haver felice	Rovetta, Giovanni	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	59r–61v	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Conditor caeli et terra	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 21v–24r	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	15 pp. 1–4; 19 p. 11	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 15–17v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
Congratulamini mihi	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 71v–73v	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 73v–75r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score

Congratulamini mihi fideles	Martinengo, Giovanni Paulo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 50–52; 13 pp. 53–55; 19 p. 43	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Corete amante	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 74r–75v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
Credetel voi che non sentite amore	Rovetta, Giovanni	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 87v–90r	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Deus in adjutorium	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 11–13; 16 pp. 19–21; 19 p. 20	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Deus miseratur nostris	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	20 pp. 25–28; 21 pp. 23–26; 22 pp. 14–17; 23 p. 11–12	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>Dicite laudem</b>	<b>Cecchelli, Carlo</b>	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 128v–130v	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
<b>Dite o cieli se crudeli</b>	<b>Rossi, Luigi</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 46v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
Domine ad adjuvandum me	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 28v–29v	c.1670– 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	13 pp. 1–3; 19 p. 1	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks

Domine ne memineris	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 18–21; 13 pp. 21–24; 19 p. 23	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Domine non secundum peccata	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	19 p. 85	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Dulcis amor Jesu	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 28r–29v	c.1670– 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 20–21v	c.1670– 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	16 pp. 6–8; 19 p. 15	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Dulcis Christe	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 77r–78	c.1678– 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
Et ecce sonuit vox laetitiae	Fontei, Nicolò	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 40–42; 15 pp. 40–42; 16 pp. 32–34; 19 p. 56	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
	Fontei, Nicolò	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	27 ff. 12v–13r	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
<b>Et populi venite (from Judicium Salomonis)</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	17 f. 14v; 18 pp. 22–23	before 1682	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Euge serve bone	Marini, Francesco Maria	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 56–58; 13 pp. 58–60; 19 p. 45	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Exsultate justi	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 52v–54r	c.1678– 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 103r–105r	c.1682– 92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score

		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 39–42; 13 pp. 43–45; 19 p. 40	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Exurgat deus	Facchi, Agostino	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 2–2v; 25 ff. 2r–2v; 26ff. 2r–2v; 27 f. 2r	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 88–90; 13 pp. 89–90; 16 pp. 41–43; 19 p. 60	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Felix victoria nobis	Fontei, Nicolò	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 65–69; 13 pp. 67–68; 19 p. 48	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Fugge anima mea	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 31v–33	c.1670– 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
<b>Hodie Simon Petrus</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	f. 80	c.1670– 90	unidentified English	Oxford?	English	2o score
Il mondo tace	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 95v–97r	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
In Lectulo meo per noctes	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 81–83; 16 pp. 26–29; 19 p. 55	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>In te Domine speravi</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 p. 120 (rev); 17 f. 6; 18 p. 7	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	17 f. 6; 18 pp. 7–9	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks

		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	20 p. 14–18; 21 pp. 11–15; 23 pp. 8–9; 23 pp. 6–7	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Integer vita horat	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	17 f. 14v; 18 pp. 24–28	before 1682	Richard Goodson Jr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Intuens in caelum	Filippi, Gaspare	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 43–44; 15 pp. 43–44; 16 pp. 35–36; 19 p. 57	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Io mi sento morir	Rovetta, Giovanni	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 50v–52r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 52v–52v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 77r–79r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 70–72; 13 pp. 69–71; 19 p. 49–51	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 50v–52v	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Ite rose felici	Pesenti, Martino	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 84r–87r	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score

Jesu amor dulcissime	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	20 p. 11–13; 22 pp. 5–7; 23 p. 5	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Judica me Deus	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 14–17; 13 pp. 17–20; 19 pp. 21–22	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Laetamini in Domino	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 14v–17v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 10–12	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
Laetentur caeli	Monferrato, Natale	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 70v–73v	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
Laudamus Dominum paritur	Fontei, Nicolò	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 61–64; 13 pp. 63–66; 19 p. 47	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Laudamus viros gloriosos	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 12–15; 15 pp. 12–15, 19 pp. 26–27	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Laudate dominum	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 88–89; 15 pp. 80–81	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Letamini in Domino	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	13 pp. 12–16; 19 pp. 6–7	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>Lontani del core</b>	<b>Stradella, Alessandro</b>	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 107–108; 13 pp. 102–03; 16 pp. 72–74; 19 p. 50	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 115v–118r	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score

		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 82r–84r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 97r–99v	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
<b>Lucifer caelestis olim</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 5r–7v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	ff. 103–104v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 103r–104v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 2–4	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
Magnificate caeli	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 43–46; 13 pp. 45–49; 19 p. 41	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 68r–70r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 100r–102v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
Magnificemus in cantico	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 11v–12r; 25 ff. 11v–12r; 26 ff. 11v–12r, ff. 10v–11r	before 1682	Matthew Hutton	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks

Magnum hereditatis mysterium	Marini, Francesco Maria	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24-7	24 ff. 5v-6r; 25 ff. 5v-6v; 26 ff. 6v-7r; 27 ff. 5v-6r	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Mass + sinfonia (-credo)	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	14 pp. 90-97; 15 pp. 82-87; 16 pp. 120-127; 17 pp. 14-16; 18 pp. 14-17	before 1682	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>Militia est vita hominis</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 4-7	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	14 p. 114 (rev); 17 f. 8; 18 p. 11	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20-23	20 pp. 23-24; 21 pp. 20-22; 22 pp. 12-14; 23 p. 10	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>Missa a quinque et a novem. Anno MDCLXVI</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 175v-190r	c. 1700	unidentified	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
Mortale che fate	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12-19	14 p. 78; 15 p. 74; 16 pp. 101- 102; 19 p. 92	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Mortali che fate	Steffani [?]	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 102r-102v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score



Nominativo hic haec hoc	Merula, Tarquino	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 8r–10v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
	Merula, Traquino	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 70–75; 15 pp. 67–72; 16 pp. 67–69; 19 p. 72	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Nominativo Quis	Merula, Tarquino [?]	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 10v–12v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
Non è di gentil core	Monteverdi, Claudio	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 72r–74r	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
O aeternae misericors	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	19 p. 84	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
O amor amantissime Jesu	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 42–44	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
O bone Jesu, o suavis amor	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 29v–31v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
O caeli gloria	Monferrato, Natale	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 78v–80v	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
O crux benedicta	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 68–69; 15 pp. 65–66; 16 pp. 65–66; 19 p. 70–71	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 12v–13r; 25 ff. 12v; 26 f. 13r	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
O crux nobilitata	Cazzati, Maurizio	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 25–28; 15 pp. 22–25; 19 p. 31	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks

O Domine guttae tui sanguinis	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 59–62; 15 pp. 55–58; 16 pp. 53–56; 19 p. 65–66	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 6v	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 92v–95v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 8v–9v; 25 ff. 9r–10r; 26 ff. 9v–10r; 27 ff. 8v–9r	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
O dulce nomen Jesu	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 105r–107r	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 29–31; 13 pp. 33–35; 19 p. 37	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>O dulcis Jesu</b>	<b>Graziani, Bonifacio</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 40v–43v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 42r–44r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
O fideles misereremini	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	19 p. 86	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
O Jesu mea vita	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 82v–83v	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 19–21; 15 pp. 19–21; 19 p. 29	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks

O misera Dorinda	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 73–75; 14 pp. 84–87; 16 pp. 116–119; 19 p. 54	before 1682	Edward Lowe + Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
O quam pulchra es Maria	Cazzati, Maurizio?	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 77–80; 13 pp. 118–121; 16 pp. 88–91; 19 p. 82	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
O quam speciosa	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 32r–34r	c.1670– 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 23–25	c.1670– 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 1–4; 19 pp. 8–9	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
O sacrum convivium	Philippi, Gaspare	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 10v–11r; 25 ff. 10v–11r; 26 ff. 10v–11r; 27 f. 9v	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
O sacrum convivium	Facchi, Agostino	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 pp. 2v–3r; 25 ff. 2v–3r; 26 ff. 3r; 27 f. 2v	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
O vere et care Jesu	Cazzati, Maurizio	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 29–31; 15 pp. 22–25, 26–28; 19 p. 32	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
O vos omes [corrected version by Goodson Sr]	Marini, Francesco Maria	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 16r; 25 f. 15v; 26 f. 16r	before 1682	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks

O vos omnes	Marini, Francesco Maria	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 18r–19r	c.1678– 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 66–67; 15 pp. 63–64; 16 pp. 63–64; 19 p. 69	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 6v–8r; 25 ff. 6v–7r; 26 f. 7v; 27 f. 6v	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Omnes gentes plaudite	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 29v–31r	c.1678– 85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 89v–92r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 22–24; 13 pp. 25–27; 19 pp. 33.34	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Parlo misero	Monteverdi, Claudio	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 109–111; 13 pp. 104–106; 16 pp. 75–77; 19 p. 76	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 74v–77r	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Pater noster	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 27–28	c.1670– 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score

