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INTERMEDIAL AFTERLIVES OF THE *ARMA CHRISTI* IN ORLANDO GIBBONS'S 'SEE, SEE THE WORD IS INCARNATE'

By Katie Bank, Cosima Clara Gillhammer*

This article proposes that Orlando Gibbons's consort anthem 'See, See the Word is Incarnate' is linked to a wider phenomenon in early modern English visual culture surrounding the imagery of the instruments of Christ's Passion, the *arma Christi*. Taking a bold interdisciplinary approach, we use a close reading of the textual features of Gibbons's anthem to show how the afterlives of this visual tradition manifested in intermedial ways. This is not only demonstrative of the subtle ways musical, textual, and visual culture were intertwined in early modern England, but also indicative of a type of exchange between art forms that was fundamental to artistic practice and devotional experience in this period. Lucy Gent's seminal analysis of 'pictures' in early modern English poetry has shown that the visual experience was highly valued in late sixteenth-century society, arguing that 'the way they looked at pictures influenced, in some respects, the way they wrote their poetry'.[1] In other words, the poet's use of language developed to accommodate the techniques and effects of how people saw pictures. We extend this idea to show how contemporary sights and ways of seeing also manifested themselves in presentations of music. Our analysis brings greater textual and contextual nuance to Gibbons's curious yet well-regarded piece, which still features regularly on music lists for church and concert choirs, despite not fitting particularly comfortably into any single liturgical season.[2] It connects this music to the Passion's long history with the sense of sight, exploring the broader context for Gibbons's invocation to 'see'. It aims to provide persuasive evidence for better understanding this music's connections to contemporary visual culture, as well as music's potential as an act of what early modern theologians would term 'extraordinary meditation'. Our approach speaks to what Scott Trudell calls a 'more synthetic media history' of this period, which is

* Katie Bank, University of Birmingham. Email: k.n.bank@bham.ac.uk. Cosima Clara Gillhammer, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. Email: cosima.gillhammer@lmh.ox.ac.uk. We are grateful to Tara Hamling and Malcolm Jones for useful insight on all things seen. Particular thanks to Jonathan Willis for his comments on an early draft of this article.

[1] Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560–1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa, 1981), 3.

[2] On this point, David Pinto mentions 'the version [of 'See, See'] in domestic consort sources is plainly earlier, without voice-division. Its expansion in score suggests that it was being reshaped for church usage; though it barely entered that repertory, maybe since … it was hard to place within a single service or even season'. *The Consort Anthems by Orlando Gibbons*, ed. David Pinto, ii (Fretwork Editions, 24; London, 2003), p. v; John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (New York, 2018), 197.

'attentive to the continual overlap and interplay across writing, speech, noise, visual art, theatricality, music, and the period's other modes of poetic production'.[3]

The *arma Christi* are images of the objects metonymically associated with Christ's Passion such as nails, the cross, crown of thorns. The imagery was often extended to related depictions such as Christ's wounds.[4] Depictions of these objects were a frequent feature of late medieval English piety, and image–text combinations were frequently found in codices, rolls, and parish settings.[5] Given their associations with Passion piety, relic veneration, and papal indulgences, 'one might expect the *arma Christi* to have been a desirable target of the iconoclasts' hammers and whitewash in the English Reformation'.[6] Yet as Shannon Gayk explains, 'it is precisely in the *arma*'s capacity to move between settings and adapt to different media (manuscript, print, and inscription) … that we can understand the persistent vitality of the instruments of the Passion in post-medieval pieties', even if they are seen less overtly in the context of the parish church than they were before the Reformation.[7] We would like to extend this argument about the adaptation of the *arma* further, to demonstrate how this intermedial transmission was also captured musically.

The various emblem-like uses of the *arma Christi* suggest that 'the *arma* have a presence in excess of simple signification'.[8] Cynthia Hahn argues that the tradition of the *arma Christi* 'was above all an extraordinary prompt to elicit devotion', warning that 'we should not be satisfied with a simplified model of interaction'.[9] Drawing from Flora Lewis, Hahn explains that the dynamism of the *arma* was one of circulation or semiosis: 'story led to metaphor, led to object, led to sense perception, led to devotion, and cycled back through story and object again'.[10] Image-texts of *arma Christi* tap into the rhetorical ornament of *enargeia*, vivid or sensuous word-painting (in the rhetorical rather than musical sense, though they are related).[11] Jeffrey Hamburger explains that those beholding images of the *arma Christi* see 'a series of nonlinear, interconnected cues to a larger context of devotion' but 'that context is not prescribed; the viewer is invited to imagine it for herself'.[12]

The *arma*'s connection to the process of extraordinary meditation is significant. As John Downame explained in 1622, extraordinary meditation is 'sudden, and continuously in use, when any occasion or opportunity is offered and observed, by outward objects presented to our senses, especially sight and hearing'. It 'may be done at all times,

[3] Scott Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2019), 13.

[4] Shannon Gayk explains that the wounds of Christ were often iconographically linked to the *arma Christi*; 'Early Modern Afterlives of the *Arma Christi*', in Lisa Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (eds.), *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of 'O Vernicle'* (London, 2014), 273–308 at 289.

[5] Ibid. 273–4.

[6] Ibid. 273.

[7] Ibid. 273–4.

[8] Ibid. 275.

[9] Cynthia Hahn, *Passion Relics and the Medieval Imagination: Art, Architecture, and Society* (Berkeley, 2020), 107. Hahn attributes this dynamic model of devotional interaction to Flora Lewis more broadly, without a specific citation.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Erasmus explains that *enargeia* is employed whenever 'we do not explain a thing simply, but display it to be looked at as if it were expressed in colour in a picture, so that it may seem that we have painted, not narrated, and that the reader has seen, not read'. Erasmus, *Omnia Opera* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1540), i. 66, quoted in Terence Cave, '"Enargeia": Erasmus and the Rhetoric of Presence in the Sixteenth Century', *L'Esprit Créateur*, 16 (1976), 5–19 at 7; Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 2008), 130.

[12] Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, 1997), 68.

and in all imployments, as in the workes of our callings, or in our honest recreations, when wee are in company, or solitary and by our selues'.[13] While 'ordinary' prayer or meditation was a solitary planned event, 'extraordinary' meditation was practised on a more spontaneous basis while going about the bustle of life's daily tasks.[14] Extraordinary meditation was often sociable and could be prompted by any matter of sensory input from the scent of a rose to singing a psalm with friends.[15] A process distinct from Catholic-style veneration, this type of spontaneous devotional meditation was a crucial aspect of a Protestant experience of visual, and indeed musical culture. Like many other Protestants, Downame saw the spiritual benefits of music when applied judiciously and he believed music played an important role in priming the body for holy things.[16] The mention of the *arma Christi* in texts, or experienced through music, could present precisely such an 'outward object'. While architectural representations of the *arma Christi* feature prominently in recusant Catholic households,[17] they also appear—more unexpectedly—in Protestant contexts, as we discuss later.

Firm allusions to *arma Christi* also make an appearance in Gibbons's consort anthem 'See, See, the Word is Incarnate', with text by Godfrey Goodman. The piece presents a tour through the life of Christ in separate stages, which are characterized by short phrases following in quick succession. Each grouping of verse and chorus presents a little musical vignette of a scene in Christ's life. David Pinto describes this text as 'almost devoid of narrative', creating an 'oddly static series of icons or tableaux'.[18] The prose text of 'See, See' is unusual in the Jacobean verse and consort anthem oeuvre.[19] It is more usual to see verse or consort anthems set poetic verse (e.g. 'Do not Repine, Fair Sun'), psalms (e.g. 'Blessed are All They', Psalm 128), the occasional prose collect ('O God, the King of Glory'), or versified paraphrases of the Bible (e.g. 'Glorious and Powerful God', 'This is the Record of John'). This might be the only example of this type of prose text set in the verse anthem style. The text form is particularly odd given contemporary beliefs about the affinity between poetic verse and music, in terms of their shared rhythmic and other properties, as observed by writers such as George Puttenham.[20] While our discussion largely eschews well-trodden debates about whether Gibbons wrote his piece for domestic recreational devotion or use in church, the topic cannot be entirely avoided when

[13] John Downame, *A Guide to Godlynesse; Or, a Treatise of a Christian Life* (London, 1629), 539–40.

[14] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, 2010), 227–8.

[15] Ibid. 228, 230.

[16] Downame also believed extraordinary meditation needed to move along swiftly to fit into normal life: 'these meditations must not bee long and tedious, which is not agreeable to their nature, nor will conueniently suit with our company and occasions'. Downame, *A Guide to Godlynesse*, 541.

[17] Some examples from Scottish recusant houses include Craig Castle and Towie Barclay Castle; Peter Davidson and David W. Walker, 'Scottish Catholic Material Culture', in Robert Scully and Angela Ellis (eds.), *A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland* (Leiden, 2021), 303–38.

[18] The imagery seemingly without narrative that Pinto is sensing here is akin to what Tara Hamling has described as 'synoptic imagery', an idea we will discuss in greater detail later. David Pinto, In Chains of Gold Vol. 1—Orlando Gibbons: The Complete Consort Anthems (Signum, 2016).

[19] The Jacobean verse anthem is a song form that flourished in the very late 16th through 17th cc. in England that alternates solo sung passages with those for full choir, normally with instrumental or organ accompaniment. There is much historiographical debate, however, about what to call these pieces, depending on their liturgical or recreational performance context. We will use the terms 'verse' and 'consort' anthems interchangeably. For an excellent summary of the weighty history of this terminology, see William Hunt, 'From Byrd to Gibbons by Way of Hooper: The Performance of Consort Anthems from the Golden Era with Illustrative Reference to a Critical Edition of Three Anthems by Edmund Hooper' (Ph.D. diss., City University Birmingham, 2022).

[20] See n. 81 below.

one considers the imagery inherent in Goodman's text, as there were a number of factors that would deem an image acceptable or not.[21] Some have speculated that the text was set upon special request or for a specific event.[22]

Given that there is no source for the full text aside from where it appears set to music, there are certain interpretative questions to be thought through. Gibbons's setting provides important clues about textual punctuation as well as how one might group or make sense of occasionally ambiguous snippets of text.[23] Particularly notable for our discussion is the beginning of the fourth section, which draws the listeners' attention to the signs of the Passion upon Christ's body and/or the instruments of his torture: his wounds, blood, crown ('pricke') of thorns, and (print of) nails.

Section 1
[verse] See see the Word is incarnate god is made man in the wombe of A Virgin
sheapherds rejoice wise men adore and Angels sing
[chorus] glorie be to god on high peace on Earth good will towards menn

Section 2
[verse] The Lawe is Cancelled Jewes and gentiles all converted By the Preaching of glad tydinges of salvation the blind have sight and Criples have their Motion diseases cured the dead are raised and Miracles are wrought
[chorus] Let us welcome such a guest with Hosanna

Section 3
[verse] The Paschall Lambe is offred Christ Jesus made a sacrifice for sinne the earth quakes the sunn is darkened the powers of hell are shaken And lo he is risen upp in victorie
[chorus] Sing Halleluiah

Section 4
[verse] see o see the fresh woundes, the goareing blood, the Prickes (Crown) of thornes the print of Nayles and in the sight of Multitudes
[chorus] A glorious Ascension
[verse] wher now he sits on gods right hand wher all the quire of heaven all joyntlie singes
[chorus] Glorie be to the Lambe that sitteth on the throne Let us continue o^{r} wonted note with Hosanna Blessed be he that Cometh in the Name of the Lord with Halleluiah we triumph in victorie The serpents head bruised Christs kingdome exalted And heaven layd open to sinners (all believers) Amen[24]

Vestiges of centuries of Christographical imagery are palpable in Goodman's text, emphasized, as we shall explore later, through Gibbons's musical setting.

[21] Tara Hamling and Jonathan Willis, 'From Rejection to Reconciliation: Protestantism and the Image in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 62 (2023), 932–63.

[22] It is useful to think in terms of where a performance of the piece may have been possible, rather than in terms of a composer's intentions.

