'How Shall We Sing the Song of the Lord in a Strange Land?' English Catholic Music after the Reformation to 1700: a Study of Institutions in Continental Europe

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ABSTRACT

Research on English Catholic Music after the Reformation has focused almost entirely on a small number of Catholic composers and households in England. The music of the English Catholic colleges, convents, monasteries and seminaries that were established in Continental Europe, however, has been almost entirely overlooked. The chief aim of this thesis is to reconstruct the musical practices of these institutions from the Reformation until 1700, in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the nature of music in the post-Reformation English Catholic community. To this end, four institutions have been selected to serve as case studies:

1. The Secular English College, Douai.
2. St Alban's College, Valladolid.
3. The Benedictine Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption, Brussels.
4. The Augustinian Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth, Bruges.

The music of these institutions is evaluated in two ways: firstly, as a means of constructing, reflecting and forming English Catholic identity, and secondly, in terms of the range of influences (both English and Continental) that shaped its stylistic development.

The thesis concludes that as a result of the peculiarly domestic nature of religious practice among Catholics in England, and interactions with Continental Catholicism, the aesthetic and ideological bases for English Catholic music were markedly different from those of its Protestant counterpart. The marked influence of Italianate styles on the sacred music of English Catholic composers and institutions in exile demonstrates a simultaneous process of cultural alignment with the aesthetic and theological principles of the Counter-Reformation, and dissociation from those of English Protestantism. Finally, it is clear that music was an important formational tool in both the seminaries and convents, where it shaped both community and self-identity, and created affinities with the locales in which these institutions were situated – although it is also clear that these uses of music had the potential to conflict.

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Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

ABBREVIATIONS

PRINTED BOOKS AND MUSIC

Anstruther 1	Anstruther, Godfrey. *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558–1850*. Vol 1, 4 vols. Ware: St Edmund's College, 1969.
Anstruther 2	---. *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558–1850*. Vol. 2, 4 vols. Ware: St Edmund's College, 1969.
Anstruther 3	---. *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558–1850*. Vol. 3, 4 vols. Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1976.
Anstruther 4	---. *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558–1850*. Vol. 4, 4 vols. Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1977.
Challoner	Challoner, Richard. *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*. London: Burnes, Oates & Washbourne Ltd, 1924.
Douai Diaries 1	Knox, Thomas Francis, ed. *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay: and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents*. Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws 2. London: David Nutt, 1878.
Douai Diaries 2	Burton, Edwin H. ,and Thomas L. Williams, eds. *The Douay College Diaries: Third, Fourth, and Fifth, 1598-1654, with the Rheims Report, 1579-80*. Catholic Record Society Record Series 10. London 1911.

Douai Diaries 3	Burton, Edwin H., and Thomas L. Williams, eds. *Douay College Diaries: Fourth Diary, 1641–47, and Fifth Diary, 1647–54*. Catholic Record Society Record Series 11. London: Catholic Record Society, 1911.
Douai Diaries 4	Burton, Edwin H., and Edmond Nolan, eds. *Douay College Diaries: The Seventh Diary 1715–78*. Preceded by a summary of events 1689–1715. Catholic Record Society Record Series 28. London: Catholic Record Society, 1928.
Foley 1	Foley, Henry, ed. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. First Series.* Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Vol. 1, 7v. in 8 vols. London: Burns and Oates, 1877.
Foley 3	Foley, Henry, ed. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Series V. VI. VII. VIII*. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Vol. 3, 7v. in 8 vols. London: Burns and Oates, 1878.
Foley 6	Foley, Henry, ed. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Supplemental Volume*. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Vol. 6, 7v. in 8 vols. London: Burns and Oates, 1880.
Foley 7ii	Foley, Henry, ed. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: The Collectanea of the English Province S.J. Part the Second*. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Vol. 7ii, 7v. in 8 vols. London: Burns and Oates, 1883.

Hamilton 1	Hamilton, Adam, ed. *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St Monica's in Louvain (Now at St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, Devon) [1548–1644]*. Vol. 1, 2 vols. Edinburgh & London: Sands & Co., 1904.
Hamilton 2	Hamilton, Adam, ed. *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St Monica's in Louvain (Now at St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, Devon) [1548–1644]*. Vol. 2, 2 vols. Edinburgh: Sands & Co., 1904.
Henson	Henson, Edwin, ed. *Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589–1862*. (Catholic Record Society Record Series 30). London: Catholic Record Society, 1930.
Knox	Knox, Thomas Francis, ed. *The Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen. (1532–1594)*. Records of English Catholics under the Penal Laws 2. London: David Nutt, 1882.
McCoog 1	McCoog, Thomas M., ed. *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555–1650. Part 1, A–F*. Catholic Record Society Record Series 74. London: Catholic Record Society, 1994.
McCoog 2	McCoog, Thomas M., ed. *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555–1650. Part 2, G–Z*. Catholic Record Society Record Series 75. London: Catholic Record Society, 1994.
WWTN	Bowden, Caroline, and James Kelly, eds. *Who were the nuns? Online Database*. History Faculty, Queen Mary University, London. Web. <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/search/search.php> Accessed 12 September 2013.

SOURCES

The following library and archive sigla are used in footnotes and brackets within the text:

BELGIUM

B-ADra	Anderlecht, Algemeen Rijksarchief
B-BRb	Bruges, Archief van het Bisdom
B-BRna	Bruges, Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth, Monastery Archives
B-BRnrm	Bruges, Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth, Reverend Mother's Library
B-MEaa	Mechelen, Aartsbisschopelijk Archief

GREAT BRITAIN

GB-BAdaa	Bath, Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Radstock, Downside Abbey Archives
GB-BRda	Birmingham, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Birmingham
GB-CLsta	Clitheroe, Archives of Stonyhurst College.
GB-DRucl	Durham, Ushaw College, Lisbon College Archives
GB-DRuul	Durham, Ushaw College, Upper Library
GB-Labsi	London, Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu (ABSI), Farm Street.
GB-Lrcd	London, Archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music, Library
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
GB-Och	Oxford, Christchurch Library
GB-STro	Stafford, Staffordshire County Records Office
GB-CHwsr	Chichester, West Sussex Records Office
GB-CHwsr	Chichester, West Sussex Records Office
GB-WMna	Wimbledon, National Archives
GB-WHdaa	Woolhampton, Douai Abbey Archives

ITALY

I-Rvec	Rome, Archives of the Venerable English College
I-Rarsi	Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)

SPAIN

E-Vsaa	Valladolid, St Alban's College, College Archives
E-Vsal	Valladolid, St Alban's College, Big ('Pigskin') Library
E-Mas	Madrid, Archivo Storico Nacional

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

US-Cn	Chicago, Newberry Library
US-NYp	New York, New York Public Library

VATICAN CITY

V-CVapf	Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples or 'De Propaganda Fide'
V-CVbav	Vatican Library

Introduction

Unacknowledged History

Less than forty years ago, an entry in the *Oxford Companion to Music* still stated that 'but for the Embassy Chapels, Roman Catholic service music may be said to have been necessarily non-existent in Britain for about three hundred years.'[1] The assertion is manifestly untrue, and it is clear from the surviving sources that English Catholics continued to use liturgical music, even at the height of the Elizabethan persections. Writing to Henry Strange in 1601, Fr Henry Garnet, who was working on the English Mission, noted the following:

> This last week there was the cruellest search at London in the night that ever was, and some days before and after the Court was guarded and the gates of London, and rumours spread abroad that the Jesuits and King of Scots were about to kill the Queen. One Justice said that for his part he had searched four hundred houses... Notwithstanding all our troubles we sing Mass.[2]

The entry did not go unchallenged, and Michael Hodgetts wrote a substantial response in 1976, citing contrary examples of English Catholic sacred music from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, including in the chapels of Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza, and the households of the Catholic nobility

[1] Percy Alfred Scholes, 'Roman Catholic Church Music in Britain', *Oxford Companion to Music*. Percy Alfred Scholes and John Owen Ward, eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970): 886–887.

[2] Quoted in Philip Caraman, *The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I* (London: Longmans, Green, 1960), 211–212.

(including the Petres of Ingatestone Hall and the Kitsons of Hengrave Hall).[3] To some extent, the comparatively slow emergence of scholarship on Catholic music in post-Reformation England is understandable. The most prominent historical narrative up until this time was one of supplanation, in which English Catholicism was replaced by Protestantism, and therefore ceased to be relevant to any discussions of English history, culture or politics after the reign of Elizabeth I. In studies of early modern history, the clearest sign of a shift in attitudes was John Bossy's seminal study of the English Catholic community from 1570 to 1850, which asserted that post-Reformation English Catholicism was a break with the English Catholicism of the past, and therefore undermined the credibility of the supplanation narrative.[4] Despite this, most historical overviews of English sacred music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have continued to at least tacitly affirm this outdated narrative: Protestant sacred music is discussed in detail, while 'recusant' music, which falls outside the dominant discourse on musical and stylistic development during the period, is usually treated as an addendum. Hampered by untested assumptions in scholarship on post-Reformation English Catholic history – and perhaps some failures to engage with its more recent developments[5] – it has only been in more recent years that musicological research on English Catholic music after the Reformation has developed substantially.

Extant Research

Byrd as Paradigm?

The one exception that musicological scholarship has made universally to the assumption that English Catholic music died at the Reformation has been for William

[3] Michael Hodgetts, 'Recusant Liturgical Music', *The Clergy Review* 61/4 (1976): 151–156.

[4] John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975).

[5] For an overview of the major developments in the historiography of the English Reformation, see Peter Marshall, '(Re)Defining the English Reformation', *The Journal of British Studies* 48/3 (2009): 564–586. One particular problem has been the indiscriminate use of the term 'recusant'. See p. 5.

Byrd.[6] Byrd's life has attracted so much attention that most musicological discussions of post-Reformation English Catholic musical experiences both begin and end with his work.

The privileged position accorded to Byrd's musical representations of Catholicism in post-Reformation England has been reinforced in recent years by the work of John Harley, Craig Monson, Philip Brett and Kerry McCarthy. Harley's two books on Byrd have been largely biographical in nature, furnishing new information about Byrd's family background, professional development and personal life.[7] Monson and McCarthy's approaches have been more analytical, seeking to put Byrd's works into their historical and cultural context. Monson's discovery that the texts for some of Byrd's motets seem to have been drawn from the last utterances of Catholic priests at their executions does much to further the case for Byrd's music as religious and political commentary.[8] Brett's introductions to his multiple-volume edition of Byrd's *Gradualia* have provided important insights into the ways that Byrd's works both fitted with and reflected their ritual (and other) contexts.[9] McCarthy's *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia*[10] provides more specific contexts for Byrd's output, making a strong case for his compositional style exhibiting the influence of Ignatian spirituality, as a result of his contact with Jesuit clergy. This represents an important broadening of the discourse on post-Reformation English Catholic music, since it implicitly recognises Byrd's output as a product of his relationships, and so places it within the context of a religious community, rather than approaching it as the product of a composer working in isolation.

[6] See, for instance, Kerman's valuable study of Byrd's Latin-texted music, Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Turbet's updated guide includes all research on Byrd published until 2004. Richard Turbet, *William Byrd: A Guide to Research*. 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[7] John Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997); John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[8] Craig Monson, 'Byrd, Catholics and the Motet', in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Dolores Pesce, ed. (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 348–374.

[9] All these introductions are reproduced in Philip Brett, 'Prefaces to *Gradualia*', in *William Byrd and His Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, Joseph Kerman and Davitt Moroney, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 128–230.

[10] Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York; London: Routledge, 2007).

More recent work by McCarthy recognises, however, the importance of broadening discussions of post-Reformation English Catholic music beyond the study of William Byrd.[11] Byrd's experience of recusancy, after all, cannot typify the recusant cultural experience, since the fragmented nature of English Catholicism during this period, along family, political and religious lines, suggests that while experiences intersected and overlapped, there were nonetheless distinct strands within Catholic cultural identity. At most, Byrd's music could be said to represent one experience (among many) of post-Reformation English Catholic sacred music, anchored firmly in the context of specific social circles, which were often defined by their particular approach to culture, philosophy and politics. William Byrd's clear support for the Jesuits, for instance, was not emulated across the entire Catholic community,[12] and other experiences of English Catholic spirituality and culture – as well as their musical consequences – remain largely unexplored.

Royal and Embassy Chapels

In recent years, the body of research on the music of the Catholic Chapels Royal has expanded considerably, especially through the work of Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Leech. Wainwright's research on music in Henrietta Maria's chapel has sought to reconstruct the musical repertoire of the chapel, via the circuitous route of Christopher Hatton III's music collection.[13] By Wainwright's own admission, this reconstruction is highly speculative, but the argument that Hatton came into contact with the Queen and her musicians through his position as Comptroller of the King's

[11] Kerry McCarthy, 'Recusant Music Revisited' (Unpublished Conference Paper), Domestic Music in Recusant Circles in Elizabethan and Jacobean Times, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, 26–27 November, 2011.

[12] The English Catholic community was deeply divided in its opinions about the role of the Jesuits on the English Mission. The Archpriest Controversy (c.1598 to 1603), in which English secular clergy and their lay supporters opposed the appointment of George Blackwell as the Archpriest of England on the basis that Blackwell was close to the Jesuits and Clement VIII's brief for his appointment dictated that he was to co-operate with them (rather than exercise independent authority) is but one example of the disputes between pro- and anti-Jesuit factions on the Mission. See Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 120–174; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850*, 35–48.

[13] J. P. Wainwright, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', in *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*, Erin Griffey, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195–215.

Household is compelling. In a doctoral thesis which examines the music of the Stuart Catholic courts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Leech provides new information about Catherine of Braganza's musicians and reconstructs the musical practices of her chapel.[14] Rather than being a centre of English music, however, Leech demonstrates that Catherine of Braganza's musical tastes made her chapel a centre for Portuguese (and later, Italian) musicians.[15] Although Leech argues that a 'greater understanding of the role of foreign musicians in Restoration England and their European connections may… provoke a reassessment of their possible influence on English music',[16] the connections between the royal chapels and wider communities of English Catholics (both at home and abroad) are tenuous. Moreover, the extent to which the music in the chapels of either Henrietta Maria or Catherine of Braganza can be considered to be 'English' is debateable: although these chapels were open to English Catholics, like the embassy chapels in London, they were established principally to meet the needs of foreign dignitaries and afforded full legal protection. As a result, they represented a very different experience of Catholic liturgy and culture than was normal for the English Catholic community.

Recusant Households

Most of the research on music in recusant[17] households has been directed towards either the music collection of Edward Paston (Sequera and Knights, inter alia),[18] or

[14] Peter Leech. 'Music and Musicians of the Stuart Catholic Courts, 1660–1718'. PhD diss. Anglia Rushkin University, 2004.

[15] Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music* 29/4 (2001): 575.

[16] Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92': 585.

[17] The term 'recusant' presents some difficulties since it fails to account for the complexity and diversity of English Catholic experiences in post-Reformation England: some Catholics were indeed convicted of recusancy, others conformed to varying degrees, thereby either escaping conviction entirely (or being re-convicted periodically), while others, although never convicted of recusancy, never conformed to the established religion in England. Unless stated otherwise, the term 'recusant' is used in this thesis in its popular, imprecise way, simply because no other convenient term has been developed – terms such as 'post-Reformation English Catholics' are cumbersome and verbose.

[18] See Hector Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630)'. PhD diss. University of Birmingham, 2010;

the musical practices and collections of the Petre household, usually in connection with William Byrd and Richard Mico, the family's resident musicians.[19] Beyond the historiographical explanations for the paucity of research on English Catholic liturgical music is a more practical reason: the scarcity of appropriate sources. In England – particularly in the period before 1700, when it was especially dangerous to practice the Catholic faith – recusant households needed to conceal any evidence that there were priests saying Mass in their homes.[20] Although there were some areas where Catholic activity was afforded a certain amount of protection (usually because the local recusant gentry were also the local magistrates or justices of the peace), it would have been unwise to make too much of a display of Catholic identity, and the sources that are known to survive from recusant chapels before 1700 are fragmentary – even from the large and well-established households of Vaux, Arundel, Petre and Stonor. While it is possible that more sources have survived, locating these would require access to private family libraries, archives and collections, for which permission is not often obtained easily.

Francis Knights, 'The Music Manuscripts of Edward Paston'. MLitt diss. University of Oxford, 1999; Philip W. Taylor, 'Music and Recusant Culture: The Paston Manuscript Collection and William Byrd's Songs'. PhD diss. University of Lancaster, 2008; Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston: A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection', in *William Byrd and His Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, 31–59.

[19] See David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian Ms Mus. Sch. E. 423', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996): 21–46; Andrew J. Hanley, 'Mico and Jenkins: "Musitians of Fame under King Charles I," in *John Jenkins and His Time*, A. Ashbee, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); J. Bennett and P. Willets, 'Richard Mico', *Chelys* 7 (1977): 24–46.

[20] Pursuivants seem to have been constantly on the lookout for evidence of Catholic activity: a 1599 search of Ufton Court by Sir Francis Knoylls uncovered 'diverse relickes and popishe Trashe, as namely Holie Water with a sprinkle therein and a crosse at the end of the sprinkle, besides which there was a little boxe with diverse small white wafer cakes, fitt for sayine or synging of Masse, and candles half burnt out such as usuallie masse is said withall...' (Quoted in John Eppstein, *History of the Faith in an English Town* (Essex: Anchor Press, 1926), 34.); John Gerard also notes this behaviour in his account of his time in England: 'But the searchers, in the meantime, when they can find no Priest, whom they chiefly desire to take in any man's house, because then his lands and goods and life also are all forfeited: but if that will not be, then they rifle every little corner for church stuff, for copes and vestments, chalices, pixes, and such. For these they break open chests and trunks; then to cabinets and little boxes for letters, hoping to find some spiritual advice in them (though not to follow it, God knows), but thereby to infer that they are Priests' letters with whom they have acquaintance; or if they find any Agnus Deis, or beads or medals that they can prove are hallowed, then also all the lands and goods of the parties are seized and themselves condemned to perpetual prison, which was the case of Mr. Tregian, a worthy gentleman of great estate.' (John Morris, ed., *The Condition of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1872), 38–39.)

Although some collections of sacred music from recusant households do survive, John Milsom's recent work on the Paston (and other) manuscripts warns against assuming that the works were used in liturgical contexts. In this collection, Milsom argues, the haphazard ordering of works and apparently 'chocolate box' method of their selection suggests use in family recreation rather than private worship.[21] A collection that might be associated more closely with recusant devotions is *GB-Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 423, in which two of the fascicles seem to represent a serious attempt at collecting Latin-texted sacred works, and which Mateer has connected with the household of John Petre (1549–1613).[22] Although Milsom does not consider the possibility that Paston's collection was used in private devotions, the caution that he proposes in ascribing particular uses to sources of sacred music in recusant households remains valid.

Out of Sight and (Largely) Out of Mind: English Catholics Across the Channel

Writing over twenty years ago, Peter Holman identified a sizeable blind spot in musicological scholarship. Englishman Peter Philips, he argued, had distinguished himself as a composer at the royal court in Brussels, yet his contribution had been all but ignored. Too foreign to be English and too English to be foreign, Philips's music was a victim of 'musical chauvinism', in which exiles and immigrants – and most others outside the national 'mainstream' – were largely disregarded.[23] Philips was not the only English Catholic composer to have fled: Richard Dering, Hugh Facy, John Bolt and John Bull also took refuge on the Continent, where they secured work in both foreign institutions, and the English Catholic colleges, seminaries and convents that had been established in exile.

[21] John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in *English Choral Practice 1400–1650*, John Morehen, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161–79.

[22] David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian Ms Mus. Sch. E. 423'.

[23] Peter Holman, Liner Notes, *Motets by Peter Philips* [Compact Disc Recording] (Hyperion 66643, 1993), 5.

English Composers in Exile

Most research on English Catholic composers-in-exile has focused upon editing their surviving works for publication. Smith has prepared an edition of Peter Philips's keyboard works (although Smith's doctoral dissertation, from which this edition developed, also includes a comprehensive biography of Philips and supplies important insights into the stylistic aspects of the composer's keyboard output),[24] and some of his choral works have been edited by Steele.[25] Petti's archival research in Brussels has supplied further facts about Philips's life,[26] while Lyman's work has provided both an edition and study of the historical context for his *Deliciae sacrae*, which was probably composed for the devotions of a confraternity in Brussels.[27] Dering's vocal works have been edited by Wainwright[28] and Platt,[29] although not in their entirety. The most recent biographical research on Richard Dering dates from 1961,[30] when Hanlon published biographical information on Dering that connected him to the English Benedictine Monastery in Brussels, although most of the substantial research on Dering's life had been done a decade earlier by Platt.[31]

[24] David J. Smith, ed., *Peter Philips, Complete Keyboard Music*. Musica Britannica 75 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1999); David J. Smith, 'The instrumental music of Peter Philips: its sources, dissemination and style'. DPhil diss. University of Oxford, 1993.

[25] John Steele, ed., *Peter Philips, Cantiones sacrae octonis vocibus (1613)*, Musica Britannica 61 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1992); John Steele, ed., *Peter Philips, Select Italian Madrigals*. Musica Britannica 29 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1970).

[26] A. G. Petti, 'New Light on Peter Philips', *Monthly Musical Record* 87 (1957): 58–64.

[27] Anne E. Lyman. 'Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella in Early Seventeenth-Century Brussels: An Examination of the Small Scale Motets, Including an Edition of Deliciae Sacrae (1616)'. DMA diss., 2 vols. University of Iowa, 2008.

[28] J. P. Wainwright ed., *Richard Dering: Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, Musica Britannica 87 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2008).

[29] Peter Platt, ed., *Richard Dering, Cantica sacra, 1618*. Early English Church Music 15 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1974); Peter Platt, ed., *Richard Dering, Secular Vocal Music*. Musica Britannica 25 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1969).

[30] Sister Joseph Damien Hanlon, 'Richard Dering, Catholic Musician of Stuart England', *The Catholic Historical Review* 46 (1961): 428–52.

[31] Peter Platt, 'Dering's Life and Training', *Music & Letters* 33 (1952): 41–49; Peter Platt. 'Dering's Life and Music'. M.Litt diss. University of Oxford, 1952.

English Institutions in Continental Europe

Although a number of English composers and musicians fled to the English Catholic institutions in Continental Europe, research on music in these institutions has been very limited. It is a regrettable oversight if only because of the scale of the enterprise: Petre identifies some fifty English seminaries, colleges and convents which operated in Continental Europe before Catholic Emancipation.[32] While the capacity to support musical endeavours must have varied according to organisational and financial circumstances, evidence from a number of these institutions suggests that they were prominent spiritual and cultural centres in their locales, and that music would not have been out of place among their activities. The surviving floor plans and sketches of the convents at Brussels[33] and Louvain,[34] for instance, demonstrate that the buildings were of significant size and must have been prominent in their respective cities. Records of gifts and bequests to these convents show that they received goods and funds from both English and non-English sources, including from the nobility and royalty.[35] In a climate of social and financial affluence, these institutions were well-positioned to produce (or be patrons of) cultural goods, including art, literature and music.

Colleges and Seminaries

Founded in 1568, the English College at Douai was the first of the new English Catholic institutions to be established in Continental Europe. Originally, the College was set up as a kind of Catholic 'Oxford in exile' by scholars who had fled from the major ecclesiastical and educational institutions in England, with the aim of training

[32] Edward Robert Petre, *Notices of the English Colleges & Convents Established on the Continent after the Dissolution of Religious Houses in England*. F. C. Husenbath, ed. (Norwich: Bacon and Kinnebrook, 1849).

[33] *Chronicle of the First Monastery Founded at Brussels for English Benedictine Nuns A.D. 1597* (Bergholt: Saint Mary's Abbey, 1898), 4–5.

[34] *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., B^B12.

[35] See, for instance, the records of benefactions to St Monica's, Louvain: *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., P6.

a Catholic intelligentsia that could return to assume all the important political and academic positions in the country. When it became clear that there would be no rapid restoration of Catholicism in England and that the College's exile was to be protracted, it was reorganised as a seminary for training clergy that could be sent back to their homeland for missionary activity. Although the College continued to accept boys who had been sent there from England to receive a Catholic education, this became its secondary function.

The English College at Douai was one of six seminaries established in Europe for the training of English clergy. The others were established at Rome (1579), Valladolid (1589), Seville (1592), Madrid (1610), and Lisbon (1628). It should be noted that these seminaries were established to educate secular clergy – many of the English religious orders (including the Carmelites, Benedictines and Dominicans) made their own arrangements in this regard.

Thus far, research on music in English seminaries has focused on the Venerable English College in Rome. Culley's study of music at the College provides a snapshot of its musical practices from 1579 to 1589, utilising documentary sources of a non-musical nature from the College's archive;[36] Dixon's study of music at the College during the early seventeenth century traces changes in the number and types of musicians hired by the College, and connects these with changes in musical tastes over this period, towards vocal music for few voices, accompanied by basso continuo;[37] Casimiri's study of the College's *Maestri di Cappella* provides a kind of biographical catalogue of the organists and choirmasters employed by the College from its foundation until 1644.[38]

[36] Thomas D. Culley, 'Musical Activity in Some Sixteenth Century Jesuit Colleges with Special Reference to the Venerable English College in Rome from 1579 to 1589', *Analecta Musicologica* 19 (1980): 1–29.

[37] G. Dixon, 'Music in the English College During the Early Baroque Era', *The Venerabile* 28/2 (1984): 62–70.

[38] Raffaele Casimiri, ' "Disciplina Musicae" Et "Mastri di Cappella" Dopo il Concilio di Trento nei Maggiori Ecclesiastici di Roma. Seminario Romano–Collegio Germanico–Collegio Inglese (sec. XVI - XVII)', *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale* 20/1–2 (1943): 1–17.

Musicological research on the English college with arguably the greatest reputation for musical performances – the Jesuit College of St Omer, established in 1593 to teach boys from English families – has been quite limited. Although regularly mentioned in historical accounts of the College, musicological scholarship has only begun to engage with the College's musical culture in recent years, particularly through the research of Peter Leech[39] and to a lesser extent, Patxi Xabier del Amo Iribarren, whose thesis on Christopher Simpson and the bass viol discusses the College's music in the context of the musician's position as a music teacher there.[40]

Convents and Their Schools

Until the present author's overview of musical culture in post-Reformation English convents on the Continent,[41] there was no published research on music in these institutions. Nonetheless, music had loomed large enough in their culture and history to have been noted in passing by early modern historians.[42] In some of the English convents, great importance was attached to music: the Benedictine monastery in Brussels secured the services of John Bolt and Richard Dering, both notable and accomplished English musicians of the seventeenth century, and if reports of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travellers are to be believed, English nuns in a number of convents were able to impress visitors with their musical offerings.[43] With some twenty-five convents established in Continental Europe between the Reformation and the French Revolution, much research remains to be done. The AHRC-funded *Who were the nuns?* project, however, has recently compiled a

[39] Peter Leech, 'Seventeenth-Century Music at St Omers', Stonyhurst Magazine (2008): 57–64.

[40] Patxi Xabier del Amo Iribarren. 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics'. DPhil diss. University of Leeds, 2011.

[41] Andrew Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister: Musical Culture in English Convents During the Seventeenth Century', in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 175–190.

[42] See, for instance, Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 109, 169–170.

[43] See, for instance, Sir John Finch's remarks about music when he visited the Augustinian convent in Paris, quoted in A. F. Allison, 'The English Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Syon at Paris: Its Foundation and Struggle for Survival During the First Eighty Years, 1634–1713', *Recusant History* 21 (1992–1993): 463, and the visit of the Earl of Perth in 1694 to the Franciscan Convent at Bruges, mentioned in Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, 109.

detailed database of all English nuns known to have entered these convents, and begun to publish selected primary sources from what remains of their collections. Musicological scholarship stands to benefit greatly from this new range of reference materials.

Sources: Destruction and Dispersal

The documentary sources used in the research of the English Continental institutions have been limited. Only a fraction of the original sources have survived to the present day. The English Catholic institutions on the Continent were only able to survive as long as they enjoyed the protection of the monarchy in their respective jurisdictions. When this protection ceased, both the institutions and their property were at the mercy of shifting political ideologies and allegiances. Two events stand out as having been particularly disruptive and destructive to the English colleges, seminaries and convents in Continental Europe: the suppression of the Society of Jesus, and the French Revolution.

The fortunes of a number of English Catholic institutions on the Continent were tied to the fate of the Society of Jesus which, apart from having houses for members of its own order, was also responsible for managing the seminaries in Rome, Valladolid, Madrid and Seville, and the school at Saint-Omer. The expulsion of the Society from Spain in 1767 by Charles III was accompanied by the seizure of all Jesuit properties across the Kingdom, and of the three Jesuit-managed English seminaries in Spain, only the Valladolid college survived – the others were seized in the belief that they were owned by the Society, and the error was discovered too late to save them. Although St Alban's was able to recover some goods from the colleges at Madrid and Seville, many items were lost.[44] This is especially regrettable in the

[44] For an analysis of the seizure of the English colleges in Spain, see Michael E. Williams, 'St Alban's College, Valladolid and the Events of 1767', *Recusant History* 20 (1991): 223–238.

case of St Gregory's College, Seville, as there is written evidence that the organ in the College's chapel was built by Englishman John Pickford.[45]

The French Revolution was probably the most calamitous event in the history of most of the English Catholic institutions. Across France, Italy and Belgium, English monasteries, colleges, seminaries and convents – some of which had histories spanning three centuries – were suddenly and violently seized, often looted, and their occupants forced to flee to England, taking only whatever possessions they could carry. Such a long period in exile had allowed these institutions to achieve the kind of permanency and stability that was conducive to a strong cultural life. The evidence of this cultural life, however, is largely lost, along with large collections of books, documents and other artefacts that were left behind. A good case in point is that of the Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption in Brussels, which is known to have employed Richard Dering as organist. Nothing further is known of Dering's work or compositions there, because the nuns were abruptly ejected from their home of some two centuries, leaving little time for them to gather up important documents. This case is not unique: other English convents and monasteries across Europe, and the seminary at Douai witnessed similar scenes at the French Revolution, and their buildings were usually razed or radically altered to suit new uses. In most cases, the result has been that surviving sources from these institutions are fragmentary, unsystematic and widely dispersed. Documents from the English College at Douai, for instance, can be found in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster, Ushaw College, St Edmund's College, Ware and the Municipal Archive of Douai.

Not all the documents generated by the English institutions were intended to remain within their walls: apart from correspondence with ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, some institutions produced documents which were clearly intended for the public sphere. Prestigious institutional occasions – such as royal visits and major

[45] See Martin Murphy, *St Gregory's College, Seville, 1592–1767*, Catholic Record Society Records Series 73 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1992), 16.

public events – were recounted in pamphlets and letters that were printed in both local languages (usually in an attempt to win over hearts and minds) and English (for the edification and encouragement of the community of exiles, and Catholics in England).[46] The *Litteræ annuæ* (annual letters) published by the Society of Jesus often described the important achievements and events of English colleges under the Society's direction in some detail, and include references to music. The published sources authored by these institutions provide valuable insights into how they wished to be seen, while the published sources authored by external observers give some idea of how the institutions were perceived by the public.

Every English institution in Continental Europe was under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authorities: The Roman *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (henceforth referred to simply as *Propaganda Fide*) was responsible for the general affairs of the English Mission; the Jesuits always reported to their Provincial superiors and the Generalate in Rome; the English nuns promised obedience to the bishop in whose diocese their convents were established; the Spanish inquisition saw fit to inspect and censor books from the library of St Alban's College, Valladolid.[47] In contrast to the fragmentary, unsystematic and widely dispersed sources from the collections of the Continental institutions, the extensive documentation generated both for and by hierarchical structures in the Catholic Church seems to have survived wars, revolutions and other upheavals comparatively intact. The requirement to report to superiors, therefore, has ensured that highly descriptive sources about the English institutions have survived, even when the documents used to prepare them have perished.

[46] See, for instance, *A relation of the King of Spayne's receiving in Valladolid in the English College of the same town in August last past of this year* (Antwerp: A. Conincx, 1592).

[47] See Michael Williams, 'The Library of St Alban's English College Valladolid: Censorship and Acquisitions', *Recusant History* 26 (2002): 132–142.

Research Objectives

Musical Practices in Continental Institutions

The chief aim of this thesis is to reconstruct the musical practices of English Catholic institutions in Continental Europe – that is, to investigate the contexts for the uses of sacred music in these institutions, the repertoires performed, instruments used, musicians involved and the institutions' own provisions for the musical education of their own members – for roughly 120 years, starting in 1580, when music is first mentioned in the *Douai Diaries*,[48] until the end of the seventeenth century – that is, not only to document the musicians who were present in the institutions, but also to inquire as to the circumstances for the performance of sacred music, the repertoires and instruments that were used, and the people who directed and performed the music. This is probably the most difficult period in post-Reformation Catholic history for musicological study: from the eighteenth century onward, sources (and particularly musical sources) are much richer.[49] Sources from before the eighteenth century are much more limited; specifically musical sources for this period are rare. Research on music during this period, therefore, is heavily dependent upon non-musical sources, which range from account books to diaries, letters, customaries and inventories. Kendrick's research on music at the *Duomo* in Milan, in which musical practices are contextualised with the liturgy, architecture and governance of the Cathedral, provides a useful model for attempting reconstructions.[50] Although a similar contextualisation is one of the aims of this study, the sources used and their

[48] Among the most fortunate survivals from the English Catholic institutions on the Continent, the *Douai Diaries* record the activities of the English College at Douai (albeit with some interruptions) from 1573 to 1778. For a more detailed description of these diaries and their history, see the preface to Douai Diaries 1.

[49] During my own research, I have come across eighteenth-century sources in the collection of the English Augustinian nuns (formerly at Louvain) now in the archives of Douai Abbey (although not yet accessioned), a manuscript book of plainchant at Ushaw College of unknown provenance, although clearly connected with an English convent (*GB-DRucl*, XVIII.F.1.20), and a manuscript book of polyphonic music from the Spanish Embassy Chapel, now kept in the music room of St James's Church, Spanish Place, London. English sources of plainchant from the eighteenth century are particularly rich. For an analysis of these sources, see Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[50] Robert L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

means of analysis are different: the destruction of so many sources from within the English institutions has necessitated the consultation of a wider range of documents and archives than would otherwise have been the case. The sources are often fragmentary and usually only tangentially related to music. Taken together, however, they provide substantial insights into the attitudes towards sacred music in English Catholic institutions.[51] In preparing these case studies, some twenty archives across Italy, Spain, Belgium and England were consulted.[52] Over half of the primary sources presented here have never been used in any musicological research. It is a central aim of this study to expand the variety of primary sources used in the study of English Catholic music after the Reformation beyond the relatively limited set that has been used to date.

The range of relevant sources for reconstructive purposes can be expanded greatly by considering the networks associated with each institution. The identity of all types of institutions, in no small part, is the cumulative effect of the interactions between the individuals associated with them. In the case of the newly-founded English Catholic institutions, the musical experience of their members upon entering (whether directly from England or from another English Catholic institution elsewhere), the connections of individual members to musicians and other ecclesiastical institutions (whether English or not) and the interactions of the institutions with both their religious superiors and locale all worked together to shape their musical practices. Existing musicological studies have shown the importance of the latter in the development of musical culture: Strohm's study of music in medieval Bruges demonstrates that musical culture is contingent upon a broader social landscape, which – even discounting interactions through ceremonies and festivi-

[51] The nature of surviving sources presents the greatest challenge to the reconstructive aim of this study: The present author's dissertation 'In secret or in exile, but always courting danger: English Catholic music after the Reformation to 1700. A guide to research and sources' (MSt diss. University of Oxford, 2010) formed a preparatory study for the thesis at hand, demonstrating how musical reconstructions can be achieved from non-musical sources. The main analytical techniques that were applied to non-musical sources in this study (namely, scrutiny of institutional documents such as financial records, diaries, inventories, visitation reports, constitutions and correspondence, alongside the study of biographical data, and artefact provenances) have been adopted here and expanded.

[52] For a full listing of archives and sources consulted, see the Primary Sources section of the Bibliography, p. 257.

ties – frames institutional activities, giving them common sources of inspiration and shared points of reference in constructing identity;[53] Marín's study of music in Jaca considers the collaborative nature of music-making in urban settings, in which the same musicians were often employed by several different institutions, thereby creating an indirect basis for inter-institutional interactions.[54] This study will critically evaluate the impact of these kinds of interactions on musical practices and style, while making no claims for exhaustiveness, given both the scale and complexity of networks in question.

Music and Identity

It is clear from research on Byrd's oeuvre that his sacred works were intimately connected with his identity as an English Catholic.[55] Although his works are personal expressions of religious conviction, the dedicatory text of his 1607 *Gradualia* establishes a link between Byrd's compositions and Lord Petre's Essex residence, showing that they were composed for an institutional context and are therefore also reflective of the identity of a religious community.[56] Given the unique circumstances in which Byrd lived and worked, the case for the particularity – rather than universality – of his stylistic approach is strong. The English Catholic institutions in Continental Europe operated in very different circumstances to any of the English Catholic households in England. Whereas the latter operated in relative secrecy, often with makeshift arrangements for Mass and devotions, the Continental institutions operated in the public sphere, with the support of the local authorities. An important aspect of this thesis, therefore, is to consider the musical practices of these institutions both as a reflection of their identity and as a means of constructing it.

[53] Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

[54] Miguel Angel Marín, *Music on the Margin: Urban Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Jaca (Spain)* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2002).

[55] See, for instance, Monson, 'Byrd, Catholics and the Motet.'

[56] The text of Byrd's dedication to Petre, along with the rest of the preface, is reproduced in Philip Brett, ed., *William Byrd. Gradualia II (1607): Christmas to Easter*, Byrd Edition 7a (London: Stainer and Bell, 1997).

The question of English Catholic identity and its cultural manifestations is complex. The seminaries, colleges, monasteries and convents in Continental Europe, while established for the express purpose of preserving English Catholicism, were entirely new foundations. Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries had swept away a centuries-old network of institutions from the English cultural landscape. The new institutions, therefore, were unlike their Continental counterparts to the extent that they were not filiations of existing English religious houses. Indeed, the nuns of the first monastery established in exile, the Monastery of the Glorious Assumption at Brussels, served their novitiate under Joanne Berkeley, an English nun from the Benedictine abbey at Rheims. This exposes a tension – the musical implications of which will be considered in this thesis – between the apparent desire to maintain an 'English' Catholicism, and the need for cultural engagement with post-Tridentine Continental institutions and communities. Of particular importance in this study will be the critical assessment of the ways in which music reflects the identity of the institutions, demonstrates a particular construction of identity towards the local community, and also the ways in which music may have been used to form a particular sense of self-identity within the religious community.

Situating music within an institution's daily regimen is particularly important in assessing its use in the construction of self-identity. For most of the English Continental institutions, music was not a central concern. Questions arise, therefore, when time and resources that could have been diverted elsewhere were devoted to music. As a consequence, the uses of music have the potential to provide unique insights about not only the 'place of music' in an institution, but also the 'music of place' – that is, the ways in which an institution's decisions about repertoire, performers and frequency of performances reflect its spirituality, values and priorities.

English Catholic Music

Le Huray's seminal study identified the stylistic hallmarks of post-Reformation English Protestant music, and the ideologies that motivated its development.[57] Through the present study of Continental institutions, it is hoped to gain some insights into the nature of post-Reformation English Catholic music, and to better understand how it compared both stylistically and ideologically with English Protestant and Continental Catholic music over the same period. To this objective, however, must also be added a significant caveat: although the flow of personnel to and from the Continental institutions may have had some influence on stylistic development and musical practices in England, these influences will not be evaluated as part of this thesis.[58] Furthermore, the music of English Catholic households will only be discussed to the extent that it provides evidence of the musical experience of individuals who moved from England to the Continent.

Case Studies

Given that some fifty English seminaries, monasteries, colleges and convents operated in Continental Europe before the French Revolution, it seems necessary to limit the scope of this thesis. To this end, this study will critically assess the sacred liturgical music of four institutions, which have been selected as case studies. Music that was not performed within sacred contexts (that is, the liturgy or devotions) will not be considered, unless it sheds further light on the nature of an institution's liturgical music. A 1613 manuscript copy of *Thomas Morus* in the Venerable English College's archives, for instance, includes a number of notated songs, which were to be sung

[57] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[58] The 2004 discovery of a seventeenth-century manuscript of keyboard music that had originated in Continental Europe and which, according to Peter Leech's research, had been owned by Fr Antoine Selosse (Professor of Music at the English Jesuit College of St Omer from 1658), but probably arrived in England in the late seventeenth century, strongly suggests that importations of music did occur. See Leech, 'Composing at St Omers'.

by the actors (who were students at the College) in the play.[59] By logical extension, an institution with musically-literate students and the ability to provide music of a sufficiently high standard for public drama performances (*Thomas Morus* was performed in the presence of Cardinal Farnese)[60] would probably have exploited these abilities for its frequent religious services. The institutions selected are intended to show something of the variety of English Catholic institutions (and therefore the range of performance contexts for sacred music), each differing in educational and formational objectives, governance, sources of patronage, or spirituality. The disparate nature of both the institutions themselves and the surviving sources precludes any uniformity of approach in the case studies, which are structured in whatever way will provide the broadest range of interpretational and analytical possibilities.

The institutions chosen are as follows:

1. THE ENGLISH COLLEGE, DOUAI – The first of the English colleges on the Continent, established in 1561 by Cardinal William Allen. Unlike Rome and Valladolid, the management of the Douai college was always in the hands of the secular clergy. This college was closed as a result of the French Revolution and attempts by the English bishops to recover the College's buildings and chattels through the French courts ultimately failed.

2. ST ALBAN'S COLLEGE, VALLADOLID – A college for the formation of priests for the English Mission, established in 1589 by Fr Robert Persons and staffed by the Society of Jesus. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767, the College was placed in the care of the secular clergy. Today, St Alban's College accepts seminarians for their propaedeutic year (a time of discernment and preparation for seminary life) only, after which they return to seminaries in England to complete their training. The College's archives are the most intact of any of the sixteenth-century English seminaries.

[59] *I-Rvec*, Libro 321.

[60] Suzanne Gossett, 'Drama in the English College, Rome, 1591–1660', *English Literary Renaissance* 3 (1983): 72–73.

3. THE MONASTERY OF THE GLORIOUS ASSUMPTION, BRUSSELS – The first English convent established on the Continent after the Reformation (1598). The community fled Brussels after the French Revolution and returned to England, where it first settled at Winchester, and then moved to East Bergholt. Depleted of vocations, the community moved to Haslemere and finally closed in 1976. Its archival documents were deposited at Downside Abbey in Stratton-on-the-Fosse, and the remains of its library at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton.

4. THE MONASTERY OF OUR LADY OF NAZARETH, BRUGES – This Augustinian convent was established in 1609 as a filiation of the English convent of St Monica's in Louvain. Although the community fled during the French Revolution, a single nun remained to protect the Convent and its possessions. As a result, most of the Convent's possessions were saved, and the community returned to Bruges when it was safe to do so, where it remains to the present day. This is the only English convent to survive in its original location to the present day.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS: SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Research on sacred music in specifically institutional contexts has been an emerging area of scholarship. Most research has focused on the prominent cathedrals and collegiate churches, which had large musical foundations.[61] O'Regan's studies of the musical practices of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini and San Rocco, two confraternities which operated in Rome during the seventeenth century, however, considers the role of much smaller and poorer institutions as patrons of many of Rome's most significant composers and musicians, including Palestrina.[62] Although a good

[61] See, for instance, Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976); Richard Sherr, *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[62] Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità Dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, Royal Musical Association Monographs (London: Royal Musical Association, 1995). Noel O'Regan, 'Music at the Roman Archconfraternity of San Rocco in the Late Sixteenth Century', in *La Musica a Roma Attraverso Le Fonti D'archivio: Atti Del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 4–7 Giugno 1992*, Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli and Vera Vita Spagnuolo, eds. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994), 521–552.

deal of musicological research has been undertaken on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century convents,[63] music in seminaries over the same period has been neglected. The most recent research (apart from Dixon's work on the Venerable English College)[64] is that which Culley published in 1970 on music at the Germanicum.[65] All this research is useful for the study at hand insofar as it can be used to differentiate musical practices that are ubiquitous in the various types of religious institutions from those practices that speak to the character of the English colleges, seminaries and convents, thus situating their music and practices within broader contexts. Furthermore, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholic institutions (whether English or not), while differing in the finer details of their organisation and regimen, had much in common. This broader research may help to supply details that are missing from the surviving primary sources from the English institutions.

In order to prevent unnecessary duplication of information in the chapters that follow, an overview of the general structure of seminaries and convents – and the position of music within these structures – is presented below, beginning with the elements common to both, and then addressing the unique characteristics of each type of institution.

CONSTITUTIONS

The foundation of any kind of ecclesiastical institution required a set of constitutions to be drafted. These constitutions usually laid out the way that the institution was to be governed, the roles of office bearers and how they were to exercise their

[63] See, for instance, Craig Monson, *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992); Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012); Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Colleen Baade, 'Music and Misgiving: Attitudes Towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, Cordula van Wyhe, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 81–95.

[64] Graham Dixon, 'Music in the Venerable English College in Rome in the Early Baroque', in *La Musica a Roma Attraverso Le Fonti D'archivio: Atti Del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 4–7 Giugno 1992*, Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli and Vera Vita Spagnuolo, eds. (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1994), 469–478.

[65] Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music. A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome During the 17th Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe*, Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits 2 (St Louis: St Louis University, 1970).

authority, and described the way of life in the institution in a general way (including educational practices, and the basic liturgical observances). Some constitutions included a section titled 'De pietate', which regulated the liturgical and devotional practices in the institution. In the case of the seminaries, this section (or its equivalent) normally stipulated that the Mass and 'Office' (which typically referred to Vespers, rather than all the canonical hours of the day) were to be sung on Sundays and feast days. A similar section was usually included in the constitutions of convents, although they usually provided for sung Mass and Office more often than in seminaries. In these legislative documents, any discussion of the types of music to be used in liturgical contexts is exceptional: among the English institutions, the only constitutions examined in this study that refer to music other than plainchant are those of the Brussels Benedictines.

While the seminary constitutions usually prescribe a sung liturgy for certain occasions, they are silent on the point of which office bearer is responsible for organising the music. The constitutions of the convents, in contrast, often describe the role of the chantress in detail, both in terms of directing the choir during the liturgy, and planning what music was to be sung and by whom.

Beyond these details, the constitutions provide little information about these institutions' musical practices. Nonetheless, these details are important, because they demonstrate that liturgical music and the sung liturgy were mandated, and that formed an essential part of these institutions' liturgical observances. From a musicological standpoint, this provides a framework within which music was required (thereby alleviating the need to prove that it was used), and therefore some basis for reconstructing the musical practices of each institution.

Liturgical Practices

Unless otherwise noted, the liturgy followed across all of the institutions discussed in this thesis was the Roman Rite, as reformed by the Council of Trent. The Sarum Rite (apart from its *Rituale*, which lingered on) had died out with the last of the

Marian priests. Although the seminarians were bound to pray the Divine Office according to the Roman Rite, they were not obliged to say it in common – indeed, to have done so would have interfered with the seminary's schedule of classes and other formational activities. The practice of singing the Office in common was much more prevalent in the convents, which were bound to the choral office. There was never a canonical or liturgical obligation for any of these institutions to use instrumental music or vocal polyphony: the liturgy could be sung using plainchant alone, and the use of music other than plainchant, therefore, was at the discretion of individual institutions. The use of plainchant ought to be thought of as the usual way of singing the liturgy, and unless there is compelling evidence to suggest otherwise, it should always be assumed that the liturgy was sung with plainchant and nothing more.

Convents

One of the most important reforms for convents enacted by the Council of Trent was the strict enforcement of monastic enclosure. This meant that the nuns, once professed, were not permitted to leave the convent except for a grave reason. Most convents had two types of nuns: choir nuns and lay sisters. As a result of the differences in their duties, not all of the nuns at each convent were necessarily involved in its liturgical music. The principal duty of the choir nuns was to pray the Office and Mass. The lay sisters, who were responsible for most of the menial and labour-intensive work in the convent, were not bound to the choral Office, and were given shorter and simpler prayers as a substitute for it.

In examining the functional distinctions between choir nuns and lay sisters, further insights into a convent's musical capabilities emerge. Fundamentally, the choice between professing as a choir nun or as a lay sister was dictated by financial, rather than vocational concerns. A choir nun was required to bring a substantial dowry with her, which was invested and used to pay for her upkeep for the rest of her life; a lay sister came with either a very small dowry or none at all, but was expected to

do some of the more labour-intensive work in the convent in lieu of this. Those who could afford the dowry generally came from wealthier families, and brought with them a different educational experience and set of skills to the lay sisters, who came from the lower classes.

SEMINARIES

Until the Council of Trent, there was no requirement that candidates for the priesthood should undertake a specific and systematic programme of formation in an institution. In Session XXIII of the Council, it was decreed that every diocese (or province, if the number of vocations in individual dioceses were insufficient) establish a seminary for the training of clergy, which would be under the direct control of the bishop. Seminarians were required to study grammar, singing, ecclesiastical computation, liberal arts, scripture, the sermons of the saints, the way to administer sacraments, and the liturgy. With the abolition of Catholicism in England, it was not possible for English bishops to establish seminaries there, and so these were founded in exile. Jurisdiction over these seminaries varied until 1622, when they were all placed under the jurisdiction of *Propaganda Fide*, which had been established in that year by Gregory XV to regulate the institutions involved in the Church's missionary activities.[66] Notwithstanding the overall jurisdiction of *Propaganda*, the seminaries at Rome, Valladolid, Madrid and Seville, which were staffed and managed by Jesuits, were subject to the Jesuits' own hierarchical structures in the first instance.

Many of the assumptions that can be applied to nuns cannot be applied to seminarians to the same degree. Unlike convents, seminaries did not have a system of social stratification, and all students were considered to be of one rank. No dowries or other payments were required in order to be admitted and as a result, students came from a diverse range of social backgrounds, although they must have had

[66] For a brief history and description of the Congregation, see N. Kowalsky and J. Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples or 'De Propaganda Fide'* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983), 11–18.

at least some parts of their education in common, since literacy and knowledge of Latin were essential for seminary studies. While some seminarians had a formal school education at Douai or St Omer, this cannot be said to have been the typical educational background of an English priest. Inferences about a seminarian's educational and musical experience, therefore, can only be made if there is a record of his enrolment at St Omer, sufficient information about his family's social status, or some record of the student's background in the seminary's registers from the time of his entry (which often record details about education and kinship).

Unlike nuns, seminarians would often leave the seminary grounds to take their classes elsewhere. At St Alban's, the requirement to walk less than a mile to St Ambrose's (the Jesuit college in Valladolid) incited the students to riot; in Rome, where the students seem to have been more placid, they would walk to the Collegio Romano, and on their way would be greeted by Philip Neri, who hailed them as the 'Flores martyrum.'[67] The latter reveals that the ability to leave the seminary grounds enabled the students to interact with the local culture, and that on some level, this culture played a role in shaping their identities. In contrast to the nuns, who received the culture of their local community when it was brought into their cloister under the circumstances that had been allowed by their superiors, the seminarians were able to go out and meet local culture 'in situ'. The range and nature of cultural interactions between a seminary and its locale, consequently, were markedly different from those of a convent.

Final Considerations

Post-Reformation English Catholic music presents a very broad field for further research. The aim of the study that follows is to provide further insights into its Continental manifestations, although it is clear from the preceding discussion that this will be a mere fraction of the vast amount of work that remains to be done on the subject. Even though a Catholic counterpart to Le Huray's history of the stylis-

[67] Foley 1, 500; Foley 6, xxv, fn. 17.

tic development of English Protestant music after the Reformation is impractical (at least at this stage) because of the limitations posed by the surviving sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musical manuscript sources and the diversity of potential stylistic influences (for which a good deal of research remains to be done), an institutional and cultural study of Catholic music after the Reformation seems overdue. If, as O'Regan proposes 'Sacred music needs an institutional framework within which to function, a body with the need and the resources to provide the necessary liturgical structure',[68] then recognition of this framework, its construction and its implications can only enrich and broaden the study of English sacred music.

[68] O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome*, 1.

CHAPTER 1

THE ENGLISH COLLEGE, DOUAI

EARLY HISTORY

The English College at Douai was established in 1568, a decade after the accession of Elizabeth I. This new foundation materialised largely through the efforts of William Allen (later created a cardinal), who arrived at the idea of establishing an English Catholic college in Continental Europe while on pilgrimage to Rome with Jean Vendeville. Allen's initial plan was to start a college where the young English Catholic exiles (many of whom had formerly studied at Oxford) who had already flocked to Louvain could continue their university studies, and English priests could continue to be educated, in anticipation of the restoration of Catholicism to England.[1] The calibre of this first group of English exiles, who were to become the College's first staff and students, is impressive:

> The first great exodus of 1559 was composed of those whom the Acts by their nature most nearly concerned – that is, Ecclesiastics and University men. Of the latter class over one hundred had already left England within a year of Elizabeth's Accession – anticipating the course of her policy. The deprivations which followed the first Acts of her reign included twenty-five heads of Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and headmasters of schools, including Winchester, St Pauls, the Grammar Schools of Bristol, Wells, Salisbury and Lincoln. Sixty-eight fellows of Oxford colleges were deprived, twenty-three being of New College

[1] Douai Diaries 1, xxvii.

> alone. A very large number of men such as these as well as many students, found their way to University centres abroad. It was an exodus, then, of men of real learning, piety and accomplishments – who desired only to live in undisturbed enjoyment of their religion.[2]

A consequence of this exodus was that the newly-founded Douai college drew upon hundreds of years of English collegiate culture for its identity.[3] The impressive medieval chapels at Eton, Winchester and the larger Oxford and Cambridge colleges attest to the importance that these institutions attached to their daily liturgical and devotional activities. When the Protestant settlement was finalised by Elizabeth I, it was precisely from these activities which English Catholics were required to absent themselves.[4] Since it was the *raison d'etre* of the Douai college to give English Catholics the chance to study in the academic and religious setting that was no longer available to them in their homeland, it seems reasonable to assume that the College's chapel occupied a similar position in the culture of this newly-founded institution as it had done for its Oxbridge forebears. Although the chapel of the Douai college never had a choral foundation, it is clear from William Allen's 1578 letter to Thomas Vendeville that music was used in at least some of its liturgical functions:

> All the students hear mass together every day at five o'clock, after having first said the litanies for the Church and the conversion of our country. Every Sunday and on the greater feasts they confess and communicate, and almost all of them say the canonical hours every day. The priests celebrate daily. On the feasts of St Gregory, St Augustine, apostle of the English and St Thomas of Canterbury, martyr, we all meet together for high mass and pray… for the conversion of our country and the peace

[2] William F. Hastings. 'The Education of English Catholics 1559–1800'. M.A. (Education) diss. University of London, 1923, 33.

[3] Douai Diaries 1, xxxi.

[4] It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all vestiges of Catholicism had been eradicated from university life: there was a reluctance among the Oxford colleges to fully implement the decreed liturgical reforms, and many retained their older Catholic liturgical (and therefore also musical) practices. This is demonstrated clearly in Shinn's research on the music, liturgy and organs of Corpus Christi College Oxford. At least some of the students who left Oxford to study at Douai, therefore, would have had some knowledge and experience of Catholic liturgy and music. See Alex Shinn, 'The Beauty of Holiness: Thomas Dallam's Organ for Corpus Christi College, Oxford', *BIOS Journal* 36 (2012): 11. For a broader overview of post-Reformation musical practices in the collegiate chapels of Oxford and Cambridge, see Alex Shinn, 'Twist of Fate. Das schicksal der College-Orgeln in Cambridge und Oxford vom Bildersturm bis zur Restauration (1536–1660)', *Acta Organologica* 30 (2008): 11–34. In this article, Shinn concludes that the cat-and-mouse game played between a few colleges in Oxford and the iconoclasts reflects the quiet persistence of a Catholic majority at the University.

> of the whole church and of that place in which by God's providence we live in exile.[5]

Read in isolation, this extract might suggest that Mass was only sung on three feast days annually. Allen's words elsewhere, however, indicate that he attached great importance to performing the College's liturgical ceremonies with great solemnity. The liturgy, indeed, had a role in Allen's plan for developing the College's missionary spirit which, in his own words, he intended to cultivate by:

> 'setting before the eyes of the students the exceeding majesty of the ceremonial of the Catholic Church in the place where we live, the great dignity of the Holy Sacrifice and Sacrament, and the devotion and diligence with which the people come to church, confess their sins, and hear sermons while at the same time we picture to them the mournful contrast visible at home, the utter desolation of all things sacred which there exists, our country once so famed for its religion, and holy before God, now void of all religion.'[6]

The 'majestic ceremonial' of the Catholic Church, in its fullest sense, occurs only in the context of the sung liturgy, the Low Mass being comparatively austere.[7] Given that it was Allen's intention to juxtapose the richness of devotional activities at the College with the 'utter desolation' that existed in England, the use of music in ways that gave greater solemnity to the liturgy would not have been out of place.

The case for William Allen as an advocate for sacred music at Douai is made more strongly when his connections to English musicians are taken into account. When Allen died at Rome in 1594, two musicians were mentioned in his will among the members of his household: an unnamed servant, who had followed Allen from Rheims (where the Douai college had been forced to flee in 1578), identified only as a good musician,[8] and Francis Tregian, reputed scribe of the Fitzwilliam Virginal

[5] Douai Diaries 1, xliii. For the original Latin text, see Knox, 45.

[6] Douai Diaries 1, xxxviii.

[7] On the history of the development of the Low Mass, and the differences between Low Mass and High Mass, see Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass. A Study of the Roman Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1914), 184–193. On the musical structure of the sung Mass, see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 114–120.

[8] Martin Haile, *An Elizabethan Cardinal. William Allen* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1914), 372.

Book,[9] who arrived at the Douai college in 1586, aged twelve, [10] and had been in Allen's service since 1592.[11] That the latter only returned to England at the age of twenty suggests that he received his musical education as a student at Douai and as a member of Allen's household in Rome, perhaps under the tutelage of the Cardinal's unnamed servant-musician. It also suggests that Tregian's anthologies of music may have owed something to his time on the Continent, where he may have transcribed at least some of the works in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and Egerton MS 3665,[12] having obtained them through the Douai college's networks of institutions and musicians – a possibility which has hitherto remained unexplored.

Allen seems to have taken a personal interest not only in music at Douai, but also in assisting English Catholic musicians who had fled their homeland. Where the musicians showed particular promise, he was ready to write letters of introduction and support for them to his Roman contacts, to help them to secure work there. When two musicians of Elizabeth's chapel (Thomas Morris, and another who is unnamed) fled to the College in 1582, Allen was pleased to write to Alfonso Agazarri (then the Rector of the English College in Rome) on 19 July to recommend the musicians to him, and ask him to present them to the Cardinal Protector, who might also present them to the Pope, in the hope that they would receive some kind of financial benefit. Alongside Allen's cultural and philanthropic motives, however, was a clear political agenda: he felt that it would be best if Morris and his companion were employed by the Pope or a Roman college, as this would be more offensive to the English queen.[13]

[9] See David J. Smith, 'A Legend?: Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist', *The Musical Times* 143/1879 (2002): 7–16.

[10] Douai Diaries 1, 213.

[11] Knox, 376.

[12] On the nature of the compilation in MS Egerton 3665, see Bertram Schofield and Thurston Dart, 'Tregian's Anthology', *Music & Letters* 32 (1951): 205–16.

[13] The letter is reproduced in Knox, 151–152.

SOURCES

Moving beyond Allen's vision for the College towards a detailed reconstruction of its musical practices during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is difficult: very few internally-generated sources from the College are known to survive. Like most of the other English institutions on the Continent, it was seized during the French Revolution. An eyewitness account of the fate of the College's library was published in 'Catholic Magazine' in 1831:

> By order of the magistrates, waggon-loads of books were conveyed from the library to the arsenal to make military cartridges. Folio volumes of firm paper, regardless of their contents, were referred for this barbarous purpose… Many rare and curious volumes and the whole treasure of our inestimable manuscripts, consisting of original letters and correspondence with Rome and England, authentic memoirs and other precious documents, which had been deposited here as in a place of safety out of the reach of that persecution which had raged so long in our own country, were dissipated and destroyed by men ignorant of their value.[14]

Not a single sixteenth- or seventeenth-century musical manuscript from the College is known to survive. Information about the College's musical practices, therefore, must be gleaned out of the few documents from the College's collections to have survived the French Revolution, and through sources which had been either sent to or generated by other institutions. Among these can be included the documents in the archives of St Edmund's College and *Propaganda Fide*.

ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE, WARE & THE ARCHIVES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF WESTMINSTER

St Edmund's College, Ware, which was established in 1793, succeeded the Douai college, when the staff and students were forced to flee France in the wake of the Revolution.[15] The archives and library at St Edmund's contain a number of docu-

[14] Quoted in Douai Diaries 1, iv.

[15] For a history of the College, see Bernard Ward, *History of St Edmund's College Old Hall* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd, 1893).

ments from the Douai college, although most of the collection has now been moved to the Archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster. Given the close relationship between these two archives, it seems sensible to conflate the descriptions of their holdings.

The Douai Diaries

The most important internally-generated documents to have survived the destruction of the College are called the *Douai Diaries*. They are not diaries in the sense of a daily chronicle, but rather a record of the major events (such as ordinations, first Masses and other ceremonies) and the comings and goings of staff, students and visitors from the College's foundation until 1778. They also contain the text of a visitation report for the College which dates from 1612, some ten years before the foundation of *Propaganda Fide*. The first reference in the *Diaries* to liturgical music that can be directly connected with the English students occurs on Sunday 21 April 1577, when the newly-ordained Edward Rishton sang his first Mass at the high altar of the College's parish church in Douai.[16] The *Diaries* are dotted with references to sung Masses up until 1654, after which time records are reduced to little more than a listing of College staff and students. Nonetheless, these diaries are the most complete record of the College's liturgical and educational activities to have survived to the present day.

