

'For the King's Day': the royal anthems of Thomas Weelkes

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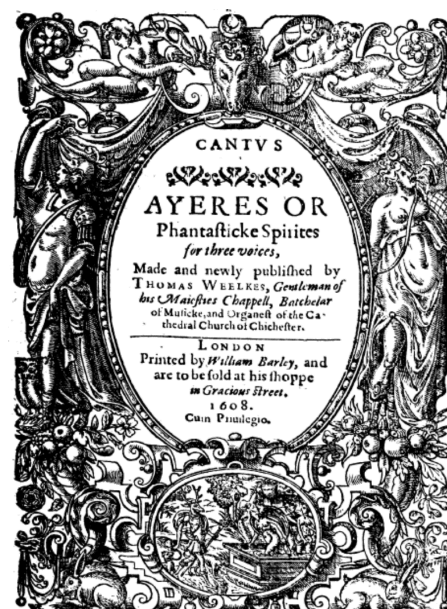
This paper is based on the Church Music Society lecture given in Chichester as part of the Southern Cathedrals Festival in 2023, the 400th anniversary of the death of Thomas Weelkes.

When Gustav Holst gave a talk to the Musical Association entitled 'The Tercentenary of Byrd and Weelkes' in 1923, the composer was keen to support the latter:

In one way Weelkes scores over Byrd. At his best, Byrd, like Mozart, seems to reach the summit of artistic expression. But when he is not at his best he is sometimes a very long way below. A blind worship of Byrd *quâ* Byrd would probably kill the cause of British music. Weelkes, on the other hand, can do so many different things, and do them all well. He is almost as many-sided as Shakespeare. He is the real musical embodiment of the English character in his fantastic unexpectedness.¹

In 1923, very little of Weelkes's church music was known, so this assessment was based largely on his madrigal output. A century later, following the publication in 1969 of the collected edition of Weelkes's 'Anthems' as part of the *Musica Britannica* series, as well as various attempts to reconstruct some of his often incomplete service music, a more full appreciation of Weelkes's musical character has become possible.² Setting aside how one might now compare Weelkes with Byrd, or indeed what might be imagined as the "embodiment of the English character", we are at least aware of a few more examples of the composer's "fantastic unexpectedness" – a perfect description of 'Crave thy God to tune our hearts' in *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.³

The most substantial study of Weelkes remains that by David Brown published in 1969, *Thomas Weelkes: A Biographical and Critical Study*, and whilst some aspects of his life and works have received particular investigation, such as the reports of his alleged drunken behaviour and the relative merits of different parts of his output, the choice of texts employed by Weelkes in his sacred music has received relatively little attention. The aim of this paper is to consider the extent to which the composer's sacred music can be related to royal themes, and to explore the context in which this occurred. The question is relevant with regard to the composer's biography: the title-page of his fourth book of madrigals published in 1608 describes him as a 'Gentleman of his Maiesties Chappell' (see opposite), but the composer is nowhere mentioned in the records of employment for members of the Chapel Royal that survive from this time. This description is thus generally regarded as erroneous, though the case has often been made that he had a more loose association with the Chapel due to the nature of his sacred works. The manifestly royal element in a few of his works, such as the full anthem *O Lord, grant the king a long life* and verse anthem *Give the king thy judgements*, composed 'For the King's Day' has long been appreciated, but here I shall cast the net more widely to attempt to discover how far the association pervades the remainder of his sacred output.



¹ Gustav Holst, 'The Tercentenary of Byrd and Weelkes', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, vol. 49 (1922), 29.

² *Thomas Weelkes, Collected anthems*, transcribed and edited by David Brown, Walter Collins and Peter le Huray. *Musica Britannica* vol. 23 (London, 1969), second, revised edition 1975. For a new reconstruction of the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis of the Sixth Service, see the Downloads area of the Church Music Society website: www.church-music.org.uk.

³ This work was one of the first sacred works by Weelkes to be published. Edmund Fellowes issued it around the time Holst's lecture was given (the publication bears no date); it is not clear whether Holst knew it when writing the lecture.

In order to appreciate something of the historical context of such royal repertoire, we might begin with *Eterne laudis liliun* by Robert Fayrfax. This was composed in honour of Queen Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII, in 1502, for a fee of 20 shillings. The acrostic text outlines a genealogy of Christ within the female line, and Fayrfax ensured that the name Elizabeth, here referring to the mother of John the Baptist, is highly audible, moving from one part to another in quick succession. These two crucial features of the work – a text which draws parallels, however tenuous, with biblical characters, and the musical presentation of the relevant name in clear sonic relief – became essential characteristics of royal anthems written by composers over many later generations.

For the first examples in English we turn to the Wanley and Lumley partbooks from the reign of Edward VI (1547-53). In the Lumley collection we find an anonymous anthem *O Lord Christ Jesu* which is composed in such a way that the monarch can scarcely have missed his name, even given that he was about 10 years old at the time. The text begins ‘O Lord Christ Jesu that art King in glory and very root of all our felicity, we sinners do most humbly beseech thy high majesty to grant thy noble servant our sovereign lord King Edward that he may have thorough thee over all his enemies most royal victory’. The anthem is composed for double choir and the text is repeated; the king’s name is sung by Decani, followed by a rest in the music, then by Cantoris, and then sung *tutti*.⁴

Most of the leading English composers of both Tudor and Stuart periods worked in close proximity to the monarch, and many of the monarchs were at least competent musicians themselves. Amongst the works of Thomas Tallis, *Spem in alium* and the *Missa Puer natus est nobis* have long thought to have been written with Queen Mary I in mind, and the crucial recognition given by Queen Elizabeth I to both Tallis and William Byrd for the publication of music, including works in Latin, is well known. As well as Byrd’s famous full anthem *O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth*, the composer wrote at least two further extremely loyal royal works, including the consort song *Rejoice unto the Lord*, composed in 1586, and *Behold O God, the sad and heavy case*, probably written on account of the Queen’s ill-health following the plague outbreak in 1593.

Concerning the church’s liturgy, a significant development occurred during the 1570s: a tradition was established for the commemoration of the Queen’s accession day, November 17th, first with a brief publication in 1576 and then with a more fully developed special liturgy in 1578, both of which which provided specific texts to be used on this day.⁵ This included additional prayers that mentioned Elizabeth by name, and a form of Responses after the Creed that were more suited to the day, placing the monarch at the very heart of the supplications, as shown opposite.

Minister.
O Lorde she we thy mercy vpon vs.
 People.
And graunt vs thy saluation.
 Minister.
O Lorde saue the Queene.
 People.
Who putteth her trust in thee.
 Minister.
Sende her helpe from thy holy place.
 People.
And euer more mightily defende her.
 Minister.
Let the enemies haue none aduantage on her.
 People.
Let not the wicked approche to hurt her.
 Minister.
Indue thy ministers with ryghteousnesse.
 People.
And make thy &c. as in the booke of com. prayer.

The first set psalm to be sung at Matins in the 1576 order was Psalm 21, and it is from verses 2 and 4 of this psalm that the text was developed for Byrd’s anthem *O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth*.