[23] The only other extant source for the text is in a late 17th-century wordbook that only includes half the text. *The Consort Anthems*, ed. Pinto, ii, p. iv n. 13.

[24] Spelling and punctuation (or lack thereof) is taken from David Pinto's critical edition of the text as presented in ChCh MS 21 apart from i/j and u/v, which we have modernized. We have labelled each text–music section with a number for ease of discussion, with the spacing between sections indicating how the words are presented by Gibbons's musical setting through his placement of final cadences and instrumental material. Section 4 diverges from the verse–chorus pattern established in Sections 1–3. Syntactically and musically, this fourth section presents as a single unit, as there is no instrumental interlude or firm syntactical impetus demarking a fifth section. One might argue that the doxology beginning on 'Glorie be' could constitute a fifth section, but we believe this is a continuation of the previous statement as an iteration of the angels' singing. 'Let us continue' is a continuation of this phrase and there is no musical space to suggest this is a separate section either. Thanks to Professor Robert Quinney for his thoughts about this.

Historiographical response to Gibbons's approach to text setting has vacillated through the years. Some early twentieth-century scholars had strong critiques of Gibbons's approach to word setting. One prominent group of editors wrote that 'See, See' was 'marred by an abundance of syllabic overcrowding'.[25] Still, it is now more often accepted that Gibbons's text setting upheld contemporary approaches with sensitivity and appropriateness, balancing style and decorum.[26] As was conventional in the consort and verse anthem styles, Gibbons's setting of 'See, See' uses contrasting solo verses of singing and more thickly textured *tutti* chorus to dramatic effect, supported by viol consort accompaniment. Simon Jackson, John Harley, and others have convincingly argued for the verse anthem's stout affinities with contemporary oral cultures including preaching and theatrical forms, regardless of whether the music was played and sung in a church or domestic context.[27] In theory, the soloistic singing in the verses forefronts the intelligibility of the texts, alongside the excitement and dialogical opportunity offered by passages of chorus.[28] Even before an examination of the specifically visual elements endemic to Gibbons's setting of 'See, See', the consort anthem style already allowed for multimedial interplay with various forms of persuasive oration.

It is notoriously difficult to date most of Gibbons's consort anthems, as manuscript source evidence and stylistic markers have proven elusive at best.[29] The three music manuscript sources for 'See, See the Word is Incarnate' are collections largely compiled for domestic recreation: Christ Church, Oxford, MS Mus 56–60, Christ Church MS Mus 21 (hereafter ChCh MS 21), and Thomas Myriell's *Tristitiae Remedium* (British Library, Add. MS 29372–6).[30] For some time musicologists thought 'See, See' could be dated to *c.*1616 due to a dated title page on the *Tristitiae* manuscript. Subsequent examination of the watermark, however, has shown that the title page is a Victorian replica or creation, leaving this estimation of date somewhat unmoored.[31] While there are many remaining uncertainties about the creation, network, and provenance of these musical sources as well as possible relationships between them, there is ample musicological scholarship exploring Gibbons's compositional process, vocal scoring, instrumentation, pitch, the manuscripts' scribal

[25] William Palmer, 'Gibbons's Verse Anthems', *Music & Letters*, 35 (1954), 107–13 at 111; this sentiment is shared by the 1925 editors of Tudor Church Music (*Orlando Gibbons, 1583–1625*, ed. P. C. Buck et al. (Tudor Church Music, 4; London, 1925), p. xxii.

[26] For more on the historiography of English lyric in recreational song, see Katie Bank, *Knowledge Building in Early Modern English Music* (New York, 2021), Ch. 1.

[27] Simon Jackson, 'Prayer and Musical Performance', in Joseph Sterrett (ed.), *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word and Devotion* (Cambridge, 2018), 110–25.

[28] These choruses may arguably also be sung by one voice per line, or as more commonly practised today, a group of singers per part. Either way, the texture in the choruses is much thicker than in the verse passages.

[29] *The Consort Anthems*, ed. Pinto, ii, p. iv.

[30] There is also a partial text in a later 17th-c. wordbook. The composer George Jeffreys, also strongly tied to the Hatton family, set this text to music in the late 17th c. George Jeffreys, *English Sacred Music*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright (London, 2021).

[31] Donna M. Di Grazia, 'New Perspectives on Thomas Myriell's *Tristitiae Remedium* and Add. Ms. 29427', *Early Music*, 38 (2010), 101–12.

and bibliographical histories, and the music's potential contexts of use.[32] It is not our intention to address the majority of these historical lacunae or questions of performance practice. Still, we hope that our textual analysis will add further evidence to future conversations by encouraging a more holistic interdisciplinary analysis, an approach more aligned with the intermedial slippage and blurred forms cherished within early modern English culture.[33]

There are a few curious but notable textual inconsistencies between and within each of the manuscript sources for Gibbons's anthem. For example, in ChCh Mus 21 'layd open to all believers' varies in the underlay of different parts, some with 'layd open to sinners'. The phrase with 'sinners' appears in the medius, second countertenor, and tenor parts across all manuscripts, whereas the Countertenor I and Bassus partbooks show 'all believers'.[34] At the end of the anthem, all manuscript sources have 'sinners' in the top part, which led David Wulstan to suppose that 'sinners' must have been 'the original reading', also noting that 'the use of the alternative word is interesting'.[35] ChCh Mus 21 also shows 'Crown' of thorns in the second countertenor part, with 'Prickes' in the other voice parts.[36] Pinto notes that the textual changes that avoid naming the instrument of torture 'obscure the original focus by Goodman on the "*Arma* Christi"',[37] adding elsewhere that this might be an attempt to 'censor his final contentious phrase (about salvation through faith)' by replacing 'believers' with 'sinners'.[38] While this may be read as evidence of a Catholic or Arminian soteriology, the changes were not executed consistently across a single manuscript (as Pinto points out, some version of the textual inconsistency does appear in all versions of the anthem). This lack of consistency may well be due to scribal inattentiveness but also indicates that due caution must be exercised when reading such changes as evidence of a specific doctrinal position. It might also, however, be indicative of a certain level of experimentation. We discuss a few of these textual idiosyncrasies further below.

The textual attribution to Godfrey Goodman is written at the top of ChCh Mus 21: 'The words were made by Doctor goodman de: of Rochester' (see Fig. 1).[39] While a single manuscript attribution is not necessarily conclusive evidence of authorship, at present

[32] John Harper, 'Orlando Gibbons: The Domestic Context of His Music and Christ Church MS 21', *Musical Times*, 124 (1983), 767–70; *The Consort Anthems*, ed. Pinto, ii; For context about ChCh MS 21 and Gibbons's patron Sir Christopher Hatton, see Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–70)* (Farnham, 1997), 187–9. For context on the manuscript sources, instrumentation, and context of use see Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 200–5. While scholars now often acknowledge the domestic performance context for this piece, there is still some debate about potential church contexts due to differing opinions about what instruments would have been considered appropriate for church use. Pinto gives space for the possibility of a church context, pointing to evidence surrounding the expansion of the instrumental parts into organ parts in one source. Harley, on the other hand, seems to start with the assumption that 'See, See' is a verse anthem with potential for domestic use. Hunt surveys the historiography of the verse anthem (including the terminology) in his PhD thesis, 'From Byrd to Gibbons by Way of Hooper'.

[33] An idea explored in depth by Eleanor Chan in *Syrene Sounds: False Relations in the English Renaissance* (Oxford, 2024).

[34] *Orlando Gibbons, 1583–1625*, ed. Buck et al., p. xxxvi.

[35] *Orlando Gibbons: Verse Anthems*, ed. David Wulstan (Tudor Church Music, 3; London, 1962), 221. Unfortunately, he does not comment further on why he considered the alternative significant.

[36] *The Consort Anthems*, ed. Pinto, ii, p. ix. ChCh Mus 21 also has a discrepancy between 'sight' and 'hight' in one voice part.

[37] Ibid., p. iii. He is referring to Bishop Godfrey Goodman (see next notes).

[38] *The Consort Anthems*, ed. Pinto, iii, p. xiii.

[39] Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, 'Goodman, Godfrey (1583–1656), Bishop of Gloucester', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2012), <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/10977> (accessed 18 Mar. 2025).

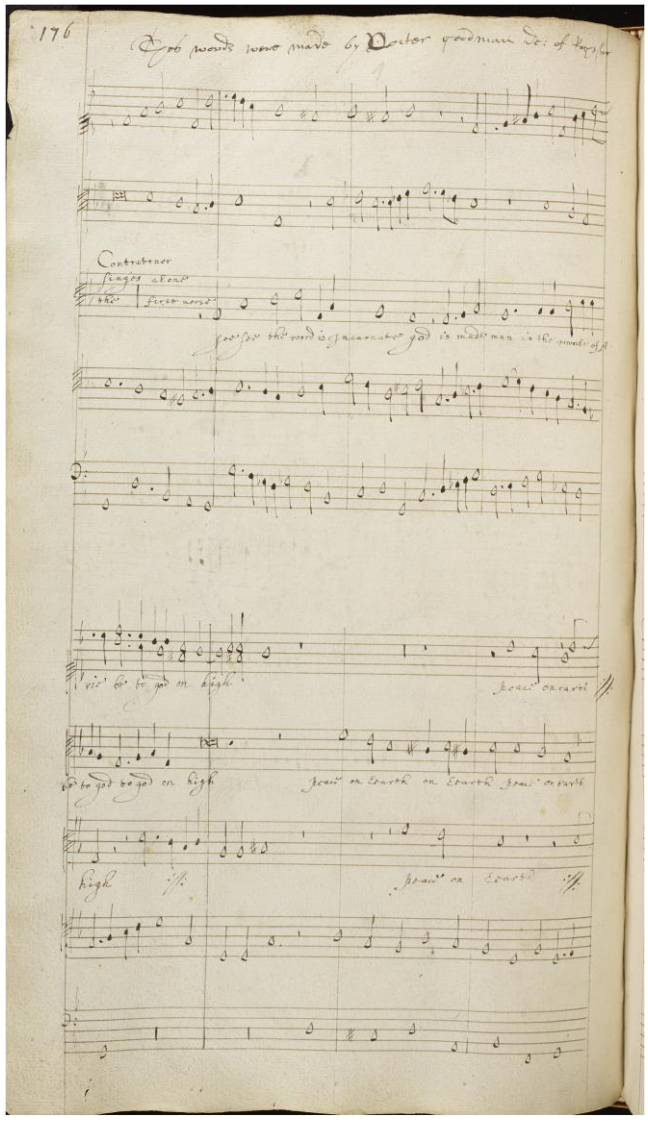

FIG. 1. Christ Church Mus MS 21, fo. 176^{v}. Reproduced by permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford

we have no reason to doubt this ascription. A Cambridge man and lifelong bibliophile, Goodman was 'generous in pursuing the beauty of holiness but his judgement may not always have been politic', and his career was peppered with accusations of sympathies with Rome. Yet there is no firm evidence that he ever converted to Catholicism.[40] After his tenure as the Dean of Rochester, Goodman served as the Bishop of Gloucester from 1625 to 1646.[41] While there is no documentary evidence that

[40] Goodman's mid-20thc. biographer seems very convinced of his conversion, in spite of inconclusive records. Geoffrey Ingle Soden, *Godfrey Goodman: Bishop of Gloucester 1583–1656* (London, 1953), 1–3.

[41] Cranfield, 'Goodman, Godfrey'.

