

## Chapter 10

### The distinctiveness of the musical practice of John Cosin

It was noted in the Literature Review that scholarship to date has tended to focus on the unusual nature of Cosin's musical practice at Durham, and in particular at Peterhouse, and extrapolate a 'Laudian' practice from that. This chapter will examine some of those elements of Cosin's practice which have been identified as novel, and the extent to which these are replicated in other institutions.

#### Settings of the communion service

One area of musical endeavour in which it does appear that Cosin's activities at Peterhouse were distinctive was in the settings of parts of the communion service which since early in the reign of Elizabeth had fallen into disuse. The parts of the ordinary in question were the *Sanctus*, the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Sursum corda* and responses at the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer. John Morehen identified some six settings of the *Sanctus* in the Peterhouse books, by William Child, Richard Dering, a 'Mr Ferrabosco', Edmund Hooper, Thomas Tallis and Thomas Wilson. Settings of the *Gloria* survive by Child, Hooper and Tallis, and in the Peterhouse folio prayer book a setting by Hooper of the response to the *Sursum corda* is to be found.<sup>1</sup>

Of these settings of the *Sanctus*, four of the six are unique Peterhouse sources, as are the Child *Gloria* and the Hooper *Sursum corda*. It is also the case that the Dering setting of the *Sanctus* also sets the words of the Eucharistic prayer immediately preceding it (beginning 'therefore with angels'), which appears to be a unique case. Morehen concluded from this evidence that the singing of the whole communion service was 'just one of the many innovations pioneered by the new Master.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Morehen, 'Sources' p.123: See also Hughes, *Catalogue of Peterhouse music manuscripts* p. xv: S. Royle Shore, 'The choral eucharist since the Reformation' *Cathedral Quarterly* 1 (1913) 9-19; pp. 12-16.

<sup>2</sup> Morehen, 'Sources' p.123. There is also evidence of some use of the *Sanctus* and *Gloria* at Durham, again under the aegis of Cosin: Nick Heppel, 'Cosin and Smart: using musical evidence to untangle

The apparent neglect of these parts of the service during the reign of Elizabeth is demonstrated by the tiny number of settings surviving from the period. Hughes suggests (with Royle Shore) that before about 1628 only six such settings were written, only five of which survive.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore clear that the Peterhouse books contain a very high proportion of those settings in existence.

It is however significant to note the incidence of settings in Jacobean and Caroline sources other than Peterhouse. A second setting of the *Gloria* by Child appears in Och 1220-4, a source that we have linked with a Laudian establishment.<sup>4</sup> However, various settings appear in other sources which are less easy to interpret. The Tallis 'Short Service' settings of the *Sanctus* and *Gloria* also survive in RCM 1045-51, John Barnard's working manuscripts for his later publication, in which they are designated as service music. This suggests that it was at least conceivable to publish such settings in the mid 1620s when the books were mostly compiled.<sup>5</sup> They are also present in Ojc 180, a source we have associated with the Chapel Royal.<sup>6</sup> Adrian Batten's settings from the 'Short service in d sol re' also appear in the Barnard manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> Edmund Hooper's Short Service settings appear, as well as in the Peterhouse sources, in Lambeth MS 764, placed among the service music.<sup>8</sup> A setting of 'Glory be to God on high' by John Amner, as well as surviving in the Peterhouse sources as part of the Third Service, also appears in the Loosemore organ book (Drexel 5469) although in a position which would suggest that it was used as an anthem only.<sup>9</sup>

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some historical problems' in Margot Johnson (ed.), *John Cosin* (Durham, Turnstone, 1997) pp.125-63 pp.139-40.

<sup>3</sup> Two settings by Thomas Causton survive only in Day's *Certain notes*, printed in 1560, the *Gloria* of one of which, the 'Service of children' appears also in the Elizabethan domestic source, BL Add. MS 30480-4. A setting of both *Sanctus* and *Gloria* by 'Heath' survives in the Edwardian Wanley manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian MS Mus.Sch.3.420-22), and a further setting of the *Sanctus* in Day. A setting by Robert Whyte is now lost: Hughes, *Catalogue* p.xv: Royle Shore, 'Choral Eucharist' p.13. Le Huray and Daniel list one setting named by Hughes, a five part service by Tallis as surviving in Ojc 181 only, but it is not listed as such in the inventory given by Morehen: Le Huray and Daniel, *Sources* p.144: Morehen, 'Sources' pp.393-4.

<sup>4</sup> Morehen, 'Sources' p. 351. This is the only pre-war source in which this setting appears.

