

The London St. Cecilia's Day Festivals and the Cultivation of a Godly Nation

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INTRODUCTION

In the late seventeenth century, major cities across England marked St. Cecilia's Day with a musical celebration. While Oxford, Winchester, and Salisbury hosted these yearly festivals with some frequency, the tradition was established most firmly in London, where St. Cecilia's Day celebrations occurred nearly every year from 1683 to 1703. An almost-annual yearly music festival spanning just two decades may not seem to merit as much consideration as later, more copious public concerts of the eighteenth century; the St. Cecilia's Day festivals, however, have much to recommend them as subjects for scholarly consideration. These festivals brought together some of England's most noteworthy artistic luminaries, both poets and composers, and served as a showcase for works which would come to make up part of the foundation of the English musical canon. Also, while the festivals did not sustain a particularly long lifespan, particularly when compared to other more seemingly significant public concert traditions in England and elsewhere, their bounded timeline serves to elucidate the particular network of political, religious, and cultural factors in place during the final two decades of the eighteenth century in England.

The myriad scholarly approaches to the St. Cecilia's Day festivals reveal the cultural and academic richness of this material. For historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the significance of these festivals lay in their musical products—odes composed by luminaries such as John Blow and Henry Purcell, whose works would become part of the emerging British musical canon. Charles Burney and Roger North both included mentions of the festivals in their histories, highlighting the musical personages and elaborate compositions featured therein. In the

mid-nineteenth century, the English St. Cecilia's Day celebrations served as the material for an entire work by historian William Henry Husk. This work brought together the available texts and surviving histories of the London St. Cecilia's Day festivals in Husk's time, as well as providing historical sketches of St. Cecilia's Day celebrations in other parts of England and the world.¹

In the present day, modern scholarship has explored this topic from a number of critical and disciplinary perspectives—some direct, others tangential. Musicologists Bruce Wood, David Hopkins and Charles Biklé have considered the musical odes at the center of the festivals for their independent musical worth and as exemplars of Restoration compositional techniques from English master composers.² The literary and poetic content of these odes has been the subject of scholarly attention as well; Richard Luckett contextualizes them in regards to St. Cecilia's place in British literature, while Howard Weinbrot addresses them in his more comprehensive study of the British poetic ode.³ In addition, specific treatment of particularly famous odes recur throughout literary scholarship; Diane McColley, Clifford Ames, and Robert Myers all take Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* as a point of study.⁴ While these approaches tend to divest the St. Cecilia's Day odes of their musical substance, they do indicate the merit of their poetic texts, as well as pointing to the skill and renown of the poets responsible.

¹ William Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: To which is appended a collection of odes on St. Cecilia's Day* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), 5.

² Bruce Wood, "'Only Purcell e're shall equal Blow,'" in *Purcell Studies*, edited by Curtis Price, 106-144 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); David Hopkins, "The London Odes on St Cecilia's Day for 1686, 1695, and 1696," *The Review of English Studies* 45, no. 180 (1994): 486-495; Charles H. Biklé, "The Odes for St. Cecilia's Day in London (1683-1703)" (unpublished PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1982).

³ Richard Luckett, "The Legend of St. Cecilia in English Literature: A Study" (unpublished PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1971); Howard Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁴ Diane McColley, "Empire of the Ear: the Praise of Music," in *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England* 218-237 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Clifford Ames, "Variations on a Theme: Baroque and Neoclassical Aesthetics in the St. Cecilia Day Odes of Dryden and Pope," *ELH* 65, no. 3 (1998): 617-635; Robert Myers, *Handel, Dryden, and Milton* (London: Bowes and Bowes), 1956.

Considerations of seventeenth-century English politics and issues of national identity present perhaps the most fruitful critical lens through which to view the St. Cecilia's Day festivals. Peter Cosgrove examines the Cecilian odes as exemplars of Restoration musical/poetic mimesis, a technique that he maps onto questions of English political stability.⁵ William Weber argues for the St. Cecilia's Day celebrations as foundational points in the creation of a British musical canon, taking special interest in the Society of Music Lovers, a fraternity that sponsored the celebrations.⁶ In addition, the sermons preached annually as part of the later St. Cecilia's Day festivals have been adduced by recent scholars as primary evidence for public religious and political sentiment. Ruth Smith and Jeremy Gregory both identify the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British pulpit as a vital force in the cultivation of unified national cultural beliefs, and both point to the St. Cecilia's Day sermons as evidence of popular British consensus on the function of music in worship and society.⁷

It is at the confluence of this diverse scholarship that I will situate my work on the St. Cecilia's Day festivals. The celebrations in late seventeenth-century London served as secular, civic celebrations of national artistry with Cecilia as a figurehead; the sacred additions to the festivals in the 1690s would add a more explicit agenda of national identity, one linked with a particular expression of English Protestantism. My goal is to chart the intersection of the music and poetry of the odes, the rhetoric of the sermons, and the agendas of the network of festival participants. By surveying these components of the celebrations and considering their resonance

⁵ Peter W. Cosgrove, "Affective Unities: The Esthetics of Music and Factional Instability in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 2 (1988): 133-155.

⁶ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Of particular relevance to this study is the chapter "The Music Festival and the Oratorio Tradition," (86-92).

⁷ Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jeremy Gregory, "Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century" in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory, 82-109 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

within a broader eighteenth-century cultural context, I hope to establish new ways in which to view the significance of the festivals.

CHAPTER ONE

“Celebrating English Artistry”

Introduction

For the eighteenth-century British audience, public festivals and the stage were not simply entertainments. Modern scholarship on eighteenth-century British music and culture has established the varied modes of public musical entertainment as one place in which a developing nation was being defined.¹ Suzanne Aspden, writing on ballads and the opera stage in the early eighteenth century, describes the emerging British nation as “a patchwork of historical and ideological shadow and reality,” one which “reinforced its creation through myths of ‘national’ artistic endeavor.”² Ruth Smith also argues that music and drama were not simply entertainment, but that they “had always been vehicles for moral and religious instruction,” and that there existed “positive campaigns by establishment groups in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth to exploit [music and drama] more vigorously to this end.”³ Both Smith and Aspden take eighteenth-century staged performance as their material for consideration, opening the possibility of considering other earlier forms of public musical entertainment through the

¹ A number of modern scholars consider the British stage as site of discourse on British imperial and national concerns. Particularly relevant works for consideration on this front include Jane Pettegree’s *Foreign and Native on the English Stage, 1588-1611: Metaphor and National Identity* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), Bridget Orr’s *Empire on the English Stage, 1660-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), and Susan Wiseman’s *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). This last work explicitly considers musical performance, devoting a chapter to the intersection of opera and national identity.

² Suzanne Aspden, “Ballads and Britons: Imagined Community and the Continuity of ‘English’ Opera.” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997): 50. Much of Aspden’s other work takes up similar lines of inquiry; see, for example, “‘An Infinity of Factions’: Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (1997): 1-19.

³ Ruth Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 52.

same lens. The St. Cecilia's Day festivals of the late eighteenth century, blending art and message, are examples of public entertainments meriting such an examination.

The London St. Cecilia's Day festivals, occurring annually over a twenty-year span from 1683 to 1703, functioned as harbingers of the types of eighteenth-century nation-building artistic endeavors outlined by Aspden and Smith. Nominally celebrations of the joy and power of music, the annual celebrations were concurrently engaged in the work of building the British nation. As public entertainments, the yearly St. Cecilia's Day festivals acted as a showcase for the acme of British artistic talent, both poetic and musical.

The English Court Ode

To begin an examination of the function and agenda of the St. Cecilia's Day celebrations, we must examine the origins of the piece of music at their center: the annual St. Cecilia's Day ode. The Cecilian odes were likely an offshoot of a broader genre arising in England in the seventeenth-century, namely, the celebratory ode. From the 1660s, court celebrations—from monarchical birthdays and celebrations of the new year to royal welcomes and wedding festivities—were fêted with the composition and performance of ceremonial odes, along with other incidental music and entertainments.⁴

In her study of the rise of the English court ode, Rosamond McGuinness establishes a Restoration dating for the origins of the English court ode tradition. With the Restoration of Charles II, McGuinness argues, musical and artistic tributes in celebration of the monarch became once again appropriate, even encouraged. However, although Charles II regained the throne of England in 1660, it was not until the early 1680s that an annual tradition of sung court

⁴ A table of the yearly offerings of court odes, listed alongside their respective festivities, can be found in Rosamond McGuinness, *English Court Odes: 1660-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 13-43. McGuinness's table spans the years 1660-1810, encompassing the reigns of Charles II through George III.

odes began. As a poetic form, the ode flourished as a genre in Restoration poetry, apparently to such an extent that poets such as Dryden grew tired of the profusion of poor attempts upon every occasion. After a naval victory, for example, Dryden bemoans “being subject to the reading and hearing of so many ill verses as he was sure would be made on that subject...No argument could scape some of those eternal rhymers, who watch a battle with more diligence than the ravens and birds of prey.”⁵ While these poetic odes were composed—well or poorly—on every occasion of merit, it was not until the year 1681 that an annual tradition of celebratory musical odes arose, specifically for the birthday celebration of Charles II.⁶ The tradition of musical birthday odes for the king, as well as sung odes for each new year, was celebrated annually from that time onward, lasting well into the eighteenth century.⁷ The rise of the ode as a musical device for the elevation of the monarch, then, was exactly parallel to its emergence as the focus of an annual public celebration of music.

As Ian Spink points out, McGuinness offers no substantive theory regarding the reason that twenty years of Charles II’s reign lapsed before the practice of annual birthday and New Year’s odes entered into the historical record.⁸ While she suggests that Charles II revived the ode tradition from a long-remembered celebration of his eighth birthday, a more compelling explanation can be found in an examination of the political milieu during the time in which the

⁵ Dryden, quoted in McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 8. McGuinness’s work provides a thorough exploration of formal and stylistic commonalities across odes and welcome songs of the late eighteenth century.

⁶ McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 10. McGuinness traces the celebrations of Charles II’s birthday from 1660 onwards, and while several mentions of solemn festival entertainments—even musical entertainments appearing to be early examples of Restoration court odes—are made, a firm yearly tradition does not begin until the 1680s.

⁷ McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 11.

⁸ Ian Spink, “Purcell’s Odes: Propaganda and Panegyric” in *Purcell Studies*, edited by Curtis Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 145-171.

annual ode performances began.⁹ In 1679, suspicion and antipathy towards Catholicism—particularly a Catholicism conflated with the threat of French encroachment—had escalated into paranoia among English Protestants. The so-called “Popish Plot” was one result of this paranoia, and from the ensuing hysteria emerged the Exclusion Bill. This bill, a measure championed by anti-Catholic factions, would have prohibited Charles II’s brother and presumptive heir James from taking the throne, because of James’s Catholicism. Ultimately, the fervor died down, and by 1681 the Bill was defeated in Parliament. Such a forceful threat to the King’s authority, and such a drastic split of factions, however, made displays of power and expressions of loyalty particularly necessary. It seems reasonable, then, to draw a connection between the particularly concentrated religious and political tensions of 1679-1681 and the coalescing of a firm annual tradition of celebratory court odes.¹⁰

The ode was the ideal poetic device for articulating the requisite sentiments of loyalty and praise. As Howard Weinbrot explains in his study of the British ode, a key function of the ode in its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British form was the forging of a pathway or “link” from divine benefice to the security and prosperity of the populace, with the monarch as middleman. This “linking” function derived from the ancient origins of the poetic form, as the hero of a traditional Pindaric ode:

often is linked by blood or marriage to another distant hero who helped to clear the land or defeat an enemy; he in turn is linked to the gods; the gods are linked to the land they love or even settled; the land was then peopled by the ancestors of those hearing the song; those now hearing the song share the praise and pride in achievement of the conqueror who is part of them and their embodied history and idealized self.¹¹

⁹ McGuinness declares that “Surely, though it is nowhere stated, the young Charles, at the impressionable age of eight, saw this performance [of a masque dedicated to him on his birthday] and carried with him into his later years the memory of the occasion” in *English Court Odes*, 7.

¹⁰ Ian Spink hypothesizes that it was precisely this upheaval that led to the solidification of odes as the traditional form for such civic festival occasions, particularly the yearly celebration of the king’s birthday and the festival on the New Year. Spink, “Purcell’s Odes,” 149.

¹¹ Howard Weinbrot, *Britannia’s Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 347.

In the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English manifestations of the ode, the King supplanted the role of the ancient hero; responsible for laudable deeds and triumphant vanquishings, he was therefore worthy and receiving of praise. In times of political tension, then, particularly tensions arising directly from complaints against the monarchy, the English ode portrayed the King in a position of unassailable power.

The Structure of the Cecilian Ode

At the same moment that the celebratory court ode rose to prominence, the annual celebrations of St. Cecilia's Day in London and other major British cities commenced, festivals of music with an ode as their cornerstone. Structurally, these Cecilian odes follow the rubric sketched out by McGuinness. From the first known St. Cecilia's Day ode, "Welcome to All the Pleasures," the 1683 contribution of Henry Purcell and Christopher Fishburn, through those of the later 1680s and 1690s, the familiar characteristics of the English ode remain in place. An instrumental introduction prefaces alternating movements for solo, ensemble, and chorus. The orchestration of these Cecilian odes also corresponds to that of the odes described by McGuinness: the use of basso continuo, some string accompaniment, and some more elaborate orchestration, particularly in the odes later in the timeline of the St. Cecilia's Day festivals.

Perhaps the most striking element of the St. Cecilia's Day odes is their conformity to the established forms of musical ode, despite the obvious differences in their intention and function. While the Restoration ode served as an instrument of sovereign praise, the Cecilian odes fulfilled no such state obligation, at least not intentionally. Rather than praising the monarch on his birthday or on other festival occasions, the Cecilian odes paid tribute to the abstract power of music. No kingly hero "linked" divine success and blessing to the beloved nation through his

own merit and power. Rather, the role of the ‘hero’ is filled by the less obviously allegorical figure of Cecilia, who comes to be a representative of English music and a figurehead for English artistic achievement.