Gibbons and Goodman had a personal relationship, both men had connections with church figures such as William Laud, if not mutual connections through Cambridge or court.[42] That said, Goodman was censured by Laud, so they must have had a complex relationship in spite of sharing broadly similar views.[43]

It is tempting, though slightly misguided, to associate all artistic experimentation in this moment of English history with William Laud, who was known for his high church views that sought to restore more elaborate and hierarchical church rituals including in music and art. Gibbons was active before Laud was his most influential as Archbishop of Canterbury, but the *avant garde* foundation for Laud's eventual 'refurbishment' of church music and imagery was forming from the turn of the century.[44] Gibbons's verse anthem 'This is the Record of John' was requested by Laud between 1611 and 1621, during Laud's presidency at his alma mater, St John's College, Oxford, so the two men had at least a working relationship.[45] As Pinto elegantly says:

> There are reasons, then, to associate Gibbons with the ideals of Laudian ritualism at its noblest (if nascent in his life-time); the 'beauty of holiness', in Laud's well-known phrase … The text of 'See, See, the word' in especial is so sharply iconic that it witnesses a purposeful shift, aesthetic as well as doctrinal: onto devotion to the 'Imago Pietatis', rather than illustrating the significance of a universally redemptive act by example, as a purer protestant might have stressed it. [46]

In the next section, we will take a deeper look at Goodman's text and the visuality of its vignettes. At the same time, we will explore the extent to which we see, or indeed hear, how Goodman's 'sharply iconic' text was realized through music.

FEATURES OF THE TEXT

Godfrey Goodman's text is striking, and in many ways unusual as a choice for a text set to music. As a prose text, it is structured by rhetorical patterns rather than by metre and rhyme, thus invoking similarities with the rhetoric of sermons, as has been explored by Jackson.[47] While the text has a strong iambic pulse, it does not scan metrically.[48] The textual underlay of the music manuscripts does not provide a good sense of punctuation or formatting. Yet Gibbons's through-composed musical setting imposes and, in some places, reinforces strophe-like groupings in Goodman's prose to create little vignettes of, or musical cartouches around, each moment of Christ's story. One of the key movements of the text is that between a journey through the different stages of the life of Christ

[42] Though Gibbons set a Goodman text to music, it is possible a third party selected texts for him to set. In Gibbons's *Madrigals and Motets* (1612) print publication, the composer implies that his patron Christopher Hatton may have had a role in either writing or selecting texts for him to set to music. It is worth noting, however, that both Laud and Goodman have connections to Gloucester Cathedral, where Laud was Dean in 1616–21 and Goodman was Bishop in 1625–46 (Cranfield, 'Goodman, Godfrey').

[43] Of Goodman's censure, Laud recorded in his diary that 'we advised some things therin were spoken less cautiously, but nothing falsely; that nothing was innovated by him in the doctrine of the Church of England'; *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud*, ed. J. Bliss and W. Scott, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1847–60), v, as cited in *The Consort Anthems*, ed. Pinto, ii, pp. iii–vi.

[44] Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford, 2008).

[45] *The Consort Anthems*, ed. Pinto, ii, p. ii.

[46] Ibid., p. iii.

[47] Jackson, 'Prayer and Musical Performance', 120–2.

[48] As Lucía Martínez Valdivia points out, '[s]can, now a verb with almost exclusively visual connotations, joined English as an acoustic term'; Lucía Martínez Valdivia, 'Audiation: Listening to Writing', *Modern Philology*, 119 (2022), 555–79 at 565.

at great speed, and the singing of praise as a response. A fundamental structuring device is thus the interchange between verse (life of Christ) and chorus (textual and literal singing of praise).

If we separate the prose text into structural units following Gibbons's musical sections as we have above, we begin with a Nativity scene, where 'sheapherds rejoice wise men adore', culminating in the singing of the angels' 'glorie be to god on high'. In the second section, we move to Christ's preaching, institution of the new law, and working of miracles, through which 'the blind have sight and Criples have their Motion diseases cured the dead are raised and Miracles are wrought', followed by the response of the congregation, who are addressed by an imperative to 'Let us welcome such a guest with Hosanna'. Chronologically, we are situated between Christ's life of preaching and the beginning of the Passion, and thus the invocation of 'Hosanna' evokes associations with Christ's entry into Jerusalem, although Palm Sunday is not explicitly mentioned here and the shout of praise can also have a more universal application. In the third section, the narrative then proceeds to the Passion and Resurrection and the natural and supernatural events that accompany them: 'the earth quakes the sunn is darkened the powers of hell are shaken And lo he is risen upp in victorie', to which the response again is one of songs of praise: 'Sing Halleluiah'.[49]

After an exultant major chord (in modern musical parlance) at the end of 'Halleluiah', the third in the chord descends but a semitone just as the voices reduce to begin the next verse. This seemingly tiny movement in a single voice transforms the music into a minor mode for the start of the fourth section, which begins with a markedly reflective description of the bodily signs of the Passion and the *arma Christi* ('see o see the fresh woundes, the goareing blood, the Prickes [Crown] of thornes the print of Nayles'), which stands apart from the rest of the text.[50] It remains somewhat unclear whether we are still placed in the chronology of the narrative after the Resurrection, thus contemplating the body of the risen Christ, or whether we are moving *back* to reflect on the Passion after the telling of the Resurrection—though the use of the adjectives 'fresh' and 'goareing' rather suggest the latter (this is discussed further shortly).[51] Immediately after this moment, the narrative picks up the chronological thread again. From the Resurrection at the end of the preceding section, we now move to Christ's Ascension, and back to major tonalities, in the chorus: 'A glorious Ascension'. Prefaced by 'and in the sight of Multitudes', this chorus reiterates the theme of seeing, though the introspective nature of the invitation to 'see' and meditate on the *arma Christi* is here replaced by a kind of seeing that has a communal, public, and indeed dramatic character.

The final sung response in the last chorus incorporates all three songs of praise mentioned in previous verses. The angels' Gloria at the Nativity has now turned to 'Glorie be to the Lambe' by the heavenly choirs, while the listeners are again addressed in the first-person plural: 'Let us continue o^{r} wonted note with Hosanna', echoing the second section, and followed by an abridged Benedictus ('Blessed be he that Cometh in the Name

[49] The text here recapitulates the darkening of the sun during Christ's suffering on the cross (Matthew 27: 45, Mark 15: 33, Luke 23: 44–5) and the earthquake following his death (Matthew 27: 51–3).

[50] In discussion of musical contemplations of the Passion, it is worth pointing to another piece in the *Tristitiae Remedium* manuscript, *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris*, which describes the suffering of Christ from the first-person perspective as Christ. Though the piece is attributed to Thomas Morley in *Tristitiae*, the longer text source is attributed to the composer and poet John Redford (d. 1547), one of Morley's predecessors at St Paul's Cathedral.

[51] The quotations offered in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'gore (v. 2)', suggest a sense of immediacy and freshness of blood <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1409457887>, accessed 18 June 2025.

of the Lord'). Finally, we arrive at 'Halleluiah', repeating the song of praise of the third section. The singing of songs of praise has come full circle, having moved from heaven in the first section, to earth in the second and third sections, and back to heaven again. Here at last, the songs of angels and the songs of humanity are recapitulated and united in a final eschatological vision, where the songs of believers on earth are continued in the divine realm where 'we triumph in victorie The serpents head bruised Christs kingdome exalted And heaven layd open to sinners (all believers) Amen'.

The form of Gibbons's setting creates musical and textual miniatures that proceed through the life of Christ in largely chronological fashion. If we take a step back, however, and regard the text as a whole, it becomes clear that the emphasis on seeing also has the effect of suggesting a simultaneity of all stages of salvation history. With the initial imperative 'See see', everything becomes present in front of our inner eye. The long list of verbs through which the story is told remains firmly in the present tense: 'sheapherds rejoice', 'the blind have sight', 'The Paschall Lambe is offred', 'the earth quakes'. The last section, again, reinforces this sense of the present through the emphatic use of 'now' to describe Christ sitting at God's right hand. All these things, the text insists, have happened but are still happening in the eternal divine present, and brought to mind vividly through invoking the sense of sight. The listeners, exclusively referred to with first personal plural pronouns, are involved in each and every stage of this ongoing process through singing—a point that would have been reinforced in performance, as one hears the singing of exactly these songs of praise. In the case of the singers, this effect would have been even more acute: any voices not singing during the verses might act as listeners, only then to sing songs of praise 'all joyntlie' during the full sections, thereby quite literally embodying the reaction that is stipulated by the text. Thus, the piece implies, song on earth forms the beginning, and the very presence, of divine song joined with 'all the quire of heaven', and this song is by nature participatory and all-inclusive.

This sense of simultaneity is reinforced by the rhetorical structure of these miniatures. Each section largely proceeds by listing, frequently in asyndetic form,[52] key events of the life of Christ with headline-like concision. Within just a few sentences, we have traversed thirty-three years of Christ's life. The focus is on facts, reported in characteristically short phrases that only contain the most necessary grammatical components and are only once or twice extended to offer additional information such as 'By the Preaching of glad tydinges of salvation'. This style is breathless, urgent, matter-of-fact, and evokes a sense of all of these events happening in quick succession or even simultaneously in the present time. As this sequence of events passes before the mind's eye, it forms a progression that functions not through elaborating connections of a causal kind, but through the immediate juxtaposition of different temporal stages of Christ's life.

Given that the narrative follows Christ's earthly existence in such a succinct form, it is perhaps surprising that the person of Christ himself remains largely implicit throughout the text. 'Christ Jesus' appears as the subject of a sentence exactly once in the text. Other phrases refer to him using pronouns, as 'God' or the 'Paschall Lambe', but otherwise the text is characterized by the overwhelming use of passive constructions that obscure Christ as the agent. For instance, the second section contains elliptic phrases like 'Jewes and gentiles all converted' and 'diseases cured', which do not refer to Christ explicitly even once, instead alluding to him as 'a guest'. The use of the indefinite article likewise gives an odd indeterminacy to 'A glorious Ascension', where, even though this

[52] Asyndeton refers to the omission of conjunctions between phrases.

event occurs 'in the sight of Multitudes', Christ himself remains at least grammatically and textually elusive. Other clauses are so brief that they omit key words or concepts, which those listening are required to fill in: 'The Lawe is Cancelled' reads as a condensed reference to Colossians 2: 14, here reduced to the bare essentials for which the audience has to supply a theological context. Goodman's phrasing may seem strange given that Christ emphasizes that his coming has not abolished the Old Law but that he is the fulfilment of it (Matthew 5: 17), yet a more extensive awareness of Pauline soteriology on the part of the audience helps put the reference into context. Colossians 2: 14 describes the Passion of Christ as 'Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross'.[53] The Greek text uses χειρόγραφον (handwriting) as a term that is often understood to refer to the written code of the law.[54]

Goodman's text, therefore, echoes the language of early modern readings of the passage from Colossians, but requires those listening to connect this clipped phrase to a broader theological context in order to understand its significance. Likewise, those engaging with the text are expected to understand the reference to 'the serpents head' in the final section as a conventional typological reference to the prophecy in Genesis 3: 15: 'And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.' Through Christ's birth through Mary and his victorious resurrection, Satan is cast down and heaven stands open again. The passive constructions in these verses and throughout the narrative contrast sharply with the imperative mood of the end of each section, which encourages believers to respond with song: 'Let us welcome'; 'Sing Halleluiah'. Christ's life is thus narrated in a style that emphasizes his actions in rapid fire, followed by a command to all those in earshot to become active themselves and join in song.

The matter-of-factness of a large part of the text makes the occasional use of emotive interjections all the more notable. The repeated insistence to 'See see' the incarnate Christ recurs in the fourth section: 'see o see the fresh woundes, the goareing blood, the Prickes [Crown] of thornes the print of Nayles'. If we read this as a reference to the crucified (rather than the risen) Christ, this moment thus connects the Nativity scene of the opening closely to the Passion. We are called upon to see before our inner eye not only the newborn babe, but also Christ's 'fresh' wounds on the cross and their effect on his tortured body in graphic detail. This comparison has a long and powerful visual (and textual) tradition in the so-called proleptic Passion, in which the infant Christ is portrayed with symbols of the Passion or even marks of torture upon his body, foreshadowing anachronistically the ordeal that is to come.[55] In such imagery, Christ is simultaneously present as both child and man. Such inherent anachronism thus highlights the sense of simultaneity or timelessness as the childhood of Christ is engulfed in the everlasting presence and significance of the Passion. A similar effect is created in Goodman's text as this contemplative moment breaks through the quick narrative and chronological progression, radically slowing the pace to the point where we stand

[53] This and all further references to the Bible in this article use the King James Version, unless otherwise indicated.