<b>Per asperos mundi errores</b>	<b>Graziani, Bonifacio</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 44r–47v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 44r–46r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
Perche non mi rimiri	Pesenti, Martino	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 80r–83v	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Plagae tuae Domine	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 2v–5r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 85r–89r	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 55–58; 15 pp. 50–54; 16 pp. 49–52; 19 p. 63–64	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	25 ff. 7v–8v; 26 ff. 8r–9r; 27 ff. 7r–8r	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 26v–30r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
Post haec audivi quasi voce	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 135v–137v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
Quam suavis es	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 75v–77r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score

Quemadmodum desiderat	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 34v–36r	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 25–26v	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 4–6; 19 p. 10	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Quid mihi est in caelo	Aloisi, Giovanni Battista	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 49–51; 15 pp. 47–49; 16 pp. 39–41; 19 p. 59	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 4r–4v; 25 ff. 4r–4v; 26 ff. 4v–5r; 27 f. 3v–4r	before 1682	Charles Husbands Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Quo fugiam miser	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 39v–42	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
Regina caeli laetare	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp<. 36–38; 13 pp. 40–42; 19 pp. 39	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Regina caeli laetare	Monferrato, Natale	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 16–18; 15 pp. 16–18; 19 p. 28	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 48v–49r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 110r–111v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 94r–95v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score

Sactum redemptoris	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 47–48	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Salve Regina	Monferrato, Natale	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 7r–10r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 89v–92r	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 96r–98v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 63–65; 15 pp. 59–62; 16 pp. 60–62; 19 p. 68	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 15r–15v; 25 ff. 14v–15r; 26 ff. 15r–15v	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Sanctum redemptoris nomen	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	27 f. 12	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
<b>Sciolto havean d'all alte sponde, final trio 'Amanti che dite?'</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30382	f. 29r	c.1678–85	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 99r–100r	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 99r–100r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score

		<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.12-19</i>	12 pp. 114-115; 13 pp. 109-110; 16 pp. 80-81; 19 p. 51	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Och Mus.14</i>	ff. 94r-95r	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Sic ergo bone Jesu	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl Egerton 2960</i>	ff. 4v-7	c.1670- 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31460</i>	f. 8r-11r	c.1670- 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
<b>Sicut erat</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.12-19</i>	17 f. 11v; 18 p. 18	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Siocca per tutti tuos	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl Add. MS 33235</i>	ff. 47r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
Solvatur lingua me	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob Mus.Sch.C.12-19</i>	15 pp. 5-7; 19 p. 12	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl Add. MS 31460</i>	f. 30r-31v	c.1670- 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl Egerton 2960</i>	ff. 21v-23	c.1670- 90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score



Sospire che fate	[unattributed]	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 112–113; 13 pp. 107–108; 16 pp. 78–79; 19 p. 77	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Sospiri che fate	Savioni, Mario	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 100r–101r	mid- 1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Sospiri che fate	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	75v–76v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
<b>Sugamus eamus properemus</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 33–36	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	20 pp. 20–22; 21 pp. 17–19; 22 p. 11; 23 p. 9	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 p. 115 (rev); 17 f. 7v; 18 p. 10	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
<b>Suscitavit Dominus</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 30v–32v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 p. 115 (rev); 17 f. 7; 18 p. 9	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks

		<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.20–23	20 pp. 18–19; 21 pp. 15–17; 22 pp. 10–11; 23 p. 8	c.1680	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
<b>La tirannide di Nerone</b>	<b>Stradella, Alessandro</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 118v–123r	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
Tota pulchra es amica mea	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 32–35; 13 pp. 36–39; 19 pp. 24–25, 38	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 107v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	ff. 36v–37r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
Tota pulchra es amica mea	Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 8–11, 15 pp. 8–11	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Transfige mi, Domine	Scarani, Giuseppe	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.24–7	24 ff. 16v–17r; 25 ff. 16r–16vs	before 1682	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
<b>Tronchisi, pensieri, il vuole</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	13 pp. 140–142; 16 pp. 128–131	before 1682	Richard Goodson Sr	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
		<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 101r–104r	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score

Tu dormi, ah crudo core	Monteverdi, Claudio	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 64v–66v	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
<b>Turbabuntur impii</b>	<b>Carissimi, Giacomo</b>	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 79–83; 15 pp. 75–79; 16 pp. 111–115; 19 p. 98	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin	2o partbooks
Udite, amanti, meraviglia dolcissima d'amore	Rovetta, Giovanni	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 66v–70r	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Vano è il desio	Pesenti, Martino	<i>Och</i> Mus.14	ff. 53r–55v	mid-1670	John Blow	John Blow/Christ Church (Goodson)	English/Latin /Italian	2o score
Vanò e il desio	Pesenti, Martino	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 70–72; 13 pp. 77–79; 19 pp. 53–55	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Vano sil clasio	[unattributed]	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 79r–81v	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score
<b>Velut palma velut rosa</b>	<b>Graziani, Bonifacio</b>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31460	f. 49v–54r	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford/ Simon Child	Latin	4o obl. organ book
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 163r–165v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score
		<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33235	f. 39v–42r	1690s	Richard Goodson Sr?	Oxford/Simon Child/Philip Hayes	Mixed	2o score

Veni amor, veni Jesus	Casati, Gasparo	<i>Lbl</i> Egerton 2960	ff. 35v–37	c.1670–90	Henry Bowman	Oxford?	Latin	2o score
Veni veni Maria	Cazzati, Maurizio	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 22–24; 16 pp. 22–24; 19 p. 30	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Venite gentes	Marini, Francesco Maria	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	12 pp. 53–55; 13 pp. 56–57; 19 p. 44	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Vidi turbam magnam	Filippi, Gaspare	<i>Ob</i> Mus.Sch.C.12–19	14 pp. 45–46; 15 pp. 45–46; 16 pp. 37–38; 19 p. 58	before 1682	Edward Lowe	Oxford/Music school	Latin (Carissimi et. al.)	2o partbooks
Where art thou God of dreams	Draghi, Giovanni Battista	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 33234	f. 149v–150v	c.1682–92	Charles Morgan	Oxford	Mixed	2o score

## Appendix VII

### The Music Manuscripts in the Harley collection

Shelfmark	Date	Hand(s)	Provenance	Repertoire	Format
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 322	13th cent.	unidentified English	Unknown/D'Ewes/ Harley	Medieval English, hymn to the Virgin	fragment
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 746	late 14	unknown	unknown	Medieval English poems etc	?
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978	after 1266	unknown	Unknown/Stillingfleet/Harley	Medieval sacred songs or sequences	8o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1264	late 17	Cornelio Galli	England/Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (songs and arias)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1265	late 17	unidentified Italian (Antonio Sardo?); Berenclow Sr	Rome/Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 4o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1266	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/Harley	Italian (arias)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1267	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/Harley	Italian part of operas by Pasquini and Boretti	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1268	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Italian (arias, unattributed)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1269	late 17	unidentified Italian	Italy/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Italian (arias, unattributed)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1270	late 17- early 18	Berenclow Sr; Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (Scarlatti, Pasquini, unattributed)	obl. 12o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1271	late 17	unidentified Italian	Rome/Harley?	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score

<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1272	late 17- early 18	Berenclow Jr; Humfrey Wanley	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Italian (cantatas)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1273	early 18	Humfrey Wanley	Harley?	Italian (arias and cantatas)	obl. 8o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1501	c.1681	Pietro Reggio	London, monsieur Didie/[Berenclow?]/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1709	16th cent.	unidentified English	Chapel of Henry VIII?	English Latin by Faifax, Cornish, Davy et al.	4o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1717	early 13	unidentified French	unknown	French medieval	2o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1792	late 17- early 18	unidentified Italian	Italy/Wanley/Harley	Armida' intermezzo by Alessandro Melani	obl. 4o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 1863	late 17	Berenclow Sr; Berenclow Jr	Berenclow/Wanley/Harley	Latin/Italian	4o obl.
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 2124	1607	James Miller	?/Harley	The Chester Mysteries, only music to 'Gloria'	2o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 275	15th cent.	unknown	unknown English	Words of Christmas carol	?
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 2942	15th cent.	unknown	unknown English	Carols without music	?
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 3357	1632	Ralph Crane et al.	England/Holles/Henrietta/Harley	Carols and sacred poems	12o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 4142	mid-late 17	unidentified English	C. F./Harley	Anthems by Bull, Gibbons, Child, Tomkins et al.	4o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 4401	mid-13	unidentified	unknown	French medieval	2o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 4664	early-14	unidentified English	Coldingham Priory, co. Berwick	Hymnal part of Breviary	?
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 4685	late 17- early 18	unidentified English	?/Harley	One Italian song, 'miscellaneous English'	obl. 2o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 4899	1690s	Unidentified	Humfrey Wanley/Harley?	Latin/Italian	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 5242	early 16	unidentified	unknown	French chansons	8o

<i>Lbl</i> Harley 5396	c.1456	unidentified English	Wylyam Northe, York	Carols and ballads	?
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 6346	mid-late 17	unidentified English	'king'schapel'/unknown/Harley	Words of anthems by Byrd, Tallis, Weelkes, Tomkins, Child, Wilson et al	2o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 6855	1610	unidentified English	court?	Madrigal by Peacham etc	2o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 6947	c. 1667	unidentified English	unknown	songs by John Gamble	2o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7337	1714–20	Thomas Tudway	Harley	English ancient church music.	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7338	1714–20	Thomas Tudway	Harley	English ancient church music.	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7339	1714–20	Thomas Tudway	Harley	English ancient church music.	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7340	1714–20	Thomas Tudway	Harley	English ancient church music.	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7341	1714–20	Thomas Tudway	Harley	English ancient church music.	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7342	1714–20	Thomas Tudway	Harley	English ancient church music.	2o score
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7343	1724	[Tudway??]	Harley	Anthems by Tudway	4o
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7549	mid-17	unidentified English	England/John Holles 1694/Harley	Italian (earlier styles)	4o obl. melody only
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7578	mid-late 16	unidentified English	Durham?	Latin motets	obl. 8o