The young Thomas Weelkes had some connection with the royal court in his younger days under Queen Elizabeth. His first book of madrigals published in 1598 was dedicated to Edward Darcy, a groom of the Privy Chamber to Elizabeth I, though the extent of Weelkes’s relationship with Darcy is not clear. He was also one of several composers who composed madrigals in praise of “fair Oriana” in 1601, generally

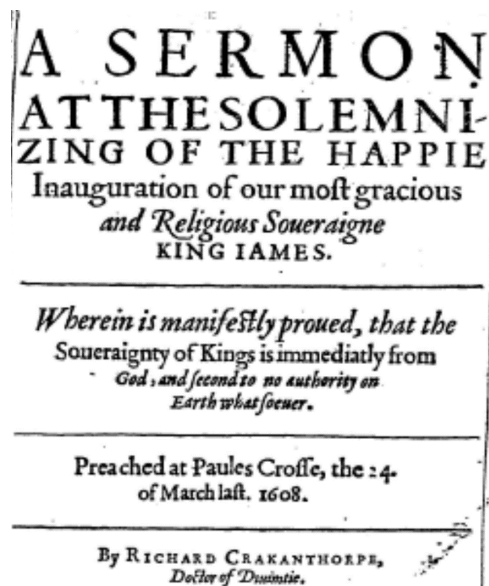
⁴ J. Blezzard, *The Tudor church music of the Lumley books*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 65 (Middleton, Wisconsin, 1985), 84.

⁵ *A fourme of Prayer, with thankes geuyng, to be vsed euery yeere, the 17. of Nouember, beyng the day of the Queenes Maiesties entrie to her raigne* (London, 1576), and *A fourme of prayer with thankes giuing, to be vsed of all the Queenes Maiesties louing subiectes euery yeere, the 17. of Nouember, being the day of her Highnes entrie to her kingdome* (London, 1578).

understood as a reference to Queen Elizabeth herself, with one of the finest examples: *As Vesta was descending*.

But from 1603 till his death 20 years later, the monarch of Weelkes's day was the Stuart king, James I. The king's character, artistic sensibilities and his particular theological understanding of his role as king were to play a crucial part in the cultivation of music in England during his reign in the Chapel Royal and beyond. His literary and theological interests are well known, most notably through his commissioning of what is known as the King James Bible, but also evident in other activities such as his own metrical translations of some of the psalms. Perhaps less obviously musical than Henry VIII or Elizabeth I, he nevertheless saw a slight expansion in the staffing of the King's Musick, and music for cornetts and sackbuts became a notably strong feature of the musical life of the court, with more than half of the players selected from leading foreign musicians, mostly Italian. Perhaps signalling an auspicious start to his reign in this respect, the report of his entry through the Fourth Triumphal Arch specially erected notes that after a speech "a song (to an excellent Musicke) was delivered, which being finished, his Maiestie went on..." suggesting a desire to value music beyond its use simply as background music.⁶ James is also to be thanked for making two particularly significant appointments during his reign of individuals who did much to foster the cultivation of music in the liturgy, Lancelot Andrewes as Bishop, initially in 1605 at Chichester during Weelkes's time at the Cathedral, and also as Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1619, and John Donne as Dean of St Paul's Cathedral in 1621.

James had been King James VI of Scotland since 1567, and his interest in the theological position of earthly rulers was already well formed in his mind before his move to London in the newly combined kingdom. In 1598, his treatise *The True Law of Free Monarchies* was published, emphasising the so-called "divine right of kings". During his reign as James I this theme would appear regularly in published sermons and decrees. Examples include the sermon delivered by Dr Richard Crakanthorpe, whose appointments included being the king's Chaplain in Ordinary, on 24th March 1608, this date being the anniversary of James's accession, "wherein is manifestly proved, that the Soveraignty of Kings is immediately from God, and second to no authority on Earth whatsoever" (see opposite).



Midway through his sermon Crakanthorpe writes:

I doubt not, but for these blessings of the Lord, often times in your private houses and Chambers, you sing Hymns and Psalms with a grace in your hearts unto the Lord. But because for these public and extraordinary blessings, God looks for public and extraordinary praises at our hands; because we are now assembled...as at the Temple of Jerusalem, of purpose to offer the sweet Sacrifice and Incense of our lips unto God, and this day both before men and Angels, to testify our thanksgiving unto God, our love and loyalty to our Sovereign. Let every one of you provoke & stir up another...to laud and magnify the glorious name of God, and if it be possible, by some extraordinary strain of our united thanks, to pierce the very skies, and give an echo to those Celestial Quires, singing Hallelujah, Hallelujah, honour, and praise, and glory, be unto God, & to the Lamb for evermore. [spelling modernised]⁷

⁶ Stephen Harrison, *The arch's of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince. James. the first of that name. King, of England. and the sixt of Scotland at his Maiesties entrance and passage through his honorable citty & chamber of London. vpon the 15th. day of march 1603.* (London, 1604). Unnumbered pages, but see under 'The Deuice called, Noua foelix Arabia, The new Arabia foelix', which is image 9 in the online copy available via the Proquest platform.

⁷ Richard Crakanthorpe, *A sermon at the solemnizing of the happie inauguration of our most gracious and religious soueraigne King James...* (London, 1608), unnumbered pages, images 14-15 of the online copy available via the Proquest platform.

Here the author refers to the praising of God both “in your private houses” and in church, the “Temple of Jerusalem”. This particular duality is of considerable significance in relation to the music of Weelkes. David Brown’s study refers to the “dual purpose” that the sacred works of Weelkes appears to have performed in the composer’s day, since many pieces were copied out in both ecclesiastical and domestic sources.⁸ When it comes to royal celebrations, Crakanthorpe thus makes it clear that voices were to be lifted both domestically and liturgically. He ends this paragraph using language familiar from the sacred works of Thomas Weelkes, as will be noted below.

Another relevant publication was published anonymously first in English in 1615 with the title *God and the King* and then in Latin as *Deus et Rex* in 1618. This juxtaposition also brings to mind the text of the anthem *O God of God, O King of Kings* set by both John Bennett and Edmund Hooper (with only marginally divergent texts), as well as the poem ‘Elixir’ by George Herbert, a writer much favoured by King James, which opens with ‘Teach me my God and King’. The opening lines of Bennett and Hooper’s text appear to have been taken directly from the hymn that concludes the poetic tribute to the king issued in 1605 by George Buck, a prominent Elizabethan courtier who was knighted and made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber by James I on his accession in 1603: *An eclog treating of crownes*. Here is the start of the text as set by Bennett and Hooper as it appears in James Clifford’s anthem book of 1663/4 (hence King Charles), and the start of Buck’s text from 1605:⁹

ANTHEM CXXVI.
O God of Gods, O King of Kings!
 For the Kings Inauguration.
O God of Gods, O King of
 Kings!
 Eternal Father of all things;
 In heav'n and earth and every
 where, ii
 By whom all Kings their Scepters
 bear;
 God of our Sov'raign (Charles)
 King of peace,
 Heav'n's Darling Englands hap-
 piness;



παυλοφρονιον.
*The Hymne inauguratorie for his
 Maestie: mentioned in the Epistle D.D.*

O God of gods, O King of Kings,
 Æternall Father of all things,
 In heav'n and earth, and every where,
 By whom all Kings their Scepters beare:
 Great God of *James* our blessed King,
 Who peacc, and joy, to vs did bring.

In this context we might recognise the wordplay evident in the verse anthem *Great King of Gods*, “made for the King’s being in Scotland” by Orlando Gibbons in 1617. (In modern times the concluding Amen of this work is often sung liturgically as a Final Amen after the Blessing. In its original context the memorable rising scale through a 10th was probably intended as an illustration of the immediately preceding text: “And when he hath outlived the world’s long date, let thy last change translate his living flesh to thy celestial state”.)