Liber Memorialis ad usum de Praesidii Collegii Anglorum Duacensis

This book is a record of all the bequests made to the College from 1600 to 1780.[17] Some of these bequests included the obligation to sing Mass annually for the benefactor or his intentions.

[16] Douai Diaries 1, 118.
[17] *GB-Lrcd*, St Edmund's College, Series 4, No. 1.

Customs and Law

Two books of customs – one containing the rules of the College (1625),[18] and the other (which was compiled in connection with a visitation) containing points on the College's office bearers and discipline (1627),[19] – are preserved at the archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster. Both include passing references to music. The earliest constitutions known to Burton when he wrote the introduction to the third, fourth and fifth *Douai Diaries* (which he co-edited with Williams) were those of 1612, which, at that time, were preserved in the archives of St Edmund's College.[20] The only document in the catalogue of the College's archives which matches this description, however, is a manuscript described as 'The Rules of Douai College', and as an 'early XVII Century MS probably written before the death of James I in 1625.' This document, however, is not a set of constitutions in the same sense as the constitutions of the English Colleges at Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Seville – the 'rules' only describe the responsibilities of the office bearers at the College, rather than detailing aspects of student life and education. The 1612 visitation report in the archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster[21] has the same limitations. The only seventeenth-century edition of the of the Douai constitutions known to survive in its entirety is a printed edition from 1690, although this may incorporate the later reforms of Cardinal Philip Thomas Howard.[22]

Documents from Propaganda Fide

The visitation reports from *Propaganda Fide* complement the information provided in the *Douai Diaries*. Whereas the *Diaries* are a record of events, the visitation reports

[18] *GB-Lrcd*, St Edmund's College, Series 2, No. 1.

[19] *GB-Lrcd*, Series A, Vol. 21, No. 75.

[20] The document is now in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster: *GB-Lrcd*, St Edmund's College, Series 2, No. 1.

[21] *GB-Lrcd*, Series A, Vol. 11, No. 247.

[22] *Constitutiones Collegii Pontificii Anglorum Duacensis. De Mandata Clementis VIII Pont. Max. Per S.R.E. Cardinales Camillum Burchesive & Odoardum Farnesivm, Ordinata Ac Confirmata; et Auctoritate Apostolica per Emum ac Revum Dom. Philippum Thomas Howard. Tit St Mariae Supra Minervam S.R.E. Presb. Cardinalem de Nonfolia, Eiusdem Collegii Protectorem, Recognitae & in Multis Auctae. Duaci. Ex Typographia M. Mairesse Sub Signo Salamandae. Anno 1690* (Douai: M. Mairesse sub Signo Salamandae, 1690).

provide a snapshot of day-to-day activities such as religious observances, meals, and education, and also include descriptive listings of the College's members of staff. From a musicological standpoint, the reports are useful because they document the staff that were responsible for teaching or performing music, and describe the contexts in which music was used at the College. They do not, however, name any students who were involved in music-making.

Apart from the visitation reports, the archives of *Propaganda* also contain copies of correspondence between the Congregation and the College. The correspondence is not one-sided, because the Congregation kept a copy of every reply that it sent to Douai. Although most of the letters do not mention the College's musical practices, an early seventeenth-century exchange between the president of the College and the Congregation about music classes for students is interesting.[23]

The Vatican Library

Further correspondence pertaining to the College is found in the Barberini archives, now housed in the Vatican Library. The Barberini were a powerful Italian family who produced a number of cardinals and popes during the seventeenth century.[24] Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679) was appointed Cardinal-Protector of England in 1628, and it was in this capacity that George Leyburn, President of the Douai college from 1652 to 1670, wrote to him.[25] While this correspondence only mentions music in passing, it does provide useful insights into musical practices at the College during the 1650s.

[23] On this exchange, see 'Seminary or Missionary College? Music as Flashpoint', p. 45.

[24] On the Barberini family's patronage of art and music, see Frederick Hammond, *Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1994).

[25] *V-CVbav*, Barberiniani. Lat. 2184, 108v.

Refugees and Exiles: Musicians at the Douai College in its Early Years

Most of the musicians who arrived at the College during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were refugees, who used the College as a first port of call before moving either north towards Brussels, or south towards Rome, in search of employment. The time between Allen's return from his second trip to Rome in 1576 and his final departure from Douai in 1585 is remarkable for the number of musicians who arrived at the College in this relatively short period. After his departure for Rome, the *Douai Diaries* record the arrival of significantly fewer musicians, over a much longer period. Evidently, the decision of so many musicians to flee to the College during the nine years from 1576 had something to do with William Allen's presence there. The first of these, Richard Engham, is listed as having matriculated at the University of Douai in 1573.[26] He was brought up as a choir-boy in the Chapel Royal, but fled to Douai at the age of eighteen. Engham must have returned to the English Mission (without having been ordained), but was forced to flee again because of the intensity of persecutions, and arrived at the College in 1576.[27] One Rasyn – a singer in Wells Cathedral, who was removed from his post by the Anglican bishop for adhering to the Catholic religion – arrived at the College on 1 May 1577, and was taken into the service of John Bridgewater.[28] In July of 1582, Thomas Morris, a singer from Elizabeth I's chapel, arrived at the College,[29] and departed for Rome the following month;[30] Peter Philips arrived at the College in August 1582[31] and must have set out for Rome shortly after, arriving at the Venerable English College on 20 October of the same year;[32] George Smith, 'musices peritus' arrived in 1584,[33] and departed for Rome in 1587.[34]

[26] Douai Diaries 1, 276.
[27] Douai Diaries 1, 111.
[28] Douai Diaries 1, 119.
[29] Douai Diaries 1, 189.
[30] Douai Diaries 1, 189.
[31] Douai Diaries 1, 191.
[32] Foley 6, 553.
[33] Douai Diaries 1, 201.
[34] Anstruther 1, 320.

In his letter of introduction for Thomas Morris, Allen wrote that Morris had mentioned that other musicians of the Chapel Royal – some among the best – were also thinking of fleeing.[35] That Morris knew of other musicians who were having doubts about whether they could continue to serve their sovereign indicates at least that the musicians of the Chapel Royal were privately discussing their theological opinions. It also suggests that there were a number of English musicians who were secretly Catholic, but who kept their political and theological positions to themselves. Although outside the scope of the study at hand, the existence of Catholic sympathies within such a staunchly Protestant institution warrants further investigation. That these sympathies have yet to be fully acknowledged suggests that some sources of the stylistic and philosophical identity of English Protestant music have yet to be recognised.

Some details about the nature of English stylistic influences on the College can be extrapolated from the backgrounds of the refugee-musicians. Morris, as a singer of the Chapel Royal during the 1580s, would have known the music of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, who were both employed there at this time;[36] Rasyn would have been familiar with not only the music of Wells Cathedral, but also with music from other English cathedrals, which was brought there and copied out;[37] Peter Philips brought with him the pedigree of a choral education at St Paul's Cathedral in London under Sebastian Westcote and his own experience as a composer of keyboard music.[38] None of the other musicians who passed through the College are noted in the *Diaries* for having worked in an ecclesiastical institution, so it can probably be assumed that they had either ceased working at these institutions for some time before leaving England, or that they were employed as domestic musicians. As a result of these musicians, who brought the latest musical trends from England with them,

[35] Knox, 151–152.

[36] For a description of musical practices in the Chapel Royal, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*, 57–89.

[37] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*, 102.

[38] Roger Bowers. 'Philips, Peter'. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Available: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30162 Accessed 13 June 2013.

the Douai college was kept from becoming a mere repository for English music of the past. The College's musical culture, therefore, was dynamic and evolving.

The absence of any references to non-English musicians during Allen's tenure as President also indicates that when the College drew upon any Continental influences or styles, these must have been received through an English 'filter', that is, through the mediation of English musicians. The nature of their experiences, however, is more difficult to determine without further information about their movements before arriving at Douai: some may have encountered Continental music while still in England through the dissemination of printed music and manuscript copies; others may have travelled in Continental Europe before arriving at the College and learned about new and different styles directly from the local musicians. Although the full extent of Continental music at the Douai college cannot be determined on the basis of the surviving evidence, it is clear that the College could not have been impervious to its influence: the adoption of the Roman Rite among English Catholics, by definition, meant the adoption of its particular plainchant as well, which was of Continental origin.

Waning and Waxing

It has already been noted that the number of English musicians to arrive at the Douai college decreased markedly after William Allen's departure for Rome in 1585. This may not, however, have been the sole cause of the decline: the foundation of the English school of St Omer (1593), which had developed a strong reputation for music by the early seventeenth century, may have proven to be a more attractive prospect for fleeing English musicians, and a more likely first port of call as well, given that it was closer to the coast than Douai. While musician-exiles were waning, however, the Douai college's musical tradition was waxing. As early as 1580, the *Douai Diaries* record the presence of a choir in the College, when solemn Mass was sung on the feast of St Gregory by 'omnes Angli qui musices peritia valuerunt'.[39] Whether this

[39] Douai Diaries 1, 161.

choir was made up of students, staff or a combination of both is unknown, but it is still significant, because it demonstrates that from the late sixteenth century, the members of the College – rather than hired musicians – were responsible for the music at liturgical services (at least on some occasions), and that music was important enough in the life of the College for special provision to be made for it within the structure of the institution. More specific details about the choir's repertoire and musical practices, however, are absent from the *Douai Diaries*. Even if all of the students sang in the choir, only a selection are noted in the *Diaries* for singing their first Masses, suggesting that not all of the students were confident singers by the time that they were ordained. Nonetheless, the tradition of music at the College was firmly established by the end of Allen's tenure, and was to develop further under successive presidents.

Richard Barrett, who governed the Douai college in Allen's absence, was finally appointed president in 1588, and governed until his death in 1599. From a musical standpoint, his tenure seems to have been uneventful: the only musician to arrive at the College during this time was William Chambers, 'musices peritus', who reached the College in 1587 and stayed until 1590.[40]

Masters of Music

The tenure of Barrett's successor, Thomas Worthington (1599–1613), seems to have been more interesting. Alongside the usual references to sung first Masses (which continued sporadically) and the use of music in connection with special occasions (such as the singing of the Te Deum on the election of the new Pope in 1605, and sung Mass during the visitation of the Bishop in 1612), it was during Worthington's tenure that the first references to a master of music appeared in the College's records: a 'Mr. Coffin', who was a pensioner of the Spanish king, was listed among the staff of the College in 1602.[41] Coffin was probably a visiting English layman and may not have lived at the College, as there is no other mention of him in the *Diaries*

[40] Douai Diaries 1, 214, 228.
[41] Douai Diaries 3, 569.

whatsoever. As a result, it is difficult to determine when he arrived and when he left. It is possible that he was taken into the service of an exiled English nobleman. Such opportunities certainly existed at the time: Peter Collins first arrived at the College on 6 November 1601 seeking shelter from the winter, and returned again in April of the following year, hopeful that Sir William Stanley would employ him on account of his musical expertise.[42] In any event, Coffin's stay could not have been very long, as Stephen Barnes had directed the choir for two years when he left for the Mission in May 1605.[43] Barnes's departure in 1605 could also explain why Peter Chambers, who was ordained in 1605, did not leave the College until 1607: he might have been required to assume Barnes's duties until another replacement could be found.[44]

Precisely how or when the role of 'Master of Music' developed at the College is difficult to gauge: although first mentioned in 1602,[45] the role may have existed for some time before this. Nonetheless, it was not mentioned in the 1625 'rules' of the College, suggesting either that it was not considered important enough by this time to be described in detail, or that it was a secondary role performed by a member of the College who had other duties.[46] Further information about both the role of the Master of Music and College's musical culture, however, can be developed by studying the men who are mentioned in the *Diaries* for having directed the choir.

JOHN WORTHINGTON

When John Worthington arrived at the College in 1607, there does not appear to have been an official choirmaster at the College for some two years. Evidently, the then writer of the *Diaries* felt that Worthington's musical skills were particularly important, because the entry recording Worthington's arrival is the first time that an intending student's musical qualifications are described in such detail. That his abil-

[42] Douai Diaries 2, 36.
[43] Henson, 68.
[44] Barnes had been described as an expert in music when he arrived at the College from Spain in 1603. See Anstruther 2, 51.
[45] Douai Diaries 2, 569.
[46] *GB-Lrcd*, St Edmund's College, Series 2, No. 1

ities are described in terms of their usefulness to the College suggests a particular need for a music teacher at the College when he arrived:

> [H]e desires to become a priest if he can now obtain the knowledge necessary for that office, for he can only understand Latin, and at the most, write it. But he is a skilful musician, both in singing and at the organ. And so he is received into the College that he may at the same time help our choir and instruct others in this art, while he performs his studies.[47]

That a student was permitted to assume the role of choirmaster is interesting: all of the other teaching positions seem to have been taken by clergy. Evidently, the position did not carry much authority, since it would have been unbecoming for a student to discipline any staff members who participated in the choir. The nature of Worthington's 'help' is unclear: perhaps he directed the choir, or simply sang with it. If the choir was not very large, it is also plausible that he did both. The nature of Worthington's 'instruction' is equally unclear, but probably means that he taught both singing and musical notation. Since the author of this diary entry wrote it in a way that details Worthington's potential usefulness to the College, the author's observation that Worthington was a skilful organist suggests that he foresaw some applications for this skill at Douai. The College's chapel had opened in 1603,[48] and in the absence of other evidence, the author's remark suggests that the College had acquired an organ by 1607.

Worthington was ordained in 1609, but only returned to England in 1615.[49] This was unusual: most students returned to England within a year of ordination. Perhaps, like Peter Chambers, one of the reasons for the delay was his usefulness to the College as a musician and the difficulty in finding a replacement. That two members of the College with musical experience should have been delayed in returning to the Mission within a few years of each other certainly lends weight to this hypothesis.

[47] Douai Diaries 2, 345–346.
[48] Douai Diaries 1, 52.
[49] Anstruther 2, 364–365.

'Mr Knight'

Within two years of Worthington's departure, the College took the step of hiring an English organist to lead the music at the College:

> Sub finem Januarii ex Anglia venit Mr [blank] Knight, musicus, qui conductus est annuo decem librarum Anglicanarum stipendio una cum victu ad organistae munus in Collegio supplendum, et scholares musicam ducendam etc.[50]

Knight (who was probably a layman) did not stay for any longer than a year (departing in January 1618), during which time he also visited Brussels and Rheims.[51] By this stage, the *Diaries* are clear about the connection between the roles of organist and music teacher. The role of music master seems to have included playing music, teaching it to the students, and other duties which are not described in the diary entry, but seem to have been understood well enough in the institution for the author of the entry to be comfortable circumscribing his description of these duties. Knight was replaced by William Drury – a priest who had been exiled from England – later in 1618.

William Drury

Drury is an interesting character: the 1618 entry which records his arrival makes it clear that he was admitted to the College to teach music.[52] Nonetheless, it is Drury's achievements as a playwright – rather than as a musician – which were recorded in detail, when in August 1619, the students performed a comedy that he had written:

> On January 8th the scholars privately in the refectory played a comedy written by Mr. William Drury, which so delighted the audience that it

[50] Douai Diaries 2, 133. The Latin is translated as follows:
'Towards the end of January Mr Knight came from England, a musician who took up the office of organist in college for an annual stipend of ten English pounds along with sustenance (provided) and the responsibility of teaching music to the scholars.'

[51] Douai Diaries 2, 136, 137.

[52] Douai Diaries 2, 145.

> was much talked of by them in the town; and some of the chief magistrates in the name of the rest, begged the President to cause it to be performed again. The President acceded to their wish, and on the 9th of this month our students performed it publicly with great readiness and applause in the open air, because the small size of the original place was not adequate. Afterwards one of the magistrates who was present presented the actors in the name of the rest with some measures of wine.[53]

The play on this occasion was Drury's *Alvredus sive Alfredus*, the first of three plays that the priest is known to have published at Douai: the first two in 1620, and the last in 1628.[54] Although music is not mentioned, it is likely that Drury incorporated some musical numbers into these plays. He may well have become familiar with the practice of incorporating music into dramatic performances during his time at the Venerable English College in Rome (where he lived from 1605 to 1612).[55] The earliest surviving play in the Venerabile's collection is a 1612 manuscript copy of *Thomas of Canterbury*, a drama of anonymous authorship.[56] Although it contains no notated music (unlike the College's copy of *Thomas Morus* (1613), which contains a number of notated songs), the College's accounts include payments to a violinist for two engagements during Carnevale in 1612, when this play is known to have been performed.[57] While payments to musicians increased for subsequent dramatic performances in the seventeenth century, Gossett concludes that musicians were only hired for the College's larger events, and it was the students who provided the music for smaller occasions.[58]

Drury's experiences of music in drama may, in fact, may have predated his time at the Venerabile, since he was schooled at St Omer. Given the quality and extent of musical studies and performances at St Omer under Gilles Schondonch (rector from 1600 until his death in 1617), it is likely that Drury received his initial musical training there. In 1601, the Countess de Zueda was entertained at the College by

[53] Douai Diaries 2, 372.
[54] See Arthur Freeman, 'William Drury, Dramatist', *Recusant History* 8 (1965–6): 293–7.
[55] Anstruther 2, 87–88.
[56] *I-Rvec*, Libro 321.
[57] Suzanne Gossett, 'Drama in the English College, Rome, 1591–1660', 78.
[58] ibid.

the students, who recited Greek and Latin verses, and played together in a broken consort;[59] in 1602, the Bishop of Saint-Omer donated an organ for the College's chapel and an Englishman presented the College with a harpsichord;[60] also in 1602, the Bishop of Arras was entertained with the performance of a play, during the intervals of which a broken consort played, and the students sang in Greek and Latin.[61]

The first play at Douai was staged some nineteen years after the first record of a dramatic performance at St Omer, and seven years after *Thomas Morus* was presented at the Venerable English College. That the College did not stage a dramatic performance for such a long time suggests that there was nobody at Douai with the skill to oversee such a performance until Drury arrived. It also indicates that the College's musical and artistic offerings were influenced not only by musical trends in England, but also by the practices at St Omer and the Venerable English College.

The degree of exchange between the Douai college and local Jesuits is noteworthy: up until 1619, when the President of Douai withdrew students from the Jesuit college in Douai as a result of a disagreement over how they were to be disciplined,[62] the College sent a number of its students to the Society to study the humanities. These students, therefore, probably experienced performances of Jesuit drama with its attendant music.[63] It may have been by means of these kinds of importations that the College compensated for the shortcomings in its teaching staff and facilities that were noted during the 1612 visitation.[64] Drury's stay, however, was short-lived: he returned to England in 1621, and seems to have stayed there until his death after 1643. The next visitation of the College, some six years after Drury's departure, in-

[59] *Litteræ Annuæ Societatis Iesu Anni MDCI* (Antwerp: Martini Nutii & Ioannem Meursium, 1618), 717.

[60] *Litteræ Annuæ Societatis Iesu Anni MDCII* (Antwerp: Martini Nutii, 1618), 684.

[61] *Litterae Annuae Societatis Iesu Anni MDCII*, 684.

[62] Douai Diaries 2, 372–374.

[63] For an extensive bibliography of Jesuit drama, see Nigel Griffin, *Jesuit School Drama: a Checklist of Critical Literature*. London: Grant and Cutler, 1976.

[64] Some of the texts of the visitation which no longer seem to survive in archival sources are reproduced in Mark Aloysius Tierney, *Dodd's Church History of England: From the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in 1688*. Vol. 5, 5 vols. (London: Charles Dolman, 1843), 35ff.

dicates that his long-term impact on the College's musical culture was insufficient to satisfy church authorities.

Seminary or Missionary College? Music as Flashpoint

The English College at Douai received the approbation of Pius V in 1568 (the year of its foundation) making it one of the first seminaries established after the Council of Trent, and it was this function, which had been little more than an afterthought in Allen's original vision for the institution,[65] that was to become its main function by the seventeenth century. While the Douai college's bull of foundation does not appear to have survived, the 1579 bull for the Venerable English College in Rome has. Consistent with the decrees of the Council of Trent, it states that the students were to study church music.[66] It seems safe to assume that a similar provision was made in the bull that erected the Douai college. It must also be borne in mind, however, that the English colleges were not typical seminaries, insofar as they were not connected with a diocese, but with missionary activity. The tensions between the Tridentine vision for a seminary and the Douai college's missionary objectives were to create conflict between the College's staff and the Roman authorities.

Although the decrees from the 1612 visitation of the College highlight a number of problems with condition of the College buildings and failures by the President to discharge his duties properly, they say nothing about music.[67] The visitation of 1626, however, was quite another matter. This visitation was unlike the previous ones insofar as a copy of the visitation report was sent to the newly-founded *Propaganda Fide* in Rome. The Congregation, having read the report, then sent its instructions to the Douai college for what changes were to be made in the way that the College was administered. Both the Archdeacon of Arras, Richard Paul Stravius – who conducted the 1626 visitation at the behest of the Apostolic Nuncio in

[65] Douai Diaries 1, xxx.

[66] Reproduced and translated in Michael E. Williams, *The Venerable English College, Rome: A History* (London: Associated Catholic Publications, 1979), 212.

[67] For a full list of the visitors' criticisms, see Douai Diaries 2, xix-xx.

Brussels – and *Propaganda Fide* found the College to be lacking in its provision for music. Evidently, both did not see the Council of Trent's prescriptions for liturgical music in seminaries as being negated in any way by the College's missionary status: the information in the *Douai Diaries*, combined with the surviving visitation reports and ensuing correspondence in the archives of *Propaganda Fide*, indicates that music was the subject of a protracted dispute between the Roman congregation and the College's staff.

Stravius was clearly unimpressed with the place that had been allotted to music in the College's regimen. He recorded his sentiments in a section of the visitation report titled *Defecti in visitatione reperti*:

> Cantus ecc[lesiasti]cus ita penitus decidit, ut non id nisi unus inter scholares sacerdos qui utcunque missam cantet… Chorus praeterea, qui solebat esse satis frequens ita modo est desertus ut non sint modo nisi tres vel ad summum quatuor, qui partes suas in cantu sustentare possint, neque huius defectus reparandi ulla est spes nisi antiqua consuetudo qua soli Cantores ientaculum diebus, quibus sacrum in ecc[lesi]e cantatur recipere solebant restituatur quam aliquot annis post 1612 adhuc viguisse constat.[68]

These observations from the visitors came in spite of comments made earlier in the report about the way that students were divided into three classes for their music lessons, according to their ability.[69] The same report lists the contents of the chapel, which include books of plainchant (gradual and antiphonal), other music books, and a two-manual organ ('organum duplex') in the choir.[70] Evidently the students were singing more than plainchant, because the inventory of the chapel also includes 'abacus cum libris musicis'[71] and a chest of musical instruments,[72] in-

[68] Visitation of Douai College, 1626, *Visite e Collegi*, Vol. 5, *V-CVapf*, f. 101v. Translated as follows:
The singing in church has declined to such an extent that there is only one priest among the scholars who sings Mass at all…
..Besides, the choir, which used to be quite well attended, has become so deserted that there are only three or at most four who can sustain their parts in the singing, and there is no hope of repairing this defect unless the ancient custom is restored (which was still in force after 1612) by which on the days on which the liturgy is sung in church only the Cantors receive breakfast.

[69] Ibid., f. 92.

[70] Ibid., f. 66v.

[71] Douai Diaries 2, 99; *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi 5, f. 67.

[72] *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi 5, f. 67.

dicating a strong musical culture at the time of the visitation. Nonetheless, Stravius was dissatisfied: evidently a smaller group of skilled musicians was no substitute for training all the students to sing during the liturgy.

While acknowledging some of the criticisms in the report, the then-president of the College, Matthew Kellison, was not prepared to acquiesce to *Propaganda's* demands, responding to the *defecti* as follows:

> Ad 2. responderunt simpliciter se daturos operam, ut cantus ecclesiasticus ne dum conservetur, sed augeatur, ac proinde D[omi]num Praesidem scripsisse in Angliam, ut Magister cantus huc transmittatur...
> Ad 3. responderunt magis expedire, ut loco ientaculi festis Dominisque diebus exhibendi musicis dumtaxat, concedatur iisdem in Refectorio exemptis a ministratione mensae in suo cuiusque turno.[73]

The resulting standoff between *Propaganda* and the President caused the Congregation to severely curtail the President's discretionary powers as they pertained to music. In future, he was not to dispense individual students from their obligation to attend music classes: all such petitions were to be made to the Apostolic Nuncio of the Spanish Netherlands.[74] Furthermore, no student was to be ordained to any of the holy orders unless he could sing the music proper to that order.[75] In an attempt to appease *Propaganda* in 1627, the staff of the College seem to have taken matters into their own hands:

> 19 Octobris, scolares omnes sub diversis magistris cantum ad medium 1^{ae} coeperunt addiscere. Tenores docuit D^{ns} Franciscus Barberus, praefectis Generalis, bassos, Mr Antonius Shelleus, altos, M^{r} Jacobus Borde, superiores Petrus organist. Cantum vero Gregorium docet D^{ns} Clarke.[76]

This information is useful, because it is the first indication of the involvement of the entire College in singing music, and provides information about which senior

[73] See the President's responses to observations on the visitation: *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi 5, f. 112. The Latin is translated as follows:
'To 2 they replied simply that they had plans that singing in church should not only be preserved but increased, and that accordingly, the President had written to England that a singing master should be sent here.'
'To 3 they replied that rather than giving breakfast only to the musicians on feasts and Sundays, each of them should be granted an exemption from his turn of serving at table in the Refectory.'

[74] For the President's objection to this condition, see Douai Diaries 2, 412.

[75] *V-CVapf*, Acta 6, f. 19.

[76] Douai Diaries 2, 261.

staff members were capable of training the students. There seems to have been no distinction between the younger students and the seminarians: the entire institution sang music together. That everybody was taught plainchant together but divided into groups for polyphony indicates either a degree of inexperience among the College's staff or that no individual staff member had enough time to devote himself fully to the College's musical activities. There is little in the backgrounds of any of the staff members to indicate that they had much musical experience: Francis Barber came directly to the College from England,[77] Anthony Shelley studied at St Omer and so must have been exposed to music there as a child,[78] and James Blundeville (which was Bord's true surname)[79] is not known to have had any musical background before entering Douai. The problem of employing either students or priests in this way, as has already been seen, was that they were eventually sent back to the Mission, and this would have created some problems in terms of maintaining continuity and consistency in music teaching and direction. Clark – whose true name was Robert Haughton – was sent back to England in September of 1628, less than a year after the College's letter to *Propaganda*. [80]

Propaganda was evidently unmoved either by the President's offer of a compromise, whereby students who joined the choir would be exempted from serving at table, or his protestations that their decision would greatly impair his authority, once it was understood that he could not rule on such a 'trifling matter'.[81] Neither was Urban VIII, who confirmed the Congregation's decision personally in 1628.[82] What the President considered a matter of little significance was evidently of more importance to the Barberini pope, whose family had such a great reputation as patrons of the arts. It also reveals a degree of disagreement between English clergy and the Roman authorities about the place of music in the formation of seminarians: the English staff of the Douai college seem to have treated music as an optional activity,

[77] Anstruther 2, 15.
[78] Anstruther 2, 291.
[79] Anstruther 2, 31.
[80] Anstruther 2, 151.
[81] Douai Diaries 1, 412.
[82] *V-CVapf*, Acta 6, f. 19.

suggesting that they did not see it as sufficiently important for the students' missionary activities to warrant much attention; the Roman authorities seem to have seen music as an essential part of student formation as dictated by the Council of Trent. The intervention of *Propaganda* in such matters indicates that the seminarians' education was not to be purely pragmatic. It also demonstrates the degree to which external forces shaped the musical culture of the College: regardless of the staff's personal views, the Douai college was required to meet a minimum standard of music-making that was set by Roman authorities.

Although they may not have held the same opinions as *Propaganda* regarding the importance of music education for all students, the Douai College authorities were far from oblivious to the potential usefulness of music in the formation of priests for the Mission. At Douai, news of the execution of an alumnus was greeted with the singing of the Te Deum.[83] Those who died on the Mission were differentiated from those who died at the College. The latter usually received a sung Requiem Mass and Office of the Dead instead. By singing the Te Deum, the news of a priest's execution was transformed from an occasion for grief and mourning into an occasion for celebration. The students' experience of a confrere's death, therefore, were entirely reframed: they were not to mourn the passing of a friend, but instead to venerate a newly-made martyr. Moreover, they were to internalise the message that martyrdom was a path to sanctity and glory, so that they too would persevere and die for their religion, in the event that they were captured. Evidently this formational strategy was effective, since a number of Douai martyrs are recorded as either singing the Te Deum after they were convicted or in the time leading up to their execution, including Richard Kirkham (1583)[84], John Munden (1584),[85] John Boast (1594),[86] John

[83] The source of this information is Bede Camm, *William Cardinal Allen*, St Nicholas Series (London: Macdonald and Evans, 1908), 65. Although he does not cite his source, Camm's research has never received the same criticism as that of his Benedictine confrere, Francis Aiden Gasquet (1846–1929). The right to sing the *Te Deum* on receiving the news of a martyrdom was conceded to the Venerable English College in Rome by Gregory XIII at some point between 1580 and 1585 (see Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 156) and there is no reason to doubt either Camm's undisclosed source, or that the same privilege was conceded to the English college at Douai.

[84] Challoner, 70.

[85] Challoner, 100.

[86] Challoner, 597.

Ingram (1594),[87] William Davies (1593)[88] and William Freeman (1595).[89] In 1644, the *Diaries* mention that Mass was sung on 20 October in honour of the Trinity, as thanksgiving for the martyrdom of John Duckett.[90] This is the only mention of such a Mass in the *Diaries*, but it seems possible that this was a normal practice at the College, since there was little to differentiate Duckett's martyrdom from that of his peers. This took the veneration of the martyred alumni to a higher level still: by offering a Mass of thanksgiving to the Trinity, the martyr was not prayed for – rather, God was thanked for the gift of the martyr. Although the martyr was not prayed to during the liturgy (as would be the case for a votive Mass in honour of a saint) it was clear that they were not to be thought of in the same way as other dead English Catholics. Through this special treatment, the martyrs became *de facto* saints: canonisation could only occur when there was evidence of a *cultus* (that is, devotion towards a particular person), and a Mass in honour of the Trinity as thanksgiving for the gift of martyrs provided a means of devotion that would not have offended Roman sensibilities. Colleges in other places had fallen foul of Rome for their martyr paintings, which were sometimes seen as premature canonisations, and strict instructions were issued about the form that these paintings were to take, as well as a prohibition on their display in chapels.[91] In the context of the Douai college, however, music served a 'highlighting' purpose, bringing the College's martyred alumni to the fore, as a means of enhancing veneration and devotion, while not effecting some kind of premature canonisation.

Although Mass seems to have been sung at the College every week for most of the seventeenth century, this is not mentioned in the *Douai Diaries*, instead being confined to visitation reports and private correspondence. An annual Mass that is

[87] Challoner, 597.
[88] Challoner, 192.
[89] Challoner, 228.
[90] Henson, 445.
[91] There were some relaxations of these rules: the practice of venerating the relics of the English martyrs who had not yet been canonised seems to have been encouraged by Gregory XIII, who granted several *viva voce* concessions to the Venerable English College in Rome, including the use of their relics in altar stones, where the relics of ancient martyrs could not be obtained, and also that paintings of English martyrs who had not yet been canonised could be displayed on the walls of the College's chapel. See Bede Camm, ed., *Lives of the English Martyrs Declared Blessed by Pope Leo XIII in 1886 and 1895*. Vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Longmans & Co., 1914), lix-lx.

almost invariably described as 'solemn' in the *Diaries*, however, is the votive Mass of the Holy Ghost, which was offered at the beginning of September to inaugurate the academic year. This particular votive Mass had a special significance in the history of the Reformation, for it was the Mass that the monks of the London Charterhouse offered as they deliberated about whether they could take the Oath of Supremacy and appease Henry VIII. During this Mass, they were reported to have had a vision of the Holy Ghost. As a consequence, they refused to take the Oath and were martyred.[92] By singing this Mass at the beginning of the academic year, the students' education was anchored firmly in the context of English martyrdom.

Ordered by Rome to improve the musical practices at the College, and evidently lacking a member of staff who could provide for it adequately, Kellison was forced to look further afield. The 1626 visitation report records that he wrote to England to request the services of a musician who could come to teach the students at Douai. The search ended in 1628, when Hugh Facy reached the College.

Hugh Facy

The *Douai Diaries* record Hugh Facy's arrival at the College very simply:

> 1 Junii, e Collegio Audomarensi advenit Hugo Facy, musicus in comitatu Devoniae ortus ab Antonio Face, heretico. In Collegium nostrum pro organista et magistro musices admissus est, cui praeter convictum annue daturi sumus pro salario centum florenos.[93]

Although there is no information about why Facy had come to the College, the entry indicates that his arrival was anticipated: he was immediately admitted to the College as organist and for the position of 'master of music', and his salary was noted. Facy was not to become another transitory musician in the College's history: as a layman, he would not be sent off to the Mission after a few years, and could there-

[92] Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse, its Monks and its Martyrs, with a Short Account of the English Carthusians after the Dissolution* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co: 1889), 134.

[93] See the entry for 1 June 1628 in *Douai Diaries* 2, 269, the translation of which is as follows: On 1st June there arrived from the College in St Omer Hugh Facy, a musician born in the county of Devon, son of Antony Facy, heretic. He was admitted to our College as organist and master of music; besides board and lodging, we are to pay him annually 100 florins as a salary.

fore bring a degree of permanency to the College's musical practices; as a full time, professional musician, he also brought a level of expertise with him that the part-time musicians among the staff and students could not match. He was last noted in England in 1619, when the Chapter of Exeter Cathedral granted him a further year's leave from his position there as a singer and occasional organist.[94] Given that Facy's father, Anthony Facy, was a priest vicar at Exeter Cathedral, it also seems likely that Hugh Facy was raised close to the Cathedral, and received all of his early musical instruction and tuition as an organist there. That he composed works for viol[95] certainly points to an education at Exeter Cathedral, where choristers were given tuition on viol alongside their choral duties.[96] The Cathedral organist at the time, John Lugge, found himself in trouble with the authorities in 1617 on account of his suspected 'Popish sympathies'. That Lugge's son, Robert, organist of St John's College, Cambridge, fled to the Continent in 1635 suggests that although Lugge Senior retained his post, he was not entirely 'rehabilitated'. It also seems likely, therefore, that Facy's decision to convert to Catholicism (he was born into a Protestant family) was somehow bound up with his connection to John Lugge. It was probably also through John Lugge that Facy received his training as an organist, and he is recorded in the Cathedral Chapter Acts of 1618 as being 'sometimes' permitted to play the organ for services.[97] Facy was last heard of in England in 1619, yet did not arrive at the Douai college until 1628. Accounting for the missing nine years is problematic: although the *Douai Diaries* indicate that Facy had come from St Omer, there is no indication of how long he had been there. While it may be a step too far to suggest that the new organ that was installed in the chapel in 1620 (at a cost of 1250 florins)[98] was acquired for Facy – especially since it has not yet been possible to determine when he arrived – it does suggest that the 1620s were a period of continued

[94] S. Jeans, 'Musical Life at Exeter Cathedral (1600–1650)', *Quarterly Record of the Incorporated Association of Organists* 43 (1958): 105.

[95] For a list of his known works, see Susi Jeans. 'Facy, Hugh'. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Available: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09215 Accessed 15 June 2010

[96] Ian Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at Some English Cathedral Churches, c.1594–c.1645: Archival Evidence', *Chelys* 19 (1990): 3.

[97] Jeans, 'Musical Life at Exeter Cathedral (1600–1650)': 105.

[98] Foley 7ii, 1157.

musical prosperity and development at St Omer, making the College an attractive prospect for an unemployed refugee from Protestant England. Student numbers in the College were also steadily increasing from 120 towards the College's maximum of 200 in 1630.[99] With increased student numbers there must have also been an increased demand for teaching staff, which may well have required more musicians than the Society could spare from among its own members. The esteem in which the College and its achievements were held during this decade is best demonstrated by the visits it received from Isabella Clara Eugenia (who, after the death of her husband Archduke Albert in 1621, was appointed Governor of the Spanish Netherlands by her nephew, King Philip IV of Spain) in October 1625. After noting the visit of 'the Illustrious' Cardinal de Cueva several days before (at whose Mass the vocal and instrumental parts were 'well rendered' by the students), the writer describes Isabella's initial visit to the College, for which the students staged a drama, and goes on to mention that she 'constantly visited the College during the five following days of her stay in the city, and spent some time in listening to our music'.[100] When Facy arrived at Douai, therefore, he brought with him not only the accumulated training of a singer, organist and viol player from an English Cathedral, but probably also the experience of a musician from the English Catholic institution in exile with the best reputation for musical education and performances. That he arrived at Douai at all suggests that bridges between the English seculars and the Jesuits were not entirely destroyed when the President of the College removed his students from the Jesuit college at Douai in 1619, since word still managed to reach Facy that the College needed a musician.

After his arrival at Douai, nothing further is heard of Facy for some seventeen years. The next mention of him – which provides a good deal more information about his life and work – comes in two visitation reports (presumably made by two different Visitors but on the same occasion) from 1645. The first of these confirms

[99] See the figures quoted in William H. McCabe, 'The English College of St Omers', in *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater: A Posthumous Work*, Louis J. Oldani, ed. (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983), 72.

[100] See the extract from the *Litteræ Annuæ* reproduced in ibid., 82.

that Facy lived out his days as a layman, due to his apparent unsuitability for the English Mission. Nonetheless, he took his place among the clergy as a professor, and taught plainchant to the students:

> Hugo Facis Organista, et magister musicae est praestans in sua arte, qua plurimum decoratur officium divinum Collegii, et proinde iudicant non facile esse dimittendum, maxime quod per constitutiones, Alumni sint exercendi in cantu, Certe ipse est laicus, et non paratur ad missionem, occupat tamen locum inter Sacerdotes tamquam Professor, et utitur habitu ecclesiastico.[101]

He was still living in 1647, when William Hyde, then President of the College, wrote to *Propaganda* to list all of College's staff and students, mentioning 'unus organista qui omnes idoneos in cantu ecclesiastico et in musicis exercet', who sat at the second table in the refectory, along with six priests.[102] Facy probably died around 1649, when Thomas Berry, who had first visited in 1647, was admitted to the College on the condition that he should help with the College's music.[103] In 1660, he was listed as the College's choir prefect, and his musical expertise is mentioned specifically. This was not, however, a continuation of Facy's position at the College, since Berry also taught humanities and therefore must have divided his time between music and other duties. The descriptions of Facy in the *Douai Diaries* and visitation reports from *Propaganda Fide* give every indication that Facy did not have any duties outside the College: he seems to have lived with the other staff and students, dined with them, and even worn ecclesiastical dress. For roughly twenty years, therefore, the College had a full-time, dedicated master of music. With no other duties to occupy his time, Facy may well have played the organ for the College's daily services – even when these were not sung – in addition to his teaching work. In any event, he

[101] *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi 28, f. 101r. Translation as follows:
Hugh Facy, organist and music-master, is outstanding in his art, whereby the Divine Office of the College is very much beautified, and accordingly they judge that he is not easily to be dismissed, above all because by the constitutions the pupils are to be exercised in singing. Certainly he is a layman, and is not being prepared for the mission; however, he holds a position amongst the priests like a professor, and wears ecclesiastical dress.
Note that in Latin texts of this period, the term 'cantus' is used to refer to plainchant, while 'musica' is typically used to describe polyphonic repertoires.

[102] *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi 29, f.87r.

[103] Douai Diaries 3, 514.

stood at the centre of the College's musical culture for an extended period of time, and exercised significant influence over the musical repertoire that was used in the College chapel.

Facy's Compositional Style

Hugh Facy is the only seventeenth-century composer to have worked at the Douai college whose works are known to survive.[104] The fact that only two of his Catholic liturgical works are among these survivals (it is likely that he composed more) can be accounted for by the fact that Facy seems to have spent the remainder of his life at Douai, probably composing music only for the use of the students, since he is not known to have conducted any business outside the College. As a result, it seems unlikely that many of his works circulated beyond the College community, and any copies that survived until the late eighteenth century were probably destroyed along with the College's other manuscripts in the early nineteenth century. His two surviving Catholic liturgical works are a cantus-firmus setting of the *Ave maris stella*, probably for organ, and a setting of the Magnificat for four voices and continuo. Even though neither of these works or any of Facy's other output can be connected with the Douai college through their surviving sources (it is also possible that Facy composed these at St Omer), they provide concrete examples of the styles of music that were used at the College during his tenure. This is the only period in the seventeenth century for which such robust conclusions about musical style can be made. To this end, a stylistic analysis of Facy's Catholic works seems appropriate.

Ave maris stella

Keyboard settings on a plainchant cantus firmus were a popular compositional form among English composers. Before the Reformation, these settings served a liturgical purpose: the organist alternated organ verses with the choir, which sang the remaining verses of the liturgical text in plainchant. After the Reformation, these

[104] For a full list of Facy's known works, see Jeans, 'Facy, Hugh.'

plainchant settings were of limited use: Le Huray notes that although the psalms and responses continued to be sung to Sarum melodies (which were adapted to suit English texts), the rest of the vast repertoire of pre-Reformation (Latin-texted) English plainchant had no place in the reformed services.[105] Both Caldwell and Le Huray note that while these keyboard settings had their origins in liturgical services, the post-Reformation settings were probably not intended for liturgical use.[106] In Caldwell's catalogue of keyboard plainsong settings in England between 1550 and 1660, the narrowing of the genre after the Reformation is clear: apart from Bull and Philips (who fled to the Spanish Netherlands), post-Reformation settings were generally composed on the popular melodies 'Gloria tibi trinitas', 'In nomine' or 'Miserere'.[107] On the Continent, however, settings of alternatim music for organ (based on plainchant melodies) continued to be composed well into the eighteenth century, as part of a well-established liturgical tradition.

Facy's setting of the *Ave maris stella* immediately stands out from the settings composed by his English contemporaries: it is one of a mere handful of plainsong melodies that is not of Sarum origin in Caldwell's catalogue, and all the other non-Sarum melodies were used by English composers in exile.[108] Facy's choice of the Ave maris stella, with its connections to Marian devotion and the office of Our Lady (which, before the Reformation, had usually been said in England on Saturdays along with the Lady Mass),[109] would have been theologically unacceptable to the English reformers. The only setting of this text to have been composed in England during the first half of the seventeenth century was by William Byrd, and it is unlikely that he either intended it for Anglican use or that it was ever used in this way, given that it was published in his 1605 *Gradualia* – a collection of motets that was

[105] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660*, 166.

[106] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*, 167; John Caldwell, 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660', *Musica Disciplina* 19 (1965): 129.

[107] Caldwell, 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660', 129–130.

[108] The work survives in a single source: US-NYp Drexel 5611, pp. 8–9. A modern edition edited by Maxim can be found in Christopher Maxim, ed. *Hugh Facy: Ave Maris Stella*, *The Musical Times* 142/1876 (2001), 39–42.

[109] On the Saturday Mass of Our Lady in the various English usages of the Roman Rite before the Reformation, see Albert Harford Pearson, *The Sarum Missal, in English* (London: The Church Press, 1868), xxix. On the Medieval origins of Marian liturgical devotions in England, see Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*, 131–136.

clearly designed for Catholic liturgical use. Although Caldwell was unable to identify the cantus firmus used by Facy in any English pre-Reformation sources,[110] it is identical to the melody used by Jean Titelouze (1562/3–1633) in his organ setting of the same hymn.[111] Titelouze spent the first years of his career as the organist at Saint-Omer, before moving to Rouen in 1585, where he worked for the rest of his life.

In spite of its Continental affinities, Maxim finds insufficient evidence in his analysis of the *Ave Maris Stella* to connect it with Continental composers, especially due its strong stylistic affinities with the works of Facy's fellow Exeter musicians, Bull and Lugge. Even similarities with Sweelinck's works, Maxim argues, could have been mediated to Facy through Bull's work.[112] When Maxim wrote his conclusions, however, he did not have the sources that prove Facy moved to the Continent, nor that he used the same plainsong melody as Titelouze. With this information, it now seems more likely that Facy came into direct contact with Continental composers and that his keyboard music represents a meeting point between Continental and English musical styles.

Magnificat

The surviving setting of the Magnificat by Hugh Facy is an interesting work.[113] It was almost certainly composed after he left England: the watermark on the surviving manuscript copy – of a pelican opening its breast to feed its young, a symbol of the Catholic eucharist[114] – was not a popular image in English Protestant iconography, and although not as yet traceable to either St Omer or Douai, points to a paper

[110] Caldwell, 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660': 150.

[111] See Jean Titelouze, *Hymnes De L'eglise: Pour Toucher Sur L'orgue Avec Les Fugues Et Recherches Sur Leur Plainchant; Le Magnificat, Ou, Cantique De La Vierge: Pour Toucher Sur L'orgue Suivant Les Huit Tons De L'eglise* (Paris: Ballard, 1623).

[112] Christopher Maxim, 'Hugh Facy's Ave Maris Stella: A Postcard from Rome?', *The Musical Times* 142/1876 (2001): 37.

[113] *GB-Lcm*, MS 1181. A modern edition can be found in the Appendix, p. 250.

[114] Note, for instance, the reference to the pelican in the sixth verse of Thomas Aquinas's hymn *Adoro Te Devote*:
'Pie pellicane Jesu Domine
Me immundum munda tuo sanguine
Cujus una stilla salvum facere.'

manufacturer who held Catholic, rather than Protestant, beliefs. The stylistic shift from Facy's 'Protestant style' to his vocal writing in the Magnificat is marked. The full extent of this is only appreciated when this Magnificat is compared with his *Short Service*, which survives in the Chirk Castle Part Books: had the manuscript copies not contained attributions to Facy, it would never have been guessed that these two compositions were the work of the same composer.[115]

Facy's *Short Service* carries many of the stylistic hallmarks of music that was composed for English Protestant services during the seventeenth century: conventional harmonies, syllabic treatment of the texts, and an unaccompanied, largely homophonic texture, punctuated occasionally by brief polyphonic passages. It is not unlike the work of his closest contemporary, Orlando Gibbons, whose short service has similar stylistic qualities, although it lacks the sophistication of Gibbons's contrapuntal technique. As the work of a young composer, the apparent simplicity of the work is unsurprising: Facy could not have been more than twenty-two years old when he composed this short service, and had not yet had the time to fully explore the genre. It is likely that this work was one of his first attempts to write an Anglican service, and as such draws heavily on historical precedents, but with a schoolbook-like imitation, which had not yet had the opportunity to develop or mature. Given this fact, it seems even less likely that Facy would have made his foray into an Italian style of writing – which is the most striking feature of his Latin-texted Magnificat – while still at Exeter Cathedral, if only for a lack of suitable stylistic models: neither John Lugge nor Edward Gibbons are known to have composed any Italianate music, making it unlikely that Facy learned the style from either of these composers.

The stylistic affinities of Facy's Magnificat with the *stile nuovo* are quite clear, and the characteristics that Wainwright identified in Richard Dering's few-voice concertato motets seem to fit Facy's Magnificat well: 'imitative sections contrast with homophonic writing; contrapuntal sections are characterized by the interplay of short,

[115] Apart from the significant stylistic differences between these works, Facy's is the only Latin-texted Magnificat by an English composer that is known to survive from the seventeenth century. An unpublished modern edition of Facy's *Short Service* was supplied to the present author on the understanding that it was for private consultation only, and therefore is not reproduced in this thesis. The original copy is preserved in *US-NYp* MS Mus. Res. *MNZ (Chirk).

rhythmic motifs; standard harmonic formulae are used in a tonal framework, with consonance and dissonance being regulated by the regular stresses of a vertically oriented chordal scheme in defined duple or triple metres; changes of metre are used to provide contrast; and the voices are supported by a basso continuo part.'[116] Nonetheless, these stylistic affinities are insufficient, by themselves, to suggest that Facy and Dering received either the same education or were influenced by the same composers. Moreover, although Dering's harmonic language and treatment of dissonance is more developed, Facy's melodic writing shows his indebtedness to an emerging declamatory style which uses repeated notes in a way that suggests the influence of recitative.

Facy's Magnificat is constructed on the principle of alternating textures. Although there are no markings in the vocal parts to indicate where soloists were to sing and where they were to be joined by the chorus, the continuo part is marked 'suaviter' and 'fortiter', presumably indicating that the player was to use a lighter registration (and perhaps also texture) in sections with only a few singers, and a stronger registration where the music was sung by the entire chorus. This technique seems like a natural response to the sixteenth-century Italian *cori spezzati* style, adjusted to suit the means and abilities of institutions of more limited musical resources. Facy's adaptation reflects the trend in later works in the *cori spezzati* genre towards textural contrasts between groups and tutti.[117] Nonetheless, his foray into this style does not align well with the models established by Monteverdi and Grandi: although his melodic gestures are Italianate and demonstrate a move towards the declamatory writing that had been developing since the late sixteenth century, his style lacks both the monumentality that characterised the Roman style in the mid-seventeenth century, and the operatic and instrumental hallmarks of the Northern Italian style in the same period.[118] Instead, Facy eschews superfluous ges-

[116] J. P. Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets', *Music & Letters* 89/2 (2008): 171.

[117] Jerome Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 29.

[118] Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi*, 153.

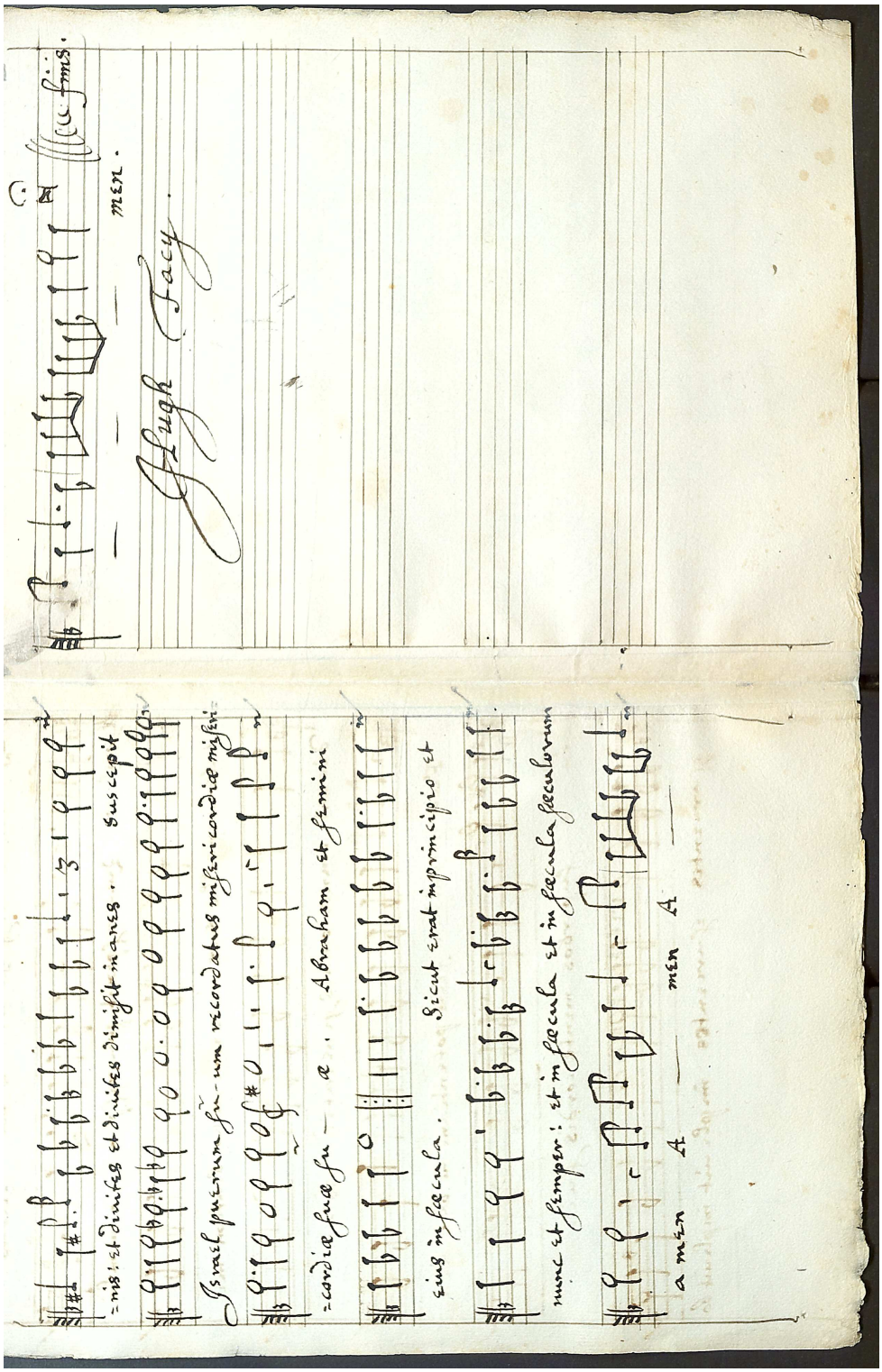

Figure 1.1: *GB-Lcm* MS 1181: The second and third pages of the altus part of Facy's Magnificat.
By kind permission of the Royal College of Music, London.

tures, leaves little space for improvised ornamentation and virtuosic display, and employs a simple continuo part, which does little more than support the voices.

Although it is true that this Magnificat exhibits a number of Italian characteristics, a closer examination reveals Facy's origins as an English musician. The terseness of the text setting, which is almost entirely syllabic, seems to have more in common with English treatments of the Magnificat text than the ornamentation which was integral to the Italian style of canticle and psalm writing by the mid seventeenth century. Polyphonic entries, where they do occur, are usually short and allow the text to be heard clearly. While it is true that clarity of text was also an important characteristic of music by Catholic Counter-Reformation composers,[119] other aspects of Facy's text setting and word painting are more clearly traceable to his English roots: in the Magnificat of his *Short Service*, Facy causes the lower voices to fall by a fifth, and then an octave at the words 'he hath put down' to signify the humbling of the mighty, and then uses a leap of an octave at the same point in the text of his Latin Magnificat, which is sung by the bass soloist. Similarly, 'he hath scattered the proud' which is illustrated by imitative entries in the all four voices of the short service, is divided between the alto and tenor in the Latin Magnificat. Facy's harmonic language does not seem to have changed noticeably between his *Short Service* and Latin-texted Magnificat, suggesting that he did not so much adopt the Italian style as assimilate it within his existing stylistic language: there is none of the adventurous tonality in Facy's work that is seen in the work of Monteverdi, which was to give rise to his famous controversy with Artusi about the nature of expression in music.

Facy's Latin Magnificat can be viewed in two ways: firstly, as the work of an English composer swept up in Continental fashions and therefore attempting to assimilate the seventeenth-century Italian style, and secondly, as a meeting point between English Catholics and the musical fruits of the Counter-Reformation. Given the

[119] The small-scale *concerto ecclesiastico* emerged in the seventeenth century as a vehicle for declaiming texts. See Noel O'Regan, 'The Church Triumphant: Music in the Liturgy', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, Tim Carter and John Butt, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 294.

praise that was heaped upon Facy in the 1645 visitation of the College, if the former is true, then it also seems he was regarded as more than a glorified impressionist. The latter also provides an interesting musical parallel for the ways in which the Douai college negotiated its cultural identity as both an institution of both English Catholicism and the Continental Counter-Reformation. Although Facy's Magnificat cannot be connected with the Douai college on the basis of its provenance, the fact that it seems to have been composed without any instrumental parts in mind (apart from basso continuo) makes it unlikely that it was composed for St Omer, which had a strong tradition of instrumental music by the time that Facy arrived there, and the Rector, Gilles Scondonch, had encouraged the use of wind instruments (such as sackbuts and cornets) in the liturgy, pointing towards musical practices which were more closely aligned with the grandiose styles of Monteverdi and Gabrieli.[120] While some English composers who remained in their homeland also produced works in Italianate styles, their work only seems to have gained wider acceptance after the Restoration: Thompson asserts that 'any composer who wrote liturgical works in the modern style before the Interregnum was swimming against a strong conservative tide';[121] Spink concludes that William Child, one of the more prominent English composers to experiment with the *stile nuovo*, composed most of his 'up to date' works after 1660,[122] and Caldwell suggests that his first Italianate collection of English psalms, published in 1639, had probably only been intended for use in private devotions.[123]

Robert Bowerman

Hugh Facy was not the only musician to work at Douai in the early seventeenth century: whether by co-incidence or design, he was joined in 1632 by Robert Bow-

[120] *GB-CLsta*, MS C.II.19, 29–30.

[121] Robert Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the 'Stile Nuovo' in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library Add. Ms 10338', *Music & Letters* 70 (1989): 318.

[122] Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660–1714*, Oxford Studies in British Church Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 24.

[123] John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, Vol. 1, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 513.

erman, who also came from St Omer (where he had studied humanities for five years). He was admitted to the College free of charge on account of his expertise in singing and viols, which he was to teach the students.[124] If this was where the parallels between Facy and Bowerman ended, then it would simply invite a conclusion about the degree of cultural exchange between the College of St Omer and the College at Douai. The fact that both musicians were sons of Protestant parents in the diocese of Exeter and appear to have fled to St Omer,[125] however, changes matters considerably. Although no evidence of a connection between Bowerman and Exeter Cathedral has come to light, it seems possible that Bowerman, like Facy, was a boy chorister there, at around the same time as Facy. This would certainly account for his proficiency as both a singer and a viol player: Exeter was one of the earliest of the English cathedrals to provide viol tuition for its boy choristers, which began in 1550.[126] If Bowerman had only been at the Cathedral as a boy and left thereafter, this would also explain why his name does not appear in the records: although the adult singers and musicians were usually named in the Cathedral's records, the names of the boy choristers were only mentioned for special reasons, such as misbehaviour. How long Bowerman stayed at Douai, however, is unclear: there is no record of him at the College after his admission, and Anstruther's catalogues of seminary priests do not include his name, indicating that he was probably not ordained to the priesthood. The involvement of two professional musicians in music at Douai during the 1630s, however, suggests that this was a period of growth and development for the College's musical activities.

Style and Identity

While it would be premature and unnecessarily restrictive to speak of a single Continental English Catholic style that developed during the seventeenth century, Facy's music can probably be considered representative of the impacts on English Catholic

[124] Douai Diaries 2, 308.
[125] ibid.
[126] Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at Some English Cathedral Churches, c.1594 – c.1645: Archival Evidence': 3.

music when exiled musicians encountered both Continental fashions and the ideology of the Counter-Reformation. He was not the only English Catholic composer whose encounters with Italian music affected his output: Richard Dering[127] and Peter Philips's compositional styles[128] also changed noticeably after their time in Italy. What is different in Facy's case is that there is no evidence to suggest that he ever visited Italy, nor even that he ventured outside English social circles. This suggests that his first exposure to the Italianate musical styles that he later assimilated probably occurred within the network of English exiles and institutions on the Continent. It is not inconceivable that Facy may have known either Richard Dering or Peter Philips either by reputation or personally, since both were in Brussels for at least some time during Facy's unknown nine years. The appearance of several viol divisions by Facy in *US-NYp* Drexel 3551 suggests that Facy moved in the circle of English Catholic musicians who were employed at Brussels: this manuscript, which Ashbee contends was compiled by English Catholic musician Paul Francis Bridges (appointed bass violist to the Private Musick of Charles II from 1660) contains the works of several English Catholic exile-musicians who had worked in Brussels (Henry Butler and Daniel Norcombe), from where Bridges had come to work in England.[129] It seems most likely that Bridges compiled the manuscript during his time at Brussels, between 1648 and 1652. By this time, Facy was in his twilight years, and the presence of his compositions in this collection suggests that his works were still circulating among English musicians at this time.

No compositions by Bowerman are known to exist. Nonetheless, something of both his and Facy's experiences of viol music after fleeing to the Continent[130] can be understood with reference to other composers who worked at St Omer and whose

[127] See Peter Platt, 'Dering's Life and Training': 46–47, which accounts for the differences in Dering's English and Italian compositional styles in this way

[128] David Smith notes the influence of Byrd in Philips's 1580 Pavan (See David J. Smith, ed., *Peter Philips, Complete Keyboard Music*, xxiii), yet all the infuences on Philips's later vocal works are decidedly Italianate (See John Steele, ed., *Peter Philips, Cantiones sacrae octonis vocibus (1613)*, xxi).S

[129] See Andrew Ashbee, 'The Mystery of Polewheel and His Ground', *The Viola Da Gamba Society Journal* 5 (2011): 7.

[130] For a description of the education in viol music that both Facy and Bowerman probably received at Exeter Cathedral, see Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 216–218.

works have survived. Anthony Poole was admitted to St Omer around 1640, and was educated there in humanities, before travelling to Rome at the age of eighteen, where he studied for the priesthood at the Venerable English College.[131] Del Amo Iribarren concludes that Poole's ostinato-bass works demonstrate his interest in English and Italian traditions, as well as the work of his fellow exiles.[132] Although Poole travelled more widely than St Omer, the stylistic analysis of Poole's works and evidence that del Amo Iribarren presents about the College's musical practices invites the conclusion that St Omer functioned as a melting pot for a variety of different styles and musical approaches.[133] Any English musician passing through this College, therefore, was exposed to all of the latest musical developments on the Continent, and it is likely that Facy and Bowerman's time at St Omer was one of cultural immersion.