# Appendix VIII

---

## Inventory of the seventeenth-century Italian music in the Harley collection

### ***Lbl* Harley 1264**

f. 1	Pensoso aflitto	Rossi, Luigi
f. 7	Perche piangete	Rossi, Luigi
f. 17v	Fileno, Idolo mio	Melani, Alessandro [?]
f. 24	Sera alquanto addormentato	Rossi, Luigi
f. 34	Nel Giardin della speranza	[unattributed]
f. 38v	Dolce colpo	[unattributed]
f. 40v	Mai più, stelle spietate	[unattributed]
f. 41v	Biondi crini	[unattributed]
f. 44v	Voglio morte	Caproli, Carlo
f. 47	Fidarsi d'Irene	[unattributed]
f. 51v	Che volete da me	Rossi, Luigi
f. 58v	Sospiri, à la, che fate	Rossi, Luigi
f. 65	Lungi dal Core	Cesti, Antonio
f. 69	Ch'io manchi mai di fede	[unattributed]
f. 73v	Chi si fida d'amor	[unattributed]

### ***Lbl* Harley 1265**

f. 1	Ferma, lascia ch'io parli (Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots)	Carissimi, Giacomo
f. 13	Nò, lo niego	Ludovici, Carlo
f. 20	E che si, ch'io u'abbadono	Ludovici, Carlo
f. 26	Cieco amor	Gabrielli, Domenico
f. 29	Steso già la notte	Marazzoli, Mario
f. 37	A la Rota	Rossi, Luigi
f. 63	Questo piccolo Rio	Rossi, Luigi
f. 71	Stelle, che rimiraste	Rossi, Luigi
f. 74	Quando spiega la Notte	Rossi, Luigi
f. 79	Gelosia, ch'a poco	Rossi, Luigi



f. 87	E può soffriti, Amore	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 91	E chi non v'ameria	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 95	Giusto cosi va detto	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 105	Quante volte l'ho detto	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 108	Già nel' oblio profondo	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 114	Lasciate ch'io ritorni	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 125	Al soave spirar d'aure serene ( <i>L'Arione</i> )	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 143	Erminia sventurata	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 153	Da perfida speranza	Rossi, Luigi	
f. 167	Sospiri miei di foco	Rossi, Luigi	(copied by Berenclow Sr)
f. 171	Voglio amar	Scarlatti, Alessandro	
f. 173	La goia verace	Scarlatti, Alessandro	
f. 175	Stanco di pianger	Titij, Tomasso	
f. 187	Non fuggir quando mi vedi	Caproli, Carlo	
f. 193	Hor ch'hò sentito	Caproli, Carlo	
f. 201	Poiche fissato il guardo	Caproli, Carlo	
f. 219	Voglio, amarti	Vulpio, Giovanni Battista	
f. 225	Chi credete che sia	Vulpio, Giovanni Battista	
f. 233	Nel miravi, pupille vezzose	Vulpio, Giovanni Battista	
f. 237	Son disperato	Tenaglia, Giovanni Francesco	
f. 243	Lo dissi per gioco	Scarlatti, Alessandro	
f. 245	Ch'io lasci d'amar	Firmin, Henry	
f. 247	Non e amante	Agostino, Pietro Simone	
f. 249	La mia vagha	Agostino, Pietro Simone	
f. 251	Chi bella non ha	Agostino, Pietro Simone	
f. 253	Se nel ben sempre inconstante	Stradella, Alessandro	

### **Lbl Harley 1266**

f. 1	Care sponde del Tebro	[unattributed]
f. 12–13v	Tra martiri eterni auvinto	[unattributed]
f. 14	Da l'armi d'un volto riparo non c'è	[unattributed]
ff. 18–20v	Lasciatemi, inhumani (imperfect at end)	[unattributed]
f. 21	Vaghe fonti	[unattributed]
f. 22	Amante, non è amante	[unattributed]

f. 24	Con la scorta di due stelle	[unattributed]
f. 26	Alma mia, che si può far	[unattributed]
f. 28	Biondo arcier	[unattributed]
f. 30	E pur dolce à chi ben ama	[unattributed]
f. 32	Perch'io voli al sol	[unattributed]
f. 34	Più sempre mi consumi	[unattributed]
f. 36	Il mio cor non è più mio	[unattributed]
f. 39	M'è gradita la Catena	[unattributed]
f. 41	Dal Cielo cader ( <i>seconda parte</i> 'Sotto l'arco d'in bel ciglio')	[unattributed]
f. 51	Io non vi credo più	[unattributed]
f. 67	Tanto faco (foco) accoglo in petto	[unattributed]
f. 71	Non è libero un core che teme	[unattributed]
f. 83	Cara bocca	[unattributed]
f. 93	A Dio, begl' occhi	[unattributed]
f. 114	Era la notte	[unattributed]
f. 126	Credei col gir' lontano dal bel Idolo mio	[unattributed]
f. 136	Rispondete sì ò nò	[unattributed]
f. 142	Il mio cor, chi l'hà	[unattributed]
f. 149	Cieli! Che mio	[unattributed]
f. 171	Ahi, dolci glorie	[unattributed]
f. 175	Lasciatemi sola à piangere	[unattributed]
f. 177	Son tutte mendaci	[unattributed]
f. 178v	Ruisegnol, che volando vas	[unattributed]
f. 182v	Con femmina adirata	[unattributed]

### **Lbl Harley 1267**

f. 12	Nò, non ha tregua il mio dolor	[unattributed]
ff. 18–38	<i>Seleuco</i> (selection)	Pasquini, Bernardo ?
f. 38v	Cupido spietato	[unattributed]
f. 40v	Fiamme altere	[unattributed]
f. 42	Amore, hai vinto	[unattributed]
f. 44	Astri, voi ch'in Ciel dormite	[unattributed]
f. 45v	Crude Parca	[unattributed]
f. 47	Dimmi, bella	[unattributed]

f. 48v	Di, mio cor—di, che farai	[unattributed]
f. 50	Là, negl'antri di Cocito	[unattributed]
f. 51v	Tutte siete pazzarelle	[unattributed]
f. 53v	Ridi, ò sorte, al mio tormento	[unattributed]
f. 55v	Quanto poù nera pupilla	[unattributed]
f. 57v	Se noi Femine uediamo	[unattributed]
f. 59	Cieli, guidatemi	[unattributed]
f. 61v	Lo strale fatale ( <i>Alessandro Amante</i> , 1667)	Boretti, Giovanni Antonio ?
f. 63	Aure spirate, fiati soavi	[unattributed]
f. 64v	Speranze che m'andate	[unattributed]
f. 66v	O care catene	[unattributed]
f. 68	Per pietà datemi morte	[unattributed]
f. 73v	Trà speranza e trà timore	[unattributed]
f. 75v	O morire ò non amar	[unattributed]
f. 78	Amoretti, à l'armi	[unattributed]
f. 80v	Notte amica	[unattributed]
f. 82	A la sorte de viventi	[unattributed]
f. 83v	Partite da mè, memorie gradite	[unattributed]
f. 85	Fuggi dal mio cor	[unattributed]
f. 86v	Senza speranza, ahi mè	[unattributed]
f. 87v	Riposo non hà la vita	[unattributed]
f. 89	Chi non gode in gioventù	[unattributed]
f. 90v	Cosi Amore mi fai languir	[unattributed]
f. 92	Che tormento son costretta à sostener	[unattributed]
f. 93v	Ignoto dolore (imperfect at the end)	[unattributed]

### ***Lbl* Harley 1268**

f. 1	S'il mio cor, bella vedessi	[unattributed]
f. 3	D'un bel viso in un momento	[unattributed]
f. 5	Le zitelle d'oggi di	[unattributed]
f. 7	Sò ben io che sul mio crine	[unattributed]
f. 9	S'il Ciel non m'è crudele	[unattributed]
f. 11	Consolati; non piangere	[unattributed]
f. 13	Haurò sempre nel petto costanza	[unattributed]

f. 15	Dico all'alma	[unattributed]
f. 17	Stringilo pur al sen	[unattributed]
f. 19	Deh, rendi al cor la pace	[unattributed]
f. 21	Mia vita, placati	[unattributed]
f. 22	Sentivo fra ramo l'aure	[unattributed]
f. 24	Lascia, oh Dio	[unattributed]
f. 26	Sè spero di bacciar quegl' occhi	[unattributed]
f. 28	Crudeli, si	[unattributed]
f. 30	Vedervi e non penare	[unattributed]
f. 32	Lacci d'Amor (duet sung by La Menarina and Rosana)	[unattributed]
f. 34	Nò, nò, non mi lasciar	[unattributed]
f. 36	Poi che il fato vuol così	[unattributed]
f. 38	Son dolente	[unattributed]
f. 40	Parlami pur d'amore	[unattributed]
f. 41	Belle veneri	[unattributed]
f. 43	Destin, se vuoi	[unattributed]
f. 45	Su vuoi ch'io trovi pace	[unattributed]
f. 47	Giove è dio che tutto sai	[unattributed]
f. 48	Non vagheggiarti, ò bella	[unattributed]
f. 50	Voi che giusti fulminate	[unattributed]
f. 52	Sol mi resta un furto	[unattributed]
f. 54	Dal ceil che tutto fà sperar	[unattributed]