A sermon preached on 24th March 1612 by Dr Sebastian Benefield in the University Church, Oxford, “wherein is proved, that kings do hold their kingdoms immediately from God”, concludes with a royal prayer that begins as follows:

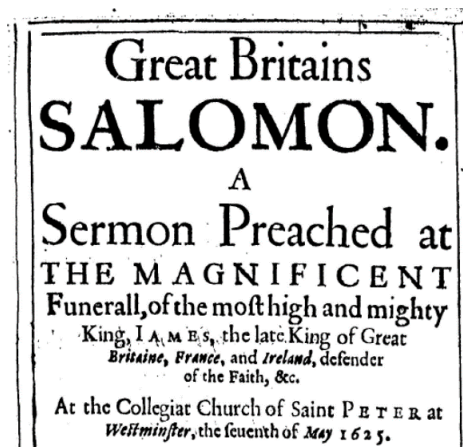
Holy Lord, stablish the good work, that thou hast wrought in him: visit him as thou didst *Moses* in the bush, *Joshua* in the battle, *Gideon* in the field, *Samuel* in the temple. Be thou unto him in his council wisdom,...¹⁰

⁸ David Brown, *Thomas Weelkes: A Biographical and Critical Study* (London, 1969), 146.

⁹ James Clifford, *The divine services and anthems usually sung in His Majesties chappell, and in all cathedrals and collegiate choires in England and Ireland* (London, 1604), 111, and George Buck, *Daphnis polystephanos An eclog treating of crownes, and of garlandes, and to whom of right they appertaine. Addressed, and consecrated to the Kings Maestie* (London, 1605), unnumbered pages, image 32 of the online copy available via the Proquest platform.

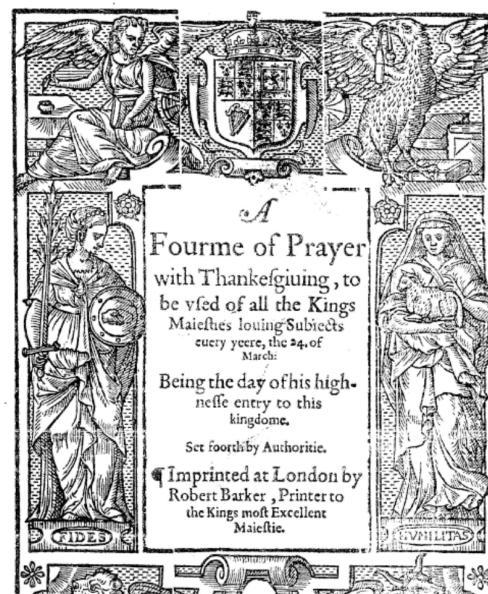
¹⁰ Sebastian Benefield, *A sermon preached in St. Maries Church in Oxford, March xxiv. MDCXII. at the solemnizing of the happy inauguration of our gracious soueraigne King James...* (Oxford, 1612), 18.

Of these various couplings between King James and the giants of the Old Testament, the figure most often cited was probably that with King Solomon, or Salomon as he was generally called at this time. The theme was driven home in a published sermon on the king's death given by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams, entitled 'Great Britains Salomon', in which several notable connections are made:



Salomon was twice crowned, and anointed a King, 1 Chron. 29.22. So was King James. Salomon's minority was rough through the quarrels of the former Sovereign; so was that of King James. Salomon was learned above all the Princes of the East, 1 Kings 4.30. So was King James above all Princes in the universal world. Salomon was a Writer in Prose, and Verses, 1 Kings 4.32. So in a very pure and exquisite manner was our sweet Sovereign King James. Salomon was the greatest Patron we ever read of to Church and Churchmen; and yet no greater (let the house of Aaron now confess) than King James.

As the natural successor to Elizabeth's *Fourme of Prayer* for November 17th, James I issued a new *Fourme of Prayer* now celebrating his own accession date, 24th March (see opposite). This retained the new Responses after the Creed introduced under Elizabeth, which came to be set by a number of composers, notably John Barnard of St Paul's Cathedral. However, far from being a simple repeat of Elizabeth's order, the psalms, prayers and readings are notably different in James's version, and as we shall see, some may have played a role in the selection of texts by Weelkes and his contemporaries. One of the newly chosen readings for Matins is the first chapter of the first book of Chronicles, where the wisdom and authority of Solomon are granted to him by God, a topic close to James's heart.



With regard to the Book of Common Prayer, a new development occurred immediately on James's succession in 1603: the first re-printing of the book contained an additional royal prayer after the Litany. As well as the prayer for the monarch there now appeared a second prayer which was for the Queen, i.e. James I's wife, and the wider royal family:

A Prayer for the Queen and Prince, and other the King and Queen's children.

Almighty God which hast promised to be a Father of thine Elect, and of their seed, we humbly beseech thee to bless our gracious Queen Anne, Prince Henry, and all the King and Queen's Royal progeny: endue them with thy Holy Spirit, enrich them with thy heavenly grace, prosper them with all happiness, and bring them to thine everlasting Kingdom through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen. [spelling modernised]

This too had consequences for particular works by composers including Weelkes and Gibbons, as discussed below. In 1605 the national trauma of the Gunpowder Plot magnified the need for such new prayers and liturgies, and also resulted in what David Wulstan has characterised as “a rash of thanksgiving anthems” from various composers.¹¹ The remarkable anthem by Edmund Hooper *Hearken ye nations* has a text in which one can still feel the pain and puzzlement felt by loyal subjects at the time. Whilst acknowledging the “bloodthirsty ire” of the King’s foes, it suggests that God “sends his terrors to affright not kill, as signs more of his power than will”.

After 1605, three days in the year became set aside for national remembrance in support of the monarchy, as shown in this publication from 1618 called *Great Britains little Calendar: or Triple Diarie*, the third occasion in August being a Scottish plot dating from the king’s period as James VI.

Great Britains little Calendar :
OR,
TRIPLE DIARIE,

In remembrance of three daies.

Diuided into three Treatises.

1. *Britannia vota : or God saue the King:*
for the 24. day of March, the day of his
Maiesties happy proclamation.
2. *Cesaris Hostes : or, The Tragedy of Traytors :*
for the fift of August : the day of the bloody Gowries
Treason, and of his Highnes blessed preferuation.
3. *Amphitheatrum Scelerum: or, The Transcendent*
of Treason : the day of a most admirable deliuerance of our
King, Queene, Prince, Royall Progeny, the Spirituall and
Temporall Peeres and Pillars of the Church and
State, together with the Honorable Assembly of
the representatiue Body of the Kingdom in
generall, from that most horrible
and hellith proiect of the
Gun-Powder Treason.
Nouemb. 5.

Whereunto is annexed a short disswaſiue
from Poperie.

By SAMVEL GAREY, Preacher of
Gods Word at *Wynfarthing* in Norff.

LONDON,
Printed by *John Beale* for *Henry Fetherstone*, and
John Parker. 1618.

In 1612 another national tragedy arrived in the form of the early and unexpected death of James’s eldest son Henry, the Prince of Wales. The most clear association between this event and the surviving music of the period comes in the form of the verse anthem *Know you not* by Thomas Tomkins: “Know you not that a Prince a great Prince has fallen this day in Israel...”, described in its Oxford source as “Prince Henry’s funerall Anthem. Deceb. 7 1612 the words chosen by Doctr Arthur Lake then Dean of Worcester”. We are fortunate indeed that Hooper’s Gunpowder Plot anthem and Tomkins’s funeral anthem for Prince Henry have survived at all, since their use was clearly limited beyond their original context. But this is perhaps another sign of just how important music was in royal and therefore national occasions; certainly the verse anthem by Tomkins ranks amongst the finest music we have from the period, both in its scale and beauty. (Several writers have linked this occasion with settings of texts by Weelkes and others concerning the death of Absalom, but some doubt has now been cast on this, as will be considered below.)