Both the importance of St Omer as a hub for exiled composers and the apparent circulation of Facy's works through a network of English exiles puts his compositional technique in a new light: his Italianate style seems to be not so much the product of his individual efforts, but the response of a network of English Catholic exiles to their encounters with the interrelated matters of Italianate compositional styles and the aesthetic ideals of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Viewed in this way, Facy's stylistic development was not necessarily a fruit of direct contact with Continental styles (although the networks of music and musicians at St Omer would also have allowed for this)[134] but rather mediated to him through English networks. By the early seventeenth century, therefore, the English community in exile had already begun to develop its own musical identity as a result of its interactions with Continental Catholicism. This exposes a difference between the stylistic influences on English Catholic and Protestant sacred music during the seventeenth century: Italianate styles (particularly the *seconda pratica*) occupied a marginal position among composers for the Chapel Royal and the other major English Protestant

[131] Anthony Kenny, ed., *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome*. Publications of the Catholic Record Society, Vol. 55 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1962), 500.
[132] del Amo Iribarren, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics,' 266.
[133] ibid, 101.
[134] ibid, 95.

institutions,[135] while having a more prominent role in the institutions of the English Catholic exiles, both at Douai and elsewhere. The extent to which Italianate influences were transmitted through English institutional networks suggests that they had ceased to be treated as foreign, and were now bound up in an English Catholic cultural identity which had strongly aligned itself with the objectives of the Continental Counter-Reformation. In adopting Italianate compositional models, therefore, the institutions demonstrated affinities with the ideologies from which the models had developed.[136]

Facy and the Musical Practices at Douai

As the only composer to have stayed at Douai for any significant period of time whose output is known to have survived, Hugh Facy is an important figure in reconstructing the genres and styles of music that were used at the College. It is likely that he composed a good deal more music during his seventeen-or-so years at Douai than has survived. The extent to which Facy composed music for uses that were already well-established at the College, and the extent to which his works were new developments in the College's musical practices is difficult to determine: it is clear that there had been an organ in the chapel as early as 1607, and that a small group of students sang music during the liturgy, but there are no surviving details about the repertoire for either the choir or the organ. The visitation report from 1645 hints that Facy may have broadened the range of music used at the College, noting that the singing of the Divine Office had been greatly enhanced by his efforts.[137]

The strict use of the cantus firmus in Facy's keyboard setting of the Ave maris stella suggests that it was composed with a liturgical use in mind, and may well have been one of a number of verses that Facy composed for use in the Office in alternation with plainchant. The Ave maris stella is sung at Vespers on Marian feast

[135] For a discussion of the *stile nuovo* in English sacred music, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 340–369.

[136] On the stylistic implications of the Counter-Reformation, see Noel O'Regan, 'The Counter-Reformation and Music', in *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, Mary Laven, Geert H. Janssen and Alex Bamji, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013.), 337–354.

[137] *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi, 28.

days, of which there were a number throughout the liturgical year. This suggests that the organ was used in alternation with the choir during the Office at the College on feast days. Given both the frequency with which this hymn occurs in the Office, and the fact that Facy was employed as the College's full-time musician, it seems likely that organ music was used frequently in the College's liturgical functions. Although no other liturgical organ works by Facy survive, his *Ave maris stella* exhibits a firm grasp of cantus firmus technique, which could have been applied to the many other parts of the Mass and Office where alternation between the choir and organ was permitted.[138] Moreover, the use of alternatim keyboard music during the liturgy would have been consonant with *Propaganda Fide's* expectation that all of the students at the College would learn music, since its use presupposes vocal music with which it would alternate. The presence of a gradual and antiphonal in an inventory of the Chapel which was made during the 1626 visitation seem to confirm that plainchant had been the usual music for the liturgy when Facy arrived at the College. Its central position in the students' education after 1626 can be deduced from Propaganda's decree that no student could be ordained until he had learned to sing the music that was proper to each level of holy orders – which was invariably sung in plainchant.

Although plainchant was probably the main liturgical music at Douai, the case for the survival of smaller ensembles at the College after the 1626 visitation (the report for which lists 'other music books' in its inventory of the Chapel) can still be made strongly. A letter from George Leyburn, President of the Douai college from 1652 to 1670, to the Cardinal Protector of England (which dates from somewhere between 1653 and 1659), states that Mass was sung solemnly on Sundays and feast-days with organ, voices and viols.[139] While viols are not mentioned in connection with Mass any earlier than Leyburn's letter, it seems likely that instrumental music had been used in the liturgy at the College for some time, given that Hugh Facy is

[138] On the history and liturgical use of alternatim organ repertoire, see Edward Higginbottom, 'Organ Music and the Liturgy', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 130–147.

[139] *V-CVbav*, Barberiniani. Lat. 2184, 108v.

known to have composed for viol, and the 1626 visitation report mentions a chest of musical instruments that was kept in the chapel. What kind of music was played on these instruments, however, remains unknown: beyond obvious applications in continuo playing which can be inferred from Facy's Magnificat, there are insufficient sources to make an educated guess about repertoires. Since both of Facy's surviving Catholic liturgical works pertain to the Office, however, Leyburn's letter is useful in confirming that organ and instrumental music (and probably also vocal polyphony) were also used at Mass.

A notable development during Facy's tenure at Douai was the acquisition of a two-manual harpsichord at some stage between 1626 and 1645. Its presence in the chapel is important, because it indicates a shift in musical tastes towards the thinner textures of the Italian Baroque – perhaps along the lines of the motets by Dering and Philips in the Spanish Netherlands or Monteverdi and Alessandro Grandi in Italy that were scored for few voices and continuo accompaniment. Dixon records a shift towards thinner musical textures at the Venerable English College from the mid-1620s under successive Italian *maestri di cappella*,[140] although the widespread use of the style throughout Europe makes it impossible to confirm whether the style shift at Douai was directly influenced by a change in repertoire at the Venerabile. The use of the harpsichord in the Douai chapel as a continuo instrument is almost certain, since the harpsichord never achieved any prominence as a solo liturgical instrument during either the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Whether Facy composed new works that made use of harpsichord continuo, or simply acquired such works from elsewhere must remain a matter for speculation, without any sources surviving from Douai to shed further light on the matter. What is more important than the composer of the repertoire, however, is the evidence that the acquisition of a harpsichord at Douai in the early seventeenth century provides about the development of the College's musical culture, which was by now subject to stylistic influences that were not English in origin.

[140] Dixon, 'Music in the Venerable English College in Rome in the Early Baroque,' 474.

Music at Douai after Facy

That Facy was probably dead by 1649 seems to be confirmed by a note pasted into the *Douai Diaries* among the entries for that year, appointing a number of divines to take responsibility for music at the College:

> First, I desire that you will declare y^{t} it is yo^{r} will and pleasure to have the quire kept up and continued, and to shew the straights wee are in, and more like to be, unless there be a present and speedy course taken to prevent it.
> 2^{d}. That you desire M^{r} Middl: and M^{r} Thurston to excersice and shewe them where to finde the office of y^{e} Church in y^{e} plainsong bookes, and y^{t} they may have the practise thereof while they remaine heere; and for the performance of this office, I judge Collington, R. Tolson, and Willmott (by reason they are alumnes) to be most fitt, and Aug. and Ed: Clifford, if they shall prove to be in the same condition.
> 3^{d}. That the time allotted for musicke, as is sett downe in the rules, may be observ'd, and y^{t} there masters may not detaine them in schooles beyound there time, or imploye them otherwise, wthout you judge it convenient or nessesarie.
> 4. That those w^{ch} are to be of y^{e} quire, come before the last pulse to accommodate there bookes, and finde out y^{e} office w^{ch} is to be sunge at y^{t} time, and that they omitt (at that time) there other perticulare and private bookes of devotion, and joyne wth the congregation in singing y^{e} psalmes, and answering at Mass and Evensong as in all other places they doe.[141]

This note is useful because it indicates that the musical practices which had been mentioned in the 1645 visitation were continued after Facy's death. It also provides details about these musical practices which are absent from the visitation report. Plainchant continued to be taught separately from other types of music, and a regular time was allocated to these classes in the College's timetable. The emphasis on singing at the liturgy instead (rather than praying private devotions during the Mass and Office) is also noteworthy. The Mr Thurston mentioned in the note was probably Thurston Anderton (who used the name Robert Thurston as an alias), who had

[141] Douai Diaries 3, 500.

been ordained in 1646.[142] Anderton was appointed Master of Syntax and Grammar in 1647[143] and General Prefect in 1649.[144] He was evidently a good musician, because he was the only other musician mentioned in the 1645 visitation report apart from Hugh Facy:

> [Robert Thurston]…est musicus et cantat ad officia divina, propterea occupatur mini[m]um ne possit se recolligere in exercitiis spiritualibus, maxime diebus festis ante summum sacrum, que solent convenire ad exercitationem, quod videtur superfluum pro iis qui sunt versati in cantu.[145]

Having worked at the College with Facy, Anderton would have provided a degree of continuity with the work of his predecessor, but he was also a man of his own ideas: in the 1645 visitation of the College, the visitors noted that Anderton seldom participated in the College's spiritual exercises, believing that these were unnecessary for those who were competent in singing sacred music.[146] Facy, in contrast, was commended for conscientiousness in his spiritual exercises. Anderton's remarks are interesting in the context of English Catholic attitudes towards sacred music: they can be construed either as constructing a dichotomy between piety and music, or positioning music as piety *par excellence*. Whether the other staff of the Douai college shared Anderton's opinion is unknown, but it suggests that even in liturgical contexts, music could be used to cultivate piety. Moreover, it highlights some of the motivations for sacred music that existed among English Catholics during the seventeenth century, and provides another means of understanding the styles of individual composers.

The Mr Middleton that is mentioned alongside Anderton was probably Thomas Gradwell,[147] who taught syntax at the College in 1646, and was made Professor of Rhetoric in 1649.[148] Gradwell was a dramatist, and a play that he wrote was

[142] Douai Diaries 3, 455.
[143] Douai Diaries 3, 493.
[144] Douai Diaries 3, 205.
[145] *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi, 28, 114r. Translated as follows:
'[Robert Thurston]…is a musician and sings at the divine offices, and because of that occupies himself as little as possible in spiritual exercises, most of all on feast days (which are usually suitable for rehearsal before the Mass). He sees these as superfluous for those who are versed in singing.'
[146] *V-CVapf*, Visite e Collegi, 28, 112r.
[147] Gradwell used the surname 'Middleton' as an alias. See Anstruther 2, 135.
[148] Douai Diaries 2, 501.

performed at the College in 1646. He took the missionary oath at Douai in 1642, and was ordained in 1646. Like Anderton (who had also taken the oath in 1642),[149] it is likely that Gradwell had been a student of Facy's and probably also received his entire musical education at Douai. Facy emerges, therefore, as a crucial figure in the development of the College's music in the second half of the seventeenth century, as his students became the next generation of teachers at the College.

The final directive in the note seems to indicate that those who 'kept quire' were not necessarily those who sang 'musicke', since they were directed to participate in the singing. Such an order would hardly have been necessary if the liturgical music was entirely dependent upon the 'quire'. In fact, the exact opposite seems true: the 'congregation' – that is, all of the students of the College who were outside the quire – must have sung the psalms. Evidently, these students sang without chant books, which were kept in the quire of the chapel. While it is possible that some of the students owned a copy of the breviary, it is unlikely that any student owned a notated antiphonale. When the students sang the psalms,[150] therefore, even if they had a copy of the breviary at hand, they must have sung the music of the Office from memory. The implications for the English Mission are noteworthy: the priests who returned to work on the English Mission must have at least known the psalm tones and common chants of the missal of the missal off by heart, and perhaps also a substantial part of the psalter. The absence of a notated missal[151] or breviary, therefore, would not have been an impediment to singing the Mass or Office on the English Mission, and suggests the music of the reformed Roman Rite was introduced to England by missionary priests, rather than through the circulation of publications of liturgical music, of which very few examples are known to have existed in English households of this period.

[149] Anstruther 2, 6.

[150] It is clear that the students did not sing all of the canonical hours daily, since a report to Douai from the mid-seventeenth century states that Mass and Vespers were sung on Sundays and feast-days. See p. 72.

[151] See, *Missale Aliquot pro Sacerdotibus Itineratibus in Anglica ex Missali Romano Reformato* (Douai: 1615). This missal, published at Douai for the use of English missionary priests (at a time when the College was clearly using music) contains no notated music of any kind, including for the prefaces of the Mass, where most editions of the *Missale Romanum* were supplied with a notated version of the preface text.

THOMAS BERRY

Thomas Berry is first listed in the *Douai Diaries* in connection with music in 1652, when he took over the duty of training the College's choir. Nine years later, he was listed among the College's staff as the choir prefect. A report to *Propaganda* by the College from around this time titled 'Brevis Informatio de Fundatione e statu Anglo-Duaceno Collegio'[152] states that Mass and Vespers were sung on Sundays and feast-days, using organ, voices and viols. Berry must have received all of his musical training at the Douai college, where he arrived in 1647, at the age of twelve.[153] He was permitted to dine at table with the other members of the College from 1652, on the condition that he served the College's music in any way that might be suitable.[154] As a consequence, it is likely that he also received his early musical training from Hugh Facy and Thurston Anderton. Evidently, he took over the duty of training the choir from Anderton, who returned to England in 1650. Given that he had received all of his musical training at Douai in the context of a seminary education, in which he would have been forced to divide his attention between seminary responsibilities and music practice, he was probably not a musician of the same calibre as Facy. Berry remained at the College until his death in 1684, although his appointment as Prefect of Studies in 1663 ensured that his attention continued to be divided between music and other duties for the rest of his life.[155] It seems unlikely that the change in Berry's title from choir prefect in 1661 to music prefect in 1668 reflects a corresponding shift in his responsibilities: the only other musician who was mentioned in the *Douai Diaries* during this period was John Rootes (discussed below) and he does not appear to have been given any official position at the College in relation to music. It seems, therefore, that the liturgical music was usually the responsibility of a single member of staff, who combined this work with other teaching or administrative duties.

[152] *V-CVapf*, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (SOCG) 373, f. 26^{r}.
[153] Douai Diaries 1, 494.
[154] Douai Diaries 1, 514.
[155] Anstruther 3, 13.

JOHN ROOTES

John Rootes (who also went by the name of John Flood)[156] is first mentioned in connection with music in 1661 when he is described as 'optimus cantor', in the same catalogue of people at the Douai college that identifies Thomas Berry as the choir prefect. Originally from Suffolk, Rootes had arrived at the College in 1648 from Paris,[157] and defended his thesis in logic in 1653.[158] Rootes's age when he entered is not certain, but it is likely that he was around the same age as Berry since he entered the College a year later than his colleague and was ordained with him in 1661. The same year, Rootes was appointed Professor of Rhetoric at the College.[159] Evidently he was still at Douai in 1664, when he was listed among those who were ready for the English mission, and must have left the College for England before 1672, when he was listed as the (Catholic) rural dean of Dorset.[160] Although Rootes was evidently a fine singer, it appears that he had little to do with the direction of music at the College, which seems to have been the responsibility of his contemporary, Thomas Berry.

OBSCURITY OR DECLINE?

Accounting for music at the Douai college after Facy's death is difficult: apart from the references to office-bearers who were responsible for music, there is very little information in the *Diaries* about the College's musical practices after 1650. The last mention of music in connection with a liturgical function at the College during the seventeenth century dates from 1654, when Charles Newport sang his first Mass in the College's chapel.[161] After 1654, the writing style of the *Diaries* changed markedly, and they became little more than a catalogue of the College's members. In spite of this, however, it is clear that music continued to be used at the College

[156] Anstruther 3, 189.
[157] Douai Diaries 3, 507.
[158] Douai Diaries 3, 526.
[159] Douai Diaries 3, 540.
[160] Anstruther 3, 189.
[161] Douai Diaries 3, 529.

during the second half of the seventeenth century: both a letter from Francis Gage (President of the College from 1676–1682) to Cardinal Barberini from 1677,[162] and a 1694 document titled 'Status Collegii Pontificii Duaci' refer to sung Mass and Vespers at the College on Sundays and feast-days.[163] The College's revised constitutions, which were published in 1691, also provided for a musical education which, at a minimum, would have been sufficient for students to be capable of singing plainchant for the College's liturgical functions.[164]

The surviving evidence outside the *Diaries* also indicates that organ and instrumental music continued to be an important part of the College's musical activities in the second half of the seventeenth century. When Charles Dodd visited the College in 1713, he noted that music in the chapel had only been discontinued a few years earlier:

> It [the Chapel] is beautified with a fine Organ; and (as I was inform'd) not many Years ago, they did not want several very able Musicians; but of late, they have very much laid that Study a-side, upon pretence that it call'd the Scholars from applying themselves to things of greater Moment.[165]

The organ that Dodd saw was either a new instrument or a rebuild of the College's previous organ: Edward Dicconson noted the arrival of 'Messrs. de Fontaine the organ makers' at the College to begin 'putting things up' in May 1706.[166] That the College was spending money on its organ in the early eighteenth century indicates that it was being used, and suggests the existence of 'hidden' organists among the College's staff and students after Facy's death, since no organist is named in the *Douai Diaries*. Perhaps Anderton, Middleton, Berry or Rootes played the organ in addition to training the choir. Evidently the decision by Edward Paston, the College's President from 1688 to 1716, to stop the use of 'music' must have come very

[162] *V-CVbav*, MS. Lat. 8623 (CVII, 10), 177v.
[163] *V-CVapf*, Collegi Vari 39, 127v.
[164] *GB-BRda*, C731, p. 6.
[165] Charles Dodd, *The History of the English College at Doway* (1713), 3.
[166] P. R. Harris, *Douai College Documents, 1639–1794*, Catholic Record Society Records Series 63 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1972), 104.

late in his term (since the organ was only attended to in 1706)[167] and probably did not include plainchant, since this would have been needed in order for the College to comply with its 1690 constitutions, which mandated sung Mass on Sundays and feast-days. The absence of polyphonic vocal or instrumental music at the College must have been felt keenly, because Paston's immediate successor, Robert Witham, restored music as one of the first acts of his presidency, when he sang Mass on the feast of St Cecilia 'cum musicis non paucis' on 22 November, 1716.[168] On this basis, it seems reasonable to conclude that polyphonic vocal and instrumental music continued at the College until the end of the seventeenth century.

Interactions & Exchanges: the Douai College and the Local Community

While some of its activities brought the Douai college into contact with both the University of Douai and their parish church, direct evidence of musical interactions with the local community is limited. The parish church of St James seems to have been the most regular setting for interactions (and therefore potential musical exchanges) between the College and town: the *Diaries* record that a number of Englishmen were buried in this church, often in connection with a sung Requiem Mass.[169] These funerals, however, are not described in sufficient detail to determine whether it was the College, local musicians, or some combination of both that supplied the music on these occasions.

Although the College had occasional visitors from the town for events such as staged plays, there is no evidence in the *Diaries* or elsewhere to indicate that it ever had liturgical music that drew crowds in the same way as it did at St Omer[170] and

[167] This Edward Paston was the grandson of Edward Paston (d. 1630) of Norfolk, whose collection of music has attracted so much interest from researchers (see p. 5). See the detailed family tree provided in Catharine Paston, d. 1640, WWTN, Database record BB132, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB132, Accessed 13 July 2013.

[168] Douai Diaries 4, 46.

[169] See, for instance, Douai Diaries 1, 291, 308, 309.

[170] The crowds that attended litanies of Our Lady in the College's chapel on Sunday evenings 'en sort que le plus du temps l'eglise est trop petite.' See Hubert Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst* (London: Burns & Oates, 1962), 83.

the Venerabile.[171] At these colleges, music often served as a means of integrating and obtaining the support of the local community. The English exiles at Douai, however, were already well integrated through their close involvement in the University, and there would have been less of a need to use cultural displays as evidence of affinity with the town: Richard Smyth (1500–1563), a former Fellow of Merton College and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was the University's first Chancellor, and the Professor of Canon Law was Owen Lewis (1532–1594), who had previously been a fellow of New College and Regius Professor of Canon Law at Oxford.

Conclusions

From its foundation until the end of the seventeenth century, the defining characteristic of the musical culture at English College in Douai was its dependence on English musicians: there is not a single foreign name to be found among the musicians in either the *Douai Diaries* or the visitation reports for the College across this entire period. As a popular destination for English Catholic refugees, the College received a large number of visitors during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among these were many musicians, especially between 1580 and 1620. The result of this constant movement of personnel was that the College was not cut off from musical developments either in England or in the communities of English exiles on the Continent. It was in fact the hub of many intersecting networks, and this positioned it to accumulate musical influences from a wide range of sources. What is clear, however, is that the College's exposure to foreign stylistic influences was mediated by English, rather than foreign musicians, unlike the colleges in Rome, Valladolid and Saint-Omer. Hugh Facy's Magnificat is emblematic of this mediation: having

[171] The diary of the Venerable English College makes it clear that music was an attraction for the local population. The following entry dates from September 1587:

'On festivals we are never at a loss for some Bishops and prelates, not to speak of priests from outside who count it a favour to be allowed to take part in our functions. We are so crowded at Mass and Vespers that many are kept out for want of room. They are attracted by the melodious yet grave style of our music, and by the gravity wherewith our students perform the several functions. On St Thomas's Day (the Patron of the English), nearly twenty prelates and six Cardinals were present at Divine service in our chapel.' Foley 6, 114.

come into contact with the aesthetic principles of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, Facy's choral writing was radically transformed from a conservative English Protestant idiom into a reflection of Italianate styles of the period. The extent of the change suggests an ideological basis for his style shift, in which the use of Italianate styles by English Catholic composers indicated a corresponding alignment with the cultural identity of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. This demonstrates that when expedient, both sides of the post-Reformation English confessional divide were capable of appropriating foreign influences for their music.

In spite of being uniquely positioned to accumulate cultural influences, the fortunes of music at the Douai college were mixed: its place in the College's culture and, on a more practical level, its regimen, was subject to the tastes and priorities of the College authorities. The surviving evidence does not even demonstrate a common understanding of what constituted a normal level of musical activity and education in the College among successive presidents, and the spectrum of musical activity from the time of Allen's presidency until the end of the seventeenth century ranged from virtually non-existent to allowing polyphony, keyboard and instrumental music on high feast-days and special occasions. Nonetheless, the musical culture of the Douai College was neither a matter of proprietary decisions nor cultural accumulation: the direction of the College's musical practices was regulated in part by Rome after the establishment of *Propaganda Fide*. The conflict between Douai and *Propaganda* in 1626 about music tuition for students reveals that although music was afforded a place in the College's liturgical functions, the College's authorities were not convinced of its practical value for future priests on the English Mission. Evidently *Propaganda* saw a role for sacred music on the Mission where the English formators did not, and in any event, the Congregation's decision was final: music was to be a mandatory part of the students' formation and integrated into their preparation for ordination. As a result – at least in theory – every priest who was ordained at Douai was able to read music and sing at least the chants of the Mass, and returned to the English Mission with these skills. It is clear therefore, that the seminary priests had the capacity to significantly influence musical developments

in recusant circles and that this influence was at least indirectly shaped by the Roman authorities, whose decisions about musical practices in the English Continental institutions impacted on the musical education that seminarians received.

CHAPTER 2

ST ALBAN'S COLLEGE, VALLADOLID

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

St Alban's College, Valladolid (which was established in 1589, although the Papal bull of foundation was published in 1592), is the oldest and only surviving English college in Spain. The others, which were at Seville and Madrid (founded in 1592 and 1610 respectively), closed in 1767 when they were mistakenly seized by agents of the Spanish Crown, who were executing an order to seize all properties owned by the Society of Jesus and expel its members from Spain. St Alban's is unique among the English institutions on the Continent insofar as it is a royal college, which to this day consults the Spanish Crown in the appointment of its Rector – an arrangement which has persisted since the eighteenth century. The College's ties to the Spanish Crown, however, can be traced back to its beginnings, when Fr Robert Persons obtained Philip II's permission and assistance for its foundation, and subsequently persuaded him to grant the College an annuity.[1]

[1] John Blackfan, *The Blackfan Annals*, Peter E. B. Harris, ed. A.C.S.A. Series 1 (Valladolid: The Royal English College, 2008), 21. For a concise account of the foundation of St Alban's College, see Michael E. Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1986), 7–11.

VALLADOLID: ROYAL CITY, ENGLISH SANCTUARY

At the time that the English College was founded, Valladolid was the third largest city in the kingdom of Spain. It was the capital until 1561, and became the capital again from 1601 to 1606, when Philip III transferred his court there from Madrid. In the sixteenth century, the city had a thriving musical culture, due to both the regular presence there of the Court, and the affluence of its citzens, who had the financial means to purchase instruments and music, and – in the case of the especially well-heeled – to hire musicians.[2] Looming large in this culture was the collegiate (and from 1595, the cathedral) church of Our Lady of the Assumption which, by the seventeenth century, had amassed a large collection of choral music in both printed and manuscript editions. The collection was diverse, containing works and published editions of many different nationalities.[3] In addition to such a cosmopolitan collection of music, the church is known to have owned a small English organ in 1555.[4] Valladolid was also a centre for other religious institutions, including convents, monasteries and confraternities. The Spanish Jesuits, who had such an important role in the administration of the English College, had two institutions in Valladolid: the college of St Ambrose, which functioned as both a Jesuit novitiate and a school for local students, and a house of professed Jesuits, named in honour of St Ignatius.[5] Devotional activities and observances on particular feast-days provided the regular and public means of interaction between these institutions that allowed them to display their identities before each other. Although Valladolid was only the capital of Spain briefly during the seventeenth century, it was still visited by the Court, and one of the most noteworthy aspects of the English College's exis-

[2] A survey of musical culture in sixteenth-century Valladolid can be found in Cristina Diego Pacheco, 'Beyond Church and Court: City Musicians and Music in Renaissance Valladolid', *Early Music* 37/3 (2009): 367–378.

[3] For a thorough description of the Cathedral's collection of printed books, see Soterraña Aguirre Rincón, 'The Formation of an Exceptional Library: Early Printed Music Books at Valladolid Cathedral', *Early Music* 37/3 (2009): 379–399.

[4] Jesus Angel de la Lama, *El Organ En Valladolid Y Su Provincia: Catalogacion y Estudio* (Valladolid: Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Valladolid, 1982), 376.

[5] For histories of all three institutions, see Javier Burrieza Sánchez, *Valladolid, Tierras Y Caminos De Jesuitas: Presencia De La Compañía De Jesús En Al Provincia De Valladolid, 1545–1767* (Valladolid: Diputación Provincial de Valladolid, 2007).

tence there was the way that it was drawn into the public sphere by both religious occasions, and the patronage of the Spanish monarchy. In this respect, it was quite different to the English College at Douai which, although connected to the town through its membership of the University, did not enjoy the same kind of publicity.

The Visits of Philip II and Philip III

In its early years, St Alban's College enjoyed a close relationship with the Court: Philip II visited in 1592, and his son, Philip III (who had accompanied his father on the visit of 1592) followed in 1600. The information about music that is contained in the accounts of these visits is indicative of the College's musical capabilities, when exercised fully. It is clear that the staff and students used these occasions to impress their distinguished guests with displays of piety, eloquence and artistry. The *relacion* of Philip II's visit contains the first known reference to music at the College: a Te Deum was sung to receive the King.[6] At this time, however, music does not seem to have been part of the College's daily schedule: the horarium, which was published in a Spanish pamphlet in 1599 (the writer quoted a copy that was displayed during Philip II's 1592 visit of the College), made no provision for musical activities, such as choir practice.[7]

By the time that Philip III visited the College in August 1600, the students' musical activities had expanded notably: although the students sang the Te Deum for him as they had done for his father, their performance on this occasion must have been especially impressive, because the Duke of Lerma and other noblemen who accompanied the King thought that musicians had been hired for the occasion:

> About fiue a clocke, or a little after, came theire Magesties to the Colledge, & in signe of more confidence and good will, without their accustomed garde, notwithstanding they had diuers companyes both on foote and

[6] *Relacion de un Sacerdote Ingles, Sscrita a Flandes a un Cavallero de su Tierra, Desterrado por ser Catolico: en la qual le ca Cuenta de la Vendia de su Magestad a Valladolid, y al Colegio de los Ingleses, y lo que allo se hizo en su Recebimento. Traduzia de Ingles en Castellano, por Tomas Eclesal Cavallero Ingles*. Tomas Eclesal, trans., (Madrid: 1592), 19r.

[7] See Fray Diego de Yepes (*Historia Particular de la Persecución de Inglaterra* (Madrid: 1599), 753), translated into English and included in Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 235–237.

> horse lodged in the Citie which comonlye wate vpon them when the goe abroade. The studentes expected them in the Church in two rankes, from the doore to the high altar, and the Prouinciall of the Societie being at the same tyme (by chaunce) in the Citie accompanyed with two Priestes of the Colledge, and reuested (as the manner is in such solemne receiuinges) attended theire Magesties at the Church doore, who at theire enterance (hauing receiued holy water and kneeling downe vpon two cushens of cloth of gold which their chaplens had there prouided) adored the Crucifix which the father offered them, with so great reuerence and deuotion, as the English students there present were much moued to see it, who (as diuers of them aftewardes did confesse) reioyced exceedingly to see those two Monarkes of the world prostrate themselves and adore with so great pietie the Image of Our Sauiour, for whose cause and Religion they see them selves in banishment, theire parentes robbed and imprisoned, and many of theire frendes persecuted and afflicted. In the mean tyme others of the students aboue in the quire sang Te Deum laudamus, in theire accustomed Ecclesiastical Musicke which contented so much, as the Duke of Lerma and other noble men that came with the king thought the singers had bene procured frõ abroad, but vnderstanding that it was the ordernarie musike of the Colledge, and onely the students, receiuved double contentment to hear it, & much more when it was told them, that nothing was borrowed that day to receiue the Magesties but onely the hangings…[8]

The students followed up this favourable first impression with another display of musical ability in the College's hall:

> When he [the King] entered the hall, the Musicians in the other room adioyning, deuided onely with a curtain, began to play vpon theire vials and virginals a very graue and pleasant song of eight partes, till theire Magesties and those that came in theire company were set, the schollers stood between the cloth of estate and the musike in there ranks or companies, on the one side stood the Poetes and Rhetoricians: on the other, the Philosophers, and in the middest the Priests & divines…[9]

[8] Antonio Ortiz, *A Relation of the Solemnitie Wherewith the Catholike Princes K. Phillip the III. And Quene Margaret Were Receyued in the Inglish Colledge of Valladolid the 22. Of August. 1600. Written in Spanish by Dom Ant. Ortiz and Translated by Frauncis Riuers and Dedicated to the Right Honorable Lord Chamberlayne.*, Francis Rivers, trans. (Antwerp: A. Conincx, 1601), 38–39.

[9] Ortiz, *A Relation of the Solemnitie...*, 39.

The range of musical training that the students possessed is striking: they were able to sing, and play both the virginals and viols with a high degree of accomplishment. Even if the assertion that this was the 'ordernarie' quality of music performed at the College is viewed with the scepticism that it deserves, the fact remains that the students had the capacity to give high-quality performances of vocal and instrumental music. What seems most surprising when one compares the accounts of Philip III's visit to the earlier visit of Philip II is that this great increase in the musical activity and capacity of the College occurred within the space of eight years. This cannot be accounted for by the transfer of students from the English College of St Omer, because that college was not founded until 1593, and its musical reputation is associated with efforts of its second rector, Fr Giles Schondonch, who was only appointed in 1600.

If the students arrived at the College with any musical training, it seems probable that they received further instruction while they studied there. What is missing from the Rivers translation of Ortiz's original text, however, is an important reference to an English priest who was closely involved in the College's musical activities:

> Inside this door was a music theatre for the College, and to both sides of the door, there were two stands covered in silk, and on each of these was a set of viols given to the College by the Count of Fuen Saldana, and also his own music books. In between [the two stands] was a sweet-sounding clavichord that was given to the College by Don Francisco de Reynoso, Bishop of Cordoba, which an English priest of the same College (a distinguished choir master, of particular diligence and devotion) played with great skill and beauty. For seven years, he taught ecclesiastical music (voice and instruments to the students). Mass and Vespers for the main feast days of the year were sung with great solemnity, and with diligence for the Roman church ceremonies, observing the rubrics.[10]

[10] This translation was kindly supplied by Judith Coffey. The original Spanish text is as follows: 'Dentro desta puerta estaua hecho vn theatro para musica del Colegio, y a los dos lados de la puerta, estauan puestos dos estãtes cubier tos de seda, y en cada vno vn juego de viguelas de arco, que dio al Colegio el Conde de Fuen Saldaña, y sus libros de musica muy escogdia y en el medio vn clauicimbano, que ansi mismo dio al Colegio don Frãcisco de Reynoso Obispo de Cordoua, de bozes muy sonatras y suaves: el qual toca con gran destreza y primor vn sacerdote Ingles de los mismos Colegiales, insigne maestra di capilla, que cõ particular aplicacion y deuocion, siete años ha enseña musica ecclesiastica de canto y instrumẽtos a los estudiantes, para las missas y visperas que las fiestas principales del año cantan con grande solenidad y propriedad de ceremonias de la yglesia Romana,

Although the priest is not identified anywhere in the *relacion* by name, a strong possible candidate is George Smith, who was described in the *Douai Diaries* as 'musices peritus' when he arrived at that college (then at Rheims) on 4 April 1584.[11] He was sent to Rome in 1587, where he was ordained in the Lateran Basilica in 1589. After returning to Rheims, he was sent to Valladolid, where he arrived on 1 November 1594.[12] While the *relacion* specifies that the musician-priest had been at the College for seven years, this may have been a misunderstanding: if the writer had been told that Smith been at the College since 1594, he could easily have assumed that he had arrived at the beginning of that year and calculated seven years from that time. Smith was next recorded at Douai on 14 April 1604, indicating that he was probably at Valladolid for some years after the *relacion* was written. Furthermore, that after his time at Douai, he was sent to St Omer – rather than directly to the English Mission – seems to suggest that his musical reputation preceded him, and that his superiors felt that his abilities could be better employed elsewhere. When he first arrived at Douai, Smith was described in the *Diaries* as 'musices peritus' rather than 'optimus cantor', suggesting that he was proficient in both singing and instrumental music, and raises the possibility that he was a professional musician. His admission to St Alban's came too late, however, to be connected with some music books that Richard Verstegan had sent nearly a year earlier.[13] These books were probably sent to Valladolid after the arrival of William Davis, who was at St Alban's College from 1593 to 1595. Although there is no written evidence to suggest that Davis directed the music at St Alban's College, his appointment as music master at the Venerable English College in Rome in 1601[14] indicates that he was capable of directing musical activities.

conforme a su instituto.' Antonio Ortiz, *Recibimiento que se hizo en Valladolid a vna Imagen de nuestra Señora* (Madrid: Andres Sanchez, 1600), 10v.

[11] Douai Diaries 1, 201.

[12] Anstruther 1, 320.

[13] Anthony G. Petti, ed., *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan*, Catholic Record Society Records Series 73 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1959), 187.

[14] Martin Murphy, *St Gregory's College, Seville, 1592–1767*, Catholic Record Society Records Series 73 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1992), 23.

La Vulnerata

Central to both the College's interactions with Valladolid and the formation of its identity was a statue of the Virgin Mary, known as *La Vulnerata*. Its enshrinement in the College chapel in 1600 was a high civic occasion, attended by all the important local dignitaries and authorities, as well as the Queen herself. Philip III, who would have accompanied his wife, was away from Valladolid when the statue arrived.[15] As a *relacion* of the event demonstrates, devotion to *La Vulnerata* was accompanied by music from the time that the statue first arrived at the College. Understood in the context of the statue's history and the circumstances under which it was brought to the College, these musical practices acquire greater meaning and importance.

On 30 June 1596, English and Dutch forces under the command of the Earl of Essex attacked the Spanish port of Cadiz, in what was to be one of the most devastating campaigns of the Anglo-Spanish War. Finding the Spanish forces unprepared, they quickly took possession of the city, and then dedicated themselves to sacking it. During the sacking, troops entered a church, and seizing a statue of the Virgin and Child, dragged it into the street and took to it with sabres.[16] This is how the statue now at the English College came to be called *La Vulnerata* or 'the wounded one'. The now defaced statue – missing both of the Virgin's arms, with slashes across her face (which had removed part of her lips and mouth), and only a pair of small feet on her lap to indicate the Christ child's original presence – became an object of devotion, and the Conde de Santa Gadea transferred the statue to Madrid, where he gave it an honoured place in his private oratory. In 1600, the procurator of St Alban's College, Fr John Blackfan, visited Madrid, where he learned of the statue's existence.[17] He approached the Conde and his wife, intending to acquire the statue for the College

[15] Peter E. B. Harris, Berta Cano Echevarria and Anna Saez Hidalgo, eds., *The Fruits of Exile*, 642.

[16] For a full discussion of the history of the statue, see Javier Burrieza Sánchez, *Virgen de los Ingleses, entre Cádiz y Valladolid: Una Devoción desde las Guerras de Religión* (Valladolid: Real Colegio de Ingleses, 2008).

[17] Fr John Blackfan (1561–1641) was the Rector of St Alban's College, Valladolid from c.1615 (after the death of Fr Anthony Hoskins on 10 September of that year) until November 1617. He wrote a history of the College – usually called the *Blackfan Annals* – which records the College's foundation and progress until 1616. See Blackfan, *The Blackfan Annals*. For a full listing of Blackfan's known movements and his offices at the College, see McCoog 1, 121.

but the couple was reluctant to part with it. After receiving a petition from the English students, who asked for it to be brought to the College so that they could make reparation for the offences committed against it by their countrymen, Philip III ordered that the statue be handed over to the College. On the 8th of September of the same year, amid much pomp and ceremony, the statue was installed in the College chapel, in the presence of the important local dignitaries and the Queen.[18]

The two surviving texts that describe this important occasion (the 1600 *relacion*, and the Vulnerata Manuscript[19] – which is a translation of the *relacion* with some alterations) make reference to student involvement in the music that accompanied the reception of *La Vulnerata* at the College. From the Vulnerata Manuscript, it is clear that the students were involved in both vocal and instrumental music when the statue arrived at the College's chapel:

> When the oration was ended, the image was brought into her new temple and place of aboade accompanied by the prebenders of the cathedrall church, and some other principall persons which came into the procession. Her maiestie had placed the lords and noble men of her trayne on the one syde of the church, and on the other Ladyes of honour, and her self kneeling foremost in person receiued the holy image... and after this entertaynment shee followed it in procession to the midst of the chauncell where it was place vpon the altar there prouided, and dressed with rich ornaments of cloath of gould... When the tabernacle was sett vpon this altar, the quiristers of the cathedrall church that came with the image, sung a Salue, and after the English students in the quire aboue with instruments and voyces gaue a iouyfull wellcome to there loonge desyred guest...[20]
>
> The image remayned for the space of 9. dayes following vpon the same altar (in the middest of the chauncell where first it was placed) in which time were sung nine masses of the nine feasts of our Blessed Lady with musike and all solemnitie possible...[21]
>
> During the whole time of this nouenario there was every evening a Salue

[18] For a full account, see *Recibimiento Que Se Hizo En Valladolid a Vna Imagen De Nuestra Senora*, Tomas Eclesal, trans. (Madrid: 1600) and *I-Rvec*, L 1422.

[19] The text of this manuscript is reproduced in Harris, Echevarria and Hidalgo, eds., *The Fruits of Exile*, 637–662.

[20] *I-Rvec*, L 1422, f. 60r.

[21] *I-Rvec*, L 1422, f. 61v.

Figure 2.1: *La Vulnerata*.
By kind permission of the Rector of the Royal English College, Valladolid

> and other Anthems of our blessed Lady with musicke and all solemnitie possible…[22]

The involvement of the English students in the music for the installation of the statue seems to confirm the observations made about their musical abilities on the occasion of the King's visit, a few months earlier: at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the students were skilled enough as singers and instrumentalists for the College authorities to feel confident about putting them on public display, instead of hiring external musicians. What is also clear from the account is that the students were not the only musicians present that day. The choir from Valladolid Cathedral joined the students on the day of installation and possibly on the eight days of solemn liturgical celebrations that followed it. They must have volunteered their services, because there are no payments to musicians recorded in the College's *Libros de Gastos* around this time.[23] That the Cathedral choir was involved is indicative of not only the importance of the event but also of the potential for external musical influences upon the College. Clearly, the College's forays into the public sphere were not one-sided displays, but also opportunities for the exchanges of musical ideas.

In Private as well as in Public: Archival Evidence of Music at St Alban's College

Had the only sources pertaining to music at the College been the *relaciones*, there would have been insufficient evidence to conclude that music at St Alban's was more than a passing interest, and that music-making by students was only encouraged on special occasions with a public aspect. Sources from within the College, however, indicate that music was used regularly and was an integral part of the College's liturgical and devotional observances. As a result of details provided in these 'internal' sources, it is possible to reconstruct the actual musical practices of

[22] *I-Rvec*, L 1422, f. 64v.

[23] The *Libros de Gastos* (literally 'Books of Expenses') record the College's expenditures. There is a complete set of *Libros de Gastos* in the College archives dating from 1598 to the present day.

the College, instead using the aggregated backgrounds of the College's staff and students to estimate its musical capacity. The most important of these sources are examined below.

CONSTITUTIONS

The constitutions of St Alban's College, which date from 1600, were later adopted without alteration by the English colleges at Seville and Madrid. Although these constitutions provided for sung Mass and Vespers at the College on feast-days,[24] similar provisions can be found in the constitutions of the Douai,[25] Rome[26] and Lisbon colleges.[27] The vast differences in the musical practices of the Venerable English College and the Douai college, however, demonstrate how much variation was possible between institutions that were following their constitutions to the letter: after several years of polyphony, music at the Venerabile was probably restricted to plainchant for some twenty years (apart from the College's two main festivals – the feasts of the Most Blessed Trinity and Saint Thomas of Canterbury – for which external musicians were hired),[28] when Fr Robert Persons advised Fr Paul Hoffaeus (Assistant General of the German Provinces of the Society, which at the time included England) to discontinue its use in 1587 for reasons of expense and inconvenience;[29] at Douai, the ongoing dispute between the President of the College and *Propaganda Fide* about whether all of the students should be taught to sing for the liturgy[30] demonstrates that without any external intervention, a seminary could place sacred music at the margins of institutional life, yet still meet its obligations to sing Mass on certain occasions. Finally, constitutions can only be considered to be a very

[24] See Chapter 3, No. 4, reproduced in Henson, 255.

[25] See the discussion of Douai's constitutions in the preceding chapter under the heading 'Customs and Law', p. 34.

[26] See the provisions for sung Mass and Vespers on feast-days in the 1579 Constitutions, printed in Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth* (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1916), 482.

[27] *GB-DRucl*, Constitutions, 15v.

[28] This is mentioned in the 1596 report on the College produced by Cardinal Sega in the section titled 'The Temporal Administration of the College'. The report is reproduced in Foley 6, 65.

[29] *I-Rarsi*, Germ., 167, f. 224.

[30] For a description of this dispute, see the preceding chapter under the heading 'Seminary or Missionary College? Music as Flashpoint', p. 45.

general framework of the activities in a seminary, the practical implementation of which was largely determined by the development of institutional customs (subject to revision by ecclesiastical superiors). The Valladolid college's *Diarios de los Costumbres* (literally 'diaries of customs'), which are a rare survival among the English Continental colleges, therefore, provide great insights in this regard. The *Diarios* are detailed record of all the College's customs at given points in time (or of directions for changes following a visitation), and during the seventeenth century, they were recorded in 1600, 1663, 1664, 1676, 1693 and 1699.

DIARIOS DE LOS COSTUMBRES

The *Diarios de los Costumbres* are the most detailed source of information about musical practices at St Alban's College during the seventeenth century. The customs recorded in 1600 are especially detailed, not only because it was the first time in the history of the College that all its customs were recorded, but also because this was the year that the statue of *La Vulnerata* was brought to the College, and when regular, public devotions in honour of the statue were instituted. It is in the context of these devotions that much of the College's musical activity took place, and the directions for the kinds of music to be used during the ceremonies are very thorough.[31]

Music and the Vulnerata Devotions

The College held devotions in honour of *La Vulnerata* every Saturday, for which the statue was unveiled and exposed to public view. In the morning, a votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary was sung in the College chapel, and in the late afternoon, a 'Salve' was sung.

In the section of the 1600 customs titled 'The times and manner in which the statue of our Lady Saint Mary Vulnerata is to be exposed to view', we find the following details about musical practices:

[31] Mgr Edwin Henson transcribed and translated most of the contents of the *Diarios* into English between 1942 and 1947. In all subsequent quotations of the *Diarios*, it is his transcription (*E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9), rather than the original manuscript (*E-Vsaa*, L 16) which is referenced.

> At High Masses, after the offertory and before the incensation, the priest unveils the statue and at the same time a motet is sung in the choir, and after the communion, before the last prayers, the same priest covers up the statue.[32] At Vespers, the priest who assists in choir with the acolytes and thurifers of the High Mass of that day, vested in cope proceeds from the sacristy at the Magnificat to the high altar and unveils the statue… He then goes to the lectern to sing the prayer, and remains there until the end of the Salve… and after the prayer has been sung he goes with the acolytes to the altar and veils the statue.[33] At the Antiphons and Salve… the priest… goes to the high altar, and first an instrumental voluntary without singers is played; then comes a sung motet during which the priest unveils the statue, and if the motet was the antiphon of a Saint he sings the prayer of that Saint and then makes a commemoration of our Lady by singing the prayer of her antiphon.. and after the prayer he veils the statue. On feasts of the first class, a third instrumental voluntary is played.[34] On Saturday the Salve Regina will be sung, but before this a hymn will be played on the organ with or without sung words…[35]

The *Diarios de los Costumbres* include further details about music in other passages, specifying not only when, but also what kind of music was to be performed. This reveals the existence of a very rich and varied musical repertoire at the College. In the section titled 'The order to be observed in singing Masses of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Saturdays', we find the following:

> The introit in Gregorian chant: the Kyrie alternating with Gregorian chant: the Gloria with organ. After the epistle (which is sung in the choir) the organ will be played, and the Alleluia will be sung in Gregorian chant. At the elevation some motet referring to the Blessed Virgin, which will last until the communion. After the communion Gregorian chant. Ite, Missa est, with the organ.[36]

Clearly, the *Vulnerata* devotions were the most regular occasion on which music was used, and this reflects the importance of these devotions in the culture of the College during the early seventeenth century. Nonetheless, music also took place

[32] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 18.
[33] *E-Vsaa*, ibid.
[34] ibid.
[35] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 20.
[36] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 16.

in liturgical contexts outside the *Vulnerata* devotions, and some discussion of the instructions in the *Diarios de los Costumbres* on this point seems necessary.

Liturgical Music at St Alban's College

The *Diarios* contain a liturgical calendar, which lists all the feast-days on which there was to be music. The three principal liturgical functions specified in the calendar are Mass, Vespers and 'Antiphons' (Matins, which are prescribed for Christmas, and Tenebrae for Holy Week, are isolated examples of liturgical functions outside these categories). The feast days are grouped according to class, and as with the *Vulnerata* devotions, music was varied according to the solemnity of the feast. Although there were some months during which only one or two such feasts occurred, on average, the College had three such feast-days each month, in addition to celebrating the moveable feasts of Holy Week, Easter Sunday, Low Sunday, the Ascension, Pentecost and Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi.

Apart from those feasts pertaining directly to the significant events in the life of Christ (that is, the Nativity, Holy Week, Ascension and Pentecost) and the obvious English martyr-saints (Sts Alban and Thomas of Canterbury), for the most part, the College seems to have solemnised feasts of the Apostles and the Virgin Mary. Given that the veneration of English priests who had been martyred on the Mission had not yet been fully approved by Rome (since they had not yet been canonised)[37] the College needed to provide its students with other models for emulation. The Apostles, recognised by the Catholic Church as both great missionaries and martyrs, would have been fitting models for students who were preparing for a life of missionary activity that had the potential to end abruptly in martyrdom, and the College may have chosen to solemnise their feast days on this basis. The attention given to feasts

[37] The College's collection of martyr paintings trod a fine line between honour and saintly veneration: although a 1763 investigation into whether portaits of alumni holding palms and being crowned by angels ultimately found that they did not contravene Urban VIII's rulings about depictions of individuals who had not been canonised, they were evidently still a source of controversy – See Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 260. See also p. 50 for a discussion of the veneration of non-canonised martyrs, and Gregory XIII's *viva voce* concessions to the English College in Rome, which allowed paintings of English martyrs who had not yet been canonised to be displayed in the College's chapel.

of the Virgin Mary served to further highlight the place of the *Vulnerata* statue in the College's liturgical life, and can therefore be connected directly to the weekly *Vulnerata* devotions: observing other feasts of the Virgin Mary supplied further occasions on which the *Vulnerata* statue could be venerated. It also seems noteworthy that feasts with a high degree of solemnity were connected with the *Vulnerata* statue insofar as the statue was also to be unveiled on these feast days.[38] In this way, solemnity, with its attendant music, could be used to concentrate attention on the statue.

The instructions for music outside the *Vulnerata* devotions reveal that the styles of music that were used varied with liturgical solemnity. The *Diarios* specify the types of music to be used in the Antiphons, Solemn Mass and Vespers according to the class of each feast. In the case of the Antiphons, these instructions are particularly useful because they help to clarify the nature of the Antiphon ceremony at the College:

> On feasts of second class there will be two motets: the first with musical instruments, the second with voices, and afterwards will be sung the appropriate prayer. But in feasts of the first class, after the prayer will be sung a motet accompanied by instruments. On Saturday the Salve Regina will be sung, but before this a hymn will be played on the organ with or without words, and after the Salve the appropriate prayer will be sung.

From what is written, it is clear that the 'Antiphon' was a devotional ceremony, at which motets were sung and prayers said. Clearly, it was not specifically Marian in character, since the *Diarios* discuss prayers and motets to saints, as well as the Virgin Mary.[39] Although this kind of ceremony was widespread on the Continent,[40] it

[38] Among the occasions on which the statue was to be unveiled, we find the following: 'On Christmas Day, Easter and Whit Sundays, the nine feasts of Our Lady, the feasts of Apostles and Evangelists and others marked on the College list as feasts with Mass, vespers and antiphon…' *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 16.

[39] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 18.

[40] The ceremony seems to have gone by many different names, depending on the locale. At the English Augustinian Monstery in Bruges, for instance, it was called the 'Salve' – see p. 216. Thurston contends that this pious ceremony, usually connected in some way with an extra-liturgical devotion to the Virgin Mary, was one of the precursors of Benediction. See Herbert Thurston, 'Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Charles George Herbermann, Edward Aloysius

could not have been wholly foreign to English Catholics either, whose experiences of sacred music in devotional contexts must have greatly outnumbered their experiences of liturgical music,[41] a regular sung Mass and Divine Office being the privilege of a handful of isolated and suitably protected Catholic families.

The instructions in the *Diarios* for music at Solemn Mass are puzzling, since they refer only to motets:

> If it be a feast of the second class, there will be two motets, one at the offertory, the other at the elevation of the Host. But if it be a feast of the first class, there will be another motet after the Agnus Dei, and these should correspond with the antiphons sung at that feast.

The singing of motets at the silent points of the Low Mass does not turn it into a Solemn Mass, which by definition is almost entirely sung.[42] The calendar in the *Diarios*, however, provides some clarification: the feast of Saint Gregory is listed as a Low Mass with music, unless it should fall on a Sunday. It is the only Mass in the calendar to carry this qualification, indicating that a Low Mass with musical interpolations was the exception, rather than the norm. Presumably, the prescription that the motets should correspond with the 'antiphons' refers to the motets used in the Antiphon ceremony (on the same day), rather than textual correspondence with the antiphons of the Divine Office: although a number of composers did write motets on the texts of antiphons from the Office, they used texts from other sources more often. The two surviving books of motets from the College contain texts from a variety of sources,[43] suggesting that the criterion for motets to be used in the chapel

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Pace and Thomas Joseph Shahan, eds., Vol. 2, 15 vols. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), 465–466.

[41] See, for instance, the use of motets in recusant households for devotional purposes in Owen Rees, 'Luisa De Carvajal y Mendoza and Music in an English Catholic House in 1605', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, Emma Hornby and David Maw, eds. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 270–80.

[42] The distinction is made clear in the section of the post-Tridentine *Missale romanum* that is titled 'Ritus servandus in celebratione missæ', which gives the ceremonial for both Read and Solemn Mass (ie. *Missa lecta* and *Missa solemnis*), and specifies what parts of the Mass the priest is to sing for Solemn Mass.

[43] The two surviving books are Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* (Madrid, 1602) and a copy of Lassus's *Sacrae cantiones*, which is missing its cover page (and therefore all of its publication details). The former contains six masses and seven motets. The latter is made up entirely of motets. For a further description of the College's copy of the *Sacrae cantiones* and a discussion of its possible provenance, see p. 106. For a description of its contents, see the introduction to James Erb, ed., *Orlando Di*

was that they should be appropriate for a feast-day in a general way, and did not need to slavishly adhere to the texts of the breviary.

In contrast to the prescriptions for Mass, the description in the *Diarios* of the kinds of music to be used at Vespers is very detailed:

> In feasts of the first class
> The first psalm is sung with instruments, the second, in falsobordone, the third, alternating with organ and singing in falsobordone, in the fourth, one voice will sing one verse with the organ and the next will be sung by the choir in Gregorian chant, the fifth will be accompanied by instruments. In the hymn the choir will alternate with the organ, and the Magnificat will be sung with instruments; and this will also be observed on the feasts of S. Alban and S. Thomas of Canterbury. For musical reasons, however, this order may be varied sometimes, so long as the proportion of instrument [sic] and voices is preserved as has been said.
> In feasts of the second class.
> One psalm will be with instruments, another with the organ and one voice, the rest, without musical accompaniment, in Gregorian chant. The Magnificat with instruments. The Salve or antiphon with harmonised voices.[44]

That so much attention is devoted to music at Vespers, and so little to music at Mass is puzzling. While all of the important parts of Vespers are accounted for, there is no information about how the important parts of the Mass, including the ordinary, were to be performed. It may simply have been the case that the College customarily used the same musical forms for Solemn Mass throughout the year as it did for the feast days of *La Vulnerata*, and looked to the prescriptions of that section of the *Diarios* for guidance, as required. This seems highly likely, given that the musical prescriptions in the *Diarios* pertaining to *La Vulnerata* were intended to operate in conjunction with the prescriptions for feast-days in general: the musical instructions for the Saturday Salve, which strictly speaking was part of the *Vulnerata* devotions, are treated under the more general heading of 'In the antiphons.' Even when prescriptions for music in the *Vulnerata* devotions and other feast-days are

Lasso: The Complete Motets II, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 133 (Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2002).

[44] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 20.

read in conjunction with each other, however, there is still insufficient information to completely reconstruct a Solemn Mass at the College in the proper sense of the term: the Masses of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Saturdays were a curious solemn-low hybrid, in which the celebrant was instructed to intone the Gloria and sing the Dominus vobiscum, prayers, Gospel and *Ite, missa est*, but to say the rest of the Mass texts in a low voice, as at Low Mass.[45] Unless the use of the term 'prayers' is all-encompassing, this would have meant that the celebrant did not sing the dialogue before the Preface, the Preface itself, Pater noster, or the 'Pax domini sit semper vobiscum'. A said Preface, from a liturgical standpoint, implies a said Sanctus, because the Sanctus is the conclusion to the Preface.[46] Given the level of detail in the first half of the instructions about the singing of the Kyrie and Gloria, the absence of any mention of a sung Sanctus seems to suggest just this. Similarly, the absence of any mention of a sung Agnus Dei indicates that it was merely said by the celebrant. Nonetheless, the Saturday Masses are not described as 'Solemn', so it may the case that the Solemn Masses in the College, properly speaking, were an expanded version of the Saturday form, supplying all the necessary parts for a true Solemn Mass. It seems unlikely that the term 'Solemn' is used here in a form that is not intended in Catholic ceremonial, given that the *Diarios* also make provision for the training of clergy in the proper way of conducting the liturgical ceremonies.[47]

[45] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 21.

[46] The Sanctus is the conclusion to the Preface because the text of every Preface invariably ends with a formulation such as that for the Preface of Trinity Sunday: 'Quam laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Cherubim quoque ac Seraphim: qui non cessant clamare quotidie, una voce dicentes: [Sanctus].'

[47] 'The Father confessor instructs the students how to serve low Mass and sung Mass, and the ministers how to treat the priests in the sacristy with neatness and courtesy. For this purpose he should call the community together in a hall taking there the vestments and everything else necessary.

And this could be done in the afternoons of feast days when there are neither disputations nor vespers, and it would be appropriate to do so more frequently when new students arrive at this College, and in all things let there be uniformity.

It would also be appropriate that in the same way, in the oratory, the priests and deacons should practise the ceremonies of said and sung Mass, and that all those who are masters of ceremonies be present.' *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 65–66.

Development and Maintenance of Customs

Because the College's customs were never recorded again in their entirety after 1600, it is difficult to determine the extent to which student musical activity continued throughout the seventeenth century. Clearly, some of the customs that were not re-recorded must have persisted for the sake of practicality. The rules about when shoes and clothing were to be replaced, for instance, were not re-recorded, but it seems safe to assume that they were maintained.[48] It must also be kept in mind that the term 'custom' has a particular meaning in Catholic moral theology and canon law: a custom is a form of law that is derived from a long-established usage.[49] Customs are assumed to persist unless they are specifically abrogated. There are a few examples of abrogation in the *Diarios de los Costumbres*, but where it does occur, the custom to be abrogated is described in some detail (although not necessarily having been noted in the *Diarios* at any time prior to this), the instruction that it is no longer to occur follows, and then the new custom, which is to replace it, is detailed.[50]

Financial Records

Although the College's *Diarios de los Costumbres* are useful, they do not provide a complete picture of musical activities at St Alban's College. The extent to which musicians who were not members of the College were employed for its liturgical ceremonies – and by extension, the degree to which St Alban's was exposed to local musical trends – remains unclear. Whether the choirmasters, for instance, were to be staff, students or hired from outside the College, for instance, is difficult to determine: the *Diarios* describe the choirmaster's duties under the heading 'As regards

[48] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 95.

[49] For a discussion of the nature of the law of custom, see William Fanning, 'Custom (in Canon Law)', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4. Charles George Herbermann et al, eds. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), 576–577.

[50] In the customs of 1663–1664, for instance, a 1693 annotation re-establishes the custom (noted in the 1663–1664 customs) of inviting only six fathers from the Jesuit Professed House (St Ignatius) and the Jesuit College (St Ambrose) in Valladolid for the feasts of St Alban and the Immaculate Conception, after noting that the 1663 custom had been changed in subsequent years so that everybody from the two houses was invited. See *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 130.

domestic discipline' alongside the roles given to the College's domestic servants, rather than in the section titled 'As regards the church', in which the office-bearers were members of the College.[51]

It seems most likely that the role was not held consistently by either members of the College or external employees, and varied depending on the College's needs, abilities and financial capacity at different stages during the seventeenth century. As a rich record of the College's financial transactions, the *Libros de Gastos* are very useful in determining the kinds of musical goods and services that the College imported from the outside world. Although they do not answer questions about the extent to which external choirmasters were employed by the College comprehensively, the *Libros de Gastos* do provide some useful contextual information from which reasonable inferences can be made.

Types of Payments

The two most common types of payments by the College during the seventeenth century are to the organist ('organista') and to singers ('cantores'). The first payment to an organist occurred in 1603, and payments were made with some degree of regularity from 1608, when the College also began to hire singers for some of the important feast-days, including Corpus Christi and the feast of St Alban. The organist's duties – beyond acting as either an accompanist for the choir, or a soloist for appropriate moments in the liturgy – are difficult to determine because the entries in the accounts are vague: although several entries from 1614 indicate that the organist taught the students, whether he taught these students to play the organ or to sing in the choir is uncertain; both would have been normal duties for an organist employed by an ecclesiastical institution during the seventeenth century. The name of only one organist is recorded in the College's accounts: Luis Fejas. His name appears in the College's accounts between 1627 and 1632,[52] although it is possible that he was employed before and after these dates, since the names of the College's paid

[51] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 60.
[52] See for instance the entry in June 1632, *E-Vsaa*, Libros de Gastos 2.

musicians were not recorded in the accounts habitually. Thus far, Fejas has proven elusive: his name does not appear among the many musicians that López-Calo documented in his monumental work on the music collections and musicians of Valladolid Cathedral,[53] nor does his name occur in the surviving records of the parish church of Saint John, located immediately behind St Alban's College. It seems likely that the College always employed Spanish organists, as there is no evidence that any English musicians lived or worked in Valladolid during the seventeenth century. A similar arrangement to that which Petti has suggested might have occurred at the Venerabile, in which Cardinal Farnese, who employed English organist Peter Philips, might have sent his musician to the College on 'loan', is unlikely.[54]

Frustratingly, the name or number of singers hired on each occasion is never specified, although the *Diarios* do mention that singers from the Cathedral were hired for particular feast days.[55] It must also be noted that payments were not regular throughout the seventeenth century: from 1600 to 1603, no musicians were paid; after 1603 until 1620, the most common payments were to the organist (paid once in 1603 and after that not again until 1608, when payments became quite regular), who 'taught' the students, and to singers, who usually sang on the feasts of St Alban in June and St Thomas of Canterbury in December. After 1620, the College appears to have become much more reliant upon paid singers: perhaps the humiliating memory of the College's abortive attempt to stage a play in 1615 was still fresh in the Rector's memory when the College hired singers for the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1623.[56] Because the number of singers hired is rarely specified in the College's accounts and the vocal parts that they sang are never mentioned, their role within the College in the early part of the seventeenth century is not entirely clear. Nonethe-

[53] José López-Calo, *La Música En La Catedral De Valladolid*. Vol. 7–8, 8 vols. (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento De Valladolid, 2007).