<sup>5</sup> Bunker Clark 'Batten and Barnard' p.227.

<sup>6</sup> Morehen, 'Sources' p. 393.

<sup>7</sup> Bunker Clark, 'Batten and Barnard' p.220.

<sup>8</sup> Morehen, 'Sources' p.409.

<sup>9</sup> Hughes, *Catalogue of Peterhouse music manuscripts* p.10: Morehen, *Sources* p.204.

It is therefore clear that the Peterhouse sources represent an unusual concentration of settings of these parts of the communion liturgy, and it would therefore appear that this was an area in which the activities of Cosin were clearly distinctive. It is however impossible to extrapolate from this a pattern of similar incidence in other Laudian sources as the sample is so small, and also because settings appear in various sources, only one of which can clearly be identified as in use at an institution under Laudian influence (Och 1220-4).

### **Sacred music with Latin texts**

A second area in which activity under Cosin seems to be almost unique is the presence of music with Latin texts.

The use of Latin texts, whilst unusual, was not in fact contrary to the terms of the Elizabethan settlement. A provision had been made for royal peculiar foundations, and available to collegiate churches that Latin may be used, as it would be a language generally understood. In 1560, Walter Haddon's Latin Book of Common Prayer, the *Liber precum publicarum* was published, to serve this purpose.<sup>10</sup>

The table below shows all of the identifiable Latin anthem/motet compositions in the Peterhouse manuscripts. It is a curious mixture of pieces, on the one hand containing work by contemporary composers, such as Nicholas Stogers, John Geeres (a Durham lay-clerk from sometime before June 1630) and Robert Ramsey, who had strong Cambridge connections, as we shall see in a later section.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand there are also present some of the most well known of Elizabethan Latin compositions such as those by Byrd and Tallis, which were in some cases published and to be found in numerous of the domestic sources of the late Elizabethan period. None of these compositions are to be found in any other liturgical source of the period.

<b>Composer</b>	<b>First Line</b>	<b>Summary of Sources</b> <sup>12</sup>	<b>Liturgical Function of</b>
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<sup>10</sup> Hughes, *Catalogue* p. xvi.

<sup>11</sup> On Geeres, see Morehen, 'Geeres' *NGD* vii.214.

<sup>12</sup> The sources were identified using M. Hofman and J. Morehen, *Latin Music in British Sources c.1485-c.1610* (London, Stainer & Bell, 1987). As the domestic sources are numerous and varied, they

			<b>Text</b>
Knicht	Propterea moestum	Peterhouse unique source	no text yet identified
Strogers	Domine non est exaltatum	Peterhouse unique source	Psalm 130
Byrd	Fac cum servo tuo	Peterhouse Tallis and Byrd, <i>Cantiones Sacrae</i> (London, 1575) plus non-liturgical sources	Psalm 118 v.124-5
Byrd	Laetentur coeli	Peterhouse plus non-liturgical sources	Respond, Advent AS p.13
Tallis	Adesto nunc propitius	Peterhouse plus non-liturgical sources	v.2 of <i>Salvator mundi Domine</i> Compline hymn, not between Lent and Whitsun AS p.46
Geeres	In manus tuas Domine	Peterhouse unique source	Compline Antiphon Lent AS p.150
Philips - probably by Philip van Wilder	Aspice Domine quia facta	Peterhouse plus non-liturgical sources	Respond, History of Jeremiah AS p.15
Ramsey	O sapientia	Peterhouse unique source	Advent antiphon

However, it must be noted that the selection of pieces does not give the impression of any thorough-going liturgical planning, any more than the use of some Latin, regardless of the text. There are seven identifiable texts in the list above – two psalm texts, two pre-Reformation Sarum texts for Advent and two general texts applicable at Compline throughout the year and a respond from the summer history of Jeremiah. Conspicuous by their absence are texts for the main feasts of Christmas and Easter, to name but two.

This haphazard impression is further confirmed by the existence of a number of anonymous fragments of Latin compositions, most of which survive in one or two parts only. Those that I have been able to identify include a number of general psalm texts, a text proper to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Lent, to the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury, and a further text possibly appropriate to feasts concerning St Michael and All Angels.<sup>13</sup> It seems probable that these were not intended for actual use, as none of

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have not been listed in full. The texts, where given, were so identified using William Bausano, *Sacred Latin Texts and English Translations for the Choral Conductor and Church Musician: propers of the Mass* (Connecticut, Greenwood, 1998) and W.H. Frere (ed.) *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* (Plainsong and Medieval Music Soc. 1901-26) (given as AS).