### ***Lbl* Harley 1269**

f. 1	Crude stelle	[unattributed]
f. 3	Volo à stringere il bel crin d'oro (from <i>Giulio Cesare</i> , 1672?)	Boretti, Giovanni Antonio ?
f. 5	Dimmi pur, dolce mia vita	[unattributed]
f. 6	Pur ch'io goda	[unattributed]
f. 8	Amarti il cor non può	[unattributed]
f. 9	Care tenebre	[unattributed]
f. 11	Mie speranze	[unattributed]
f. 13	Non mi parto da te	[unattributed]
f. 15	Sparge al vento le querelle	[unattributed]
f. 17	Rendetevi, ò pensieri	[unattributed]

f. 19	A quel crine	[unattributed]
f. 21	Degl' allori io son contenta	[unattributed]
f. 23	Mi regna nel' core amore	[unattributed]
f. 27	Sappi resistere, ò bella costanza (with rec. at f. 25)	[unattributed]
f. 30	Parto; mà Pargoletto da mè non parte amor	[unattributed]
f. 31	Al' aurora (from <i>Giunio Bruto</i> , 1686?)	Tosi, Giuseppe Felice ?
f. 33	E follia di chi si crede	[unattributed]
f. 35	Rose indegne	[unattributed]
f. 37	Donna, cagion de mali	[unattributed]
f. 38	Fanicul, che porti in volto	[unattributed]
f. 39	E miracolo d'amore	[unattributed]
f. 41	Al splendor cha cangia in cenere	[unattributed]
f. 43	Hor ch' in te miro il mio bene	[unattributed]
f. 44	Son vassalo di cupido	[unattributed]
f. 46	Ti dono un baccio	[unattributed]
f. 48	Sò ben io ch' à la bellezza	[unattributed]

### ***Lbl Harley 1270***

f. 1	Per dar Lampo à tuoi Lumi	Scarlatti, Alessandro	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 3	Lieto festeggia pur cor mio	Pasquini, Bernardo	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 5	Hor dunque perche	Abbate Colonnese	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 7	Io non sò se potrai fingere	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 9v	Si bacia, stringi e godi	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 12v	A chi spera di gioir	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 15v	Apri le Luci amante	Scarlatti, Alessandro	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 17v–18v	Pensieri, consigliatemi	Pasquini, Bernardo	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 19	Se mi condanni	Pasquini, Bernardo	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 22	Ama pur mio cor	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 24	Chi d'amor paventa il foco	Scarlatti, Alessandro	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 27	Pensier mio, che vuoi da me	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 30v	No, no, mio core	Carissimi, Giacomo	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 34v	Che spero, ahi	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 36	Dolce speranza non far languire	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 37v	Armati, cieca Dea	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)

f. 38v	Fra dolci martiri	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 40v–41	Per didere un cor amante	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 41v	Deh, rendi al cor la pace	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 42v	Tormentatemi pur quanto bramate	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)

### ***Lbl* Harley 1271**

f. 1	Ombre tenebre, orroi	[unattributed]
f. 6	Quelle Luci (possibly part of 'Ombre tenebre')	[unattributed]
f. 16	Mesto in sen d'un Antro	[unattributed]
f. 31	In erma ripa	[unattributed]
f. 42	Mi contento cosi	[unattributed]
f. 52	Che sento, oh Dio	[unattributed]
f. 61v	Marcato havea già luminoso Auriga	[unattributed]

### ***Lbl* Harley 1272**

f. 1	Aure vaghe	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 1v	Venticelli che tacete	Gabrielli, Domenico	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 4v	Vinto hai gia	Pasquini, Bernardo	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 5v	Almeno un pensiero	Carissimi, Giacomo	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 8v	Il tacer	Melani, Alessandro [?]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 10v	Mi contento d'un sorriso	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 12v	Son Amante be trovo pietà	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 13v	Aure, ò voi	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 14	Sovra il sen	Carissimi, Giacomo	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 15v	Ch'io manch mai	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 17v	Fidarsi d'Irene	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 19v	Su quel labro	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 20v	Termer di chi s'adora	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 21v	Il tempo mai non perde	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 22v	Se morir voi mi guidate	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 23v	Si, v'intendo, ò miei pensieri	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 24v	O lumi, piangete	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 25v	Volete cos	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 26v	Io provo nell'alma	Abbate Colonnese	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 27v	So che mi piac	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)

f. 28v	Se t'ama Filli	Stradella, Alessandro	(Berencloew Jr)
f. 29v	Deh, svegliatevi, occhi belli	[unattributed]	(Berencloew Jr)
f. 33v	Con man di Gelsomini	[unattributed]	(Berencloew Jr)
f. 37v	Lusinghiere pupille nere	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 38v	Siete vago, siete bello	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 39	Pensieri, armatevi	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 39v	Dona mi pace	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 40	Piu cara del Core	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 40v	Fra gl'assalti di Cupido	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 41	Quel bello, quel labro	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 42	Stelle amiche, proteggete	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 42v	Quanto è dolce quel velen	Scarlatti, Alessandro	(Wanley)
f. 43	Spero da tè, mio nume	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 43v	Care fonte	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 44	Dolcissime pene	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 44v	Lasciami in pace	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 45	Il tempio mai non perde	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 45v	Cara Imago	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 46	Son vinto, mi rendo	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 46v	A rallegrar il mondo	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 48	Su quel labro	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 48v	Sino à quando	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 49	Hò un Alma	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 49v	Con le stille del mio pianto	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 50	Deggio, ò Dio d'amor	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 50v	A voi torno	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 51	Spera ch'il Dio d'amor	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 51v	Care luci	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 52	La speranza in chi ben ama	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 52v	Son pur care al sen piagato	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 53	Di morir già non paventa	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 53v	Che vuol dal mio core	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 54	L'Aure, le fronti	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 54v	Dall' Oriente chiaro	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 55	Dove son l'erbette	[unattributed]	(Wanley)

f. 55v	E tirannico l'impero	Gabrielli, Domenico	(Wanley)
f. 55v	Vaga mia, con chi t'adora	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 56	Và lettando in questo petto	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 57	Vendetta, ò cor	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 58	Solitari passeggi	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 59	Ah, crudele, chi ti pose tanto foco	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 59v	Sopra il Mar dell' incostanza	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 60	Care larve	Gabrielli, Domenico	(Wanley)
f. 60v	Vezzose pupille	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 61	Tù mi tenti	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 62	Cominiscia tormentarmi	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 62v	Per me, funeste faci	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 63v	Dunqu', ò bella mia Diva	Tosi, Pier Francesco	(Wanley)
f. 64v	Tu mi conforta	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 65	Si, venite, luci adorate	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 65v	Chi vanta un lieto Core	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 66v	La speranza è una Tiranna	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 67	Vieni, o sonno	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 67v	O pace del mio Cor	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 68	Impiaga pur, mio Caro	Ferdinando	(Wanley)
f. 68v	Anche in voi, boschi romiti	Grua, Carlo Luigi Pietro	(Wanley)
f. 71	Stelle, non mi tradite	Stradella, Alessandro	(Wanley)
f. 73	Non spero più di ribacciarmi	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 73v	Non ti credo mai	[unattributed]	(Wanley)
f. 74v	Risuoni festante	Draghi, Giovanni Battista/ Berenclow, Bernard Martin	(Wanley)
f. 76	Soavi Respiri ( <i>Armida and Rinaldo</i> )	Melani, Alessandro [?]	(Wanley)
f. 77v	Senza speme i farmi contento	Bononcini, Giovanni	(Wanley)
f. 78v	Vanne invitto	Scarlatti, Alessandro	(Wanley)
f. 82	La ragion m'assicura ( <i>L'Amore e lo sdegno</i> )	Stradella, Alessandro	(Wanley)
f. 84	Al fulgor d'un serto aurato	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 86	Non dar piu pene	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 88	Con tromba sonora		(Berenclow Jr)
f. 92	Al dispetto ancor d'amore	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 96	E chi non v'ameria	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Jr)



f. 104v Restate immobili, stelle nel ciel [unattributed] (Berenclow Jr)