[54] For further details on the Greek terminology, see Stephen Geiger, 'Exegetical Brief: Colossians 2:14: What Was Nailed to the Cross?', *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly*, 110 (2013), 34–40.

[55] For a detailed account of this tradition, see Alfred Acres, *Renaissance Invention and the Haunted Infancy* (London, 2013) and David S. Areford, 'Christ Child Creator', in Walter S. Melion, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Lee Palmer Wandel (eds.), *Quid est Sacramentum? Visual Representation of Sacred Mysteries in Early Modern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden, 2020), 456–93.

and look at the slow trickling of Christ's blood upon his body. Only after this do we then return to the 'glorious Ascension'.

That said, there is a certain ambiguity to the chronological placement of this section. It also evokes associations with the imagery of the risen Christ, specifically through the phrasing 'print of Nayles' that seems to echo John 20: 24–9, the Doubting Thomas episode. Thomas demands to 'see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails' (John 20: 25). When Christ appears to him, his invitation to Thomas includes one of seeing, alongside touching, as markers of proof: 'Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side' (John 20: 27). The centrality of beholding the wounds here resonates with the ending of Goodman's text in the light of Christ's response to Thomas: 'Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed' (John 20: 29). If we read Goodman's phrase 'heaven layd open to all believers' as an allusion to this passage from John, this can help to make sense of this variant reading alongside 'all sinners'. Believing is connected to the act of seeing (or not seeing). As such Goodman's text as a moment of ekphrastic allusion of the *arma Christi* sits in an intriguing space between the two.[56] The anthem allows the audience to 'see' the wounds similarly to Thomas, but because this process takes place before their inner eye rather than really touching the wounds like Thomas, they are implicitly fulfilling Christ's words about those who do not see and yet believe. If one takes the Doubting Thomas reading of this section of Goodman's text, it thus makes a case for the textual variant of 'believers' over 'sinners'.[57] Regardless of whether we read this section of Goodman's prose as a reference to the crucified or the risen Christ, in either reading the allusion to the *arma Christi* tradition—seeing (or not seeing) the *arma* and wounds—plays a central role.

The connection of this section with pre-Reformation devotional culture, and specifically the *arma Christi* tradition, has been noted by Pinto.[58] Though Goodman's text does not provide a complete list, the *arma Christi* are certainly alluded to in this section, and yet their presence is implicit: we are contemplating the effect of these instruments of torture upon the body, 'the print of Nayles', rather than the nails themselves. In lieu of a spear or other instruments of torture, the traditional objects in the *arma*, we see the 'goareing blood'. The same is true of the crown of thorns if we take the textual variant that foregrounds the 'Prickes' rather than the object itself. This is the strongest argument for the 'Prickes' variant, as then the section uniformly describes the 'fresh woundes' that are products of the *arma*. This is perhaps a deliberate way of both emphasizing Christ's suffering and de-emphasizing the potentially contentious instruments. The devotional and visual tradition thus invoked serves to heighten the pathos of this moment of reflection so at odds with the rest of the text, and highlighted musically by Gibbons's evocative treatment of this section.

Gibbons's setting of the text comprises five voices and five viols. Solo singers would have sung the texted verse parts, with all five lines of music coming together on the chorus sections with any additional singers on each part also joining in on those sections.[59]

[56] Ekphrasis is a literary device that employs vivid language to create pictures in the 'mind's eye' and rouse emotion (Gabriele Rippl, 'Ekphrasis', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*, 25 June 2019; <https://oxfordre.com/literature/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.001.0001/acrefore-9780190201098-e-1057> (accessed 30 Oct. 2025).

[57] David Pinto points out the possible Protestant implications of the variant 'believers' (*The Consort Anthems*, iii, n. 9).

[58] Ibid.

[59] For the latest on performance practice: Hunt, 'From Byrd to Gibbons by Way of Hooper'; Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 171.

Each verse 'section' of Gibbons's setting builds in terms of the number of voices singing per verse: Section 1, 'See See', has just the contratenor singing (see Fig. 1 above: 'Contratenor singes alone the first uerse'); Section 2, 'The Lawe is Cancelled', features the two medius voices; Section 3 has three voices singing on 'The Paschall Lambe'; and four voices sing in Section 4 at 'see o see the fresh woundes'. For the short intervening verse in the middle of Section 4, 'wher now he sits on gods right hand', we return to the solo contratenor, this time with a touch of flourish, adding to the sense of the circularity within the song's structure mentioned before. Adding a texted voice to each verse throughout the setting adds further structure to the narrative, allowing for a sense of tension to build approaching contemplation of the Passion, as well as a subsequent sense of release before the jubilant final chorus and doxology. This musical structure is particularly notable in the absence of an existing poetic structure.

There is a distinctly theatrical quality to the use of the sung chorus in 'See, See' even when compared to Gibbons's other consort anthems. As mentioned earlier, the first three choruses specifically enact songs of praise sung by groups: 'glory be to god', 'Hosanna', and 'Halleluiah', as well as the angels singing 'Glorie be to the Lambe'. The text of the preceding verses sets up these ejaculations of praise so that they make sense syntactically without any repetitions of text between verse and chorus.[60] This textual relationship between verse and chorus is not necessarily the same in Gibbons's other consort anthems. In 'This is the Record of John', for example, the chorus simply repeats texts already sung by the verse's evangelist. While this anthem is often considered to be Gibbons's *other* most 'theatrical' setting, the use of chorus is not particularly so. As another example, Gibbons's setting of an adapted collect for All Saints Day, 'Lord, Grant Grace', is largely contiguous between verse and chorus, without repetitions of text. Yet in this instance, the effect is largely just alternating phrases of text. While Gibbons does not skip the opportunity to have the chorus of angels singing as 'chorus' on 'holy, holy, holy', the other chorus section has no textual indication that it must be sung by a crowd, though in practice it does make sense for the closing line of a prayer to be taken by the group, particularly the 'Amen'.

While Gibbons's approach to text setting takes individual lines of text into account to an extent (e.g. word painting a sense of rising pitch on 'he is risen upp'), his process is more akin to William Byrd's dictum from his *Psalmes* (1611) that music should be 'framed to the life of the words'.[61] Beyond word painting, what traditions of 'seeing' were endemic within Goodman and Gibbons's invocation to 'See, See'? Seeing features heavily in many other Early Modern art forms and media—in textual and oral form particularly in the sermon genre, as well as in the related process of ekphrastic 'seeing' that was a crucial component of early modern conceptions of sensory processing. As we shall demonstrate, Gibbons's economical musical setting is spiritually and aesthetically akin to contemporary rhetorical and visual practices, never dwelling for too long on any one phrase or image.

To understand better the 'life of the words' of Gibbons's anthem, it is worth comparing the text to contemporary sermon culture. Early modern sermons drew widely from visual culture as a mode for generating or accessing deeper connections. Hannah Yip has

[60] Interestingly, in the composer George Jeffreys's late 17th-c. setting of Goodman's text, he adds an extra 'alleluia' after 'all jointly sing' before the 'Glory be to the Lamb'.

[61] William Byrd, *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets Some Solemne, Others Ioyfull, Framed to the Life of the Words* (London, 1611), title page.

demonstrated in detail that illustrative and visual material in various forms played a central role in printed sermons in early modern England.[62] Stylistically, sermons also frequently featured asyndetic listing of episodes of the life of Christ and his Passion, similar to the style of Goodman's text, sometimes with invocations of the *arma Christi* tradition or other prompts to ekphrastic visualization. To follow an early example, John Foxe's *Paul's Cross sermon for Good Friday* (1570) lists moments of the Passion in a diatribe against Papist affective devotion: 'They see him poore, sweatyng, bleedyng, falsely accused, wrongfully oppressed, wounded, scourged, derided, crowned with thorne, nayled, crucified, hangyng upon the crosse naked, persed, dead, and buried.'[63] Although Foxe's intention is to denounce the inadequacy of such passionate devotional practices, the rhetorical strategies he uses are very similar to the later texts that are the focus of our investigation. Later sermons show even closer thematic and stylistic affinities with Gibbons's anthem. Lancelot Andrewes, who had a strong influence on Goodman throughout this life, is a key example.[64] Peter McCullough has noted that Andrewes's style is marked by 'an almost obsessive fondness for curt, short syntactical units that were shorn of connectives (asyndeton) and void of the often expansive prose periphrasis achieved by the extended proliferation of subordinate clauses'[65]—a description that might just as easily be applied to the style of Goodman's anthem. In *A Sermon Preached at the Court on Good Friday* (1597), Andrewes expounds the meaning of John 19: 37, *Respicient in me quem transfixerunt*, by highlighting the importance of looking on the life of Christ, particularly the Passion: 'There is no part of the whole course of our Saviour CHRIST'*s* life or death, but it is well worthy our *looking on*; and from each part in it, there goeth vertue to do us good: But, of all other parts, and above them all, this last part of his piercing, is here commended unto our view.'[66] Later, Andrewes reinforces the importance of seeing the Passion in meditation with reference to the *arma Christi*:

> In the *Passion*, we first consider the degree: for *transfixerunt*, is a word of *gradation* … Expressing unto us the piercing, not with *whipps* and *scourges*; nor of the *neiles* and *thornes*; but, of the *speare-point*. Not, the *whipps* and *scourges*, wherwith His skin and flesh were *pierced*; nor the *nailes* and *thorns*, wherewith his feet, hands and head were *pierced*; but, the *Speare-point*, which *pierced* and went through his very *heart* it selfe: for, of that wound, of the wound in his *heart*, is this spoken (*Jo.* 19.34.).[67]

The rhetorical *gradatio* in this passage places the piercing of Christ's heart with the spear above the wounds inflicted by the other instruments of the Passion, and thus plays upon common knowledge of the *arma Christi* tradition amongst the hearers in order to expound on the significance of *transfixerunt*. Seeing or 'looking on' the Passion is here foregrounded rhetorically in a way that is not dissimilar to its textual prominence

[62] Hannah Yip, 'Speaking Now to our Eyes': Visual Elements of the Printed Sermon in Early Modern England' (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2021), 353.

[63] John Foxe, *A Sermon of Christ Crucified, Preached at Paules Cross* (London, 1570: RSTC 11242.3), sig. A3$^{r–v}$; cited in Jessica Martin, 'English Reformed Responses to the Passion', in Alec Ryrie and Jessica Martin (eds.), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2012), 115–34 at 118.

[64] Goodman and Andrewes overlapped at both Winchester and Cambridge. Soden says: 'While Andrewes lived, that restraining influence on Godfrey, which may have begun at Westminster, would last.' Soden, *Godfrey Goodman*, 38.

[65] Lancelot Andrewes, *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. Peter E. McCullough (Oxford, 2005), p. xxxiii.

[66] Ibid. 123, ll. 1–4.

[67] Ibid. 124, l. 39–p. 125, l. 5.

in Goodman's text. The Passion as a prime subject for meditation before the inner sight is hardly a new idea (with the liturgical *Ecce Agnus Dei* as the likely *Ur*-exponent of this tradition, modelling a visual approach to the suffering Christ). Yet in these texts, this idea is foregrounded in a manner that speaks to the early modern preoccupation with the senses, illustrating multimedial relationships between sermon culture, poetry, and music, as well as visual genres, as we go on to explore in the next section.

CHRISTUS NATUS EST (1632)

> Heres a Wonder neuer knowne,
> A King a Manger makes his Throne.
> And for Debts which Men Should Pay,
> Downe his Life at Stake did lay.

In its headline-like concision in summarizing the life of Christ, John Stafford's broadsheet *Christus Natus Est* (1632) shows some clear textual similarities with Goodman's text (see Fig. 2). At the same time, the image–text pairing presents a useful example of how beholding or seeing Christ's life was still a central part of post-Reformation devotion, providing further context about what we are being asked to 'see' in Gibbons's anthem.