While the musical structure and style of the St. Cecilia’s Day odes may have been similar to that of the contemporaneous court odes; however, the textual and poetic content differed drastically. The yearly odes for the celebration of the new year and the King’s birthday exhibited their agenda clearly in their texts. Each court ode praised the reigning monarch and celebrated that year’s national triumphs and undertakings—a sort of congratulatory musical “state of the nation.” Successful battles or agreements of peace were lauded, as were any notable achievements of the King. The New Year’s ode of 1683, for example, celebrates the victory of Charles II over the Exclusion Bill crisis, veiled only thinly in poetic metaphor:

The moveing Isle is fix’d and settled now,
 The basis of its Empire Rests on you;
 In Gordian knots you’ve Ty’d the Royall Line;
 And made Succession as your Right Divine.
 For all your Suff’rings, all your Cares
 Designing owes you the Arrears
 Of stedly Joyes and numerous years;
 And when you Remove to be Crown’d above
 Shall never want one to sitt on your Throne.¹²

The text of the ode points to a variety of contentious issues resolved by the conclusion of the controversy: Charles’s throne is no longer in question, the issue of inheritance has been addressed, and the nation is free from the destabilizing tensions of doubt. While the ode clearly skews public opinion in favor of Charles and likely overstates the stable nature of the Exclusion Bill’s resolution, it does provide a concise representation of the major concerns and triumphs of the King’s year, as seen from the vantage point of the monarchy. Court odes were also infused

¹² *Dread Sir, Father Janus*, quoted in McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 48. McGuinness cites John Blow as the composer of this ode’s music, but its poet remains unknown.

with well-wishes for the reigning monarchs, asking divine favor in the conception of heirs and the staving off of disease (particularly during periods of plague). An ode from 1697 couches this imploration in an arboreal metaphor, calling for a healthy heir to Queen Anne:

Bless on till some may live and see
 A Thriving plant, a stately tree.
 Bless it till it bears a lofty head
 Into a branches Royall spread.¹³

Questions of lineage and succession were matters of national interest; a strong nation was one with a “thriving” and “stately” ruling structure firmly in place. The yearly court odes functioned as expressions of deference and praise to the monarchs, but also served to more broadly celebrate the triumphs of Britain as a nation, using the monarchy as a vehicle.

The texts of the St. Cecilia’s Day odes stayed more firmly in the realm of metaphor; after all, the subject matter of these entertainments was music itself, rather than the year’s events.¹⁴ The Cecilian texts placed St. Cecilia and her devotees—presumably the performers and members of the audience—in an innocuous pastoral landscape, strewn with musical instruments and caressed by soft harmonious breezes. The closing of the 1684 Cecilian ode is a characteristic representation of this setting:

Come then with tuneful breath and string,
 The praises of our art let’s sing;
 Let’s sing to blest Cecilia’s fame,
 That grac’d this art, and gave this day its name;

¹³ From *The Nymphs of the Wells*, quoted in McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 53. McGuinness ascribes this ode to Blow as well, on the basis of stylistic and structural features. The hoped-for healthy heir was the young Duke of Gloucester, eight at the time of the ode’s composition. Unfortunately, he did not thrive, but in fact died a few years later, in 1700.

¹⁴ An exception to the rule of the differing nature of court and Cecilian ode text is the Birthday ode *Come Ye Sons of Art Away*, a 1694 dedication to Queen Mary. In the ode, composed by Purcell, poet Nahum Tate quotes his own 1685 Cecilian ode text almost verbatim. The Cecilian ode begins:

Tune the viol, touch the lute,
 Wake the harp, inspire the flute,
 while Tate’s lines in *Come Ye Sons of Art Away*, set as a solo in the middle of the larger ode, read:
 Strike the viol, touch the lute,
 Wake the harp, inspire the flute.

The complete text to the 1685 Cecilian ode can be found in Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations*, 147.

With music, wine, and mirth conspire
To bear a concert, and make up the quire!¹⁵

The historical and political implications so commonly threaded through the texts of the contemporaneous court odes are seemingly absent here. The setting of the Cecilian texts is far more timeless, inhabiting a space more indicative of the seventeenth-century aesthetic interest in antiquity than an investment in contemporary politics. Gods and beings from the pantheon of ancient Greece populate the texts of the odes; the opening chorus of the very first extant Cecilian ode welcomes the “great assembly of Apollo’s race.”¹⁶ However, despite the lack of overt political commentary, the Cecilian odes were by no means free from political affiliation or national agenda. A consideration of the affiliations of those involved in the production of the St. Cecilia’s Day festivals will illuminate the tight web of relationships linking the creators of the odes to the court and the structures of English artistic identity.

Cast of Characters

The poetic and compositional virtuosity on display in the St. Cecilia’s Day odes furthered both the explicit and implicit goals of the celebrations; the St. Cecilia’s Day festivals were meant to function as celebrations of the power of music, but served an ancillary function of displaying the talents of the most superlative voices of British music and poetry. A *Gentleman’s Journal* article described the yearly festival in terms of both its aims and its participants:

the Lovers of Music, whereof many are persons of the first Rank, meet at Stationers-Hall in London, not thro’ a Principle of Superstition, but to propagate the advancement of that divine Science. A splendid Entertainment is provided, and before it is always a

¹⁵ John Oldham and John Blow, *Begin the Song*, 1684, text in Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations*, 145-147.

¹⁶ Henry Purcell and Christopher Fishburn, *A Musical Entertainment Perform’d November XXII 1683* (London: Printed by J. Playford, Junior, 1684), 6-7.

performance of Music by the best Voices and Hands in Town; the Words, which are always in the Patronesses praise, are set by some of the greatest Masters in Town.¹⁷

The St. Cecilia's Day festivals were elaborate displays of English artistic prowess, yearly exhibitions of the nation's most exemplary talent. The odes, as the centerpieces of the festivals, operated as a yearly proving ground for the most able poets and composers working in Britain, pairing texts and music from established masters of both fields.

An exploration of the *dramatis personae* involved in the authorship and composition of the odes will provide further evidence of the status and intended function of the St. Cecilia's Day celebrations. The choice of poets and composers for the yearly odes served as an overt means of delineating the festivals as important cultural spaces. As the quotation from the *Gentleman's Journal* suggests, the men responsible for the creations of the odes were very carefully chosen; their compositions would function as the cornerstones of the festivals, and their work and reputation would therefore be intertwined with the fortunes of the Society sponsoring the entertainments. Therefore, the selected composers and poets were largely luminaries in their arts, serving as emissaries of British talent to an eager public and to the world at large.

Not unsurprisingly, those chosen to contribute their talents to the Cecilian celebrations were often affiliated with the court and emerging institutions of national artistic office such as the incipient position of Poet Laureate. The members of the organizing Society of Music Lovers frequently called upon the talents of the reigning Poet Laureate for the ode's text.¹⁸ Other poets of Cecilian odes—such as John Dryden, Thomas Shadwell, and Nahum Tate—shared this courtly distinction. Tate, known for his work on the English Psalter with Nicholas Brady, also wrote the text for the 1685 Cecilian ode. Shadwell contributed the ode for the 1690 festival, the

¹⁷ *Gentleman's Journal*, January 1691-2, 4-5.

¹⁸ Walter Hamilton, "The Origin of the Office of Poet Laureate," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1880): 20-35.

first after a two-year hiatus during the Glorious Revolution. Dryden penned both the 1687 ode, set by Draghi, and the celebrated 1697 *Alexander's Feast*, for which Jeremiah Clarke originally composed music, but which would be more famously set by Handel in 1739.¹⁹ Many of the composers, too, were particular court favorites; their selection as composers for the Cecilian odes served to showcase the talent ensconced there. The elevation of Italian-imported court musicians such as Nicola Matteis (composer of the 1696 ode) and Gottfried Finger (composer of the 1693 ode, as well as incidental music for several other of the annual celebrations) indirectly demonstrated the sophisticated artistic taste and cosmopolitan pull of the English court. Conversely, the elevation of thoroughly English Chapel-Royal composers in alternate years served to exhibit the talent of native Britons. Composers such as Nicholas Brady and William Turner were drawn from the ranks of the Chapel-Royal and the cathedral choral establishments of London, while other composers, such as Jeremiah Clarke (the original composer for Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*, the Cecilian ode of 1697) were English gentlemen members of the Society that mounted the yearly festivals.

Within this pantheon of English courtly talent, two figures stood out beyond the rest: the “musical masters” John Blow and Henry Purcell. These two men were responsible for almost half of the St. Cecilia's Day odes, and both composed additional music for the festivals, either for the secular entertainments which accompanied the ode or for the sacred services added to the annual celebration in the 1690s. The reason for their ubiquity was clear: Blow and Purcell

¹⁹ Dryden evidently did not regard the task of composing an ode text to be a particularly illustrious honor. While engaged in composing the text of the 1697 ode, *Alexander's Feast*, Dryden wrote a letter complaining that “In the meane time I am writeing a Song for St Cecilia's feast, who you know is the Patroness of Musique. This is troublesome, & in no way beneficial: but I could not deny the Stewards of the feast, who came in a body to me, to desire that kindness.” From John Dryden, *The Letters of John Dryden: With Letters Addressed to Him* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942), 93.

It should be noted that this 1697 *Alexander's Feast* is not the famous version of the ode, set by Handel. Instead, the 1697 version was set to music by Jeremiah Clarke. The music to this first version, unfortunately, is lost, but a critical comparison of the texts used in the varying versions can be found in Robert Myers, *Handel, Dryden, and Milton* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1956).

represented England's most noteworthy musical talent, and the St. Cecilia's Day festivals provided a stage where that talent could be featured. Blow, the more senior of the two composers, was only surpassed in the admiration of contemporary audiences by his pupil Purcell. It was only fitting that, in a celebration serving to define England through its artistry, one of the primary players should be, in Burney's words, "as much the pride of an Englishman in music, as Shakespeare in productions for the stage, Milton in epic poetry, Locke in metaphysics, or Sir Isaac Newton in philosophy and mathematics."²⁰ Many of Purcell's works for the annual Cecilian festivities would join the pantheon of the English choral canon; the St. Cecilia's Day festivals would be the foundation of a legacy far outlasting the twenty years of the celebrations themselves.

The poets and composers tasked with creating the yearly odes were not the only notable figures involved in the execution of the St. Cecilia's Day festivals. Generally, the stewards of the festivals, six men chosen each year to arrange and cultivate the next year's festivities, were drawn from among the functionaries of court as well.²¹ The men selected as stewards were often members of the king's Chapel Royal, and were frequently also musicians and preachers. In fact, the composers and authors of one year's ode were frequently to be found serving as stewards of the festival in subsequent years.

This tight-knit community of music lovers bolstered the vitality of the St. Cecilia's day festival tradition. In addition to serving as beacons of English artistry for a consuming public, the yearly odes also became a locus for creative competition, as the close network of composers and

²⁰ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. III (London: Printed for the author and sold by Payne and Son, 1789), 485.

²¹ It can be assumed that those gentlemen who comprised the company of stewards were also among the ranks of the musical societies which founded and sponsored the yearly festivals. William Weber's *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) considers the rise of such music societies in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, and their role in the formation of a national canon.

poets strove to yearly surpass the efforts of the preceding celebrations. From year to year, pieces shared common features and borrowed successful techniques, as composers attempted to equal or eclipse the works of their talented peers. This flourishing competitive spirit can be best explored in the pieces themselves; the rest of this chapter will briefly examine two of the annual odes and their place in the yearly tradition.

Two Cecilian Odes

The yearly ode commission resulted in a climate of dense artistic rivalry, as composers made conscious efforts to trump the technical and artistic ingenuity of their predecessors. As noted above, Blow and Purcell were by far the most frequent Cecilian ode composers, and the two worked in conscious awareness of each other's works. From the beginning of the London St. Cecilia's day tradition, the two composers contributed a significant number of the annual odes, frequently in annual alternation with each other. These elaborate pieces often consciously emulated—and ultimately attempted to surpass—those of preceding years. Martin Adams traces the appropriations and compositional interactions of the two composers in terms of their teacher-student relationship, while Bruce Wood depicts a more fluid landscape of mutual borrowing.²² In form, instrumentation, and style, the two composers established the foundation of a growing tradition, setting new standards of virtuosity and musical innovation with each progressing year. The odes of 1691 and 1692 exemplify this spirit of competition, while at the same time encapsulating the compositional talents of two of the tradition's greatest masters.

In 1691, Blow was called upon to compose his second St. Cecilia's Day ode (his first being the 1684 ode "Begin the Song!"), setting a text by his frequent poetic collaborator Thomas

²² Martin Adams, "Purcell, Blow and the English Court Ode," in *Purcell Studies*, ed. Curtis Price, 172-191 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Bruce Wood, "'Only Purcell e're shall equal Blow'," in *Purcell Studies*, 106-144.

D'Urfey. This ode, "The Glorious Day is Come," presents a tableau of Greek mythology typical of the Cecilian odes, complete with a singing Apollo and reclining muses. The text breaks into stanzas, which are then set in contrasting formal arrangements; the ode opens with a solo and chorus, followed by various movements for solos, duets, and chorus, and culminating in a movement for solo quartet followed by the full chorus. Appendix I provides a delineation of Blow's setting for the ode; his thirteen-movement setting traverses a wide array of orchestration and performing forces. The text of ode helps to suggest this broad palette of musical gesture, moving through a catalog of instruments (a feature common to Cecilian odes, which will be addressed in Chapter Three). Blow's setting of the ode provides not only appropriate instrumental accompaniment, but also uses the voices of the performers to play the roles of the varying musical devices. In the sixth movement (Figure 1), a movement for solo alto entitled "And First the Trumpet's Part," the trumpet and timpani enter into dialogue with the soloist, depicting the rousing power of these martial instruments through both text and orchestration.

Figure 1: John Blow, Ode for St. Cecilia's Day 1691, "And first the trumpet's part," mm. 1-10

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system (mm. 1-10) includes staves for Trumpet I, Trumpet II, Alto, and Timpani. Trumpet I and II play a melodic line starting with a quarter rest, followed by eighth and quarter notes. The Alto staff has a whole rest. The Timpani staff has a whole rest followed by a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The second system (mm. 11-14) includes staves for Tpt. I, Tpt. II, Alto, and Timpani. Tpt. I and II play a melodic line. The Alto staff has a whole rest followed by a vocal line with the lyrics "And first, first the trum-pet's part, and". The Timpani staff has a whole rest followed by a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

This movement is followed by the chorus “Now victory does eagerly pursue” (Figure 2), in which the “warlike notes” of trumpets resound in martial dotted rhythms and arpeggiations of the vocal lines, although no trumpet actually sounds within the movement. Instead, the vocal lines—and their string accompaniment—evoke the character and affect of the preceding martial instrumentation through style and text, even in the absence of the instruments themselves. The

movement is in minor, a further indication of the affective shift accomplished through the power of music.

Figure 2: John Blow, Ode for St. Cecilia's Day 1691, "Now victory does eagerly pursue," mm. 1-3

The musical score for measures 1-3 of "Now victory does eagerly pursue" is presented below. It features seven vocal parts and three string parts. The lyrics are in Italian and are distributed across the vocal staves.

Violin I: Treble clef, C major, common time. Measure 1: whole rest. Measure 2: quarter rest, quarter note G4. Measure 3: quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note G4, eighth note F4.

Violin II: Treble clef, C major, common time. Measure 1: whole rest. Measure 2: quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Measure 3: eighth note G4, eighth note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4, quarter note B3, quarter note A3, quarter note G3.

Viola: Bass clef, C major, common time. Measure 1: whole rest. Measure 2: quarter note G3, quarter note A3. Measure 3: eighth note G3, eighth note F3, eighth note E3, eighth note D3, quarter note C3, quarter note B2, quarter note A2, quarter note G2.