<sup>13</sup> Psalm texts: *Laudate Dominum in sanctis* (Ps 150 v.1, 3-6): *Coeli enarrant* (Ps 17 v.2-4). *Ad te levavi oculos meos* is appointed for Lent 3, *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino* as an Introit for the Feast of Thomas of Canterbury. (See Bausano, *Sacred Latin Texts*); *Estote fortes in bello, et pugnate cum antiquo serpente* is an adaptation of Revelation 12: 7-9, and possibly appropriate for feasts involving St Michael. All of these are included at the very front of (unpaginated) Peterhouse MS 488. *Aspice*

them were copied in their entirety into a set of books sufficient for actual performance, and they appear to have no clear liturgical plan to their selection.<sup>14</sup>

It seems that the Peterhouse sources are almost unique in including such Latin texted material. Such things are conspicuously missing from sources associated with other institutions which could conceivably have used Haddon's Latin Prayer Book – Drexel 5469, associated with King's College, Cambridge, and Occ 1220-4, associated with Christ Church, Oxford. The only other example is Thomas Hunt's 'O light, o blessed trinitie' which survives only with a text in the Chapel Royal word book, with a Latin text given also as the next item, and is described as 'Hymnus ad Trinitatem'.<sup>15</sup> It is impossible to determine in which tongue the piece was actually sung.

### **Latin service music**

Listed below are all the items of Latin texted service music in the Peterhouse books. It will be noticed that several of the items present could be conjecturally be attributed to the influence of Cosin. The *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* settings by William Child bear an inscription to that effect, and there are several settings by the Peterhouse musicians Henry Molle and Thomas Wilson, and the Trinity college musician Robert Ramsey. There are also several adaptations of previously English texted music to Latin texts – the settings by Orlando Gibbons and Loosemore.<sup>16</sup> The fact that all of these compositions are for Morning Prayer and Communion, and none for Evensong lends some weight to Hughes' suggestion that evensong was therefore a service more open to the public. It is difficult however to prove that this was the case from the other records of the college.<sup>17</sup>

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*Domine de sancta sede tua* and *Ad te levavi* are the two pieces most fully copied, appearing in four books in total. However, both are marked in MS 488 as for '8 voc'.

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting, although by no means conclusive, to note that in the index to MS 487 four of these compositions are described as 'antiquitia'.

<sup>15</sup> Anon., 'The Chapel Royal Anthem Book of 1635' p.113: Morehen, 'Sources' p. 423.

<sup>16</sup> See the discussions by Morehen, 'Sources' pp.120-2: Hughes, *Catalogue of Peterhouse Manuscripts* p. xvi.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p.xvi

Composer	Composition	MSS Sources
Boyce	TeD	Peterhouse (P) only
Byrd	TeD	P only
Child	TeD and J	P only
Gibbons	TeD (Latin adaptation of Short Service)	P only
	TeD	P only
Loosemore	Latin adaptation of Litany to first service	P only
	another Litany	P only
Molle	TeD	P only
	Litany	P only
Ramsey	Litany	P only
	TeD and J (1)	P only
	TeD and J (2)	P only
Wilson	K, C	P only

Also present in the Peterhouse sources is the John Taverner Mass ‘Sine nomine’, an example of unreformed pre-Reformation polyphony. Its inclusion in this source is unique in the liturgical sources we are examining, as it survives only in other early sixteenth century liturgical sources, and various domestic sources. Anselm Hughes identified the hand as an early sixteenth century example, so it would appear that the copies were acquired from elsewhere and bound into the books, rather than being copied anew.<sup>18</sup> It is conceivable that it could have been used liturgically in the morning communion services. It is however suggested by Hughes that the layout of the indices indicates that it was used as an anthem source.<sup>19</sup> This is difficult to verify, but in either case its very presence is unique in liturgical sources of the period.

It was therefore clearly the case that, one case in the Chapel Royal book apart, the use of Latin-texted music was unique to Peterhouse, and as far as can be determined not the case in those other institutions legally entitled to use such material.

### Settings of seasonal collects

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<sup>18</sup> *Catalogue* p.39.

<sup>19</sup> *Catalogue* p.xvi.

One feature of the anthem repertory of the period is the existence of a large number of settings of collect texts, the season-specific prayers used during the communion service and as one of three collects at matins and evensong. John Morehen has identified some 84 such works in the sources up to 1660,<sup>20</sup> and it is the case that some 25 of these are unique either to Peterhouse or Durham sources, as listed below.