'CHRIST is Borne' announces the headline of this visually complex page, which presents a detailed image of the Nativity framed by an 'O' containing the verse outlined above, surrounded by images of the objects and instruments of the *arma Christi*. To the right of the image, we find an 'Explanation of this *Picture*', which translates the Latin phrases charmingly proclaimed by the animals at the manger. To the left of the image is 'The History of Christ his Life and Death', a concise summary of the key events of the *vita Christi* that is reminiscent (in general approach rather than specifics) of Goodman's text. The account of Christ's life in Stafford's print is longer and less condensed to bare essentials both in terms of sentence structure and content than that of Goodman. Yet we find a similar focus on facts narrated in quick succession and frequently as asyndetic listing, in phrases such as 'His whole life was spent in labor, in Preaching, in fasting, praying, healing sicke People, and doing myracles'. The similarities in style are particularly obvious where both sources narrate the same chain of events. The account of Christ's miracles in Stafford's print runs as follows: 'No man euer did such Cures as he did, for he raised the dead to life, gaue sight to the Blind, made the Lame to walke, and cast out Diuels.' While clearly a different text, with the order of events reversed, this account is reminiscent of the listing of miracles that occurs in Goodman's text: 'the blind have sight and Criples have their Motion diseases cured the dead are raised and Miracles are wrought'.

The two versions are different enough that no direct influence can be claimed, and similarities of wording such as 'the Iewes set a Crowne of sharpe pricking Thornes vpon his head' (reminiscent of the different versions of 'Pricke/Crown of thorns' in Gibbons's anthem) are perhaps best ascribed to the identical nature of the content and the formulaic and conventional nature of descriptions of the life of Christ. Rather than suggesting direct influence, we are concerned here with broader similarities of approach in these texts.

There is evidence that Stafford's 1632 print was not the first imprint of this Nativity image with the framing *arma Christi*, which Malcolm Jones believes was first cut by John

FIG. 2. *Christus Natus Est Christ is Borne* (printed in London for John Stafford, 1631). © The Society of Antiquaries of London. Reproduced with the permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London

Bettes the Elder as early as the 1560s.[68] The roundel was reprinted by Stafford in 1632, then again with Stafford's ancillary texts by 'T.H.' for W. Thackery *c.*1680.[69] There is little known about Stafford's biography.[70] As neither the print imagery nor Gibbons's composition can be firmly dated, we are proceeding with the idea that such images and ideas were both circulating and recreated based upon earlier models. This impression is strengthened by the juxtaposition of the life of Christ in the broadsheet with a poem immediately adjacent underneath the image.

> O See! Mans Sauiour is in *Bethlem* borne,
> His lodging base, he himselfe held in scorne,
> The Cribbe at which the Oxe and Asse were fedde,
> *Mary* (Christs Mother) makes her young Sonnes bed;
> Yet see how Shepherds fall downe flat before him,
> And how the Wise-men doe with guifts adore him,
> Harke, what a heauenly Qurre of Angells sing
> Sweet Carrols, at the birth of this new King;
> O happy man! when thus, (thy Soule to saue,)
> Christ comes from Heauen, and makes himselfe a Slaue.
>
> SEe else that Pillar, where being naked bound,
> Thy *Christ* had his flesh tore with many a wound
> When a Cocke crowes, let it this griefe afford,
> To thinke how *Peter* (thrice) denyed his Lord;
> See *Iudas* Lanthorne, and see *Iudas* Pence,
> See the Dice throwne, to vncloath Innocence;
> See Pincers, Nailes, and Hammers, how they meere,
> To naile toth' Crosse, Christs blessed Hands and Feet:
> O Wretched Man! where Christ for thee thus dyed,
> Let him not still by thee be Crucified.

This poem meditates upon the life of Christ in a freer and more poetic style than the newspaper-like incisive history to the left. Crucially, both stanzas begin with the imperative to 'See'. The two stanzas focus on the two main visual scenes merged in the central image: the Nativity and the *arma Christi*. 'O See! Mans Sauiour is in *Bethlem* borne' begins the first stanza, echoing the large framing 'O' around the Nativity scene in the image. More 'see' exclamations abound in the second stanza, which emphasize the individual instruments of Christ's Passion, beginning 'See else that Pillar', followed further down by 'See *Iudas* Lanthorne, and see *Iudas* Pence,/See the Dice throwne, to vncloath Innocence;/See Pincers, Nails, and Hammers, how they meere,/to naile toth' Crosse, Christs blessed Hands and Feet'. By way of parsing the instruments surrounding the

[68] The print to which Jones refers (and dates provisionally to the 1560s) is held at the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. It shows slight changes in decoration to the roundel from the Stafford print and does not include any of the ancillary text that Stafford has. It only shows the worded roundel Nativity image along with the surrounding objects of the Passion. In the lower left corner of the Pepys version there is a 'I.B', which Jones believes to be Bettes's initials. Bettes makes similar marks in his other prints such as William Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559). These initials do not appear in the Stafford 1632 version of the image. Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 2010), 176.

[69] There are a few extant copies of this 1680s version, which includes the Nativity roundel and Stafford's ancillary text, two at Harvard University, and one with slight variations at the British Library. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 177.

[70] Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), 171.

Nativity scene in the image, the reader is repeatedly encouraged to look at the image and imbue the *arma Christi* with meaning as a starting point for meditation on the Passion: 'O Wretched Man! where Christ for thee thus dyed,/Let him not still by thee be Crucified.' The text thus encourages a lively conversation between visual representation in the image and visualization before the inner eye as prompted by the text as a springboard to meditation.

Strikingly, the two scenes introduced by the invocation to 'See' in the broadsheet—the Nativity and the Passion—exactly mirror the two moments in Goodman's text that are prefaced by the same word: 'see o see the fresh woundes, the goareing blood, the Prickes (Crown) of thornes the print of Nayles'. In both cases, repetition of the imperative focuses attention on the incarnation and the *arma Christi*, another vestigial reference to the medieval tradition of the proleptic Passion, as argued above. One also finds these traditions in other popular prints, such as the ballad *Two Ditties, One of the Birth, the Other of the Passion of Christ … to the Tune of Dulcina* (1619–29?), which pairs scenes of the birth and Passion. The song upon the Passion begins 'Turne your eyes' and embraces liberal lashings of the invocation to 'see', reminding hearers to 'Heere fixe our eye,/and thinke upon his precious death.'[71]

As Mary Carruthers aptly states, 'The first question one should ask of an image is not "What does it mean?" but "What is it good for?"', as what an image is used for is as important as any symbolic meaning.[72] How might a person have encountered or used such a broadsheet? Broadsheets may have been purchased and collected as loose sheets, but their large size meant that they were made to be pasted or pinned upon the walls of domestic interiors, alehouses, and other gathering areas.[73] Malcolm Jones gives the example of the anonymous *Christian's Iewel* (1624), which 'declares itself "fit to adorne the hearte and decke the house of euery Protestant"'.[74] Displaying these poster-sized pictures in the home would give ample opportunity for such image–text combinations to stimulate extraordinary meditation.[75] While Stafford's print is fairly unusual, it was not the only post-Reformation print to explicitly depict the *arma Christi*. Most notable is the frontispiece of Samuel Rowland's *The Betraying of Christ. IVDAS in Despaire. The Seuen Words of our Sauior on the Crosse with Other Poems on the Passion* (1598), in which objects of the *arma Christi* surround the book's main title.[76]

Stafford's broadsheet marks a visual example in which we can see scenes from Christ's life alongside a textual invitation to meditate upon the history. Remnants of medieval traditions such as the proleptic Passion and the visual provocation to meditation on the *arma Christi* persist in this Protestant context. Set within Christ's history, these images were appropriate stimuli for devotional meditation. With this as an example of the type of image–text pairings with which people were familiar, one can then see how Gibbons's piece transfers the act of seeing and meditating into a different, musical mode. Gibbons's

[71] *Two Pleasant Ditties, one of the Birth, the other of the / Passion of Christ. / Of Natiuity*. EBBA 30269. British Library: Roxburghe, C.20.f.7.394–5. <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30269> (accessed 31 Oct. 2025).

[72] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 118.

[73] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, 62.

[74] As cited in Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 174.

[75] As Gayk lays out, printed versions of *Mandeville's Travels* (1568 and 1582) discuss Passion relics alongside illustrations of several of the *arma*, including the reed, sponge, cloak, a nail, the crown of thorns, and cross (Gayk, 'Early Modern Afterlives of the *Arma Christi*', 285).

[76] As Gayk says, 'the bundled arma frame the book's title rather than a representation of Christ, but are clearly appropriating the compartmentalized models of representing the arma made popular by the indulgenced woodcuts in the opening decades of the sixteenth century' (ibid.).

setting and Goodman's text invoke models of visual representation that would have had associations with the kind of material we find in Stafford's print. The musical setting transposes the image from one that is physically being looked at into one that is held in the imagination, and meditated upon through word and music. The *arma Christi* thus move from one mode and genre into another, while similar textual and visual strategies are used to enable and encourage appropriate meditation.

So far, our analysis has focused on the relationships between the visual and the textual; as we argue below, the musical likewise partakes in this early modern culture of intermedial relationships.

MUSIC AND VISUAL CULTURE

It has often been said that the song form known as the lute ayre is the musical equivalent of the Elizabethan penchant for the miniature portrait: pithy, intimate, requiring skill to make it good, not too long or large, but with an artistic and emotional potency that nevertheless packs a punch: something to be cherished and selectively shared.[77] Perhaps there is more to this observation than has been previously presumed by those making cursory comparisons between the forms. Recent interdisciplinary investigations into the musical-visual culture of early modern England have demonstrated that there was far greater interplay between visual and aural culture than has been explored in much of modern scholarship, due in part to anachronistic disciplinary boundaries.[78]

The intellectual and artistic environment of early Jacobean England was rife for creative experimentation in how sensing and the arts created meaning.[79] There was the philosophical, internal connection between sensing, the rational mind, imagination (pictures in the mind or the mind's eye), and text mentioned earlier that worked in mysterious ways to create meaning. The role of ekphrasis in early modern poetry is a fairly well-explored area, alongside newer work on audiation or what happens in the 'mind's ear', focusing on metaphysical poets.[80] Contemporary writers such as George Puttenham observed a particular sympathy between hearing and seeing (and tunes and colours):

> it so falleth out most times your occular proportion doeth declare the nature of the audible: for if it please the eare well, the same representation by delineation to the view pleaseth the eye well and *è conuerso* and this by a naturall *simpathie*, betweene the eare and the eye, and betweene tunes & colours.[81]

It is against this intellectual background that we approach the fluidity between the visual and musical cultures in early seventeenth-century England, and the ways in which Gibbons is situated at their various intersections.

[77] Roy Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983).

[78] For example, see Katie Bank and Eleanor Chan (eds.), *Musicking the Visual, Visualising the Musical in the English Renaissance* (London, forthcoming 2026); Chan, *Syrene Sounds*, and various publications by Linda Phyllis Austern, e.g. 'The Siren, the Muse, and the God of Love: Music and Gender in Seventeenth-Century English Emblem Books', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 18 (1999), 95–138.

[79] Bank, *Knowledge Building in Early Modern English Music*.

[80] Valdivia, 'Audiation'; Gent, *Picture and Poetry*; Arthur J. DiFuria and Walter Melion (eds.), *Ekphrastic Image-making in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Leiden, 2021); David Francis Taylor, 'Picturing Ekphrasis: Image and Text in Shakespeare Painting', *European Romantic Review*, 33 (2022), 461–78; Margitta Rouse, 'Text-Picture Relationships in the Early Modern Period', in Gabriele Rippl (ed.), *Handbook of Intermediality: Literature – Image – Sound – Music* (Berlin, 2015), 65–81.

[81] George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), 85.