[54] A. G. Petti, 'Peter Philips, Composer and Organist 1561–1648', *Biographical Studies* 4 (1957): 49. Petti's theory is plausible in light of the other interactions between the Farnese palace and the nearby English College. The students, for instance, were permitted to borrow swords from the Farnese palace as props for a play in 1634. See Gossett, 'Drama in the English College, Rome, 1591–1660': 85.

[55] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 138.

[56] See *E-Vsaa*, Libros de Gastos 2, f. 119v. In 1615, the students staged a play for Philip III when he visited Valladolid. Their poor performance of the play (which they did not rehearse adequately) is said to have diminished the favourable opinion that had once been held about the College. On this event, see Harris, Echevarria and Hidalgo, eds., *The Fruits of Exile*, xxxvii.

less, the surviving edition of Lassus's *Sacrae cantiones* suggests that the College hired soprani and alti on at least some occasions, given the total range of some pieces in this collection. While it is of course true that the upper parts could have been sung by falsettists, it would have been rather strange if the College hired men to sing the lower voices of the motet, given that it was an institution for adult males, where tenors and basses could hardly have been in short supply. In the years immediately following 1600, hired singers were probably used to supplement rather than substitute for the College's own musical forces, and then only on major feast-days. That the College only hired a singer twice in January 1611, and then not again until 1613, seems to support this theory: 1611 was the year that the College was plagued with illness, in which a number of students died, and the rest 'were left broken-spirited and with no taste for either discipline or study.'[57]

For the decade from 1626, it appears that the College paid singers to sing at the Saturday Mass of Our Lady more-or-less every week, except in July and August, when the students were probably at Portillo.[58] This practice was resumed in December 1641, and continued until 1662, when payments became sporadic.[59] The role of singers at the College seems to have changed at some point during the seventeenth century from supporting the students' voices to completely replacing them, since the *Diarios* record the abrogration in 1664 of the custom whereby the Cathedral Choir would sing the weekly Lady Mass:

> [T]here is every Saturday a Mass in honour of our Lady sung by the cathedral choir; the organist and four singers come. By agreement each one is given two reales, and after Mass they sing the Litany of our Lady, and the community comes down to the church to hear it.
> Likewise, in the afternoon of each of the nine Feasts of our Lady the whole cathedral choir sings a Salve and the Litany, and receives two ducats in payment. Such has been the custom up to the present, the Masses being offered for whomsoever gave the stipend, as in the case of Don Antonio de Contreras and Doña Maria de Amezquita his wife:

[57] Henson, xxii.
[58] Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 53.
[59] Although the College does not appear to have hired singers for the weekly Masses in honour of *La Vulnerata* after 1662, payments to singers did not completely cease, and the College continued to hire singers for the major feast-days and parts of Holy Week.

> and in future the same should be done with regard to those who give the stipends for or make foundations of [sic] the Masses. Meanwhile, until such foundations are made or persons come forward to give the stipends for them, let unsung Masses be said, and let the community say the Litany on Saturdays after Mass, which is as much as the Seminary can do on its part to honour the most Blessed Virgin until funds or alms are forthcoming for music and greater solemnity.[60]

By this time, it seems clear that the students' musical involvement in liturgical music had been minimised: the students did not even attend the Mass, coming only for the singing of the Litany (which must have been added at some point between 1600 and 1664, since it is not mentioned among the 1600 customs). The exact year in which the College entirely delegated the performance of polyphonic music to external musicians, however, is difficult to determine: until 1657, when student numbers declined to seven, the College almost invariably had students numbering in double digits. Although the numbers are not known for every year, they are recorded with some degree of regularity.[61] It is possible that the Cathedral Choir only took over the singing of the Saturday Masses when student numbers declined significantly, and they were no longer able to maintain the levels of musical activity specified in the 1600 section of the *Diarios*, even with external help. The other evidence in the *Libros de Gastos* seems to point to a relatively late decline in student musical activity: although the College was hiring musicians from the early seventeenth century, payments for viols, bows and strings, as well as maintenance work on the clavichords continued until 1644, suggesting that student musical activity persisted until at least then – especially since the clavichord was entirely unsuitable for liturgical use and presumably, was not being tuned for the use of a musician from outside the College.

Evidently, even as late as 1664, when the custom of having the Cathedral Choir sing the Saturday Mass was discontinued, the students were still involved in musi-

[60] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 138.

[61] Henson's historical introduction to his edition of the College's registers specifies student numbers for years in which they are known – See Henson, ix—xxxiv. Williams discusses the difficulties in determining the number of students in the College at any given time in Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 22. Patterns of recruitment changed in 1663, when it was decided that a whole class of students would be taken every seven years, and a new class then taken again after their ordination. See Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 47.

cal activities to some extent. That same year, the *Diarios* record that the Holy Week ceremonies were to be carried out 'as in other Colleges',[62] Tenebrae was sung on all three days,[63] and a requiem Mass was sung annually on the third of November for Philip II.[64] With only eight students at the College and most payments to external musicians suspended in 1662, however, it seems most likely the students' musical activities were restricted to singing plainchant by this time. In any event, the discontinuation of the sung Mass on Saturdays suggests that they lacked the skill and repertoire necessary for weekly, public performances. The general impression that is received from the *Diarios* and the *Libros de Gastos* is that the musical culture at the College gradually declined from the mid-seventeenth century. By 1663, the College's daily schedule no longer contained any provision for music practice, and the liturgical occasions that were celebrated with solemnity (and therefore music) were much reduced.[65]

Given that there were always seven students at the College whenever the records mention them between 1677 and 1684, it is probable that this was the number of students in residence in 1679, when *La Vulnerata* was translated to the new College chapel. A painting of the procession, which hangs in the cupola of the College's chapel, matches de Calatayud's account of the occasion very well: the statue is escorted beneath a canopy which is borne by the Corregidor and Regidores, and stands on a bier that is conveyed on the shoulders of the students, who are vested in dalmatics. While the latter detail is absent from de Calatayud's account, the 1600 account mentions that the students who carried the statue were vested in dalmatics, and although separated from the first procession by some seventy-nine years, it seems likely that the same practice was followed as a show of reverence for the

[62] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 125.

[63] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 125. Although there are entries in the *Libros de Gastos* from this period with payments to singers for Easter Saturday, this could have been for singing either at Tenebrae of Easter Saturday or at the Easter Vigil. Since there is no mention of payments for singers for Maundy Thursday or Good Friday, the students must have sung these without any help from external musicians.

[64] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 168.

[65] It seems unlikely that the calendar of Sung Masses, Vespers and Antiphons from 1600 was still in use at this time, because the students would have required time to rehearse the music (which is not provided for in the *Diarios* by 1663), or the College would have needed to hire musicians more regularly (which did not happen, because expenditures on music declined, rather than increased, in the 1660s).

statue, which was being enshrined anew. From what can be seen, there are five statue bearers, vested in dalmatics.[66] Assuming that the numbers of staff did not change markedly between 1677 and 1679, it seems likely that the group of surpliced men who are depicted as walking immediately before the statue, carrying music and singing are not all members of the College. Although it is true that representatives of the other Jesuit colleges in the city were present at the procession from Saint Ana to the Cathedral, they are not mentioned in connection with the music, which, according to de Calatayud, was played by bands.[67] Since the procession had come directly from the Cathedral to the College, it seems most likely that the singers in the painting were members of the Cathedral Choir, who probably donated their services for the occasion, since there is no entry in the account books from this time to indicate that any musicians were paid for taking part in the procession and ceremonies, and de Calatayud's account mentions that on the evening of the translation, the College was 'regaled with the best of the Cathedral [musicians] Escobedo the harpist, and for the closing, the whole of the Cathedral joined in the Salve, Litany and hymns.'[68]

Although the College's accounts are not a complete record of the musicians who were involved in musical activities at St Alban's, they are a useful indicator of the College's devotional emphases: since it did not have elaborate services with music every day, the occasions for which musicians were hired are indicative of the College's liturgical priorities, which had formational and political implications. One devotional shift demonstrated by payments to musicians is that towards St Francis Xavier, who was canonised by Gregory XV in 1622 and whose feast-day, although mentioned in the 1663 customs, must have been solemnised particularly from 1688, when annual payments to musicians for his feast day began. A visitation of the College in 1688, which noted that the church was not as popular with the general public as it had previously been, gave orders that efforts should be made to at-

[66] See figs. 2.2 and 2.3, p. 104.

[67] Manuel de Calatayud, *Translation of the Miraculous Statue of Our Lady Vulnerata to the New Shrine 22nd of October, 1679*, Edwin Henson, trans. (Valladolid: Trustees of the Royal English College, 2005), 65.

[68] Calatayud, *Translation of the Miraculous Statue...*, 71.

Figure 2.2: Painting in the cupola of the chapel of St Alban's College, Valladolid (Diego Dìez Ferreras, 1679). The procession to the English College to install the *Vulnerata* statue, 1679.
By kind permission of the Rector of the Royal English College, Valladolid.

Figure 2.3: Detail from the painting of the procession, showing singers carrying music.
By kind permission of the Rector of the Royal English College, Valladolid.

tract more people.[69] The visitor's observations suggest that in the quarter-century or so after the practice of paying external musicians had ceased, the students had not reprised their earlier role in the devotions, which, although not discontinued, no longer enjoyed the same prominence as they had done in the earlier decades of the seventeenth century. Evidently the *Vulnerata* devotions, although still having some role in the College's devotional life, were of less importance by the late seventeenth century: there is no evidence to suggest that the chapel was made more attractive by means of music, as payments to musicians were made only for particular feast-days, and there are no amendments to the *Diarios* in that year to reinstate the College's earlier musical practices.

Reconstructing Liturgical Music at St Alban's College

Taken together, the *relaciones*, *Diarios de los Costumbres* and entries in the *Libros de Gastos* reveal the existence of a rich musical culture at St Alban's College from soon after its foundation until the end of the seventeenth century. Particularly striking is the sheer breadth of musical styles that were used: polyphonic motets, plainchant (alternating with organ versets), falsobordone, instrumental music, motets accompanied by instruments, and solo organ music. For a Jesuit-run English seminary during the seventeenth century, this level of musical activity was significant. In the same year as St Alban's College first recorded its extensive musical practices, Fr Robert Persons wrote to Spain, recommending the complete elimination of the College's musical activities.[70] Persons had been a party to eliminating 'figured singing' at the Venerable English College in 1587 on the grounds that the hired boy-singers were generally 'wicked', and that musical performances attracted too much attention from the public, such that there was a continual concourse of people coming in and out of the College on feast-days, which was disruptive. He also noted that

[69] Henson, xxxiii.

[70] *GB-Labsil*, Stonyhurst MS, Anglia A II, No. 61. In his transcription of the letter, Leo Hicks proposes that the letter was written to 'Joseph Creswell, V. Prefect of the Mission'.

'various ladies' would come and sit very close to the students when they sang, and was evidently concerned that this might be a source of temptation![71] As rector of the Venerabile (from 1597), Persons had even taken away the students' musical instruments, to which he attributed a favourable change in the students' demeanour:

> And sure I am that I found yll effects of yt there, and since yt hath beene taken away heer and brought to a great moderation more spirit hath beene seene in the house.[72]

Fortunately, his recommendation seems to have fallen on deaf ears, and music at St Alban's College continued throughout the seventeenth century.

Reconstructing precisely what the students sang and played is problematic since only two printed books of seventeenth-century music survive at the College from what was evidently a much larger collection.[73] One of these is a superius partbook of the *Sacrae cantiones* by Lassus,[74] the other is Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus missarum*, published at Madrid in 1602 (this was his only published collection of music, and consists of Masses and motets). On the basis of these two surviving books, however, the breadth of the College's musical repertoire is clear, encompassing Franco-Flemish and Spanish works, although it could have been broader still, given that Fr Robert Persons had received a chest of items which included 'Musick bookes for Valladolid' in 1593 from Richard Verstegan, a book buying agent based in Antwerp,[75]

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[71] *I-Rarsi*, Germ. 167, f. 224

[72] *GB-Labsil*, Stonyhurst MS, Anglia A II, No. 61.

[73] See two inventories taken in 1767 of:

a. the College's library, showing that some (unspecified) music books were kept there, none of which are known to have survived to the present day. Although the original copy of the inventory, which was held in the archives of Valladolid Cathedral, has been lost, a photocopy of it survives at St Alban's College: *E-Vsaa*, Archives Box 164, 028.1, 55.

b. an inventory of the College's chattels, preserved at the Archivio Historico Nacional in Madrid. *E-Mas*, Jesuitas 407.

[74] See the preface to Erb, ed., *Orlando Di Lasso: The Complete Motets II*. Although the collection of motets has been identified, the publication details of the copy at St Alban's College (which is missing its cover page) remain unknown: the order of the compilation is the same as that followed by Berg & Neuber in their 1562 edition (and in subsequent editions), but the font types in the Valladolid partbook are unlike those in any of the (known) editions by that publisher. It seems, therefore, that the copy of the Lassus *Sacrae cantiones* at St Alban's College is unique.

[75] Verstegan acted as an agent for a number of English Catholic institutions on the Continent. See Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004).

where he had access to book sellers that stocked music by a very large range of Italian, Flemish, French, Spanish and English composers.[76] In addition, it is known that the Count of Fuen Saldana donated his music books to the College,[77] raising the possibility of further donations by local benefactors, presumably of music that they wished to hear performed and of which they approved. An inventory of the College was made in 1767, when it was seized by agents of the Spanish Crown. At that time, it is clear that there were music books in the library that have not survived at the College, including 'Siete libritos en quarto de Musica' and 'Un libro grande de musica con otras de pergamino sin principio nisin'.[78] The presence of 'Un libro grande de Musica de Alphonso Grande de Borsa' in this inventory is very important because it indicates that the 1602 edition of Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* had been at St Alban's College since the seventeenth century, rather than having been brought there from either the Madrid or Seville college, after these closed in 1767.[79] To what extent the College used works by English composers is uncertain, although a number of the College's members were either musicians or related to musicians: George Smith had probably taught the students to sing for some years before Philip III visited the College in 1600; William Davis, who was later music master at the English College in Rome, was at Valladolid in 1593;[80] William Byrd's son, Thomas, studied at the College from 1596 to 1599.[81]

The close connection between the English college at Saint-Omer and St Alban's College is noteworthy. Starting in 1596, students who had completed their schooling were sent from Saint-Omer to Valladolid to train for the priesthood. The annals of St Alban's College record arrivals of students from St Omer frequently throughout the seventeenth century. By 1685, a pattern was established whereby a new group of students usually came to the College from St Omer every seven years.[82] Although the College's musical activities on the occasion of the installation of the *Vulnerata*

[76] Petti, ed., *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan*, 187.
[77] Ortiz, *Relacion De La Venida ...*, f. 10v.
[78] *E-Mas*, Jesuitas 407, f. 112r.
[79] See Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 75.
[80] Henson, 23.
[81] Henson, 44.
[82] Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 53.

statue in 1600 probably cannot be attributed to the students who had come from St Omer (18 students in 1596 and a further 29 in 1600), the role of this school in the subsequent musical history of St Alban's must be seriously considered. The parallels between music at these two institutions are striking: both colleges had weekly Marian devotions with music,[83] publicly performed plays,[84] performances by viol consorts (the Rector's preferred type of ensemble),[85] and a strong choral tradition. The observation by Jean Hendricq that the choir loft in the Chapel at St Omer was large enough to accommodate the organ and the entire school[86] suggests that involvement in musical activities was compulsory for all students, and that as a result, the students who entered Valladolid after studying at St Omer had some experience of singing (and potentially also playing) liturgical music. The lack of musical sources from both institutions, however, makes it difficult to determine the extent to which practices, skills and repertoires were transferred from St Omer to the College. Nonetheless, the sheer amount of musical activity at St Alban's College suggests that every attempt was made to capitalise on the musical training that its incoming students had already received.

Organ Music at St Alban's College

The history of the organ at St Alban's College is even more uncertain than that of the College's other musical instruments. The College's accounts do not mention any outlay on an instrument, and unlike Seville, for which the contract with English organ builder John Pickford still survives, there is no documentation whatsoever to suggest that the College ever commissioned an instrument for its chapel. The College must have had an organ by 1600 because provision is made for it as part

[83] The singing of the Litanies of Our Lady on Sunday evenings at St Omer attracted great crowds of people – See Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst*, 83.

[84] William H. McCabe, 'Notes on the St Omers College Theatre', *Philological Quarterly 17* (1938): 225–39.

[85] Leech, 'Seventeenth-Century Music at St Omers': 58.

[86] Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst*, 48. Although it is true that the liturgical quire of churches in Spain and Portugal was usually in a loft at the (liturgical) west end of the building, it seems unlikely that the organ loft at St Omer was of these proportions for this reason: as a Jesuit institution, it is unlikely that the chapel had a liturgical quire of any description, since Jesuits did not recite the Office in common.

of the liturgical ceremonies recorded in *Diarios* in that year. The most likely explanation, therefore, is that the organ was donated by local nobility. According to the *relacion* written about the Philip III's visit to the College in 1600, clavichords were donated to the College by the Francisco de Reynoso. These were probably a token of his esteem after having been suitably impressed with the students after his visit to the College in 1597.[87] It seems plausible that the College acquired an organ for its chapel in the same way. All of these local benefactions are indicative of the degree of cultural exchange between the College and the city: by playing local instruments and locally-donated music, the students were immersed in a range of local musical styles and repertoires.

The use of the organ during the sung liturgy must have been virtually unknown to most of the young men who entered the College. For those who had heard organ music in the context of Protestant services, the experience of organ music in the Catholic liturgy must have been a great contrast: in the reformed services, the organ only provided incidental music, whereas in the Catholic services, organ music, although used for this purpose in some parts of the liturgy, was also deeply integrated with the liturgical texts and often composed to be used in conjunction with the liturgical plainchant.[88] Most of the men who entered the Continental seminaries would have had no memory of a sung liturgy before the Reformation and in most cases had only experienced the Catholic liturgy in recusant contexts in their homeland. Although there was a pre-Reformation tradition of alternatim repertoire in England, it is improbable that most recusant households would have been familiar with it, for the practical reason that only the wealthiest of recusant families, such as the Petres of Essex,[89] could have afforded to own an organ. The alternatim

[87] Ortiz, *Relacion De La Venida . . .*, f. 10v. The bishop seems to have been a benefactor of the College for some time, having first assisted the students in 1589 while still Dean of Palencia, when he gave them a monthly allowance of 100 silver pieces. See Henson, xiii.

[88] On organ music in the English Protestant services, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*, 163–170.

[89] When Richard Mico took over from William Byrd as Petre family's household musician in 1608, he had the care of an organ that had been at the family home since 1590. See Bennett and Willets, 'Richard Mico': 29.

repertoire which the English students heard on high feast days, therefore, was in all likelihood Spanish.[90]

What happened to the organ when the new chapel was opened in 1679 is uncertain: the last entry to explicitly refer to the organ dates from 1675, when a payment was made for repairs.[91] This is not to say that organists were necessarily hired less often, only that the entries in the accounts from as early as the 1630s begin to refer to 'music' more than either the organ or organists. By the time that the College was seized in 1767, however, there is no mention of an organ in the chapel, or of any musical instruments in the house, despite the fact that some books of music are noted.[92] Perhaps the instrument was not installed in the new chapel, for reasons yet to be determined. The original College chapel, which had an organ from roughly 1600, may well have had a loft for the organ, because the account of the Philip III's visit mentions the students playing music 'above in the quire'. This loft may have been the 'quire' that was added to the chapel in 1598, along with two side chapels.[93] The position of the original chapel can be seen from outside the College (the entrance was in the bricked-up archway immediately to the right of the 1679 chapel). It is quite clear that although the chapel was narrow, it was also tall, and extended up to a second storey, which could have easily accommodated a choir loft. This is not to say that the original instrument was especially tall. Since it is likely that the organ was a gift, it was probably a personal instrument of one manual, without pedals. Although there does not seem to be a surviving example of a comparable instru-

[90] Organ music is virtually absent from the music library at Valladolid Cathedral. Aizpurua Zalacain suggests that this is because the music was largely improvised by individual players, who did not need to compile their works for the use of other musicians. See Pedro Aizpurúa Zalacaín and Joaquín Díaz, *Música Y Músicos De La Catedral Metropolitana De Valladolid: Discurso Del Académico Electo ... Pedro Aizpurúa Zalacaín Con Motivo De La Recepción Pública ... Y Contestación En Nombre De La Corporación Por ... Joaquín Díaz González* (Valladolid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de la Purísima Concepción, 1988), 25. On this basis, it seems likely that Spanish organ music was used at the English College whenever local organists were hired.

[91] *E-Vsaa*, Libros de Gastos 3, 154r.

[92] *E-Mas*, Jesuitas 407, f. 55r, 97v, 98v, 112r, 112v.

[93] See Henson, xix. Furthermore, the practice of placing the 'quire' in a loft at the liturgical west end of a church was commonplace in Spain, although it is unclear from the surviving sources whether the 'quire' at St Alban's College was designed or intended to be used in this way: the chapel was narrow (certain liturgical ceremonies had to be modified as a result of this – see *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 82), and seems unlikely that it could have accommodated many musicians without extending very far down the building.

ment from this period in the city of Valladolid, a sixteenth-century instrument by an anonymous builder, currently in the Museo del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara at Tordesillas, is a plausible prototype for the kind of instrument that the College might have owned.[94] It is a small instrument of one manual and 42 notes, with three ranks of pipes (a 4′ flute, nasard and a 2′ octave), divided between treble and bass. Transferring this instrument into the upper gallery of the 1679 chapel (although this does not have a high ceiling), or even placing it at the side of one of the minor chapels, would have presented no significant problems.

Drama, Recreation, Music and Patronage

The contexts outside the liturgy in which music was performed provide further details about the musical abilities of the students. The Superior General of the Jesuits, Claudio Aquaviva, was evidently unimpressed by the College's musical pursuits when he wrote to the Provincial of Castile in 1600:

> Likewise I have thought it well to repeat again, because I have had fresh notice that in the seminary at Valladolid some relaxation is creeping in, with music of viols da gamba, with tragedies, with dances and things that go in their company, and which if they were to continue would be the ruin of that College; and also in important affairs there is, according to what is said, less care than there ought to be, because through excessive spending they have incurred exorbitant debts as is seen from the fact that a few months ago they appealed to the Rector to pay a thousand ducats to a creditor: all these are things that impair the well-being of the College, whereas effort should be made to augment and promote it, not with dances and musical performances and comedies, but with the spirit and observance of discipline that the rules and guidance of the seminary inculcate…[95]

These performances were probably staged to impress and entertain potential benefactors, and this is likely to have been one of the ways that the local nobility was

[94] Lama, *El Organ En Valladolid Y Su Provincia: Catalogacion y Estudio*, 355–356; Juan Montón y Mallén, José López Calo and María Antonia Virgili Blanquet, *La Música en la Iglesia de Castilla y León*, Las Edades Del Hombre 1 (Valladolid: Diócesis de Castilla y León, 1991), 212–214.

[95] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 65.

persuaded to sponsor individual students.[96] Although the College exploited the propaganda value of the King's visits by publishing *relaciones* of the events, the visits of lesser nobility do not appear to have received the same level of publicity. The visit of Francisco de Reynoso, Bishop of Cordoba, who stayed at the College for three nights from the 14th of October, 1597 with six other persons who came with him (entirely at the College's expense) is one such visit.[97] Evidently, the bishop's visit was an event of some importance, as a reception was held in his honour in the great hall of the College, which had been decorated for the occasion, and the students entertained him in the refectory with speeches in ten different languages. The *Diarios* record de Reynoso as leaving after the third day 'very consoled and grateful'.[98] The College's apparent capacity for providing musical entertainment at the beginning of the seventeenth century indicates that students were not taught music for purely liturgical ends, and that the College authorities probably allowed them to continue using recreational music after entering the College as a means of maintaining their musical skills and to promote the College among the wealthy and influential. On the days that the students were permitted to go to the vineyard owned by the College, the *Diarios* note that they were permitted to sing after dinner and the hour of 'familiar conversation' that followed it.[99] The days at the vineyard were recreational: the students did not attend classes, and were given plenty of time for leisure activities, including ball games. The fact that music was a part of the students' recreation indicates an overall familiarity with music, rather than using it only with particular public and liturgical events in mind. It also implies a common repertoire of (probably secular) vocal music among the students. Nonetheless, it is difficult to determine the extent to which students who had not previously studied at St Omer had common experiences of recreational music-making, because of their varied social backgrounds.

[96] See the footnote in Henson, xx-xxi, which reproduces a 1603 memorandum of benefactors for individual students.
[97] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 95.
[98] ibid.
[99] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 53.

Beyond what has already been said about instrumental music at the College, little other evidence survives: there are several mentions of 'violones' in 1614 in the *Libros de Gastos*, including the purchase of a bow, and later an outlay of 300 Reales for instruments, and the Count of Fuen Saldana donated viols to St Alban's in or before 1600.[100] The *Diarios* also describe a ceremony at the College on 6 July 1598, during which Richard Smith (later Bishop of Chalcedon and Vicar-Apostolic of England) was made a Doctor of Theology. At the end of the ceremony, 'all rose and went in order of procession accompanying the doctor to the church where two or three motets were sung accompanied by six-stringed lutes and other instruments.'[101] Unfortunately, there are no other sources that shed light on what these 'other instruments' were.

Music and Representational Culture: Constructing a Public Identity

The need for an integrative form of self-representation seems to have been recognised at the College from its earliest days. The foundation of an English college at Valladolid was opposed by the 'Abbot' of the city's collegiate church[102] because the Englishmen came from a country 'steeped in heresy', while its Jesuit connections earned it the opposition of Inquisitor Juan Vigil de Quiñones.[103] Music at St Alban's therefore, was as useful for the purposes of creating an integrative identity as it was for developing a unique identity: by self-portrayal as a community of martyrs, the College had a distinctive identity within the city; by using music as a way of demonstrating integration, the College ensured that it was not alienated from its locale.

At first glance, the College's cosmopolitan musical repertoire would seem to be at odds with aims of local engagement and integration. Valladolid, however, seems

[100] Ortiz, *Relacion De La Venida...*, f. 10v.
[101] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 91.
[102] Until 1595, Valladolid was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Palencia, and the head of the collegiate church in the city was the local ecclesiastical superior.
[103] Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 8.

to have been a cosmopolitan city, where music by a wide range of composers was regularly performed: the collection of printed music at the Cathedral includes works published in Venice, Antwerp, Rome, Madrid and Milan, and even includes English composers Peter Philips and Richard Dering.[104] This strongly suggests that local musical identity, rather than being bound up in local music, was open to a wide range of composers and styles. By performing a broad repertoire of music therefore, St Alban's College was in fact engaging with the local cultural practice. The fact that the students themselves were involved in the performances is significant, because it provided the essential bridge between the College and the world outside it. If the act of performance had been merely delegated to local musicians, the English students would not have participated as directly in cultural engagement. By singing music that was foreign to them however, they publicly demonstrated their willingness to engage with the local culture. This engagement was important because it affected the way that the College represented itself to the community. Although the English students were foreigners, by making use of cultural devices that were familiar to the local community, they ceased to be foreign to it. It was a useful strategy for integration: the College's constitutions largely prevented the students from having personal interactions with anyone that was not a member of the College. As a result, self-representation through music was one of the few ways in which the College and its members could demonstrate their affinity with the local community.

Both the pattern of devotions to *La Vulnerata* and the music that was used during these devotions represent a serious attempt at cultural integration with the local community on the part of the College. The devotions seem to have been fundamentally integrated into local pious practices from the very outset: the procession that took the statue from Valladolid Cathedral to the College's chapel was attended by the important local dignitaries and the Queen of Spain, who loaned some cloth of gold to adorn both the chapel and the statue.[105] In all the other details provided in

[104] Soterraña Aguirre Rincón, 'The Formation of an Exceptional Library: Early Printed Music Books at Valladolid Cathedral', *Early Music* 37/3 (2009): 379–400.

[105] *I-Rvec*, L 1422, f. 60r.

the *relacion* that was printed after the event,[106] there is little to indicate the incorporation of any distinctively English cultural or devotional elements into the ceremonies. A number of Spanish verses that were composed for and presumably also recited – and perhaps also sung – for the occasion provide further evidence of the degree to which the procession and the nine days of devotions and Masses that followed it drew upon elements of local culture. Although the English seminarians had petitioned the Spanish King for the statue in order to make reparation for the sins of their countrymen, embodied in the visible wounds of desecration that the statue had suffered, the acts of reparation were entirely on Spanish terms. In this way, this small community of English exiles distanced itself from the actions of its Protestant countrymen, while engaging with the local community using its own cultural apparatus.

Although the entire liturgical action associated with *La Vulnerata* could be considered an act of self-representation, the highly ordered nature of the liturgical rites severely restricted their scope for self-expression: the texts and gestures were highly regulated, and while it is true that the visual art in the setting of the Chapel served to translate English Catholicism and its plight into Spanish terms, this did not require the direct involvement of the students. Music, in contrast to the other elements of the liturgical action, was dynamic: it could be varied according to the liturgical occasion, and therefore provided opportunities for self-expression and communication that were not otherwise possible in liturgical contexts. Furthermore, these weekly devotions were the most frequent point of contact between the College and the local community, and therefore were the usual means by which the College's identity was mediated to the local population. This is how music can be differentiated from the other ways the College communicated with the local community: it was the only regular means by which the College community as a whole (since most of the students would have participated in the music-making) could express itself to the outside world in what was otherwise a highly regulated ritual. Put another way, music was the only usual means by which students could 'make themselves

[106] Ortiz, *Relacion De La Venida....*

heard' to the citizens of Valladolid. Perhaps the closest parallel to the College's use of foreign music in conjunction with symbolism can be found in the poetry that its students composed for the visits of Philip II and III, to which hand-painted emblems were added.[107] Nonetheless, like the public orations and disputations in which the students participated, these were *extraordinary*, rather than ordinary means of interacting with the outside world. Whereas in public oratory, the students demonstrated their degree of integration by use of languages (including Spanish, French, Cornish, Latin, Greek and Hebrew)[108] and by making arguments that were consonant with the values and beliefs of their audience, in music, they adopted their audience's song as their own. The difference between the two is significant: in oratory, the students needed to persuade their audience that they were not 'the other' by means of their arguments; in musical performances, they demonstrated their integration by adopting the cultural devices of the local community. There was no need for persuasion by using the latter because in singing and playing the music of the local community, they were demonstrating the engagement that in oratory they needed to prove.

The use of music at College for the purposes of integration did not operate in one direction only – that is, apart from adopting a quasi-Spanish identity by singing music that was foreign to them, the students at St Alban's also integrated Spanish identity into English music:

> The English students began a sweet and artificial song made after their country[']s manner of musicke and the ditty in Spanish to the purpose ... and the English musicke with the Spanish ditty gave extraordinary contentment to all.[109]

Although the evidence suggests that music was used primarily to demonstrate English assimilation of Spanish culture, this event demonstrates the students' attempts to engage with the local population by situating aspects of their culture within En-

[107] See Harris, Echevarria and Hidalgo, eds., *The Fruits of Exile*, xxi.

[108] See Antonio Ortiz, *A Relation of the Solemnitie Wherewith the Catholike Princes K. Phillip the III. And Quene Margaret Were Receyued in the Inglish Colledge of Valladolid the 22. Of August. 1600*, which lists all of the languages that the students spoke in an oration to Philip III on the occasion of his visit to the College, and includes transcriptions of some of the texts.

[109] Ortiz, *A Relation of the Solemnitie...*, 39.

glish forms of musical expression. It certainly demonstrates (in a similar way to the case of Hugh Facy)[110] the potential for seminaries to have acted as laboratories for musical experimentation, allowing students to take aspects of English music and mix them together with foreign influences. Although William Byrd's son, Thomas, had left the College in the year before the above event occurred, it is probable that the students would not have performed something in the presence of their royal guest which they had not previously experimented with in private. Thomas Byrd was certainly not the only student at the College with a musical background, and although a detailed examination is beyond the scope of this thesis, the question of how these cultural encounters impacted upon recusant musical culture and its stylistic development is certainly raised.

Music, Missionaries and Martyrs: Constructing Self-Identity

The College's representations of its identity were not limited to public events, and had a crucial role in the formation of its students. Although the English colleges in exile were among the first seminaries established after the Council of Trent, the formation that students received in these institutions could hardly have been a 'typical' seminary formation: while their counterparts at diocesan seminaries were preparing for lives as parish priests in places that had normal ecclesiastical structures, the English students were being equipped for conditions that were far removed from those of a post-Reformation Catholic diocese. The Roman authorities recognised these radically altered conditions and provided new ecclesiastical structures that were appropriate for these circumstances: dioceses were replaced with 'missions' which were usually led by priests. Bishops were radically reduced in number and did not normally reside in England until the eighteenth century, when they were referred to as 'Vicars Apostolic' and had responsibility for much larger areas than a single diocese. This situation persisted until 1850, when a normal ecclesiastical hi-

[110] See p. 61.

erarchy was restored in England. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was a dangerous time for missionary clergy in England: Catholicism was outlawed, and seminary priests, if captured, could be tried for treason and executed. Seminarians were not unaware of the risks: graphic accounts of their forebears' gruesome executions were widely circulated, and formed an important part of the martyrological discourse of the period. At Valladolid, the collection of martyrdom narratives in the College's library and written accounts in the College's annals indicate that the students were regularly reminded of the horrors that awaited them on the English Mission. Martyrdom was both crucial to the students' self-identification, and also an important aspect of the self-constructed image that the College used to engage with the local community.

In spite of the graphic artistic and literary depictions of martyrdom to which the students were exposed, they seem to have faced their suffering and death with strong religious conviction – the State would have been quick to exploit any last-minute changes of heart for their polemical value, yet there does not seem to be any substantial body of Protestant literature to refute Catholic claims about their martyrs' final moments. Something had changed these men, such that they were able to reframe a death which by all rights ought to have been both terrifying and ignominious as a final triumph. The only 'something' which all these priests had in common (apart from their faith) was their seminary training. Michael Williams's paper on the ascetic tradition at St Alban's College examines how the formation of seminarians during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries prepared and conditioned priests for martyrdom.[111] Although his findings are compelling, they are somewhat restricted, because he does not consider the functions of art, music, liturgy and ceremonial in the process of formation.

[111] Michael Williams, 'The Ascetic Tradition and the English College Valladolid', Studies in Church History 22 (1985): 275–283.

Icons of Martyrdom

The use of music in connection with the veneration of *La Vulnerata* at the College had important formational implications, helping to highlight the importance of the statue and focusing attention on what it symbolised. In non-monastic Catholic liturgical contexts – that is, where the singing of the liturgy is not an obligatory, daily occurrence – the sung liturgy implies an elevated degree of liturgical solemnity. In connection with English Jesuit liturgical activity during the seventeenth century, it also suggests the presence of a devotional, formational or political agenda. Although Ignatius of Loyola greatly esteemed the sung liturgy, he forbade its use in Jesuit houses, fearing that commitments to music would divert priests from their principal duties as members of the Society.[112] Nonetheless, over time – and often in disobedience to Jesuit superiors – liturgical music was fostered in some places, and by the seventeenth century, a number of Jesuit institutions had developed a reputation for quality of their music. The most famous of these was the Germanicum in Rome, which trained German and Hungarian priests for missionary work in post-Reformation Northern Europe. The musical activities at the Germanicum were considerable, and included regular sung liturgical functions under the direction of distinguished choirmasters, including Tomas Luis de Victoria, Annibale Stabile and Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni.[113] The Roman College – which was also administered by the Jesuits during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – also developed a strong musical reputation.[114]

None of the English seminaries managed by the Society – whether in Spain or Italy – were to enjoy the same reputation for music as their non-English counterparts. In these colleges, with their much-reduced music programmes, the performance of any liturgical music beyond plainchant implied a high degree of solem-

[112] Thomas D. Culley and Clement J. McNaspy, 'Music and the Early Jesuits (1540–1565)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 40 (1971): 216–217.

[113] For a comprehensive study of musical activities at the Germanicum, see Culley, *Jesuits and Music*.

[114] Frank Kennedy, 'The Musical Tradition at the Roman Seminary During the First Sixty Years (1564–1621)', in *Bellarmino e la Controriforma. Atti del Simposio Internazionale di Studi.*, Romeo de Maio, ed. (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani "Vincenzo Patriarca", 1990), 629–660.

nity for the contexts in which it was used. Furthermore, precisely because the use of liturgical music was limited in these colleges, when it was used, it suggested that there was something particular about the events that warranted the use of music, thus emphasising particular feast-days and occasions. At St Alban's College, therefore, the consequence of constantly linking music to the *Vulnerata* devotions was to elevate them in the consciousness of the students: in these regular devotions, something was presented to the students repeatedly for their meditation and eventual internalisation. By the amount of music and solemnity that was lavished upon the devotions, the Jesuits succeeded in displacing Sunday as the most important day of the week: the Saturday was kept with greater solemnity, and in the minds of the students must have seemed like the new pinnacle of the week, for there was nothing in the constitutions of the College to make singing the Sunday Mass an obligation. In fact, the customs pertaining to Sunday Mass are not mentioned in the *Diarios de los Costumbres* at all. Their absence from the very detailed 1600 customs cannot have been accidental, given the meticulous detail in which all the other customs of the College were documented in that year.

But why such an emphasis on *La Vulnerata*? In a College preparing students for the English Mission, the weekly, communal veneration of a statue which symbolised the supernatural consequences of suffering can only be understood as a formation in a very particular view of martyrdom. In this view, suffering – and especially physical disfigurement – was connected inseparably with heavenly glory. Just as *La Vulnerata* was cut and dismembered with a sword, so too would students be hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn. The sheer physical sight of an execution must have been terrifying. This indeed, would appear to be one of the purposes of public executions: to act as a deterrent to other would-be offenders. If Challoner's sources are accurate, however, then the College's alumni were undeterred by threats of a painful death.[115] The parallels between the manner in which English priests were executed and the statue was disfigured are not insignificant: both the statue and

[115] See, for instance, the accounts of the martyrdoms of Thomas Garnet (Challoner, 296–299), Ralph Corby (Challoner, 461–466) and Edward Bamber (Challoner, 481–484). For a complete list of the College's martyrs, see Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 257–258.

the priests were dragged along the ground to their place of execution, the executions invariably took place in a public square or other highly visible location, and defacement was a significant part of the execution ritual. The sentence of hanging, drawing, and quartering, it should be noted, was not passed on priests for being Catholic clergy, but rather for the crime of treason. No other crime during the seventeenth century carried this sentence. By symbolically subjecting the statue – an important symbol of Catholic belief and spirituality – to the same treatment on foreign soil as priests could receive in England, the actions of the English troops could be interpreted as demonstrating how the true purpose of this sentence was to deface and eradicate Catholicism and not merely to regulate political allegiances. The English students, therefore, as 'living icons' of Catholicism, were trained to expect to be treated with the same contempt as their forebears and *La Vulnerata*. Perhaps it was for the benefit of the new students, who daily passed by the paintings of their martyred forebears (which usually had a portrait of the alumnus in the foreground of the painting, and a smaller depiction of his martyrdom in the background) in the College's corridors or chapel, that the devotions to *La Vulnerata* were instituted.[116] In any event, this 'reframing' of martyrdom would not have been possible without the use of music, which solemnised and therefore increased the importance of *La Vulnerata* in the consciousness of students.

At the end of the 1600 *relacion*, there is a good deal of poetry in Latin, Greek and Spanish, which was composed especially for the installation of the statue at the College. It provides some interesting insights into the way that *La Vulnerata* was perceived at the time. In some respects, the poetry is rather surprising: very little is said of *La Vulnerata's* 'wounds', or of the violent way in which she was de-

[116] For a description of the College's martyr paintings, see Michael Williams, 'Images of Martyrdom in Paintings at the English College Valladolid', in *Leeds Papers on Symbol and Image in Iberian Arts*, Margaret A. Rees, ed. (Leeds: Trinity and All Saints, 1994), 51–71. Williams only considers the paintings commissioned from 1620, and takes the position that these paintings do not have the depiction of martyrdom as their primary object, but fails to consider them in the context of the *Vulnerata* statue. He also fails to take into account the description of the painting of Henry Walpole in the 1600 *relacion* of the King's visit to the College, which mentions that the portrait was life-size, and depicted the martyr with a rope around his neck, a knife through his chest, and holding his heart in his right hand. Moreover, the painting was flanked by two tablets of poetry which glorified his martyrdom. See Ortiz, *Relacion De La Venida...*, f. 10r.

faced. Most of that seems to be treated as part of a past – but a past that glorified the present. It was through being defaced that *La Vulnerata* has earned her titles of 'Queen' and 'glorious'. The public devotions for the reception of the *Vulnerata* statue are paralleled by the 1632 ceremonies at Madrid instituted by Sor Margarita de La Cruz as public reparation for the desecration of a crucifix by a family of converts from Judaism. As at Valladolid, the ceremonies included daily Mass, sermons and devotions. At Madrid, newly-written texts were set to music by Velasco for the occasion.[117] Although it is not made explicit, it seems likely that at least some of the poetry in the Valladolid *relacion* was also set to music. The *Vulnerata* devotions, therefore, can be situated within the broader context of Counter-Reformation uses of public devotions for political and theological purposes. The reparation made for the sacrilege also served to glorify the object of the attack. The depiction of suffering in *La Vulnerata*, however, was not like a contemporary Spanish crucifix, which places the viewer in the moment. *La Vulnerata*, clad in precious robes, is a representation of the supernatural consequences of suffering.[118] The Ignatian spiritual exercises encourage full, human and emotional meditation on episodes in Christ's life. The aim of these exercises was to become more 'configured to Christ',[119] and ultimately form their users to reflect the object of their meditations. The lives of the English students at the Jesuit-run college at Valladolid, therefore, can be seen as an extension of these exercises: by not only meditating on suffering, but being entirely prepared to experience it in their bodies, they underwent a process of spiritual metamorphosis, which spiritually transformed them into the image of their God. Suffering, therefore, which from a purely natural perspective was abhorrent, was made holy and therefore beautiful, when viewed in terms of the supernatural. Through this theology of suffering, the *Vulnerata* statue was supernaturally transfigured: the physical disfigurement inflicted upon it by English Protestants (seen as heretics and therefore enemies of Christ) transformed the image of the virgin-mother into one of the

[117] Janet Hathaway. 'Cloister, Court, and City: Musical Activity of the Monasterio De Las Descalzas Reales (Madrid), ca. 1620–1700'. PhD diss. New York University, 2005, 186–187.

[118] *I-Rvec*, L 1422, f. 60r.

[119] Michael J Buckley, 'Ecclesial Mysticism in the "Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius" ', *Theological Studies* 56/3 (1995): 443.

heavenly queen. When the statue was covered in robes and precious objects, the transfiguration was complete: the supernatural reality of what had taken place was superimposed upon the statue, making the previously invisible reality visible. *La Vulnerata* thus became an icon of martyrdom, and occupied a central position in the College's formational regime: the English students also stood to be disfigured by their Protestant countrymen, but any such disfiguration would only have made them more beautiful and holy in the supernatural sphere.

Music, Meditation and Martyrdom

The connection between music and martyrdom at St Alban's seems to have extended beyond the use of music as solemnifying tool, to include the selection of texts on the basis of formational objectives, although the lack of primary sources makes it difficult to confirm. While Monson identified instances in which Byrd had set the last words of the martyrs on the scaffold to music,[120] it seems that through music, St Alban's College supplied its students with the very texts that they might later use in similar contexts. Martyrdom, and especially the last words of a martyr, were hardly spontaneous: they came after many years of formation for this purpose. The range of texts that the martyrs used was usually quite limited, and they often made use of short bible verses and prayers that they had memorised. It is possible that music may also have been used to enable students to internalise particular texts, whether for prayer on the scaffold or as part of a more general preparation for martyrdom. This seems all the more plausible when one considers the double execution of Mark Barkworth OSB and Roger Filcock SJ – both students at Valladolid at roughly the same time – at Tyburn on 27 February 1601, at which Mark Barkworth is reported to have intoned 'Haec dies quam fecit Dominus' ('This is the day that the Lord has made'), and was joined by Roger Filcock at 'et laetemur in ea' ('let us rejoice in him') 'in the same tone'.[121] Given the limited use of music in English Jesuit houses, the

[120] Monson, 'Byrd, Catholics and the Motet.'

[121] 'When they were put up into the cart, Mr. Barkworth, with a joyful accent, sung those words of the royal prophet, Haec dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus; and Mr Filcock went on in the same tone, Et laetemur in ea.' Challoner, 256.

most plausible explanation for Filcock knowing and singing the same melody as Barkworth was that he had learned it at Valladolid. Given that Barkworth's singing is decribed as having a 'joyful accent', perhaps the pair were singing the gradual of Easter Sunday or – more plausibly – a melody from a modern setting of the text that had been taught at the College. [122]

What remains of the College's music collection also indicates that music education served as a formational tool. In the only surviving partbook of what was originally a set of five containing the *Sacrae cantiones* by Lassus, one of the motets – *Non vos me elegistis* – has an alternative text inserted above the original text of the motet.

> Nimis honorati sunt amici tui Deus
> Nimis confortati sunt amici tui Deus,
> Nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.[123]

This text is similar to the responsory for the feasts of apostles in the Roman breviary,[124] suggesting that it was one of the motets used at either Mass or 'Antiphons' on the feast-day of an apostle (since the College sang the Mass on the feast-days of all twelve), although it would also have been suitable for the martyr-saints in the calendar. What seems noteworthy, however, is that the text is not identical to that used on the feasts of the apostles: the line 'Nimis *confortati* sunt amici tui Deus' is interpolated. The original text is as follows:

> Nimis honorati sunt amici tui Deus
> Nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.[125]

[122] Although it is true that this text occurs daily in the Little Hours of the Tridentine breviary, Filcock would never have had cause to sing any part of the Office (let alone the Little Hours). Furthermore, if the two men had only sung this one verse from Psalm 118 to a simple psalm tone, it is unlikely that observers would have commented upon it at all.

[123] 'Thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable
Thy friends, O God, are exceedingly strengthened,
their principality is exceedingly strengthened.'

[124] It is the text of the versicle and response at Matins, again at Sext, and the short responsory at None (for which the Gloria Patri is added at the end of the quoted text).

[125] 'Thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable, their principality is exceedingly strengthened.'

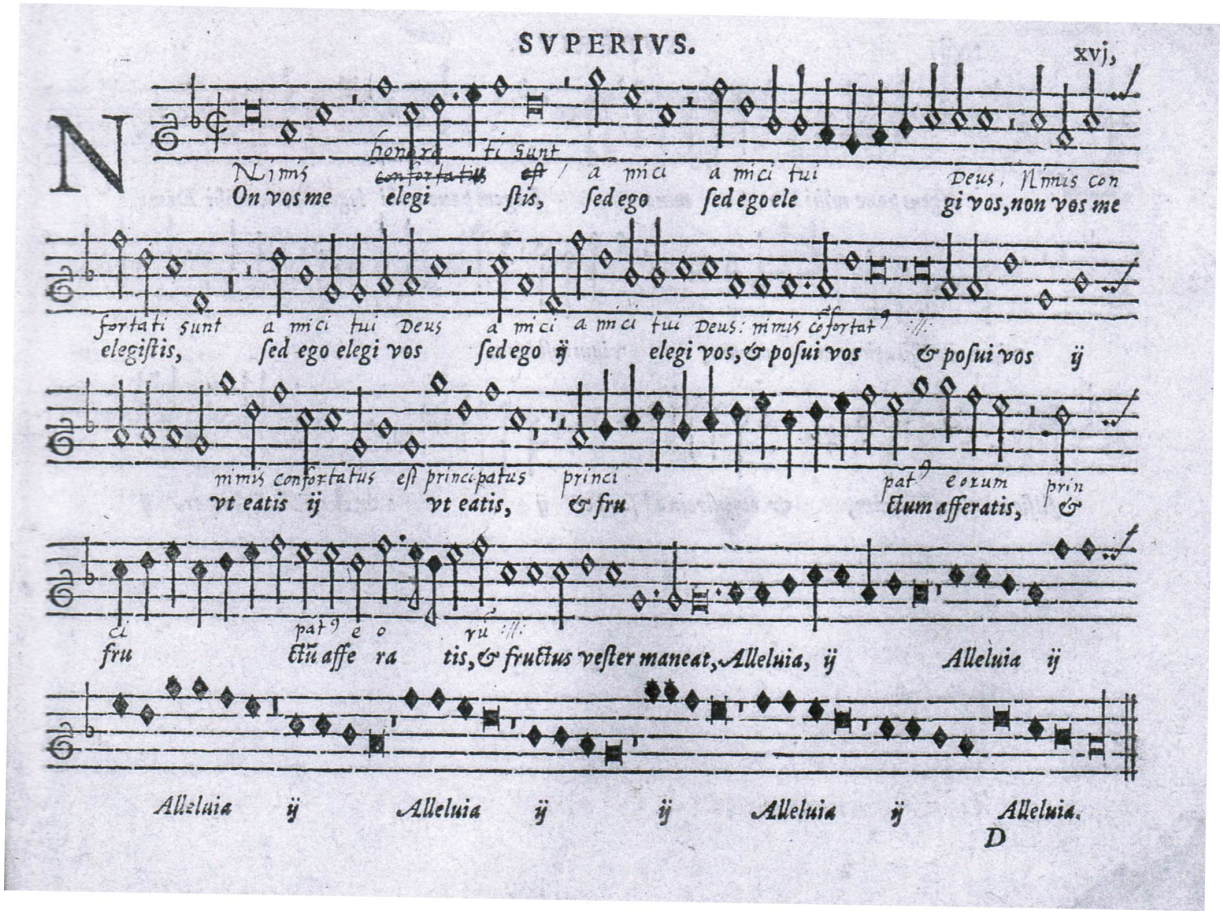

Figure 2.4: Page from the Lassus *Sacrae cantiones*, St Alban's College, Valladolid, with the inserted text 'Nimis consolati'. (*E-Vsal*, P 1849).
By kind permission of the Rector of the Royal English College, Valladolid.

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It is also interesting that Thomas Tallis set an almost identical text in his and Byrd's 1575 *Cantiones Sacrae*:[126]

> Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui Deus
> Nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.[127]

That a text so similar to this should have crossed the Channel and been used in a seminary suggests its importance to the English Catholic community. The difference in emphasis is noteworthy: Tallis's motet begins with the words 'Mihi autem' ('But to me'), suggesting a personal observation, rather than the person experience of divine consolation. In light of Monson's research on Byrd's motets in *Cantiones*

[126] William Byrd & Thomas Tallis, *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*. (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575).

[127] 'But to me thy friends, O God, are become honourable exceedingly, their principality is exceedingly strengthened.'

Sacrae (1591),[128] Tallis's motet could also be interpreted as a musical response to witnessing the martyrdom of a Catholic priest. The omission of these words in the motet at Valladolid, however, suggests a shift in emphasis from the observation of divine consolation to a personal experience of it. In England, therefore, the text was used to meditate upon martyrs; at Valladolid, it served to form priests who would personally identify with martyrdom.

The text in the Valladolid partbook is poorly inserted, and does not match the melodic and textual accents of the music very well, suggesting that it was the work of an amateur musician – perhaps one of the priests or students at the College. What is more interesting, perhaps, is the fact that the amateur preserved original text of the motet, inserting the new text above the original, rather than writing directly over it. This suggests that the motet was sung to both texts. The original text is as follows:

> Non vos me elegistis sed ego elegi vos et posui vos ut eatis et fructum adferatis et fructus vester maneat. Alleluia.[129]

The text is from the Gospel of John, taken from Christ's words to his disciples after the Last Supper. This was to be the last time that he taught them before being betrayed. Further on in this text, Christ warns his disciples that they will be persecuted and suffer for his sake, but also assures them that he will be with them. What is perhaps most interesting is that the passage that immediately precedes the motet text, in which Christ tells his disciples that he calls them not servants, but friends. This would seem to create a link between the two texts, with the original scriptural text as an object for meditation, and the interpolated text as a meditation upon it. Bringing forth fruit brought with it the possibility of martyrdom. Philip Neri hailed the students of the English College in Rome as the 'flores martyrum' because to his mind, their faith was the fruit of their martyred forebears.[130] More significantly,

[128] Monson, 'Byrd, Catholics and the Motet.'

[129] 'You have not chosen me: but I have chosen you; and have appointed you, that you should go and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit should remain. Alleluia.'

[130] Foley 3, 500; Foley 6, xxv, fn. 17. 'Salvete, flores martyrum' is also the first line of the hymn at Lauds for the feast of the Holy Innocents, and it was on this day at Prime (that is, the Office immediately following Lauds) that the Martyrology for the following day, 29 December, would have

Cardinal Baronius's 1585 revision of the martyrology mentioned the College's martyrs on 29 December, the feast of St Thomas Becket.[131] The implications of these texts would have been clear to the English students: they were to return to England, and potentially suffer, as Becket and others had suffered before them. As Christ's 'friends', they would be strengthened and consoled by him. This music, therefore, was a form of remote preparation for death, such that what happened at Tyburn was hardly spontaneous: the martyrs would have been meditating on suffering and death from their earliest days at the College.

This selection of texts invites a particular mental construction of the notion of apostleship: there were many other texts that the College's choirmaster could have chosen for the feasts of apostles which would not have included even oblique references to martyrdom, yet it was these two texts, which spoke of 'bearing fruit' and divine consolation, that were settled upon. This suggests that the College's staff used the leeway that was available when choosing motets for the liturgy to insert texts that were consistent with the formational objectives of the Seminary, and in doing so, positioned the students to view particular feast-days, and therefore particular saints, in ways that honoured martyrdom and linked it inextricably with apostleship. Nonetheless, it also seems to suggest that martyrdom and suffering were not meditated upon directly, but placed in the context of missionary work or some other devotional exercise, such as the veneration of *La Vulnerata*.

Kerry McCarthy's study of the influence of Jesuit spirituality on William Byrd's work[132] provides some reasons why St Alban's, a Jesuit-run College, should have put music to these kinds of uses in its programme of formation. Ignatius's spiritual exercises put great stock in slowly meditating upon short sacred texts. As her re-

been read (the Martyrology was always read one day in advance). 29 December was the feast of St Thomas Becket, but the English College's martyrs were also mentioned in the martyrology for this day (See Caesar Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum ad Nouam Kalendarii Rationem et Ecclesiasticae Historiae Veritatem Restitutum, Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max., Iussu Editum; Accesserunt Notationes atque Tractatio de Martyrologio Romano Auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1589), 567). This would seem to provide a plausible explanation for Philip Neri's choice of salutation to the students at the Venerabile.

[131] Caesar Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum ad Nouam Kalendarii Rationem et Ecclesiasticae Historiae Veritatem Restitutum, Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max., Iussu Editum; Accesserunt Notationes atque Tractatio de Martyrologio Romano Auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1589), 567.

[132] McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia*, 17–24.

search makes clear, musical settings of texts gave further scope for slow meditation. Although an obvious consequence of this kind of slow meditation would have been that the students memorised the texts, a more important consequence, if they undertook the meditations in the spirit that they were intended, would have been that they came to identify with them, read deeper meanings into them, and in some way, made them a part of their own spiritual identity. Singing the texts required practice, and this meant that the students were required to spend time with both the music and the text. In this way, music, which on one level could have been construed as a recreational pursuit, became integrated with the formational objectives of the College.

Transformative Song: Oaths, Music and Entering the Construction of Martyrdom

The taking of the missionary oath – whereby the students vowed to return to England after ordination to propagate the Catholic faith – was an occasion of some importance at the College. Both the text of the oath and the ceremonial surrounding it are described in some detail in the 1600 customs. Music makes up a substantial part of the ceremony:

> 1. There is sung in choir alternatively [sic] with the organ the hymn Veni Creator Spiritus
> 2. The door of the tabernacle where the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist is reserved is opened, and the Rector, vested in surplice and stole stands at the Gospel side, and the student kneels before the altar and says his oath in a clear voice in the presence of all the students.
> 3. The versicle and response are sung:
> V. Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus est in nobis.
> R. A temple sancto suo, quod est in Jerusalem. and the Rector says the following prayer…
> 4. Then musical instruments are played and some suitable motet sung.[133]

[133] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 29.

This particular use of music demonstrates how the students were directly incorporated into the martyrological narrative which they had been taught to venerate. By endowing the ceremony with music, it was given a degree of solemnity that gave it the same level of importance as the veneration of *La Vulnerata* or the feast-days of the martyr-apostles in the College's liturgical calendar. More than this, the students were placed at the centre of the ceremony, and therefore closely linked to the College's particular construction of martyrdom. Although there are no surviving motets from the College that can be linked to this ceremony with any degree of certainty, it is tempting to think that the Lassus motet described above, with the superimposed text, would have been considered equally suitable for either the commemoration of a martyr-apostle or the construction of an English martyr-student.

In the case of Thomas Garnet, a student at the College from 1596 to 1599, his incorporation into the College's martyrdom narrative was sealed by his death at Tyburn on 23 June, 1608. Although he had left the College by the time that the first customs were compiled, the form of the oath in the 1600 *Diarios* bears the date 1582, indicating that Garnet would have made his vows using this text.[134] It seems likely, therefore, that the ritual which accompanied it was also very similar, particularly since the English priest who had taught music to the students (and was noted as having been at the College for seven years when the King visited in 1600) must also have been there when Garnet was studying for the priesthood. Garnet's last act before the cart was drawn away from beneath him was to sing the Veni creator spiritus.[135] In his last moments, through the music which had evidently been important enough in his formation for him to commit to memory, Garnet turned his mind to his vows, and to the impending martyrdom for which the College had prepared him.

[134] *E-Vsaa*, TRANS 9, f. 30.
[135] See the account of his death in Challoner, 296–299.

Devotional Shifts: From Martyrs to Missionaries

The gradual decline in payments to musicians after 1662 is indicative of a gradual shift in devotional priorities. Although devotion to St Alban and *La Vulnerata* was maintained, the shift away from honouring the apostles to honouring St Francis Xavier by paying musicians to play at Mass in his honour from 1688 indicates a different attitude towards the English Mission.[136] Although devotions to *La Vulnerata* (which now made much less use of external musicians) were a reminder of martyrdom, the new focus on Francis Xavier was also implicit recognition of the potential for successful missionary activity without death. The College's last martyrs, John Plessington and John Lloyd, had suffered at Chester and Cardiff respectively, nine years earlier. Before the deaths of these two priests, no alumni had been executed for some thirty years. Although there is a remote possibility that the students themselves could have sung Mass on other feast-days, it is still clear that the College prioritised the feast-day of St Francis Xavier over the feast-days of the apostle-martyrs insofar as it employed musicians to play for the former, but not for any of the latter. With fewer feasts being celebrated with music than before, the effect would have been to put this feast-day and saint into particularly high relief. Even in reduced financial circumstances, the College seems to have been careful to use music in ways that were consonant with its formational objectives, and adjusted its uses of music as these objectives changed.

Conclusions

Student-involved musical activity at St Alban's College during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was truly unique: based on the surviving evidence, it seems that no other English seminary, whether managed by the Jesuits or secular clergy, ever surpassed St Alban's in the range or extent of its musical activities. As an institution, the College represents a point of encounter and cultural enrichment between English and Continental styles of music: the English students and clergy

[136] *E-Vsaa*, Libros de Gastos 4, f. 5v.

brought their own musical training (whether from England, or St Omer, where a number of them studied first), and encountered a range of Continental styles through the musicians that the College hired, benefactions of supportive Spanish clergy and nobility, and interactions with the other musical institutions in Valladolid, including the Cathedral Choir. Although the College does not appear to have sustained the same high levels of musical activity during the second half of the seventeenth century, music seems to have had a consistently important role in the formation of clergy for the English Mission. It is difficult to assess the impact of music at the College on music in recusant circles, but the case for at least some cultural influence is persuasive. The music that a number of seminary priests sang on their way to their executions was recorded in accounts from the period, and captured the imagination of recusant Catholics: the 'Haec dies' that Mark Barkworth and Roger Filcock sang at Tyburn served as the inspiration for an as-yet-unidentified seventeenth-century composer, who set the text as a four-part motet and copied it into a two-volume Catholic encyclopaedia, immediately following after an account of the priests' deaths.[137]

If music at St Alban's was remarkable, then the reasons that it does not seem to have attracted much publicity are quite mundane. Firstly, given the differences of opinion among the English Jesuits about the place of music in seminaries, drawing too much attention to the College's musical activities could have drawn the ire of Jesuit superiors. As a consequence, musical achievements were only mentioned in connection with other, large-scale events. Secondly, music was considered a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. Used in conjunction with art, poetry, philosophy or politics, and firmly anchored in liturgical practice, music was a part of a seminary formation which prepared students for the English Mission, and constructed an image of the English Catholic priest as a self-sacrificing martyr. Music at St Alban's, therefore, can only be understood within the context of lived seminary life, and the formational objectives of the College.

[137] *GB-Ob*, MS Eng. Th. b.2, f. 137r.