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Text</b>	<b>Appointed liturgical event</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Geeres, John	Merciful Lord, we beseech thee	St John the Evangelist	Durham (D) Peterhouse (P)
Hutchinson, John	Grant, we beseech thee, merciful Lord	21 <sup>st</sup> Sunday of Trinity (Trinity 21)	D
Mudd	Let thy merciful ears	Trinity 10	P, D
Mudd, Thomas	God, which hast prepared	Trinity 6	D
Palmer, Henry	Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy majesty	Purification of the BVM	D
	Almighty and everlasting God, which hatest nothing	Ash Wednesday	D
	Almighty and everlasting God, who of thy tender love	Palm Sunday	D
	Almighty God, whose praise this day	Holy Innocents	D
Ramsey, Robert	Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy majesty	Purification of the BVM	P
	Almighty and everlasting God, which hast given	Trinity Sunday	P
	Almighty God, which hast given us thine only begotten Son	Christmas Day	P
	Almighty God, which hast knit	All Saints'	P

<sup>20</sup> 'The English anthem text' pp.75 – 80. The identifications of collect anthems given here follow Morehen's work, unless otherwise stated.

	Almighty God, which through thy only-begotten Son	Easter Day (1st Communion)	P
	Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God, that like	Ascension Day	P
	God, which as upon this day	Whit Sunday	P
	We beseech thee, O Lord, pour thy grace	Annunciation of BVM	P
Smith, William	Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy majesty	Purification of the BVM	D
	God, which hast taught	Conversion of St Paul	D
	Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God, that like	Ascension	D
	O Lord, which for our sakes	Lent 1	D
Wilson, Thomas	Almighty God, who seest	Lent 2	P
	Almighty God, which madest thy blessed Son	Circumcision	P
	Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God,	Lent 4	P
	Merciful Lord, we beseech thee	John the Evangelist	P
Yarrow (text only)	Almighty and everlasting God, which dost govern	Epiphany 2	D

That an element of planning was involved seems likely from the high preponderance of work by the local composers John Geeres, Henry Palmer, William Smith and Thomas Wilson, and the Cambridge figure Robert Ramsey. It is also the case that William Child's setting of the collect for All Saints' is unique to Peterhouse and the Cambridge Pembroke source.<sup>21</sup> The case for this being part of a conscious policy is strengthened by the presence in both the Durham and Peterhouse sources of Richard Dering's setting of the collect for Easter Day, which appears to be a *contrafactum* of a previous composition, thereby suggesting that the adaptation was

<sup>21</sup> 'Almighty God, which hast knit.'

made to fulfil a liturgical need.<sup>22</sup> It has been suggested that the use of these suggested a ‘desire to express the hierarchical structure of the church year in polyphonic music’, a desire peculiar to the new ‘Laudian’ style.<sup>23</sup>

However, despite the presence of these settings, it is impossible to establish whether these settings were at any point used in place of the said collect, or simply as an anthem in the normal positions. John Morehen has suggested that the lack of settings of any of the other two (fixed) collects recited after the seasonal collect at matins and evensong indicates that these settings were rather intended as anthems for seasonal use.

The designations given to these pieces in the relevant sources do not clarify the situation. One of the Ramsey settings listed above is described in the Peterhouse sources as ‘Collecta in festum Ascensionis’ another as ‘Collecta Purificationis’ and another as ‘Mr Ramsey Collecta in festis omnium sanctorum’.<sup>24</sup> However, Edmund Hooper’s ‘Allmighty God, which madest thy blessed Sonne’ is described as the ‘Anthem for NewYeares Day’ and ‘God which as on this day’ by Nathaniel Giles as ‘Anthemm for Whitsunday’.<sup>25</sup> A similar mixture of designations is to be found in other sources.<sup>26</sup> It is therefore difficult to conclude with any certainty the precise function of these collect settings.<sup>27</sup>

A wider examination of the incidence of such compositions in other sources suggests that a picture of Laudian musical innovation in this regard would be too simplistic. The St John’s College, Oxford source, the use of which we have tentatively located in a Laudian context, preserves two such anthems, by the local figures Robert Luge and William Ellis. However, this would not appear to be a part

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<sup>22</sup> ‘Almighty God, which through thy only begotten Son’: Morehen, ‘English anthem text’ p.81.

<sup>23</sup> Heppel, ‘Cosin and Smart’ p.138.

<sup>24</sup> MS 475: ff. 146v, 138v: MS 479 f.139v.