Musical connections to visual culture, both overt and more subtle, were plentiful and varied. One might consider objects with overt musical association, for example, images of musical figures such as King David as seen in a painted panel in the long gallery at Dean House or the overmantel of Orpheus in a withdrawing chamber at Haddon Hall. William Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* (1611) also overtly engages with visual culture by drawing six texts from Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (1586), including 'Of Flattering Speech' and 'The Eagle's Force'.[82] Byrd was perhaps not the only composer to engage with emblematic text. Pinto suggests that the 'versifier', possibly Christopher Hatton II, of Gibbons's song 'Trust Not Too Much' (1612) had 'an eye for imagery', taking a particular combination of Virgilian verse from a popular emblem book.[83] There are also plausible connections between Gibbons's consort fantasia 'Cries of London' and contemporary print culture. Researchers have suggested that Gibbons's setting of 'Cries'—along with other 'Cries' fantasias by Dering, Weelkes, and others—was a part of a wider, more multimedial phenomenon of aurally recalling and recreating images presented in well-known broadsheets of street hawkers.[84] In these broadsheets, priced for middling buyers (lawyers, doctors, merchants, etc.), images of hawkers are organized within an architectural framework of cartouche that, as Sean Shesgreen has convincingly argued, invokes imagery from the Royal Exchange.[85] We would not be the first to take the leap in noticing that this architectural framework is echoed in the polyphonic musical framework supplied by the viol fantasia, suggesting the possibility of a print–music connection in this repertory as well.[86]

These examples demonstrate a few of the ways creatives approached and played with the layered relationships between music and visual culture, both of a more tangible (e.g. print) and intangible type (e.g. ekphrasis). Puttenham was not the only early modern writer to note the sympathies between the ear and eye, nor the only one to understand poetry, as Philip Sidney did, as a 'speaking *Picture*'.[87] It is within this wider conception of cultural circulation that we can better understand 'seeing' in contemporary visual culture and the 'seeing' invoked by Gibbons's anthem. In this instance, it connects to both a tangible, traceable tradition of visual culture, alongside the more intangible ekphrastic modes of seeing so cherished by early modern English creatives.

SEEING *ARMA CHRISTI*

As Katie Bank and Scott Trudell have each argued elsewhere, the making and remaking of cultural phenomena in this period of English history often happened over time and

[82] Philip Brett presents evidence that Whitney's original presentation copy of his emblem collection contained a tribute to the famed lutenist John Johnson. Philip Brett, *William Byrd and his Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph* (Berkeley, 2007), 60–5.

[83] Pinto observed that in emblem number 87 of Otto Cornelisz van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), two of the three Latin epigraphs are the same combination of lines fused in 'Trust not': Ecloga 2: 17–18 and 10: 39. David Pinto, '"Trust not too much" in a Setting by Orlando Gibbons', *Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 13A (2019), 20–37 at 27.

[84] Sean Shesgreen, 'The First London Cries', *Print Quarterly*, 10 (1993), 364–73.

[85] Ibid. 364.

[86] Charlie Taverner makes a passing comment along these lines. Charlie Taverner, *Street Food: Hawkers and the History of London* (Oxford, 2023), 155. Eric Wilson called the Dering and Gibbons settings 'sonic architecture' in 'Plagues, Fairs, and Street Cries: Sounding out Society and Space in Early Modern London', *Modern Language Studies*, 25 (1995), 1–42 at 37.

[87] Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (London, 1595), sig. C2^{v}.

through a variety of media.[88] It is for this reason that we are somewhat less concerned with firm dating for the earliest extant *arma Christi* prints such as Stafford's. Even if that particular broadsheet was not a direct 'inspiration' for Gibbons's setting, elements of the Nativity and *arma*, or other headline-like 'highlights' of Christ's life, are found in other types of visual culture circulating within middling to elite households. This is in spite of the historiographical perception that post-Reformation visual culture excluded all visual depictions of New Testament scenes, which was certainly not the case for domestic interiors—one of the spaces in which Gibbons's song may have taken life.

In 1598, the puritan William Perkins explained the circumstances under which biblical imagery outside of church may be encouraged: 'We hold the historical use of images to be good and lawful: and that is, to represent to the eye the acts of histories, whether they be human or divine: and thus we think the histories of the Bible may be painted in private places.'[89] It is for this reason that one often sees biblical scenes in Protestant contexts presented in a sort of narrative 'comic strip' style, as in a wall painting telling the story of Susanna and the Elders at Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire or in the excerpts depicting the story of Tobit on the wall of the White Swan in Stratford-upon-Avon.[90] In this style, images (sometimes with short texts) evoke a story through little vignettes that each represent a scene, in some ways reminiscent of the Stations of the Cross.[91] In other instances there is even less detail, with a few or even a single image as representative of a whole story in what Tara Hamling has termed 'synoptic images'. She explains that 'such images are not narrative in a strict sense because they contain insufficient information to tell the story; rather they evoke stories that were already familiar in verbal and visual form. They … present a summary of the principal parts of the story and can stand as a general synopsis of the whole'; as such, 'the essence of the subject [is] pared back to its core elements to aid clarity and ease in communication'.[92] We suggest that synoptic images can be understood not only in terms of what they do, but also as a style.[93] As such, there are several modes through which tableau-like or synoptic scenes from Christ's life are manifested in decoration.

For example, plasterwork from the 1620 s showing New Testament scenes adorned at least three homes in Barnstaple, including Nativity and Annunciation overmantels from 69 High Street.[94] There is a ceiling with both Nativity and Annunciation cartouches at 62 Boutport Street and lastly an example of ceiling plasterwork of a nearly identical design at 7 Cross Street.[95] The Nativity at 62 Boutport Street shows Mary kneeling over the

[88] Bank's conception of multimedial English culture emphasizes the making of meaning over time. For example, a song on Orpheus need not have been performed in the exact location of an Orpheus statue for those amongst certain circles to draw connections between them. Katie Bank, 'William Byrd's "Come Woeful Orpheus" in Context: Motion as Visual and Musical Affect', *Early Music*, 51 (2023), 517–34; Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry*.

[89] As quoted in Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 174.

[90] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, 135.

[91] As Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson explain, these types of images 'do not *tell* the story so much as *evoke* it'. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, 'Material Environments', in Rory Loughnane and Will Sharpe (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Early Modern Authorship* (Oxford, forthcoming 2025), at 175.

[92] Tara Hamling, 'Visual Culture', in Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham, 2014), 75–102.

[93] In her exploration of the value of rethinking style in early modern England, Chan argues that '[b]y virtue of its original meaning as a writing instrument, the *stilus*, style simultaneously implicates technical execution and conceptual plan, the properly mannered technique and the idiosyncratic'. Eleanor Chan, 'What We Mean When We Talk about Style: The "Redolent" Eglantine Table (*c.*1568)', *Word and Image*, 36 (2020), 248–60.

[94] The house is now gone, but the Annunciation is now in the Museum of North Devon.

[95] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, 159.

unswathed Christ child in a manger. Joseph stands in a Jacobean hat behind her on her left with a few barn animals in the background. The image is surrounded by a lightly decorated, oval cartouche. Yet another plasterwork overmantel from *c.*1635 in Dartmouth shows the Resurrection and Ascension in one scene.[96] While this concentration of imagery suggests a localized trend or workshop in the area, New Testament imagery in middling merchant households was not confined to this area. As Hamling explains, the permissibility of New Testament imagery 'hinged on issues of subject matter, media, context and use'.[97] A carved wood overmantel depicting the Adoration was formerly found in Mansion House in Newcastle, while three painted panels from an overmantel at Uckfield show the Adoration and the Crucifixion.[98] Charlton House in Greenwich has a striking chimneypiece, known as the White Room Chimneypiece (*c.*1612), that illustrates Christ carrying his cross, the Crucifixion, and Resurrection.

There is also the unusual example of the painted ceiling of Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen.[99] The original work consisted of ten narrative scenes depicting Christ's life. Extant panels depict the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, and Entombment.[100] Surrounding each rectangular scene are numerous *putti*, each holding an object of the *arma Christi*.[101] There were also six roundels in the original design; one depicts the Five Wounds of Christ. A single figure, such as an image of Christ alone, was considered more dangerous in terms of idolatry than a narrative scene with many figures.[102] Therefore, in the Protestant context one most often sees Christ contextualized within his story, as it was generally acceptable to view New Testament scenes as history. Still, this is one of only a few extant examples of explicit *arma Christi* imagery in Protestant households.[103] The influential recusant Thomas Tresham's unfinished summer home, Lyveden New Bield, featured frieze imagery of *arma Christi* on the house's exterior, including a niche with cross, ladder, spear, hammer, and pincers within a crown of thorns and another niche featuring Christ's garment surrounded by Roman helmets. The context of the image and the people involved make this *arma* a clear political-religious statement.

In Provost Skene's House, however, even without accompanying textual explanation, the display of multiple scenes of Christ's life demonstrates their presence as history rather than for veneration. The musical and textual equivalent of this process in how Christ's life is presented can be found in the Gibbons anthem and Stafford print. Stafford achieves this by adding the history on the left of the Nativity/*arma Christi* imagery, thus complementing and contextualizing the image. Goodman and Gibbons highlight events from Christ's life between the birth and suffering, as well as the eventual Ascension. Given the general lack of knowledge about Goodman's punctuation or

[96] Ibid. 223.

[97] Ibid. 159.

[98] Hamling explains why these paintings still exist within a Protestant context, rather than a crypto-Catholic one. Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, pp. xii, 231.

[99] Hamling convincingly argues that as 'Protestant culture was not incompatible with religious imagery, the claim that the very existence of the painted decoration in Provost Skene's House is itself "definite proof" of Lumsden's [the owner's] Catholicity must now be discounted'. Conflicting evidence has even suggested Lumsden was a staunch Protestant (ibid. 198).

[100] Ibid. 195–7.

[101] Ibid. 196.

[102] Ibid. 179.

[103] The Five Wounds would have been the most controversial imagery at risk for veneration. That said, this instance is not unique and there are also examples of Five Wounds imagery in plasterwork at Woodlands Farmhouse in Holford, Somerset and in a wall painting in a house in Church Street, Beaumaris, Anglesey. Ibid. 198.

formatting for the prose itself, Gibbons's setting provides us with an informative gilded framing for each musical cartouche of the history, verse and chorus calling and responding in discrete sections within an instrumental framework that builds an aural storyboard. Though Goodman's text contains antecedents of medieval visual traditions including the *arma Christi*, by embedding the proximity of these image-events with further aspects of Christ's history it also departs from such medieval traditions, presenting the story and its visuality in a more modern fashion, germane to Protestant sensibilities.

FIGURED MAKING AND RE-MAKING

The intermedial relationships between images, texts, and music that we have thus far traced could perhaps be compared to figured or concrete poetry, which is essentially the making of words into a thing to be looked at, as well as read (perhaps most notably explored in the poetry of George Herbert). We would argue that figured poetry is a part of a wider creative interest in the re-making of one art form into another that ties in with the phenomena we have discussed above. By its very nature, the figured poem straddles different media and levels of interpretation: the visual and the verbal, the literal and the metaphorical. As Elizabeth Cook says,

> Puns upon the convergence and disparity of literal and metaphorical levels are implicit in the nature of a figured poem which, with its recognizable shape, declares itself an object, unlike an ordinary poem. Yet in its wordy content, it denies the object it seems to be … These separate levels of meaning may set up a tension by which the one seems to deny the other; or they may seem to complement each other, the visible form acting as a specious proof of the verbal content.[104]

Or, alternately, we might think of this as the making one form, such as poetry—arguably an aural genre—appeal to the sensibility of another, such as sound into sight, a process that could potentially encompass ekphrasis as well.[105] Theatrical forms inherently play with multisensory experiences, including the visuality of music.[106] Trudell demonstrates how forms such as poetry were 'imagined within an experimental mediascape that neither begins nor ends with writing'.[107]

Notated music, too, was at times transformed into visual shapes. Elizabethan and Jacobean creatives enjoyed forming music into shapes and objects, such as a song form known as a 'round', presented through notation in the shape of a circle.[108] The title page to John Maynard's song collection, *The XII Wonders of the World* (1611) shows one example.[109] This notation, seen in a literal round, is then embodied by the singers, who might also be standing in a circle, realizing the roundness aurally through the repetition of the song, in two dimensions on paper, and four dimensions by the singers standing in the round.