CHAPTER 3

THE MONASTERY OF THE GLORIOUS ASSUMPTION, BRUSSELS

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Founded in 1598, the English Benedictine Monastery at Brussels was the first English convent established in exile, although a number of English women had already professed at the Augustinian convent of St Ursula in Louvain, and the Bridgettine Syon Monastery which settled at Lisbon in 1594, but had been founded nearly 180 years earlier in Middlesex. The foundress, Mary Percy, was a daughter of Thomas Percy, the seventh Earl of Northumberland, and Anne Somerset, daughter of the Earl of Worcester. When Thomas Percy was captured after the failure of the Rising of the North, Anne Somerset fled to Flanders with her daughter, who was still an infant. Thomas Percy was executed in 1572, having refused to save himself by renouncing his Catholic faith. In Flanders, Mary was part of a distinguished English family, her mother being a pensioner of the Spanish King and second in rank among the lay exiles only to the Earl of Westmoreland. After an education in Belgian and French convents, Mary Percy returned to England, where she suffered imprisonment for her religion, and finally settled in Brussels in the 1590s. Together with Dorothy and Gertrude Arundell, daughters of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne

in Cornwall, and with the assistance of Jesuit priest William Holt, she petitioned the Archbishop of Mechelen for permission to found a new English monastery in Brussels. Consent was given, and Dame Joanne Berkeley, a nun of the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter in Rheims, was chosen as the first mother of the new foundation, so that the women would undergo a probation and novitiate under a suitable superior.

The establishment of the Monastery must have been an event of some importance in Brussels: the three founding nuns were registered in 1597 as having access to the court in Brussels and were therefore exiles of some note, having integrated into the upper social circles of late sixteenth-century Brussels society. Their new foundation did not go unnoticed by the Archduke and Infanta, who were present at the Monastery's clothing or profession ceremonies in 1599, 1600 and 1607. When the new chapel was dedicated in 1618, the Archdukes also attended, having donated the main window, which had cost £150, and was decorated with their arms. At the clothing of the first postulants, the Infanta Isabella personally conducted Mary Percy and Dorothy Arundell to the Altar, then presented the other six choir nuns (who were conducted by the great ladies of court), and promised to be a mother to them all. The personal interest that the Archdukes took in this little monastery – and their willingness to endow it with funds at a time when their own treasury was struggling to meet its obligations – is indicative of the esteem in which the Monastery was held, both because of the social standing of its founding nuns and its prestige as the first English monastery to be founded after the Reformation. The blurred lines between piety and political expediency were negotiated delicately by the Monastery in its early years, and the nuns politely declined the Infanta's offer of an endowment because they would have lost the right to elect their own Abbess as a result.[1]

The history of the Monastery's archives and book collections is unfortunate: having lost a great deal of its collections during the French Revolution, when the Community was forced to flee Brussels, much of what survived was lost in the 1960s,

[1] For a more detailed history of the Brussels Monastery, see Arblaster, 'The Community of the Glorious Assumption: The English Benedictine Nuns of Brussels', *English Benedictine History Symposium* 17 (1999), 54–77; *Chronicle of the First Monastery Founded at Brussels A.D. 1597.*

when Dr James Molloy removed and subsequently sold a substantial number of books that the nuns had managed to bring with them from the Continent,[2] and in the 1970s, when – as a note among the surviving papers explains – the Abbess of Haslemere ordered that the old documents be destroyed in a fire, from which only a few were saved.[3]

Musical Reputation: Causes and Sources

Long-associated with music by virtue of John Bolt and Richard Dering, who were employed there as organists (although the dates of their arrival and departure are not entirely clear), the Monastery's musical reputation could not have been earned purely by association, since an early manuscript of the chronicles of St Monica's Convent refers to the Brussels monastery as having been 'so famous'[4] for its music by the time that Bolt arrived at Louvain in 1613.[5] Additionally, Arblaster has suggested that Richard Verstegan's dedication of his *Odes in Imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes* (1603) to a group of 'Vertuous Ladies, the singers of these ditties', is an oblique reference to the nuns of the Brussels convent.[6] The Monastery's musical reputation seems to have travelled as far as it did fast: by 1622, the rector of the English College at Douai, Matthew Kellison was evidently stating a widely-held view when he wrote that the Monastery had 'a special reputation for music

[2] Nicolas Kiessling, 'Dr James Molloy and the Dispersal of Books from Benedictine Libraries in England' (Unpublished Conference Paper), English Benedictine History Symposium, St Mary's Abbey, Colwich, 12 April 2012.

[3] Haslemere, which closed in 1976, was the last monastery directly descended from the Monastery of the Our Lady of the Assumption. Its archives contained all of the surviving documents from the Brussels monastery and the other places where the community moved after re-establishing itself in England (namely Winchester from 1794 to 1857, and Haslemere from 1857). The Community's papers are now at Downside Abbey, Statton-on-the-Fosse.

[4] Hamilton 1, 42.

[5] It is unclear when Bolt arrived at Brussels: He was arrested at some point in 1593 or 1594, fled to St Omer when he was released, and later moved to Brussels. Although after some three years of service at the Brussels convent he was persuaded by the nuns to become a priest and entered St Gregory's as a novice, his health failed, and he set aside the idea, becoming a priest in Cambray diocese. He was ordained at Douai in 1605. There is no indication in the *Douai Diaries* of when Bolt arrived at the College, making it difficult to determine how long he was there before being ordained. There is also no record of him at St Gregory's. All that can be said with any certainty is that Bolt was at the Brussels monastery for a three year interval at some stage between 1598, when the Monastery was founded, and 1605, when he was ordained.

[6] Arblaster, 'The Community of the Glorious Assumption', 64.

above the other English convents.'[7] Given how soon after the Monastery's foundation these views began to circulate, it suggests the existence of a strong musical culture there *ab initio*. It is also unlikely that this culture was the result of importations from other monasteries: of the founding nuns at Brussels, only the mother, Dame Joanna Berkeley, had been previously professed. Opportunities for musical training in those early years must have been limited, firstly by the financial burden of establishing a new monastery, but also because the rules pertaining to monastic enclosure were strictly enforced after the Council of Trent, and given the attitude of the Archbishop of Mechelen, Mathias Hovius,[8] it seems improbable that John Bolt could have taught from anywhere but outside the enclosure. If the surviving plans of the Monastery are accurate,[9] however, the parlours where nuns could speak to outsiders from behind a grille had little space for either the nuns or their visitors, meaning that any tuition given by Bolt in these parlours could have only been given to small groups of nuns.[10] By the time that Dering arrived, the boundary between convent and external musicians seems to have been planned and almost entirely set: work on the new chapel would have been nearing completion,[11] and the organ was located outside the enclosure. The absence of any petitions to the Archbishop of Mechelen for dispensations for Dering or any other musicians to enter the enclosure seems to confirm this separation: the archives of the Archdiocese of Mechelen are relatively intact, and any such petition would have either been noted in the *Acta*, or preserved with the other correspondence from the Brussels monastery in the *Fonds Kloosters*.

[7] Douai Diaries 2, 203.

[8] See Craig Harline and Eddy Put, 'A Bishop in the Cloisters: The Visitations of Mathias Hovius (Malines, 1596–1620)', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22/4 (1991): 611–639.

[9] *Chronicle of the First Monastery Founded at Brussels for English Benedictine Nuns A.D. 1597*, 4–5.

[10] Nonetheless, the grate played an important role in exchanges between the Monastery and the local community, although not always to the Monastery's advantage: during his 1620 visitation, Archbishop Mathias Hovius suggested that the nuns' indiscriminate social interactions at the grate were both distracting the nuns and damaging the Monastery's reputation. See Claire Walker, 'Securing Songs or Telling Tales? The Politics of Cloister Life in an English Convent', in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, Cordula van Wyhe, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 232.

[11] The chapel was opened in 1618. See *Chronicle of the First Monastery Founded at Brussels*, 100.

Reconstructions: Class, Culture and the Choir Nun

It has already been established that the duty of singing the Mass and Office fell to the choir nuns of each convent.[12] At the Brussels monastery, it is clear that there was no way that the lay sisters could have had been involved in liturgical music, because they were explicitly forbidden from learning to sing or read by the Monastery's constitutions:

> They that are admitted for Converse Sisters, after they have made their Profession, may never passe to the State of the Professed of the Quier, and therefore they may not learne to sing, read or write, nor yet may they bee taught to doe the same.[13]

This legislated division between choir nuns and lay sisters was complemented by class distinctions, which also had implications for the Monastery's musical practices. Lady Mary Percy, who was Abbess from 1616 to 1642, boasted that, although the Monastery was not obliged to receive only 'persons of quality', all the nuns in the monastery, excepting two or three, were from families of high social standing (that is, the nobility and landed gentry). This higher social status, with its attendant mores and obligations, suggests much about the way that these women were raised and educated: the ability to write, speak foreign languages and to engage in lady-like activities, including art and music, were quite normal expectations of a seventeenth-century lady.[14] That a number of letters from choir nuns at the Monastery to the Archbishop of Mechelen were written in French seems to confirm that they had received the kind of education that might have been expected for a woman of noble birth at the time. Evidence of literacy and languages among individual nuns, however, is more concrete than evidence of their musicianship. For

[12] See Introduction, 24. The importance of music in the role of the choir nuns at the Brussels monastery is demonstrated by the fact that an early seventeenth-century manuscript from the Monastery (presumably for the use of the novice mistress) titled 'Of Such thinges as those which are Schollers & Novices in this our Congregation, are to observe' stipulates that scholars and novices were to be trained to 'sing, reade & pronounce aright both lattin & englesh, & to put out their voyces with a decent Religiositie, & zealous courrage.' See *US-Cn*, Newberry Vault Case MS 4A 10, f. 4v.

[13] *The Second Parte of the Statutes...*, 52–53.

[14] Laurence, *Women in England*, 170.

this, it is useful to trace their family backgrounds, and look for evidence of musical activity in the household. Music had important social functions in English households during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and musical competency was considered a desirable attribute for both men and women of the upper classes. The large market in England for both printed music[15] and musical manuscripts[16] indicates that recreational music-making in ensembles was widespread. In a household where one member of the family pursued musical interests therefore, it is likely that other members also participated in what was entertainment for the whole family. Music was not an individual and private pursuit, and although social handbooks advised restraint and even a degree of reluctance in performing for others to avoid being thought of as vain or ostentatious, it always had a communal purpose: music was an important means of self-distinction which, even when not used in social situations, was evidence of cultural refinement and social grace.[17]

English Nuns and their Musical Families

Critical assessment of the musical education of women from recusant families has the potential to shed new light on the nature of musical experiences at the English convents in exile and – through a better knowledge of these parameters – to appropriately contextualise the works of composers such as Richard Dering. In the absence of musical sources with definite information about the musical repertoires that the convents performed, it also has the potential to provide a basis on which to reconstruct the likely repertoire of individual convents and the manner in which it was performed. The musical backgrounds of some choir nuns from the Brussels Monastery are considered below.

[15] See for instance, Smith's study of Thomas East's thriving business as a music printer in Elizabethan England: Jeremy Smith. *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[16] See Alan Howard, 'Manuscript Publishing in the Commonwealth Period: A Neglected Source of Consort Music by Golding and Locke'. *Music & Letters* 90/1 (2009): 35–67.

[17] On the importance of music as a part of a well-rounded education of this period, see Wayne Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), 28.

MARY PHILIPS

Of all the choir nuns at Brussels, Mary Philips had the most obvious musical pedigree. Although David Smith argues that she was not the composer Peter Philips's daughter,[18] evidence recently uncovered by Anne E. Lyman seems to tip the balance of probabilities in the opposite direction. Lyman has found that Peter Philips was a member of a religious guild in Brussels, and that a Mary Philips is also listed in the guild's register of members.[19] Although they are not listed side by side, this is not unusual, as the registers were compiled in roughly alphabetical order, with only husbands and wives listed together. This would appear to supply a crucial – and hitherto missing – documentary link between Peter Philips and Mary Philips. Philips's wife, Cornelia de Mompere, had died in 1592, two months after the birth of their daughter, Leonara, who died during her childhood. Mary Philips was born in 1596, the same year that Philips published a book of six-part madrigals at Antwerp. Perhaps the reason that her mother's name is not mentioned in the Monastery's records is that Mary was born out of wedlock (no evidence has come to light to suggest that Philips married again after his wife's death). Peter Philips was enrolled in the Confraternity in 1625; his daughter followed in 1626.[20] Although Mary had by now been at the Monastery for some six years, the practice of enrolling even the dead was not unheard of in confraternities during this period,[21] so it is possible that Philips enrolled his own daughter, whose religious profession had rendered her 'dead to the world', as soon as he had the funds to do so.

Mary Philips followed in her father's footsteps: she was listed as the Monastery's chantress in 1640. Although she had been eligible under the Monastery's constitutions to have been appointed chantress at the age of twenty-four (that is, four years

[18] Smith, ed., Peter Philips, *Complete Keyboard Music*, xiii.

[19] Lyman, 'Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella', Vol., 1, 141.

[20] *B-ADra*, Archief van Sint-Goedele, MS 8955. The folios in this document are not numbered.

[21] See, for instance, Anne Dillon, 'Public Liturgy Made Private: The Rosary Confraternity in the Life of a Recusant Household', in *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688*, David Worthington, ed. (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010), 256.

after her profession),[22] it took a further decade before Philips was appointed to the position.[23] Given that Philips belonged to the pro-Jesuit faction in the Monastery (her name appears in a 1632 agreement signed to bring about a peace with the appellants),[24] perhaps she had fallen foul of Mary Percy and for this reason was not appointed sooner.

Catharine and Margaret Paston

Edward Paston's collection of music has been the subject of much research.[25] As arguably the largest private collection in England during the seventeenth century – and containing unique copies of works by Byrd and Ferrabosco, suggesting that he was one of their patrons[26] – it is unsurprising that it should have attracted so much attention. What seems to have gone largely unnoticed, however, is his connection to the Brussels convent through his two daughters: Catharine, who professed in 1613,[27] and Margaret, who professed in 1624.[28]

Although John Milsom has suggested that the seemingly random manner in which Paston's manuscripts were compiled almost certainly precluded their liturgical use,[29] the flexibility of the motet as a liturgical genre would suggest otherwise. Certainly, as a systematic collection for liturgical use, the Paston manuscripts cannot

[22] *The Second Parte of the Statutes of the Officers of the Convent, and of Certayne Other Persones Belonging to the Monastery* (Ghent: Ioos Dooms, 1632), 15.

[23] Mary Philips, d. 1654, WWTN, Database record BB139, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB139, Accessed 13 July 2013.

[24] A document dating from c.1632 (authored by Mary Percy) describes the troubles at the Monastery and includes a copy of an agreement made with the pro-Jesuit faction of nuns, listing (by name in religion) all the members of this faction who signed the agreement: Choir nuns Elizabeth Southcott, Mary Parsons, Scholastica Smith, Anastasia Morgan, Barbara Leake, Cecilia Ashdowne, Benedict Tresham, Winifride Tresham, Renata Smith, Mary Vavasour, Mary Philips, Aurea Jones, Columba Gage, Dorothy Manock, Mary Kempe, Flavia Langdale, Brigitt Draycott, Mechtilda Trentham and Mary Eure; Lay sisters Mary Strachow, Madeline Thornburgh, Anne Healy, Barbary Ducket, Joane More, Francis Garnett, Dorothy Redman and Mary Corbinton. See *GB-Lbl*, Harleian MS 4275, f. 22.

[25] See, for instance: Brett, 'Edward Paston: A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection'; Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630)'; Knights, 'The Music Manuscripts of Edward Paston.'

[26] Brett, 'Edward Paston: A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection', 50–52.

[27] Catharine Paston, d. 1640, WWTN, Database record BB132, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB132, Accessed 13 July 2013.

[28] Margaret Paston, d. 1652, WWTN, Database record BB133, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB133, Accessed 16 July 2013.

[29] Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber.'

supply everything that is necessary for a sung Mass, but given the number of contexts in which the motet was used liturgically during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (including at the offertory, elevation and after the Mass),[30] it is still possible that the Paston family used this music for their clandestine Masses at a small chapel near the family house in Norfolk. Outside the liturgy, the motet seems to have appeared in a range of contexts, including as an accompaniment to meals.[31] Regardless of whether the family used Edward Paston's manuscripts in the liturgy or merely in private devotions, it is likely that the Paston daughters were exposed to a very wide range of both English and Continental music, and various combinations of lute and vocal ensembles, depending on how the lute and vocal books were used together.[32] In a convent setting, the usefulness of experience in this kind of arrangement and re-editing of existing works can only be imagined: works originally scored for mixed voices could be arranged for female voices and an instrumental ensemble, the latter supplying for the missing voices in a way that would complete the texture and its harmonic structure. It certainly invites a reappraisal of the motets that Dering published through Phalèse in Antwerp, while he was organist to the Brussels nuns: although Platt argued that these were unsuitable for use in the Monastery, he did not consider whether the works could have been transposed and adapted by the nuns for their own use.[33]

While Dering's 1618 *Cantica sacra* demonstrates contemporary Italian influences, the madrigalesque writing in this collection could also be construed as an attempt to narrow the gap between domestic and liturgical styles of music in ways that would have been attractive to Phalèse's customers, and suited to the nuns' musical backgrounds. Most of the works in this collection are made up of homophonic sections,

[30] See, for instance: Anthony M. Cummings, 'Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34/1 (1981): 43–59; John T Brobeck, 'Some "Liturgical Motets" for the French Royal Court: A Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *Musica Disciplina* 47 (1993): 123–157.

[31] Brobeck, 'Some "Liturgical Motets" for the French Royal Court: A Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet': 124; Rees, 'Luisa De Carvajal y Mendoza and Music in an English Catholic House in 1605', 273.

[32] For a full inventory of Paston's collection, see Knights, 'The Music Manuscripts of Edward Paston.'

[33] Platt, ed., Richard Dering, *Cantica sacra, 1618*, x.

which are punctuated by brief polyphonic passages. The entire texture is underpinned by a continuo part, which further adds to the works' flexibility, since the accompanist (or accompanists) can compensate for any harmonic deficincies in the voice parts. With these attributes, the works could have been easily adapted to the needs of the Monastery. This was not without precedent: Lionel Pike has identified an instance in which Peter Philips arranged Palestrina's 'Quanti Mercenarii', originally composed for full choir, as a motet for two voices and continuo. Pike also suggests that the imitation between voice parts and continuo in Philips's few-voice motets shows that the composer wrote these in the same manner as his full-choir works.[34] Dering's preface to his 1617 publication indicates that he had been planning this collection of motets for some time, having conceived them in Rome.[35] There is no similar claim in his 1618 publication, suggesting that these works were entirely the fruit of his time in Brussels. Given the close connections between the full-choir and few-voice motet writing of his contemporaries, it is possible that Dering foresaw adaptive uses for his 1618 collection of motets at the Brussels monastery and composed them accordingly.

Quae est ista quae ascendit – Cantica sacra, 1618

Dering's *Quae est ista* is a prime example of the kind of motet that could have been composed with the nuns in mind – either in its original form, or by ensuring that the published form was adaptable for this purpose. That the 1618 edition of the *Cantica sacra* was dedicated to Abbess Mary Percy suggests a close connection between this collection of motets and the Monastery.[36] Although published in a version for six voices, a reduction to four upper voices in the homophonic, declamatory passages is entirely straightforward: doubled parts can be removed, and provided that the material with melodic interest is preserved, the remaining voices can be altered to provide the rest of the necessary notes for each chord. Contrapuntal passages in

[34] Lionel. Pike, 'The First English 'Basso Continuo' Publication', *Music & Letters* 54/3 (1973): 328–330.

[35] Platt, ed., Richard Dering, *Cantica sacra, 1618*, ix.

[36] For a modern edition of the work, see Peter Platt, ed., *Richard Dering, Cantica sacra, 1618*, 51–58.

the *Quae est ista* do not present many problems for rearrangement because Dering's compositional style in this work contains so many instances of paired voices in parallel motion, which could be reduced to single voices without doing any violence to the counterpoint. Finally, the reduced textural possibilities caused by the reduction from six to four voices could be compensated for to a degree by changing the texture or colour of the continuo accompaniment. While the same is probably true of many other continuo-accompanied motets of this period, it is interesting that a collection dedicated to the Abbess of the Brussels monastery should be made up entirely of motets in this style.

ELIZABETH DIGBY

Elizabeth Digby, the chantress at Brussels (who professed in 1611, before leaving to establish the new monastery at Ghent in 1624),[37] also seems to have come from a musical family. Her brother, Sir Everard Digby, was noted as a cultured man, and as being particularly skilled in music. Although it is possible that Everard Digby acquired these skills in later life, it seems more plausible that his Protestant guardians (who raised him after the death of his father) saw to it that he learned music along with all the other gentlemanly arts. Fr John Gerard's remarks about Digby are telling:

> He was a good musician and kept divers good musicians in his house; and himself also could play well of divers instruments.[38]

Although there is no evidence that Elizabeth was also made a ward of the State (she may well have lived with her mother, who remarried after her father's death), it does seem likely that she also had musical training, even if she only acquired it after her brother had succeeded to their father's estate, upon reaching the age of majority. As the eldest brother in the family, it was Digby's responsibility to take care of his unmarried sisters, and it is likely that Elizabeth lived in the family house at Gayhurst

[37] Elizabeth Digby, d. 1659, WWTN, Database record BB063, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB063, Accessed 16 July 2013.

[38] Quoted in Morris, ed., *The Condition of Catholics under James I*, 89.

with Digby and his wife. It would also appear, from Fr John Gerard's account, that Digby was mindful of the welfare of his sister, wishing to see her married well:

> Indeed, so far was this gentleman from having the least suspicion about me, that he seriously asked Master Lee whether he thought I was a good match for his sister, whom he wished to see married well, and to a Catholic, for he looked on Catholics as good and honourable men.[39]

If Digby wished to see his sister married well then this implies that he was taking the appropriate steps to ensure that she was a suitable marriage prospect. To this end, she must have also been trained in all of the skills that were expected of a lady of her standing.[40] In a house where music was such a prominent part of her brother's life, it would have been unusual if Elizabeth had not been exposed to music-making as part of the household's recreational activities.[41] Although seventeenth-century treatises about the role of women in the home and society give little information about their musical activities, printed music of the period gives some indication of what a woman of higher social standing might have been expected to sing insofar as these printed colletions of music were expensive, beyond the financial means of the lower classes, and evidently produced to satisfy the interests of their well-off purchasers. Furthermore, they give some indication as to the nature of musical ensembles in these social circles, and their technical abilities. It seems clear from the many collections of English madrigals that were published during the seventeenth century[42] that women were indeed involved in recreational singing, which was a popular pastime in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century households. The consort song, which Byrd had been experimenting with as early as the 1570s and increased in popularity during the seventeenth century with other composers, including Mundy, Greaves,

[39] Morris, ed., *The Condition of Catholics under James I*, cli.

[40] On the importance of music as a means of 'socialisation towards marriage', see Yael Sela. 'An Examination of Virginal Manuscripts Owned by Women in the Context of Early Modern English Keyboard Music Culture ca. 1590–1660'. DPhil diss. University of Oxford, 2010, 322–323. On female education in England, see Sara Heller Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550–1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 89–98.

[41] Sela discusses female dependence on patriarchal consent and mediation for access to music and performance opportunities. See Sela, 'An Examination of Virginal Manuscripts Owned by Women in the Context of Early Modern English Keyboard Music Culture ca. 1590–1660', 309.

[42] For a discussion of publication trends, see Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), 258–267.

Carlton and Alison, and it seems likely that Elizabeth Digby and her contemporaries might also have been expected to accompany vocal music by playing in a consort of viols.[43]. What is particularly interesting is the degree of interchangeability between the consort song and *a cappella* genres:[44] in his *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (1588), Byrd indicated that some of the works in the collection, although scored for four voices, had originally been composed for a single voice and instruments.[45]

when Thomas East published a number of consort song collections with works by a number of composers (including Byrd), suggests that

Elizabeth and Everard's cousin, Anne Vaux, who had a notable private chapel in her house, had sheltered the Jesuit priest Henry Garnet, who is known to have sung the Mass on some occasions.[46] Given that Garnet moved in the same social circles as Everard Digby (which ultimately led to the demise of both men, when they were implicated in the Gunpowder Plot of 1606), it is possible that Elizabeth attended a sung Mass by Garnet, perhaps as part of the secret pilgrimage to Holywell that her brother, cousin and several of the other Gunpowder Plotters organised in 1605. On entering the Monastery in 1611, therefore, it is likely that Elizabeth Digby could read music and sing, and had some experience of playing in ensembles. Unfortunately, Fr Gerard does not specify the 'divers instruments' that her brother was able to play, but if Thomas Hoby's 1561 translation of *The Courtier* is representative of late sixteenth-century musical tastes among courtiers,[47] Elizabeth was probably accustomed to songs accompanied on the lute, and also viol music.

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[43] On the development of the consort song, see Philip Brett, 'The English Consort Song, 1570–1625', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (1961–1962): 73–88.

[44] Brett notes the appearence of the phrase 'fit for voices or viols' as first appearing on the title page of a madrigal at the turn of the seventeenth century. See Philip Brett. 'Consort Song'. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Available: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06235 Accessed 12 April 2014.

[45] See Jeremy Smith. *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, 70.

[46] Fr William Weston noted that Garnet 'sometimes' sang the Mass when he described a sung Mass in a recusant household, at which William Byrd assisted. See William Weston, trans. Philip Caraman, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955), 71.

[47] Baldassare Castiglione, trans. Thomas Hoby, *The Book of the Courtier* (London: 1561). Hoby's text is unfoliated, but the discussion of music and its social roles is in the second of the four books (which are bound together), beginning with the heading, 'How to shewe musicke' and ending at 'How old men should practise musicke'. For a discussion of the influence of *The Courtier* in recusant circles, see Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630)', 37–47.

WINIFRIDE WISEMAN

Winifride Wiseman, who entered the Convent in 1602, also grew up in a family where music was valued and performed.[48] Her father, Sir William Wiseman, sheltered John Bolt for a time after he fled from Elizabeth I's court, where his abilities as a keyboard player and singer had been much admired. Although Winifride could have only been about eight years old when John Bolt stayed with her family, the fact that Bolt admitted, under examination by Topcliffe, that he had stayed at Mr. Verney's house in Warwickshire to teach Mr. Bassett's children to sing and play on the virginal, suggests that he might have done the same for the Wiseman children when he stayed at their Essex residence.[49] Furthermore, John Bolt seems to have stayed with the Wisemans around the same time as Fr John Gerard offered Mass at their home.[50] Although there is no concrete evidence that Bolt provided music for the chapel on this occasion, the relative safety of the Wisemans' country chapel makes it a possibility.

MARTHA COLFORD

Martha Colford (who professed in 1611)[51] is an interesting case: although there is no mention of her musical abilities in the surviving records of the Brussels monastery, her father clearly knew William Byrd, and worked with him to make converts of the Wrights of Kelvedon in Essex:

> [Parish of] Stondon Massie [Contra] Willielmum Bird et Elenam ejus uxorem. Presentantur for Popyshe Recusants: He is a Gentleman of the

[48] Winifride Wiseman, d. 1647, WWTN, Database record BB199, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB199, Accessed 16 July 2013.

[49] Joseph Gillow, 'John Bolt,' *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary of the English Catholics: from the breach with Rome, in 1534, to the present time*, Vol. 1 (London: Burns & Oates, 1885): 256–257.

[50] John Gerard seems to have been at the Wisemans' home in 1594. See Morris, ed., *The Condition of Catholics under James I*, xlii-xliv. It is possible that Gerard had met John Bolt before this, however, since he mentions the musician at an earlier point in his memoirs than he describes his time with the Wisemans. See John Morris, *The Life of Father John Gerard, of the Society of Jesus*, 3rd ed. (London: Burns and Oates, 1881), 123. This raises questions about the social circles common to Bolt and Gerard. It is even possible that Bolt was introduced to the Wisemans through Gerard.

[51] Martha Colford, d. 1634, WWTN, Database record BB039, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB039, Accessed 16 July 2013.

> Kings Majesties Chapell, and, as the Minister & Church Wardens doe heare, the said William Birde, with the assistance of one Gabriel Colford, who is now at Antwerp, hath byn the chiefe and principall seducer of John Wright, sonne and heire of John Wright of Kelvedon, in Essex, Gent., & of Anne Wright, the daughter of the said John Wright the elder.[52]

This suggests that Martha also would have known William Byrd, and may well have attended the recusant Masses held on the Petre estate, for which music from William Byrd's *Gradualia* was sung.

The picture that begins to emerge of the Convent is telling: at least half a dozen nuns that entered the Brussels convent in the early seventeenth century came from families that can be proven to have had musical interests, and were sometimes also connected to wider musical networks. All these nuns were alive and active during the time that John Bolt and Richard Dering were organists at the Monastery.[53] Between a skilled organist and six skilled or instrumentalists, the Monastery certainly had the basis for a strong music programme.

Missing Music?

Given the extent to which writings from the Brussels monastery (and other convents in exile) circulated through publication, a crucial question arises: if there were nuns at the Monastery who were capable musicians and possibly also capable composers, why did they refrain from publishing their works? Chiara Margarita Cozzolani (1602–c.1676–78), a nun at the Benedictine monastery of Santa Radegonda in Milan, published four books of music between 1640 and 1650.[54] Although Caterina Assan-

[52] Cited in John S. Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549–1889*, Vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1908), 63.

[53] John Bolt must have been at the Brussels convent some years before 1613, when the chronicles of the English Augustinian Convent at Louvain record his arrival to be their organist and music teacher – Hamilton 1, 150. Dering is first known to have been at the Brussels convent in 1617, when he published his *Cantiones sacrae* at Antwerp. He is mentioned as the organist to the English Benedictine convent in Brussels on the title page of this publication. Financial accounts from approximately 1620 list him as Monastery's organist – see Arblaster, 'The Community of the Glorious Assumption': 71. Although it is unclear when Dering left the Brussels monastery, he was appointed organist to Henrietta Maria in London in 1625 – See Hanlon, 'Richard Dering, Catholic Musician of Stuart England': 447.

[54] Monson, *The Crannied Wall*, 216.

dra was a little more reticent (her only surviving published work dates from 1609, shortly before she entered the Benedictine monastery at Lommell), her works clearly circulated beyond the cloister after she professed, because some of her compositions are included in collections published in 1611 and 1618 by her teacher, the German Catholic exile Benedetto Re.[55] The reasons for the apparent reluctance on the part of the Brussels monastery to publish music, however, may be peculiarly English: it was only in 1655 that the first works by a female composer were published in England, when three songs by Mary Dering were included in Henry Lawes's *Second Book of Ayres, and Dialogues*.[56] While it is true that the nuns' writings were circulated beyond the cloister for many years before this, they were usually published anonymously, disclosing only the name of the originating institution. Goodrich provides an interesting explanation of the motives for this practice:

> The apparently private nature of these women's voices only heightened their spiritual authority as representatives of Catholic piety, since the very removal of Percy, Deacon, and Gray from the world signaled their religious devotion. However, all three Benedictine nuns chose to publish their work, indicating that it contained a very public message meant for the entire English Catholic community. Publication ensured that Mary Percy, Prudentiana Deacon, and Alexia Gray could shape the reputations of their convents as spiritual centers.[57]

If, as Goodrich proposes, the nuns only published works that contained a public message, then perhaps they did not believe that their music carried any message for English Catholics that required publication. In this sense, they were not alone: none of the English convents in exile are known to have published musical works during their entire period in exile. Perhaps they were aware of Byrd's publications and felt that both these, and publications by Counter-Reformation Continental composers met the needs of the Catholic community in England adequately. Further-

[55] Assandra, Caterina, *Grove Music Online*, Available: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01427, Accessed 3 April 2012.

[56] See Judith Tick and et al. 'Women in Music'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Available: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/52554pg2 Accessed 4 April 2012.

[57] Jaime Goodrich. 'Early Modern Englishwomen as Translators of Religious and Political Literature, 1500–1641'. PhD diss. Boston College, 2008, 450.

more, although the practice of publishing polemical pamphlets anonymously was widespread among English Catholics, published music always seems to have required an attribution to a composer. Even Byrd's Masses, which were published with a degree of anonymity by omitting the customary frontispiece, were coolly ascribed to him on the first page of the Kyrie. Although anonymity was acceptable for published texts therefore, it would have been entirely out of place for published music. This would only account for published works however: the problem of why no music from the Brussels monastery survives in manuscript sources from outside the Monastery remains. One possibility is that the music was circulated, but under an assumed name – perhaps even that of a male relative. Another, which has yet to be explored, is that some of the surviving manuscripts were written by women, but because these are unattributed, they have not yet been identified. In any event, the dissemination of a written record of the Monastery's music does not appear to have been a priority: the Monastery's musical reputation seems to have developed from its performances of works, rather than their composition. Unlike publication, performance demanded a visit to the Monastery, and therefore to the nuns. It was therefore a drawcard, providing a means by which the nuns and local community could interact.

Clearly the Brussels monastery distinguished itself by the quality of its performances, but it is also possible that its repertoire had some bearing on its reputation. This provides another possibility for why Dering did not publish any of his few-voice motets in the Spanish Netherlands: to have done so would have compromised the Monastery's *musica secreta*. It seems very unlikely that Dering did not publish any few-voice motets through Phalèse because he did not think that they would be popular with the local market: he must have witnessed Peter Philips's successes with his *Gemmulae sacrae* and *Deliciae sacrae* and known that he too was capable of composing in the contemporary Italian style. Just as the Cappella Sistina carefully guarded the score to Allegri's famous *Miserere* for at least two centuries, so too may the nuns have protected their own musical attractions from wider circulation.

Music at the Brussels Monastery: Surviving Sources from Within the Cloister

As a result of the French Revolution and subsequent losses, the range of surviving primary sources from the Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption is very limited. Nonetheless, the survival of the constitutions, some liturgical manuscripts and a published book from the Monastery's library allows some aspects of the Monastery's musical culture to be reconstructed.

Constitutions

The Monastery's constitutions were approved by the Archbishop of Mechelen at the time that the Monastery was established. An original, handwritten copy of these constitutions survives in the archives of the Archdiocese.[58] They were later translated into English and published (with very slight modifications) by the Benedictines of Ghent, who had adopted the Brussels constitutions when they founded their new monastery in 1627. The date of publication for the first part of the constitutions is not disclosed on its cover page, but the second and third parts were published in 1632.[59] These constitutions are an important source of information about the Brussels monastery's liturgical practices and their implications for music.

Like most other nunneries, the Brussels monastery had a chantress. What is interesting about the Brussels monastery, however, is the extent to which the chantress's duties are described in the its constitutions, which make it clear that her duties extended well beyond the usual preparation of the plainchant and direction of singing during the Office:

> If they shall sing any thing in Musicke in the Church, those are to bee appoynted by her (or by some other who perhapps may bee fitter for

[58] *B-MEaa*, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictijnen/1.

[59] *The Second Parte of the Statutes…, The Third Parte of Those Matters That Are More Extrinsecally and Externally Appertayning to the Congregation, and the Monastery, and Are Belonging to the Temporalities of the Same* (Ghent: Ioos Dooms, 1632).

> this Office) that must sing, neither may any other presume to sing, but such, as by her are appoynted.[60]

The distinction between singing 'musicke' and plainchant is very pronounced in the original Latin version of the constitutions.[61] The Latin 'cantus', although potentially referring to all types of singing, is customarily used to refer to plainchant in liturgical documents of a legislative nature. There are many references to 'cantus' elsewhere in the document, but this particular paragraph specifically refers to 'musicam', suggesting a different type of sung music to the more typical plainchant. From its very outset, therefore, it is clear that the Monastery made provision for of music other than plainchant, and also for its competent direction. The same paragraph in the constitutions also suggests that either the chantress or another nun at the Monastery would be competent enough to direct the singing of the 'musicke'.[62] The chapter which outlines the duties of the Monastery's chantress seems to suggest that musical abilities in the Community ranged across a spectrum: any nun who did not feel that she was capable of singing the music assigned to her was to notify the chantress so that a suitable replacement could be found in good time.[63]

The first chapter of the constitutions puts all of the music used at the Monastery into its liturgical context by specifying when the liturgy was to be sung. The nuns were to sing all of the canonical hours (using the Roman form of the Divine Office) on the 'principallest' feasts of the liturgical year (that is, the holy days of obligation), the feasts of the patron saints of the Benedictine Order and also on the anniversary of the dedication of the Chapel.[64] They were also to sing Mass daily unless, for a just cause, the Abbess determined otherwise. The constitutions also stipulated that a Mass of the Holy Ghost was to be sung each week, and a votive Mass of the Virgin

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[60] *The Second Parte of the Statutes...*, 54.

[61] *The Second Parte of the Statutes...*, 53, 54. For the Latin text, see, *B-MEaa*, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictijnen/1, Book 2, Chapter 12, Nos. 1 and 4. [The pages of the manuscript are not numbered]

[62] *The Second Parte of the Statutes...*, 54.

[63] *The Second Parte of the Statutes...*, 52.

[64] *Statutes Compyled for the Better Observation of the Holy Rule of the Most Glorious Father and Patriarch St Benedict...*, 9–10.

Mary was to offered on those Saturdays when the Office of the Virgin Mary was said.[65]

Surviving Books Containing Music

Of the nuns' own musical sources, the only ones to have survived to the present day are books of plainchant, which are described below.

Graduale Romanum, 1607

Clearly, most of the liturgical functions that were to be sung according to the Brussels constitutions must have used plainchant, although there is little surviving evidence of this from the seventeenth century, beyond a single copy of the *Graduale Romanum* dating from 1607, which is preserved in the archives of Douai Abbey at Woolhampton.[66]. This book is significant for two reasons: firstly, as an edition of the chant published at Antwerp and edited for the Archbishop of Mechelen, it demonstrates that the Monastery's musical repertoire, at least in part, drew on sources that were available locally; secondly, that the publisher of the book was Joachim Trognaesius suggests that Richard Verstegan acted as the Monastery's buying agent for books and printed music. Trognaesius published nine of Verstegan's works between 1587 and 1604,[67] so it seems natural that Verstegan would have approached his old business associate when seeking music for the Brussels monastery. The grandson of a Dutch emigrant, Verstegan acted as the buying agent for the English Jesuits and a number of other religious institutions in exile,[68] having fled to the Continent after being identified in England as the printer of an illegal Catholic pamphlet, titled, 'A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M.Campion Jesuite and preiste, & M. Sherwin, & M. Bryan preistes, at Tiborne the first of December 1581. Observid

[65] *Statutes Compyled for the Better Observation of the Holy Rule of the Most Glorious Father and Patriarch St Benedict...*, 9–10.

[66] It is interesting to note that this edition is missing from Karp's study of printed chant books after the Council of Trent, which only lists Trognaesius's *Graduale Romanum* from 1609. See Theodore Karp. *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*. Vol. 1, 2 vols. (Middleton, Wisconsin: American Institute of Musicology, 2005), 17

[67] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 53.

[68] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 50.

and written by a Catholike preist, which was present thereat. Whereunto is annexid certayne verses made by sundrie persons.'[69] Verstegan had certainly been asked to purchase music in the past, since he had sent 'musick books for Valladolid' to Fr Robert Persons in 1593.[70]

Liturgical Manuscripts

The Monastery's liturgical manuscripts contain the texts of the clothing and profession ceremonies for choir nuns and lay sisters at the Brussels monastery. As texts that were particular to the Monastery, these needed to be compiled internally, rather than purchased from local publishers. In their other liturgical ceremonies, the nuns followed the Roman Rite, for which the missals and brevaries produced by local publishers would have been adequate.[71]

Two manuscript copies of seventeenth-century clothing and profession ceremonials from the Brussels monastery are known to survive. One is probably from the very late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and the other is dated 1693. The former – which is in the archives of the Archdiocese of Mechelen – was probably prepared for the use of the Archbishop, containing all of the texts that he was to say in the ceremony, and rubrics for him to follow.[72] Unlike the *Pontificale*, which also contains a text for the consecration of virgins, it does not contain all of the liturgical texts that were used in the rite (including the texts of the chants that accompanied actions at various points of the ceremony, such as the cutting of the hair, clothing, imposition of the veil and so on), although it does contain incipits for the chants that the Archbishop was to intone (such as the Veni creator spiritus and Te Deum). The 1693 copy of the profession ceremonial is from the Monastery's collection, and was probably prepared for the use of the chantress or another nun who was closely involved in the rite.[73] This text contains all the prayers of the earlier ceremonial,

[69] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 20.
[70] Petti, ed., *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan*, 187.
[71] *Statutes Compyled for the Better Observation of the Holy Rule of the Most Glorious Father and Patriarch St Benedict...*, 9.
[72] *B-MEaa*, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictijnen/6.
[73] *GB-BAdaa*, Hazelmere MS, 2020 VIC.

but also contains the chants that were sung. Given the degree to which the ceremonials concur in their details, it seems likely that the same profession rite was used throughout the seventeenth century, and that the 1693 manuscript supplies what was omitted in the Archbishop's copy of the ceremonial – which was not intended to be a complete copy of the rite, but rather a copy of the parts that were relevant to his role in the ceremony. The rubrics in both manuscripts are silent on the point of 'musick'. Given however, that clothing and profession ceremonies took place in the context of Mass, it is still possible that polyphonic and instrumental works were used (perhaps at the offertory or communion).

Polyphony at Brussels: Particular Difficulties

The extent to which vocal and instrumental polyphony were used in the liturgical ceremonies of the Brussels monastery is difficult to determine: although 'musicke' was envisaged by the constitutions, these also urged that it be used in moderation, and that all music sung should be 'truly grave and modest'.[74] The most likely scenario in the Monastery's early years, therefore, is its musical reputation was based predominantly on good execution of the plainchant, which was occasionally supplemented with motets. This is not entirely surprising when the musical experiences of the nuns before entering the Monastery are taken into account. William Weston remarked upon a sung Mass at a gentleman's house in his memoirs precisely because it was remarkable.[75] Constantly travelling from one place to another in order to say Mass, this particular Mass stood out in his memory as unique when he came to write his memoirs because it was not like the hundreds of low Masses that he had said. Given the caution with which Byrd published his three Masses, it seems that even composing a setting of the Mass ordinary was a dangerous proposition. For all of its breadth, Edward Paston's music collection did not include a single Mass setting in a complete and useable form. This suggests that apart from the few

[74] *Statutes Compyled for the Better Observation of the Holy Rule of the Most Glorious Father and Patriarch St Benedict...*, 11.

[75] Weston trans. Caraman, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, 71.

notable places known to have had sung Mass on certain occasions,[76] most other recusant households that used music during the liturgy probably sang motets at suitable points during low Mass. It also explains the seemingly subordinate role of polyphony at the Monastery during its early years: although it could not draw on a long institutional history for its musical heritage, the nuns' experiences of music in the contexts of recusant liturgy and devotions must have made a deep impression on their perceptions of polyphonic liturgical music and its proper place. In recusant households, motets were used not only during the liturgy, but at meals and in personal recreation.[77] Although there were some polyphonic repertoires that made use of liturgical texts and were clearly intended to supply them in liturgical contexts (such as Byrd's *Gradualia*), polyphonic motets were used largely as expressions of personal piety. The motet genre provided opportunities to edit texts to suit individual needs and circumstances. The motet *Adoramus te Christe* – attributed to one Thomas Jollet (evidently a pseudonym) in the same early 17th-century Catholic encyclopaedia that contains a setting of the 'Haec dies', inspired by the martyrdoms of Mark Barkworth and Roger Filcock[78] – is demonstrative of this kind of editorial practice: the usual text from the Roman liturgy of Good Friday is supplemented with the text 'hoc signum erit in caelo quem Dominus ad iudicandum venerit. Alleluia.' The cue in the score for performers to make the sign of the cross is indicative of the close links between polyphonic motet performance and personal piety in such contexts.

Although there is no evidence that the nuns brought polyphonic repertoires with them from England, the parallels between the uses of polyphony in recusant households and at the Monastery are striking. In both situations, 'musick' was used to supplement and embellish existing pious and liturgical practices. The seeming

[76] See McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia*, 73.

[77] See, for instance, Maria Luisa de Carvajal's observations about the use of motets at meals in an English recusant house in Rees, 'Luisa De Carvajal y Mendoza and Music in an English Catholic House in 1605.'

[78] *GB-Ob*, MS Eng. Th. b.2, f. 137r. For a description of both volumes of this encyclopaedia, see Clapinson and Rogers, *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Acquisitions 1916–1975 (SC 37300–55936)*, Vol. 2, 3 vols. (Oxford: 1991), 721–722. For a discussion of the martyrdoms of Filcock and Barkworth, see the section of the preceding chapter titled 'Music, Meditation and Martyrdom', p. 123.

translation of the particular uses of polyphonic sacred music to the Monastery, suggests the gradual construction of an English Catholic post-Reformation tradition, in which the use of polyphony for liturgical texts was largely discontinued in favour of a polyphonic motet repertoire that would supplement, rather than supply the liturgical texts.

Richard Dering and the Brussels Benedictines

Although Dering was organist at the Brussels Monastery from at least 1617 until some point before 1625, very little else can be said about his time at the Monastery with any degree of certainty. Given the range of episcopal attitudes towards the employment of external musicians in convents,[79] research on the role of external musicians at convents in other places is of limited usefulness here. It is helpful, therefore, that there was another English convent under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Mechelen for which more detailed sources about an external musician survive: the Augustinian Monastery of St Monica, in Louvain. John Bolt, who had previously been the organist at Brussels, settled at St Monicas and worked there as a musician until his death in 1640. From what is written in the Monasterys chronicles, it can be deduced that Bolt must have played the organ in alternation with the choir, since they also indicate that Mary Skidmore, (an organist who was professed at St Ursulas in 1606 and transferred to St Monica's in 1609) relieved the choir from the burden of singing the entire office by playing the organ.[80] Bolt's obituary in the same chronicles also mentions that the nuns were able to continue performing 'music' during services (that is, any music apart from plainchant) for some years after his death because he had directed the musicians and trained a number of them, both in organ and 'prick-song'.[81] As for the Brussels monastery, there are no dispensations

[79] See, for instance, Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena*, 1575–1700. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 24–25 and 38–39, which contrasts the severe attitude of the Bolognese, Milanese and Roman bishops towards lay teachers and hired musicians with the more lenient attitude of the Sienese authorities, who were liberal in granting convents permission to hire lay music teachers.

[80] Hamilton 1, 36.

[81] Hamilton 2, 184–186.

recorded in the archives of the Archdiocese of Mechelen that would have allowed Bolt to enter the monastic enclosure, so it must be assumed that he undertook his teaching duties in the parlour – although the Louvain chronicles do mention that both Bolt and one of the nuns whom he taught played the organ for services, suggesting a degree of flexibility for teaching arrangements that was unavailable in Brussels, either because there was a small part of the enclosure that Bolt was allowed to enter, or the organ was outside the enclosure, and nuns were permitted to leave the enclosure in order to play it.[82] Dering's tenure at the Brussels monastery was not nearly as long as Bolt's in Louvain. Nonetheless, the details of Bolt's work at Louvain give some indication of what what Dering must have taught the nuns – all of which was evidently unobjectionable to the Archbishop of Mechelen, Mathias Hovius, who undertook a visitation in 1620, and did not so much as remark upon Dering's presence.[83] Given Hovius's documented reactions to breaches of enclosure in other convents under his jurisdiction, he would most certainly have done so, had Dering's duties presented any threat to the enforcement of the Tridentine reforms.[84]

It is telling that although the Brussels Monastery was renowned for its music, documents in archives of the Archdiocese of Mechelen pertaining to the Monastery contain almost no references to music, let alone any need to reform the Monastery's musical practices. Unlike the Milanese convents that Kendrick has examined, the music at Brussels seems to have been entirely to the Archbishop of Mechelen's satisfaction, and there is no long record of intervention, interdicts or disciplinary actions for perceived abuses or scandals.[85] Although it is possible that the bishops of Mechelen were less rigorous in their attitude to music at convents than their Italian counterparts, they were clearly capable of exercising their authority when they felt it was necessary: a 1688 decree from Alphonsus de Berghes (Archbishop of Mechelen from 1670 to 1689) that restricted the days on which the Louvain monastery could

[82] Hamilton 2, 185

[83] *B-MEaa*, Mecheliniensia/Reg. 8, p. 236–239.

[84] Craig Harline and Eddy Put, 'A Bishop in the Cloisters: The Visitations of Mathias Hovius (Malines, 1596–1620)', The *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22/4 (1991): 611–639.

[85] See Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) for examples of episcopal intervention that are too numerous to list here.

have Masses with 'music' demonstrates that the bishops in the Spanish Netherlands were aware of the musical practices of convents under their jurisdiction, and acted to correct any abuses that they found.[86] Clearly, the Apostolic Nuncio was satisfied with the Brussels Monastery's practices in all respects, requesting a copy of its constitutions in 1631 to take to Italy, so that these could be used as a model for convents there.[87] Against a background of disputes between Italian bishops and nuns about the nature of musical practices in convents, this suggests that the Brussels nuns had developed their musical culture in ways that at least some prelates felt had achieved the objectives of the Tridentine reforms.

GB-Och Mus MS. 89 and the Brussels Monastery

Over 50 years ago, Thurston Dart made the case for *GB-Och* Mus. 89 as Dering's personal organ book.[88] His arguments – although by his own admission circumstantial – are persuasive: the systematic, liturgical nature of the compilation, its obvious connections to musical circles in Brussels through the presence of works by Philips and Cornet, and the unmistakably English letter-forms and text suggest that the work was compiled for the use of a professional organist, working at a religious institution in Brussels. Dart concludes that Dering probably compiled the organ book for his work at the Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption, and that it made its way into Thomas Goodson's music collection in the eighteenth century because Dering brought the book to England with him when he entered the service of Henrietta Maria. The case for its connection with the Brussels Benedictines, however, can be made even more strongly by referring to the Monastery's liturgical practices.

The presence of a series of alternatim settings of the Mass in the manuscript[89] corresponds well with the little that is mentioned in the constitutions about the

[86] *B-MEaa*, FrKar.Leuven, St Monica/2.

[87] M. J. Rumsey, ed., *Miscellanea V*. Catholic Record Society Record Series 6 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1909), 4.

[88] Thurston Dart, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Book of English Organ Music for the Roman Rite', *Music & Letters* 52 (1971): 27–38.

[89] For a set of comprehensive indices to the manuscript and a complete edition of the music, see the second volume of Raymond Harrison Kelton Jr. 'Christ Church (Oxford) Music Ms. 89: A Seventeenth-Century Organ Book'. PhD diss. Boston University, 1974.

Masses that were to be sung at the Monastery each week: apart from singing the daily conventual Mass, the nuns were to sing a weekly votive Mass of the Virgin Mary (whenever the office of the Virgin Mary was said on a Saturday) and another in honour of the Holy Ghost.[90] The section of *GB-Och* Mus. MS 89 that is indexed in an orderly manner seems to meet these liturgical needs: there are four alternatim Mass settings provided, including one for Sundays ('Missa Dominicalis') and one for feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary ('Missa B Virginis'). Of the two remaining settings, one is unnamed and the other seems to have been intended for double feasts ('Missa Duplex'). In the gatherings that precede this index, however, there seems to have been an attempt to supplement the collection with additional settings of various Mass parts (there are no complete Masses in this section), including for feasts of the Virgin Mary. Multiple settings of texts seem to have been provided for frequently recurring chants (Mass settings, psalm tone intonations, the Salve regina), and the presence of multiple settings of the Veni creator spiritus could be connected with the weekly votive Mass of the Holy Ghost. Although it is true that there was no liturgical need to sing the Veni creator spiritus for the latter, it may have been sung as a devotional exercise on the same day as the Mass was offered, or as part of a votive office of the Holy Ghost, if the rubrics permitted it to replace the office of the day.

What is especially significant about this manuscript is the extent to which it contains alternatim settings of hymns that were used on the same feast-days as nuns were either clothed or professed at the Monastery between 1618 and 1625. Since the singing of the Office is not an essential part of the profession ritual, it seems likely that the nuns were usually professed on dates that were already observed as principal liturgical feasts at the Monastery. In fact, the manuscript contains the necessary music for the feast day of every single profession between 1619 and 1625, apart from those that occurred in Lent (when the organ was not used), and for the clothings of

[90] *Statutes Compyled for the Better Observation of the Holy Rule...*, 9–10.

Anna Paris[91] and Margaret Smith (Thursday 4 January 1618),[92] when the hymn Salvete flores martyrum – which does not appear in the manuscript – would have been sung at Vespers. The hymns that were used on the same days as some professions are (using the titles provided in the manuscript itself): *In festo cathedra*,[93] 'Ave maris stella',[94] *Ad coenam agni*,[95] *Vexilla regis*,[96] *Deus tuorum militum*,[97] *In festo St Michaelio*[98] and *Iste confessor*.[99] The multiple alternatim settings of the Veni creator spiritus and the single Te Deum in the manuscript may have been used in the profession ceremony itself, for which both these texts were sung.[100]

There are very few remaining hymns that are not either for use on a Sunday, solemn feast commemorating a mystery of Christ's life (such as Easter, Ascension,

[91] Anna Paris, WWTN, Database record BB130, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB130, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[92] Margaret Smith, WWTN, Database record BB162, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB162, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[93] Two nuns were clothed on the feast of the Chair of St Peter: Alice Brooke, d. 1626, WWTN, Database record BB027, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB027, Accessed 15 July 2013.; Mary Kempe, d. 1657, WWTN, Database record BB105, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB105, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[94] Four nuns were clothed on days falling within the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Elizabeth Draycott, d. 1673, WWTN, Database record BB066, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB066, Accessed 15 July 2013.; Joanna Penruddocke, d. 1672, WWTN, Database record BB134, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB134, Accessed 15 July 2013.; Philippa Pershall, d. 1637, WWTN, Database record BB136, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB136, Accessed 15 July 2013.; Barbara Waldegrave, d. 1638, WWTN, Database record BB189, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB189, Accessed 15 July 2013.; There was also a profession on the feast of Our Lady of the Snows: Katharin Fletcher, d. 1667, WWTN Database record BB074, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB074, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[95] Brigitta Draycott was clothed on Low Sunday, 1622: Brigitta Draycott, d. 1664, WWTN, Database record BB065, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB065, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[96] Two nuns were clothed on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in 1618: Mary Roper, d. 1650, WWTN, Database record BB152, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB152, Accessed 15 July 2013.; Catherine Bond, d. 1655, WWTN, Database record BB025, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB025, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[97] Alice Shepherd professed on the feast of St Stephen, Pope and Martyr, in 1621: Alice Shepherd, d. 1651, WWTN, Database record BB159, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB159, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[98] Agnes Bolton professed on the feast of St Michael the Archangel in 1620: Agnes Bolton, d. 1649, WWTN, Database record BB024, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB024, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[99] Joanne Bullock professed on the feast of St Augustine, Bishop and Confessor in 1624: Joanne BullockDied 1670, WWTN, Database record BB028, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB028, Accessed 15 July 2013.

[100] The plainchant intonations are provided in an early seventeenth-century copy of the clothing and profession ceremonial. See *B-MEaa*, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictijnen/6.

Corpus Christi), or in a liturgical season (for instance, Christmastide). The presence of the Vespers hymn for the feast of Sts Peter and Paul might be explained by the fact that the first abbess of the new monastery had been professed at the Monastery of St Peter and Rheims, and could have brought the devotion to the saint with her when she was moved to Brussels. *Urbs Hierusalem* (from the office for the dedication of a church) was probably included because the Monastery's constitutions stipulated that the Office was to be sung on the anniversary of the dedication of the chapel.[101] The inclusion of hymns for some feast days with no obvious connection to the Monastery is less easily explained: the manuscript includes alternatim settings of hymns for the Nativity of St John the Baptist, All Saints, St Paul, St Mary Magdalen, the common of the apostles and the common of martyrs. Nonetheless, these account for less than a quarter of the total hymns in the manuscript, and given the total size of the collection of music, this is a relatively minor discrepancy. Furthermore, the absence of any kind of liturgical calendar makes it impossible to rule out that the Monastery did not observe these feast-days: all are 'doubles' according to the 1570 calendar, which are feasts of such solemnity that, when falling on a Sunday, they would have taken precedence over the observance of the Sunday.

Dering's Vocal Music and the Monastery

Linking any of Dering's sacred vocal music to the Brussels Monastery is problematic. Although the sacred works that he published through Phalèse in Antwerp could have been adapted for use at the Monastery, it is clear that these sets of motets for soprano, alto, tenor and bass could not have been composed with only the nuns in mind, so any connections to the Monastery can only be made tentatively. Nonetheless, Dering was well-positioned to meet the nuns' needs: his two books of *canzonette* demonstrate an ongoing interest in domestic and recreational music-making. Clearly, he had a strong practical grasp of what the nuns may have

[101] *Statutes Compyled for the Better Observation of the Holy Rule...*, 10.

experienced at home, and as a consequence probably also had the measure of their musical abilities.

Peter Leech has proposed that some of Dering's few-voice motets were used at the Brussels monastery and tentatively linked a few to specific occasions.[102] If, as Leech proposes, however, Dering's two-voice *O crux ave* was sung on Passion Sunday 1623, when a relic of the true cross was installed in a new reliquary at the Monastery,[103] it was probably not composed with only this occasion in mind, because the motet is written for soprano (or tenor) and bass. Although it is true that the piece could have been sung by an upper voice and lower voice, or simply two lower voices, that the continuo accompaniment doubles the bass line in this work (Dering's usual practice when the lowest voice in the texture was a bass) indicates it was composed specifically with a bass voice in mind, regardless of whether the upper voice was taken by a soprano or tenor. If Dering had originally intended for this work to be sung by two upper voices, he would have supplied an independent bass line in the continuo part. Furthermore, Dering's vocal writing for bass in motets of this style (as in those of his contemporaries, including Viadana and Philips) is different to his style for the lower of two upper voices, which helps to discount the possibility that *O crux ave* may have been originally composed for two upper voices and later arranged to suit other tastes or needs. Whereas Dering's bass lines tend to include leaps of up to a fifth – especially at cadence points – where they often provide the root notes of the chords, the lower of two upper voices is treated with greater freedom, allowing a greater degree of imitation and part overlap – something which Dering avoided in his writing for tenor and bass, as though to underscore the functional role of the bass part in defining tonality. Although it is true that Dering's contemporaries were composing few-voice motets in which an alto voice could be substituted for a bass (and provided performance in-

[102] Peter Leech, Review of Richard Dering, Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo. ed. by Jonathan P. Wainwright, Musica Britannica 87. *Music & Letters* 92/2 (2011): 282–285.

[103] Leech extracted the details about this event from Hanlon's article on Richard Dering (Hanlon, 'Richard Dering, Catholic Musician of Stuart England'), which had mistaken Palm Sunday for Passion Sunday. The procession in fact took place on Passion Sunday, as indicated in Abbess Nevill's annals of the five English Benedictine communities in Flanders. See Rumsey, ed., *Miscellanea V*, 5.

structions for this eventuality), these composers were publishing works for a wider market. Given that Dering never published any of his few-voice motets, these were probably his private output for particular contexts, suggesting that *O crux ave* was not composed with only the Monastery in mind. Leech's suggestion therefore, that the text 'save this present company' refers specifically to the nuns of the Brussels Monastery, seems unlikely. On the basis of stylistic concerns therefore, the number of motets that could have been composed specifically for the Monastery can be whittled down to a mere handful: *Beatus vir qui inventus est*, *Duo seraphim clamabant*, *Gaudent in caelis animae sanctorum*, *Gloria tibi trinitas*, *Tua Jesu dilectio*, *Protector noster aspice Deus* and *Exsultate justi in Domino*.

The suggestion by Leech that Dering's *Veni sponsa Christi* was used at the profession of new nuns at Brussels is also tenuous, although in this case it is on historical and textual as well as stylistic grounds. While the text occurs in the rite of the blessing and consecration of virgins as set out in the *Pontificale Romanum*, Veni sponsa Christi does not occur in either of the Monastery's surviving profession ceremonials, which contain few chants that correspond to those of the *Pontificale*. It is unlikely, therefore, that Dering's motet would have been used at the profession ceremony itself, although it could have been afforded a place in the Mass that followed it. The text also occurs in the Roman Office in the common of virgins, and this motet, therefore, could just as easily have been composed for the feast of a virgin-saint. Finally, that the motet was composed for two soprani and bass indicates that it was not originally written with the Brussels nuns in mind.

This creates a problem: it is unlikely that all the few-voice motets that were not composed for the Brussels Monastery were instead composed for use in Henrietta Maria's chapel. Neither do they seem to have been composed with the general market in mind, since there is no evidence to suggest that Dering ever made any attempt to publish them, and they are preserved in few manuscript sources. This suggests that Dering had composed these motets with at least one other (as yet unidentified) audience in mind. The motet *O lux et decus Hispaniae* is a case in point: a text honouring Saint James, the patron saint of the Spanish Netherlands, would not only have

been out of place in the chapel of a French queen, but also politically inflammatory. Baldwin has noted that after the expulsion of Henrietta Maria's French clergy by Charles I in 1625, four English Benedictines of the Cassinese congregation were attached to the Queen's Chapel. He argues that they were chosen because they were free of connections to the Spanish colleges which had a 'track record of enthusiasm for participation in Armada invasion attempts'.[104] The motet would probably also have been out of place at the Brussels monastery, which is not known to have had any great devotion to St James. The problem is that so little is known for certain about the devotions that were important in either the chapel of Henrietta Maria or the Brussels monastery, that it is virtually impossible to link motet texts definitively to either one institution or the other: what can be said of the devotions and piety at one of the institutions can also be said of those at the other (as indeed of most post-Reformation Catholic institutions): both had a devotion to the Virgin Mary and the Eucharist. Attempting to connect some of the motet texts with Dering's stay in Brussels on the basis that Peter Philips set the same texts is also doomed to failure, as these texts were used widely.[105]

Musical Interactions between the Monastery and the City

The Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption stood within a mile of the collegiate church of St Michael and St Gudula, which was the principal church in Brussels. Although early records from the Monastery have perished, a number of processions by the chapter of the church to the Monastery during the second half of the seventeenth century suggest an ongoing connection between the two.[106] This con-

[104] David Baldwin, 'The Benedictine Community at the Queen's Chapel, St James's Palace', *English Benedictine History Symposium* (1998): 37.