Soprano: Treble clef, C major, common time. Measure 1: whole rest. Measure 2: quarter rest, quarter note G4. Measure 3: quarter note A4, quarter note B4, eighth note G4, eighth note F4.

Alto: Treble clef, C major, common time. Measure 1: whole rest. Measure 2: quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Measure 3: eighth note G4, eighth note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4, quarter note B3, quarter note A3, quarter note G3.

Tenor: Treble clef, C major, common time. Measure 1: whole rest. Measure 2: quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Measure 3: eighth note G4, eighth note F4, eighth note E4, eighth note D4, quarter note C4, quarter note B3, quarter note A3, quarter note G3.

Bass: Bass clef, C major, common time. Measure 1: quarter note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2. Measure 2: whole rest. Measure 3: quarter note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2.

Lyrics:

Soprano: Now, now, now vic - to-ry does

Alto: Now, now, now vic - to-ry does ea - ger - ly, does ea - ger - ly, pur -

Tenor: Now, now, now vic - to-ry does ea - ger - ly, does

Bass: Now, now, now now Now, now, now

The character of this movement is in direct contrast with the gentler sounds of “warbling lutes” which permeate a duet between alto and tenor a few movements later. In this later movement, “Ah, Heav’n!” (Figure 3), the soloists reference the vastly differing character of lute music through their slow tempo and long white notes, aspiring to the harmony of the celestial

realms through the human voice. The dramatic appoggiaturas and textural interchange between alternation and simultaneity of the voices draw the listener's attention pointedly to this piece as a performance. No longer evoking the affective potential of other instruments, the members of this duet evince the virtuosic potential of their own idiom, at least in its earthly manifestation.

Figure 3: John Blow, Ode for St. Cecilia's Day 1691, "Ah, Heav'n!," mm. 1-12

The musical score consists of three systems. Each system has three staves: Alto (soprano clef), Tenor (alto clef), and basso continuo (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/2. The Alto part begins with a rest, followed by a melodic line with lyrics: "Ah Heav'n! ah Heav'n! what is't I hear? The warb - - - ling lute, the warb". The Tenor part begins with a rest, followed by a melodic line with lyrics: "Ah Heav'n! ah Heav'n! what is't I hear? The warb - - - ling lute, the warb". The basso continuo part provides a harmonic accompaniment with a steady bass line.

The contrast, both rhythmic and stylistic, with the earlier warlike movement is striking; the ode has effectively undertaken an exploration of a vast spectrum of musical affect. The wide range of

orchestral and vocal timbre exhibits music's potential through the musical materials themselves, and the composition represents a landmark work in the Cecilian ode trajectory. Throughout the ode, for example, a notated part for kettledrums—a prominent feature in the martial movements and the final chorus—stands out as a significant first for Blow. Purcell's swift riposte can be heard in the solo passage for kettledrums in *The Fairy Queen*, composed less than six months later, as well as in Purcell's Cecilian ode, composed for the following year.²³

If Blow's 1691 ode demonstrated an exploration and mastery of the vast range of musical color and texture, then Purcell's 1692 ode can only be seen as a direct attempt at trumping his teacher. Bruce Wood describes Purcell's 1692 ode "Hail, Bright Cecilia" as a "kaleidoscopic" rejoinder, in which "[n]o two of the thirteen movements share the same vocal and instrumental scoring, and the treatment of the orchestra is consummate, with oboes, trumpets, recorders and strings used both separately and in every practicable combination."²⁴ As Wood's description indicates, Purcell's ode divides into movements notable for their varied orchestration and musical character [See Appendix II]. Duets, trios, solos, and choruses combine in almost every possible combination, with equally varied obbligato instrumental accompaniment for each movement; such variety seems to be part of a deliberate attempt, on Purcell's part, to demonstrate the absolute breadth of the musical forces available to him.

The narrative course of Purcell's ode resembles Blow's 1691 effort as well. The introductory movement, a "Symphony," is scored for trumpet and oboe, strings, and kettledrum. The text then proceeds once again to catalogue a series of musical instruments, creating an affective journey through the passions with the various instruments as musical markers: a bass solo enacts a triumph over the "warbling lute" by the "wondrous machine" of the organ, an alto

²³ Wood, " 'Only Purcell e're shall equal Blow'," 140.

²⁴ Wood, " 'Only Purcell e're shall equal Blow'," 140.

solo sings out in trio with obligato violins in “The airy violin,” alto and tenor solos mimic a flute duet in “In vain the am’rous flute,” and fierce kettledrum and trumpets punctuate “The fife and all the harmony of war.” Ultimately, the exploration of musical affect concludes in a bass duet and chorus, encouraging unity of all disparate voices into a unified consort proclaiming “Hail, bright Cecilia!” (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Henry Purcell, Ode for St. Cecilia's Day 1692, "Hail! bright Cecilia!" mm. 1-5

The musical score for Henry Purcell's "Hail! bright Cecilia!" (mm. 1-5) is presented in a multi-staff format. The instruments and voices are listed on the left side of the score:

- Trumpet I
- Trumpet II
- Oboe 1
- Oboe 2
- Kettle Drum
- Violin I
- Violin II
- Viola
- Soprano
- Alto
- Tenor
- Bass

The score is written in common time (C) and the key signature is one sharp (F#). The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) sing "Hail!" on two occasions, with the lyrics "Hail!" appearing below the notes. The instrumental parts feature various rhythmic patterns and melodic lines, including a prominent bass line at the bottom of the score.

This final chorus is a common structural feature in the Cecilian odes, closing off the large piece with a united choral and orchestral ensemble. Here, the final chorus acts as the musical and orchestrational culmination of the piece. The triumphant D major tonality marks a bright large-scale accomplishment from the first choral movement's D minor, and the full complement of performing forces are accounted for in this final exclamation. Presented in alternation, the grouped strings, woodwinds, brass, and voices are each given momentary attention before all are subsumed into a unified homophony. Purcell's ode, remarkable in isolation for its breadth and variety, can ultimately be best understood in its context as a response to the artistic challenges set in place by the competitive and close-knit nature of the participants in the London St. Cecilia's Day festivities.

CHAPTER TWO

“Music, Church and State”

“ ‘Public Diversions are by no Means Things indifferent; they give a Right or a Wrong Turn to the Minds of the People, and the wisest Governments have always thought them worth their Attention.’ ”²⁵

Introduction

The odes examined in the first chapter formed the major focal point of the Cecilian entertainments. Another vitally important component of the yearly festivals, appearing to originate after 1693, was the sacred service, centering around a sermon in defense of music and a set of sacred musical performances. The relationship between the secular songs and the sacred constituents of the festivals points to a much more deeply embedded set of concerns in seventeenth-century Britain. At this time, the sacred and secular realms were thoroughly enmeshed politically and socially; the overlap obvious in the components of the St. Cecilia’s Day festivals serves as a microcosmic example of the intersection of politics, religion, and national identity—realms more unified than separate at the time of the Cecilian festivals.

As was mentioned in the first chapter, the rise of the English ode as a genre coincided with a crisis in the reign of Charles II. Against the continuous murmur of anti-Catholic suspicion which permeated his kingship, it was necessary for the monarch to mount a defense, rallying the nation around his monarchy and his leadership of the Church of England.²⁶ Throughout the Restoration, periodic eruptions of sectarian strife and political unease necessitated tactical and directed responses from the monarch to restore public faith. The years between 1679 and 1681, those in which the genre of the ode took shape, comprised one such eruption, manifested in the

²⁵ *Common Sense*, 14 October 1738. Quoted in Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios*, 52.

²⁶ See Ian Spink, “Purcell’s Odes: Propaganda and Panegyric” in *Purcell Studies*, ed. Curtis Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 145-171.

crisis of the Exclusion Bill. Ian Spink reads the rise of court odes as a direct regnal rejoinder to this crisis, classifying the function of the odes as “propaganda tools.”²⁷ For Spink, seventeenth-century English odes had a clearly defined function: encouraging public displays of support for an otherwise beleaguered monarch.

While the origin of the English court ode can be construed as a monarchical response to religious tensions, particularly anti-Catholic sentiment, the St. Cecilian odes cannot be so simply interpreted. First, while the Cecilian odes follow the form and structure of their courtly counterparts, their discrete characteristics set them apart, and their political and civic function is likewise distinct from the more general varieties of seventeenth-century ‘Welcome’ and ‘Birthday’ odes. As I will suggest here and further argue in Chapter Three, the combination of secular musical celebration and sacred service served to delineate a particular type of civic festival, one ultimately aligned with the establishment of a unifying religious orientation for England. That unified religious identity, in turn, would engender a stable domestic state and ambitious imperial prospects.

Factional Divisions

Seventeenth-century England was a nation awash in religious turbulence, with opposing factions vying for power and recognition. These tensions, however, were not confined to the realm of religion. Rather, religious turbulence in England aligned directly with political divisions and instability, making religious upheaval and political upheaval one and the same. From the Reformation, through the Civil War, and into the Restoration, major political changes mapped onto the religious landscape, as did the affiliations of the conflicting factions inciting those

²⁷ Spink, “Propaganda and Panegyric,” 149.

changes. The unity of Church and State was a political reality in seventeenth-century England; in fact, the indivisibility of the two remained an article of faith in the Church of England until 1640.

Current scholars construe the religious and political milieu of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain as one defined in relation to and rejection of extremes. Ruth Smith states simply, “Protestantism was the chief defining characteristic of British nationhood,” pitted against the relative anarchy and instability of Catholicism or extreme Puritanical sects.²⁸ While the religious topography of Britain at the time was far more nuanced than a simple divide between the poles of Puritanism, Protestantism, and Catholicism, the rhetoric of those campaigning for a unified Anglican identity established the divide in this way. In rebuffing both radical Puritanism and the specter of Catholicism, then, defenders of the Church of England championed a religious and national identity situated between between the two.²⁹ Peter Cosgrove, in his work on musical mimesis as a vanishing aesthetic in seventeenth-century England, outlines the political and religious divides which defined the country at the time.³⁰ Cosgrove points to a passage from Charles Burney’s history which makes the correspondence between the religious and political abundantly clear:

The Loyalists, in Charles’ time, were attached to the hierarchy and ancient rites of the church, which included the use of the organ, and the solemn and artificial use of voices; but if they had any one custom or enjoyment which excited in the Puritans a more acrimonious hatred towards them than another, it was that of celebrating religious rites with good music. The Cavaliers, in their turn, were equal enemies to the coarse,

²⁸ Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios*, 10. Smith’s perspective on the relationship of Protestantism to the state is more focused in the eighteenth century, as her work on oratorio is centered there. Still, Smith adduces the St. Cecilia’s Day sermons as prime exemplars of the blending of religious and political agendas, delivering the prescription for national stability from the pulpits under the guise of a simple public festival of the arts. Smith’s views of art and the Church of England will be referred to later in this chapter as well.

²⁹ By the eighteenth century, the primary definition of national identity aligns with a more broadly Protestant identity, in relation to the antagonist Catholicism. The continued link between religious denominational identity and political and national identity remains paramount. Linda Colley’s chapter “Protestants” in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* depicts this more bipartite division. Colley, “Protestants,” in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992), 11-54.

³⁰ Peter Cosgrove, “Affective Unities: The Esthetics of Music and Factional Instability in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 2 (1988): 133-155.

vociferous and clamorous psalmody of the Puritans; so that a reciprocal and universal intoleration prevailed throughout the kingdom, during more than half a century: for though the mutual hatred of contending parties did not burst into open war until late in Charles's reign, it was secretly fermenting all the time his father sat on the throne.³¹

Burney does not speak of the factions in purely religious terms. Instead, the more political titles of Loyalist and Cavalier are set in opposition to the forces of Puritan dissent, and their differences are established both in terms of political allegiance and doctrinal belief. Burney, in construing the terrain of the civil war “in terms of cultural differences of the parties rather than the constitutional issues,”³² brings to the forefront the ways in which religious concerns and religious difference thoroughly penetrated seventeenth-century English political and civic life.

In this environment, the influence of the fervent anti-Catholic anxiety which permeated the reigns of Charles II and James II—and which ultimately brought an end to James’s reign and the onset of the Glorious Revolution—is thoroughly unsurprising. Catholic alliances were viewed as potentially powerful and dangerously insidious. Rightly or wrongly, Catholic conspiracies were implicated in nearly every major crime or civic problem in seventeenth-century England, from assassination attempts to the Great Fire of 1666. Linda Colley draws attention to contemporary British almanacs, the tonal and social equivalent of modern-day tabloids, which provided “an endlessly popular diet of jingoism, abuse of Catholics, and predictions of the downfall of the Pope and the French.”³³ As indicated by Colley’s commentary, the threat of Catholicism was further complicated by its ties to international political anxieties; in the minds of many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britons, Catholicism equated directly to

³¹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. II, editor Frank Mercer (New York: Dover, 1935), 308. Quoted in Cosgrove, “Affective Unities,” 134.

³² Cosgrove, “Affective Unities,” 134.

³³ Colley, *Britons*, 20.

absolute monarchy and the tyrannies of France.³⁴ It is unsurprising, then, that the perceived Catholic sympathies of Charles II were met with hostility from his subjects and Parliament, leading to periodic swellings in anti-Catholic sentiment and attempts by Parliament to pass legislation establishing that sentiment permanently in law. It was within this climate of anxiety, manifesting itself in the Exclusion Bill crisis between 1679 and 1681, that the tradition of yearly court odes began to be institutionalized.

Another important source of conflict in the turbulent world of seventeenth-century England was the question of tolerance: whether to permit the free expression of religion amongst different sects residing in England. The question was anything but self-evident; bitter protests arose on both sides. Additionally, the question of tolerance struck directly at the heart of the political structure of the English nation—under a single unified religion, the English monarch maintained a dual role, acting both as head of state and Defender of the Faith. Divesting the state of its unified religion would strip the monarch of power, detractors of tolerance argued, and therefore undercut the stability of the state. Of primary concern in the question of tolerance was the issue of Catholicism—while many approved of the extension of civic rights to Protestant dissenters, the resistance against Catholics precluded any too-lenient legislation.

Music as a Touchstone

In establishing religious stability as an analogue to the stability of the British nation, the Church of England in the period of the Restoration sought to define itself at a point between Catholicism and Puritan dissent. On this religious continuum, music acted as a litmus test of doctrinal identification; members of dissenting factions frequently adduced music and musical styles as tangible evidence of the perceived immoderations or deficiencies of their adversaries.

³⁴ See Colley, *Britons*, 23-25.

More easily demonstrable than most questions of pure doctrine, music became a touchstone for the political and religious debates of eighteenth-century England.