### ***Lbl Harley 1273***

f. 1	E crudo, lo veggio	Ferdinando
f. 1v	Lasciatevi bacciar	Ferdinando
f. 2v	Io vi miro	Melani, Alessandro
f. 3	Perche mai, nume addorato	Gabrielli, Domenico
ff. 4v, 42v	All' armi, miei spirti	[unattributed]
f. 5	Che sapes se ouè il mio bene	[unattributed]
f. 5v	Va crescendo	[unattributed]
f. 6	Vedrai che questo labro	[unattributed]
f. 6v	Dunque pensi, ingrata sorte	Abbate Colonnese
f. 7	Tacere è sospirar	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 7v	Dolce, bella, cara speranza	[unattributed]
f. 8	Dolce pace del Cor mio	Caproli, Carlo
f. 8v	Bella bocca	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 9	Mai non posa	[unattributed]
f. 9v	Ho core altraggiato	[unattributed]
f. 10v	Amante povero	[unattributed]
f. 11	Alma, se non mi vendico	[unattributed]
f. 11v	Silenzi della Notte	[unattributed]
f. 12	Son lieto e felice	[unattributed]
f. 12v	Versi a noi	[unattributed]
f. 13	Risolvete di sanarmi	[unattributed]
f. 13v	Resister non si può	[unattributed]
f. 14	Stelle, che rimirate	Berenclow, Bernard Martin
f. 14v	Dove sei, dove t'ascondi	[unattributed]
f. 15	Dolce pace (not same as no. 13)	[unattributed]
f. 15v	Senvola il Dio d'amore	Bononcini, Giovanni
f. 16	Pensieri, consigliatemi	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 16v	Per dar lampo	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 17	Lieto festeggia	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 17v	Hor dunque perche, gelosi	Abbate Colonnese
f. 18	Apri le Luci amante	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 18v	Io non sò se potrai	[unattributed]

f. 19	Si bacia, stringi e godi	[unattributed]
f. 20	A chi spera di gioir	[unattributed]
f. 20v	Per didere un Cor amante	[unattributed]
f. 21	Ama pur, cor mio	[unattributed]
f. 21v	Se mi condanni	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 22	Chi d'amor paventa il foco	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 23	Pensier mio	[unattributed]
f. 24	Fra dolci martiri	[unattributed]
f. 24v	Tormentatemi pur	[unattributed]
f. 25	Armati, cieca Dea	[unattributed]
f. 25v	Che spero, ahi lasso da un duro sasso	[unattributed]
f. 26	Dolce speranza non far languire	[unattributed]
f. 26v	La colpa è la mia	Agostino, Pietro Simone
f. 27v	Non sò se l'ho da dire	Albrici, Vincenzo
f. 28v	Docle colpo	[unattributed]
f. 29	Biondi crini	[unattributed]
f. 29v	Mai più, stelle spietate	[unattributed]
f. 30	Voglio morte	Caproli, Carlo
f. 30v	Chi si fida d'Amor	[unattributed]
f. 31	Non amar un volto vago	[unattributed]
f. 31v	Date all'armi	[unattributed]
f. 32	Sol chiamarsi può felice	[unattributed]
f. 32v	Lo sdegno, il rigore	Aldovrandi'
f. 33	Giotie, brillate	[unattributed]
f. 33v	Non può vivere	Berenclow, Bernard Martin
f. 34v	Dorman gl'occhi	[unattributed]
f. 37	Non sempre porta amor	[unattributed]
f. 38v	E pur grave martir	[unattributed]
f. 41	Scherza l'Onda	[unattributed]
f. 41v	Care e dolce libertà	Cesti, Antonio
f. 42	Mi scherza, mi brilla	[unattributed]
f. 43v	Stelle, non m'uccidete	Ziani [Marc Antonio?]
f. 44	Vuò cercando quella speme	Badalli, Rosa Hiacinta
f. 45v	O felice l'onda (sometimes attrib. to Steffani)	Grua, Carlo Luigi Pietro

f. 50v	Lontan dal suo bene (sometimes attrib. to Steffani)	Grua, Carlo Luigi Pietro
f. 57	Lontananza crudel	Bononocini [Giovanni?]
f. 59	Chi dirà che nel veleno	Stradella, Alessandro
f. 69	Lontan dal Idol mio (1699)	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 71	Per me non là so	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 73	Caro... Ad Altri tù me cedi	Bononocini [1695]
f. 75v	A pena dall' Oriente	Lorenzani
f. 76v	Ne notte, ne dì	Rossi, Luigi
f. 77v	Il vostro splendore	Rossi, Luigi
f. 78	Amanti, piangete	Rossi, Luigi
f. 78v	D'una bell' Infedele	Rossi, Luigi
f. 79	Se nel ben sempre inconstante	Stradella, Alessandro
f. 79v	Ferma per un momento ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 81v	Tempeste funeste ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 84v	Quell' esser misero ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 87v	Miei pensieri ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 89	Troppo presto ti lego ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 90	Sinch' il martire ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 93v	Mi tormenta ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 95	Prima vedrò ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 96	Povera Pellegrina ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 99	Ondeggiante, agitato ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 102v	Cangia il cielo ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 104	Amor mi traffiggesti ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 106	Belle fonti ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 107v	Gran tormento ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 109v	Quanto sarei beata ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 110v	Son tiranni d' Amor	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 111v	Sebar nel petto	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 112v	Amor, se mi feristi	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 114v	Ne me per gioco ( <i>Il prigioniero fortunato</i> )	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 116	Sono guerriera	Scarlatti, Alessandro

f. 117v Tacere e sospirar [unattributed]

### ***Lbl* Harley 1501**

f. 1	Vorrei scoprierti	Rossi, Luigi
f. 3	Tu sarai sempre il mio bene	Rossi, Luigi
f. 5	Pene che volete	Rossi, Luigi
f. 6	O misera Dorinda ( <i>Il pastor fido</i> )	Reggio, Pietro
f. 9	Spiega un uolo così altero	Rossi, Luigi
f. 10v	Tu giuri che è mio	Rossi, Luigi
f. 12	Difenditi, o core	Rossi, Luigi
f. 13	Chi d'armor diuien seguace	[unattributed]
f. 14	Scusateme, non posso	[unattributed]
f. 15v	Ohime, madre, aita	Rossi, Luigi
f. 16v	Sospiri ch'uscite	Carissimi, Giacomo
f. 17v	Sta in tono	[unattributed]
f. 18v	Faville d'amore	[unattributed]
f. 19	En gionto un corriero	[unattributed]
f. 21	V'intendo, occhi	Carissimi, Giacomo
f. 23v	Sensi, voi	Cesti, Antonio
f. 25v	Tu mancaui	[unattributed]
f. 26v	Tradimento	[unattributed]
f. 29	Ten pentirai	Reggio, Pietro
f. 31	Luci belle, dite	Rossi, Luigi
f. 31v	Rissoluetevi, pensieri	Strozzi, Barbara
f. 33	Mio ben, teco	Rossi, Luigi
f. 34	All'ombra d'un Speranza	Rossi, Luigi
f. 34v	No, mio cor	Il Miele
f. 35v	Son spezzate le Catene	Cavalli
f. 36v	Chi mi credeua	Rossi, Luigi
f. 38b	Voraggini ondose	[unattributed]
f. 39	Quand' hebbi d'oro il crin	Reggio, Pietro
f. 40v	No, no, mio core	Carissimi, Giacomo
f. 42v	Non è stabile la fortuna	[unattributed]
f. 44	Solitudine amena	[unattributed]
f. 46v	Maledetta la Corte	Lucio, Francesco

f. 48	Audite Sancti	Carissimi, Giacomo
f. 52	O bone Jesu, o soavis amor	Casati, Gasparo
f. 54v	Gaudia Patores optate	Graziani, Bonofazio
f. 57v	Il tempo più non è	Ziani, Marc'Antonio
f. 58	Che mi gioua in alto soglio ('Aria di un'Opera')	[unattributed]
f. 58v	Amor s'io mi querelo	Rossi, Luigi
f. 59	Vo cercando la speranza	Albrici, Vincenzo
f. 61	Sassi ch'hor qua	Reggio, Pietro
f. 63v	Si, mi dicesti (à 3)	[unattributed]
f. 66v	Manda i nobili Allori	Albrici, Vincenzo
f. 67v	Amor, chi ti diè l'ali ( <i>L'Egisto</i> )	Reggio, Pietro
f. 69	Dite, ô Cieli	Rossi, Luigi
f. 69v	Non più viltà	Rossi, Luigi

### ***Lbl* Harley 1792**

f. 51	<i>Armida or Rinaldo ed Armida</i> (intermezzo)	Melani, Alessandro
-------	--	--------------------