[105] Philips, like Dering, composed few-voice motets on the texts O Domine Jesu Christe, Panis angelicus, Gaudent in caelis animae sanctorum, and Veni sponsa Christi for his collection titled *Deliciae sacrae*. See Lyman, 'Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella…', Vol. 2, 282, 388, 531 and 551.

[106] See, for instance, *GB-BAdaa*, Hazelmere MS, VIC 1893. This small extract from the Monastery's annals mentions how a relic of St Andrew was brought in procession to the Monastery from St Gudula's in 1673. Another single-page extract from the annals mentions a procession with a statue of the Virgin Mary from the collegiate church to the Monastery in 1674. This latter extract has no as-

nection was strengthened by means of family ties: Peter Philips was a member of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption, a religious society that was based at the collegiate church, where it held its weekly devotions. Although there is no direct documentary evidence to link Dering to Philips, both composers published their works through Phalèse in Antwerp, and given Philips's established relationship with Phalèse by the time that Dering's first works were published in 1617, he would have been well-positioned to introduce and recommend Dering to the publisher. According to Lyman, it is likely that Peter Philips composed many of his few-voice motets for the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption, which the Infanta Isabella re-founded in Brussels in 1623.[107] Although the Confraternity regularly held solemn Masses, it also held smaller devotional events called *loven*, and it is for the latter that Lyman proposes that Philips provided his music. The *lof* was an evening liturgical service of popular devotion which developed in confraternities during thirteenth century, usually centred upon a statue of the Virgin Mary. By the seventeenth century, it had developed to include Benediction, at least on important occasions.[108] Whether the devotions of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption bore a direct influence on the musical culture of the Brussels Monastery is difficult to determine (as there would have been other *loven* throughout the city), but they do provide a plausible performance context for Dering's few-voice motets.

The presence of a service inspired by the *lof* at the Brussels monastery would not have been out of place, and seems to fill an obvious gap in what is known about the Monastery's devotional life. Among the books that the Monastery is known to have owned is a book of litanies, *Sacrae litaniae variae: cum brevi piaque quotidiana exercitatione. In gratiam Catholicarum*, published in Antwerp by Plantin Moretus in 1596.[109] This suggests that more popular and devotional prayers were afforded a

sociated manuscript number and is stored with the rest of the Hazelmere manuscripts at Downside Abbey.

[107] Lyman, 'Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella…', Vol., 1, 159–178. Philips published his *Deliciae sacrae* in 1616, and so may have introduced Dering to the few-voice motet style some years before the Confraternity was re-founded.

[108] On the history of the *lof*, see Lyman, 'Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella…', Vol., 1, 143–144.

[109] See *GB-BAdaa*, Hazelmere MS, Haslemere 3105.

place alongside the liturgy in the Monastery's liturgical horarium, although they are not mentioned in the constitutions. Such a service could also have filled a gap among popular devotions in Brussels that local citizens could attend: although *loven* were regularly held at the nearby collegiate church (and probably also at other local churches), the devotions at the Brussels monastery were for the general public, rather than a smaller group of devotees. Among the few surviving seventeenth-century documents from the Monastery's once larger collection are several that give an indication of the kinds of devotional functions that were held. These provide evidence of the ongoing connection between the Monastery and the city during the seventeenth century through events of popular piety.

One of the surviving scraps, perhaps originally a page in the Monastery's chronicles, is revealing:

> 1674
> The 3^{d} of Aprill was again brought unto our Church y^{e} miraculous image of our B. Lady of Jesus Oake in Soleme procession, accompanied by y^{e} R^{d} Chapter of S^{t} Gudela & great Concours of Peple wth lights, singing and trompetts & c. Next day began a solleme octave sung Masses Sermons in French and Duch & most soleme Anthemes & blessing of y^{e} B. Sacrament every day.[110]

This was clearly not the first time that the statue had been brought to the Monastery, and this occasion demonstrates the blending of pious and liturgical functions, with a combination of Mass, sermons and the *lof*, now with Benediction. By this time, solemn Masses were well-established at the Monastery, and the singing of 'soleme Anthemes' at Benediction mirrors what is known about music during the *loven* at St Michael and Gudula's church. Although it is not clear whether the nuns or external musicians provided the music for the solemn octave, it demonstrates ways in which local cultural practices quite literally entered the Monastery, and reveals the potential for interaction between local music and the Monastery's combination of English and English-mediated musical practices. The use of 'trompetts etc' in the procession is interesting, and suggests an event not unlike the Ommeganck, a solemn proces-

[110] *GB-BAdaa*, Hazelmere MS. Unnumbered manuscript.

sion which took place in Brussels annually to commemorate the translation of a miraculous statue of Mary from Antwerp to the church of Notre Dame du Sablon in Brussels.[111] Denys van Alsloot's painting of the 1615 Ommeganck shows a group of musicians playing instruments that include the shawm, sackbut and bassoon, walking behind one statue and before another in the procession.[112]

The ceremonies at the installation of a relic of Saint Blaise at the Monastery in the previous year were very similar, with the chapter of St Gudula taking the relic to the Monastery in procession, an octave of sung Masses, singing of the Salve, and Benediction. On this occasion, the nuns sang the Te Deum when the relic reached their chapel.[113] What survives from this event that does not survive from the procession of 1674 is a notice, printed in Flemish and French, inviting the public to attend the procession, Mass and accompanying devotions. These very public ceremonies must have been an opportunity for the nuns to endear themselves to the local community, and hopefully also to gain its financial support.

Both of these functions provide much-needed context for understanding the 1623 installation of the relic of the True Cross at the Monastery. Relics of the True Cross have traditionally been accorded the greatest honour among all relics, and are the only relics which Catholics can rightly be said to worship. Thomas Aquinas outlined the theological basis for this high honour,[114] and these relics – unlike any other – are accorded their own feast in the Roman calendar. Given the pomp with which the relic of St Blaise was installed at the Monastery in 1674, the ceremonies for the installation of the relic of the True Cross in 1623 must have been of commensurate solemnity. It also seems likely that such a precious relic would have been installed at the Monastery by the chapter of St Gudula's, and that the 'pageant' to which Hanlon refers[115] formed at St Gudula's and went to the Monastery from there. Which works

[111] For a history of the Ommeganck, see Alphonse Wauters, *L'ancien Ommeganck de Bruxelles* (Brussels: J. H. Briard, 1848).

[112] For a reproduction of the painting, discussion of its musical implications and suggestions for further reading, see Robert Leppert, 'Music, Violence, and the Stakes of Listening', in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, Jane F. Fulcher, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 57–58.

[113] See *GB-BAdaa*, Hazelmere MS, VIC 1893.

[114] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, III, q.25, a.4.

[115] Hanlon, 'Richard Dering, Catholic Musician of Stuart England', 429

the nuns sang on this occasion is more difficult to determine. Both Dering's few-voice *O crux ave*, and his choral setting of the same text in *Cantica sacra* (1618) would have required adaptation in order to be sung by equal voices.

Although the potential parallels between the *loven* at St Michael and Gudula's and the Brussels monastery are interesting, the problem of repertoire resurfaces: with so few of Dering's surviving motets being suitable for the nuns' choir without adaptation, either Dering did not compose many works for the choir, or these works have been lost. Most of the few-voice motets by Dering that have survived seem to be those that were within the ability of domestic musicians – Wainwright proposes that *Angelus ad pastores ait* only survives in one source because its virtuosic vocal lines were beyond the ability of most musical amateurs.[116] That more of Dering's few-voice motets which can be connected with the Brussels monastery do not survive suggests, therefore, that these were virtuosic. This would also account for the strong musical reputation that the Monastery developed by the 1620s. Without further sources, however, this remains but a theory, although it is strengthened by what is known of the interactions between the Monastery and the city.

After Dering: the Brussels Monastery in the later seventeenth century

Although Kellison must have had reasons for asserting that the Brussels Monastery had a reputation above all other English convents for its music, he was writing in 1622. Both this and a similar reference to music in the chronicles of St Monica's,[117] however, are from the first half of the seventeenth century, and no further mention is made of the musical reputation of the Brussels monastery in any sources. Evidently music continued at the Monastery during in the second half of the seventeenth century, because Vere Trentham was chantress in 1652,[118] and Martha Dallyson was in

[116] Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets': 180–181.
[117] Hamilton 1, 42.
[118] Vere Trentham, d. 1670, WWTN, Database record BB181, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB181, Accessed 16 July 2013.

the post in 1672[119] – the same year that a lay sister, Margaret Urmstone, was the organist.[120] All of the nuns whose musical connections have been mentioned previously – with the exception of Digby, who left Brussels in 1624 – were still alive and active at the Monastery, with some living into the 1650s. It seems reasonable to conclude, in fact, that musical practices at Brussels remained largely as Dering had left them, since the same group of nuns that had been known to him would have been forced to continue in their normal musical duties for some twenty years, for lack of suitable novices to train. The bitter in-fighting between pro- and anti-Jesuit nuns diverted religious vocations from Brussels to Ghent, such that only three women professed at the former between 1628 and 1650, while sixty-eight professed at the latter.[121] One particularly ugly confrontation between the pro- and anti-Jesuit factions seems to have occurred in 1632, by which time divisions were so deep that even the normal discharge of duties and offices at the Monastery was difficult: a fight broke out in the quire and the monastery between the two factions because the chantress that Mary Percy had deposed (a member of the pro-Jesuit faction) had intoned led the appellant nuns in a different tune from the tune conducted by the official chantress. This was not a case of a little pushing and shoving, and an account of the event mentions that one of the disobedient nuns fell to the ground and blood issued forth, while the Abbess in desiring to [depart] their turbulent company, was smitten upon the face in the Quire. In the place of English or Angelicall Harmony, Diabolic Discorde had prevailed, and Percys faction was forced to say the Office in the chapter room.[122] Later seventeenth-century references to processions and public functions at the Monastery indicate, however, that music survived – in spite of the Monastery's divisions and occasionally heated conflicts – as the nuns would have been expected to provide music for these special occasions. How often

[119] Martha Dallyson, d. 1708, WWTN, Database record BB054, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB054, Accessed 16 July 2013.

[120] Margaret Urmstone, d. 1701, WWTN, Database record BB184, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BB184, Accessed 16 July 2013.

[121] Jaime Goodrich, 'Nuns and Community-Centered Writing: The Benedictine Rule and Brussels Statutes', Huntington Library Quarterly (Forthcoming).

[122] See *GB-Lbl* Additional 18393, f. 17. For some more details of the theological nature of the conflict and its practical consequences, see Jaime Goodrich. 'Early Modern Englishwomen as Translators of Religious and Political Literature, 1500-1641'. PhD diss. Boston College, 2008, 406–417.

the nuns employed external organists after Dering's departure is uncertain because the surviving records are fragmentary: it is only known that external organists were employed at some time between 1635 and 1638,[123] and 1680,[124] although nothing is known of their identities. While, with so few sources surviving, it would be premature to conclude that the second half of the seventeenth century was a period of musical decline for the Monastery, the absence of any references to the Monastery's music in external sources certainly suggests that its music had ceased to be an attraction for visitors in the ways that it once had been.

English Clergy and the Brussels Monastery

The influence of the English clergy who were involved in the Brussels monastery, either as chaplains or confessors, warrants further examination. From the surviving primary sources, it is clear that the nuns often turned to English clergy for help and advice, and it is possible that clerical networks had some infuence on the development of the Monastery's musical culture.

Jesuits

The connections between the Jesuits and the Brussels nuns were very strong in the early years of the seventeenth century. Jesuit clergy had played a crucial role in the foundation of the Monastery, and these ties were reinforced by the strong personal connections between individual nuns and priests of the Society. Some of these ties were through kinship, as a number of nuns had brothers and cousins who were members of the Society; others were formed through the Jesuits' missionary activities. For some nuns, their entire experience of Catholicism and spirituality during their formative years had come from the Jesuit priests who had visited their homes to offer Mass, hear their confessions and provide spiritual direction. It is also likely that the Jesuits had some role in the development of the musical culture of the

[123] *B-MEaa*, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictijnen/11.
[124] *B-MEaa*, Fonds Kloosters, Englese Benedictijnen/13.

Monastery. The Society is the common factor connecting the Brussels nuns and John Bolt. John Gerard took some credit for Bolt's priestly vocation:

> Others of my sending are now serving God in divers places and divers conditions: among whom is Father John Bolt. Great talent for music had won him the warmest love of a very powerful man. He spurned this love, however, and all worldly hopes with it, to attach himself to me; and lent his ear to the counsels of Christ in the Spiritual Exercises.[125]

Bolt's decision to travel to St Omer, the Jesuits' flagship college for musical pursuits, after fleeing England cannot have been a matter of mere serendipity, and it seems likely that he was advised to go there by Gerard or another Jesuit on the Mission. It is also likely that Bolt was alerted to the need for an organist at the Brussels monastery – or that the nuns were made aware of his availability – through Jesuit networks. There were several connections between St Omer and the Brussels nuns: the Rector of St Omer, Fr Gilles Schondonck, advised the Monastery when it was in the process of drafting its constitutions,[126] and Martha Colford's father, Gabriel, who had enjoyed Byrd's friendship in England and lived in Essex near Lord Petre's home (where Bolt had stayed before 1593) was the lay procurator for the English College of St Omer.

There are similar grounds for suspecting that Jesuits had played some role in Dering's appointment. Dering is known to have travelled to Italy, and if the 'Mr. Dearing' mentioned in Sir Dudley Carleton's letter of 26 June 1612 is in fact Richard Dering, then he was 'at Rome, lodged neere if not in the English college.'[127] The Jesuit clergy who were responsible for managing the College had also been of some help to the Brussels monastery: Robert Persons, who was the Rector of the College for a brief period from 1597 to 1598, had worked to obtain the Roman briefs that the nuns required for the foundation of their Monastery.[128] The regular exchanges of staff and students through the colleges in the Spanish Netherlands must have

[125] Morris, *The Life of Father John Gerard, of the Society of Jesus*, 123.
[126] See Goodrich, 'Nuns and Community-Centered Writing: The Benedictine Rule and Brussels Statutes'.
[127] GB-WMna, SP 99/10, No. 62.
[128] Arblaster, 'The Community of the Glorious Assumption', 57.

provided a strong network for conveying news across long distances. It is possible, therefore, that Robert Persons played a role in sending Dering to Brussels, where he could have been of assistance to the English nuns. It is unlikely, however, that Dering's time at the Venerabile had played any significant role in the development of his musical style: the singing of polyphony by the students was discontinued in 1587,[129] and it is difficult to say whether it was ever revived until 1625, when the College began hiring singers regularly.[130]

The role of the Jesuits, however, was not merely as some kind of agency for English exile-musicians, and there is reason to believe that at least some of the Jesuits who helped the nuns also had musical experience, which they shared for the benefit of the Monastery. Evidently William Baldwin, who helped the Brussels nuns for some 12 years,[131] had some knowledge of music, as he was later appointed Rector of the English College of St Omer.[132] Given this college's prominent cultural pursuits and the need to maintain and further develop these, the position of rector would not have been given to a man who was not knowledgable and supportive of music and the arts.

Robert Chambers

Chambers, a secular priest from the English College at Douai (and subsequently at the Venerable English College in Rome), was the Monastery's first confessor.[133] Abbess Neville's annals indicate that he had played an important role in helping the nuns to perform the liturgical ceremonies correctly:

> Wherin most happily concurd Reverend father Robert Chambers then Confessarious of this holy hows, a most grave and prudent personn, singularly knowing in church cerimonys and dutyes, a man of a gallant presence and generous nature, most devout to our Blessed father

[129] See Rachelle A.M. Chiasson-Taylor. 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations, 1570–1612: Politics, Surveillance, and Patronage in the Late Tudor and Early Stuart Years'. PhD diss. McGill University, 2006, 165–166.
[130] Dixon, 'Music in the Venerable English College in Rome in the Early Baroque,' 473.
[131] Rumsey, ed., *Miscellanea V*, 5.
[132] McCoog 1, 95.
[133] Arblaster, 'The Community of the Glorious Assumption': 65.

> St Benedict, skilfull in the rule and antiquityes of the order, which he had studdyed for many years, and was to the monastery at Brusselles Confessarious, for 20 years.[134]

The Monastery's own chronicles state that Chambers also taught the nuns how to pronounce Latin correctly, 'so that when they began to keep choir none were more commended in Brussels than the English nuns.'[135] It is strange to think, however, that the nuns' choir would have been esteemed so highly in Brussels on the basis of its pronunciation if it were not also performing the music well. The use of the word 'pronunciation' in this context probably refers to both the correct phonation of the words, and the competent execution of the music. Given that Chambers's influence is linked to the manner in which the nuns 'kept choir', it is likely that he gave them guidance with both Latin texts and the way that they were to sing the plainchant. Since Robert Chambers was raised at the English college in Douai (arriving there in 1582, around the age of 11)[136] and 1593 was sent to the English college in Rome,[137] it is likely that he had received some kind of musical education. William Allen was still at Douai when Chambers first arrved there, and it is possible that Chambers was exposed to vocal and instrumental polyphony through the English Catholic musicians who fled to the College from their homeland around this time. At Rome, however, the music was probably more austere, since Robert Persons had been in favour of eliminating vocal polyphony some six years before Chambers began his studies there, and further restricted the College's music when he was appointed rector in 1597. Under these circumstances, it is unlikely that Chambers learned any music at the Venerabile apart from plainchant. The plainchant practices that Chambers taught the nuns, therefore, were probably those of the English seminaries, which he had been taught from boyhood.

[134] Rumsey, ed., *Miscellanea V*, 6.
[135] *Chronicle of the First Monastery Founded at Brussels*, 76–77.
[136] See Douai Diaries 1, 192.
[137] Douai Diaries 1, 248.

A Musical Legacy

The influence of the English clergy on the Brussels monastery extended beyond help with administrative matters and introductions to the rich and influential. Clerical networks seem to have had a direct bearing on the development of the musical culture of the Brussels monastery: it is likely that the nuns were introduced to John Bolt and possibly also Richard Dering through networks of clergy. As a result, English clergy probably had much to do with introducing the nuns to musical styles that were popular at other English Catholic institutions in exile, thereby helping to create aspects of a shared musical identity between different groups of English Catholics in exile. If their contact with Jesuits had a similar impact on them to what it did on Byrd,[138] there are grounds for believing that both Bolt and Dering's stylistic development – especially in setting liturgical and devotional texts – would also have shown the influence of Jesuit spirituality. Further investigation of this aspect of Dering and Bolt's compositional styles, however, will need to wait for further information about their respective lives and networks to emerge. While polyphonic music had a varied history in the English seminaries, plainchant, for reasons of both obligation and expediency, seems to have continued in regular use. Evidently, Robert Chambers learned it well enough to feel comfortable teaching Latin 'pronunciation' to the nuns. As a result, the clergy – and ultimately the seminaries that taught them – were an important source of musical importation at the Brussels Monastery, and there is every possibility that they had a similar role in English convents elsewhere.

Conclusions

The Brussels monastery has been long associated with music-making. The two sources of this reputation, however, both date from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Although it is certain that music continued to be used at the Monastery for the rest of the seventeenth century, the absence of any evidence that its musical reputation persisted invites the conclusion that music at the Brussels

[138] McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia*, especially Chapter 2.

monastery lost momentum after an intially promising start – perhaps due in part to the Monastery's petty in-fighting, which diverted vocations to the new English Benedictine monastery founded at Ghent in 1624. Absence of evidence, nonetheless, is not evidence of absence, and at most, it can be said that the evidence suggests such a decline in the reputation of the Monastery's musical practices, without proving it.

The surviving sources provide clear indications of the positions of plainchant and organ music in the Monastery's liturgical functions. Both the styles of vocal and instrumental polyphony, and their position in liturgical contexts, however, are determined less easily. With no surviving sources of polyphony that can be connected to the Monastery definitively, the best indications of the kinds of repertoires that were used are the backgrounds of the nuns who lived and worked at the Monastery, and those of the clergy and musicians who were associated with them. The domestic background of the choir nuns suggests the influence of recusant devotional music; Richard Dering's tenure points to the use of few-voice motets in an Italianate style, whether composed specifically for the Monastery or adapted from other sources; the Monastery's connections with English clergy suggest the influence of seminary music and access to wider networks of English musicians in exile. The position of music in the Monastery, unlike its stylistic influences, was probably connected most closely with its position in recusant households: barring notable exceptions such as the Petres of Ingatestone and Vaux of Harrowden,[139] music for recusant Masses must have normally been restricted to motets, the solemn sung Mass having been difficult to prepare, especially given political attitudes towards Catholics in England at the time. The surviving musical manuscripts that can be connected with English Catholic households support the hypothesis that motets were used as part of low Mass; evidence of sung Mass comes from written accounts, which normally noted exceptional and memorable events. Dart's assertion that *GB-Och* Mus. 89 was probably Richard Dering's own book of organ music, compiled when he was organist at the Brussels monastery, seems very likely because of the correspondence between

[139] See Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian Ms Mus. Sch. E. 423'; Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden, a Recusant Family* (Newport: R.H. Johns, 1953), 169.

its contents and the feast-days on which the liturgy was sung by at the Monastery. The presence of works by Philips and Cornet in this collection suggests that Dering also introduced the nuns to music by both other English exiles and local musicians. The *alternatim* liturgical music in *GB-Och* Mus. 89 also provides some insights into the ways that the plainchant and organ repertoires of the Monastery related to each other.

The sources of the Brussels monastery's culture were diverse: from individual nuns' experiences of recusant music and domestic recreation, to the formational backgrounds of their clergy, and the imported cultural goods that were generated by the collective networks of their organists, clergy, friends, family and benefactors, the nuns were well-positioned to follow a range of stylistic trends, both in England and on the Continent. For the latter, however, the evidence suggests that the use of English intermediaries in the process of engaging with foreign influences, since there is no evidence that the Monastery employed foreign musicians to teach the nuns. In this way, the nuns' responses to their locale were closely connected with the responses of the English exile community in Brussels. This complex set of influences on the Monastery's musical culture speaks to the difficulties in defining post-Reformation English Catholic music and estimating the extent of individual influences on its development: in this Monastery alone, influences from the colleges at Rome and Saint-Omer, three exiled English Catholic composers, a number of recusant households, and the local collegiate church must be taken into account. As a result of exile, therefore, English Catholic music became so diverse as to make generalised descriptions of it almost impossible.

CHAPTER 4

THE MONASTERY OF OUR LADY OF NAZARETH, BRUGES

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The English Augustinian Monastery at Bruges – that is, the Convent of Our Lady of Nazareth – was a relatively late foundation.[1] It was established in 1629, when the Prioress of St Monica's in Louvain, Mother Mary Wiseman, decided to make a second foundation, her own 'being overcharged with religious'.[2] With the approval of the Bishop of Bruges, the nuns took possession of a small house in the Rue des Carmes on 14 September 1629.

THE MONASTERIES OF LOUVAIN AND BRUGES: A SHARED CULTURAL TRADITION.

The connections between the English Augustinian monasteries in Louvain and Bruges are significant. At the time of its foundation, the Bruges monastery derived its spiri-

[1] English nunneries that preceded the Bruges foundation included the Bridgettines in Lisbon (1594), Benedictines in Brussels (1598), Poor Clares in Gravelines (1609), Carmelites in Antwerp (1619), Franciscans in Brussels (1621), Benedictines in Cambrai (1623) and Ghent (1624) and the Poor Clares in Dunkirk (1625).

[2] C. S. Durrant, *A Link Between Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1925), 237; *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 1.

tual, disciplinary and cultural identity wholly from St Monica's in Louvain: the first five nuns sent from Louvain to Bruges were thoroughly formed in the tradition of this monastery.[3] The most senior among them, Anne Tremaine, had been at Louvain for twenty years,[4] and the most junior, Elizabeth Lovell, had been professed at St Monica's for eight years when she was chosen for this new foundation.[5] At first glance, Lovell might appear to have been an unusual choice of choir nun for the new foundation, since all the other nuns who were chosen had been professed for at least a decade. In fact, Mary Altham, who was the most junior nun before Lovell, had been professed for thirteen years.[6] The logic in sending senior choir nuns to the new foundation is obvious: they were among the most experienced members of the Louvain monastery, and therefore well-positioned to establish its pattern of religious life in a new place. In Elizabeth Lovell's case, however, it seems that her comparative inexperience was overlooked because she had something else that was important to offer the fledgling foundation: according to the Louvain Chronicles, Lovell was sent to Bruges because she had a strong singing voice and would therefore make a good chantress.[7] The reasons given in the Chronicles for sending Lovell to Bruges indicate the centrality of music in the liturgical life of the Louvain monastery, such that when this community founded the new monastery – in effect, a daughter house, made in the Louvain monastery's image and likeness – provision was immediately made for music. St Monica's must have also sent chant books to Bruges with the founding nuns because there are no outlays for music in the Bruges monastery's fi-

[3] The Augustinian nuns were in fact canonesses, and had a distinct kind of community life. Like the Benedictines, they sang the Mass and Office, but unlike them, were more involved in teaching, and did not usually undertake manual labour. For a detailed description of their history and charism, see Anthony Allaria, 'Canons and Canonesses Regular', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Charles George Herbermann, Edward Aloysius Pace and Thomas Joseph Shahan, eds., Vol. 3, 15 vols. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), 288–296.

[4] Anne Tremaine, d. 1637, WWTN, Database record LA272, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=LA272, Accessed 22 July 2013.

[5] Elizabeth Lovell, d. 1634, WWTN, Database record LA172, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=LA172, Accessed 22 July 2013.

[6] Mary Altham, d. 1661, WWTN, Database record LA004, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=LA004, Accessed 22 July 2013.

[7] Hamilton 2, 79.

nancial accounts in its early years. Evidently, the same books were in use in 1648, when there was outlay for 'mending ye choir books'.[8]

The depth of the affinity that the Bruges nuns felt with the Louvain monastery is best seen in the events that followed the death of their first prioress, Frances Stamford, in 1635. Although the nuns attempted to elect a new prioress from among their own members, it quickly became clear that they could not agree on a successor, and the various factions eventually elected Mary Pole, a nun of the Louvain monastery, as their new religious superior.[9] This suggests that the Louvain monastery retained a kind of moral authority in the minds of the Bruges nuns, reference to which helped them resolve questions about the development of their cultural and liturgical practices. A survey of the musical tradition at St Monica's, therefore, is necessary to understand the kinds of practices that were transplanted to the Bruges monastery by the founding nuns from Louvain.

The Musical Tradition of St Monica's Monastery, Louvain

Like the Bruges monastery, St Monica's was founded from an existing religious institution. The first part of the Louvain Chronicles describes the Monastery's origins as a group of English nuns at St Ursula's, a Flemish Augustinian monastery in Louvain, and their later translation to a foundation of their own. Among the items that the nuns took with them from St Ursula's were singing books and an organ. The singing books, according to the Chronicle, were some of those that had been donated to St Ursula's by the families of the English nuns, indicating that the nuns who founded St Monica's had their own tradition of singing sacred music which predated the foundation of their monastery.[10] The organ was also closely associated with the English nuns, having been brought to St Ursula's – along with an English woman, Mary Skidmore, who was a skilled organist – by an English priest around

[8] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 81.

[9] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 17. Mary Pole, d. 1640, WWTN, Database record LA203, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=LA203, Accessed 22 July 2013.

[10] Hamilton 1, 66.

1606.[11] The nuns showed a certain amount of cunning by taking the organ with them: had they left the organ behind, Mary Skidmore would probably not have been permitted to join them at the new monastery, because she would have been too useful to St Ursula's as an organist. By taking the organ to St Monica's, however, the English nuns made Skidmore's hitherto rare and valuable skill completely redundant to St Ursula's, and she was allowed to follow her confreres in November 1609. Based on this evidence from St Monica's earliest days, it can be deduced that at a minimum the nuns sang plainchant, which was sung in alternation with the organ on at least some occasions.[12]

On the basis of contemporary sources, it seems that St Monica's never had the same reputation for its music as the Monastery of the Glorious Assumption in Brussels. John Bolt's obituary in the Louvain Chronicles indicates that the Monastery's musical repertoires expanded to include instrumental music and vocal polyphony during his time there.[13] Under his direction, a group of nuns performed music from the organ loft on special feast days. They were able to continue doing so for many years after his death in 1640 as a result of the careful tuition that he gave them.[14] The nuns involved were neither named in Bolt's obituary, nor – with the exception of Anne Evans, who studied the organ with Bolt[15] – anywhere else in the Chronicles.

Elizabeth Lovell, John Bolt and the Propagation of a Musical Tradition

Elizabeth Lovell professed at Louvain in 1621, and – like the rest of the nuns who founded the Bruges monastery – would have known John Bolt, who worked as the organist at the Louvain monastery when she was there. Given how seldom any reference is made to the nuns' musical ablilities in either the Louvain or Bruges Chronicles, the information in the former that Lovell was sent to Bruges because she would make a good chantress, and her obituary in the latter, which comments favourably

[11] Hamilton 1, 244.
[12] For a more detailed description of musical practices at the Louvain monastery in the seventeenth century, see Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister,' 181–185.
[13] ibid.
[14] Hamilton 1, 151.
[15] Hamilton 2, 185.

on both her singing voice and service as chantress, suggest that her contribution to the Monastery's musical culture was particularly important.[16] Although no details are provided about Lovell's musical abilities (although it can be assumed that as chantress she was competent in plainchant), the way that she is written about in these two sources implies that she had a greater level of musical experience than her confreres. While it is true that the other nuns could have been taught music by John Bolt while they were at Louvain, Lovell's superior musical abilities make her the most likely nun to have had contact with the musician, as one of the nuns who performed under his direction in the organ loft, and perhaps also as one of his students. As one of the founding nuns of Bruges monastery and the only one who was sent specifically for her musical ability, she was probably sent to Bruges to pass on the skills that she had learned at St Monica's, and in doing so, to continue the musical dynasty that had begun in Louvain.

Manuscripts and Printed Music

The Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth has the distinction of being the only English convent to have survived the French Revolution, and (apart from a brief period when the nuns fled to England) has been in continuous operation from its foundation to the present day. The Community prevented the dispersal of its property after the Revolution by arranging for Catherine Darell, who stayed in Bruges when the rest of the nuns fled to England, to buy back the contents of the convent when they were put up for sale at a public auction in 1800.[17] As a result, sources from the Bruges Monastery have survived in a more complete state than most of the other English convents. Nonetheless, it is clear from the Monastery's financial accounts that what does survive is probably a fraction of what the Monastery owned during the seventeenth century: an entry in the reckonings for 1681 lists 'paper for musicke'[18] and a 1690 entry records the purchase of 'music books'.[19] It is clear that all

[16] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 13.
[17] Durrant, *A Link Between Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs*, 409.
[18] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix 1660–1702, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1660 to 1702, f. 74v.
[19] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix 1660–1702, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1660 to 1702, f. 119r.

of these purchases were for modern music, because outlays on books of plainchant were described differently in the reckonings.[20] No polyphonic vocal or instrumental music from the seventeenth century, however, has survived at the Monastery to the present day.

Plainchant Manuscripts

Although the Monastery has a large collection of eighteenth-century plainchant books, none of the earlier books have been preserved. This is probably because new books were prepared in 1726 using a version of the plainchant that was 'more harmonious manner, by cutting off superfluous notes, and adding such graces as in ancient times were not used',[21] and the old books, then entirely redundant, were disposed of.[22] The eighteenth-century chant books constitute a definite break with the musical traditions inherited from Louvain: they were modelled on a book of plainchant that was loaned to the Monastery by the English Benedictine Monastery in Dunkirk, where the nuns had edited their own books of chant.[23] Consistent with the evidence in the Chronicles, all of the plainchant books at Bruges that carry a date on their front page were produced between 1730 and 1748.[24]

While the eighteenth-century books do not provide any insights into the interpretation of plainchant at the Monastery during the seventeenth century, they do give some evidence of its established musical practices, some of which probably had seventeenth-century origins. As hand-copied manuscripts, these books are an example of musical resources that were custom-made for the Monastery: the scribes, who were nuns at Bruges,[25] were quite aware of the liturgical customs that were

[20] See the 1648 payment for mending the 'quire books' *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 81. In 1668, an amount was paid for 'binding two Masse Bookes for ye quire', *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1660 to 1702, f. 31v.

[21] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 418.

[22] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 418–419.

[23] '[O]ur Rde Mother found means... to get ye consent of ye Lady Fleetwood Abbess of ye English Dames at Dunkirk, to let us have a book of their plan song, wch they had reduced to ye form we desired, and wch was generally admired by all yt heard it.' *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 419.

[24] See for instance (*B-BRnna*, MS 3 (a graduale dated 1733), MS 7 (an antiphonary dated 1730), and MS 18 (a hymn book dated 1731).

[25] A manuscript copy of the *Graduale Romanum* (*B-BRnna*, MS 19) has the name 'Laetitia Huddlestone' (Dorothy Huddleston, d. 1742, WWTN, Database record BA111, Available:

observed there, and therefore would have transcribed only the music that the Community used (or expected to use). The presence of a number of Masses that are described as 'faux bourdon' in these books is noteworthy.[26] Since only one line of music is notated, this suggests that other vocal parts were either improvised or learned off by heart. This would be consistent with the notion of music at Bruges as an oral tradition: the founding nuns brought the musical traditions of Louvain to the new monastery, and these were probably passed down from one generation of nuns to the next. As a result, there was no need to notate the music in its entirety – the Community already knew the way that the repertoire was to be performed. For the fauxbourdon Masses in the Monastery's eighteenth-century graduals, therefore, only the melody is provided. Presumably, the nuns who sang parts below or above this melody had learned to do so off by heart. It is possible that these settings formed part of the Monastery's seventeenth-century musical practices which survived the reform of the plainchant because the nuns are known to have sung other music in fauxbourdon during the seventeenth century, and this might have been part of a larger repertoire that has been lost.[27]

Another vestige of the Monastery's seventeenth-century musical practices which probably survives in these books is alternation between plainchant verses and organ versets in some of the Masses. This is indicated in the graduals by the absence of every odd-numbered strophe of texts such as the Gloria.[28] Although both this and the practice of singing Masses in fauxbourdon could have been inspired by the practices of the Dunkirk monastery, this seems unlikely, given that a tradition

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http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA111, Accessed 22 July 2013) on its cover page, suggesting that it was prepared either by Huddleston or for her use; another manuscript copy of the *Graduale Romanum* (*B-BRnna*, MS 28) carries the name Ann Weston (Paula Weston, d. 1738, WWTN, Database record BA215, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA215, Accessed 22 July 2013) on the title page in the position traditionally reserved for the name of a publisher.

[26] See *B-BRnna*, MS 6, ff. 414–422 – a full setting of the Mass ordinary (including the Credo) in B Flat. Another setting in D follows on ff. 423–431. These are separated by a fauxbourdon setting of the Gloria Patri on f. 422, which is in the same key as the preceding Mass.

[27] See *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., p. 10, which is discussed further on p. 191 of this thesis.

[28] Apart from the *Kyrie* and *Credo*, the texts for the *Missa in Fauxbourdon* in MS 4 are incomplete. In the Gloria, the organ must have been played for the first strophe ('Et in terra pax...') because the choir's first verse is 'Laudamus te'. The pattern of alternation then continues in the same manner for the rest of the piece. See *B-BRnna*, MS 4, cxxxv-cxlij.

of singing plainchant in alternation with the organ (at least during the Office) had existed at the Louvain monastery at the time that the founding nuns of the Bruges monastery were there.[29] Moreover, the Bruges monastery had owned an organ for some eighty years before these books were compiled[30] – ample time for a tradition of liturgical organ music to take root at Bruges.

Printed Music

Although payments for 'music' in the Monastery's accounts during the seventeenth century could have been for purchases of printed music, the only printed music to survive at the Monastery is plainchant, in published liturgical books. There are no printed graduals or antiphonals in the collection, suggesting that the nuns used manuscript copies of these books.[31] The only printed books with plainchant that have survived are a number of editions of the *Pastorale Rituali Romano Accommodatum*,[32] which contain (inter alia) the chants for the Office of the Dead, and a single copy of both an Augustinian *Cantuale*[33] and *Processionarium*,[34] but it is difficult to determine when they were first acquired by the Monastery: many of these books have been rebound, resulting in the loss of their original covers and the crucial blank pages that preceded the cover page, which often carried inscriptions of ownership. In most cases, however, title pages have survived, and some of these are inscribed with names, which can be used to connect the books with a definite time period. It must be borne in mind, nonetheless, that a book may have been in use at the

[29] Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister', 182–183.

[30] The instrument was purchased in 1650. See *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 102.

[31] This also raises the possibility that the plainchant used at Bruges was rather different to the types of plainchant that were circulated in printed editions. It may be that the plainchant used at Louvain (which was then taken to Bruges) was specific to the Augustinian order, and had originally come to St Monica's from St Ursula's, when the former was founded.

[32] The Reverend Mother's library at the Bruges Monastery (*B-BRnrm*) has editions of the text from 1598, 1625 and two copies from 1649 under the shelfmarks F 33 b 6 to F 33 b 9 inclusive.

[33] The *Cantuale* is in two parts, bound together as a single book (*B-BRnrm*, F 33 a 5): *Cantuale Ordinis Ff. Eremitarum Sancti Patris Augustini Pars Prima.* (Antwerp: Balthasar Moretus, 1695); *Cantuale Ordinis Ff. Eremitarum Sancti Patris Augustini Pars Secunda.* (Antwerp: Balthasar Moretus, 1695).

[34] *B-BRnrm*, F 33 a 6: *Processionarium Ad Usum Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis St Crucis Conimbr. Ordinis S. P. Aug.* (Coimbra: Manoel Rodriguez de Almeyda, 1598).

Monastery for some time before its oldest surviving inscription, since books were often handed down to new novices when older nuns died.

Non-Musical Sources

It is clear that by themselves, the surviving musical sources from the Monastery are inadequate to reconstruct the Monastery's musical culture and practices during the seventeenth century. When these are combined with other archival documents, however, a more complete picture begins to emerge.

There are four main sources of documentary evidence about the Monastery's musical practices during the seventeenth century: proprietary liturgical texts, legislative texts, the Chronicles,[35] and financial records. The liturgical texts are ceremonials for the clothing and profession of nuns (and for the celebration of a nun's fiftieth anniversary of profession), which are compiled as a single manuscript. The Chronicles are an account of the nuns' lives, activities, and major events in the history of the Monastery, including the development of its buildings, and the interactions between the nuns and the outside world.[36] The Monastery's legislative texts can be divided into two categories: constitutions and documented customs. Its financial records – called 'reckonings' – include payments for the Monastery's expenses and receipts for the upkeep of convictresses (young girls sent to the Monastery for an education).

The Ceremonial

The Ceremonial (which is bound together with the Monastery's customary)[37] contains the most detailed evidence of what musical styles the Bruges nuns used for the liturgy during the seventeenth century. While this manuscript is undated, the handwriting in it is very similar to that used in a document from the Louvain monastery

[35] Most of the evidence from the Chronicles will be considered later in this chapter, in discussions of individuals and their musical contributions to the Monastery.

[36] For a discussion of nature and purposes of chronicle-writing in exiled English convents, see Caroline Mary Kynaston Bowden, *English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, Caroline Mary Kynaston Bowden, ed. Vol. 1, 6 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), xxxix-xlii.

[37] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C.

which dates from 1669, suggesting that it was written in the second half of the seventeenth century.[38] In most places, however, the Ceremonial corresponds with an early seventeenth-century manuscript of the Louvain clothing and profession ceremonial that was prepared for the use of the chantress,[39] indicating that the Bruges nuns simply adopted the Louvain Ceremonial for their own monastery. It is unlikely that the ceremonies themselves developed much after being adopted at Bruges, and the rubrics in the Bruges manuscript, therefore, are probably much the same as those that were observed at Louvain. The most noteworthy difference in the profession ceremonies of each monastery is that the Louvain Ceremonial stipulates that the profession should take place during a votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary (unless the profession date was a double or semi-double feast),[40] while the Bruges Ceremonial prescribes a votive Mass of the Blessed Trinity.[41]

The rubrics for the clothing of novices in the Bruges Ceremonial imply that most of the liturgical texts were to be sung in plainchant, firstly because this would have been the normal way to sing the many versicles and responses between the celebrant and the nuns, and also because of the references to the 'quire' (a term usually used in connection with a monastic choir singing the Office, rather than a group of musicians providing polyphony) singing particular texts in the manuscript. The instructions for music during the clothing of a novice, however, demonstrate that the Monastery's repertoire extended further than plainchant: 'During the whole time that she is undressing and dressing they play musick.'[42] Evidently this 'musick' was instrumental music (since it was to be played rather than sung), although the rubrics give no indication of the repertoire or the instruments used. The latter, however, can be deduced from the Monastery's chronicles and accounts: viol strings were purchased from the 1650s,[43] and it might be assumed that the nuns owned a number of viols, since – apart from a single instrument purchased in 1653[44] –

[38] *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., G2.
[39] *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., Q16.
[40] *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., Q16, f. 4.
[41] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., p. 18.
[42] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., p. 7.
[43] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, ff. 121, 131, 151.
[44] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 123.

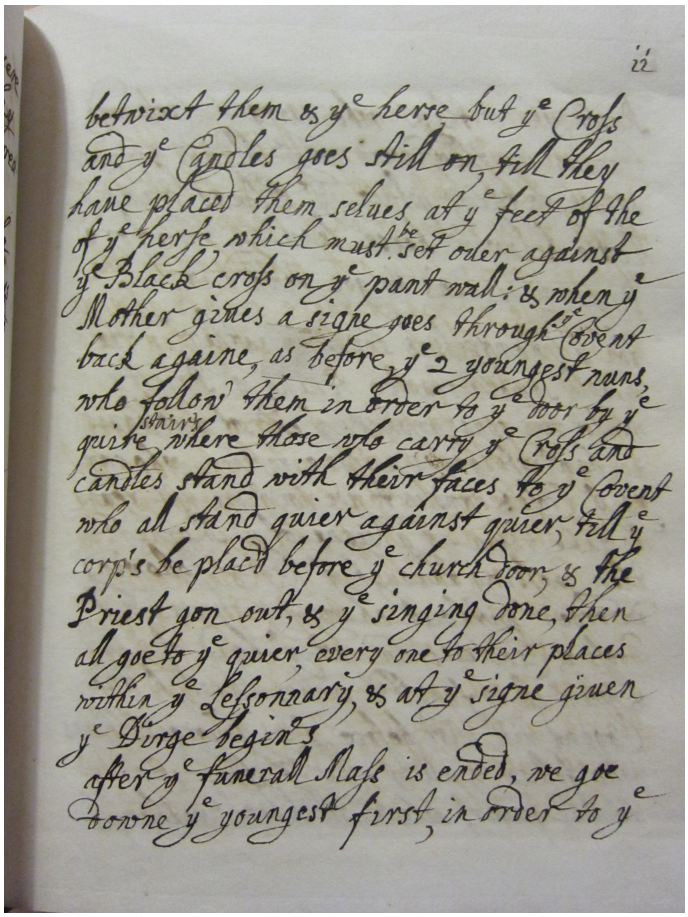

Figure 4.1: Handwriting sample from the customary of St Monica's Monastery, Louvain, 1669 (*GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., G2, f. 11).
By kind permission of the Prioress, Our Lady's Priory, Kingston.

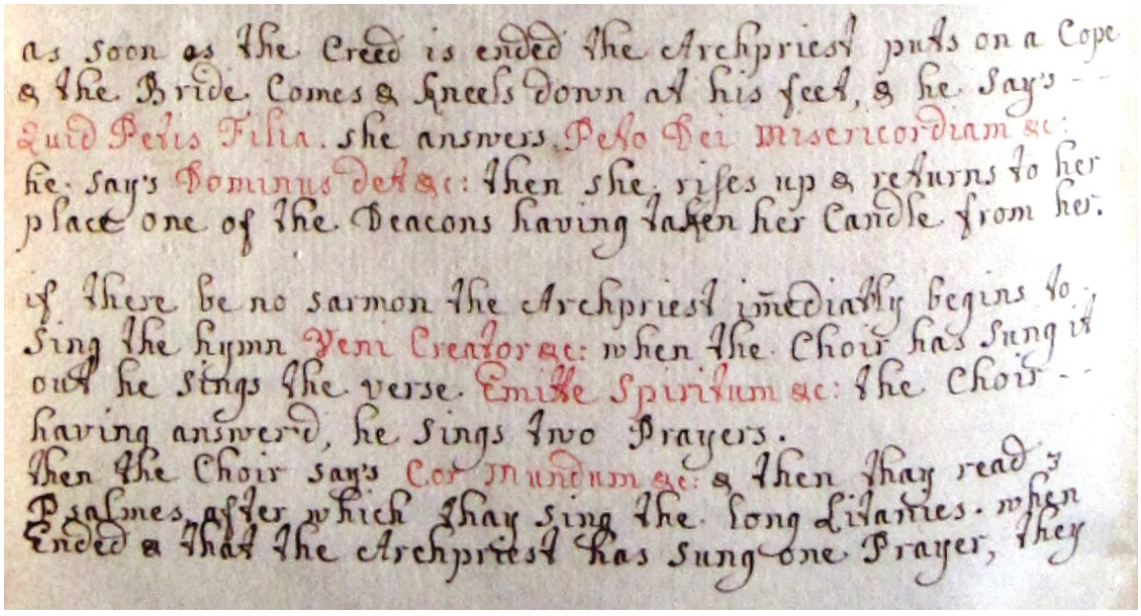

Figure 4.2: Handwriting sample from the 17th-century Ceremonial of the Bruges Monastery (*B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., f. 18).
By kind permission of the Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth, Bruges.

there are no recorded purchases of viols in the Monastery's accounts. How these viols were acquired remains unclear, although the weight of evidence suggests that the instruments had come from Louvain in 1629, since donations to the Monastery from other sources were recorded in the latter part of the Chronicles meticulously. Among these donations, we find that Ann Jernegan gave 'ye best pair of spinets' to the Monastery's music room.[45] In addition to the viols, violins were evidently played at the Monastery, although the first reference to violin music does not occur until 1692, in the obituary of Elizabeth Brooke (who had been professed at the Monastery for 32 years), which mentions that she contributed to the Monastery's music by playing the violin.[46] From these surviving fragments, therefore, it is clear that this religious community had the capacity to form instrumental ensembles. It may even be that there were more nuns at Bruges who could play musical instruments than were good singers, since the instructions for the same point in the clothing ceremony at Louvain call for sung 'musick' instead,[47] although this difference might also be accounted for by a shift in customs at Louvain towards instrumental music after its ceremonial was compiled, which were incorporated into the new ceremonial when it was drawn up for Bruges.

A comparison of the texts in the Bruges and Louvain ceremonials suggests the existence of a polyphonic vocal repertoire that was common to the two Monasteries: both contain a reference to a polyphonic setting of the Veni sponsa Christi as part of the clothing rite. In the Louvain manuscript, this is expressed as follows:

> These prayers being ended, y^{e} priest y^{t} doth y^{e} offis giveth ye bride her crowne & candell in y^{e} meane time, they sing in musicke. Veni Sponsa

[45] See *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 467. That this was the 'best pair' of spinets shows that the Monastery owned more than one pair (a virginal was certainly purchased in 1654. See *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 132), indicating that there was more musical activity at Bruges than is documented in any of its surviving records. The first reference to a music room does not occur until 1711, when the foundation stone of a new building – which was to contain a music room – was laid. Evidently, by the early eighteenth century, musical activity at the Monastery had expanded to the extent that a dedicated space was required for music and musical instruments. Like the novitiate, which was also housed in this new building, the construction of a new music room was the recognition of expansion and progress at the Monastery. Recreational music was obviously a well-established activity by the time that the building was planned, probably having been a part of the monastic culture at the Bruges monastery since the seventeenth century.

[46] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 160.

[47] *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., Q7, p. 2.

> Christi, wch being ended, y^{e} priest begineth Prudentes virgines, & y^{e} quier takes it of, & they sing also y^{e} two verses following Tunc surrexerunt &c: and Veni Sponsa Christi. &c: Deo gratias.[48]

The Bruges ceremonial also refers to a Veni sponsa Christi as being sung in 'musicke',[49] and the absence of any reference to the intonation by the celebrant of the 'Prudentes virgines' suggests either that the piece was now intoned by the chantress and continued by the choir, or that a new (and potentially also polyphonic) setting was in use by the time that this ceremonial was compiled:[50]

> When the Mass is ended the Archpriest puts of his vestment and puts on the cope. They present him a Crown which he puts upon her head, and the vesteria pins it on, then he gives her her Candle, and in the mean while they sing in musick Veni Sponsa Christi and then Prudentes Virgines.[51]

Given the degree to which the ceremonials from Louvain and Bruges align in their details, it is very likely that the polyphonic music which was first sung at Louvain was taken to Bruges by its founding nuns. Unfortunately, no manuscript copy of the Veni sponsa Christi is known to survive. Peter Leech's suggestion that an unattributed and incomplete motet in *GB-Och* Mus. MS. 878–880 (a compilation of motets, including a gathering of few-voice motets mostly attributed to Richard Dering, which was probably copied out in the early 1640s)[52] titled *Augustine augustissime*, may have been composed by John Bolt provides a tenuous basis for reconstructing the musical styles in use at Louvain, and by extension, therefore, at Bruges.[53] The fragility of this starting point must be acknowledged: with no music that is known to have been composed by John Bolt having survived, there is no basis for verifying whether this motet, found in collection that was probably connected

[48] *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., Q7, p. 4.
[49] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., p. 9.
[50] Given the detail in the rubrics of the Bruges ceremonial, it is unlikely that was a simple error on the part of the scribe – the practice of the celebrant intoning the 'Prudentes virgines' probably did not continue as before.
[51] ibid.
[52] On the nature of this collection, see Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets': 169.
[53] Leech, Review of Richard Dering, Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo. ed. by Jonathan P. Wainwright, Musica Britannica 87, 285.

with Henrietta Maria's chapel, was composed by him. Nonetheless, this motet in honour of St Augustine seems out of place among Dering's other few-voice motets, most of which are not for specific saints' feast-days and could be used in a range of different liturgical contexts. Given that Dering is only known to have worked for the English Benedictines at Brussels and in Henrietta Maria's chapel in London – neither of which had any obvious reason to keep the feast of St Augustine with great solemnity – there is a real possibility that this motet was composed elsewhere and only assumed to have been composed by Dering because it is found in a collection with other motets attributed to him. Although it is true that the motet is close in style to Dering's other output, Wainwright, who includes this motet in his volume of Dering's few-voice motets, only makes the case for a 'plausible', rather than definitive attribution.[54] In its only surviving manuscript sources (*GB-Och* 789 and 880), the motet itself is unattributed, although inscriptions on their flyleaves carry the name 'Jefferies'.[55] George Jeffreys was closely associated with Baron Hatton, and therefore by extension, with Henrietta Maria's musical establishment, and was probably the original copyist of the work.[56]

That *Augustine augustissime* was copied from the music collection of Henrietta Maria's chapel seems likely. The question of how the motet reached this circle of musicians, however, remains unanswered. It is unlikely that Dering received the music from Bolt, since Bolt was already at Louvain by the time that Dering is known to have been employed in Brussels. One potential connection between the motet and Henrietta Maria's chapel – albeit via a circuitous route – is through Richard Mico, who was organist to the chapel from 1630. Prior to this appointment, he was employed by the Petre family in Essex, where he had been their resident musician

[54] Wainwright ed., *Richard Dering: Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, xix.

[55] Wainwright ed., *Richard Dering: Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, 148. Wainwright's attributions have not gone unchallenged. Charteris, for instance, has pointed out that the attribution of an *Angelus ad pastores* in *GB-Lcm* MS 2034 to Dering is incorrect, and that the piece was in fact composed by Ottavio Durante. See Richard Charteris. Letter to the Editor. Richard Dering's Concertato Motets. *Music and Letters* 89/4 (2008): 698–700.

[56] For a discussion of Jeffreys's collection of Italian music and his connections to Hatton, see Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23 (1990): 109–124.

since 1608.[57] The Petre family was connected to the Louvain Monastery through patronage: Lady Petre provided with an annual grant of £10 to Anne Bromfield,[58] a Catholic convert who originally entered St Ursula's Monastery in Louvain, before moving to the St Monica's in 1609.[59] Whether or not she met Bolt through the Petres is uncertain: he must have fled England around 1594, and it is difficult to determine Bromfield's whereabouts at this time. She may also have met William Byrd either through their mutual friend, Fr John Gerard, or the Petres, whose patronage of her suggests that she was a close family friend.[60] Bromfield evidently had some musical ability, because she was the Monastery's chantress or sub-chantress for some twenty years.[61] In this capacity, it is likely that Bromfield both knew Bolt and was taught by him. Moreover, given the musical interests of her benefactress's household, it is plausible that she would have sent musical manuscripts from Louvain to the Petres. The nuns at Bruges evidently sent gifts to their benefactors because the Monastery's financial records include outlays for either small objects or materials that could be used for making things to give away.[62] A manuscript of compositions would have been a fitting gift for a nun with musical ability to give her patrons. That no such manuscript of a Petre provenance is known to survive is not problematic: the survival of a pavan and galliard dedicated to Sir William Petre in *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (*GB-Lbl* MS Mus. 1591),[63] a source with no apparent connection to the Petre household, indicates that music was often circulated by musicians within their social circles. Moreover, there are other works from this circle of musicians (Dering, Jeffreys, Mico) that have been misattributed,[64] suggesting a certain informality in the copying and circulation of the source manuscripts – that is, attention to such details may have been overlooked because the manuscripts were only intended to be a private collection, shared among a group of closely connected musicians. It is by this route,

[57] For a comprehensive discussion of Mico's life, see Bennett and Willets, 'Richard Mico'.
[58] Hamilton 1, 78.
[59] Anne Bromfield, d. 1638, WWTN, Database record LA040, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=LA040, Accessed 22 July 2013.
[60] Hamilton 1, 109.
[61] Hamilton 2, 144.
[62] See, for instance, *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–166, ff. 81, 131.
[63] Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian Ms Mus. Sch. E. 423': 27.
[64] Bennett and Willets, 'Richard Mico': 36.

therefore, that it would have been possible for the music of the Louvain monastery to reach the chapel of Henrietta Maria. Although further evidence is needed before any conclusions can be reached, through their potential connections with the Louvain monastery, the musical manuscripts connected with Henrietta Maria's chapel provide a model for one of the types of polyphony that might have been performed at both Monasteries: few-voice Italianate motets, perhaps accompanied by organ alone, or organ, viols and violin. From a stylistic standpoint, the evidence aligns well with what is known about music in other, non-English convents during the same period: Kendrick, Reardon, and Monson's research on music during the clothing and profession ceremonies at Italian convents during the seventeenth centuries indicates few-voice Italianate motets were certainly used, and that the Veni sponsa Christi was often set (or potentially arranged) in this manner.[65]

What has been said thus far about vocal polyphony at the Bruges monastery is largely conjectural. The Ceremonial does, however, contain one reference to a particular style of vocal polyphony, in the rubrics of the clothing ceremony:

> The subprioress which leads the Bride comes last. She leads her to all of the Religious, which should stand in their places in the Quier, and she salutes them all, first kneeling down to the superiour who salutes her so kneeling. While this is performing the Quier sings in Fabourdon the Ps: Jubilate.[66]

Given the simplicity of fauxbourdon harmony and its inherent adaptability to a wide range of texts,[67] it is possible that the nuns used fauxbourdon during the Divine Office to embellish important texts, such as the Magnificat.

The Bruges Ceremonial also provides some insights into music that was connected with the Mass that followed the profession ceremony. The rubrics in the ceremony for profession of lay sisters stipulate that there was to be 'musick in time

[65] Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 136–137; Colleen Reardon, "Veni Sponsa Christi': Investiture, Profession and Consecration Ceremonies in Sienese Convents', *Musica Disciplina* (1996): 271–297; Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, 195–196.

[66] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., p. 10.

[67] On the style and uses of fauxbourdon during the seventeenth century, see Deborah Kauffman, 'Fauxbourdon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: 'Le Secours D'une Douce Harmonie', *Music & Letters* 90/1 (2009): 68–93.

of' the low Mass that followed their profession.[68] This is interesting as it is the only direct evidence that the nuns used music in the context of low Mass, in addition to *Missa solemnis*. Although there are no instructions in the Ceremonial for the type of music to be used at the Mass that followed the profession of a choir nun, this was clearly a solemn Mass, since the rubrics mention the presence of two deacons[69] in the profession ceremonies that precede Mass, which was then offered by the Archpriest, who had witnessed the nun's profession.[70] The two deacons would have been redundant in the ceremonies of low Mass, and it seems illogical that they would have been employed only for the profession ceremony preceding Mass. Given that the profession of a choir nun was accompanied by a more solemn form of Mass than followed the profession of a lay sister, it can only be concluded that it was also celebrated with at least as much 'musick' as the lay sister's Mass.

Evidence in the Customary

The Customary is bound together in the same book as the Ceremonial.[71] Although undated, it is clear that the Customary must date from after 1650, because it contains a reference to a weekly votive Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is recorded in the Chronicles as having been instituted in thanksgiving to the Virgin Mary for saving the Monastery from fire in that year.[72] The Customary is the main source for evidence about the occasions for sung Masses at Bruges, but its relatively late compilation – coming some twenty-one years after the foundation of the Monastery – poses some limitations. Given the extent of the influence of the Louvain Monastery on the new foundation at Bruges, however, a calendar of feast days

[68] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., p. 23.

[69] One of these was probably a subdeacon. Given however, that both vested in very similar vestments, it is easy to understand why the scribe might have used the term 'deacon' for both the deacon and subdeacon.

[70] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., p. 10. It is clear that the Archpriest is the same priest who offers the Mass (that is, a low Mass is not offered by a chaplain while the Archpriest sits in choir): *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C., pp. 14, 16.

[71] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C. This part of the manuscript is unfoliated. All subsequent references to the Customary, therefore, will describe the position of the relevant section in relation to the beginning of the Customary, which follows on immediately from the Ceremonial.

[72] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 57.

on which Mass to be sung at St Monica's, dating from 1629,[73] is a useful indicator of the feast days that were important to the English Augustinians, and were probably also observed at Bruges from the outset.

Table 4.1: Comparison of the liturgical calendars of the English Augustinian Monasteries of Louvain (*GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., Q5) and Bruges (*B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C).[74]

Louvain Calendar (1629)	**Bruges Calendar (after 1650)**
January	
January 18 – Chair of St Peter at Rome	Chair of St Peter at Rome The Conversion of St Paul
February	
	Chair of St Peter at Antioch
February 10 – St Scholastica – "wee sing a Sollemne Masse of the Blessed Trinity"	
February 28 – The Second Translation of St Augustine	The Second Translation of St Augustine.
March	
March 12 – St Gregory March 17 – St Gertrude March 19 – St Joseph	St Gregory St Gertrude [Later deletion] St Joseph
April	
April 9 – The Translation of St Monica April 23 – St George	 St George St Mark the Evangelist
May	
May 3 – The Finding of the Holy Cross	
May 4 – St Monica – "primaclassis"	St Monica
May 5 – Conversion of St Augustine	Conversion of St Augustine
May 8 – Apparition of St Michael the Archangel	Apparition of St Michael the Archangel
June	
June 30 – Commemoration of St Paul	Commemoration of St Paul St Mary Magdalen [Later insertion and deletion]
July	
	St Mary Magdalen [Later insertion]
July 26 – St Anne	St Anne

[73] *GB-WHdaa*, Archive of St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot, W.M.L., Q5. The date of the document is disclosed on p. 31 of the manuscript.

Louvain Calendar (1629)	Bruges Calendar (c. 1650)
August	
'In this month wee sing a Mass for Mrs Catherine Egmans if the rent be payed"	
August 1 – St Peter's Chains	St Peter's Chains
August 5 – Our Lady of the Snows	Our Lady of the Snows
August 6 – The Transfiguration	
August 14 – Vigil of the Assumption	Vigil of the Assumption
August 16 – St Roch	"With-in ye octives of the Assumption we singe a solleme Masse of S. Rocke to preserve us from the plague."
August 22 – Octave Day of the Assumption	Octave Day of the Assumption
August 28 – St Augustine	
September	
September 4 – The Octave Day of St Augustine	The Octave of Day of St Augustine
September 10 – St Nicholas of Tolentino	
September 14 - The Exaltation of the Holy Cross	The Exaltation of the Holy Cross
	The Octave of the Nativity of Our Lady
September 22 - St Mauritius and Companions	
September 30 - St Jerome	St Jerome
October	
"In this month wee singe a Solemne Masse for the Soules of all our Rd. Mothers departed"	
October 1 – Guardian Angels –"wee sing a solemne Mass and singing laudes"	Guardian Angels
October 11 – The First Translation of St Augustine	The First Translation of St Augustine
	St Luke, Evangelist [later insertion]
October 21 - St Ursula	St Ursula
October 31 - Vigil of All Saints	Vigil of All Saints
November	
November 2 – All Souls Day	All Souls Day
November 8 - Octave of All Saints	Octave of All Saints
November 9 - Dedication of the Lateran Basilica	Dedication of the Lateran Basilica
	St Catherine [later insertion]

Louvain Calendar (1629)	Bruges Calendar (c. 1650)
December	
"Once in the month of December, we allwayes sing a aniversary Mass for the Reverand Fathers of this Monestary"	
December 6 – St Nicholas – "Singing Mass and singing office"	St Nicholas
	St Ambrose
December 24 – Christmas Eve	Christmas Eve
December 29 – St Thomas of Canterbury	St Thomas of Canterbury

The high degree of correlation between these two calendars suggests that the liturgical observances of the Bruges monastery were modelled closely on those of Louvain, with some later additions. The number of feasts for which the Mass was sung implies a substantial commitment to liturgical music at the Bruges monastery, in continuation of the tradition that had been established at St Monica's. It must be kept in mind, however, that these were the *extraordinary* occasions on which Masses (and in some cases the Office) were sung at the Monastery of Our Lady of Nazareth. The ordinary sung Masses were specified separately in the Customary:

> Everie Sunday and holy daye. And also every Saterday throughout the yere, when we hould a simplex feast of our B. Lady. And the masse must be according to the time; which we singe for the preservation of our Monastery, especially from fyer. Likwyse every feria Saterday in Advent, we singe masse for our Bl. Lady, except that Saterday which falleth in imber weeke, because on imber Wensday in the same weeke we singe a solemne Mass of our B. Lady which is called the Goulden Mass.[75]

In addition to these weekly commitments, the nuns sang Mass on most of the important feast days, including the Purification, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and then from Tuesday in Holy Week until Easter Wednesday, as well as Pentecost and

[74] Each of the Masses in this table is described in a way that indicates that it was sung, although some Masses are described as 'solemn' and others merely as 'sung'. The text in the calendars is quoted directly wherever the wording is unusual or provides additional information.