In this regard, the excesses of Rome were easy targets for Protestant critics. Accusations of sumptuousness and humanistic indulgence could be leveled against the ornate polyphony so characteristic of the Catholic liturgy. Just as strong negative reactions to Catholicism mitigated against any elaborate visual art within English houses of worship during the Restoration, similar prejudices made the performance of any grandiose music undesirable.³⁵ Sampson Estwick, in his St. Cecilia's Day sermon of 1696, accused such music of being directed "more to the Honour of Men than of God"—a motive running directly counter to the understood goals of sacred music.³⁶

Conversely, to glean the opinion of more radical Puritan dissenters, one need only reconsider the Burney passage quoted above. Burney bluntly states that "if [the Loyalists] had any one custom or enjoyment which excited in the Puritans a more acrimonious hatred towards them than another, it was that of celebrating religious rites with good music."³⁷ The "good music" so loathed by Puritan sects was represented by a number of characteristics. The use of instruments constituted a major source of upheaval; opponents argued that the din of instruments defamed the sacred space of the church and hampered the endeavor towards true piety. The organ, in particular, received a considerable amount of Puritan ire. Milton himself depicted the organ as an instrument of pandemonium, equating its operation with the breath of chaos itself:

As in an organ from one blast of wind
To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.

³⁵ Jeremy Gregory gives the example of Christopher Wren's difficulties in attempting to decorate the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral with Italianate mosaics. Instead, the dome was adorned only with the "rather somber" paintings of James Thornhill. Gregory, "Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century" in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 86. Also see A. Tindal Hart, "The Age of Reason, 1660-1831" in *A History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, ed. W. R. Matthews and W. M. Atkins (London: Phoenix House, 1957), 204.

³⁶ Estwick, "A sermon Preach'd," 20.

³⁷ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. II, editor Frank Mercer (New York: Dover, 1935), 308. Quoted in Cosgrove, "Affective Unities," 134.

Anon out of the earth a Fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation...³⁸

Ultimately, Puritan outrage against the instrument was so strong and so effective that “not only organs but organ builders had almost completely disappeared from the kingdom” during the span of the Commonwealth.³⁹

The Church of England, situated between these religious factions, once more trod a middle path in its response to and incorporation of sacred music. While censuring the perceived effeminacy and luxuriousness of Catholic practices, Anglican preachers condemned the austerity of Puritan naysayers as too extreme. For believers in the Church of England, the silence and simplicity endorsed by Puritan dissenters recalled only too easily the Civil War, and the destruction of cathedrals and cathedral music which served as introduction to that conflict. Therefore, Anglican preachers responded to the demands of the Puritans in their sermons, arguing the merits of music and its biblical precedents. In these sermons, instruments played a pivotal role once again; while Charles Hickman acceded in his 1695 sermon that “‘Tis true, the Harp and the Organ were an Invention of one of the Sons of *Cain*, an unsanctified, ungodly Race,” he continued, arguing that “yet God consecrated them to a Religious Use, and made them Instruments of Much Honour to his Church, and much Devotion in his People.”⁴⁰ No longer the jangling winds of chaos, in the Church of England framework, music carried divine blessing. Such defenses appeared in Anglican sermons throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, delineating music as a particular point of articulation for proper and suitable forms of worship.

³⁸ John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I, 708.711. Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Odyssey Press), quoted in Cosgrove, “Affective Unities,” 138.

³⁹ Cosgrove, “Affective Unities,” 138.

⁴⁰ Charles Hickman, *A Sermon Preached at St. Bride's Church, on St. Caecilia's Day, Nov. 22, 1685 : Being the Anniversary Feast of the Lovers of Musick*. (London: Printed for Walther Kettelby, 1696), 14.

Music, then, while seemingly a matter of subsidiary importance in questions of faith and politics, became an important marker of religious identification during the Restoration. Music also became a means by which the more elevated members of the Church of England furthered their cause amongst the populace of England, both in the context of sacred services and on a broader cultural stage. The effort to secure the dominance of the Church of England took place not only in the religious, political, and legal arenas, but also in the social milieu of Restoration England; music served as an innocuous and pleasing medium through which to spread the faith and encourage popular devotion.⁴¹

St. Cecilia's Day Sermons

Since music represented such a tangible point of contention in the factional religious struggles of late seventeenth-century England, it follows that a festival celebrating music—particularly a festival whose participants held strong connections to the nation's power structures—would project at least an implicit stance in the nation's religious and political conflict. While the Cecilian odes and St. Cecilia's Day sermons established their definition of music's worth through different means, due to their differing forms, their united message ultimately advocated an England united through shared religious belief. The Cecilian odes celebrated not only the power and beauty of music, but also an English mastery of that power. The English ode was a site of national artistic accomplishment, and the St. Cecilia's Day festivities served as an annual occasion to highlight the apex of that skill. However, the festivities were not simply displays of artistry, as the addition of the sacred component to the festivals served to elucidate. Drawing rhetorical inspiration from the odes' portrayal of a glorious

⁴¹ Gregory's chapter considers the Church of England's use of an array of cultural products—visual art, music, poetry, and literature—as means of securing its hegemony in the eighteenth century. Gregory, "Anglicanism and the Arts," 82-109.

Britain founded in harmonious artistry, the St. Cecilia's Day sermons exposed the significance of music, in both religious and cultural contexts, in a nation so politically and religiously fused.

The St. Cecilia's Day sermons established more blatant argumentative standpoints than their musical counterparts. This is not greatly surprising—the sermons were both more formally suited to overt denunciations and more closely aligned to the particular variety of music under attack by dissenters. The majority of the sermons made their purpose explicit at the outset, with titles such as Ralph Battell's 1693 *The Lawfulness and Expediency of Church-Musick Asserted* and Nicholas Brady's confident 1697 offering, *Church-musick Vindicated*. Sampson Estwick's 1696 sermon strikes out against the errors of both Papists and Puritans. He first delivers blame to “the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, which has fram'd and contriv'd her Praises more to the Honour of Men than of God,”⁴² and then concludes his sermon by stating that if “the Use and Practice of Church-Musick is of such long standing in the House of God, and Voices and Instruments were appointed by God himself, to promote the Edification of his People, this shews us the unjust Exceptions the Dissenters takes against our Way of Worship,”⁴³ Brady's closing remark is even more cutting, indicating his thorough disagreement with the views of his opposition. He concludes his sermon, saying, “And I shall now add no more to detain you from the Employment which I have been recommending, but only bewail the condition of those, whose unhappy Aversion to Divine Harmony, renders them unlike to Saints and Blessed Spirits, which are continually busied in that Employment”⁴⁴ In eschewing music as a component of divine worship, Brady's dissenters have seemingly relinquished heaven as well.

While it is true that sacred music and secular entertainment occupied markedly different spheres, the sermons of the St. Cecilia's Day festivals did not confine themselves solely to the

⁴² Estwick, “A sermon Preach'd,” 20.

⁴³ Estwick, “A sermon Preach'd,” 21.

⁴⁴ Brady, “Church-Musick Vindicated,” 23.

realm of sacred music, venturing to provide commentary on the function and performance of secular music as well. In his 1695 sermon, Charles Hickman defended the use of instruments in the music of the Church, stating that detractors of instrumental sacred music believe that “those Instruments are not fit to be apply’d to the Uses of Religion, because they are the common Entertainment at our Feasts, and in this case our Adversaries are willing to allow, that what is *Common, is profane.*”⁴⁵ Hickman questions this assumption, asking:

But are not our Feasts consistent with our Religion? If they are not, in Gods name, let us not curtail our Religion, but forbear our Feasts. But if they are, why is not the Musick consistent too? Or why is it more indecent to use the same Instruments, than it is to wear the same Apparel, in the Church as in the Dining-room? However, this is a very improper Objection in the mouths of those that make it, who, according as their occasions serve, use the same place promiscuously, sometimes for a Dining-room and sometimes for a Church.⁴⁶

This suggestion from Hickman—in addition to drawing attention to the hypocrisy of his adversaries—equates sacred and secular music, at least in one respect. In Hickman’s view, the celebration of music in secular feasts is “consistent with” the celebration of music in a sacred context. While Hickman’s statement may not set sacred and secular music on precisely the same plane, it does fit both types of music into a unified framework; one individual can appreciate the value of both. This aspect of Hickman’s defense of music in the sacred sphere, then, can be construed as an implicit alliance of sacred music with secular festivals—an alliance almost directly paralleling the structure of the St. Cecilia’s Day festivals in the 1690s.

It is noteworthy, too, that the *dramatis personae* of the St. Cecilia’s Day sermons were not only frequently connected to the secular musical components of the yearly festivals, but were also connected to the project of furthering a stable and uniform English worship. These men were noted deans, sometimes poets or artists themselves. Ralph Battell, the preacher of the first

⁴⁵ Hickman, *A Sermon Preached*, 19.

⁴⁶ Hickman, *A Sermon Preached*, 19.

recorded St. Cecilia's Day sermon in 1693, came from Peter House, Cambridge, and was appointed sub-dean of the Chapel-Royal in 1689.⁴⁷ It was in this capacity, as sub-dean of the Chapel-Royal, that Battell delivered his sermon in defense of music. Dr. Charles Hickman, the preacher of the sermon in 1695, was employed as an ambassador before being made chaplain in ordinary to William and Mary in 1692.⁴⁸ The preacher of the 1699 ode, Dr. William Sherlock, was also affiliated with the court. Sherlock held the position of Dean at St. Paul's Cathedral (where the sacred service of the 1696 St. Cecilia's Day festival was celebrated), as well as the titles of Master of the Temple and chaplain to the King.⁴⁹ Clearly, the sermon-givers of the St. Cecilia's Day festivals were not simply chosen for their affinity for music or their ability to speak on the topic. Rather, they were drawn from within the echelons of the court's religious hierarchy.

Perhaps the most consummate example of the interpermeating network of festival participants is the figure of Nicholas Brady. Brady, the deliverer of the 1697 St. Cecilia's Day sermon, was deeply involved in the musical and religious worlds of seventeenth-century England. With poet Nahum Tate, Brady assembled the 1696 *New Version of the Psalms of David*, a metrical rendering of the Psalms which largely supplanted the earlier Sternhold and Hopkins edition. Such a work was an outgrowth of the Restoration movement to spread participatory engagement in Church of England worship throughout Britain; metrical psalters such as Sternhold and Hopkins's and Tate and Brady's were primarily intended to promote private or domestic devotion.⁵⁰ Both Tate and Brady, actively engaged in the propagation of the Anglican faith, were featured voices in the St. Cecilia's Day festivals as well. Brady, in addition

⁴⁷ Husk, *An account of the musical celebrations*, 32.

⁴⁸ Husk, *An account of the musical celebrations*, 37.

⁴⁹ Husk, *An account of the musical celebrations*, 47.

⁵⁰ For further information on the varying editions of the metrical psalter, see Robin A. Leaver, "The Failure that Succeeded: The New Version of Tate and Brady" *The Hymn* 48, no. 4 (1997): 22-31.

to giving the 1697 sermon, also composed the text for Purcell's 1692 ode, "Hail, Bright Cecilia." Tate contributed the poetry for the 1685 ode, "Tune the viol," for which William Turner composed the music.⁵¹ If it were not already clear that the sacred and secular components of the festivals were not isolated phenomena, this further explication would seem to thoroughly illustrate the interconnected nature of the annual celebrations. The musical, poetic, and oratorical luminaries engaged in the various components of the St. Cecilia's Day festivals often contributed to more than one realm of the festivities, and many participants were simultaneously engaged elsewhere in forging a vibrant, unified, Anglican England.

The texts of the St. Cecilia's Day sermons furthered this goal, proposing an ideal England as a united one. Charles Hickman's 1695 sermon directly addresses the confluence of music and political unity, stating that it is "no wonder if such Arguments as these [against music] do gain credit, in such an Age of Discord as this in which we live; when the Minds of Men are set in a direct Antipathy to one another."⁵² Music, Hickman proposes, is the only solution to this discord. Hickman goes so far as to adduce music's power in a particularly political context, albeit a historical one:

The Power of Musick has done a greater Miracle than [uniting disparate modern men], when nothing else could do it. When the Lacedemonians, the austerest, obstinatest Men alive, were divided among themselves, and those Divisions grew up into Civil Wars; the Wise Oracle, to compose their Differences, sent them to hear a famous Musician play upon his Harp: and when they did so, they embrac'd one another with Tears in their Eyes, and returned perfect friends.⁵³

⁵¹ In an unguarded moment, Husk calls Tate "unenviedly known as the colleague of Dr. Brady in the concoction of doggerel rhymes called the New Version of the Psalms of David; a production which (as was said by Warton of the former version by Sternhold and Hopkins), 'to the disgrace of sacred music, sacred poetry, and our established worship, still continues to be sung in the Church of England.'" Husk goes on to put Tate's contribution of "poetry" in scare quotes; it is clear that Husk harbors no generous feelings towards the poet. Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations*, 21.

⁵² Hickman, *A Sermon Preached*, 20.

⁵³ Hickman, *A Sermon Preached*, 20.

It is difficult not to hear Hickman's prescription of music against the malady of civil war as a suggestion for the British nation, still so roiled by the same religious tensions that ignited in conflict decades earlier.

The rhetoric of Nicholas Brady's 1697 sermon reiterates this idea of music as a unifying panacea; his use of musical metaphor, considered in Chapter Two for its connection to the odes, also depicts the ideal union of the nation:

Peace then is restored to us within our Walls, Peace that Banisher of Discord, that Mother of Harmony, that Band of Union to consenting Minds, that Nurse and Patroness of useful Arts and Sciences... And O! That all the several parties in this Kingdom, however formerly divided by interest or design, would Resemble the Trumpeters and Singers in the Text! That they were as one! That they would make one Sound to be heard, in Praising and Thanking the Lord! That they would lift up their Hearts and their Voices together, with Trumpets and Cymbals and Instruments of Musick; and with Joint consent would praise the Lord.⁵⁴

This quote, when examined in the more nuanced context of the political and religious situation of seventeenth-century England, discloses even more of the implicit agenda of Brady's sermon, and the St. Cecilia's Day festivals more broadly. Advocacy for the use of instruments and singing in worship is not only a textual echo of biblical psalms; it is a defense of Anglican high-church worship in the face of Puritan dissent. A call for "Joint consent" is not simply an idealistic or naïve wish for peace; it is sponsorship of a campaign of religious and political unity, an encouragement to empower the nation through a reinforcement of its unified Church and state. The pulpit, characterized by Smith as "the major public-address system" of the seventeenth century, made an ideal stage for the cultivation of a united society.⁵⁵ Smith adduces such sermons as tools of a broader religious agenda, claiming that "the arts, including music, were

⁵⁴ Nicholas Brady, *Church-Musick Vindicated in Two St. Cecilia's Day Sermons {1696-1697}* (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1955), 17.

⁵⁵ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 8.

fostered by the Church of England in order to increase piety and religious orthodoxy.”⁵⁶ The St. Cecilia’s Day celebrations, then, were far more than simple “entertainments.”