Within this context, we can now consider the extent to which the sacred music of Weelkes might connect to royal themes. We know of the former existence of almost 50 ‘anthems’ (in the widest definition of that term

¹¹ David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 332.

as any piece with a sacred text), though many survive in fragmentary states or without music at all in collections of texts. There are five works that have indisputable royal ties:

<i>Behold, O Israel</i>	'For the Fifth of November'
<i>Give the king thy judgements</i>	'For the King's Day'
<i>O Lord God Almighty</i>	
<i>O Lord, grant the king a long life</i>	
<i>O Lord, how joyful is the king</i>	'For the 5th November'

In the case of *Behold, O Israel* we do not have the complete text, but the organ-book source (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Tenbury 791) indicates that it was written for use on 5th November to commemorate the Gunpowder plot.

The fine verse anthem *Give the king thy judgements* was written for use on 'the King's Day', almost certainly referring to 24th March. The text used by Weelkes employs three different psalms.¹² The opening lines come from Psalm 72, one of the psalms included in the 1604 *Fourme of Prayer*, this having the significant advantage of referencing not only the king but the king's son as well. The second section comes from Psalm 84: "Behold, O God our defender, and look upon the face of thine anointed" in which God and king are neatly juxtaposed, and the third is from Psalm 19, though the pronouns have been altered, with 'my' replaced by 'his' and 'our' to make it even more suitable to the occasion: "Let the words of HIS mouth (i.e. the king), and the meditations of HIS heart, be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, OUR strength, and OUR redeemer (referring to everyone). We cannot be certain that Weelkes himself came up with this careful selection of texts, but the effectiveness of the whole as a royal anthem is beyond doubt. In his masterly general survey of English anthem texts of the period, John Morehen notes that the use of more than one psalm text within a single anthem was a relatively rare phenomenon that was "a more general feature of Jacobean rather than Elizabethan taste".¹³ The deliberate juxtaposition of multiple verses in connection with royal celebration as found in the *Fourme of Prayer* orders of 1578 and 1604 may well have helped encourage this tradition. A section of the psalm verses in the 1604 order is shown in the image below, including the start of Psalm 72 as in *Give the king thy judgements*, and verse 7 of Psalm 61, relevant to *O Lord, grant the king a long life*.

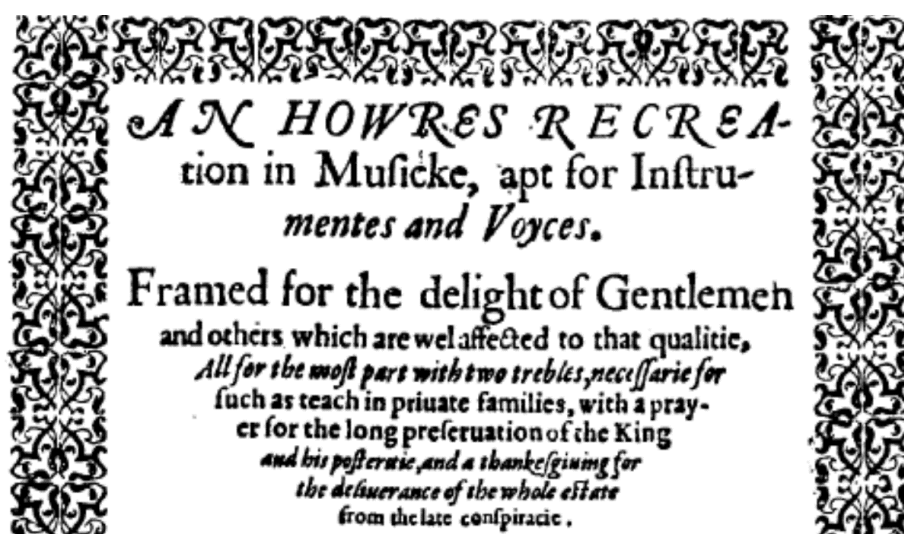
Pfal. 72. 1 Give thy iudgements therfore vnto the King,
O God: and thy righteoutnesse vnto the Kings
sone.
2 Then shall he iudge the people according vnto
right: and defend the pooze.
3 The mountaines also shall bring peace: and
the little hilles righteoutnesse vnto the people.
4 Hee shall keepe the simple folke by their right:
defend the children of the pooze, and punish the
wrong doer.
5 In his time shall the righteous flourish: and a-
bundance of peace of long as his raigne endureth.
Pfal. 18. 35 Thou shalt giue him the defence of thy saluati-
on: thy right hand also shall hold him by, and thy
louing kindnesse shall make him great.
Pfal. 132. 19 As for his enemies they shall bee clothed with
shame: but vpon himselfe shall his crowne flourish.
Pfal. 61. 7 Hee shall dwell befoze God for euer: O prepare
thy louing mercie, & faithfulnessse, that they may
preferue him.

The text of the full anthem *O Lord God Almighty* relates to the new prayer for the royal family as given in the 1603 Prayerbook. The earliest surviving source of the music carries the text "King Charles, our gracious Queen Mary, our/and Prince Charles, and all the King and Queen's royal progeny." The editors of the

¹² Contemporary anthems which begin with the same incipit, by Leonard Woodson, Henry Loosemore and William Child, all continue with different words.

¹³ J. Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text, 1549-1660', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 117, no. 1 (1992), 62-85.

collected anthems for *Musica Britannica* have adjusted this to its probable original form: “King James, our gracious Queen Anne, our Prince Charles, etc”. There are at least three other surviving works that reference the wider royal family in this way: Gibbons’s verse anthem *Thou God of wisdom*, an anonymous setting of *Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness* (of which only the bass part survives) and *O Lord, bow down thine ear* by Richard Allison, published in 1606. Although the anthems by Weelkes and Gibbons start by praying for the king, the anonymous work is notable for not mentioning the king, but starting with the queen, as occurs in the 1603 Prayerbook. The source (John Barnard’s partbooks in the Royal College of Music) describes the piece as “The prayer for the queene, prince and royal progenie”, a clear reference to the Prayerbook.¹⁴ The piece by Richard Allison is notable for revealing the probable dual use of such texts, since the 1606 collection is entirely domestic in nature. It concludes with two royal pieces as stated on the title page: “with a prayer for the long preservation of the King and his posteritie, and a thanksgiving for the deliverance of the whole estate from the late conspiracie”, i.e. 5th November:



The anthem by Weelkes is notable for the way in which the composer, like that of the royal anthem for the young King Edward VI, deploys rests alongside the name of the monarch, ‘King James’, for extra audibility.

The full anthem *O Lord, grant the king a long life* by Weelkes appears to be the earliest surviving setting of this text. The other composers known to have set it were William Child, born in 1606, Thomas Tomkins, whose setting may have been performed at the Coronation of Charles I, and his half-brother Robert Tomkins, whose dates are not known (only the text survives). The surviving documentation for the Coronation of James I makes it clear that this text was not sung during the ceremony itself, though it appears in connection with the procession to the Abbey.¹⁵ But with no composers named, there is no way of establishing whether or not this was the occasion for which Weelkes wrote his anthem. The text of the anthem comprises verses 6-8 of Psalm 61. As already noted, verse 7 appears within the selection of Psalm texts given after the Litany in the 1604 *Fourme of Prayer* (it is not found in the Elizabethan order).¹⁶ With appropriate royal tradition in mind, Weelkes seems to have looked to Byrd’s anthem *O Lord make thy servant Elizabeth* as his chief source of musical inspiration. Its influence is apparent in the general style of Weelkes’s anthem, based on a rich yet unfixed sonority. In Byrd’s anthem the tenor part is often one line but divides in places into two, the whole texture rising from 5 to 6 parts, whereas in Weelkes’s anthem he appears to go deliberately one stage further, by beginning with a 6-part texture (with two tenor parts) but later dividing the bass line into two, thus expanding into 7 parts. If we look forward from Weelkes’s setting we might look for similarities with the settings by Tomkins and Child, though they all use slightly different

¹⁴ Perhaps the composer was Nathaniel Giles, Master of the Choristers from 1597, or Edmund Hooper who moved from the same post at Westminster Abbey to being a member of the Chapel Royal in 1604.