[75] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C. The relevant section follows on directly after the liturgical calendar.

Corpus Christi.[76] Detailed instructions are provided about when the Requiem Mass and Office of the Dead were to be sung, including a monthly remembrance of deceased nuns, parents, benefactors and friends, and more solemn remembrances for deceased brothers and sisters of the Augustinian order, twice annually. The Customary also describes the ceremonial for the Requiem Mass, Office of the Dead and internment to be used whenever a nun from the Monastery died, and the Mass and Office for the month and year anniversaries of her death.[77] Besides the Mass, the nuns sang Vespers on every Sunday, 'holy day' and double feast, as well for a number of other feast days throughout the year. Matins was sung on only a few feast days, probably because the nuns had difficulty keeping this hour.[78] It is noteworthy that the Monastery had a tradition of singing votive Marian antiphons: the Inviolata was sung on all Sundays and feasts of the Virgin Mary (along with a handful of other feast days), and the 'Hæc est' (presumably the 'Hæc est regina virginum') every Saturday,[79] suggesting a role for music in the Monastery in connection with piety as well as the liturgy.

Although the Customary never identifies the styles of music that were used, the large number of occasions on which the nuns sang the liturgy demonstrates that music was an integral part of the Monastery's culture. Discounting any extraordinary or important feast days, the nuns would have needed to provide music for a Solemn Mass, Vespers,[80] and the votive Marian antiphons Inviolata and Hæc est at least once every week. Under these circumstances, it is conceivable that the nuns learned a large repertoire of liturgical music. It is also possible that at least some of the nuns who were not experienced musicians when they entered the Monastery

[76] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C. The relevant sections are titled: 'The hollyinge of the Candles and the Procession on Candlemase day', 'Of the Hollowinge of Ashes', 'Of the hollowing of the Palmes', Of the Office on good Fridaye', 'Of the Office on Easter Eve', and 'The office on Whitsone Eve'. They follow on immediately after a general introduction to the customs (which follows the calendar of sung Masses) that introduces most of the feasts that were observed at the Monastery.

[77] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C. The relevant section follows on directly after the liturgical calendar, as part of the general introduction described above.

[78] An entry in the Chronicles for 1644 indicates that Matins was often poorly attended. See *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 37–38.

[79] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C. The relevant sections (which follow on almost immediately after the instructions for specific feast days) are titled 'Of Inviolata' and 'Of Hæc est'.

[80] *B-BRnrm*, Archives, H.III.C. The section titled 'Of singing Evensonges' stipulates that Vespers was to be sung on Sundays and certain feast days.

developed their skills further – under the tutelage of the more senior nuns (and possibly also external music teachers)[81] – due to the number of liturgical functions that were sung there regularly.

From 1650, the number of Masses sung every week doubled, with the introduction of a sung Lady Mass on Saturdays.[82] Although there is no written evidence confirming that instrumental and polyphonic music were used during the Lady Mass – and at first glance it might seem to have been counter-intuitive to have used the most elaborate music for a votive Mass, when conventional wisdom would have been to save the greatest embellishments, including vestments, hangings and the most precious vessels for the highest feast days – it is possible that the music at this Mass was more elaborate, even if only for reasons of practicality: the Mass texts did not change each week, allowing the nuns to re-use the music for the Mass propers for the entire seasons of Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter and time after Pentecost, and the music for both the Mass ordinary and motets potentially for the whole year. If all of the choir nuns were able to sing the more-or-less permanent parts of the Mass confidently, this would have left the nuns with more musical experience free to explore other repertoire (which could have either supplemented or replaced parts of the stable repertoire), rather than being forced to sustain the main monastic choir.[83] If the Bruges monastery adopted the same practices as Louvain, then these more skilled nuns performed polyphonic instrumental or vocal music away from the quire – probably in the organ loft.[84] This is not to say that music on high feast days – when the less experienced nuns might have required more help from their more proficient confreres because of the need to sing comparatively unfamiliar

[81] On the role of external music teachers at the Monastery, see pp. 209–220.

[82] See *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 57.

[83] The obituary of Mother Frances Stamford (see *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 15) demonstrates that at least some of the choir nuns struggled to learn even the plainchant, although Stamford seems to have eventually mastered the skill through persistence: '[F]rom ye first she gave herself seriously to vertue, and regular observance; and being something hard to learn ye latin, and ys [sic] Quire song, she took great pains to perfect herself, especially for her duties of ye Quire.' It raises the possibility that the main monastic choir required strong voices to lead it.

[84] It is clear that the nuns at Louvain performed under John Bolt's direction in the organ loft: 'He had about seven years or more before his death been taken with the gout, insomuch that for four or five years he was wholly lame therewith, and we were forced to have our lay sisters to bring him up unto the organ upon great feasts, when he was to play *and govern the music* [emphasis added].' Hamilton 2, 185.

repertoire (some of which only occurred annually) – were devoid of 'musick', only that the case can be made more strongly for embellished repertoires on occasions when the nuns of lesser musical ability were capable of performing the plainchant by themselves.

CONSTITUTIONS

The oldest copy of the Bruges constitutions was written by Frances Babthorpe, a nun of the Louvain monastery, for her sister, Ursula Babthorpe, who professed at Bruges in 1642.[85] The detailed descriptions in this text of the nuns' role in the liturgy provide further insights into the Monastery's musical practices. In the chapter titled 'How the Sisters shall behave themselves in the devine service', the Constitutions stipulate that the nuns were to rehearse difficult or unfamiliar music under the direction of the Chantress, and provide some guidance about the way that the Monastery's plainchant was to be sung:

> Moreover they shal take heed they turne no leaves of ther bookes, or overlooke any thinge without need durring the Service, especially at the tyme yt the Pater noster is reade, a Lesson or collect or anything els, that is reade or songe by one alone, or two togeather, the Chantresse therfore, and Hedomaria shal oversee before hand, that they have to singe or reade, that in the tyme of the Service they neede not to be distracted with it. And the better to avoyde all occation of confusion and distraction in the devyne Service, ther shal be apoynted a place, wher the Sisters shal come togeather, to looke over that is to be songe or reade, especially before great or Solemne feastes, or when any unaccostomed thing is to be done, or songe, and ther shall be presente the Pryoresse or Chantresse, or whom she shall appointe. The Psalmes shall be songe distinctly & tractim that is leasurly, or not too fast, with full pauses.[86]

The interpretation of plainchant is treated in further detail later in the same chapter:

[85] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1
[86] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 34

> The psalmes shal be songe distinctly and tractably, and in the middle of the verses a full rest or pause, not drawing the sillables too longe, especially in the end...[87]

Although there is nothing in this description that is unique or unusual, it is interesting that the interpretation of plainchant should have been given a place in the Monastery's constitutions. This gives some indication of the importance of plainchant at the Louvain and Bruges monasteries. The direction of the plainchant and implementation of these principles was the duty of the Chantress. It was her role to set the pace and pitch of the chant, and also to correct it when problems arose:

> [I]f ther be any errour or dout in the songe or that the quire singe too fast or too slow, that belongs unto her to bringe it to the right forme or measure, and in the singing ether higher or lower non shall correct her, or goe before her, but even so as she first begines, so shall they follow, except only the Prioresse may reforme it, if it be amisse.[88]

The Constitutions also stipulate that there were to be two chantresses, and two underchantresses:

> Ther shal be in each quire one chantresse and underchantresse. [89]

In any liturgical service, therefore, there would have been four people capable of directing the plainchant.

Some aspects of the Monastery's musical practices can be understood by considering the descriptions of liturgical practices in the Constitutions. The incensation of the altars at Vespers during the Magnificat, although not specifically related to music, suggests a place in the liturgy for settings of the Magnificat that alternated between the choir and organ, even if only because the incensation of multiple altars may have taken more time than it would have taken the nuns to sing the Magnificat from beginning to end in plainchant alone.

> In Maioribus Duplicibus, and solemne feastes the Confessour shal doe the service of the evensonge, and at the Magnificate he incenses the aulters.[90]

[87] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, pp. 35–36.
[88] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 42–43.
[89] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 44.
[90] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 38.

It is also clear that the entire choir was involved in singing the Introit at Mass:

> When the Introitus of the Masse is songe, the quire stands one agaynst another but to Salve sancta parens, the shal kneele to Eenixa...[91]

If the singing of the Introit had been the duty of a smaller group of nuns, it would not have made sense for all the nuns to stand while it was sung, and those who were not involved in the singing would probably have been instructed to kneel instead.[92] Similar stipulations for the Gloria and Sanctus suggest that these were also sung by the entire choir (perhaps in alternation with the chantresses).[93] This suggests that these texts were always sung in plainchant and belonged to the whole choir, rather than a select group of musicians.

Not all of the Mass propers were sung by the entire choir. That the choir sat during the gradual, tract, alleluia, sequence and offertory suggests that these were sung by a smaller group of singers – possibly with the exception of the final part of the gradual, alleluia and tract – although the Constitutions only specify the practice that was to be followed during the tract:

> During the Epistle, Prophices, Gradual, Tract and Alleluia with the verse, Sequentia and Offertorium, the quire sittes to the Preface. The Alleluia with the verse of the mass tow singers always togeather in the middle of the quyre upon what day soever it be, and the tract also to the last verse, which the quire sings altogeather...[94]

The Monastery's constitutions place a few theoretical limits on the uses of polyphonic repertoires in the Monastery's liturgy: if polyphony was used at Mass, it probably did not replace the texts that the entire choir sang. It seems likely, therefore that the fauxbourdon Masses that the Monastery sang – if indeed the tradition of singing these did originate in the seventeenth century – were sung by all the nuns, rather than a select group of musicians.[95] This indicates that polyphony in at least

[91] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 40.

[92] This is not to say that the entire Introit was sung by all the nuns, however: the natural structure of an Introit is such that it would have been normal for all the nuns to sing the antiphon, and to then alternate with the chantresses in the verse of the psalm and the doxology.

[93] See *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 40, 41

[94] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 40.

[95] It is clear that by the late seventeenth century, a tradition of singing psalms to fauxbourdon tones had developed in at least some places. Antoine Boësset (1586–1643), for instance, composed a

the Louvain and Bruges convents was not sung exclusively by the musician-nuns of the Monastery, but that simpler forms were also used by the nuns' choir.

Individual Nuns: Their Musical Influences and Backgrounds

Thus far, it is clear that the Bruges nuns sang plainchant, vocal polyphony and fauxbourdon, and played instrumental music on viols and violins during their liturgical functions. What is less clear, however, is where they acquired their technique and repertoire. One possibility is that the tradition was passed down from one nun to another, and this is quite likely in the case of the Monastery's plainchant and at least some of its polyphonic repertoires. It is unlikely, however, that this accounts for the Monastery's musical practices in their entirety, since some of the nuns who entered the Monastery must have already had musical training.

Frustratingly, the Chronicles contain only faint glimpses of the musical capabilities of individual nuns to the end of the seventeenth century, and it is only in the eighteenth century that richer details about musical practices emerge, as part of what seems to be a general shift in the style of writing that is used. Until the end of the seventeenth century, one of the main purposes of the Monastery's chronicles seems to have been to provide a text for the nuns to read that would foster unity in the Community and create a sense of institutional identity.[96] The information provided about a nun's individual abilities, therefore, was framed in terms of the Monastery's collective identity. Since all of the choir nuns were expected to sing for the Mass and Office, making any mention of these skills for individual nuns would have been as redundant as enumerating all the other duties that were common to choir nuns. As a result, there are few references to liturgical music in the nuns' obituaries. During the seventeenth century, the writers of the Bruges Chronicles seem

number of fauxbourdon psalm settings for the nuns of the Royal Benedictine Abbey of Montmartre in Paris. See Peter Bennett, 'Antoine Boësset's Sacred Music for the Royal Abbey of Montmartre: Newly Identified Polyphony and Plainchant Musical from the "Deslauriers" Manuscript (F-Pn Vma ms. rés. 571).' *Revue de Musicologie*. 91/2 (2005): 321–367.

[96] On the use of chronicles and other writings by English convents in exile to create a sense of institutional identity, see Bowden, *English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, Vol. 1, xl.

to have confined their observations about the nuns' abilities to special cases. It is recorded, for instance, when Ursula Palmes was chosen as the subprioress in 1673, she needed to obtain a dispensation from the Bishop of Bruges in order to take up her office, because she was unable to sing, and it was the subprioress's duty to 'perform ye singing on feasts of secunda classes'.[97] It can be assumed, therefore, that all of the nuns fulfilled their normal duties as they were expected to, unless there is anything written in Chronicles to the contrary.

The following selection of nuns demonstrates some of the possible sources of musical influence on the Monastery that resulted from individual nuns' musical abilities, acquired both before and after entering the Monastery, and in some cases, through the interactions between individual nuns and the world beyond the cloister.

Elizabeth Brooke

Elizabeth Brooke first arrived at the Monastery as a convictress in 1649,[98] aged fifteen, and remained there until her death in 1684.[99] Nothing was written about her musical abilities in the Chronicles until her death in 1684:

> On ye 13 of October Str Gertrude Brooke departed this life in ye 55 year of her age, and 32 of her holy profession. She had been brought up here from a child and was of a sweet pious temper, preventing and willing to oblige. She had a very good voice and did good service to ye Quire, helping ye musick also by playing on ye violin.[100]

Although Brooke may have begun violin lessons before arriving at the Monastery, it is unlikely that she was a proficient musician by the age of fifteen. The use of the term 'brought up' in the Chronicles also suggests that Brooke received most of her education – including instrumental tuition – at Bruges. If this was the case, she must have been given violin lessons by one of the nuns, because the first recorded payment to a 'music master' in the Monastery's accounts dates from 1668,[101] some eight

[97] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 120.
[98] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 51.
[99] Elizabeth Brooke, d. 1684, WWTN, Database record BA034, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA034, Accessed 16 July 2013.
[100] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, pp. 161–162.
[101] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1660 to 1702, f. 33r.

years after Brooke had made her profession. Although it is possible that Brooke acquired her musical training after her profession, it is unlikely: Sela's research on women and keyboard music during the seventeenth century indicates that women usually learned how to play musical instruments during their youth.[102] The case of Elizabeth Brookes, therefore, provides strong evidence for the existence of skilled musicians among the Bruges nuns in the mid-seventeenth century who, apart from being able to provide music for liturgical functions, gave music lessons to the young women who were sent to Bruges to receive an education.

Mary Wright

Mary Wright's grandfather, John Wright, was converted to Catholicism by William Byrd and Gabriel Colford.[103] The Wrights lived at Kelvedon Hall, some twenty miles away from Byrd, who was at Stondon Massey. The nature of their relationship with him is unknown, although it is possible that Byrd had provided music for the family at some stage – the relationship between William Byrd and John Wright could not have been one of equals, since Wright was the Lord of the manor of Kelvedon Hatch, so it is most likely that their relationship was one of patronage. Perhaps John Wright's son – who was also named John – also had musical interests, because Mary Wright's 1730 obituary in the Bruges Chronicles noted that she had 'a very good voice for ye choir'.[104] The extent to which her musical training was a product of her upbringing, however, must be tempered with the knowledge that she first arrived at the Monastery in 1677 at the age of sixteen, and took her first vows three years later. A more plausible hypothesis is that she developed the skills which she had already begun to learn at her family home, Kelvedon Hall, under the supervision of the other nuns at the Monastery. Her great-aunt, Frances Wright, was the novice

[102] See Sela, 'An Examination of Virginal Manuscripts Owned by Women in the Context of Early Modern English Keyboard Music Culture ca. 1590–1660', 325.

[103] Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister: Musical Culture in English Convents During the Seventeenth Century,' 178–179. See also p.145 of this thesis.

[104] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.II, p. 1.

mistress of the Monastery before becoming Sub-Prioress in 1683,[105] so it is possible that she helped to further develop her great niece's musical skills. The case for Frances Wright having had musical experience before entering the Convent is even stronger than that of her niece, since is likely that she lived in the family home when Byrd converted her half-brother and half-sister to Catholicism.

Diana Keynes

Mary Wright arrived at the Monastery in the same year that Diana Keynes made her profession there.[106] Like most of the other nuns, her services to the Monastery were not recorded during her lifetime. Keynes's obituary, however, provides some interesting insights into her contribution to the Monastery's musical culture:

> She was very serviceable to this community by her good talents, being perfect in ye french and flemish tongues, and very ingenius in several sorts of works, she had a strong voice both for musick and the plain song, and fervorously employ'd her talents in ye offices of chantress, Mistress of ye Pensioners, and Portress.[107]

That Keynes, who was capable of singing polyphony, was appointed as a chantress suggests that her duties – like those of the chantress at the English Benedictine Monastery in Brussels – extended beyond the direction of plainchant. It must also be kept in mind, however, that the constitutions of the Bruges monastery provided for two chantresses and two under-chantresses (that is, one chantress and under-chantress for each side of the choir).[108] Given how rarely mention is made of these chantresses in the Chronicles, it can be concluded that there were more nuns who were involved in leading the day-to-day music of the Monastery but whose identities remain unknown, although this may be because their contributions were not as significant as Keynes's. Keynes was in a unique position: apart from being a skilled

[105] Frances Wright, d. 1709, WWTN, Database record BA225, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA225, Accessed 22 July 2013.
[106] Diana Keynes, d. 1707, WWTN, Database record BA126, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA126, Accessed 22 July 2013.
[107] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 126.
[108] *B-BRnrm*, Archives R.M. G. IV.a1, p. 44.

musician, she was also the Monastery's portress. This, combined with her linguistic abilities, may have enabled her to be a source of musical importations from outside the cloister, acting simultaneously as performer, translator and teacher.

There is little in Keynes's family background to explain her abilities. She was both a late vocation and a neophyte, arriving at the Bruges Monastery at the age of twenty-eight, having been baptised about a year earlier by her brother, Fr Alexander Keynes,[109] and therefore must have received her entire education in England. Her late conversion is unusual because her father, Alexander Keynes appears on a 1650 list of recusants in Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.[110] A royalist Colonel, he seems to have abandoned his wife and family and gone into exile with Charles II, although by 1652 he was a mercenary for the Venetian Republic, and died fighting against the Turks.[111] Alexander Keynes's death seems to have left his family in a difficult financial position, since his widow was forced to appeal to the government for financial assistance.[112] Under these circumstances, which would suggest that there was little money to spare for activities such as family recreation, Keynes's range of abilities is surprising. Keynes's brother, however, was at the chapel of the Queen dowager, Henrietta Maria, in 1684, as well as caring for the chapel of the Elector Palatine's envoy.[113] Such prestigious positions would not have been given to an unlearned man, suggesting that the Keynes children were educated well, in spite of the family's financial troubles.

MARGARET SULYARD

Margaret Sulyard's obituary from 1699 also makes note of her musical abilities:

[109] See Diana Keynes, d. 1707, WWTN, Database record BA126, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA126, Accessed 22 July 2013.

[110] *General Report to the King in Council from the Honourable Board of Commissioners on the Public Records, Appointed by His Majesty King William IV. . . : With an Appendix and Index* (London: Printed by George Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, 1837), 413.

[111] Geoffrey Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 85–86.

[112] Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660*, 86.

[113] See a letter from a Jesuit of Liege to a Jesuit of Fribourg, quoted in John Poynder, *A History of the Jesuits; to Which Is Prefixed a Reply to Mr. Dallas's Defence of That Order*. Vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1816), 64–65.

> On ye 18 of July Str Margarite Alexia Sulyard, our Subprioress, departed this life about ye 59 year of her age, and 41 of her holy Profession. She had been about five years Subprioress and had perform'd ye duties of yt charge wth great prudence. Her zeal for religious observance was very great, particularly for ye divine office, and having a strong voice and skill in ye plain song she was very serviceable in our Quire.[114]

Sulyard was a student at the Monastery's school, professed at the age of eighteen and probably received the bulk of her musical education at the Monastery.[115] Nonetheless, her family also had musical interests: a commonplace book which belonged to the Sulyards and dates from some point between 1651 and 1657 contains a number of notated songs.[116] It is a rare survival: apart from the Paston and Petre manuscripts, there are few books of printed or manuscript music from the seventeenth century with a recusant provenance that are known to have survived to the present day. The recreational compendium that this compilation represents is rarer still (the book is in fact a compilation of poetry, song texts, and even includes some recipes for medicine), providing a snapshot of musical recreation in the context of women's other domestic activities in a recusant household.[117] The extent to which the Sulyard commonplace book is representative of the musical background of English women who entered Continental monasteries during the seventeenth century, however, is difficult to determine because so few sources of this kind survive. The case could be made that these kinds of books suffered the same fate as the printed texts that Pettegree argues were destroyed because they were not considered important enough to enter the libraries of serious collectors, close to the time of their production.[118] It is easy to see how commonplace manuscripts might have been lost in this way: containing no legal or 'historical' information that a seventeenth or eighteenth-century antiquarian might use in biographical or related writing, and

[114] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 204.

[115] Margaret Sulyard, d. 1699, WWTN, Database record BA187, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA187, Accessed 22 July 2013.

[116] *GB-STro*, D641/4/J/21/2a.

[117] On the Sulyard family, their manor at Haughley and their recusancy, see Walter Copinger, *The manors of Suffolk: notes on their history and devolution, with some illustrations of the old manor houses*, Vol. 6, 7 vols. (London: T. F. Unwin, 1910), 197–211.

[118] Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 144.

not representing a serious collection of music in the same way as a set of partbooks, they were probably discarded when they ceased to be useful. There is little in the history of the Sulyard family to indicate that it was particularly wealthy or especially cultured in comparison to other recusant families of the period and as a result, this document may be representative of the kinds of music that was being performed recreationally in the households of recusant landed gentry during the mid-seventeenth century.

Whether or not the Sulyard commonplace book is representative of the musical experiences of from recusant families, it still provides some interesting insights into Margaret Sulyard's musical experiences before she arrived at Bruges. Having been compiled in the six years leading up to her profession in Bruges, it is an good indicator of the musical and recreational activities of the Sulyard family in the years immediately leading up to her departure. All of the notated music in the book is secular. For some of the songs, only a melody (with a text underlay) is provided, while for others, a bass line or tablature is also supplied. The latter suggest that the songs were accompanied by a keyboard or lute, and in the case of the former, probably in a style of continuo. Several pages of the manuscript are taken up with explanations of music theory, indicating that the compilers taught or studied the rudiments of musicianship and notation.[119] The manuscript – and indeed the rest of what survives from the family's collection of printed music, which contains madrigals and motets by Italian and English composers[120] – is worthy of further study, as a unique collection of music that can be connected directly with an English Catholic household during the seventeenth century.

In light of Margaret Sulyard's probable musical experience and strong voice, it is interesting that she was never appointed chantress. It does not appear that she had any other office at the Monastery which would have prevented her from being appointed chantress until 1693, when she was appointed subprioress.[121] Evidently

[119] *GB-STro*, D641/4/J/21/2a, f. 23r—24r.

[120] *GB-STro*, D641/4/J/23/1—5. Items in this collection include printed books of madrigals by William Byrd, George Kirbye, Agostino Agazzari, Giovanni Croce, and Dering's 1618 *Cantica sacra*.

[121] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 172.

Sulyard was one of a number of skilled singers at the Monastery during late seventeenth century, although no other chantress is named in the Chronicles during this period. What is reported about Sulyard's musical skills in the Chronicles, however, does not align exactly with what is known about her likely musical background on the basis of the Sulyard commonplace book: the Chronicles only mention her 'strong singing voice' in the context of plainchant, but the only examples of music in the commonplace book are secular songs (with or without accompaniment). This suggests that any references to the musical ability of Bruges nuns in the Chronicles ought not be interpreted in a narrow way: a nun who is mentioned for her abilities in plainchant could also have been involved in singing and playing the Monastery's 'musick', and probably also had more musical training and experience than their confreres. Perhaps such nuns were prominent in the singing of the plainchant simply because they were capable sight-readers, whereas the nuns who did not possess this skill would have struggled with unfamiliar melodies.

Ann Jernegan

Ann Jernegan arrived at the Monastery in 1695 but was not clothed until the end of 1697. As a result of her cheerful disposition, she was appointed the grate sister.[122] The Chronicles note that although she served well in this position, she had a great interest in music:

> Her comportment did both please and eddify secalers, but it was a great trouble to her to be forced to spend so much of her time there, [at the grate] wch to her satisfaction she would have imploy'd in othere things especially in advancing pleane song and musick for wch she had a great zeal. she was perfect in ye skill of both, she effected ye change of ye pleane song wch before was very crabit and heard to performe ye great desire of having it well perform'd made her often to force her voice othereways she would not be heard by all for she had a weak breast, her desire to strength it made her often take those solaces yt she thought would norish and strenghten it wch othereways she would not have done and wch she seemmed sometimes with regret to do. on St ignatious day she

[122] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.II, p. 78.

> went to Communion with ye rest for tho no holy day yet it was a communicating day and she was constant in going to ye sacrements yt evening it was remark'd she was particulary gay and had practiss'd a new peice to play on ye organ yt night after Salve Regina...[123]

Although Jernegan's contribution to the Monastery belongs predominantly to the eighteenth-century, the way in which her contribution as an organist is recorded suggests that other nuns also played but are not mentioned in the Chronicles. But for the fact that she became ill after playing the organ on St Ignatius's feast day, Jernegan's role as an organist would not have been mentioned, although something of her skill as a keyboard player might have been inferred from her donation of a pair of spinets to the Monastery's music room, which is also recorded in the Chronicles.[124]

Although no seventeenth-century sources of keyboard music from the Bruges monastery survive, Henri Dumont's *Meslanges* (1657)[125] – which contains some two-part organ pieces that, according to the preface, were composed 'pour les Dames Religieuses qui touchent l'Orgue' – provides some indication of the styles of organ music that Jernegan and the other nun-organists at the Monastery might have performed. What is particularly interesting is that the preface also indicates some of the organ pieces could be played either on organ alone, or by organ and viols. Although never explicitly mentioned in the context of instrumental music at Bruges, therefore, it is possible that the organ might also been used in the Monastery's musical ensembles.

From the Individual to the Collective: the Development of a Musical Culture at the Bruges Monastery

The preceding sampling of nuns with musical backgrounds reveals three broad sources of influence on the Monastery's musical practices: firstly, the continued

[123] ibid.
[124] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 466.
[125] Henri Dumont, *Melanges a II. III. IV et V. parties avec la basse-continue, contenant plusieurs chansons, motets, Magnificats, preludes, & Allemandes pour l'orgue pour les violes*. (Paris: Ballard, 1657).

transmission of a tradition that had originated at Louvain and then developed at Bruges; secondly, importations of ideas and styles with women who came to the Monastery from England, bringing with them all the most recent musical developments and styles from their homeland; thirdly, the interactions between nuns and the world beyond the cloister at the grate, where, speaking the local languages, they had the opportunity to learn new styles of Continental music directly from the local musicians.

Following the Money: Hiring and Purchasing Music at the Bruges Monastery

Because they were able to speak Flemish and French, Elizabeth Lovell and Diana Keynes were well-positioned to interact with and learn from local musicians. The Monastery's financial records provide evidence of at least some of the opportunities that they may have had for these kinds of encounters.

The earliest recorded payments by the Monastery to a musician were made to an organist in 1652, which continued until 1655.[126] Unfortunately, there is nothing in the accounts to indicate either how frequently the organist was employed, or the nature of his duties. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether the organist merely played for certain services, or whether he was also a music tutor for the Monastery. Clearly, enclosure was observed strictly at Bruges, because the *Acta* contains a 1690 dispensation for a priest to enter it.[127] The absence of any such dispensation in the *Acta Episcoporum* for the Diocese of Bruges suggests that the organist employed in the 1650s taught from outside the enclosure. On the other hand, it is known that Mr Nicholson, the Monastery's music teacher from 1698 to 1710, entered the enclosure to teach, and there is no record of any dispensation granted to him in the diocesan archives.[128] Documentation from the episcopal visitations of 1643, 1645, 1660 and 1703 sheds no further light on the matter. Whatever the means

[126] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, ff. 121, 123, 132, 152.
[127] *B-BRb*, Acta Episcoporum Brugensium, B21, f. 10.
[128] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 197.

of interaction between the Monastery and external musicians were, these must have met with the bishop's approval, or the musicians would have been dismissed in the same way as the nuns' confessor, Fr Marsh, whom the Bishop removed in 1660 for 'imprudent proceedings and indiscretions'.[129]

The purchase of a virginal in 1654[130] indicates that there were nuns at Bruges who could play keyboard instruments at this time. The organist, however, continued to be employed at the Monastery for a further year after this purchase was made. This suggests that the nuns were not yet ready to take over the organist's duties for themselves. Subsequent to 1655 and until the last decade of the seventeenth century, no further payments were made to organists. Instead, payments were made to singing or music 'maisters', and for maintenance of the organ.[131] This indicates a change in the function of external musicians at the Monastery from the mid-seventeenth century: whereas an organist may have been employed primarily as a performer and secondarily as a teacher, it is clear that after 1655, the Monastery was hiring male musicians to teach singing and probably also instrumental music, rather than to perform it on behalf of the nuns.

Singing and music teachers were paid from 1667 to 1669, and again in 1683, 1685 and 1692.[132] The long periods without payments to music teachers – and complete absence of any such payments before 1652 – are difficult to explain. If the nuns' benefactors paid for their music lessons directly, this would account for the absence of music-related expenditures in the Monastery's reckonings, but such benefactions would still have been recorded in the Chronicles, where the nuns dutifully noted any gifts that were made to the Monastery. An alternative explanation for these long absences is that music teachers may have been hired to teach the students who attended to the Monastery for their schooling, in which case, they were only hired when and for as long as the students' parents paid their fees. Although school rev-

[129] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 45.

[130] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 132.

[131] There are entries in the Monastery's reckonings for 'mending' (in all likelihood tuning) the organ in 1655, 1662, 1669, 1673, 1677 and 1683. See *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 151; Procuratrix's Reckonings 1660–1702, ff. 13r, 36r, 50v, 16r, 92r.

[132] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix 1660–1702, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1660 to 1702, ff. 30v, 33r, 36r, 92v, 100r, 133r.

enues and expenses are not stated separately in the reckonings, parents were probably required to pay any extra expenses arising from the care and education of their children. This was certainly the case at St Omer: a late-eighteenth-century prospectus for the College includes a schedule of fees for extracurricular activities such as fencing, dancing and music.[133] Even if the music teachers at Bruges were hired solely to instruct the Monastery's students, the nuns probably also benefited: it was the usual practice for the nuns to chaperone their charges for all their outings and social events.[134] If the nuns who were chosen to chaperone the students for their music lessons already had some musical training, they would have learned new musical styles and trends simply by observing the lessons, and then passed their knowledge on to the rest of the nun-musicians at the Monastery.

External Influences: Musicians and Music Teachers

Although the Monastery's reckonings record payments to musicians, they are never identified by name. The Chronicles, however, name three musicians who worked at the Monastery during the seventeenth century: Elizabeth Loveden, a 'Mr Nicholson' and a 'Mr Damerin'. Of these three names, the first two are clearly English, and the last belongs to a man who had strong English connections, as will be demonstrated later. Whether the Monastery employed English expatriates (or those with very close connections to England) exclusively, nonetheless, remains unclear: interactions between the Monastery and the town must have been much more frequent than the few instances that are mentioned in the Chronicles. That the Monastery began to receive Flemish convictresses at their request of some of their friends in

[133] *GB-Lrcd*, St Edmund's College, Series 2, No. 1, Document 6. Although the prospectus does not bear a date, it is clearly from the late eighteenth century (well after the suppression of the Jesuits and the transfer of the College to secular clergy) because the College's agent is named as a 'Mr. Horrabin'. This was Thomas Horrabin 1747–1801, who seems to have acted as agent for a number of different Catholic institutions. See Anstruther 4, 143.

[134] Bowden notes this practice at the English Augustinian Monastery in Paris during the late seventeenth century – See Caroline Bowden, 'Community Space and Cultural Transmission: Formation and Schooling in English Enclosed Convents in the Seventeenth Century', *History of Education* 34/4 (2005): 365–386.

Bruges from 1655, indicates a well-established and close relationship between the Monastery and the local community.[135] Furthermore, the nuns must have purchased their provisions from local suppliers, and it is equally possible that they employed local musicians occasionally. Perhaps both are absent from the Chronicles simply because they were not seen to have made a significant contribution to the monastic community. The three musicians who are mentioned in the Chronicles were well integrated with the nuns, in all three cases both living and dying at the Monastery. Nonetheless, since all three of the named musicians arrived at the Monastery after 1690, it is impossible to determine whether the Monastery had a long-term policy of employing English musicians – which would suggest a conscious decision to preserve a distinctively English cultural identity – or whether it was simply a matter of luck that there were three English musicians in Bruges at the time.

Elizabeth Loveden

Elizabeth Loveden's arrival in 1692[136] provides one potential explanation for the absence of any payments to a 'music master' from this year until her death in 1698:

> On ye 19 of December Mrs Loveden departed this life. She had lived for some years with us, as a boarder, and play'd most excellently on ye violin by wch she gain'd great admiration and esteem in ye world; and tho' she was not call'd to a religious State yet she prefer'd a retired and private life before all ye advantages she might have got in ye world by this art. She had nothing to depend on for her maintenance but an annuity of about 20 pound a year from ye Caryll family: she was related to our Rde Mother Mary Bedingfeld, and was received here by her Rce and our whole community wth great satisfaction by reason of her rare musical talent, so she had a chamber wthin our enclosure, and tabled wth our confessor: no pension was exacted of her but her constant help in our musick.[137]

[135] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 74.
[136] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 161.
[137] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 200.

Loveden arrived at the Monastery in the same year as Elizabeth Brooke died. Until Brooke's death, it is conceivable that the Monastery had no need to hire a lay violin teacher because she taught the nuns and convictresses whenever the need arose. Loveden's arrival at Bruges in 1692, therefore, must have been convenient, providing the Monastery with a more-or-less instant replacement for their resident English violinist. Little is known of Loveden's life before she arrived at Bruges. The Chronicles note that she received an annual pension of £20 from the Caryll family. Evidently, she was connected in some way with Philip Caryll of Shipley, since a pension to Loveden was an explicit part of his marriage settlement, made on 4 October 1693 (although the pension was not to be paid until his death, presumably because he would have paid for her maintenance personally while he was alive).[138] The scarcity of documents about the Caryll family, however, makes it difficult to determine whether she was one of Philip Caryll's sisters (perhaps married and widowed), or another kind of kinswoman. Whatever the case may have been, she was close enough to Philip Caryll to have been allocated a pension as part of his marriage settlement. This Philip Caryll was probably the son of Philip Caryll and Mary Erle, given the date of the marriage settlement and that he died in 1735 – which would have also made him the grandson of John Caryll and Catherine Petre.[139] The latter's parents, Sir William Petre and Katherine Somerset, had been patrons of William Byrd and Richard Mico.[140] Caryll's uncle, Sir John Caryll, also had musical interests, having employed Arthur Phillips (Henrietta Maria's organist in France)[141] as his steward, from 1670 until Phillips's death in 1695.[142] Two of Philip

[138] *GB-CHwsro*, LYTTON/294.

[139] See the family trees for the Caryll and Petre families in the *Who Were the Nuns?* database: Barbara Caryll, d. 1683, WWTN, Database record BA045, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA045, Accessed 25 July 2013.

[140] David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 89–90.

[141] For further biographical information on Arthur Phillips, see Thomas Busby, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Times to the Present; Comprising the Lives of Eminent Composers and Musical Writers*, Vol. 2, 2 vols. (London: G. B. Whittaker, 1819), 155; Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538*, Oxford Studies in British Church Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 380–381.

[142] "Harting', A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4: The Rape of Chichester (1953), pp. 10–21'. *British History Online*. Available: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=41687 Accessed 25 July 2013.

Caryll's aunts, Barbara[143] and Frances,[144] entered the Bruges monastery but died before Loveden's arrival. Frances died in 1654 at the age of fifteen, but her sister Barbara, who made her profession two years later, lived at the Monastery for close to twenty years, dying in 1683 at the age of 44. Although Barbara could not have met Anthony Phillips, it is clear that she came from a family that had some interest in music. Her mother had grown up with Richard Mico as the household musician and no doubt had music lessons with him. In her position as the Monastery's subprioress, Barbara Caryll was expected to sing, implying that she had some musical training, and while much of this may have been acquired at the Monastery, what is known of her family's musical interests suggests that she received some instruction in music before she entered in 1655, aged sixteen. Although Loveden's precise relationship with the Carryls remains unclear (as do the musical pursuits of Philip Caryll, her closest link to the family), the family's musical interests – which span several generations – suggest that music played an important role in their recreational pursuits and potentially also their religious observances. As a result of her connection to the family, Loveden may have also had some access to a significant musical network.

'Mr Nicholson'

Mr Nicholson is an enigmatic figure in the Chronicles, which do not provide any hints as to his background, family or training. The record of his arrival at the Monastery in 1698 only provides details of the duties that he was expected to undertake there as a teacher and musician:

> On ye 23 of June Mr Nicholson a Master of musick came hither, and as he had ye character of a vertuous man, and was likely to do us good service in teaching musick, we gave him lodging and diet in our confessors house; and he had ye priviledge of coming into our enclosure to teach the religious and convictresses, being paid for ye convictresses, but not

[143] Barbara Caryll, BA045.

[144] Frances Caryll, d. 1654, WWTN, Database record BA046, Available: http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/counties/details.php?uid=BA046, Accessed 25 July 2013.

> for ye nuns he taught. He was also engaged to assist at all our musick Masses, and Salves.[145]

Although the writers of the Chronicles used the title 'Mr' for both clergy and laymen, the balance of evidence suggests that Nicholson was the latter: the description of him as a 'vertuous man' seems to have been part of the justification for allowing him to work and live at the Monastery, and would have been redundant if he had been a priest. The absence of any reference to priesthood in Nicholson's obituary would appear to settle the matter.

The entry in the Chronicles that records Nicholson's arrival also provides evidence about the Monastery's musical practices, since it mentions that he was to assist with 'musick' Masses and Salves. The mention of a professional musician in connection with the latter is the first evidence that the Monastery provided more elaborate music for the Salve ceremony, although this may have been an well-established custom by the time that Nicholson arrived at Bruges. The details of the ceremony do not survive, and it is difficult to say what was sung at the ceremony apart from the *Salve regina* (or whichever Marian antiphon was proper to the liturgical season), given that this ceremony was extra-liturgical and therefore subject to adaptation in different places.[146]

Something of the nature of Nicholson's teaching duties can be understood from the entry that records the arrival of Alice Bracy in 1701:

> On ye 10 of April Mrs Alice Bracy was received for a convictress, her father was Steward to Mr Sheldon of Weston. She came wth a desire to be Religious, but not having ye full Portion, we received her as one likely to supply for that by being a good Musician both for ye organ and singing, wch she had learn'd in England, and still endeavour'd to improve in by ye assistance of Mr Nicholson our musick Master.[147]

[145] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 197.

[146] See the discussion of the Salve (or antiphon) ceremony at St Alban's College, Valladolid on p.93 and the *lof* in Brussels on p.164.

[147] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, 210.

Nicholson, therefore, must have been capable of teaching both singing and organ. In the absence of any other indicators, where and how he acquired these skills must remain a matter for conjecture.

'Mr Damerin'

A priest named Damerin arrived at the Monastery some five years before Nicholson. Although he is not listed among the seminary priests in Anstruther's catalogue, his 1728 obituary in the Chronicles indicates that he was a widower who later studied for the priesthood:

> On ye 6th of october Mr Damerin departed this life about five in ye morning. He was in ye 71 year of his age, and in ye 33 of his Priesthood. This good gentleman in his youth was one of ye Spanish Embassador's Pages in England, after that he marry'd a Lady of this town who had a good fortune, by her he had four children, but two of them dyed young; ye other two (a son and a daughter) lived to bury their father, and behaved themselves most dutyfully all ye time of his sickness and death. His wife dyed many years before, and then for his own devotion he desired to be a Soecular Priest, for he had not learning enough to assist his neighbour by preaching, or hearing confessions, etc. when he was made Priest being desirous to live & retire, and having a kindness for our Monastry, he was admitted to board in our Father's house tho' he paid nothing, but found his own washing, and sheets as long as his stock lasted. He had also bed and beding of his own, and was a great help to our musick, for he play'd on ye violin. When Rde Mother Bedingfeld lay on her death bed he undertook ye management of our affaires in these countries, as is said before but we paid him no particular pension, only gave him his board and somtimes a present, not money, something out of England, yt might be hansome for his children, or himself, and that very seldome.[148]

Whether Damerin was English or Spanish by birth is unclear, but his work as a page in the Spanish embassy in England probably brought him into contact with English musical culture: although successive English monarchs had attempted to forbid their subjects from attending Mass in the embassy chapels, the practice con-

[148] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 435–436.

tinued during the seventeenth century.[149] Earlier in the century, there must have been instances of English musicians being engaged for liturgical services, because the Prince of Wales dismissed some of his musicians in 1623 for helping to sing Mass on Christmas Day at the Spanish embassy chapel.[150] While it is clear that Damerin assisted the nuns by playing the violin as part of the liturgical music, the Chronicles do not indicate whether, like his contemporary, Mr Nicholson, he also gave music tuition.

Enclosure and Ensemble: Exchanges through Music

The surviving sources about external musicians employed at the Bruges monastery are fragmentary and this severely limits the conclusions that can be drawn about their influence on the Monastery's musical practices. While, as at Brussels, the evidence is strongest for interactions with English exile-musicians, the potential for interaction with non-English musicians among some of the Bruges nuns is clear, and suggests that there is much missing from the Chronicles, which seldom mention the Monastery's interactions with non-English individuals (although they do include references to exchanges with the local community as a whole). Recorded payments for music-related expenses are frustratingly ambiguous and shed little light on the matter: a payment 'for music' in the reckonings could mean 'for purchased music', 'for musicians' or 'for music lessons'.[151] It is clear that external musicians played for services on some occasions, however, evidenced by a payment in 1669 for 'musick on our holy Fathers dayes'[152] and in both 1697 and 1698 'for Musick and St Sislyes day'.[153] There is no mention of these occasions in the Chronicles, making it impossible to determine whether the musicians hired were English

[149] William Raleigh Trimble, 'The Embassy Chapel Question, 1625–1660', *The Journal of Modern History* 18/2 (1946): 97–98.

[150] See January 25, 1623, Chamberlain to Carleton (No. 27) in Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of James I. 1619–1623, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858), 483.

[151] The latter is implied in the entry 1685 entry 'for musicke and learning'. *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix 1660–1702, f. 100r.

[152] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix 1660–1702, f. 36r.

[153] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix 1660–1702, ff. 153r, 158r.

or foreigners, and whether they performed in one of the Monastery's own ensembles (as at least Damerin appears to have done), or separately. What is clear, however, is the Monastery's wide range of connections to the musical world beyond the cloister, pointing to a complex set of musical influences on the Monastery's musical culture during the seventeenth century. Although rooted in the tradition of the Louvain monastery and the nuns' own musical backgrounds, therefore, the Bruges monastery was well-positioned to accumulate foreign influences, whether directly or through the mediation of English musicians.

Clergy as Monastery Musicians

That one of the three names mentioned in the Chronicles in connection with the teaching and performance of music belongs to a priest raises questions about the role of clergy in the development of the Monastery's musical culture. Even if they were not required to be professional musicians, it is clear that the clergy who served the Monastery were required to have some musical ability: John Busby, who had been the Monastery's confessor for two years, returned to England in 1662 because of 'his being unable to sing or perform our church service…'[154] When Robert Kent died in 1678, it was noted in the Chronicles that he had 'never omitted his functions, saying and singing his Masses with much alacrity',[155] in spite of the fact that he had been sick for his entire nine years at the Monastery. Apart from these two instances, nothing else is mentioned in the Chronicles about the musical abilities of the Monastery's clergy. Nonetheless, some general indications of their musical experience – and potentially also their contribution to the Monastery's musical culture – can be gathered from what is known about the musical practices at the seminaries where these priests studied.

Robert Kent, who served as the nuns' chaplain from 1668 until his death in 1678, first studied at the English college of St Omer, and entered the English College in

[154] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 96.
[155] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 128.

Rome in 1662.[156] He would have been at St Omer at roughly the same time as Antoine Selosse, the reputed owner and compiler of the Selosse Manuscript, and Anthony Poole, the College's professor of instrumental music.[157] Poole's surviving viola da gamba music, together with the Selosse Manuscript, give a good indication of the kinds of music that Kent would have experienced there as a student. Although no research has been published about music at the Venerable English College during the mid-seventeenth century, payments to three musicians and an organist are mentioned in the *Status Collegii* report of 1661, and a report from 1668 mentions that Mass and Vespers were sung there on Sundays.[158]

Other priests who worked at the Monastery also studied at seminaries where liturgical music was performed: Edward Barker, who succeeded James Blomfield[159] as the Monastery's confessor in 1658, was sent to the English College at Douai at the age of 15, where he took the College oath in 1642. He remained at the College for four years after his ordination in 1647, first teaching poetry and syntax, and becoming prefect-general in 1650;[160] John Busby, who was appointed confessor to the Monastery in 1660, had studied for the priesthood at St Alban's College in Valladolid. Although little direct evidence of the priests' involvement in the Monastery's musical activities has come to light, that they used both their musical experience and potential networks to assist the nuns when needed remains a plausible theory and, in the case of the chapel organ, provides a reasonable explanation of the circumstances surrounding its purchase.

Cloister and City

From the Chronicles, it is clear that the Monastery's interactions with the town of Bruges were not limited to private lessons and transactions. A sung Mass in 1651

[156] Anstruther 3, 121–122.
[157] Leech, 'Seventeenth-Century Music at St Omers', 59–60.
[158] *I-Rvec*, Scritture 31.3.
[159] Blomfield's identity remains a mystery: although the entry in the Chronicles which records his arrival at Bruges in 1630 (*B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p. 6.) indicates that he had been at the Douai college and was ordained in the previous year, there is no mention of a John Blomfield or any other priest using that name as an alias in either the *Douai Diaries* or Anstruther's catalogue of seminary priests.
[160] Anstruther 2, 15–16.

in the Monastery's chapel was clearly intended to be a public event, and a means of interacting with the local community:

> On ye first of February Mr Arts ye Treasurer wth eight more of ye officers of ye Town and free, went round ye Town to gather Almnes for us, wch they continued four days; in wch collection of Almnes we had 570 florins. The Sunday following we had a Solemn Mass in musick sung in our church in gratitude for yt charity; and most of these officers were present.[161]

Since the Monastery's accounts do not mention any payments to musicians in 1651, it must be assumed that it was the nuns themselves who sang, which would also have been consistent with the rationale for the Mass as a public expression of gratitude for generosity, made in the presence of the Monastery's benefactors. Although it is not possible to determine which parts of the Mass were sung in 'musick' (and which parts were sung in plainchant), this entry in the Chronicles confirms that the nuns were capable of providing their own polyphonic instrumental or vocal music for Mass from an earlier date than they employed either an organist or a music teacher. The use of 'musick' in the context of a public Mass also indicates both the Monastery's confidence in its musical abilities by the mid-seventeenth century, and that music was considered a useful tool for self-representation towards and interactions with the local community.

The nuns' musical interactions with its locale were not one-sided: the acquisition of a new organ for the chapel in 1650[162] suggests the subtle admission of local musical influences into the Monastery. The reckonings for that year include a payment to an organ builder named 'Mr Crispin'.[163] This was probably Crispin Dubois, who had supplied the organ for the cathedral in Bruges some five years earlier.[164] The Cathedral organ is the only instrument that Dubois is known to have built. It

[161] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, pp. 55–56.
[162] The new chapel was opened in the same year. See *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p 53.
[163] *B-BRnna*, Procuratrix's Reckonings 1639–1660, f. 102.
[164] See Edouard G. J. Gregoir, *Historique de la Facture et des Facteurs D'orgue: avec la Nomenclature des Principales Orgues Placées dans les Pays-Bas et dans les Provinces Flamandes de la Belgique et d'une Notice sur les Maitres de Chapelle et Organistes de la Cathédrale d'Anvers*. (Antwerp: L. Dela Montagne, 1865), 92.

was destroyed in 1799, along with the entire Cathedral, as a result of the French Revolution.

The nuns could hardly have known either Dubois or his work from personal experience, suggesting the help of an intermediary in selecting an organ builder and preparing the contract. This intermediary was probably George Arts, a Bruges magistrate, whom the Chronicles record as having offered to act as architect and oversee the construction of the extensions to the Monastery in 1649 (which included a new kitchen, refectory, work chamber, cellar, nineteen cells and a chapel).[165] In this capacity, he was responsible for arranging all 'ye agreements wth ye workmen, and wholy orderd ye work'.[166] As at St Alban's College in Valladolid, the use of an organ built by a local builder (and therefore in the local style) – in this case, the builder who had provided the instrument for the most important church in Bruges – might have also had consequences for the styles of organ music that were played at the Monastery. Furthermore, it represents the kind of engagement with local culture that could only have served to foster a closer relationship between the Monastery and the town, although the evidence for the use of music as means of constructing a particular public identity is not as strong for the Bruges monastery as it is for St Alban's College.

Charles II and the Court in Exile

Although the Monastery seems to have maintained cordial relations with the local community, its interactions with English exiles had a rather different (and perhaps more familar) character. The Monastery's interactions with Charles II, who was in Bruges from 1656 until 1658, demonstrate how contact with English exiles had the potential to bring the Monastery into contact with both the latest tendencies in English tastes and thought and, vicariously, with the most recent cultural developments in the places that the exiles visited.

[165] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, p 49.
[166] The new chapel was opened the same year. See *B-BRnna*, ibid.

The execution of Charles I enlarged the community of English exiles in Continental Europe, when gentry and aristocracy fled England with Charles II in 1651. Charles II's peripatetic court of the 1650s normally consisted of between fifty and eighty people, and included courtiers, chaplains and physicians. It must have also included musicians, since there is a mention of 'Gervase the Trumpet' among the household officers. The absence of any references to other musicians could simply be because they had other duties that they discharged more regularly than their musical obligations.[167] The Monastery's reckonings from 1656 and 1657 include expenses arising from entertaining the King, although the nature of these expenses is not recorded. It seems unlikely that food was among these expenses, however, since there is no mention of these kinds of expenses anywhere else in the reckonings, strongly suggesting that the nuns grew their own food in the Monastery's gardens or had some other kind of arrangement for their food supplies. The Chronicles mention that the King was entertained with a 'collation' in the refectory on his first visit and a banquet on his second, making it clear that these were important occasions: there are no references to any similar functions for local dignitaries.[168] It is also clear that on both visits, the King and his retinue entered the enclosure: on his first visit, he walked in the Monastery's gardens, and on the second, the banquet was held in the Monastery's refectory.[169] These were evidently grand occasions, and opportunities for the nuns to engage with exiles more freely than was usually the case – that is, at the grate in the parlour. Music would not have been out of place at the meals,[170] which could have been performed by the nuns. Since they sang a Mass with 'mu-

[167] Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660*, 120. It was not uncommon for household musicians to perform duties unrelated to music: Richard Mico seems to have been involved in an attempt to escort Lord Petre's youngest son, George, to an English college abroad in 1627 (see Bennett and Willets, 'Richard Mico': 32–33) and Arthur Phillips was officially employed by John Caryll as his steward, rather than as his musician ("'Harting', a History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4: The Rape of Chichester (1953), pp. 10–21).'

[168] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, pp. 73, 74.

[169] *B-BRnna*, C.X Vol.I, ibid.

[170] See, for instance, the references to music as part of the entertainment that followed Charles II's meals. In Britain, he was entertained after meals at Cotainville and Tollbooth – See Eva Scott, *The Travels of the King: Charles II in Germany and Flanders, 1654–1660* (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), 118, 164. For further details of music at court festivals of state, see Edmund A. Bowles, 'Music in Court Festivals of State: Festival Books as Sources for Performance Practices', *Early Music* 28/3 (2000): 421–444

sick' in 1651 to thank Bruges officials for their alms, it seems likely that they would have performed music on this more important occasion. It is also conceivable that nuns paid the musicians in Charles II's retinue to play at the Monastery, and thereby had the opportunity to hear the latest and most fashionable repertoires among the English exiles. Given that the King's own funds for music were limited by the size of the court that he needed to support, this could have proved to be an attractive proposal for his musicians.[171]

Following the King on his far-reaching travels through Europe, his court was exposed to lavish displays of foreign culture, and new and unfamiliar musical styles. It is recorded, for instance, that a banquet was held for Charles II at the castle of Dusseldorf, accompanied by vocal and instrumental music, 'which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his Majesty was accustomed to hear'.[172] The Court must have absorbed a diverse range of foreign cultural influences, although Charles's personal preferences seem clear: when he returned to England in 1660, he was quick to introduce French fashions to his court. In what Hardacre terms 'the gallomania of the Restoration',[173] the restored court was dominated by Frenchmen: Frenchmen were responsible for the royal gardens, the professor of chemistry and apothecary to the royal household was the former demonstrator of chemistry at the *Jardin du Roi* in Paris, a Frenchman was made the Master of the King's Music, and English musicians were sent to France to study under Lully.[174] While Charles II's court in exile is probably best known for its quarrels, drunkenness and sexual licentiousness, it was also a melting pot of philosophers, poets, and other artists who had been exposed to the latest trends in Continental Europe.[175] The encounters between the Monastery and the Court in exile, therefore, exposed the Monastery to

[171] During these years of the Court's exile, the Duke of York commented that 'nothing was so rare as money'. See Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660*, 93.

[172] Edward Hyde Clarendon, ed., *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England: Together with an Historical View of the Affairs of* Ireland,Vol. 5, 7 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1849), 396.

[173] P. H. Hardacre, 'The Royalists in Exile During the Puritan Revolution, 1642–1660', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 16/4 (1953): 369.

[174] Hardacre, 'The Royalists in Exile During the Puritan Revolution, 1642–1660': 369.

[175] Geoffrey Smith, 'Long, Dangerous and Expensive Journeys: The Grooms of the Bedchamber at Charles II's Court in Exile', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15/5 (2007): 2.

the latest English courtly fashions, including those that the Court had acquired from the places it had visited on the Continent during its exile.

Conclusions

Although very few examples of seventeenth-century music survive at Bruges, it is still possible to reconstruct and understand at least some of the Monastery's musical practices by referring to its financial records and chronicles, and considering the influences that the institution was positioned to receive through interactions with locals and exiles, as well as its direct and indirect networks. In spite of the fact that there is insufficient evidence to enable specific pieces of music to be connected with the Bruges nuns during the seventeenth century (Leech's theory about *Augustine augustissime* is too speculative to be of much use), some general conclusions are possible, which ought to help with assessing future discoveries.

It is clear that the Bruges monastery and its musical culture were initially modelled on the practices at St Monica's in Louvain. Because these two institutions' traditions were so closely connected it is possible, within certain limits, to apply what is said about music in one monastery to the other. The reference to a version of the Veni sponsa Christi that was to be sung in 'musick' in both the Louvain and Bruges clothing rites strongly suggests direct transplantations of repertoire from the former to the latter. This is also significant because it demonstrates the emergence of a musical tradition among the English Augustinian nuns as a religious order – rather than as individual convents – in the early seventeenth century which, as a result of its particular sources and the ways in which these interacted, must have been distinguishable from the musical practices of other post-Reformation English Catholic institutions. It was a musical tradition which was different to that of other English convents insofar as it had its origins in a Continental convent: St Monica's had been founded from the Flemish Augustinian Monastery of St Ursula, and so the founding nuns of the Louvain monastery had already been exposed to the musical practices of a convent that had received and implemented the Tridentine reforms.

Perhaps this explains the stronger evidence for 'musick' during the Mass at the Louvain and Bruges monasteries than at their Benedictine counterpart in Brussels. Perhaps this also accounts for the fact that the Bishop of Mechelen, Alfonso de Berges, felt the need to intervene and limit the occasions on which the Louvain nuns could sing Masses with 'music', and the absence of any similar decree for Brussels, where polyphony seems to have had a subordinate position in the liturgy.[176]

Purchases of viols, a virginal, the donation of spinets and recurring payments for viol strings are indicative of the attention that was given to music-making in the Bruges monastery. It is interesting that despite the obvious presence of viols at the Monastery during the seventeenth century, not a single nun is mentioned in the Chronicles in connection with them. If recreational music-making was an important activity at the Bruges monastery, then it was also intensely private: the Chronicles only ever make mention of nuns' musical abilities in the context of the liturgy. By the eighteenth century, recreational performances of music had moved to a dedicated 'music room', rather than the parlour, when one might have expected the nuns to perform music if they had intended them to demonstrate their skills to the general public. All of the evidence suggests that the public only saw the nuns perform music at the Mass and Office, and that they used these occasions, when appropriate, to manifest their identity to their audience. Given how regularly the nuns sang the liturgy, they had ample opportunities for displaying their musical tradition – an interesting combination of English and Continental trends – both to themselves and the local community.

Although the Chronicles mention English musicians who worked at the Bruges monastery, there were probably interactions with local musicians which were not noted. No English organists or professional musicians are known to have been in Bruges in the mid-seventeenth century, making it likely that the Monastery employed local musicians instead. With several nuns from the second half of the seventeenth century having had both musical and linguistic abilities, the Monastery had the capacity to receive external influences relatively easily. As at Brussels, the con-

[176] *B-MEaa*, Fr.Kar.Leuven, St. Monica/2

nections of the English clergy who worked at the Monastery might also have had some influence on its musical practices, although there is no evidence to suggest that they played any role in bringing English musicians to Bruges to work for the nuns. Without the absence of the luxury of an 'artist in residence' along the lines of John Bolt at Louvain or Richard Dering at Brussels, it is likely that the Bruges monastery was more susceptible to foreign influences than its Louvain and Brussels counterparts out of sheer necessity: the Bruges nuns simply hired the local musicians that were available, with the consequence that the nuns, who entered Bruges with a strictly English musical background, were exposed to Continental music in a sustained way over a long period of time. A full assessment of the stylistic impacts of these encounters, however, will have to wait until specific seventeenth-century repertoire that can be connected with the Monastery is discovered.

Conclusion

English Catholic Music: Complexities, Conflicts, Contradictions

The four case studies presented here demonstrate both the diversity of experiences of English Catholic music and the complexity of the factors affecting its development during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They also represent a very different institutional environment for post-Reformation English Catholic sacred music to the domestic setting that has dominated research on this subject. Hector Sequera's research on Edward Paston's music collection has demonstrated the uniqueness of some musical practices in recusant households.[177] This distinctive domestic background, when taken into the English convents, colleges and seminaries in exile, was brought into dialogue with Continental fashions. The nature of this dialogue, however, was so complex that it precluded the emergence of a unified English Catholic musical style in the seventeenth century. Each institution's musical practices were the product of the personal experiences of its members in their homeland, the influence of local musicians, Roman interventions and exchanges between different institutions in exile. The experiences of English Catholics in these Continental institutions contrasted greatly with the experiences of English Protestants during the same period, for whom the imposition of the Book of Common Prayer necessarily created a more closed system of stylistic interactions. Unlike English Catholics, who

[177] Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630)', 90–98.

had adopted the Roman Rite, and through it, gained access to the vast sacred repertoires of Continental Europe, English Protestants (at least from a liturgical standpoint) seem to have been limited to the music that was composed or at least edited for their proprietary services. It is interesting to note that although translated Italian madrigals were popular in England for domestic recreation, translated and re-texted versions of sacred works from the Continent never achieved a corresponding degree of popularity in English Protestant services.[178] The English Continental Catholic institutions are important, therefore, in broader discussions about the development of English sacred music because they point to a second (and hitherto largely unrecognised) branch of musical development among English composers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, characterised by deeper engagement with the musical developments of the Counter-Reformation.

It has been suggested that Byrd used Old Testament texts associated with Israel's captivity in Babylon because these reflected the sentiments in English Catholics in post-Reformation England. The post-Reformation English Catholic narrative, however, could never be aligned perfectly with that of Israel's exile, because there could never be a true restoration of English Catholicism in the same way as the Temple was later re-dedicated: the radical liturgical and disciplinary reforms of the Council of Trent had changed the face of Catholicism in Continental Europe. A crucial question for the English exiles, as it had once been for Israel, was 'How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?' How indeed: they could not simply use whatever music survived from before the English Reformation since much of it, which was lengthy and very melismatic, did not align well with the criteria that Trent had established for sacred music; decisions about repertoire were sometimes connected with political concerns; interventions from ecclesiastical superiors affected choices about who would sing and when. There was no single answer. It is clear, therefore, that the stylistic and ideological basis for English Catholic music was markedly dif-

[178] Although Continental sacred music was rarely translated in this way, Byrd's Latin-texted works *were* adapted for English texts. See Kerry McCarthy, 'Brought to speake English with the rest: Byrd's motet contrafacta', *Musical Times* 148/3 (2007), 51–60.

ferent from that of its English Protestant counterpart, even if this cannot be easily perceived in the formal and technical structures of the music.