The focus on unity, and particularly an England unified through music and artistry, aligned the St. Cecilia’s Day festivals with an ongoing agenda in seventeenth-century England: that of nation-shaping through religious and artistic identity. While the odes do not clearly parade religious or nationalistic interests, a holistic consideration of the odes and their sermon counterparts seems to point to underlying interests of the festivals as an institution. Either by design or cultural coincidence, the St. Cecilia’s Day festivals aligned with a particular religious and political framework in which a wholehearted, unified adherence to the dominant structures of England—the monarchy and the Church of England—served as the most promising road to a stable, glorious nation. Perhaps this focus on unity served to prefigure the move towards union that Britain would undertake in the following decades. Many of the sermon texts, surely, seem to point towards a more explicit goal of unification and empire. Even within the scope of their own contemporary contexts, however, the seemingly innocuous St. Cecilia’s Day festivals undeniably engaged with the political and religious tensions so abundant in the burgeoning nation.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios*, 8.

CHAPTER THREE

“From Secular Saint to Civic Sermon”

The first chapter of this work attempted to situate the Cecilian odes within a broader genre of musical expression, and to affiliate the forms and functions of the Cecilian iterations with their court ode relatives. The second chapter established the turbulent religious and political topography of late seventeenth-century England, and the place of music within that contentious discourse. This final chapter will serve to unite the two, drawing the materials of the London St. Cecilia’s Day festivals from their various roots in the court ode and at the Anglican pulpit, through the context of contemporary religious and political upheaval, culminating in an examination of the rhetoric of both the Cecilian ode and the St. Cecilia’s Day sermons. These two major components of the ceremonies served in concert to highlight the talent of British artists and to broadcast that talent as part of the foundation of national pride and unified, stable national identity.

On November 22nd of each year between 1683 to 1703, these festivals brought together England’s highest poetic and musical talent, showcasing these offerings for an eager public. As noted earlier, the existence of such a festival was unremarkable—late seventeenth-century English audiences enthusiastically consumed music and literature, particularly in the public sphere. Yet the association of this annual event with the persona of St. Cecilia presents layers of complexity. St. Cecilia’s ostensible role as a patroness of these civic celebrations, as well as the ways in which the St. Cecilia’s Day feast modeled the complicated relations between sacred and secular notions of national identity, offer rich territory for exploration. An inquiry into the interrelated components of these celebrations—the odes at their center along with the sermons

added to the tradition in later years—will situate the festivals in a broader cultural context of artistic expression and national honor.

Before considering these questions at length, however, it will be valuable to consider the culture of St. Cecilia herself. By the seventeenth century, she was primarily recognized as the patron saint of music. William Husk, the nineteenth-century historian responsible for compiling the first major history of the London St. Cecilia's Day festivals, states simply that "To St. Cecilia is attributed the patronage of Music and Musicians."⁵⁷ Husk describes Cecilia as a "young Roman lady of noble birth, who being educated in the Christian faith, resolved to dedicate herself entirely to the service of God."⁵⁸ To Husk, however, St. Cecilia's connection with music remained obscure. It was clear, based on the available sources in the mid-nineteenth century, only that "for a long period, the Saint's musical attainments formed a by no means conspicuous feature in her history."⁵⁹ More recent scholarship has made the details of St. Cecilia's path to musical patronage more clear; Thomas Connolly calls Cecilia's musical associations "a late interpolation into her cult, the result of a simple-minded medieval mistake."⁶⁰ Medieval readers appear to have projected a line from the *Golden Legend*—a line which simply described the music at Cecilia's wedding—onto the saint's entire life, creating a mythos of music essentially from wholecloth.⁶¹ Prior to this "mistake," Connolly traces Cecilia's origins to a Christian co-

⁵⁷ William Henry Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: To which is appended a collection of odes on St. Cecilia's Day* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), 5.

⁵⁸ Husk, *Account of the Musical Celebrations*, 1.

⁵⁹ Husk, *Account of the Musical Celebrations*, 6.

⁶⁰ Thomas Connolly, *Mourning into Joy: Music, Raphael, and Saint Cecilia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 1. Connolly argues against this simplistic reading of the origins of the link between Cecilia and music; this constitutes the premise of his study. The accepted history against which Connolly argues, however, is that the connection between Cecilia and music was an addendum to the cult of the saint, added some centuries after her incorporation into the Christian assembly of saints.

⁶¹ Husk, *Account of the Musical Celebrations*, 6. Husk cites the *Golden Legend*, or the *Legenda Aurea* as a primary source for the Cecilian legend. This document, a compilation of the lives of the saints, was written in about 1290 by Jacques de Voraignes, according to Husk. The lines in question from the *Golden Legend* read "Cantatibus

opting of the Roman goddess known for curing blindness, the Bona Dea or Good Goddess.⁶²

Cecilia's musical associations came later, and were not popularized until at least the fifteenth century.⁶³

In seventeenth-century England, the nature of St. Cecilia's place and stature was by no means uncomplicated. While Cecilia's link with music was by then firmly established, her position as a religious figure had become far less clear. In fact, the entire practice of veneration of saints was a contentious issue among conflicting religious factions in England throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ The prevailing doctrine of the Church of England proscribed against the veneration of saints, essentially writing these saintly figures out of any religious significance. However, a number of saints were still celebrated annually as British cultural icons—St. George, Sts. Philip and James, St. Michael, and St. Valentine, to name a few.⁶⁵

organis, Cecilia Domino decantabat dicens, Fiat cor meum immaculatum ut non confundar." Husk points to Chaucer's almost verbatim translation of the lines in the tale of the Second Nun:

Whil all the organs made melodie
To God alloon in herte thus sang ache;
'O Lord, my soule, and eek my body gye
Unwemmed, lest that I confounded be.'

The fact that Chaucer in no other way alludes to Cecilia's musical prowess leads Husk to conclude that her association with the art had not yet been fixed in the mythos at the time of the writing of the *Canterbury Tales*.

⁶² Connolly devotes a chapter to the subject of Cecilia's pagan origins. See *Mourning into Joy*, 23-59.

⁶³ Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*, 15. Again, while Connolly conveys the issues surrounding the manner in which the Cecilian association with music was formed, it seems clear that it was indeed not formed until around the fifteenth century, particularly in the late fifteenth century. Husk and others point out that Chaucer's depiction of Cecilia in the tale of the Second Nun mentions music only briefly; the Cecilia portrayed in the seventeenth century as surrounded by instruments and as the great patroness of music was not yet a popular representation.

⁶⁴ See sermons such as W. P., Presbyter of the Church of England, *The plain man's guide to the true church. Or, an exposition of the ninth article of the Apostles creed. Viz. The Holy Catholick Church, the communion of Saints* (London: printed for J. Nicholson, 1714) and George Morley, *Two letters to the most learned Janus Ulitius: wherein (by wise of Vindication) it is abundantly proved, that neither St. Augustine, nor any one of those Fathers, who flourished in the Ages before him, did, either by their Doctrines or Practice, in any wise countenance the invocation of saints* (London: John Morphew, 1707).

⁶⁵ David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989). In the chapter "The Rhythm of the Year in Early Modern England," Cressy charts the seventeenth-century English year in terms of feast days. These feasts, often nominally devoted to a particular saint, served as markers throughout the calendar year of fiscal quarters, harvest seasons, and local celebrations. While mostly divorced from their religious content, because of dogmatic changes, they remained embedded in the calendar due to their pragmatic and civil functions.

By the 1680s, Cecilia had joined these ranks, a secular saint at the center of a civic festival. In her magisterial study of the British oratorio, Ruth Smith has traced a tension between sacred material and secular framing in eighteenth-century England. It is this tension, she argues, that made the oratorio such an uncomfortable genre initially, as it brought the sacred genre into the world of the public stage.⁶⁶ It is that very tension, the balance between a secular stage and a religious feast, which exists in the St. Cecilia's Day festivals. While the inaugural celebrations of the 1680s held little, if any, truly religious significance—treating Cecilia more as a muse or figurehead than as a saintly personage—the addition of a sacred service in the 1690s introduced a religious element to the feast day. This new component, a sermon on the merits and place of music, acted as a central focus for these added services, just as the Cecilian ode served as the centerpiece of the secular entertainments.

By examining the interconnected secular and sacred manifestations of these annual festivals, namely, the odes at the center of the public entertainments and the sermons preached during the yearly service, it is possible to comprehend in a new way the aims and effects of this intricate melding of the sacred and secular spheres. The poetic form of the ode was prevalent in Restoration literature, and the Cecilian odes were notable for their lyrical focus on music as a subject, rather than centering the narrative on a hero or momentous event. A thorough consideration of these odes exposes a set of recurring textual and formal tropes which ultimately establish music as a mechanism for the creation of a flourishing civil society. In much the same way, the St. Cecilia's Day sermons make use of a similar set of allusions, despite their apparent differences in function and form from the odes. While the St. Cecilia's Day odes have a subtext

⁶⁶ See Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 43-51.

encouraging the creation of a stable, glorious nation, the sermons expand upon this agenda, exalting the nation as resilient, cohesive, and godly.

Recurring Patterns in the St. Cecilia's Day Odes

Modern scholarship on the Restoration ode has begun to place the poetry in its rhetorical, political, and historical context. Howard Weinbrot considers the ode at some length, situating it as an important site for political and social declaration.⁶⁷ Similarly, Diane McColley examines the poetic and rhetorical content of seventeenth-century English music, focusing particular attention on the Cecilian odes because of their explicit focus on music itself.⁶⁸ While this exploration of the literary qualities of the odes is valuable, the ties between music and poetry in the musical odes were perhaps even more important sites for philosophical and artistic articulation in seventeenth-century English society. A consideration of the social and political context for the Cecilian odes is therefore necessary; in this vein, William Weber situates the St. Cecilia's Day festivals as some of the earliest foundations of the British musical canon, while Peter Cosgrove sets the growing tension between text and music at the center of a politically charged English cultural context.⁶⁹ Ultimately, it is at the intersection of these differing approaches that the odes—and their yearly sermon counterparts—can be most fruitfully explored.

⁶⁷ Howard Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). As suggested by Weinbrot's title, *Britannia's Issue* has a broad scope. The chapters most closely related to the subject of this study are "Moderns, Ancients, and the Secular: the Limits of Southern Hegemony" (25-47), "The Making of a Modern Canon" (114-142), and the book's third section, "Growing One's Own: The British Ode from Cowley to Gray" (329-402).

⁶⁸ Diane McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Of particular interest is the chapter "Empire of the Ear: the Praise of Music" (218-237), which specifically examines seventeenth-century English music about music. Dryden's *Song for St. Cecilia's Day*, set by Draghi for the 1687 St. Cecilia's Day festival, is taken as one of the major points of study in this chapter.

⁶⁹ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Peter Cosgrove, "Affective Unities: The Esthetics of Music and Factional Instability in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 2 (1988): 133-155.

A regular attendee of the London St. Cecilia's Day festivals, after a few years, would have recognized familiar features within the texts of the odes. These texts draw from a distinct set of poetic and philosophical themes, which in turn reflect broader literary preoccupations and philosophical interests of Restoration England. The broadest characterization of these interests can be found in the fascination with antiquity that permeated Restoration literature and rhetoric. The empires of Greece and Rome were held up as models for the burgeoning British state, serving both as civil exemplars to be emulated and narratives to be used as cautionary tales. The glory and well-regulated order of Spartan soldiers represented a model facet of an ideally ordered British society, while the downfall of Rome served to warn against excess, immorality, and profligate leadership.⁷⁰ Restoration culture, in particular, adopted the voices of antiquity as archetypes; the works of Ovid and Virgil served as models for late seventeenth-century authors and artists, and the ubiquity of odes in seventeenth-century British literature could be attributed to this classical fascination.

In addition to the Restoration attention to classical Greece and Rome, humanistic philosophies of music, passion, and affect remained in force throughout the late seventeenth century in England, even as their popularity diminished in other parts of Europe. James Winn writes that, though for eighteenth-century musicians on the European continent “word-painting, the *Affektenlehre*, and the whole view of music as an imitative art were growing less important as composers dedicated more of their output to instrumental music,” the same was not true of English musicians. Instead, “English writers clung to imitative theories, expressing deep distrust of instrumental music and proposing various schemes for the reunion of music and poetry.”⁷¹ Reaching back to classical philosophy and drawing on theories of rhetoric and oratory set forth

⁷⁰ Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 239.

⁷¹ James Anderson Winn, *Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of the Relations Between Poetry and Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

by Aristotle and other ancient writers, seventeenth-century English thinkers saw music as a potential catalyst of passion, inducing particular affects through specific gestures and use of musical language. The Doctrine of the Affections remained an influential compositional and theoretical consideration, and the Boethian concept of the Music of the Spheres was similarly pervasive in seventeenth-century musical thought. The prevalence of these philosophies is marked in the Cecilian odes, which—with music as their central consideration—effectively showcase these prevailing theoretical concepts.

Ultimately, the Cecilian odes drew a particular set of ideas from these philosophical and rhetorical preoccupations, utilizing recurring patterns that remained remarkably consistent across the years of festivals. In the odes, a delineation of musical instruments served as a portrayal of music's affective range. The Boethian tri-partite description of music, whether explicitly or implicitly referenced, linked music and the order of the natural world; an acknowledgement of music's connection to a higher realm of musical inspiration, whether Christian or based in ancient mythology, imbued the art with gravity and purpose. Finally, parallels to the ancient empires of antiquity—again, either implicitly or explicitly made in the poetry of the ode—mapped these cultural and artistic endeavors onto a larger agenda of national glory and imperial greatness. The recurring features, then, communicated a broader purpose at work in the odes. As focal points of the celebrations, the odes were works that discoursed *on* music while using music itself as a medium; illustrating music's power while enumerating its goals and responsibilities for a seventeenth-century English audience.

As noted above, St. Cecilia's place in late seventeenth-century England was no longer that of sacred saint. Instead, the Cecilia of the odes was removed from any kind of Christian setting and established instead within a tableau of ancient mythology. In the first known Cecilian

ode, for example—the 1683 “Welcome to All the Pleasures” by Henry Purcell and Christopher Fishburn—a salutation to the “great assembly of Apollo’s race” opens the ode. A trio of voices accompanied by continuo, sounding almost as a Greek chorus, provide this welcome, and are quickly answered by the full chorus (Figure 5):

Figure 5: “Welcome to all the pleasures,” mm. 1-16. From the facsimile of *Welcome to All the Pleasures* by Henry Purcell (1683), London: Printed by J. Playford Junior, 1684.

The image shows a facsimile of a musical score for the piece "Welcome to all the pleasures" from mm. 1-16. The score is divided into two columns. The left column is labeled "Verse" and contains three staves of music with the lyrics "Welcom, welcom, to all the Pleasures that de-". The right column is labeled "Chorus" and contains three staves of music with the lyrics "Hail great Assembly. Hail, hail great Af-sembly of A-pol-lo's Race,". Below these are two more staves of music with lyrics "light, of ev'ry Sense, the grate-ful Ap-pe-tite." and "hail to this hap-...py, hap-py place, this".