¹⁵ See Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth II*, chapter 2 ‘After Reformation and Restoration: 1603–1661’ (Cambridge, 2012), 33.

¹⁶ The verse placed above that used by Weelkes, from Psalm 132, was later to be used by William Child in both his full and verse anthem settings of *O Lord, grant the king a long life*.

verses from Psalm 61. The obvious similarity is found in the setting of the text “that his years may endure” with its distinctive rhythm and stepwise trajectory. In the Weelkes anthem the movement descends stepwise, but in the Tomkins and Child anthems the phrase ascends.

The second of the two anthems by Weelkes associated with the 5th November, *O Lord, how joyful is the king*, fortunately survives complete. For this, the longest of all his verse anthems, Weelkes simply set Psalm 21 as translated by Sternhold & Hopkins, relishing no doubt the graphic rendition of verses 9 and 10:

And like an oven burn them, Lord,
in fiery flame and fume:
Thy anger shall destroy them all,
and fire shall them consume.

And thou shalt root out of the earth
their fruit that should increase,
And from the number of thy folk
their seed shall end and cease.

The link between this psalm and royal occasions is apparent from the Form of Prayer established by Elizabeth I in 1576/8, and then carried over into the revised order for King James in 1604, being one of the set psalms for Matins. Although the Durham source of the anthem carries the description ‘The Fift[h] of November’, the Dunnington-Jefferson MS at York Minster, which itself is thought to have originated at Durham, lists the work under a group of eight anthems under the title ‘The King’s Day’, which is separate from another heading for ‘The Fift[h] of November’. Given the shared concerns of these occasions, the confusion is hardly surprising.¹⁷

Moving beyond these five ‘core’ royal works, there are two or three works by Weelkes that have often been associated with the death of Prince Henry in 1612:

O Jonathan woe is me for thee
When David heard
O Absalom [authorship doubtful]

Several scholars have proposed that these works, like those by Thomas Tomkins and Robert Ramsey with similar texts, were composed directly in response to this occasion, citing the parallel between King David’s grief at the death of his son Absalom and that of King James for Prince Henry. However, in an article published in 2009, Donna Di Grazia suggests that most of these pieces appear to date from 1618 or later, and that one attributed to William Bearsley, may date from the late sixteenth century.¹⁸ She thus distinguishes between the pieces known to have been composed for the occasion, ‘funeral tears’, i.e. *Know you not* by Thomas Tomkins and the *Dialogues of Sorrow upon the Death of the Late Prince Henry* by Robert Ramsey published in 1615, and the wider tradition of laments, ‘doleful songs’, that may have been connected with other specific tragedies or none at all. It is therefore not without some caution that one might consider these two or three works by Weelkes to be part of his royal output, though since the surviving sources of Weelkes’s music all post-date 1612 the possible connection with the 1612 tragedy cannot wholly be ignored.

The final group of pieces to be considered here comprises twelve further works which might also be considered as royal anthems given the nature of their texts, listed here alphabetically:¹⁹

¹⁷ The description is not given in the *Musica Britannica* volume of anthems by Weelkes; see Wyn K. Ford, ‘An English Liturgical Partbook of the 17th Century’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 12, no. 2/3 (1959), 154.

¹⁸ Donna M. Di Grazia, ‘Funerall Teares or Dolefull Songes? Reconsidering Historical Connections and Musical Resemblances in Early English Absalom Settings’, *Music & Letters*, vol. 90, issue 4 (Nov. 2009), 555.

¹⁹ One further anthem contains the word ‘king’ in its title, the penitential verse anthem *If King Manasses*. This is a setting of a text by the Jesuit Robert Southwell, beheaded in 1595, whose writing was popular beyond Catholic circles. Manasses was a king

All laud and praise
All people clap your hands
Alleluia. I heard a voice
Gloria in excelsis Deo / Sing my soul
Hosanna to the Son of David
In thee, O Lord
O Lord, arise
O mortal man
Plead thou my cause
Sing unto the Lord [only text survives]
Thy mercies great [only text survives]
What joy so true

Looking first at anthems on the theme of praise, one of these, *Hosanna to the Son of David*, contains a text also set by Orlando Gibbons. Here we encounter a certain theological conundrum, if one takes into account the strong contemporary associations made between King James and certain Biblical kings. As we have seen, James was often likened to King Solomon, who was the ‘Son of David’. It is impossible to escape the likelihood that when singing these pieces, praise was thus at least potentially being offered in two directions simultaneously, both to Christ (i.e. following the standard New Testament interpretation of the Son of David as being Jesus Christ) and to King James I. In her discussion of certain royal anthems by Thomas Tomkins, Diana McColley notes the fine line that is trod when Stuart anthems refer to biblical kings. She also observes that one text set by Tomkins seems to show a particular sensitivity to the issue, noting that “Tomkins’ “Thou art my king, O God” offers, perhaps, a correction to any idolatrous patriotism.”²⁰ Hannah Rodger refers to works that support or oppose “royal caesaro-sacramentalist ideals” and highlights the interesting case of the anonymous *Arise, shine, for thy light is come* in the Chapel Royal word book composed for the procession “to the church” on New Year’s Day which uses imagery associated with the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.²¹ Weelkes’s *Hosanna* has in the past been the subject of some debate with regard to its ‘sacred’ or ‘secular’ nature. Philip Brett, attempting to reclaim the ‘secular’ side of Weelkes against David Brown, has stated that “it occurs only in secular sources”, and that it “probably never graced a church service before the present century”.²² In fact the origin of one of its only two sources is far from clear, and there is no doubt that Gibbons’s setting of the same text was sung liturgically, given its own location amongst multiple surviving church sources. It seems likely that performances of the piece in church were restricted to when they were liturgically appropriate, such as during Advent or on Palm Sunday, but performances at home might have more easily soaked up the ambiguity, rendering praise, as it were, to both God and Caesar.

Other pieces on the theme of praise have texts that can more straightforwardly be considered as ideal for the liturgical observation of ‘Great Britain’s triple diary’. For these days, texts of extreme rejoicing were entirely fitting, as exhorted by Richard Crakanthorpe, thereby “showing our love and loyalty to our sovereign”, either in private or in church. *Alleluia. I heard a voice* has an unusual musical structure in which the treatment of the word ‘Alleluia’ is given particular emphasis and employed as a refrain. John Amner’s domestic collection *Sacred Hymns* (1615) may shed some light on the peculiar nature of the piece. The collection reflects the custom of celebrating great liturgical occasions at home as well as in church, the ‘sacred hymns’ being “intended for domestic use by skilled amateurs”.²³ Each of Amner’s pieces is entitled as either a ‘Motecta’ or an ‘Alleluia’, and in the latter category all pieces contain substantial settings of the

remembered chiefly due to his need for repentance, so a link with King James is unlikely. The work is one of several that reveal how thoughtful and imaginative Weelkes was in his selection of texts.

²⁰ Diane McColley, *Poetry and music in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1997), 58.

²¹ Hannah Rodger, ‘Revealing the Complexities that Surrounded Sacred Music Practices, Preferences, and Prejudices in Early Seventeenth-Century England’, Ph.D. dissertation (University of York, 2021), 144.