[104] Elizabeth Cook, 'Figured Poetry', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42 (1979), 1–15 at 9.

[105] For example, Davenant's *Madagascar* (1638) and musical word painting, e.g. Weelkes's 'Thule, the Period of Cosmographie' (1598).

[106] See, for example, Simon Smith, 'Music as Visual Performance in the Early Modern Theatre', in Bank and Chan (eds.), *Musicking the Visual* (forthcoming 2026).

[107] In this quotation he is talking about the poetry of Philip Sidney. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry*, 21.

[108] A 'round', such as 'Row, Row, Row Your Boat', is a form where multiple voices sing the same melody, but each voice starts at a different time, creating a layered, harmonious effect. It is a type of canon, where a single melody is repeated by different voices in staggered entrances. It therefore goes round and round until the group makes an effort to stop! Katherine Butler, 'The Visual Culture of Rounds, Catches, and Canons in Early Modern England', in Bank and Chan, *Musicking the Visual* (forthcoming 2026).

[109] Butler, 'The Visual Culture of Rounds'.

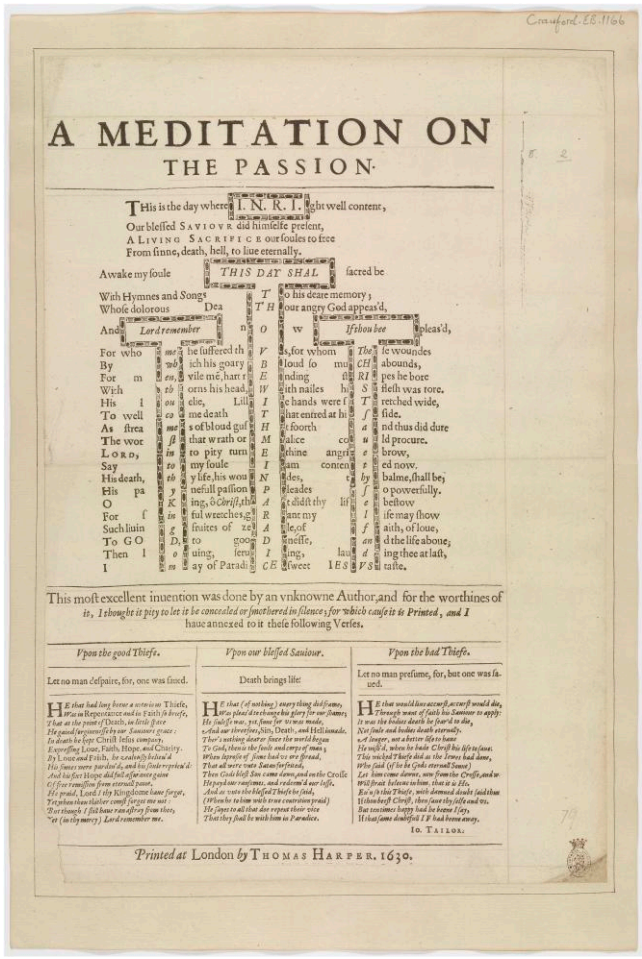

FIG. 3. *A Meditation on the Passion* (Printed in London by Thomas Harper, 1630), Crawford.EB.1166. Reproduced with permission from materials on deposit at the National Library of Scotland from the Balcarres Heritage Trust

Concrete poetry also appeared in printed broadsheets, such as 'A Meditation on the Passion' printed by Thomas Harper in 1630 (see Fig. 3).[110] The text is arranged through three cross shapes that evoke the iconography of the three crosses on Golgotha. The text can be read horizontally, but also vertically through the acrostic created by the cross shapes. Harper's print of the three crosses has all the markers of an 'afterlife' of *arma Christi*, not only through the visualization of the crosses on the hill, but also in the list of 'these woundes' with 'goary bloud', 'stripes he bore', 'with thorns on head, with Nailes his flesh was tore', and so on. The print claims that 'This most excellent inuention was done by an vnknowne Author', adding 'I thought it pity to let it be concealed or smothered in silence', as a justification for printing it, reminding us by its choice of words of the aural foundation to the act of reading in this period.[111]

[110] Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers*, 91.

[111] Jones notes that this print is a close copy of a German broadside printed in 1607; *The Print in Early Modern England*, 178; Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford, 2019).

Concrete texts of this kind can often be understood in relation to meditative practice.[112] In drawing on the illustrative properties available to more than one sense, 'A Meditation on the Passion' allows a process of extraordinary meditation upon the *arma Christi* in potent visceral and visual terms while eschewing overtly idolatrous Christography. Pasted upon a wall (for example), this type of sheet delights in the wit of the format, while also provoking an opportunity for extraordinary mediation based on the invocation of sight and hearing. It makes sense that there is a certain symbiosis in the appeal to the visual and aural, as Puttenham explained earlier: the 'naturall *simpathie*, betweene the eare and the eye, and betweene tunes & colours'.[113] This sympathy can be explained, at least partially, through the varying palettes available to each sense in their manifestation of beauty. Puttenham writes: 'euery other proportion guided of the things that haue conueniencie by relation, as the visible by light colour and shadow: the audible by stirres, times and accents', and so on.[114] In this basically Aristotelian understanding of beauty, each sense draws from its own toolbox, balancing style and variety to create well-proportioned art. Though the palettes or toolboxes from which each sense draws are specific to that sense, the process is fundamentally the same, allowing for a sympathy between ear and eye. Figured poetry, and, by extension, other experiments in multimedial creative meditation such as Gibbons's anthem, pointedly interrogate this sympathy.

ARMA CHRISTI AS EKPHRASIS AND EARLY MODERN SENSIBILITIES

The invocation of visual-textual stimuli in Gibbons's 'See, See the Word is Incarnate', then, speaks to a much broader early modern context of intermedial relationship between different art forms in a continuous process of re-making. In this connection, it is useful to think of the ekphrastic qualities of the anthem's references to the *arma Christi* and their significance for contemporary literary and cultural practices. Instead of the visual image of the *arma Christi*, Goodman's text lets their image arise before the inner eye, together with a call to contemplation and meditation: 'see o see the fresh woundes, the goareing blood, the Prickes (Crown) of thornes the print of Nayles'. This ekphrastic reference is not necessarily based on one specific image of the *arma Christi*, but rather on their persistence in early modern culture and their potential for transference between media. The implications of Goodman's text and Gibbons's setting are therefore wide-ranging, offering key insights into contemporary understandings of seeing (literally or metaphorically) and sensing.

In medieval and early modern thought, ekphrasis was not only a literary device through which vivid rhetoric heard or read provoked an image in the mind, it was also a fundamental mode for understanding the processes of sensing and sense making. While there was debate about the mechanics of hearing and the ensuing internal processes, the basics were thus: sound, a presence in the physical world, travelled through the air, entered the body through the ear, and then was somehow processed by the imagination, thereby resonating with the animal spirits of the internal body, eventually striking

[112] Elizabeth Cook, *Seeing through Words: The Scope of Late Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, 1986), 24.

[113] Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 85.

[114] For what it is worth, Christopher Hatton owned a copy of *The Arte of English Poesie*. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 53; Pinto, 'Trust not too much', 29.

the heart and the rational mind in varying ways depending on the nature of the sound.[115] The result of this striking are the thoughts, reactions, and emotions that move people to action. Ekphrasis, as a process, was not a new phenomenon in the early modern period. Mary Carruthers has argued that medieval writers did not distinguish between the 'verbal' and 'visual' aspects of related internal processes because they were part of a single operation.[116] Despite medieval antecedents, 'pictures in the mind' seem to have exerted a particular fascination on writers and poets during the early modern period from Bacon to Sidney, and Shakespeare to Drayton, as scholars such as Lucy Gent have observed.[117] As mentioned earlier, for Sidney, poetry was an art of imitation, 'a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth—to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture—with this end, to teach and delight'.[118] He argues that it is precisely in this capacity to create a vivid imagery in the mind that poetry is more affecting than philosophy alone. A good poem 'yieldeth to the powers of the mind an image of that whereof the philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither strike, pierce, nor possess the sight of the soul so much as that other doth'.[119] Such 'apologies', both for music and poetry, also had a moment in late sixteenth-century England.[120] Susan James explains that this re-examination of affect and the arts stemmed in part from discontent with ancient understandings of the body–mind relationship, resulting in a renewed interest in the passions and sparking the need to reconsider what they were at the most basic level.[121] This line of questioning fuelled not only the work of the so-called metaphysical poets, such as John Donne and George Herbert, but also other artistic explorations of the nature of the relationship between the things we see, hear, smell, feel, or taste and the physical body and immaterial spirits.

The prominence of these ideas in early modern thought has particular relevance in relation to post-Reformation anxieties about visual representation. Although the roots of sensing, and therefore ekphrasis, were in the philosophies of the Ancients, the concept of ekphrasis was shaped by Christian theology. As Lydia Goehr elegantly states:

> there can be no enquiry into ekphrasis without recall of Plato's censorious views in The Republic or what he writes in his Phaedrus about saying and showing, concealing and revealing, speaking and remaining mute. Nor can the enquiry be separated from what later are offered as Judaeo-Christian laws and regulations that aim to protect persons both from immoral or unmusical melodies and texts produced in the wrong modes on the wrong instruments and from visual images that falsely represent the sacred and unrepresentable through profane or banal forms of representation. Amidst this censoriousness, indirect techniques were developed (some say they even flourished) for saying or singing what could not be shown and for showing what could be neither said nor sung. In my view, ekphrasis was one such technique even if … it was not always put to so strategic or subtle a use.[122]

[115] In Thomas Tomkis's allegorical academic play *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses* (London, 1607), the character of hearing, Auditus, can only speak to the character of Common Sense through the character of imagination, Phantastes. Act III, scene vltima, sig. G3^{r}–4^{v}. See also Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1999).

[116] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 122.

[117] Gent, *Picture and Poetry*, 1.

[118] Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (London, 1595), sig. C2^{v}.

[119] Ibid., sig. D2^{v}.

[120] For example, John Case, *Apologia musices* (1588).

[121] Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford, 1997), 65.

[122] Lydia Goehr, 'How to Do More with Words: Two Views of (Musical) Ekphrasis', *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 50 (2010), 389–410 at 392.

Though there is a particular kind of censoriousness about post-Reformation English society, this is not to say ekphrasis is simply or consciously a route to circumvent iconoclasm. This may be one possible function, but the process described by Goehr is, as she says, far less strategic and, in our case of the *arma Christi* in Gibbons's anthem, surprisingly subtle.

As Hamling explains, 'despite any attempts by reformers to purify the practice of public and private worship by eliminating any dependence on the ritual use of visual and material props, the theological focus providing the substance for personal devotion in Protestant practice remained essentially unchanged from medieval tradition'.[123] The figure of Christ the Saviour from Incarnation to Passion and Resurrection was still central to Protestant devotion but Protestant approaches to meditating upon the Passion required a measure of restraint and moderation. As the moderate bishop Symon Patrick thought, 'there is too much of sense in the tragical and theatrical representations which are made by some papists of Christ's sufferings … The eye and ear are so fully possessed, that their objects work of their natural strength, and not by the soul's considering and meditating powers.'[124] Still, Patrick also knew that 'a picture and image of a thing doth more affect us than an historical narration; and that the more lively and express that image is, the more lively motions it makes within us'. In terms of Christ's Passion, he reasoned that Christ 'was pleased to … convey to our minds spiritual notions by outward and sensible signs, and to impress on our hearts what he hath done and suffered, by a visible representation of it in bodily things, and not only by a plain description of it in the gospel'.[125] Therefore, Patrick reasons, indirect remembrances such as bread and wine provide the right, moderated amount of sensory stimulation, as they 'show Christ to our senses, but more to our minds; that so both may be employed, but the mind may do most by the help of the senses'.[126] The *arma Christi* may be said to serve a similar, 'moderated' function, in which they metonymically point towards the Passion yet, to a varying extent, can obscure the suffering Christ. By presenting the instruments of the Passion to our senses, they indeed 'show Christ … more to our minds', and it is this versatility that allowed the *arma Christi* imagery to traverse confessional divides, offering space for adaptation in a variety of different (and sometimes opposed) doctrinal and medial contexts.