Then, an invocation to multiple deities, including the god of music and love, comprises the bulk of the ode’s text. Mention of Cecilia comes only in the ode’s latter portion, as it draws to a close with a sparkling chorus repeatedly calling “Io Cecilia.”⁷² St. Cecilia appears simply as a

⁷² Henry Purcell and Christopher Fishburn, *A Musical Entertainment perform'd November XXII 1683* (London: Printed by J. Playford, Junior, 1684), 35.

character in the scene being set by the text and music of the ode; her original sacred orientation is of little, if any, significance.

The Cecilian ode of 1700, penned by Thomas D'Urfey and set to music by John Blow, is even more overt in the indifferent juxtaposition of sacred and secular. As the ode closes, Apollo and Cecilia unite in music-making:

His Heav'nly Voice too, then the God Essay'd;
 Apollo sung. Divine Cecilia Play'd:
 The Spheres in Consort Powers Divine employ,
 And Nature, midst her Labour felt a Joy.
 Perfection here in harmony was found,
 Angels, and list'ning Cherubs hover'd round,
 Whilst Universal Praise exalts the more than Mortal Sound.⁷³

The collocation of the mythological and the divine is quite close in this passage. St. Cecilia is subsumed into divinity in a mythological pantheon. She is labeled “divine,” and seated alongside Apollo; she seems to have been thoroughly emptied of Christian religious signification and endowed with a divinity of an entirely different character. Angels and cherubs, presumably also of that pantheon, but not decisively so, surround the exalted figures of Apollo and Cecilia, while Nature and the Spheres fill out the ode, creating a dense texture neither exclusively secular nor overtly sacred. One might assume that this close press of sacred and secular would be a site of contention in the thoroughly Christian world of seventeenth-century England. Clearly, however, this particular melding of the sacred and secular worlds was received with acceptance, even applause, and was dutifully replayed in the text of almost every Cecilian ode for two decades. Indeed as Weinbrot, points out, seventeenth-century odes were a site for exactly this kind of abutment.⁷⁴ The world of classical antiquity, represented in the poetic tableaux of the odes,

⁷³ John Blow and Thomas D'Urfey, *An Ode, for the Anniversary Feast made in Honour of St. Caecilia. Nov. 22. Anno Domini, 1700. Set to Musick by Dr. John Blow. The Words made by Mr. D'Urfey* (London: printed for Henry Playford at the Temple Change in Fleetstreet, 1700), 2.

⁷⁴ Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 48.

served far more as an allegorical depiction of an ideal, rational society than as any sort of credible threat to Christian faith. To incorporate sacred elements into those tableaux was very much a means of placing religion within an ordered societal framework.

In addition to blurring the space between secular and sacred material, the text of the ode of 1700 points to another recurring feature of the odes—a division of music into its heavenly and earthly manifestations, based on the Boethian division of *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*.⁷⁵ In this schema, *musica humana* (the temperament of human emotions) and *musica instrumentalis* (music created by the voice and man-made instruments) served only as partial reflections of a broader, more all-encompassing music—*musica mundana*. This greater ‘music’ referred to the harmony that underpinned the workings of the cosmos itself, setting the stars and planets in motion and aligning the universe in a perfect synchronicity. The idea of mathematical laws governing the movement of celestial bodies, known as the “music of the spheres” stretched back even further, to antiquity itself and to the theoretical writings of Pythagoras. This inaudible harmony could only be approximated by human forces on earth, as a “macrocosmic model of the universal.”⁷⁶

In a more explicitly Christian context, the idea of “music of the spheres” could be comprehended through an understanding of earthly, man-made music as an echo of the eternal harmonies in communion with the divine. Springing from the notion of music of the spheres, then, the image of music as a transcendent bridge spanning the heavenly and earthly realm was a featured theme in almost every Cecilian ode.⁷⁷ In the 1684 ode, “Begin the song” by John

⁷⁵ Boethius, *De Institutione Musica*, in *Source Readings in Music History*, eds. Oliver W. Strunk and Leo Treitler, I (New York: Norton, 1998), 85.

⁷⁶ John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky; Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 310.

⁷⁷ This repeated imagery in the odes seems to be related to what Weinbrot identifies as one of the classic functions of the ode: a “key device of linking man to god.” This “linking” function will be discussed again when considering the odes’ relating of Britain and Rome. Weinbrot, *Britannia’s Issue*, 331.

Oldham and John Blow, the connection of man's physical and spiritual alignment with musical articulation makes up a majority of the ode's content. The ode's second section, which begins as a duet between alto and tenor and then moves into a chorus, echoes the concept of music of the spheres without explicitly referencing it:

Hark! how the waken'd Strings resound,
 And sweetly break the yielding Air!
 The ravish'd Sence, how pleasingly they wound,
 And call the list'ning Soul into the Ear!
 Each Pulse beats Time, and every Heart
 With Tongue and Fingers bears a part.
 By Harmony's entrancing Power,
 When we are thus wound up to Extasy,
 Methinks we mount, methinks we tow'r,
 And seem to leave Mortality,
 And seem to antedate our future Bliss on high!⁷⁸

The text of this ode moves fluidly between the sonic vibrations of *musica instrumentalis* in the wakening strings to the *musica humana*, with each pulse beating time, and the music of the heart keeping beat with that of the tongue and fingers. Then, the power of music extends beyond even this relationship to that of the heavenly realm; as the text makes explicit, the music of the earthly realm prefigures that of the heavenly choirs, and of the notion of eternal paradise itself.

The influence of classical philosophy and theory colors the text of the earlier excerpted passage from the Cecilian ode of 1700 as well. Once again, the concept of music of the spheres is reiterated; an anthropomorphic Nature moves in affective sympathy with the harmonies being produced. Additionally, the idea of music as a bridge between the earthly and spiritual realms is given voice here, as the Angels and Cherubs look down to earth, and music rises above the mortal realm into one of transcendent "Universal Praise." The conclusion of the Blow and D'Urfey ode culminates with a dense melding of the familiar ode components—it is as though

⁷⁸ John Blow and John Oldham, *A Second Musical Entertainment Perform'd on St. Cecilia's day, November XXII 1684* (London: Printed by John Playford [Junior], 1685), [ii].

all of the arguments praising the glory and power of music have been distilled and poured into this final section, culminating in a heady blend of sacred and secular language and imagery.

Yet another common element of the Cecilian odes is a cataloging of musical instruments. While such a feature might at first seem to be an ornamental convention, the enumeration of instruments was not merely a poetic gesture within the odes. Rather, the list served to illuminate and create a physical manifestation of the wide-ranging affective force of music. Typically, the progression through various instruments—strings, trumpets, drums and pipes, flutes, and the organ were the most frequently cited—served as an opportunity for playful compositional variety and as an introduction to the particular affective character of each instrument and its associated music.

Using Henry Purcell and Nicholas Brady's 1692 ode "Hail, Bright Cecilia" as a representative example, it is possible to trace this theory of the passions through the catalog of instruments. The organ is presented first as the paragon of all instruments.⁷⁹ The poet, concluding an elocution on the music of the spheres, now asks:

With that sublime Celestial Lay
Dare any Earthly Sounds compare?
If any Earthly Music dare
The noble ORGAN may."⁸⁰

In turn, the other instruments are held up for comparison with the organ—traditionally designated as Cecilia's instrument. The audience is first introduced to the "Warbling Lute" through a warbling bass solo (Figure 6).

⁷⁹ For a discussion of the significance of the organ in the Cecilian odes, see Cosgrove, "Affective Unities," 137-139.

⁸⁰ Henry Purcell and Nicholas Brady, *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day 1692*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (London: Eulenberg, 2009), XXXII.

Figure 6: "Wondrous machine," mm. 11-18. From *Hail! Bright Cecilia!* by Henry Purcell (1692). London: Musical Antiquarian Society Publications, 1848.

Musical score for "Wondrous machine," mm. 11-18. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line and a lute accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Won.drous, won.drous, won.drous, won.....drous ma..chine! To thee th wart.....ding Lute, Tho' us'd to con...quest".

Next, a countertenor solo gives voice to the forces of "violins and viols" in sweet, arching phrases, set antiphonally with echoing phrases from the stringed instruments themselves (Figure 7).

Figure 7: "The airy violin," mm. 1-16. From *Hail! Bright Cecilia!* by Henry Purcell (1692). London: Musical Antiquarian Society Publications, 1848.

Musical score for "The airy violin," mm. 1-16. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a violin part, a voice part, and a bass part. The lyrics are: "The air.....y, air.....y Vi.....olin and lof.....ty Vi.....ol quit..... the field: In".

Ultimately, these instruments are deemed inferior to the organ and the fundamental harmonies of nature, and the flute is called to task. In this air, a duet between alto and tenor, the flutes themselves present the musical theme, a mixture of lovelorn chromatic sighs and pastoral parallel thirds. That musical material is then taken up by the voices in the duet (Figure 8). In both this

Figure 8: "In vain the am'rous flute," mm. 1-29. From *Hail! Bright Cecilia!* by Henry Purcell (1692). London: Musical Antiquarian Society Publications, 1848.

N^o 10.

FLUTES.

BASS.

VOICES.

In vain the am'rous Flute, in
vain the am'rous Flute and
vain the am'rous Flute..... and soft.....

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system, labeled 'FLUTES.' and 'BASS.', shows two staves for flutes and one for bass. The second system, labeled 'VOICES.', shows two staves for voices. The third system, also labeled 'VOICES.', shows two staves for voices. The lyrics are written below the voice staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamics (p). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score ends with a double bar line.

movement and the previous one, the vocal lines mimic the character of the obbligato instruments whose affect they depict in the poetic text. All the while, however, the text denies the ultimate supremacy of any of these affects; the ultimate musical force is yet to be announced.

The sweet music of the flute is quickly exchanged for more bombastic matter in the following air, however, as the instruments of war are introduced. Trumpets and kettle drums—novel inclusions for the period—beat out a martial sixteenth-note tattoo, which is then taken up

Figure 9: "The fife and all the harmony of war," mm. 1-14. From *Hail! Bright Cecilia!* by Henry Purcell (1692). London: Musical Antiquarian Society Publications, 1848.

N^o 11.

TRUMPETS.

DRUMS.

VOICE.

BASS.

The Fife the Fife and all, all, all,

all, all the har...mony of war.

in the disjunct rhythm of the alto soloist (Figure 9). Here, we hear Purcell's direct response to Blow's use of kettle drums in the preceding year's ode. Refusing to be outdone by his compositional peer, Purcell incorporates a similarly-scored martial movement.

Ultimately, the voice alone emerges as equal to the task of stirring every passion, as man is "a consort of them all," an idea presented both through text and musical texture in the final chorus of the ode (discussed in the first chapter). That the voice should reign triumphant above all other instruments is hardly surprising—the singular instruments represent the evocations of particular passions, but man exists as a living summation of them. This trajectory, despite its seeming arbitrary or simple descriptive nature, actually points to a more deeply-imbedded argument within the ode. The differing varieties of instruments inspire varying passions in man, but these passions are by no means equally meritorious. In contrast to the martial drums and fife and the somnolent strings, the voice and organ alone are capable of forging the all-important bridge between the earthly and heavenly realms. The elevation of the harmonies of man, we will see, becomes a key rhetorical point in the later Cecilian sermons.

A final recurring element in the Cecilian odes is the elevation of Britain as a nation modeled on the civilizations of antiquity. While this feature is less explicitly prevalent than others listed, which can be detected in almost every year's ode, equating of Britain with ancient empire does recur throughout the twenty years of Cecilian festivals. In Purcell and Brady's 1692 *Hail, Bright Cecilia*, a full chorus exclaims that Cecilia's powers of love and music "may make the British forest prove as famous as Dodona's vocal grove."⁸¹ The full chorus unites here from a fugal texture to a homophonic one, setting the claim apart as a marked proclamation (Figure 10).

⁸¹ Purcell and Brady, *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day 1692*, 18.

Figure 10: "Hail, bright Cecilia!" mm. 41-51. From *Hail! Bright Cecilia!* by Henry Purcell (1692). London: Musical Antiquarian Society Publications, 1848.

The musical score consists of four systems of staves. The first system includes vocal lines and keyboard accompaniment. The lyrics are: "...les...tial art: thee and thy ce...les...tial art: That thine and Mu... .. ce...les...tial art: That thine and thy ce...les...tial art:". The second system continues the vocal line with "sic's sa...cred Mu... sic's sa...cred". The third system features the lyrics: "love May make the Bri...tish fo...rest prove As fa...mous, as fa...mous, love May make the Bri...tish fo...rest prove As fa...mous, as May make the Bri...tish fo...rest prove As fa...mous, as". The fourth system includes the lyrics: "as fa...mous as Do...do...na's vo...cal grove. fa...mous, fa...mous as Do...do...na's vo...cal grove. fa...mous, fa...mous as Do...do...na's vo...cal grove. That thine and". The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings like *p* and *art:*.

The comparison to Dodona's grove alludes to the most famous oracle of Zeus; once more, the language of the ode is firmly situated in the world of the classical pantheon.⁸² It is an exhortation to greatness, both in terms of ancient history and of modern seventeenth-century politics.

This technique—drawing parallels between the glorious subjects of the ode and the terrestrial milieu of the surrounding society—is not foreign to the genre of odes; in fact, it is traditional. As stated in the first chapter, Weinbrot suggests that a key device within the genre is a “linking within terrestrial and divine communities,” an agenda which can be observed at work here in the Cecilian odes, in metaphorical parallels such as that between Dodona's grove and the British forest.⁸³ Weinbrot describes this linking function as an “[a]ssociation of the hero with the leader, the leader with the nation, and the nation with the gods.”⁸⁴ In the Cecilian odes, however, the hero is not any individual, but the power of music. The connection with the ruler, too, is obscured. Instead, the connection is made implicitly in the relationship of the hero, music, to its creators, which then link to the ruler. The composers and performers of the St. Cecilia's Day music, after all, were pulled from the highest echelons of English music; the poets were frequently court-appointed Poet Laureates, the composers were among the most renowned of England, and, as Jeremy Pulver notes, the “importance of these St. Cecilia celebrations will be more readily gauged when it is remembered that the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, the Choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the Singing-Men of Westminster Abbey, all collaborated

⁸² The specific reference to Dodona's grove in this ode might reference another, more contemporary piece of storytelling—James Howell's *Dendrologia: Dodonas grove, or, The vocall Forrest*. (London, 1644). Howell's work is an extensive political allegory, representing English and European monarchs from King James I onwards as varying species of trees. This allegory was popular, and was reprinted several times with corrections, additions, and attachments. A mid-seventeenth-century reference to Dodona's grove, then, would mostly likely create an association with this portrayal of England's place amongst the contemporary regnal pantheon of Europe.

⁸³ Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 347.

⁸⁴ Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 348.

in the performances of the day.”⁸⁵ The Cecilian odes represented a thorough union of English artistic prowess, drawn from amongst the luminaries of the English court, and effectively linking the heavenly beauties of music with the splendors of that court.