²² P. Brett, ‘The Two Musical Personalities of Thomas Weelkes’, *Music & Letters*, vol. 53, issue 4 (Oct. 1972), 371.

²³ J. Morehen, ‘A neglected East Anglian madrigalian collection of the Jacobean period’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1998), 287.

word 'Alleluia' alongside texts of triumph and praise. The Alleluia is also often used as a textual refrain, heard at two different points in the piece (though never at the start). *I will sing unto the Lord*, headed 'In memorie of the Gunpouder day' has the following text:

I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and him that rode upon him, hath he overthrown in the sea. Alleluia.

An Alleluia. In memorie of the Gunpouder day.

Will singe vnto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
gloriously, the horse and him that rode vpon him, hath bee

Another contains the word 'thunder', like the 'strong thund'rings' in Weelkes's work:

The Heav'ns stood all amazed, the earth upon them gazed. Alleluia. At length both heav'n and earth for joy confounded, with voice as loud as thunder, sweetly resounding Alleluia.

In his Ascension Alleluia, *He that descended man to be*, we can see the same descending phrase used by Weelkes in *Alleluia. I heard a voice* as shown below in the Cantus Primus part (in the penultimate line):

5. VOC. XVII. CANTVS PRIMVS.

An Alleluia,

He that descended man to bee, is
now ascended God on high, on high, Allelu- ia, Alle- lu-
ia, Allelu- ia, Allelu- ia, the trumpets sound, |||
the Angels sing, |||
the glorious triumphs of our King, of our
King, the ||| Allelu ia, Al-le-
lu- ia, Al-le- lu- ia, Al-le- lu-
ia. Al- le- lu- ia,

Ascensio Christi.

Weelkes's *Alleluia* survives in both ecclesiastical and domestic sources, but in one of the church sources, at Durham Cathedral, the piece is presented differently as a verse anthem with organ accompaniment, with a specific liturgical use: 'For All Saints Day'. Domestically, the piece may well have been sung in relation to the three great national days of celebration. Crakanthorpe's text quoted above ends with "Hallelujah, Hallelujah, honour, and praise, and glory, be unto God, & to the Lamb for evermore", the same reference to the Book of Revelation as found in Weelkes's piece: 'Alleluia...Salvation and glory and honour and power be unto the Lord our God, and to the Lamb for evermore'. The Durham inscription does not preclude the idea that it may also have been deemed suitable for liturgical use on one of the three national days, being a simple anthem of praise with no ambiguity regarding kings. Although it is not possible to determine which version presents Weelkes's original work, the similarity with Amner's *Alleluia* collection might suggest that it was the domestic conception that came first.²⁴

Another work with an unusual text, *Gloria in excelsis / Sing my soul*, is also suggestive of 'secular' origin; it also survives in both church and domestic sources. Crakanthorpe's invocation of the 'celestial quires' is relevant here, and similar imagery occurs in the Gunpowder Plot piece in Richard Allison's domestic 1606 collection, *The sacred quire of angels*, which also contains the verb 'to tune', as familiar from Weelkes's work at 'Crave thy God to tune thy heart':

The sacred quire of angels sings
The praises of the living Lord...

We'll tune our voices to the lute
And instruments of sweetest sound...

These are surely standard tropes that might be found in many different literary contexts, but such connections at least suggest the possibility that Weelkes's *Gloria in excelsis* may have been originally intended to help celebrate the monarch on one of the chief national days. The concluding Amen is a slightly longer version of that found at the end of the verse anthem *Give the king thy judgements*.

The remaining anthems of praise on the list of twelve given above are all based, like most anthems of the period, on psalm texts. The full anthem *O Lord, arise into thy resting place* sets verses that appear in James I's service *Fourme of Prayer* for 'the King's Day'. Both the verses from Psalm 132 and the interleaved verse 'Save thy people, good Lord...' are found amongst the potpourri of psalm verses placed after the Litany, though the particular form of the verse from Psalm 28 used by Weelkes is that found in the Te Deum. The work may have well been sung on Ascension Day, but it would have been equally suited to use on national days. In describing this anthem, Peter le Huray notes that it is a good example of the way in which "Weelkes shows an unusual concern for words in many of his best anthems, and a particular fondness for working up to a dramatic conclusion".²⁵ Royal sentiment may well have played a part in the motivation behind some of the works le Huray had in mind.

All people clap your hands is based on two verses from Psalm 47, followed by additional verses from Psalms 33 and 84 (from the Geneva Bible). Although the trumpet is mentioned in Psalm 47, v. 5, the addition of a verse from Psalm 33 greatly magnifies the instrumental element:

47.1: All people clap your hands, sing loud unto God with a joyful voice.

47.5: God is gone up with triumph, ev'n the Lord with the sound of the trumpet.

²⁴ Another similar set of *Alleluia* pieces exists by William Child in the Oxford Music School collection, alongside some 'Latin songs': Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. c. 32-7. Peter le Huray comments that "Repetition forms of this kind are rare in English church music though common on the Continent", whilst David Wulstan connects the *Alleluia* pattern with the carol tradition. Peter le Huray, *The Treasury of English Church Music 1545-1650* (Cambridge, 1965/82), xxvii, and David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 329. Another connection that may be partly relevant is the *Alleluia* as part of the Catholic Mass, as found in Byrd's *Gradualia* collection.

²⁵ Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1978), 299.

33.2: Praise the Lord with harp, sing unto Him with viol and instruments of music.

Although not as extreme, this organological inflation is reminiscent of the royal anthems *O God of Gods* by Hooper and Bennett already mentioned, which lists organs, trumpets, flutes, cornets, clarons, lutes, harps, cymbals and shawms (Bennett's text has viols instead of clarons). Weelkes's full anthem was probably sung on Ascension Day, like his (incomplete) verse anthem *Ye people all* (described as 'for Ascension Day' in the Wimborne Minster source) which is also based on Psalm 47 verses 1 and 5, here using the Sternhold & Hopkins translation, but it is notable that Clifford's book of anthem texts (1664 edition) describes Weelkes's *All people clap your hands* not as an anthem for Ascension Day as one might expect, but rather as 'A Triumphall Hymn', suggesting a wider context for its use.

The verse anthem *All laud and praise* is a setting of the Sternhold & Hopkins translation of Psalm 30, verses 1-4, which were also set to music by John Cosyn (published in 1585), John Holmes (though the complete text doesn't survive), and by either Martin Peerson or Thomas Ravenscroft. But rather like *All people clap your hands*, the text here is extended beyond its original state in a way not found in the settings by Cosyn or Peerson/Ravenscroft which just contain the Sternhold & Hopkins words.²⁶ The text for verse 4 is as follows:

Sing praise ye Saints that prove and see
the goodness of the Lord:
In memory of his Majesty
rejoyce with one accord.

Weelkes begins this section as a duet for means, and proceeds with contrapuntal writing until 'In memory of his majesty' where the two voices suddenly sing in homophony with simple keyboard support. This type of deliberate emphasising of certain key phrases in the text has been similarly observed by Diane McColley in the royal works of Tomkins. Regarding his *Be strong and of good courage*, she writes: "Tomkins clearly declaims "to walk in his ways" in rising repetition and word-paints "keep his ceremonies" with striking syncopation and repetition in a higher mode".²⁷ This full anthem by Tomkins, setting the 'Confortare' text sung at coronations, is thought by several scholars to have been written for the coronation of James I in 1603. In *All laud and praise*, Weelkes follows up his setting of verse 4 with a repeat of the text sung by the chorus (following the standard pattern for this anthem), and the work then continues with an unidentified extended text as follows:

Sing ye, I say, unto the Lord
A song of melody,
And let all men with heart and voice
Extol his majesty.