### ***Lbl* Harley 1863**

f. 1v	Spiega un volo così altiero	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 8v	Tu sarai sempre il mio bene	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 11v	O Cieli, pietà	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 13v	O misera Dorinda ( <i>Il pastor fido</i> )	Reggio, Pietro	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 17v	Soccorrete mi, per pietà	Carissimi, Giacomo	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 20v	Vorrei scoprierti	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 23v	Se dardo pungente	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 26	Così tratta, oh Dio	Opignani, G.	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 27v	O quanto è dolce la libertà	Opignani, G.	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 30v	Del famoso Oriente	Cesti, Antonio	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 37	Sospiri, olà, che fate	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 40	Vieni pur, mia libertà	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 43v	Sassi, che hor qua	Reggio, Pietro	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 47	Nel adirato seno	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 4v	Occhi quai vaghi azuri	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 52	Hor che del Ciel	Reggio, Pietro	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 56v	Occhi belli	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 58	Un genio fatale	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 59v	Quanto poco durate	Lorezano, Paulo	(Berenclow Sr)

f. 63	Lasciate mi, speranze	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 65v	Sotto vedovo Cielo	Cesti, Antonio	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 69v	Aspettate! Adasso Canto	Cesti, Antonio	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 78v	Perche piangete	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 80v	Tu m'aspettasti	Cesti, Antonio	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 83v	Quando, Amor, mi darai Pace	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 84v	Qual spaventosa tromba	Draghi, Giovanni Battista	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 88v	Non dorme, mio Cuore	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 90	Più tacer non si può	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 93v	Alpi nevole	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 96v	Datti pace, o Fileno	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 99v	Gite puer per l'Aria	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 101v	Vedi, Filli	F. M. R ?	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 106v	Son disperato	Tenaglia, Giovanni Francesco	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 109	Da l'Antro magicho	Cavalli	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 113v	Che farò? M'inamoro?	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 115v	Sera alquanto addormentato	Rossi, Luigi	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 122	Piange, Filli	Carissimi, Giacomo	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 129v	Fin all' ultimo respiro	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 132	E tu resti, mia vita	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 136	Fileno, Idolo mio	Melani, Abbate	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 139v	Guarda ben...mio cor	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 142v	Cieco Dio, che vuoi da me	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 145v	Nell' adirato seno	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)
f. 150v	Anime, voi che siete da le Furie	Rossi, Luigi ?	(Berenclow Sr)
f. 153v	Pieta, spietati Lumi	Rossi, Luigi [?]	(Berenclow Sr)
ff. 172v– 161v	Laeta dies	[unattributed]	(Berenclow Jr)

### ***Lbl* Harley 4685**

f. 65	Se correndo in seno al mare	[unattributed]
-------	-----------------------------	----------------

### ***Lbl* Harley 4899**

f. 8v	Chiede pace	[unattributed]
f. 8v	Con la punta della spada	[unattributed]
f. 8v	La speranza in chi ben ama	[unattributed]
f. 8v	Non vorrei che diventassi	[unattributed]
f. 8v	Può sperar di goder il cor	[unattributed]
f. 9	Venticelli	[unattributed]

ff. 15– 34v	Mass in C for 3 voices, begins 'Et in terra pax hominibus'	Carissimi, Giacomo
ff. 35–38	Officium B. V. Mariae musicis aptatum concentibus a Joanne Baptista Bassano	Bassani, Giovanni Battista

### ***Lbl Harley 7549***

f. 6	Se voi, Luci amante	[unattributed]
f. 7	La vita alberga	[unattributed]
f. 9	S'io moro, che dira	[unattributed]
f. 10	Faniulla son io	[unattributed]
f. 11	A chi lasso credero	Rossi, Luigi
f. 18	Con bel sigilla	[unattributed]
f. 18v	Io so che trovasi Philli	[unattributed]
f. 24v	Non mi date più pene	[unattributed]
f. 27	Alla cathia [ <i>sic!</i> ] pastoré	Reggio, Pietro
f. 28v	Si tochi tambura [ <i>sic!</i> ]	Rossi, Luigi

# Appendix IX

---

## Inventory of *Lbl* Egerton 2961 and 2962—the Henriette Scott manuscripts

### ***Lbl* Egerton 2961**

f. 1	Sei vaga cara e bella	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 5	Soave speranza mi v`a lusingando	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 11	Vi sento gioire speranze	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 15	Benche Cupido mi sia crudele	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 19	Non voglio amori non voglio amanti	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 23	A me piace il bel d'un volto	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 29	Parto ma pargoletto	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 33	Cia penso alla vendetta	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 39	Amor porta le pene presto al mio cor	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 43	Ah non sono le mie lagrime	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 47	Non hai il seno	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 50	Taci Cleandro	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 56	Dilli che son sdegnata	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 62	Scherza e ride, ride e brilla	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 68	Se amore m'annoda	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 74	Chia sia Colui che adoro	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 77	Se vuole il Dio d'amor	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 83	Bella non ti dolere	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 89	Dispietato tu m' hai schernita	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 95	Son bella e son sprezata	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 101	Senza sperar	Sabadini, Bernardo
f. 109	Se f`a un sasso l'onda	Luca, Severo de
f. 113	Duro campo di battaglia	Luca, Severo de
f. 119	Di quel sembante il Ciel	Luca, Severo de
f. 123	Qual e quel core	Bononcini, Giovanni
f. 129	N`o che non voglio spargere in lagrime il dolor	Bononcini, Giovanni
f. 135	Caro oggetto del mio tormento	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 141	Son Reina	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 147	Questo cor vorrebbe ridere	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 151	E pur torni a consolarmi	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 155	V`o per gioco fingendo piet`a	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 163	Con un guardo lusinghiero	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo



f. 171	D'esser piagato quanto mio core	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 177	In van chiedendo v` il labro il tua piet`	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 183	Non mi curo de tuoi vezzi	Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo
f. 189	Digli che l'amo di che l'adoro	Pollarolo, Carlo Francesco

### ***Lbl Egerton 2962***

f. 1	Lo si crudele con chi t'adora	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 5	Mio cor e che sar`	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 9	Quanto e dolce piaga d'un core	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 15	Se di turbin` le scoffe	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 21	Stral d'amore che rapido giunge	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 27	Vieni docle speranza	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 33	È schernita la mia fè	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 37	Rendo la libert`	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 43	Non merto de pieta de' crudele	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 47	Se torno in libert`	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 53	Chi io v'adori pupille vezzose	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 59	N` n` Luci belle	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 63	Lusingami speranza che non mi spiaci	Pasquini, Bernardo
f. 69	Bellezza che s'ama e goia del core	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 73	Ah crudele chi ti pose tanto foco	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 79	La speranza mi tradisce	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 83	Toglietemi la vita ancor	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 89	Per te sel' chiedi su l'freddo	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 95	D` quegli occhi luminosi	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 99	Ruscelletto almen t` puoi	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 105	Tormentosa gelosia	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 109	Che contento da mai la speranza	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 117	S` s` vendetta	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 121	Sei bella ` libert`	Scarlatti, Alessandro
f. 127	Son povera donzella	Mancia, Luigi
f. 131	Ti sveller` quel cor se forsennato	Unattributed

# Appendix X

---

## Letters from Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet regarding the recruitment of Italian musicians

*Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet, en route to Florence, spring 1664 (received in England April 1664), preserved in the National Archives SP 98/5*

Ill[ustrissi]mo Sig[no]re Mio P[ad]rone Coll[endissi]mo

Curioso di vedere l'Inghilterra, viene costì il Sig.re Vincenzo Albrizzi, stato Capo della Musica del Sig.r Duca di Sassonia, e Compositore, e Sonatore eccellente, ha desiderato, che lo facci conoscere a V[ostra] E[minenza] Ill[ustrissim]a come faccio per favorirlo della sua Protetione così.<sup>834</sup>

I have hard, from the virginalls maker, that you was willing, to have in your hause, a virtuoso; to divert you, att naight, wen you come att home, weri of bisnisse[.] This man, to be ounder your protection was were willing, to be att your hause, att your officers table; with out any other auantage, bott to serve you; and ist the best master for teycing and composingh of our age; and he can learne, to your yung ladyes and will be all his pretention, to live in your hause, as your domestic servant, with out any stipendy or interesse.

And if the king will give to him some boyes, and gerles, to learne, ist vere confident in little tyme, to make them, att his Mag[esty's] satisfaction[.] and besayde, he can compose, in Englice; and in all languages; to have the king Englice musicien of the Ciappel; sing his composition as well for the cerch, as for the ciamber; att the Italian way. I belive will be a man of your satisfaction; and have no other interesse with you, bott the scieltre [?] of your hause and your protection.

I have send him in England, being a man that have no equall in composing and vere civill; to wisse to you how much I am, noble sir, your vere obliged servant

Bernard Gascon.

---

<sup>834</sup> I am grateful to Lars Berglund and Stefano Rota for help with transcription and translation of the Italian text.

*Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet, Castello 7 June 1664,  
preserved in the National Archives SP 29/99, f. 46.*

Noble S[ir]

I have ommitit to write to you, some weekes, because coming att Florence, I am fall sike; of one ardent feaver that have kipt me in danger of my life, bot att Present I am in the Country to Recover my Strength; hictē I receyved your Kinde letter, a widenesse of your friendship to me and I assure you no body is more sensible of your Cortesi done to me in any occasion, then I am.

I hope before this tyme, the intelligence wich ley from Venice, with all the particulars of Germanie, and most of Rome; ist come att your hand and if the writer doo satisfey you, he sciall never fayle; and this shall coste, tho the King bott one under pound yeare, and I have aggruied with him that his pension sciall begin att Sant John Batist day nerst coming on this present moneth and sciall be payed Alfa [half a] yeare before, that ist fifty pound att this present and fifty att Cristmas nerst ensuyagh [ensuing] if his writingh satisfey you well, if not, I sciall procure another accordingly as you sciall direct me. and if you like him, if you please give order hieatre att Legorne, att mester Clotherbotte, that a my direction paye one under pound yeare in toue payments. fifty at one tyme; and fifty at Cristmas for this purpose; or other wise I sciall paye hierē me selfe as you sciall oder me.