For all the fragmentation in experiences of English sacred music in Continental institutions, some unifying factors have emerged. It is clear that in each of the institutions studied here, liturgical music was used, and its use extended beyond the obligatory plainchant. The role of English musicians, who channelled a combination of Catholic influences from the domestic sphere in England and Continental trends, was also significant: using English musicians as teachers and performers seems to have been preferred, where and when available. Finally, these institutions must have used Continental repertoire in their liturgical functions – even if only for the plainchant – but this means that the music of English Catholic exiles was open to a far wider range of musical influences than were possible in their homeland. Further trends that can be observed in particular types of institutions are considered below.

Seminaries: Priorities and Practicalities

At Douai, the position of music was subject to a good deal of debate and contestation. The steady stream of refugee-musicians from England during Allen's tenure demonstrates that the College was an important source of support for Catholic musicians. With the transition from educational institution to missionary seminary, however, music seems to have fallen by the wayside. The dispute between the President, Matthew Kellison, and *Propaganda Fide* demonstrates that the English clergy could never have completely removed music from their seminaries because the Roman authorities would have intervened. The development of music at the English seminaries, therefore, was a function of their role as agents of the Tridentine reforms. As a result, all students at Douai learned plainchant before ordination, and took this training with them to the English Mission. Beyond plainchant, however, it is clear that the repertoires learned and used at Douai were largely at the mercy of successive presidents, who had differing personal views on the subject. In light of this, the 'rediscovery' of Hugh Facy and his connection to the College is important,

because it allows a particular style of music to be linked with Douai in a definitive way, and demonstrates the influence of musical networks among English exiles on the development of music in their institutions. Furthermore, it places the work of an English composer who was influenced by compositional models of the Counter-Reformation in the context of an English seminary, demonstrating how the seminary absorbed the Tridentine reforms and their cultural consequences through English agents.

Valladolid seems to have been the polar opposite of Douai in terms of its use of music: at Douai, the President was forced to increase the College's musical activity; at Valladolid, Jesuit superiors were severely displeased by the large amount of music that was being performed, and its potential costs. Although Robert Persons associated the use of music with rebelliousness among students and called for its abolition, the surviving evidence suggests that he was a lone voice in this respect. The extensive use of music at St Alban's seems to have been connected with its usefulness in displaying the College's identity to the public, and for the formation of its students. During devotions to *La Vulnerata*, the public heard performances of music by the students in styles that were familiar in Valladolid, thus positioning the College in Valladolid as both a centre of learning and making it less susceptible to accusations of 'otherness'; the students listened to and performed music in contexts that helped to form their sense of self-identity as martyrs for England. The latter seems to have been especially successful, given the case of Mark Barkworth and Roger Filcock.[179] The evidence for the employment of local musicians at the College over an extended period of time is also strong, suggesting that the influence of Continental styles was more pronounced here than at Douai. This is underscored by the survival of music by Lobo and Lassus in the College's library. The students who studied at St Alban's College were exposed to a range of Counter-Reformation repertoires both as performers and as audiences.

The history of musical styles, practices, and repertoires in the English seminaries on the Continent is probably best understood as the product of overlapping net-

[179] See Chapter 2, p. 123.

works, tempered periodically by directives from ecclesiastical authorities. While the constitutions of these institutions contained the obligation to sing the Mass and Office on some occasions, approaches to music education and performance varied widely. Even plainchant, that seemingly common denominator, cannot have been sung uniformly across all the colleges: the various graduals and antiphonals published during this period often differed in melodic details, and matters of interpretation may have created further distinctions. For all the 'locality' of musical practices in the seminaries, however, one unchanging 'universal' remains: the place that music occupied in the seminaries was ideologically motivated and subject to change over time. This demonstrates that the musical styles used by English Catholics in exile were not a mere matter of fashion: the use of particular styles reflected theological, political and cultural affinities.

Convents: From Parlour to Quire

The English convents in exile represent a significantly different experience of musical praxis, development and encounter to the seminaries. This is hardly surprising, given that their principal duty was to offer the Mass and Office, unlike the seminaries, which the Council of Trent had established as educational institutions: since the monastic day revolved around the liturgy, the arguments about utility or the relative priority of other institutional activities that surrounded the use of music in seminaries did not apply. What is surprising, however, is that musical activity in these female religious institutions does not seem to have provoked the ire of the local bishops very often: none of the diocesan archives examined contain any fiery correspondence between bishop and cloister over musical affairs of the kind that Monson uncovered in his research on music in the convent of Santa Cristina della Fondazza in Bologna.[180] Whether this was because of a milder stance towards polyphony among bishops of the Low Countries or because the use of music in

[180] See Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, 38–40.

English convents better reflected the aims of the post-Tridentine reforms than their Italian counterparts remains a matter for further investigation.

Unlike the Italian convents, the newly-founded English convents did not have their own centuries-old tradition of institutional music and culture to draw upon. Instead, they drew upon the musical culture that was prevalent in English Catholic households after the Reformation, and in some cases, were probably also influenced by the musical practices of well-established foreign convents. These new institutions, therefore, represent an encounter between recusant domestic music and the Counter-Reformation music of Continental Europe. Unlike English Protestant households, where it could be safely argued that music was usually a social pastime, in recusant households, skills from domestic music-making were used for liturgical ends. As a result, the women who entered Continental convents did so from *de facto* English Catholic institutions, where – through an interesting intersection between the domestic and the sacred – they had already become familiar with (and indeed participated in) liturgical and devotional music-making.[181] The participation of women in sacred music is also a noteworthy characteristic of English Catholic music after the Reformation: unlike their Protestant counterparts, who could not participate in liturgical music, since this was the preserve of conventional ecclesiastical institutions – which now excluded women, after the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII – Catholic women first participated in liturgical music in their homes, and then in the Continental convents. The long shadow cast across the Continental convents by domestic music is also demonstrated by their patterns of employment: a number of English musicians that the convents employed and whose names are recorded seem to have previously worked as domestic musicians, including Richard Dering, John Bolt and Elizabeth Loveden.

Although rooted in the practices of English households, the musical practices and repertoires of English convents were still influenced by their locales and networks. The modern few-voice motet, with all its Italianate styling, probably entered

[181] On women singing at Masses in recusant households, see Brett, *William Byrd and His Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, 152–153.

the Brussels monastery through the agency of Richard Dering. As a lay musician living in the heart of Brussels, Dering had access to all the major ecclesiastical institutions of the city, and probably also met Peter Philips. With the nuns unable to leave the cloister, Dering was a probably an intermediary for the Monastery, introducing the nuns to all the latest musical developments that Brussels had to offer. This would certainly account for the reputation that the Brussels nuns developed for their music in the 1620s. At Bruges, in absence of a similar 'artist in residence', it is most likely that the nuns received Continental influences directly from the musicians that they employed who, up until the last decade of the seventeenth century, were probably foreigners. Identifying specific music that was used at either Brussels or Bruges is difficult. For Brussels, Dering's surviving output provides some indication, and the balance of probabilities is in favour of *GB-Och* Mus MS. 89 as having been used at the Monastery. For Bruges, however, it is almost entirely a matter of educated guesswork, beyond the evidence for the use of fauxbourdon and polyphony in a very general sense. Nonetheless, the evidence of connections with the Louvain monastery indicates that repertoires were taken from St Monica's to the new institution, and gives reasons to believe that the English religious orders in exile developed their own musical traditions, which identified with both their recusant heritage, and the Counter-Reformation-conditioned aesthetics of Continental Europe.

English Catholic Musical Styles: Hidden in Plain Sight?

If post-Reformation English Catholic musical styles have gone unidentified, it has probably been because they have been hiding in plain sight. Since so many styles of music adopted by English Catholics shared the characteristics of either existing Continental styles or English domestic practices, they lack the exclusivity that is usually used to identify new musical styles.

Domestic Music: Sanctifying the Secular

The influence of recusant domestic music in the development of English Catholic sacred music is evident even in Byrd's Latin-texted sacred output. Although Byrd's compositional style clearly draws upon both pre- and post-Reformation English sacred idioms, that his Latin-texted ouput virtually abandons *cantus firmus* treatments in favour of freely-composed forms aligns it (to some extent) with the madrigals that had achieved such popularity in English households. The ways in which elements of Byrd's *Gradualia* could be reused on various feast-days (where the texts were identical) and the instructions provided in the introduction about how this was to be done also made it particularly suitable for domestic performances: a family could sing the various pieces in the *Gradulia* as motets for domestic devotions, and then piece them together when the opportunity for a sung Mass presented itself. Finally, Byrd's decisions about the texts that he set to music, which (when not strictly liturgical) could often be connected with recusants' private devotions, or in some way with their circumstances, reveals that he was working under fundamentally different conditions to his contemporaries across the Channel. The *Adoramus te* by one Thomas Jollett – an altogether conventional work in terms of imitative compositional technique – seems emblematic of the merging of domestic music and sacred contexts: the manuscript of the music is transcribed in the same way as a madrigal, that is, facing in several directions so that it could be sung by a small ensemble around a table.[182]

The overlap between sacred and secular music in recusant contexts is paralleled in other expressions of Catholic culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The wall paintings in a room used as a chapel at Harvington Hall, Worcestershire (perhaps painted between 1560 and 1575) – which include pomegranates, vines and lilies among the foliage in what Davidson refers to as a 'quietly eucharis-

[182] For a discussion of the authorship of the manuscript (and therefore also the motet), see Emilie Murphy, 'Adoramus Te Christe: Music and Post-Reformation English Catholic Domestic Piety', in *Religion and the Household*, James Doran and Charlotte Methuen, eds., Vol. 50, Studies in Church History (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, Forthcoming, 2014).

tic, quietly Marian'[183] decorative scheme – are representative of these overlaps, as secular images were appropriated for sacred purposes. In this way, Catholicism was expressed through normal domestic art. The unusual co-existence of the domestic and the sacred produced other interesting artistic fruits: Holroyd's research on the vestments embroidered by Helen Wintour demonstrates the ways in which conventional domestic needlework was utilised and modified to suit sacred ends.[184] In the absence of conventional Catholic institutions, recusant households were forced to assume roles that had been traditionally assigned to churches, monasteries and seminaries. Davidson has noted how domestic space was symbolically transformed to provide the sacred spaces that were otherwise unavailable to post-Reformation English Catholics.[185]

'Italianisms' and Other Affectations

What is particularly striking about the English composers with a connection to the institutions examined in this study is that all of them wrote vocal music in modern, Italianate styles. It is clear that they only learned these styles after leaving England, given that no English Catholic is known to have written Italianate motets before coming into contact – either directly or indirectly – with these stylistic models on the Continent. Additionally, these composers-in-exile seem to have left their English training behind: any search for the espousal of music in the style of Byrd's repertoire will only end in disappointment. In this sense, English Catholics in Continental Europe seem to have been quite different not only from their brethren in England, but also their English Protestant counterparts: the interest in Italianate styles among English Catholic composers working in exile is a distinguishing characteristic of their sacred works during the seventeenth century. Although English Protestant composers were hardly averse to writing in Italianate styles for secular

[183] Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England,' in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, Ronald Corthell, ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 34.

[184] Sophie Holroyd, ' "Rich Embroidered Churchstuffe." The Vestments of Helena Wintour', in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, Ronald Corthell, ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 73–116.

[185] Peter Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England', 19–51.

contexts (as evidenced by the popularity of the madrigal in England during the Elizabethan period),[186] Italianate styles simply did not achieve the same prominence in Protestant sacred music during the seventeenth century.

Noel O'Regan's recent research on Italian musicians and composers at the court of Sigismund III Vasa (king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1587 to 1632) provides some compelling reasons for the eagerness of English Catholics to adopt Italianate styles after their encounters with Continental Catholicism, and the corresponding reluctance of English Protestants to move away from the styles identified by Le Huray. The adoption of Italianate styles at the Polish court – initially by employing Italian musicians, and later by suitably trained Polish composers – was not merely a matter of taste: it was part of the monarch's strategy to implement the decrees of the Council of Trent in his kingdom, consistent with his support for the Counter-Reformation. It was a strategy that received the support of Clement VIII and successive Popes, who became involved in sending Italian musicians to Poland, including Luca Marenzio, Asprilio Pacelli, Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Annibale Orgas and Marco Sacchi.[187]

Although the letter of the Council says very little about musical style, something can be understood of its spirit by the prominent musicians at the Papal Chapel and other Catholic centres of reform during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the key aims of reforms in various dioceses was to ensure intelligibility of texts.[188] O'Regan identifies three compositional styles that emerged from this reforming ideal: firstly, large-scale polychoral settings that used sections of voices and instruments, with the possibility of placing these in different spaces of the building (usually separate balconies or platforms); secondly, small-scale settings for one or two voices and continuo; finally, the *stile antico*, which drew upon mid-sixteenth-century European styles, which were characterised by motivic imitation

[186] For a comprehensive study of the Elizabethan madrigal, see Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study*.

[187] Noel O'Regan, Liner Notes, in *Bartlomiej Pekiel* [Compact Disc Recording] (Coro COR16110, 2013), 5.

[188] In Rome, a commission of cardinals engaged the Papal singers to test a number of Mass settings for the intelligibility of their texts. See O'Regan, 'The Counter-Reformation and Music', 342.

between voices.[189] Understood in this way, Italian styles were propagated not because they were fashionable, but because they were consistent with the objectives of the Counter-Reformation. This demonstrates how the divergence in stylistic approaches to sacred music between English Catholics and Protestants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a strong ideological background. The English court was certainly exposed to both the art and music of the Counter-Reformation: Henrietta Maria's chapel in London was richly decorated in the latest Catholic styles, and from what is known of the music, a good amount of Italian and Italianate music was used for her devotions and religious services.[190] Although textual clarity was a decisive factor in the changes to the style of English sacred music at the Reformation, adopting another style that also had textual clarity but had potentially Catholic overtones was clearly unacceptable to the English reformers. Evidently Catholic composers were equally uneasy about composing in the styles that they had acquired in Protestant institutions. Facy received his early training in an English cathedral and would have been steeped in English Protestant aesthetics, but radically changed his compositional technique from something that was conventionally English and Protestant to a style that was influenced and inspired by the music of the Italian *seconda pratica*.

In examining the lives and works of Hugh Facy, Richard Dering and Peter Philips, two factors stand out as particularly important: a need for cultural differentiation, and the appropriation of a set of styles which were so closely aligned with the objectives of the Counter-Reformation. In rejecting a style of music that had developed in an English Protestant context, the composers were disavowing Protestantism itself. Moreover, the adoption of a new style allowed them to set up their musical expressions of Catholicism in opposition to English Protestantism. The adoption of Counter-Reformation compositional styles by English Catholic composers therefore, although often misconstrued as merely an imitation of Italian musical gestures,

[189] O'Regan, 'The Counter-Reformation and Music', 342–343.
[190] See Wainwright, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel.'

was in fact part of the development of a new English Catholic identity, which was set up in opposition to English Protestant music of the period.

Musical style and the Confessional Divide

The connections between theology, politics, ideology and music that have emerged in these case studies provide a basis for understanding the development of styles across confessional divides. By rejecting the post-Reformation styles of their Protestant countrymen and aligning themselves with Continental models, English Catholics demonstrated that they occupied an entirely different cultural and theological space – in the same way that the change to syllabic music in English cathedrals, mandated in the thorough visitations that commenced within six months of Edward VI's coronation, symbolised the rejection of England's Catholic past and the reform of perceived abuses associated with it.[191] Taxonomies of stylistic characteristics alone, however, are unhelpful: Cranmer's desire that the music for the reformed rites should have been set with a note for every syllable[192] demonstrates a similar concern for intelligibility as the reforms that followed the Council of Trent, which emphasised clarity of text in polyphonic textures.[193] A deeper understanding of the institutional contexts in which post-Reformation music was composed provides a theological, aesthetic and practical framework for the works produced. English Catholic music, therefore, can be said to exist in its own right, rather than simply as an imitation of Continental (and often Italianate) styles: the move towards these styles was consistent with other aspects of Catholic institutional and religious reform during the period.

In Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, the author remarks that Peter Philips 'affecteth altogether the Italian vein';[194] 21st-century Peter Philips labelled Hugh

[191] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*, 9.
[192] Le Huray, 6–7.
[193] On the stylistic consequences of the Counter-Reformation, see Noel O'Regan, 'The Counter-Reformation and Music', 341–342.
[194] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman Fashioning Him Absolut, in the Most Necessary and Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or Body, That May Be Required in a Noble Gentleman. Whereunto Is Annexed a Description of the Order of a Maine Battaile or Pitched Field, Eight Severall Wayes: With the Art of*

Facy an 'Italian sycophant'.[195] Both Peacham and Philips identify these composers' works as foreign and also hint that they are deficient for this reason. Thomas Morley was even more scathing in his criticism of Italianate styles as applied to motets, which he felt were too base to inspire listeners to contemplate heavenly things:

> This music [motets composed in the stile antico] (a lamentable case) being the chiefest both for art and utility is, notwithstanding, little esteemed, and in small request with the greatest number of those who most highly seem to favour art, which is the cause that the composers of music, who otherwise would follow the depth of their skill in this kind, are compelled for lack of *Maecenates* to put on another humour and follow that kind whereunto they have neither been brought up, nor yet (except so much as they can learn by seeing other men's works in an unknown tongue) do perfectly understand the nature of it: such be the new fangled opinions of our countrymen who will highly esteem whatsoever cometh from beyond the seas, and specially from *Italy*, be it never so simple, condemning that which is done at home though it be never so excellent. Nor yet is that fault of esteeming so highly the light music particular to us in England, but general through the world, which is the cause that the musicians in all countries and chiefly in *Italy*, have employed most of their studies in it; whereupon a learned man of our time, writing upon *Cicero* his dream of *Scipio*, saith that the musicians of this age, instead of drawing the minds of men to the consideration of heaven and heavenly things, do by the contrary set wide open the gates of hell, causing such as delight in the exercise of their art to tumble headlong into perdition.[196]

When the Italianate works of Philips, Dering and Facy are placed in the context of the Counter-Reformation, however, it becomes clear that their works were the result of a different set of aesthetic ideals to those espoused by the Protestant countrymen – and necessarily so, since they were generated from a different set of theological and

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Limming and Other Additions Newly Enlarged. (London: Printed by John Legat for Francis Constable, 1634), 102.

[195] Phillips, *English Sacred Music 1549–1649*, 244.

[196] Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke, set down in forme of a dialogue, devided into three partes, the first teacheth to sing with all things necessary for the knowledge of prickt-song. The second treateth of descante and to sing two parts in one upon a plainsong or ground, with other things necessary for a descanter. The third and last part entreateth of composition of three, foure, five or more parts with many profitable rules to that effect. With new songs of 2, 3, 4, and 5 parts*. (London: Peter Short, 1597), 179.

cultural principles, and forged within institutions that were profoundly affected by the reforms of the Council of Trent.[197]

The English Catholics were not alone, however, in their appropriation of stylistic models from Continental Europe. On the Protestant side of the divide, Le Huray notes the influence of the Genevan Psalter on music in England after the accession of Elizabeth I to the throne in 1558.[198] Archbishop Matthew Parker's psalter, issued nine years later with music composed by Thomas Tallis, drew heavily upon its stylistic models. At least some of these influences were the result of importations by English Protestants returning from exile after the accession of Elizabeth. The English Protestant exiles at Geneva had taken on the influence of Calvin, and the Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1556 was a combination of psalms translated from a 1543 Genevan edition and the work of some English composers.[199] Their appropriation of the compositional techniques of Continental Protestants, however, has never been construed as anything other than English – and certainly never as 'affected'. These stylistic importations also explain, to some extent, the apparent reluctance that Le Huray notes among English Protestant composers of sacred music from the younger generation in the seventeenth century (such as Nicholas Lanier, Walter Porter and Henry Lawes) to devote themselves unreservedly to the new Italianate compositional styles:[200] English Protestant music had its own identity, which had developed in the wake of the Reformation. Even after the Restoration, when Spink observes a more pronounced move towards these styles, notably in the work of Purcell,[201] he notes that English sacred music did not approach the 'abject capitulation to Italian music that occurred in the secular field'.[202] For English Catholics in exile, Italianate

[197] This is not to say, however, that English Protestant composers did not experiment with the Italianate few-voice motet genre, only that such experiments were on the periphery of developments in English Protestant sacred music during the seventeenth century. On Walter Porter, William Child and other English Protestant composers who wrote few-voice motets with continuo accompaniment, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 395–401.

[198] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 374.

[199] J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 43. For a fuller study of musical trends among Continental Protestants and their influence on English Protestants, see Robin A. Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes: English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[200] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 1549–1660, 343.

[201] Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 35, 39.

[202] Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 40.

elements were an element of a new cultural tradition that they were constructing for themselves that aligned them more closely with Rome, and with the rest of Catholic Europe, as it implemented the reforms of the Council of Trent; for English Protestants, Italianate styles were a potentially interesting cul-de-sac for creative excursions, but without the symbolism of religious reform, which was attached to other styles that had developed in England after the Reformation. Le Huray contends that the 'volatile, surface emotions' expressed in secular music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were considered unsuitable for use in English Protestant services, which required a style that was more 'grave' and 'sober'. Although the tendency in secular music for more dramatic forms of expression was also felt in English Protestant music, it developed along more conservative lines, with some composers incorporating 'elements' of the *seconda pratica* in their liturgical works.[203] The 'dramatic', however, seems to have been an important aesthetic characteristic of Counter-Reformation Catholicism. The altarpiece in Henrietta Maria's chapel, for instance, contained a piece of machinery which was used to display the Blessed Sacrament, and Mattia has commented on the parallels between the Queen consort's chapel and court entertainments – which also used machinery.[204]

It seems that a reassessment of English sacred music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – with an acknowledgement of the theological ideologies underpinning various repertoires – would be fruitful, and would avoid the problems associated with conventional ideas of what constitutes English sacred music, which often contain unacknowledged biases. In the context of a legal system that executed English Catholic clergy for the crime of treason, it seems reasonable that at least some expressions of Catholic culture in England would have been construed as foreign, aligned as they were with 'Popish Rome' which, it was feared at various times, could try to invade England and forcibly convert the country to Catholicism.

[203] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 154–155.

[204] See Kasey Maria Mattia. 'Crossing the Channel: Cultural Identity in the Court Entertainments of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1625-1640'. PhD diss. Duke University, 2007, 132–133.

Music and the Missionary Priests

This study has deliberately excluded discussion of the potential influence of music from the Continental seminaries on the English Mission. The seminary priests would have been well-positioned to return to England with the musical styles that English Catholics had developed in exile. Future research on this subject, however, will require the development of a comprehensive database of English clergy and their movements on the Mission – much like online directory that the *Who Were the Nuns?* project has developed for studying nuns and English convents in Continental Europe. While Anstruther and McCoog's catalogues of English clergy are a useful starting-point, they seldom provide the data that would allow connections to be made between priests and households, which would then assist in reconstructing the musical practices of specific domestic chapels. Nonetheless, from what this study has revealed about music in the Continental seminaries, some general conclusions can be drawn about the role of English clergy in the development of music on the English Mission.

The role of the seminary priests in the introduction of the sung Tridentine liturgy in England was pivotal: it was these priests who brought the Roman Rite to England, and there could not have been any sung Mass without priests who were capable of singing it. They served as the first teachers of the rite, and their experiences of the solemn liturgy during their seminary studies would have formed the basis for the way that they taught the liturgical ceremonies and music to the laity on the Mission. Philip Brett's discovery that Byrd's setting of the *turba* parts of the Passion for Good Friday were based on a sixteenth-century Roman edition of the chant points to the role of clergy in disseminating at least some music on the English Mission, even if little evidence has come to light to suggest the broader adoption of Continental styles in English Catholic circles within England.[205]

[205] Philip Brett, *William Byrd and His Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, 169–170.

The clergy were not, however, solely importers of *liturgy*: their role in developing pious practices among English Catholics has already been well documented.[206] A recurring theme of the case studies in this thesis has been the importance of motets as a genre of sacred music in recusant households. Although McCarthy's important study of the Jesuit spirituality that influenced Byrd's *Gradualia* demonstrates that clergy had some impact on compositional styles, much work remains to be done on the connections between devotional music on the English mission and the seminary priests. Given the localised nature of musical style and developments in English Catholic seminaries, it might be posited that diversity of clerical institutional backgrounds provides reasonable grounds for believing approaches to sacred music in recusant households were at least as diverse as those of the seminaries at which their chaplains studied.

Any future study of the influence of the seminary priests will need to take into account the disparity between Continental and domestic performance contexts. Although some families had semi-public chapels which were protected from persecution by their high social standing, the musical experiences of most English Catholics in England must have been rather restrained in comparison to the triumphalist liturgical displays of Counter-Reformation Continental Europe.[207] The question of how the seminary priests translated these triumphalist displays of Counter-Reformation culture – undertaken in a political and social climate that was relatively favourable – for use on the English Mission will require serious consideration.

[206] See, for instance, Anne Dillon, 'Praying by Number: The Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic Community, c.1580–1700', *History of Education* 88/291 (2003): 451–471; Dillon, 'Public Liturgy Made Private: The Rosary Confraternity in the Life of a Recusant Household'.; Lisa Renee McClain, 'Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559–1625', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33/2 (2002): 381–399.

[207] The dangers of holding a procession, even in a domestic context, were highlighted by Henry Garnet in a letter to an English nun at St Ursula's convent in Louvain. Garnet held a procession on the Octave Day of Corpus Christi in 1605, in the garden of a private residence. It was only the next day, when all departed, that Garnet became aware that the house was being watched. The letter is quoted in Brett, *William Byrd and His Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, 155.

English Catholics and the Continent: Cultural Interactions before the Grand Tour

English Catholic institutions were positioned to interact with Continental art and music in ways that English Protestants could not match until the development of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century.[208] Although English Protestants travelled to the Continent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they could not lay claim to the same level of sustained contact with the cultures of Spain, Italy, France and the Low Countries as the English Catholics had developed through the colleges, convents and seminaries in exile, with all of their related networks. The knowledge that there was a constant flow of people to and from these institutions across the Channel ought to provoke a reassessment of the nature and extent of foreign influences on English musical culture before the eighteenth century, and especially the influence of English Catholics on the Protestant mainstream. Scholarship has already recognised the influence of foreign musicians at court and the importance of scribal publication on musical trends in England;[209] an understanding of the sectarian influences on English musical culture would complement this research, and contribute to a better understanding of both the ways in which smaller social groups can influence the cultural mainstream. If the Italian musicians at the court of Elizabeth I were able to exert influences on English music despite being only a small diaspora, it is likely that English Catholics – some of whom were courtiers and married into Protestant families – also had some impact on musical developments.

Music in Institutions

The case studies in this thesis demonstrate both the rich range of influences on the music of ecclesiastical institutions, and the ways in which their practices provide

[208] The English Catholic institutions on the Continent, in fact, were to become popular destinations for English Protestants on their tours of the Continent. See C. D. van Strien, 'Recusant Houses in the Southern Netherlands as Seen by British Tourists, c. 1650–1720'. *Recusant History* 20 (1991): 495–511.

[209] See, for instance, John Izon, 'Italian Musicians at the Tudor Court', *The Music Quarterly* 44/3 (1958): 329–337; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music'.

insights into their cultural identity. Through the experiences of individual entrants, hired musicians, interactions with other institutions and wide networks of people, religious institutions were exposed to a wide variety of musical styles, techniques, interests and instruments, and were able to utilise these in ways that were consistent with their goals for self-identification. While notions of interconnectedness between institutions through the hiring of musicians has already been explored to some extent by Marín,[210] further research in this area is necessary, expanding the range of factors to include structures of governance, family backgrounds and the circulation of clergy and personnel throughout a network of connected institutions across multiple regions.

The correspondence relating to music at the English Colleges in Douai, Valladolid and Rome indicates that its position in these missionary seminaries was subject to contestation and change. As a creation of the Council of Trent, seminaries represent the Catholic Church's response to both the incursion of Protestantism into its traditional heartlands, and the need for reforms in the way that it prepared candidates for Holy Orders. In Session XXIII (15 July 1563), the Council of Trent specified the subjects that seminarians were to study, among which is found singing. The experience of the English seminaries demonstrates, however, that the translation of Trent's mandates into institutional practice was complicated: the Council only discussed the subjects of study in general terms, and implementation was left up to ecclesiastical superiors and authorities. The importance of the seminary as an ecclesiastical institution cannot be overstated: after Trent, all secular candidates for the priesthood were required to study in a seminary. As a result, it was these priests, with their seminary training, who were to implement the decrees of the Council and further the Counter-Reformation in the parishes of each diocese. Although some research has been undertaken on seminaries, it has focused on the musical practices of the Jesuit-run Germanicum and Collegio Romano in Rome.[211] The nature of seminary training in sacred music, and the role of priests in implementing the Tridentine

[210] Marín, *Music on the Margin: Urban Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Jaca*.

[211] See, for instance, Kennedy, 'The Musical Tradition at the Roman Seminary during the First Sixty Years (1564–1621)'; Culley, *Jesuits and Music*; Thomas D. Culley, 'The Influence of the German College

reforms as they pertained to music, however, has remained unexplored. If the experience of both the English and Roman seminaries is indicative of musical practices in seminaries generally, then a large number of ecclesiastical institutions (many of which seem to have been spared the same fate as the English colleges during the suppression of the Jesuits and the French Revolution) with music programmes and potentially also resident composers await further research.[212]

The English seminaries were unusual insofar as they had a missionary purpose, rather than training clergy for normal dioceses. While some research has already been undertaken on music in other missionary territories during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a great deal remains to be done. If research on music in the Spanish and Portuguese missions throughout South East Asia has been limited on the basis that the institutions were destroyed when the colonies were invaded by Dutch and English forces, then the case of the Douai college demonstrates both that a good deal of musical information about missionary institutions can be found in the archives of *Propaganda Fide* in Rome. Research using these and other fragmentary surviving sources may provide a relatively complete picture of the musical culture in the seminaries and convents in South East Asia.

Although research on music in convents is more advanced than that on the seminaries, the case studies in this thesis point to some new research directions. The development of musical practices in convents – like the seminaries – owed a great deal to the musical backgrounds of the entering nuns, and the networks connected with each institution. Further investigation of these networks will help to situate convent music more clearly within the context of other kinds of musical institutions. Maurice Whitehead and Peter Leech's recent work on a musical manuscript ostensibly written by an English Jesuit priest for the use of an English Benedictine nun at

in Rome on Music in German-Speaking Countries During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Analecta Musicologica* 7 (1969): 1–35.

[212] An article by Morucci contains one such promising reference: Cardinal Giulio della Rovere required the seminarians at the Ravenna Cathedral seminary to study not only sacred music, but also counterpoint, for which he enlisted the services of Costanzo Porta. See Valerio Morucci, 'Cardinals' Patronage and the Era of Tridentine Reforms: Giulio Feltro Della Rovere as Protector of Sacred Music', *The Journal of Musicology* 29/3 (2012): 270–271.

Ghent around 1685 suggests that clerical contributions towards music in convents have yet to be fully appreciated.[213]

The transplantation of musical practices from the Augustinian monastery at Louvain to the new foundation at Bruges suggests that musical practices might be studied fruitfully by considering patterns of foundation, and movements of nuns between institutions. Questions about these kinds of influences acquire further importance when the convents established in the New World are taken into account. Other research has already demonstrated the relative permeability of the cloister, in spite of the apparent strictness of Trent's injunctions pertaining to monastic enclosure.[214] Positioned thus, and with the role of music more securely established than in the seminaries, convents had the potential to serve as melting pots of musical styles, practices and culture. Further research on these aspects of their existence, especially where manuscript sources of music survive, may provide new insights into stylistic development, particularly across national boundaries. Finally, that some of the convents also operated schools suggests that the role of convents in musical education during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also requires further investigation.

The musical practices of the comparatively minor ecclesiastical institutions – rather like the Roman confraternities that played an important role in employing church musicians and performing sacred music[215] – demonstrate how incomplete studies of music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are without reference to smaller institutions, which also performed sacred music, employed musicians and purchased instruments. Moreover, the case studies also speak to the fragmented, localised and simultaneously interconnected nature of musical developments, and are a poignant warning of the dangers of considering only mainstream

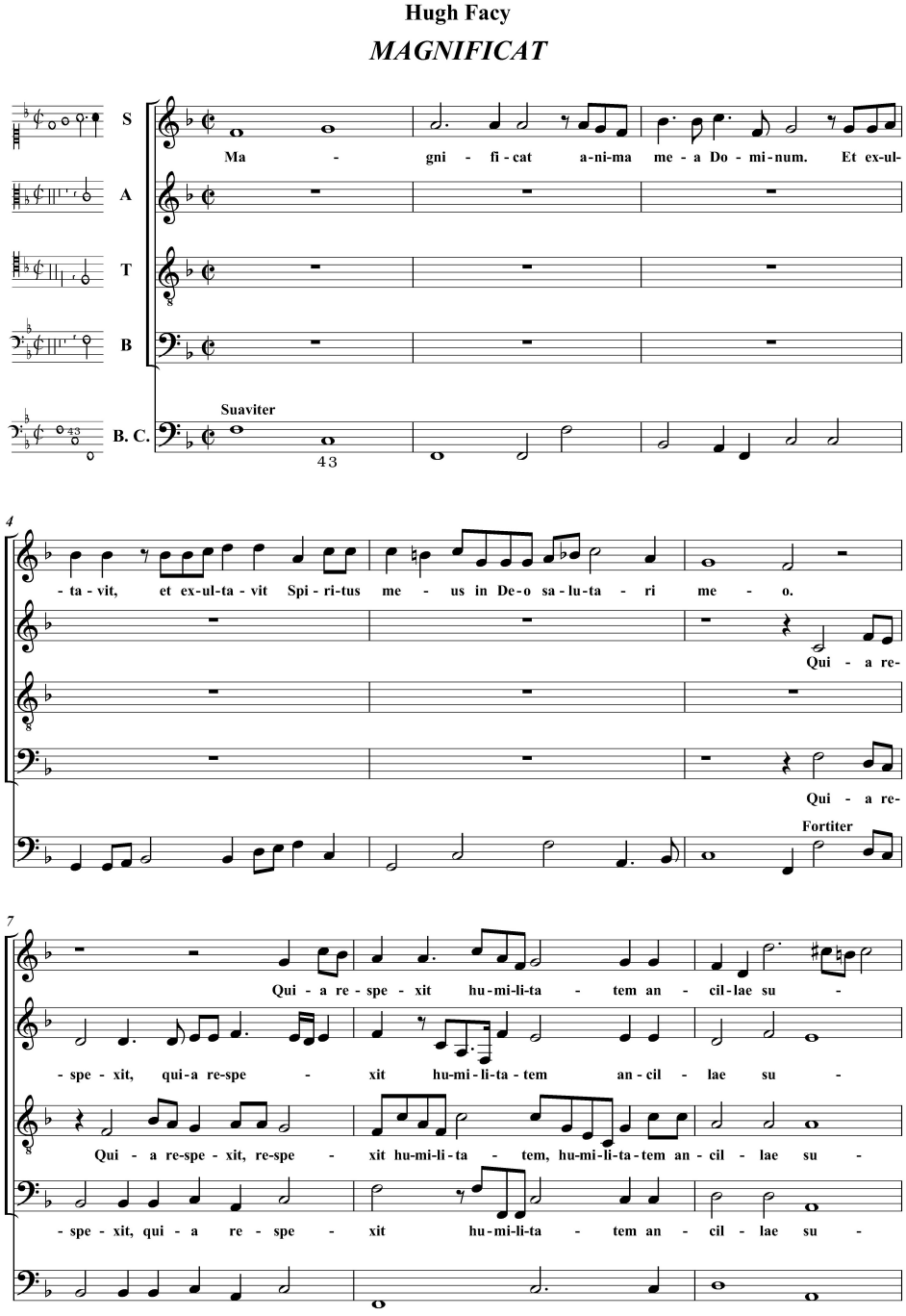
[213] Maurice Whitehead and Peter Leech, 'The Mysterious Thomas Kingsley (1650–1695): From Anglican Cathedral Chorister to English Jesuit Composer' (Unpublished Conference Paper), What is Early Modern English Catholicism?, Ushaw College, Durham, 30 June, 2013.

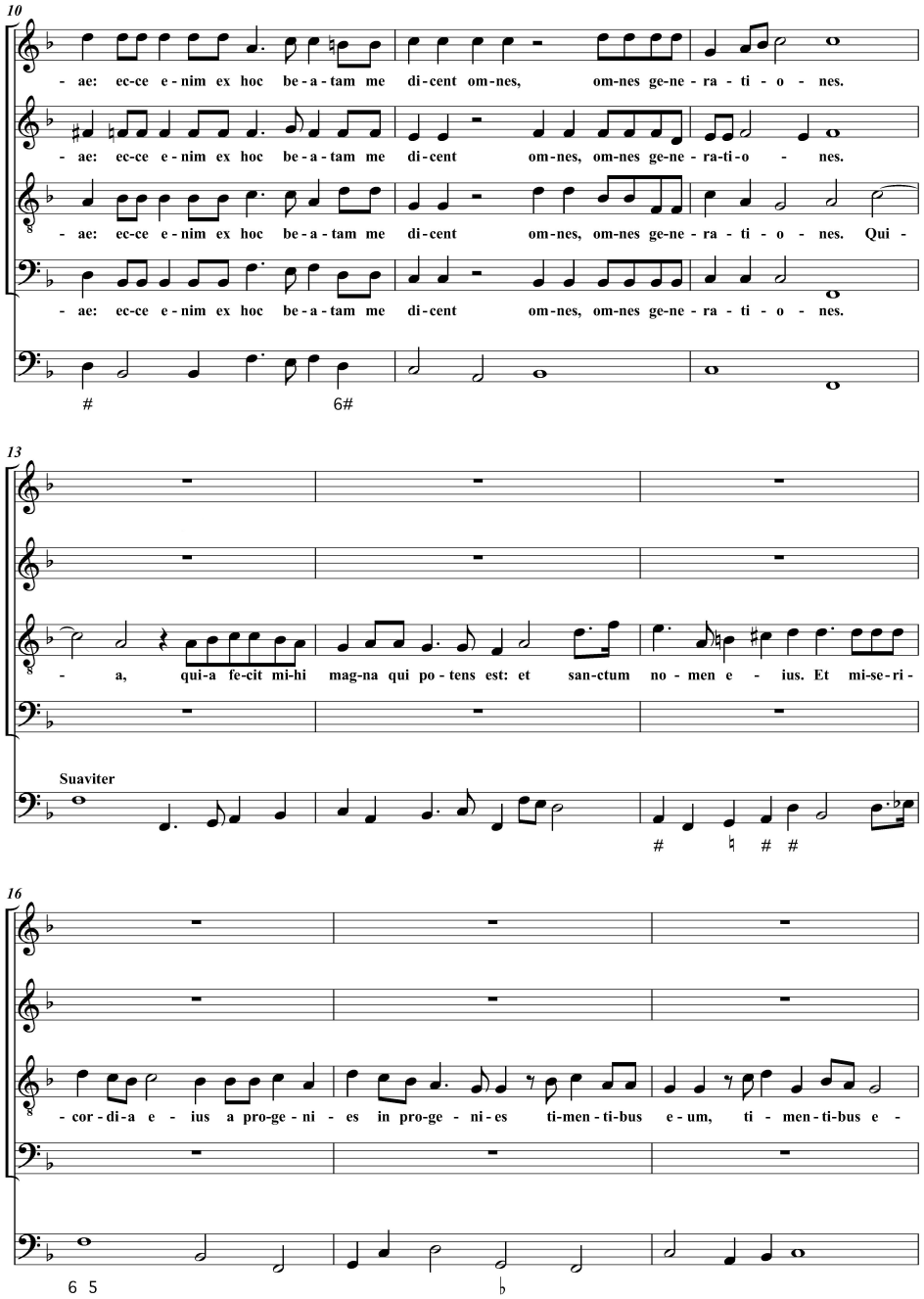
[214] See, for instance, Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005).

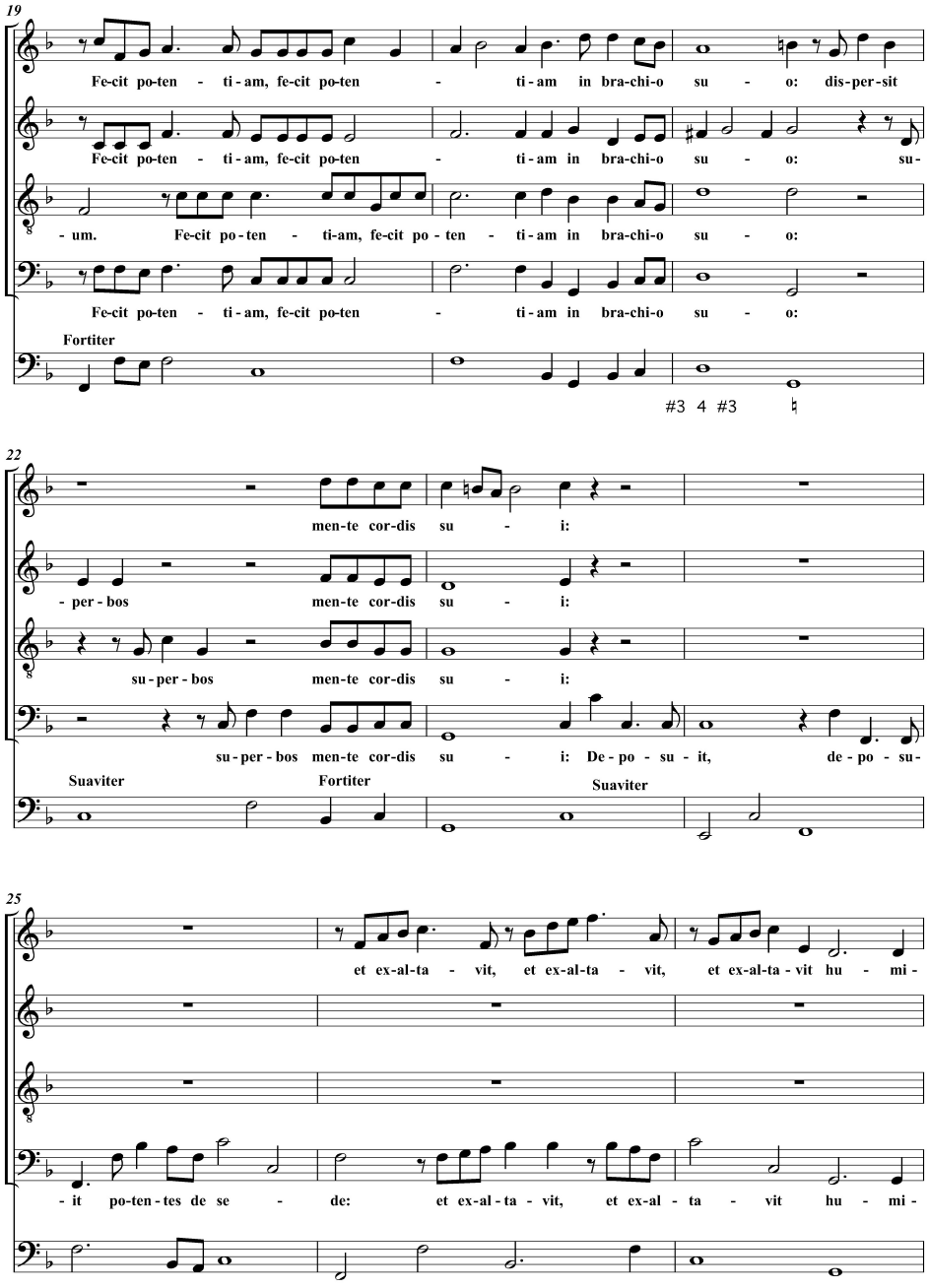
[215] See O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinit Dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*; O'Regan, 'Music at the Roman Archconfraternity of San Rocco in the Late Sixteenth Century'.

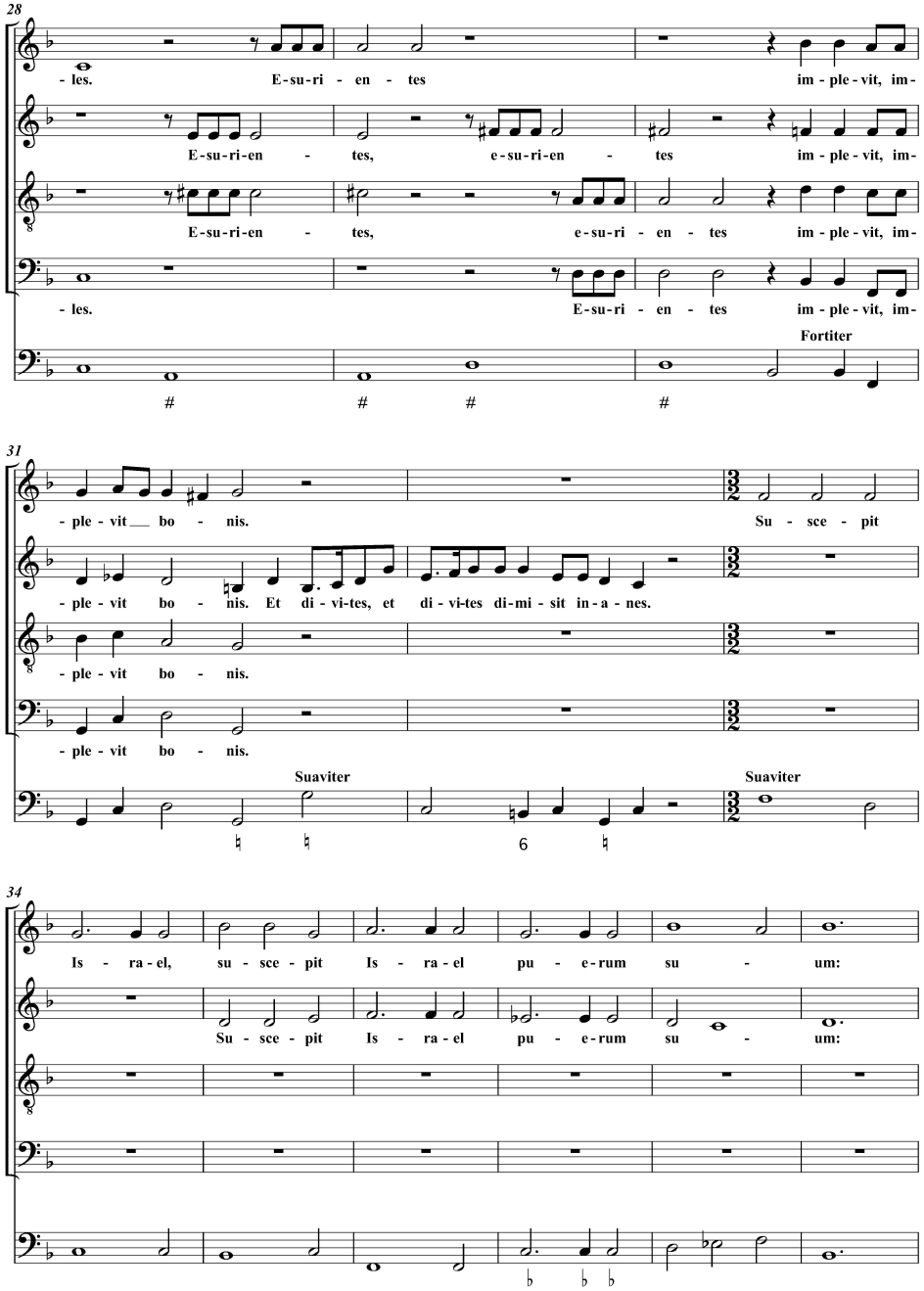
and prominent figures and places in the construction of music history. If history is written by the victors, then it is necessarily corrected with reference to the losers – or perhaps simply by seeking out those who were not seen or heard.

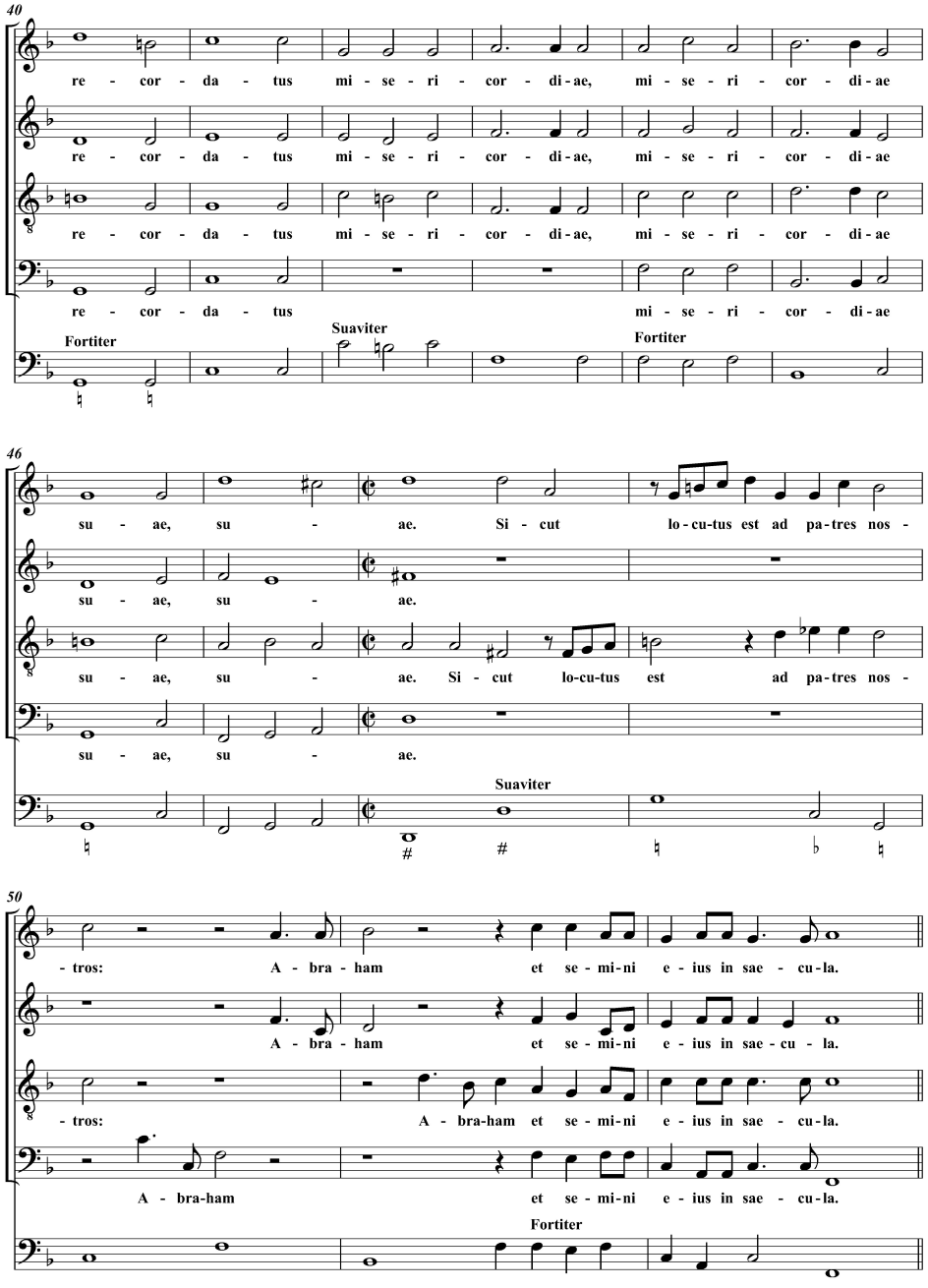
APPENDIX: MAGNIFICAT
HUGH FACY *GB-Lcm* MS 1181




10
- ae: ec-ce e-nim ex hoc be-a-tam me di-cent om-nes, om-nes ge-ne-ra-ti-o - nes.
- ae: ec-ce e-nim ex hoc be-a-tam me di-cent om-nes, om-nes ge-ne-ra-ti-o - nes.
- ae: ec-ce e-nim ex hoc be-a-tam me di-cent om-nes, om-nes ge-ne-ra-ti-o - nes. Qui -
- ae: ec-ce e-nim ex hoc be-a-tam me di-cent om-nes, om-nes ge-ne-ra-ti-o - nes.
13
- a, qui-a fe-cit mi-hi mag-na qui po-tens est: et san-ctum no-men e - ius. Et mi-se-ri -
Suaviter
16
- cor-di-a e - ius a pro-ge-ni - es in pro-ge - ni-es ti-men-ti-bus e-um, ti - men-ti-bus e -


19
Fe-cit po-ten - ti-am, fe-cit po-ten - ti-am in bra-chi-o su - o: dis-per-sit
Fe-cit po-ten - ti-am, fe-cit po-ten - ti-am in bra-chi-o su - o: su-
- um. Fe-cit po-ten - ti-am, fe-cit po - ten - ti-am in bra-chi-o su - o:
Fe-cit po-ten - ti-am, fe-cit po-ten - ti-am in bra-chi-o su - o:
Fortiter
22
men-te cor-dis su - i:
- per - bos men-te cor-dis su - i:
su-per-bos men-te cor-dis su - i:
su-per-bos men-te cor-dis su - i: De-po - su - it, de-po - su-
Suaviter
Fortiter
Suaviter
25
et ex-al-ta - vit, et ex-al-ta - vit, et ex-al-ta - vit hu - mi-
- it po-ten-tes de se - de: et ex-al-ta - vit, et ex-al - ta - vit hu - mi-


28
les. E-su-ri - en - tes im - ple - vit, im-
E-su-ri-en - tes, e-su-ri-en - tes im - ple - vit, im-
E-su-ri-en - tes, e-su-ri - en - tes im - ple - vit, im-
les. E-su-ri - en - tes im - ple - vit, im-
Fortiter
31
- ple - vit bo - nis. Su - sce - pit
- ple - vit bo - nis. Et di - vi-tes, et di - vi-tes di-mi - sit in-a - nes.
- ple - vit bo - nis.
- ple - vit bo - nis.
Suaviter
Suaviter
34
Is - ra - el, su - sce - pit Is - ra - el pu - e-rum su - um:
Su - sce - pit Is - ra - el pu - e-rum su - um: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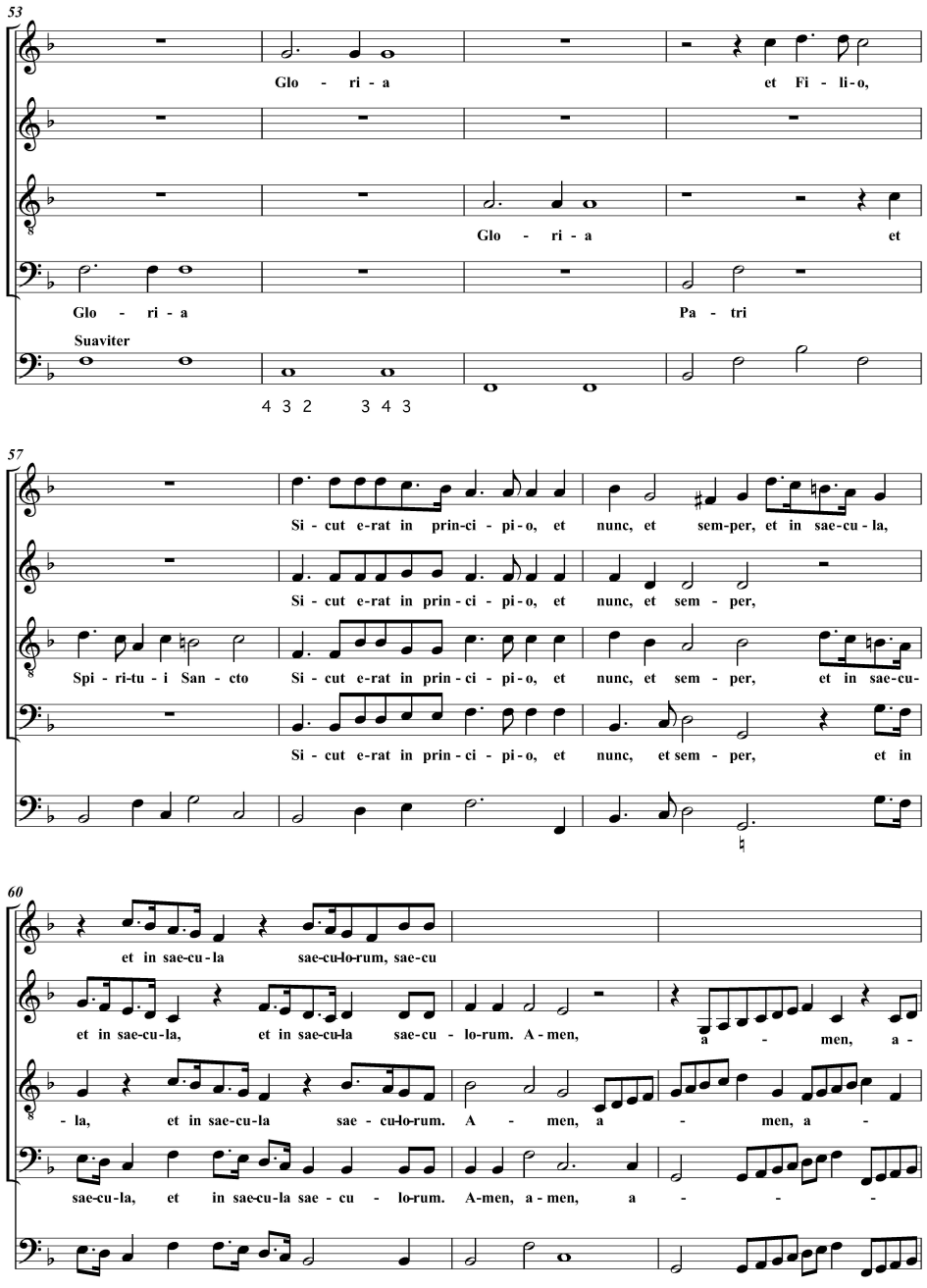
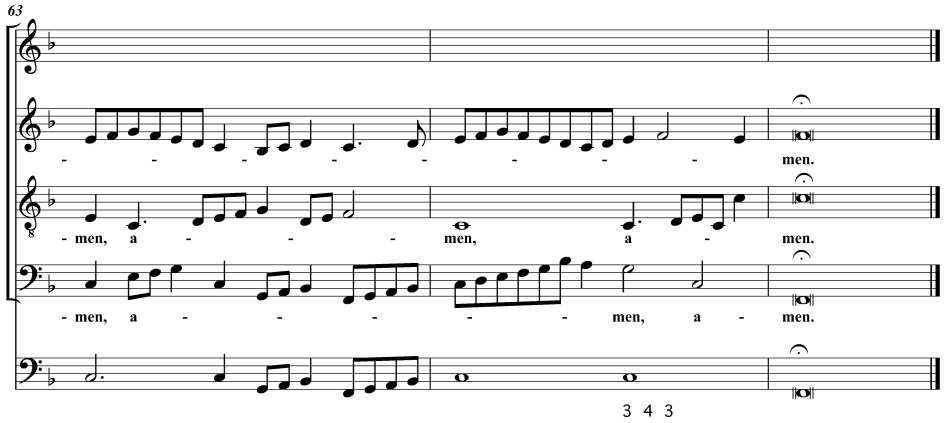
re - cor - da - tus mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae
re - cor - da - tus mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae
re - cor - da - tus mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae, mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae
re - cor - da - tus mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae
Fortiter
Suaviter
Fortiter
46
su - ae, su - ae. Si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad pa - tres nos -
su - ae, su - ae.
su - ae, su - ae. Si - cut lo - cu - tus est ad pa - tres nos -
su - ae, su - ae.
Suaviter
50
- tros: A - bra - ham et se - mi - ni e - ius in sae - cu - la.
A - bra - ham et se - mi - ni e - ius in sae - cu - la.
- tros: A - bra - ham et se - mi - ni e - ius in sae - cu - la.
A - bra - ham et se - mi - ni e - ius in sae - cu - la.
Fortiter


53
Glo - ri - a et Fi - li - o,
Glo - ri - a et
Glo - ri - a Pa - tri
Suaviter
4 3 2 3 4 3
57
Si - cut e-rat in prin-ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem-per, et in sae-cu - la,
Si - cut e-rat in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - per,
Spi - ri-tu - i San - cto Si - cut e-rat in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - per, et in sae-cu-
Si - cut e-rat in prin - ci - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - per, et in
60
et in sae-cu - la sae-cu-lo-rum, sae-cu
et in sae-cu-la, et in sae-cu-la sae-cu - lo-rum. A - men, a - men, a -
- la, et in sae-cu-la sae - cu-lo-rum. A - men, a - men, a -
sae-cu-la, et in sae-cu-la sae - cu - lo-rum. A-men, a - men, a - - -



EDITORIAL NOTES:
Source: *GB-Lcm* MS 1181.
Superius 61–65: missing from manuscript.

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WIMBLEDON

National Archives

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WOOLHAMPTON

Douai Abbey Library and Archives

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W.M.L., B^B12
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W.M.L., P6.
W.M.L., Q5.
W.M.L., Q7.
W.M.L., Q16.

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Jesuitas 407 ff. 55–114.

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(1) College Archives
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VATICAN CITY

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Collegi Vari, 39, f. 127v.
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