Praise him alway both night and day,
Due praises to him give;
For by his mighty power and strength
We daily here do live.

The concluding text, not quite achieving the rhyming strength of Sternhold & Hopkins, thus simply reinforces the sentiment of what precedes it, re-using the imperative 'sing' and noun 'majesty'. The text of course refers to *Deus*, not *Rex*, but we may again be looking at a carefully fashioned Janus-like construct.

In addition to texts of praise, other texts in anthems that may relate in some way to royal concerns are those which call for unity, or ask for protection from evil men, such as Guy Fawkes and his co-conspirators. On the subject of unity, for which Psalm 133 is the obvious text, there is the incomplete full anthem by Weelkes *Behold, how good and joyful* which only survives in an organ book, but additionally there is the

²⁶ The Commentary in the 1975 edition of anthems by Weelkes for *Musica Britannica* only lists the Sternhold & Hopkins verses.

²⁷ McColley, *op. cit.*, 86-7.

verse anthem *What joy so true*, a setting of a metrical version of the same Psalm, also chosen by at least 13 other composers active in the 17th century before and after the Civil War at a time when the text must have had particular relevance. The author of the metrical version in Weelkes's setting is not known, but John Barnard's partbooks (now in the Royal College of Music) contain a note that it was 'Made for Dr Hunt', so far unidentified.²⁸

The text of the incomplete bass verse anthem *In thee, O Lord* is from Psalm 31, which may have been deemed highly relevant to the royal cause since it calls for protection from one's enemies. The opening chorus begins "And be thou my strong rock and house of defence...", and Weelkes sets the phrase "draw me out of the net that they have laid privily for me" for the bass solo with particular care using a slowly climbing 5-6 sequence. Even more blatant in this regard is another verse anthem, *Plead thou my cause*. Verses this time from Psalm 35 asks that one's enemies should be confounded in no uncertain terms: "let them be as the dust before the wind"; "let their way be dark and slippery"; "for they have privily laid a net to destroy me" (very like Psalm 31) and finally "let a sudden destruction come upon him unawares". This type of text has clear echoes with the works known to have been written for November 5th. Psalms 31 and 35 both appear as set psalms in published orders for two specific national days: Psalm 31 for the 5th August, and Psalm 35 for 5th November.²⁹

Two anthems attributed to Weelkes that survive only in the form of texts in Clifford's Restoration-period anthem book, both shown below, also convey royal overtones:

ANTHEM C.
Sing unto the Lord, O ye Princes, &c.
A Hymn.

Sing unto the Lord, O ye princes
Of the people, ii Sing praises
unto our God; ii Be ye sure that
the Lord helpeth his anointed, ii and
will hear him from his holy heaben,
ii With the whollom strength of
his right hand: for they that hate
us are brought down and fallen, but
we are risen and stand upright.
Save Lord, and hear us, O King
of heaben, ii when we call upon
thee, ii Amen.

Mr. Weelkes.

ANTHEM CCLXXI.
Thy mercies great and manifold, &c.
Psal. 119 41, 42.

Thy mercies great & manifold,
Let me obtain, O Lord;
Thy saving health let me enjoy,
According to thy word:
So shall I stop the slanderous
mouths
Of lewd men, and unjust;
For in thy faithfull promises,
Standes my comfort and trust.
Amen.

Thomas Weelkes.

The text of *Sing unto the Lord* is entitled simply Hymn, since although it uses language familiar from the psalms it appears to have been specially written.³⁰ The lines particularly relevant are 'Be ye sure that the Lord helpeth his anointed, and will hear him from his holy heaven, with the wholesome strength of his right hand, for they that hate us are brought down and fallen, but we are risen and stand upright.' The text of *Thy mercies great and manifold* is a personal prayer based on verses from Psalm 119 that anyone might utter, but it might perhaps be read as a prayer coming from the king himself, asking for good health and in particular the courage to 'stop the slanderous mouths of lewd men, and unjust'.

²⁸ A specific royal connection for Psalm 133 is suggested by the Chapel Royal anthem book of the 1630s (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl. poet. 23) in which John Bull's anthem *How joyful and how glad a thing* is listed as 'An Antheme for the Garter', i.e. The Knights of St George at Windsor. See G. E. P. Arkwright, 'The Chapel Royal Anthem Book of 1635', *The Musical Antiquary*, vol. 2 (Jan. 1911), 108-113.

²⁹ *A fourme of prayer with thankesgiving, to be vsed by all the Kings Maiesties loving subiects every yeere the fift of August. Being the day of his Highnesse happy deliverance from the trayterous and bloody attempt of the Earle of Govvry and his brother, with their adherents.* (London, 1606), and *Prayers and thanksgiving to be used by all the Kings Majesties loving subjects for the happy deliverance of his Majestie, the Queen, Prince, and states of the Parliament, from the most traiterous and bloody intended massacre by gun-powder, the fift of November 1605.* (London, 1638): this copy may be a late printing of an earlier publication.

³⁰ The 'Early English Church Music' series source supplement suggests that this text was also set by Orlando Gibbons, his brother Christopher and George Jeffreys, but these composers all set verses from Psalm 30 beginning 'Sing unto the Lord O ye saints of his' whereas the text by Weelkes is in fact entirely different after the first four words. *The Sources of English Church Music 1549-1660*, compiled by Ralph T. Daniel and Peter le Huray, Part 1 (London, 1972), 60.

Finally amongst the twelve titles being considered, there is the full anthem *O mortal man*. The text of this work appears to be Scottish in origin, appearing in a musical setting found in a Scottish source dating from about 1580.³¹ As David Brown has noted, the setting by Weelkes clearly takes its melodic material directly from this composition, though it is unclear how Weelkes would have known it. The second half of its text runs as follows:

Beseeching aye His heavenly Majesty
Of faith and force to fight against the flesh,
Which wanders here in the vale of misery.
Is none but He that may our silly souls refresh. Amen

Whatever lies behind the origins of the Scottish piece, the possibility arises that Weelkes may have deliberately chosen a Scottish model for both text and music with the former King James VI of Scotland in mind, in the same way that Gibbons composed *Great King of Gods* for James's grand return to Scotland in 1617.

Further context for our appreciation of the royal aspect of Weelkes's output can be determined by considering the wider survival of royal anthems from the period. The Chapel Royal anthem book of the 1630s reveals several works that were composed for specific royal occasions, and nearly all of these were composed by members of the Chapel Royal itself, from well-known names such as Bull and Gibbons, to lesser figures such as Richard Portman and John Cobb, and including the Exeter and Chapel Royal employee William Randall who composed *O Father dear, O Son most clear* "for the King" (only the Tenor part of which survives).³² The only clear exceptions besides Weelkes are William Cranford and Matthew Jeffreys. Cranford was local, being a lay clerk at St Paul's Cathedral; his anthem *O Lord make thy servant...*, was extremely popular throughout the seventeenth century. At St George's Chapel, Windsor, the work was sung with the name changed for several monarchs, even as far as Queen Anne in 1702.³³ Another work by Cranford, *O eternal God and merciful Father* was composed as a "prayer for the safe delivery of the Queen" following childbirth. Matthew Jeffreys (possibly father of composer George Jeffreys), was a vicar-choral at Wells Cathedral. He composed *Praise the Lord, the God of might*, described as a "prayer for the King and royal family" in Clifford's 1663 book of anthem texts.