Bott Concerning the Abbate Scarlati at Paris, I sciall write to him, in this poorpose, and procure that he sciall kipe secrete intelligence with you, and if ist posible that he com at London, to speke him selfe with you; if such voyage will not render him suspect tho the Court of France; or at lest, I sciall procure that he write to you, and he and you can Aggrive together; bott I believe, that you can nott give to him, lesse then 300 Pound [per] Annum; and I assure you, in that court, no body can be such intelligence for you as him selfe, besayde his wirting of histories that I conceyve his Majesty reputation to have such man for his servant, that have so sciarp a tongh as he have, and can so easye speke and write, well or ill of every body. you sciall in little tyme here of from me or from him in this particular, bott pray send me word, if you tinch to much 300 pound [per] annum, because I will give to him a int of this porpose.

I am vere Glad that the Musicien I sendit to you provs learned and Civill; Civility being no ordinarye quality of a Musicien, bot Preyde.

I finden in Florence, one Eunucho of 16 yeare of Age; that ist vere exellent voice, bott have nott itt such Perfection as Antonio had that was in England. And I belive I could prevaile with his father, to give him to me, to send him in England; ist vere Civill boy and sing extremely well and ist learned; and for his entertenement, I sciould rewite him to your Pleasire, after ist com in England, as you sciould tinch that he deserve, after the King and you had heard him.

Besayde, hierē is a Girle of 16 yeare, that the last Cardinall John Carlo [Gian Carlo de' Medici], kepet in his one house under a Severe discipline of Musica, that att this present, ist in a reasonble Perfection, and ist Excellent voice: that I believe, I could to, prevayle with her mother to bring her in England, with the licence for both the

Great duke, and I belive that a moderate Pension, could Satisfeye this Gerle too; if his Mag:ty was willing to have this boy and Gerle, and send a way thos Frenchmen that nott worth a fidelstich, I will serve him, and he sciall spend not vere much; and besayde, the Gerle, is no vere Ogly and I belive, our Master sciould like her better then Cecca Costa, being nott above 16 yeare of age, and as I think a Mayde, bott for this, I will nott Promise, a truth;

For sendinh the Gerle, and the Boy in England and give some money tho the boy father, make Close, for the gerle for the mother, and for the boy, and to send them Honorably in England, I belive 400 pound could serve, or ther abouts; if his Mag[esty] Encline to itt write me, and I sciall Serve him.

I have findend, a young man, for Stufaiolo [?], to wasch you, that ist a good Barber, and can give direction for a Stafa/stufa after our facion; if you are of the same opinion to have him, send me word and I sciall send him presently. Pray Ser Considerere, if this Country can afford any thingh for his Mag[esty's] service, or your one, and comand me; and be Considerat, no body ist more deseymous to Serve you then me selfe.

Lett me entreate you, to doo me so much favor as to Presente my most humble service tho his Mag[esty] which I assure I long to see him Agayne, and for ever I rest noble S[ir]:

Castello 17 d Giugno 1664  
Your vere humble obliged servant  
Bernard Gascon

*Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet, Florence 20 August 1664, preserved in the National Archives SP 98/5.*

Noble S[ir]

I receyved in this weeke the honor of two letters of yours, by wich you tell me, of the receipt of that concerninh the intelligence of the abbatt, wich have al ready recyved my letter in this porpose and the offer I have maket to him; he have answer to me, that the letter ist com att his hands; now ist to him to chiose, if he will doo itt or nott; if he will, he sciall write to you, and send a little letter of myn, in cifer, that I have send to him, for your selfe; and if nott, by him liket the proposition of myn, I have order him, to borne all the letters; and speke to none of it; therefore, if he sciall write to you, and send a letter of myn, you can answer him accordingly. If he dos nott write or he will nott do it, or he espect one ass are occasion to have his letters com att your hands the ecite will prove the bisnisse; bot this, I am confident, had I bin att Paris me selfe, I had concluded the bisnisse; bot att this distance is possible, the danger will kipe him bach.

Concerninh our intelligence att Venice I had aggrived with him, bott 300 corones per annum, that are like this pissis of d; and the others 100 corones to make up the one undert pund sterling I had aggrived withe the other second intelligencer from Roma and Florence; now ist to you, to chiuse, bott I believe ist, better, with the one under pound, to have two, then one; bot if you paye to him the one under pound; in

lieu of the 300 corones; the second intelligencer could have noting; ther fore I remit to you, the disposal of this bisnisse; if the mony coms in my ha[n]ds, that B. of Venice sciall not have nott 300 corones according to the aggrivement; and the rest the Second man that write to you in Italian his intelligence. If you like them bot Brunetti [?] must have bot 300 corones and the other man 100 if nott order me wath I scaill doo; if the second in Italian sciall continue or nott, and take note, that in Italy, 300 corones [per] annum for such bisnisse, ist a considerable sum.

Her I sciall finde, one Excellent Eunuche, fit, for his Mag[esty's] service; I will doo my endeavor to sende him over.

For the man, for wascing or Stufayolo, since you are already provided of one, I sciall send over non[.]

By the first occasion, I sciall send som wine and sweet wathers, and other trifles; for you to wom I am for ever [obl]iged.

I am making hier, a coch of our faccion; only for two persons; as esye in going as a good letter [?]; never more as I believe sein in England with the intention to send the same to his Mag[esty]; were fit for going quittly and att a great passe, if you tinch fitt for me to doo itt; he will be noble enough, for nameliagh pray send me your oppinion by which I will depend in all thinghs.

I will tise no more, bott that in all occasions you will sie that really I am  
noble S[ir] your humble obliged servant  
Bernard Gascon

Florence 20 August 1664

*Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet, Florence 23 September 1664, preserved in the National Archives SP 98/5.*

Noble Sr

By your last letter you are pleased to tell me that His Mag[esty] for his pleasure was willingh to have one Eunuche. I believe that ist possibile, that I persuade Sig:re Antonio the Cicolino, to come to serve his Mag[esty]; Concerningh his qualities and his perfection in singingh I sciall say nothing; haveing bein with his Mag:ty al ready; and by him well known. For his pencion I tinch the Kingh can give to him, no lesse then 300 pound [per] annum; and make him serve as Page of the Bacch Steres, as the Emperor, and all other Princes have done, when he have bin att ther Court, and so the Cardinall Gian Carlo his old master, and that ist for havingh him ready, att any tyme, att their pleasure, and to satisfye this boyes ambition. If you will be pleased to order me any tingh in this particular, I sciall esecute your command and send him as sunne as I can; if he will come, and send me word, if I sciall give to him, monye for his yorny or nott.

Concernin our intelligences, I remit me selfe to my former letter, confirmingh that one under pound ist sufficient for both;

Shoul not forbear to write to you; concerning the affayres of Holland, with that confidence that I have with you, and with that passion that I have for the kingh, and his interest. Ther fore I besece you, after you have red this letter inclosed, to pott it in the fayer and take the pena to favor me with a word in answer to it; I wille adde no more bott that really I am

Noble S[ir]  
Your most humble obliged  
Servant  
Bernard Gascon

Florence 23 Stre 1664

*Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet, Florence 9 December 1664, preserved in the National Archives SP 98/5.*

Noble S[ir]

I am much oblige to your cortesie for your letter of the 5th past, in which you are pleased to give me the reason of your goings so softly withe Oleniers [?]; in makinga break with them, wath so ever our politiciens belive you fergottet the principall cause, that moment the Kingh sonto doo, and that was, to settle with more advantage the intresse of his nephew the Prince of Orange; bott I am were confident that notingh bott tha were forle [?] sciall bringh him so farr as his father and notingh bott necessity so far as his gran father. bott this we be the kingh of france ist possible in this particular, can ioyne with you being a generall interesse of all the Monarchs to kepe the prince of Orange in holand as High as the can and the Ollanders [?] havingh to were with any bott to take as much power from him as the can. For the Hollenders this tyme All the world must confesse have playe their game with siccy wisdom; that gos beyond ther ordinarie reputation of her understanding having cunningly sent their Fleet in Guinea; with out notice was given in your Consell; and this ist a miracle, in a state, we things can nott be done bott by resolution of severall persons; and nott of a single one, as in your case can be done; and much the more that you had in that were place, in the same time a stronger Fleet, then the had; beingh St John Lauson Stronger than the hayter was; and haf you news [?] had ther of I belive you had send him to followe the Ilenders and fight with them. And give me leave dieare S[ir] Henry to tell you; with that frindsme [?] that I have with you and with thats passion I have for the Kingh and his Country. Has havet th Kingh alfa so many Pensioners in other Countryes, as ist possible others monarchs and states, have in his, and me be nierar to his person then he belive; for ar ten, The Ollenders could not send a fleet in ginea, with out notice had bin given to his magesty. and in this porpose, I will advie only this, that other princes in the resolutions, only most take care to conceale the same abrod; and our King I feare sciall be constreint to concealett as well att home as a brod; if the sciall be yet secret.

And I never remember, Walestein the Emperor General, how he goverene hom selfe with his concell; that I nott belive his way was to be the Patron and Movell [?] of all Kings and was this way necessarye occasion he [blurred word] call his concell and he sitting in the head of a longe table. One clarch of the concell sit in the lowe part of the table, the generall selfe preparad the bisnisse upon wich the oppinion of the concellers was to be hearchen. Ever one of them by order delivered his oppinion, the

clarch punctually write all ther oppinions; bott no resolution in bisnisse of great importance ever was taker ther, bott Walestein him selfe in his gabinett, after considering ther resolutions or proposalls, resolve him selfe or alone, or only calling one or two as he thought fitt with him, and so ever he did; and if we remember that Cristus ciosing his Apostoles that were bott twelfe; was thus then ciosing a traitor and he was a God; wath can doo a King that ist bott a man ciosing more then that [faded word]; bott Enough of this wen so ever was infinitely more to adde, and all so much a truth are miningh evere body concience as you know as well as I.