Towards a Civil and Godly Society: Patterns in St. Cecilia’s Day Sermons

Throughout the 1680s, the concerts on St. Cecilia’s Day occurred yearly, typically at Stationer’s Hall. In the 1690s, an additional sacred component was added just a few blocks away: a sermon on St. Cecilia given at St. Bride’s Church. As part of her exploration of the tenuous boundary between religion and the secular realm of music, Ruth Smith adduces these late seventeenth-century sermons as evidence of prevailing contemporary opinion of music’s respective place in the sacred and secular worlds.⁸⁶ She also views these sermons as illustrative of the period’s separation between the sacred and secular: “Music for the church and music for the stage were thought of as separate genres, and the mingling of generic elements was not a light undertaking. From the point of view of both theoreticians of music and moral aestheticians it could be subversive or even impossible.”⁸⁷ While the St. Cecilia’s Day musical entertainments were not stage productions in the manner of oratorios, they would certainly seem to be ideologically separate from the day’s religious components. However, as it will soon be demonstrated, the St. Cecilia’s Day sermons were actually closely linked to the world of the Cecilian ode, a world which overlapped, in both concrete and theoretical particulars, with that of sacred liturgy.

⁸⁵ Jeffrey Pulver, “The English St. Cecilia Celebrations of the Seventeenth Century,” *The Sackbut* 7 (1927): 345.

⁸⁶ Smith calls the St. Cecilia’s Day sermons the “predecessors” of the eighteenth-century Three Choirs sermons, which “were not simply celebrations of the musician’s art, they were apologetics and prescriptions for its employment in worship.” Both the Cecilian and Three Choirs sermons, in Smith’s reading, use recurring or stock arguments in defense of a particular style of church music. Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios*, 88.

⁸⁷ Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios*, 44.

One might expect that the explicitly sacred additions to the festivals would have been distanced from the neoclassical secularity of the odes. Weinbrot points to a sizable tension in the seventeenth century between the elevation of the mythology of antiquity in literature and art and the attempts to create an appropriate climate of social morality by preachers and religious figures.⁸⁸ While the elevation of music remained constant in both the sacred and secular components of the Cecilian feast day, music's devotional function was stressed above all in the sermons. The 1699 sermon-giver William Sherlock singled out transporting and excellent music composed and performed by masters of the art: "This is a very easy and a pleasant way of praising God, if this would carry us to Heaven; but this is only to praise the Musick, the Composition, or the Performance, when we think of nothing else, come for no other end, and mean no more by it."⁸⁹ In looking beyond this overt distinction between the sermons and the odes, however, it becomes clear that the sermons shared a common rhetorical vocabulary with their ode counterparts. In particular, the tropes featured so prominently and with such persistent repetition in the texts of the St. Cecilia's Day odes echo loudly in the arguments of sermons preached from the pulpit of St. Bride's Church on those November days.

The sermons which accompanied the later St. Cecilia's Day celebrations drew much of their metaphorical musical language from the same font as the authors of the odes, albeit with a more firmly religious orientation. In Nicholas Brady's 1696 exhortation, he uses the Genesis story of Jacob's ladder—a dream-ladder stretching from the realm of heaven to the realm of Earth, on which angels ascended and descended—to relate to the passage between earth and heaven opened with the conduit of transcendent music. While the biblical story itself does not

⁸⁸ Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 48-49.

⁸⁹ William Sherlock, *A sermon preach'd at St. Paul's Cathedral, November 22, 1699 being the anniversary meeting of the Lovers of Musick*. (London: Printed for W. Rogers, 1699), 3. The sacred portion of the 1699 festival was celebrated at St. Paul's Cathedral—a house of worship located even closer to Stationer's Hall, where the public concert featuring the ode would likely have been performed.

figure into the language of the prior London Cecilian odes, the image of music as a bridge linking heaven and earth is highly reminiscent of the recurring theme throughout the odes of the 1680s and 1690s.

This linking of earthly and divine music is not the only pattern to recur in both odes and sermons. In his 1693 sermon—the earliest of the St. Cecilia’s Day sermons to survive in an extant printing—Ralph Battell, a sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, provides an instrumental enumeration which rings familiar, if one has considered the Cecilian Odes. Citing music’s natural propensity to “excite and heighten Devotion,” Battell lists instruments used in “the very customs of the Heathen” as aids to religious celebration.⁹⁰ The Greeks “celebrated the Praises of their Gods and Heroes upon the Harp,” while the Phrygians “worshipped Cybelle with the Drum: the Egyptians, Isis with the Timbrel.” Battell goes on to list cornets, flutes, sackbuts, dulcimer, and various wind instruments, all with various powers to express praise.⁹¹ Battell’s source for these instrumental histories is that “Heathen Writer...Homer.”⁹² Once again, poetry and music are intricately connected, and related backwards to the titans of classical antiquity. The instrument list that Battell creates does not—unlike many of the texts of the odes—explicitly connect these instruments to the creation of particular affective states. The idea of music’s affective power, however, is a topic of considerable interest throughout the St. Cecilia’s Day sermons.

⁹⁰ Ralph Battell, *The lawfulness and expediency of church-musick asserted in a sermon preached at St. Brides-Church upon the 22d. of November, 1693 being the anniversary meeting of gentlemen, lovers of musick.* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall for John Carr, 1695), 2.

⁹¹ Battell, *The Lawfulness and Expediency of Church-Musick Asserted*, 3.

⁹² Battell, *The Lawfulness and Expediency of Church-Musick Asserted*, 3.

In Sampson Estwick's 1696 sermon, music's power over human passion is highlighted.

Estwick states that music,

when skillfully manag'd, has a native Puissance and admirable Facility to set off the Matter about which it is Conversant, and make it appear to the best Advantages, so as to render that which in itself is lovely more amiable and more delightful. There are sound proper for every Passion, such as can damp you, when your Mirth and Joy begins to be rampant and excessive, such as can raise you when your Spirits are languishing, and either the needless Troubles or necessary Cares of Life begin to overset you. Your Hopes shall be enlarg'd, and by an over-ruling Power of Harmony, ye shall be willingly forc'd to part with your unpleasing Thoughts, and to enjoy a Calm at least, if not an Extasie of Rapture when the Poet and Musician have severally discharg'd themselves, according to their different Tasks and Employments."⁹³

Estwick's argument here for the validity and power of music directly conforms to the seventeenth-century notion of music's sway over the emotions. The passions are mediated and directed by the power of music, and it is the responsibility of the poet and the composer to combine their faculties into the production of a superior product towards this end.

Additionally, a neoclassical philosophical inclination appeared with regularity throughout the London St. Cecilia's Day sermons. While Boethian musical categories are not explicitly cited in Estwick's sermon, the influence of the sixth-century philosopher's theory is clear. Estwick discusses the origin of earthly music by saying, "Hence it was that the various Motions of the Planets, the *Arcaanas* of Nature, and the Causes of her seeming Irregularities, were first deliver'd in Verse."⁹⁴ Estwick's conception of music of the spheres is tethered to a particularly religious understanding of the philosophy, with God as the ultimate composer and aligning force. All believers, Estwick states, are "By the Frame of our Nature...fitted and prepared for the Reception of Harmonious Sounds; as we are fenc'd about with Nerves, we find ourselves ready strung, and most of us tun'd for this Heavenly Entertainment: By a kind of Sympathy sometimes

⁹³ Sampson Estwick, *A sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Nov. 27 1696 upon Occasion of the Anniversary Meeting of the Lovers of Music, on St. Cecilia's Day in Two St. Cecilia's Day Sermons {1696-1697}* (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1955), 16.

⁹⁴ Estwick, *A sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church*, 6.

we tremble.”⁹⁵ This notion of sympathetic human bodies, themselves functioning as physical instruments on which the heavenly harmonies of the planets and celestial bodies can be played out, comes directly from the tripartite Boethian model. While in the odes this division was represented more as a metaphorical or lyrical device, Estwick’s arguments—and those of his contemporary St. Cecilia’s Day sermonists—presented it in a specifically religious frame. Charles Hickman, preaching the St. Cecilia’s Day sermon in 1695, the year before Estwick, states that it is not simply music that is ingrained into the fabric of the universe, but specifically music of devotion and praise. He argues “[t]hat God is to be worship’d with solemn Musick, is so ancient, and so universal an Opinion, that it may well be look’d upon as one of the prime Notions of a Rational Soul, one of the fundamental Laws of Nature.”⁹⁶ Hickman’s diction laces together rationality, natural laws, and religious devotion into a seamless social fabric.

From enumerations of musical forces to philosophical elaborations of their place in the universe, the sermons and odes share semantic content, despite their seemingly disparate functional aims. This overlap of content—poetic and rhetorical—persists in another shared theme, one which serves to elucidate precisely what is at stake in the agenda of the Cecilian sermons. In the sermons and odes, music is adduced as a moral force, a tool wielded by savvy and able rulers to shape a civil society.

The device of drawing parallels between an ancient, ideal Rome and a modern, ideal England has already been noted in the consideration of the odes themselves. The St. Cecilia’s Day sermons argue that this link can be realized through the use of music itself as an instrument, extrapolating the power of music as an affective force and mapping that power onto a potential for the maintenance of civil and national morality. Weinbrot’s theory of lyrical “linking” in odes

⁹⁵ Estwick, *A sermon Preach’d at Christ-Church*, 2.

⁹⁶ Charles Hickman, *A Sermon Preached at St. Bride’s Church, on St. Caecilia’s Day, Nov. 22, 1685 : Being the Anniversary Feast of the Lovers of Musick*. (London: Printed for Walther Kettelby, 1696), 11.

is a vital thread to bring from the discussion of the Cecilian odes to the consideration of their sermon counterparts. Drawing upon existing poetic relationships between the classical paradigm and the modern ideal, preachers of the St. Cecilia sermons used ancient rulers as their precedents for civil societies governed and stabilized by the rational application of music.

Estwick cites Lycurgus and Numa—a seventh-century legal reformer of Sparta and the legendary successor to Romulus for the rule of Rome—as examples of rulers who “enacted Laws for the encouragement of Musick, not thinking themselves secure in their Government, till by its Charms they had Temper’d and Smooth’d their unpolish’d Subjects; or at least by this pleasant Vehicle, allur’d ‘em to submit to their harsher Constitutions.”⁹⁷ Here, Estwick’s argument hearkens back to the conceptualization of music and the passions from classical antiquity. Plato’s discussion of music in *The Republic*, for example, gives music a weightier function than mere aesthetic pleasure or fleeting emotional prompt. Instead, Plato isolates specific musical *harmoniai* for their functionality within a prospering society—keeping the modes with which to inspire warriors, wakeful guards, and peaceful teachers, while dismissing those which were thought to induce drunkenness, melancholy, and sloth.⁹⁸ Music, as a direct catalyst of the passions, was considered a powerful tool for the maintenance of a successful society; it is precisely this social responsibility that Estwick adduces in his sermon.

Music was not conceptualized only as a tool for rulers of the past, however. Rather, seventeenth-century sermonists envisioned it as a governing tactic for the present—a shared

⁹⁷ Estwick, *A sermon Preach’d at Christ-Church*, 6. Estwick may have drawn these two leaders from a study of Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*, in which Plutarch compares the Lycurgus and Numa, lauding them for their “moderation, their religion, their capacity for government and discipline, their both deriving their laws and constitutions from the gods.” The *Lives* of Plutarch were exceedingly popular in the late seventeenth century—unsurprising, considering the popularity of classical antiquity in literature in general at the time—and John Dryden began compiling an English translation of the *Lives* in 1683. Estwick, then, might have drawn this portion of his argument through the indirect aid of Dryden himself. For the lives of Lycurgus and Numa, see Plutarch and John Dryden, *Plutarch’s Lives of Illustrious Men*. (Chicago: Hooper, Clarke, 1890).

⁹⁸ Plato, “From the *Republic*,” in *Source Readings in Music History*, 10-11.

notion made evident by its frequent repetition. For Estwick, “Poetry and Musick may well be esteem’d the Nurses of Infant Commonwealths, the School-Mistresses of Learning, from whole fruitful Breasts stream’d such a kindly Nourishments, as made Empires swell out to that extent of Grandure, as to attract the Eyes of their Neighbours to behold and dread their Power.”⁹⁹ The union of poetry and music—so perfectly encapsulated by the talents on display in the yearly Cecilian odes—is understood to be the foundation of a successful, grand nation. England’s aspirations to Rome-like greatness through empire are just less than explicit in this sermon, and musical and literary prowess are seen as the keys to the successful achievement of that aspiration.

The idea of “harmony” in music particularly lends itself to sermonizing exhortations on the value of creating an ordered society. Brady, in his 1697 sermon, takes advantage of this linguistic felicity, relating the idea of musical harmony directly to the idea of political and social harmony:

Peace then is restored to us within our Walls, Peace that Banisher of Discord, that Mother of Harmony, that Band of Union to consenting Minds, that Nurse and Patroness of useful Arts and Sciences. . . . And O! That all the several parties in this Kingdom, however formerly divided by interest or design, would Resemble the Trumpeters and Singers in the Text! That they were as one! That they would make one Sound to be heard, in Praising and Thanking the Lord! That they would lift up their Hearts and their Voices together, with Trumpets and Cymbals and Instruments of Musick; and with Joint consent would praise the Lord.¹⁰⁰

Here, much like in Estwick’s argument, music takes up the role of nurse and mother, encouraging a fledgling nation towards growth. Again, too, the familiar listing of instruments takes place; Brady mentions trumpets, cymbals and voices in one breath, drawing together the traditional pattern of the Cecilian ode with language that simultaneously alludes to the text of Psalm 150. The disparate nature of the instruments also serves to emphasize how very dramatic a

⁹⁹ Estwick, *A sermon Preach’d at Christ-Church*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas Brady, *Church-Musick Vindicated in Two St. Cecilia’s Day Sermons {1696-1697}* (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1955), 17.

union can be achieved in a “harmonious” shared religious praise, under the religious and civil concord that Brady holds up as an ideal.

Brady’s argument points to the factional tensions rife in seventeenth-century England, those outlined in Chapter Two. At the close of his sermon, Brady reiterates the importance of harmonious union, remarking “How delightful a Melody, would this Consort of Brethren that dwell together in Unity, make in the Ears of God our common Father! How certain he would be to stifle his Approbation of this Harmony, by filling the whole Nation with his Glory!”¹⁰¹ Brady’s still inexplicit—but surely thoroughly explicable—point is driven home, with metaphorical musical language as a vehicle. In his philosophy, religious unity, like a beautiful musical unison, will produce a pleased God and a glorious nation.

However, music is not only a metaphor in this closing remark. While Brady’s argument is couched in musical language, it also refers to the performance of music on a very literal level. As mentioned earlier, music and its performance were key points of contention between opposing factions of the Church of England, Catholicism, and English protestant sects.¹⁰² The union, sweet harmonies, and even trumpets and instruments that Brady describes, align with a framework for musical practice in the Church of England which included music of an impressive but not egregiously lavish scale. Music had become the most tangible demarcation of the line between Catholicism and Puritanism. Brady’s argument, then, calls for that variety of church music—sung, accompanied by instruments, trading unison melodies with sweet harmonies. The unified acceptance of this kind of sacred music equated to a broader encouragement of a socially-appropriate high-church Anglican practice. That unison agreement, in turn, would equate to peace, prosperity, and national glory, under God.