A general survey of royal anthems surviving in other sources produces a few more names of those not employed at the Chapel Royal: John Bennet, Benjamin Cosyn, John Holmes and John Munday. We have no biographical information about Bennet. Cosyn worked in London at Dulwich College and Charterhouse, and John Mundy (son of composer William Mundy) was an organist in royal employment at St George's, Windsor, and Westminster Abbey. However, John Holmes, like Jeffreys, was a provincial composer. He was organist first at Winchester Cathedral and afterwards Salisbury (though a Thomas Holmes from Salisbury, probably John's son, was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1633). We know of three royal anthems by Holmes, all of which survive in the form of an organ part only in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Tenbury 791:

O God, thou art the well-spring	"Anthem for the King"
O heavenly Father	"Anthem for the King"
To Thee, O Lord	"5th November"

With these anthems by Holmes, and *Praise the Lord, the God of might* by Matthew Jeffreys, we encounter perhaps the closest parallel to the royal anthems of Weelkes, in the sense that they were composed by

³¹ *Music of Scotland 1500-1700*, ed. K. Elliott, *Musica Britannica*, vol. 15 (London, 1962), 161.

³² For a thorough examination of the texts found in the Chapel Royal book see Hannah Rodger, *op. cit.*, and concerning 'Royalist and Nationalistic Motivations' see 130 ff. Rodger notes the priority given to royal anthems at the start of the book, a feature also found in the Table at the conclusion of the Dunnington-Jefferson MS at York Minster (see the reference in note 17). See also Chapter 11 of Peter Webster, 'The relationship between religious thought and the theory and practice of church music in England, 1603-c.1640.' (Ph.D., University of Sheffield, 2001).

³³ St George's Chapel, Windsor, music collection MS 4, page 16.

musicians active as provincial cathedral musicians, not employed at the Chapel Royal, who wrote at least one royal anthem. Holmes's anthems may only have been sung at Winchester or Salisbury, whereas two clearly royal anthems by Weelkes, *O Lord, grant the king a long life* and *O Lord God Almighty*, and the anthem by Jeffreys made it to the Chapel Royal anthem book.³⁴

Peter le Huray's work on the relationship between members of the Chapel Royal and provincial Cathedrals has explained how many of the best singers around the country spent time at the Chapel Royal when serving as deputies to those taking leave.³⁵ A few singers managed to hold down simultaneous appointments at their Cathedral and at the Chapel Royal, including John Hewlett at Wells, and William Randall at Exeter, as mentioned above. At the funeral of James I, the 24 singers included lay clerks from Rochester, Canterbury, Salisbury and Worcester alongside Chapel Royal and other London singers.³⁶ The Cathedrals were loath to lose good talent, but the singers were paid far greater sums for singing in the Chapel Royal and naturally took opportunities to sing there when they arose. Although Thomas Weelkes is thought of principally as an Organist and Choirmaster given his employment at Winchester College and Chichester Cathedral, he was clearly also an able singer, and at Chichester he received payment as a singing lay clerk on top of his duties as Organist and Master of the Choristers.³⁷ Perhaps Weelkes occasionally deputised as a singer in the Chapel Royal – in which case he may have been paid by the absent Gentleman rather than through the Chapel Royal accounts – but even if not, it is clear that his music was sung there, as already noted. It seems likely that Weelkes lodged in London during visits there with his “well-beloved friend” Henry Drinkwater – an ironic name given Weelkes's well documented partiality to stronger forms of drink (whatever the root cause of this may have been). Weelkes died whilst staying with Drinkwater, owing him money for “meet, drink and lodging”. Furthermore, several scholars have suggested that some of the large-scale anthems and services were probably composed by Weelkes with the Chapel Royal in mind, given the greater vocal resources available there than at Chichester. The principal candidate in this respect is the Ninth Service, in 7-10 vocal parts. The work survives only in provincial sources (Peterhouse, Cambridge, and Durham Cathedral), but there are strong musical connections between the service and *O Lord, grant the king a long life*, so that the two may be considered an example of the typical service/anthem pairing practised at this time.³⁸ Despite the erroneous 1608 reference to Weelkes as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, this description could scarcely have been given to anyone more deserving of that status from outside the royal payroll.³⁹

Given the high level of threat that existed during the reigns of James I and Charles I to the very existence of the Church of England, governed by the king, it is unsurprising that much liturgical and domestic music of the period should be concerned with lauding and supporting the monarchy. A similar situation can also be found in the Restoration period.⁴⁰ This examination of the texts set by Thomas Weelkes in his sacred output has attempted to reveal more detail concerning the extent of the royal element in his anthems, and to provide a fuller context for our understanding of this particular part of his output, including the dual nature of those works that enjoyed parallel domestic and ecclesiastical performance practices. Owing to the

³⁴ See Arkwright, *op. cit.*

³⁵ See Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation...*, Chapter Three: ‘The Chapel Royal’, 57-89.

³⁶ Peter le Huray, ‘The English Anthem 1580-1640’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 1959-1960, 86th Sess., 4.

³⁷ David Brown, *op. cit.*, 26.

³⁸ See, for example, the close links between the anthem and ‘and the rich he hath sent empty away’ in the Magnificat and the ‘Amen’ of the Nunc dimittis.

³⁹ David Brown seeks a compromise by suggesting that he may have served as “at most a Gentleman Extraordinary” (Brown, *op. cit.*, 33), but appointments to this office were also usually formally recorded in the cheque book. See E. F. Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-book Or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal, from 1561-1744* (London, 1872).

⁴⁰ Politics also remained close to the heart of music-making at the Chapel Royal later in the century following the Restoration in 1660. Bryan White has revealed several likely connections with specific royal events in the English anthem texts of John Blow, Henry Purcell and William Turner beyond the obvious coronation anthems: Bryan White, ‘Anthems and Politics in the Restoration Chapel Royal’, *Music and Letters*, vol. 102, (Aug. 2021), 442-481. Concerning the especially turbulent reign of Catholic King James II, White has suggested that John Blow appears to have positioned himself with the English Bishops against the King in his 1688 anthems *O Lord, thou art my God* and *Blessed be the Lord my strength*. It might also be relevant to note that the two Latin anthems by Henry Purcell, *Beati omnes* and *Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei*, seem to be aimed at placating the king in his two most obvious areas of concern: the need for a Catholic heir (hence Psalm 128) and the difficulty of being surrounded by enemies (Psalm 3).

importance of royal themes to the Stuart anthem in general, his motivation in composing them cannot simply be ascribed to a desire to change employment from Chichester to the Chapel Royal, however much he probably craved such a shift. His contribution to the tradition of royal anthems under James I was certainly the finest of anyone not directly employed by the royal purse, and provides another example of the care that he took in selecting texts for composition, as already noted in relation to other parts of his output.⁴¹

Weelkes died in 1623, and had he lived a few more years it is possible that his musical reputation might have led him to have played a significant role in the provision of music for the funeral of James I in 1625 or the subsequent coronation of Charles I, a task that fell largely to Thomas Tomkins, whose career was unusual in that he retained, like some singers we have already mentioned, his post as Organist of Worcester Cathedral whilst also being employed at the Chapel Royal from 1620. But this was not to be, and although his stirring setting of *O Lord, grant the king a long life* was almost certainly not performed at the coronation of either James I or Charles I, it is splendid that in 2023, the 400th anniversary year of his death, Weelkes's anthem finally gained the royal recognition it deserved through its performance at the Coronation of King Charles III in Westminster Abbey.⁴²

⁴¹ See, for example, E. L. Altschuler & W. Jansen, 'Men of letters: Thomas Weelkes's text authors', *Musical Times*, vol. 143, issue 1879 (Summer 2002), 17-24.

⁴² Its inclusion was proposed by the Organist and Master of the Choristers, Andrew Nethsingha, who reports that the suggestion was "enthusiastically endorsed" by King Charles.