<sup>25</sup> MS 475 ff. 110v, 114v. The table in MS 479 gives a category of ‘Antiphona Festuales’ which contains a similar mix of designations for these collect settings. This category of ‘Antiphona festuales’ includes in MS 488 various general anthems on seasonal themes, such as John Amner’s ‘For Xmas O ye little flock’ and Orlando Gibbons’s ‘This is the record of John’.

<sup>26</sup> For example Rawl.Poet.23, the Chapel Royal source: see anon. ‘The Chapel Royal anthem book of 1635’.

<sup>27</sup> Brian Crosby appears to suggest that Smart objected to the use of collect anthems at Durham as the collects were ‘parts of the service designed to be said and not offered up as anthems.’ However, it seems to the present writer that the extracts from Smart’s writings cited here do not suggest

of a larger design, as the Lugge composition bears no designation, and the Ellis is designated ‘An Anthem for St John Babtist Day.’ As this piece would have been directly relevant to the patronal feast of the college, it is unlikely to be have been intended to replace the said collect, being usable as a general anthem for the patronal feast.<sup>28</sup> John Parsons’ setting of the collect for the Purification of the Virgin Mary is included in the ‘Laudian’ Gloucester source, but amongst general anthems, and without any apparent identification of its purpose.<sup>29</sup>

It was also the case that some collect settings were among the most popular anthems of the period. John Bull’s setting of the collect for Epiphany survives in Pembroke, Peterhouse and Durham sources, as well as the Loosemore organ book, the Southwell tenor book and the Batten organ book. The anthem was therefore in use in a wide range of institutions, both ‘Laudian’ and ‘non-Laudian’.

John Bull	Almighty God, who by the leading of a star	Epiphany	Pembroke Peterhouse Durham Lambeth 764 Loosemore MS Rawl Poet 23 Och 1220-4 Ojc 180 Batten Southwell Fanshawe Bodl Mus.Sch.d.212-6 <sup>30</sup> Myriell BL Roy.Mus.Lib.24.d.2 Baldwin <sup>31</sup>
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The following four collect settings by Orlando Gibbons found a similarly wide distribution in the sources of the period, appearing in Durham and Chapel Royal sources, as well as neutral sources such as the Batten book and Barnard’s collections.

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necessarily that the settings were used *in place of* the said collect, or in addition to it, in a different position in the liturgy. Crosby, ‘Choral foundation of Durham cathedral’ p.173.

<sup>28</sup> The two pieces are ‘Lord, we beseech thee’ by Lugge (3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Trinity) and ‘Almighty God, by whose providence’ by Ellis: J. Bunker Clark ‘A re-emerged organ book’ p.151.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy majesty’: Morehen, ‘The Gloucester cathedral bassus part book’ p. 191.

<sup>30</sup> A Jacobean secular source: Madan, *Summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian library* vol 7.

Orlando Gibbons	Almighty and everlasting God, mercifully look	Epiphany 3	Barnard, First Book Durham BM 29289 RCM 1045-7 Rawl Poet 23 Ojc 180
	Almighty God, who by thy Son	St Peter	Durham Lambeth 764 Rawl poet 23 Ojc 181 Batten
	Almighty God, which hast given us there only-begotten Son	Christmas Day	Lambeth 764 Och 1001 Ojc 180 Batten
	O God, the king of glory	Ascension 1	Durham Lambeth 764 Rawl Poet 23 Och 1001 Ojc 181 Batten

## Conclusion

In the light of this evidence, it is not possible to conclude that there is any clear Laudian innovation in the use of settings of collects. The high number of such settings in Peterhouse and Durham sources, and the proportion of those presumably composed on demand by local composers, suggests some attempt on Cosin's part to provide music specific to different feasts. It is however impossible to determine whether this was in place of the recited collect, or in the place of an anthem.

It is also the case that such a pattern of either high numbers of such settings or evidence of planning is not repeated in other sources to which we have attributed a Laudian influence. Significantly, such anthems are also to be found in significant numbers in other, non-Laudian sources.

Hence the use of collect settings follows a similar pattern to those already identified in the use of settings of parts of the communion service and of Latin-texted music. Although all these practices were very clearly in use in Peterhouse, and in some cases at Durham, they are neither consistently present in other Laudian sources,

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<sup>31</sup> A secular source: Roger Bray, 'British Library, R.M.24.d.2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book); an index and commentary' *RMARC* 12 (1974) 137-51.

nor always absent from non-Laudian sources. We have not yet identified a distinctively Laudian practice in church music.