Literary engagement with and meditation on the Passion, therefore, is closely tied to contemporary debates about the role of seeing, sensing, and representing theologically difficult topics. Even John Milton found the Passion to be a tricky topic for poetic response. It is said that a young Milton abandoned a poem entitled 'The Passion' that was likely to have been written as a companion piece to another devotional poem on the Incarnation (a pairing reminiscent of our proleptic Passion).[127] As Jessica Martin explains, the Passion is particularly challenging for reformed sensibilities because it 'invites the realization of the unspeakable: both in the extremity of suffering and degradation it describes, and in the enormity of the imaginative leap demanded in figuring God as the

[123] Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, 230.

[124] As quoted in Keith Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England', in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge, 2006), 16–40 at 38; Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, 253; from *The Works of Symon Patrick Including his Autobiography*, ed. Alexander Taylor (Oxford, 1863), i. 72.

[125] *Works of Symon Patrick*, ed. Taylor, i. 72.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Martin, 'English Reformed Responses'.

sufferer (albeit in his human nature)'.[128] Moreover, the Passion is 'highly sensual in a problematic way, given what must be imagined' and crucially 'it invites a visual regard, a beholding, as a primary source of understanding'.[129] As such, the prior centuries saw that the Passion received a particularly iconic treatment. We have shown how such iconic treatment was not only preserved in Goodman's text, but emphasized (or perhaps delivered) through Gibbons's musical setting, which maintains a cartouche-style framework for viewing established by older and prevailing visual traditions or experiences.

In fact, there are stylistic factors integral to both synoptic imagery and asyndetic textual representations of Christ's life and Passion—a 'bitty' or truncated quality intently signifying a robust knowledge of the subject matter—that go some way to account for similar approaches in Gibbons's music for 'See, See'. It is perhaps this quality that led earlier musicologists to judge this piece as marred by 'syllabic overcrowding'.[130] Gibbons's more even-keeled and homophonic settings of poems such as 'The Silver Swan' have no need to cover the emotional range of events offered by 'See, See'. The chorus sections of 'See, See' share some markers with Gibbons's tightly imitative full anthem styling, such as in 'Hosanna to the son of David'. Yet in 'See, See', Gibbons provides but a suggestion of the fuller polyphonic flowering he develops in, for example, 'hosanna in the highest heavens' (the final phrase of 'Hosanna to the Son of David'). In the latter, he layers imitative counterpoint and frequent repetitions of the text over seventeen bars to create an effect of escalation to exultation.[131] In 'See, See', there are similar choruses of sung exultation that are emotionally effective, but of smaller scale: 'Sing Halleluiah' is just five bars and four repetitions of the text. Even a textually longer chorus such as 'Let us welcome such a guest with Hosanna' is still quite economical, with only a few repetitions of the text occurring over about seven bars of music. It makes logical sense for Gibbons to write economically when setting a relatively long piece of prose. Equally, an appreciation of contemporary stylistic approaches for seeing and writing the Christological story raises the possibility that Gibbons's musical approach not only fits well with Goodman's asyndetic textual representation, but also demonstrates an awareness of how contemporaries *saw* Christ's life and Passion. This effectively transmits an element of style between different media—text, image, and music—to musically re-create synoptic images for the mind's eye.

CONCLUSION

And that our meditations in the Psalmes may not want their delight, we have that excellet [*sic*] gift of God, the Art of Musick to accompany them: that our eyes beholding the words of Dauid, our fingers handling the Instruments of Musicke, our eares delighting in the swetenesse of the melody, and the heart obseruing the harmony of them: all these doe ioyne in an heauenly Consort, and God may bee glorified and our selues refreshed therewith.[132]

[128] Ibid. 117.

[129] Plus, as a narrative it invokes questions such as 'does this invite or exclude the watcher?', 'Is the Passion's narrative time cyclical, as in the remembrances of the church year; or linear, distant and historical?' (Martin, 'English Reformed Responses', 116–17).

[130] *Orlando Gibbons*, ed. Buck et al., p. xxii; Palmer, 'Gibbons's Verse Anthems', 111.

[131] In discussing bars of music, we are looking at Pinto's modern edition.

[132] Richard Alison, *The Psalmes of Dauid in Meter* (London, 1599), sig. A2^{r}–3^{v}.

In 1599, the composer Richard Alison framed musical devotion as a full body, sensory experience. One might be inclined to imagine these devotional experiences as quite serious, but as Alison reminds us, they were also recreational and served to refresh and revive the self. Devotional recreational music-making, in particular, was repeatedly cited by commentators as one of the foremost modes for refreshment.[133] Yet music did more to an experience of a text than just making it enjoyable. Gibbons's music had the potential to make the devotional meditation of Goodman's text more potent, or penetrate the soul more deeply. As the composer-poet Thomas Campion stated: 'Mixe your words with Musicke then, That they the more may enter.'[134] In a similar vein, Richard Hooker said music could 'expresse and represent to the minde more inwardly than any other sensible meane the very standing rising and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turnes and varieties of all passions whereunto the minde is subject: yea so to imitate them'.[135] Given, as Downame said, that sight and hearing were the two most important senses for extraordinary meditation,[136] it makes sense to bring the two together through a song that considers a history of Christ's life.

Throughout this article we have suggested that Gibbons's 'See, See the Word is Incarnate', with its relationship to the *arma Christi* and other established visual traditions, is just one example of two pervasive, interrelated cultural phenomena. First, this case study aligns with Trudell's work, attesting to the significance of understanding many Elizabethan and Jacobean creative endeavours as part of an intently multimedial circulation of culture. Short-handed, indirect rhetorical strategies such as asyndetic style and metonymy were correlated with visual forms such as synoptic imagery and could be used to similar effect. Within their respective media, these shared techniques served to access feeling in indirect ways. This spoke to Protestant anxieties about the use and function of images—a process 'for saying or singing what could not be shown and for showing what could be neither said nor sung',[137] as Goehr has observed. Second, and relatedly, we would extend this to suggest that further work might be done on this 'moment' in the history of style, creativity, and sensing. Specifically, there is more to be understood surrounding the re-making of art forms that appeal to one sense into a form that appeals to another. Put differently, there is more to be comprehended about the transformation or adaptation of style from one art form into other art forms as an explicit subject of study. This phenomenon is well established in poetic-visual culture such as figured poetry, but also in visual-musical conceits such as rounds written in the round. It also occurred in instances of visual word painting, such as in recusant Thomas Jollett's setting of 'Adoramus te Christe', where Jollett used music notation to indicate the shape of a cross at 'hoc signum crucis'.[138] This type of visual musical reference would not be perceived by those listening to the music, but it would be visible on the page to the singers in the know.

In fact, the knowledge of those musicking was a crucial part in the delivery and uptake of meaning. In devotional music-making, as in the delivery of sermons, a persuasive and

[133] Bank, *Knowledge Building*, 242–5.

[134] Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske: Presented in the Banqueting Roome at Whitehall* (London, 1614), sig. D2^{r}.

[135] Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiasticall Politie: The Fift Booke* (London,1597), sig. H2^{r}.

[136] See n. 13 above.

[137] See n. 122 above.

[138] For discussion of the identity of Jollett, see Emilie K. M. Murphy, '*Adoramus Te Christe*: Music and Post-Reformation English Catholic Domestic Piety', *Studies in Church History*, 50 (2014), 240–53.

skilled performance from the speaker or singer is a key to the fullest enjoyment and benefit of the process. Helkiah Crooke observed 'we are more recreated with Hearing than with reading' because a live performer's voice is more affecting 'by reason of his inflexion and insinuation into our Sense'.[139] Therefore, 'those things which be heard, take a deeper impression in our minds, which is made by the appulsion or ariuall of a reall voyce'.[140] The composer Thomas Morley also praised the affecting nature of appropriate music setting devotional texts. He explains that this type of music 'moveth and causeth most strange effects in the hearer, being aptly framed for the ditty and well expressed by the singer, for it will draw the auditor (and specially the skilful auditor) into a devout and reverent kind of consideration of Him for whose praise it was made'.[141] He explains that the text is the 'spirit' or 'lively soul' of the music and that singers should 'study how to vowel and sing clean, expressing their words with devotion and passion whereby the draw the hearer, as it were, in chains of gold by the ears to the consideration of holy things'.[142] While Morley was discussing music sung in church, it is not an unreasonable leap to understand this as part of the role of domestic devotional musicking as well.

The musical preaching of Goodman's text through Gibbons's affective setting allows for a more passionate contemplation of Christ's life, balancing thinking and feeling through vivid (but not too vivid) imagery realized through the mind's eye. Within the logic of early modern sensing and sense-making, utilizing the notorious immediacy of musical feeling magnifies the visceral presentness of a telling of the Passion towards an experience of the Passion. This speaks to the rhetorical sense of presentism in Goodman's text, as well as in Stafford's print. The 'too muchness' described by Simon Patrick is avoided through the indirectness of the visualization of the Passion, as well as in the phrasing that somewhat avoids 'too much' Christ in the telling of his own story. As we have suggested, the asyndetic style of Goodman's text and the ways in which it speaks to synoptic approaches to the Passion in other media invites extraordinary invitation, making Christ present without making him 'too' present for reformed sensibilities. The stylistic features of 'See, See' and its use of the *arma Christi* tradition, then, speak to an artistic response that is interested in visualizing and sensing the Passion also in evidence more broadly throughout different forms and media in early modern England—an artistic habitus that crosses confessional divides. As a result, it is difficult to locate any particular artistic product of this tradition firmly in the Protestant or Catholic camp: as we hope to have demonstrated here, the metonymic and synoptic qualities of the *arma Christi* as well as their ekphrastic potential allow them to move, under certain conditions, across confessional boundaries as well as between different genres and forms. At the same time, the music allows us to teeter towards feeling in a dynamic process akin to the one described by Hahn about the *arma Christi* more generally, where story, sensing, metaphor, feeling, and, in this case, the act of musicking all play off one another in a continual making.[143] As Carruthers asserts, it is 'often the case with pre-modern aesthetic concepts that they embody not a single feeling but are situated between poles of opposite feelings, in a precarious balance easily

[139] 'Collected and translated' by Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615), sig. [1]Ooo2^{v}.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. Alec Harman (2nd edn., London, 1963), 292–4.

[142] Ibid. 293.

[143] Hahn, *Passion Relics and the Medieval Imagination*, 107.

upset, but one that also provides the energy and force of the sensation as experienced'. The precariousness of balanced sensing is not a feeling to be avoided, but one to be embraced. The ability 'to hold that balance is a genuine pleasure, power exercised between delight and fear'.[144] Herein lies a crux of the enjoyment of recreational devotional musicking: a most clever, collaborative, and intermedial experiment in musical-visual meditation.

ABSTRACT

We propose that Orlando Gibbons's consort anthem 'See, See the Word is Incarnate' is linked to a wider phenomenon in visual culture surrounding the imagery of the instruments of Christ's Passion, the *arma Christi*. Taking a bold interdisciplinary approach, we use close reading to show how this visual tradition manifested in intermedial ways. This case study is indicative of a type of exchange between art forms that was fundamental to English artistic practice and devotional experience. Our analysis connects this music to the Passion's long history with sight, exploring broader contexts for Gibbons's invocation to 'see'. We view this song as an experiment in musical intermediality, exemplifying the fluidity between the visual, textual, and musical practices of early modern England. It expands current understanding of the piece's connections to contemporary visual culture, while examining music's potential as a potent act of extraordinary meditation within England's complex post-Reformation confessional landscape.

[144] Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2013), 60.