I hieare as well by you as from all my letters from other the Noble resolution of his Highnesse; and can nothing lesse be appreciated [?] of his valor and courage, and as sunne as I have settle my Affayres hieare, I will come bach; to adde one tho the names [?] of thos that will doo wath the can Gianell [?]; and for corten, if I sciall want hability in this having never bin at sea, satisfy me selfe that I sciall not want nether Corage nether Honesty. bott still the common oppinion ist that sciall be not warre.

About Cicolino, I hieare his Mag[esty's] pleasire; and he ist al ready in the service of the quin of Sweden att Rome; I am vere glad, that Sig:re Vincentio, give good satisfaction to the King; and I will too the best, to get a young castrato, to send to you. S:r I have one that att this present ist att Rome, under the discipline, of one Sig:re Albertini [Abbatini], mester of capelle, to San Luigi de Francesi; that ist 16 yeares old; and ist vere good musicien as the tell me; ist a Florentine born; and his father have bin with me; and I believe, if I like him, he will be content he sciould come; bott I must give to his father 200 corones, some thing to him selfe and to his master, close for him selfe, and his voyage, that I feare will coste, before he ist in England 150 pound sterling or ther abouts [.] Ther ist now, a nother young boy of 11 yeares of age, that ist nott itt gelde; and ist willing to be; ist of a vere good kepe, and sing prittly well for his age; if you order me, I will treate with his father, and master, and tray if I can aggruie with him, and have the boy geld; and after send the same in England; bott this I belive will cost as much, or a little lesse. I sciall expect your forther order, and in the same tyme, will loke about if can finden any better; and ist enough you order me wath I sciall doo; bott send no mony, because, you sciall reemorse me after, of wath I sciall spend in itt.

I have receyved the fifty pound sterling you have payed to Brunetti, and of itt I have payed to his mother 150 pissis of eigt for his alfa yeare penscion, and att Cristmas the same Brunetti sciall call to you for the other fifty pound having aggrived to paye ever Alfa yeare before hand; and this fifty pound are the payement from Cristmas nerst to St John Baptist nerst to come; and to Brunetti at Venice 300 pissis of 8 is a vere good penscion, wen at Rome tho the other our man I give bott one undert. therefore ist well so, and all together make the 400 pissis of 8 that are the 100 pound sterling that in all you sciall pay.

For our friend in France my presence is necessarye with him; since by him selfe he have take no resolution in itt; and I belive he dos nott venture att this distance.

This yeare we have [blurred word] excellent vintages in out contry and I hope the wine will be esstremely good; bott ist not tyme itt to send any of the good led att sea. I belive the Great Duke sciall send some tho his Mag[esty]; bott truth so ever I sciall

nott kype and I belive before this tyme you sciall have gayned a cost of dlored [?] red wine that I belive will prove good.

I belive this winter me be I sciall go Att Rome me selfe; when I am thether I will trey what I can doo, in getting you some better intelligence. And for wath you be sure my writingh to you how much the Pope ist torned a franceman. I must tell you that att this present the revolte niwly hapened of the pople of Avignon agaynst the governor; make agyne the Pope nidful of the King Elpe being impossible thether to remedye forther then the King of France give way to itt, and ther fore the Pope ist vere soft, then he had bin; because before this the frenc Ambassa to Crigni [?] compleind Estremely that noting was performed of then good intentions if nott [illegible word] done by the nephews of his master insiting particularly upon the bisnisse if [illegible word]

[final page missing]

*Sir Bernard Gascoigne to Sir Henry Bennet, Florence 10 February 1665 [NS], preserved in the National Archives SP 98/5.*

Noble S[ir]

Florence 10 Fenruary 1664

I have the favour of your letter in which you are pleased to complement me; in nott answering my letters evere weeke, to take you out of this trouble I write commonly to mester Williamson, and only some tyme to you, to lett you know how much I am your servant; inclosed with yours ist come to me the paper of S[ir] George [douing?], and were seasonably because the comen oppinion of evere body in Italye was that the Geck [?] was com from England having never known before that his Mag[esty] has Any reight upon the places of the cost of Africa; and that the Ollenders in takingh them agayne out of the Englice hands, had done ther one reight; and that the Ollenders answer give out by them was done with the noledge of the minister of his Mag[esty] in thos parts.

I thought necessarye, there fore, to translate the same in Italian as well as I could, and Printet, of which esemplars, I send one hierie inclosed, wich if ist nott well done, you must escuse me, that nether write well Italian nether understand Englice well enough.

I have send them over all Italye; att Rome to the Frence Ambassador, and the frence Resident hierie have send them att Paris; besayde [illegible word] send them att Vienna att the Emperour Court.

I am vere sorrye that the aggrievement bewixt Spayne and Portugal ist nott ended to see England with out Any Engagement of Portugall Sayre; that have al ready bin capable, and of [domageall??] enough to us; because I for see that France and England sciall come to a breach nott only for ther solemne engagement with Oland, bot for the reason that ther interest ist to elpe them and kipe both in warre as long as the can; and this will as seasonable a tyme, to establisse Compagnye of the Indies in france as can be.



Bott among other things I onder that your Ambassador in Spayne dos not bringh this negotiation to one good End; with this only reason remonstrainingh to the great Ministers of Spayne, that the can never rayse ther one lowe condition; bott with a constant and faithful league and friendshippe with England; from which he can have Men and scips Enough with his one money and nott by this meanese in Condition them selves to nott stand under the wip of the king of France, which so farre have done, and doo, dominace over them; that have constrained them to doo this below [?] ther one quality; and att this vere hour kipe bach the conclusion of sendigh a way the Infanta in Germany; pretendingh [?] no other conditions upon the Marriage sciall be given to the Emperour then he have receyned for him selfe; and for the renunciation done by the quin of france, before her coming in France, the Pretende [?], that could nott be done as long as sche was in her one Countrey, and in her father power; and upon my concience appeare so clear [?] that was I your minister in Spayne, I could belive could nott be other wise, then a conclusion of succ bisnisse.

And retournings a little to the Affayres of france with you, sciortly you will have a nother point in difference betwixt you twoe and this ist, that as sune that your Mans of Warre sciall take any Olender merciant that have onley touce France; the frencemen will Clayme all thos goods; and so the will improve upon expensis and warre; and if you dos doo denyed [?] ther Kingh that will have all things goo at the cliche of one eye, will brech with you; before diere S[ir] Henry Persuade the kingh to stand fast with the Spanyard; that have plenty of that thing that me be you can want; that is may, because for fort soliders and mariners and scips you have more then Any body, if nott in number att best in strenght. And I tinch more advantages to gayne with a monarch that want, and wisch my allegiance, and with another that belive to [illegible word] me esstremely in beyng my frynd.

And besayde, to espect in this Age, to see thes things that never had bin; I thich ist a mokerie.

The frence Ever since the memorie of Man, have bin Enemy with England; and Spane ever frynde; The frence with ther FrenDESCIP, suke many millions out of your Kingdome evere yeare, and the Spaniard post in some;

The inclination of the naccion, ist still for the Spaniards; besayde, thos that have intrresse or Pencion from them, if the are any, that I nott belived;

I leave a sayde the Glorye of England, if his Mag[esty] could rayse up Spayne agayne from his weckereng [?] and to siau [?] to the Worlde; that ist a truth the Ancient oppinion ; tat the Friends of England poll done the balance, betwixt the tow monarchs of Europe, of that sayde that seke take; Pray escuse my confidence with you, in this digression; and as ist nott any body that love England interesse as much as me selfe and the king Honour, so I can nott forbear some tyme, to tell to so noble a friend as you are to me, my sence.

As for the reliefe of your conscience, to nott pott you in a necessity, to doo so greatt a sinne as to geld a boy I sciall sciortly senf you one al ready geld, and as good musicien, about 16 yeare of age, nott ist perfect, because wath he sciall want Sig:re Albrici sciall adde to him; which I hope by this tyme, have maket perfect Pretye mestresse Rebecha Williams; in the Musicke, and in the virginall, scince my goingh

a way. that I entreate you give me some niws of itt; and if ever you mitt her by ciance doo me the favour to presente my service to her;

Our new intelligencer is going in France sciortly, and I assure you ist a vere withy man; if you sciall like him, you sciall kipet; if nott you sciall dismissee; bott I hope wen he sciall be att the Court att Paris, he will serve you vere well.

For my att home ist nott settled itt, bott sciall be in the middist of lent, and sciall notheing bott one under Coronas; of the one under pound that you paye at London to Brunetti, that ist, 300 to brunetti at Venice, and 100 att Rome to this fello.

I tanke you most Hartely of the favour you doo to me with his Mag[esty] and his Hignesse; in some tyme pott me selfe in their memorie; to won [?] to oblige more and more; Pray Prescate my most humble dutyes, and I rest for ever to your selfe Noble S[ir]

Your most humble obliged  
Joyful servient  
Bernard Gascon.