¹⁰¹ Brady, *Church-Musick Vindicated*, 18.

¹⁰² Cosgrove, “Affective Unities,” 145.

While the Cecilian odes lacked the direct religious function of the sermons, their merits as exemplars of British artistic talent made their close correspondence to the sermons in their encouragement of unity as a civic and national responsibility a relevant part of their broader function as markers of national identity. Both textually and formally, the St. Cecilia's pointed towards an idealized unity, achieved through music. One common textual pattern in the odes was the idea of musical harmony as a metaphor for universal human accord. Apart from its obvious linguistic felicity, the metaphor operated on a musical level as well: human discord and strife could be easily represented by dissonance and clashing voices, while concord could ring out in sweet harmonies. In late seventeenth-century England, music's ability to manipulate the passions remained unquestioned; the harmonious effects of music were thought to be physically manifested on a bodily level, just as the effects unfolded on a global scale. In addition, the call for unity in music resonated with a thirst for national accord and stability in the turbulent religious and political climate.

Almost universally, the texts of the odes encourage or commend a transcendent harmonization with the forces of the universe, mirrored on a smaller scale at the level of human interaction. Thomas Shadwell's text for the 1690 Cecilian ode ends with just such a declaration, uniting his poetic arguments on the power of music in a movement from earth to heaven:

All instruments and voices fit the quire,
While we enchanting harmony admire.
What mighty wonders by our art are taught,
What miracles by sacred numbers wrought
On earth: in heav'n no joys are perfect found
Till by celestial harmony they're crown'd.¹⁰³

In this conclusion, the perfection of heavenly bliss, only achieved through the addition of music, is prefigured by an assembly of all voices and instruments into a singular united earthly choir.

¹⁰³ The music for this year's ode is now lost, but the text is preserved in Husk, *An account of the musical celebrations*, 154.

Shadwell's text also remarks upon the "miracles by sacred numbers wrought on earth"—that is, the wonders accomplished in contemporary society through the influence of music's power.

Structurally, too, the Cecilian odes manifested an interest in harmonious, many-voiced unity. While passages of the odes regarding the power of instruments or the delight of pastoral forests were given over to airs for performance by virtuosic soloists, choruses served a strong structural function within each ode, reinforcing moments of textual unity while mimicking the heavenly harmonies lauded in the texts. In the 1684 ode "Begin the song," John Blow's setting of John Oldham's text features a tenor solo introducing the verse on human and heavenly harmony:

Bring gentlest thought that into language glide,
 Bring softest words that into numbers slide:
 Let ev'ry heart, let ev'ry tongue,
 To make the noble concert throng:
 Let all in one harmonious note agree
 To frame the mighty song,
 For this is Music's sacred jubilee.¹⁰⁴

However, immediately following the soloist's presentation of these lines (Figure 11), the text is retaken by the chorus, their combined voices representing the embodiment of the "noble concert throng" joined in harmonious agreement.

¹⁰⁴ John Blow and John Oldham, *A Second Musical Entertainment Perform'd on St. Cecilia's day, November XXII 1684* (London: Printed by John Playford [Junior], 1685), 19-32.

Figure 11: Tenor solo in "Bring gentlest thoughts," mm. 1-17. From the facsimile of *Begin the Song* by John Blow, 1684. London: Printed by John Playford, 1685.

The image shows a musical score for a tenor solo. It is divided into two columns of staves. The left column contains the vocal line with lyrics, and the right column contains the instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Tongue, to make the noble Confort throug: Let all in one harmonious Note agree, to frame the mighty Song! to frame the mighty Song! For this, this is Music's Sa—cred Ju—bi—lee; this, this is Mu—sic's Sacred Ju—bi—lee, this is Mu—sic's Sacred Ju—bi—". The score is in a historical style, with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The vocal line is written in a tenor clef, and the instrumental line is in a bass clef. The lyrics are written below the vocal line, with some words hyphenated across lines.

Similar choral treatments permeate the Cecilian odes, arising almost unfailingly in musical support for textual expressions of universal harmony. In addition, exclamatory homophonic choruses served to close each ode, with all voices rising united in praise of music and the day's patron, St. Cecilia.

It would be easy to consider the formal and textual tropes of the odes at face value; after all, the ode was designed to function as an implement of praise. In the context of the St. Cecilia's Day celebrations, however, the pervasive theme of musical unity could have had more subtle resonances with the political and religious tensions outlined in the preceding chapter. Such musical indicators, while giving no explicit sponsorship of a political or religious faction, served to project an ideal of unity and shared praise as the culmination of these expressions of British spirit. Music and shared praise were the climactic features of the Cecilian celebrations, and these

secular odes served to reinforce the values so fundamental to the sacred and political center being posited as the best solution for a stable, glorious Britain.

Together, then, the odes and sermons of the St. Cecilia's Day festivals combined in a resonant network of civic guidance, articulating an appropriate path for a united people and a stable nation. The St. Cecilia celebrations of the 1680s acted as *loci* of national pride and state celebration, wedding the talents of vaunted poets and musicians together in a thoroughly English form of courtly praise. The expansion of the celebrations in the 1690s to include sermons and religious services, while ostensibly adding a new or increased spiritual dimension to the festal day, in fact furthered an agenda of a particular conception of English identity. In defending and lauding music, both sacred and secular, the deans and stewards of the festivals created an England united by artistic prowess and defined by exclusionary religious boundaries.

CONCLUSION

The London St. Cecilia's Day festivals were not, in the broad history of Britain or British music, very long-lived. However, their brief chronological span does not correlate to a lack of significance or interest. Taken separately, the components of the yearly celebrations provide fascinating points of scholarly departure: the odes function as examples of Restoration poetry as well as compositions from some of Britain's finest contemporary composers; the sermons are windows onto late eighteenth-century religious rhetoric and Anglican anxieties; the festivals themselves serve as indicators of the problematic space between the sacred and secular realms in England and are also conceptual starting-points for the much more ambitious programs of public concerts that would follow in their wake.

Rather than taking up any single one of these threads, I have endeavored to examine the London festivals in a more holistic context that considers, to some extent, all of them. The seeming conundrum of the St. Cecilia's Day festivals—a public festival based on the civic veneration of a secular saint, somehow paired with a sacred service imparting civic guidance—becomes clear only when considered in the light of broader religious and cultural concerns. These broad questions, in turn, shed new critical light on the pieces of music commissioned for the celebrations. In this light, we see Purcell and Blow not only as composers of significance, but also as dynamic competitors, interacting with each other and with contemporaries such as Gottfried Finger, Giovanni Battista Draghi, and Jeremiah Clarke. The connection between poetry, music, and preaching rhetoric is illuminated as well, as we hear similar themes echo between odes and sermons each year.

Ultimately, the significance of these festivals extends far beyond their allotted yearly day in a two-decade span. Nestled as they were in the midst of political upheaval, religious turmoil, and social change, the St. Cecilia's Day festivals provide a panoptic vantage point into a critical moment in the history of the British nation.

APPENDIX I: Movements and performing forces of Blow's 1691 ode, *The glorious day is come*

Movement	Text	Scoring
1. Overture		3 Oboes 2 Trumpets Timpani Strings Continuo
2. Chorus: The Glorious Day is Come	The glorious day is come, that will forever be Renown'd as Music's greatest Jubilee:	Strings Chorus Continuo
3. Duet: The Spheres, Those Instruments Divine	The spheres, those instruments divine, Tun'd to Apollo's charming lyre, The sons of all the learned Nine With soft harmonious souls inspire;	Strings Alto solo Tenor solo Continuo
4. Solo and Chorus: Behold, around Parnassus' Top	Behold, around Parnassus' top they sit, And heav'nly Music now vies with immortal Wit.	Strings Alto solo Chorus (SATB) Continuo
5. Duet: Couch'd by the Pleasant Heliconian Spring	Couch'd by the pleasant Heliconian spring, Of bright Cecilia they sing; Admir'd Cecilia that informs their brains; The awful goddess that their cause maintains; And with her sacred pow'r supplies The artful hand and tuneful voice, And gives a taste of heav'nly bliss in more than mortal strains.	Tenor solo Bass solo Continuo
6. Solo: And First the Trumpet's Part	And first the trumpet's part Inflames the hero's heart; The martial noise completes his joys And soul inspires by art: And now he thinks he's in the field, And now he makes the foe to yield;	2 Trumpets Timpani Alto solo Continuo
7. Chorus: Now Victory Does Eagerly Pursue	Now victory does eagerly pursue, And Music's warlike notes make ev'ry fancy true.	Strings Chorus (SATB) Continuo
8. Solo: The Battle Done	The battle done, all loud alarms do cease, Hark, how the charming flutes conclude the peace; Whose soft'ning notes make fiercest rage obey: If Pan, beneath the famous myrtle's shade, To Midas half so well had play'd, The Delphian God himself had lost the day.	2 Flutes/Recorders Alto solo Continuo

9. Solo: Excesses of Pleasure	Excesses of pleasure now crowd on apace; How sweetly the violins sound to each bass, The ravishing trebles delight ev'ry ear, And mirth in a scene of true joy does appear:	Strings Soprano solo Continuo
10. Chorus: No Lover of Phillis's Rigour Complains	No lover of Phillis's rigour complains, None mourn for their lossees, or laugh for their gains; But lost in an ecstasy publish their joy, Whilst the name of Cecilia resounds to the sky.	Strings Chorus (SATB) Continuo
11. Duet: Ah Heav'n!	Ah heav'n! what is't I hear, The warbling lute enchants mine ear: Now beauty's pow'r inflames my breast again, I sigh and languish with a pleasing pain. The notes so soft, so sweet the air, The soul of love must sure be there, That mine in rapture charms, and drives away despair.	Alto solo Tenor solo Continuo
12. Solo: Music! Celestial Music!	Music! Celestial Music! what can be, On this side heav'n, compar'd to thee? Thou only treat fit for a deity: Monarchs by flattery or fame May arrogate a glorious name, But in each soul-delighting symphony, Address'd to bright Cecilia's royalty, Are sacred honours fit for none, but for Divine degree.	Strings Bass solo Continuo
13. Solo and Chorus: This That Blest King	This that blest king and God-like prophet knew That oft from worldly joys withdrew; From glittering pomp and all the courtly throng; And to the Eternal King of kings, To the sweet harp's well-govern'd strings, Paid best devotion in seraphic song. And thus by Music's pow'r Above dull earth we soar; Exalt our chorus to the sky, And in transpiring melody, Cecilia's name adore. Divine Cecilia, whom we all confess Our art's inspirer; Music's patroness.	2 Trumpets Timpani Strings Oboes English Horn Soli (SATB) Chorus (SATB)

APPENDIX II: Movements and performing forces of Purcell's 1692 ode, *Hail! Bright Cecilia!*

Movement	Text	Scoring
1. Symphony/ Canzona		Trumpet Oboe Kettle drum Strings Continuo
2. Solo and Chorus: Hail, Bright Cecilia	Hail, bright Cecilia, hail! fill ev'ry heart With love of thee and thy celestial art; That thine and Music's sacred love May make the British forest prove As famous as Dodona's vocal grove.	[Oboe] Strings Soloists (SATB) Chorus Continuo
3. Duet: Hark! Each Tree	Hark! Hark! Each tree its silence breaks, The box and fir to talk begin! This in the sprightly violin, That in the flute distinctly speaks! 'Twas sympathy their list'ning brethren drew, When to the Thracian lyre with leafy wings they flew.	Flute/recorder Strings Alto solo Bass solo Continuo
4. Solo: 'Tis Nature's Voice	'Tis Nature's voice: by all the moving wood Of creatures understood: The universal tongue to none Of all her num'rous race unknown! From her it learn'd the mighty art To court the ear and strike the heart: At once the passions to express and move; We hear, and straight we grieve or hate, rejoice or love: In unseen chains it does the fancy bind; At once it charms the sense and captivates the mind.	Alto solo Continuo
5. Chorus: Soul of the World	Soul of the world! inspir'd by thee The jarring seeds of matter did agree, Thou didst the scatter'd atoms bind, Which, by thy laws of true proportion join'd, Made up of various parts on perfect harmony.	[Oboe] Strings Chorus Continuo
6. Solo and Chorus: Thou Tun'st this World Below	Thou tun'st this world below, the spheres above, Which in the heav'nly round to their own music move.	Oboe Soprano solo Chorus Continuo
7. Trio: With that sublime celestial lay	With that sublime celestial lay Dare any earthly sounds compare?	Alto solo Alto II solo

	<p>If any earthly music dare, The noble organ may. From heav'n its won'rous notes were giv'n, Cecilia oft convers'd with heav'n, Some Angel of the sacred choir Did with his breath the pipes inspire; And of their notes above the just resemblance gave, Brisk without lightness, without dulness grave.</p>	<p>Bass solo Continuo</p>
8. Solo: Wondrous Machine	<p>Wondrous machine! To thee the warbling lute, Though us'd to conquest, must be forc'd to yield: With thee unable to dispute,</p>	<p>2 Oboes Bass solo Continuo</p>
9. Solo: The Airy Violin	<p>The airy violin And lofty viol quit the field; In vain they tune their speaking strings To court the cruel fair, or praise victorious kings. Whilst all thy consecrated lays Are to more noble uses bent, And ev'ry grateful note to heav'n repays The melody it lent.</p>	<p>2 Violins Alto solo Continuo</p>
10. Duet: In Vain the Am'rous Flute	<p>In vain the am'rous flute and soft guitar Jointly labour to inspire Wanton heat and loose desire; Whilst thy chaste airs do gently move Seaphic flames and heavenly love.</p>	<p>2 Flutes/Recorders Alto solo Tenor solo Continuo</p>
11. Solo: The Fife and All the Harmony of War	<p>The fife and all the harmony of war In vain attempt the passions to alarm Which thy commanding sounds compose and charm.</p>	<p>2 Trumpets Kettle drum Alto solo Continuo</p>
12. Duet: Let these amongst Themselves Contest	<p>Let these amongst themselves contest Which can discharge its single duty best: Thou summ'st their diff'ring graces up in one, And art a concert of them all within thyself alone.</p>	<p>Bass solo Bass II solo Continuo</p>
13. Chorus: Hail! Bright Cecilia, Hail to Thee!	<p>Hail! Bright Cecilia, hail to thee! Great patroness of us and Harmony! Who, whilst among the choir above Thou dost thy former skill improve, With rapture of delight dost see Thy fav'rite art Make up a part Of infinite felicity. Hail! Bright Cecilia, hail to thee! Great patroness of us and Harmony!</p>	<p>2 Trumpets 2 Oboes Kettle drum Strings Soloists (AATB) Chorus (SSAATB)</p>

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