Duarte Lobo's motet *Audivi vocem de cælo* has become in recent decades one of the most admired and most frequently performed and recorded works of Portuguese polyphony. The motet is an expressive setting for six voices of a versicle and response from Vespers of the Dead:

Versicle: Audivi vocem de cælo, dicentem mihi:
Response: Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur.
(I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me:
Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.)

Archival research reveals that the piece's fame has not been restricted to modern times, but that it enjoyed an earlier—and extended—period of considerable popularity and esteem, namely among lovers of what was then called 'ancient music' in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England.

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The first half of the seventeenth century is widely recognized as a period of particular richness for sacred music in Portugal, as represented by the works of such as Manuel Cardoso, Filipe de Magalhães, and Duarte Lobo. In general, the works of these composers seem not to have been much known elsewhere in Europe, apart from Spain and in some cases Italy. This situation may be explained in part by the fact that most published Portuguese music was issued by the local press of Craesbeeck in Lisbon. The case of Duarte Lobo, however, represents an exception, since four collections of his music were issued by the Plantin firm in Antwerp. Of these collections, the one which apparently enjoyed the most extensive circulation was the *Liber missarum* (1621), a beautiful folio volume containing eight Masses and two motets, *Pater peccavi in cælum* and *Audivi vocem de cælo*. As I mentioned, this last piece features most prominently in the reception history outlined in this paper.
The print run of the *Liber missarum* was of two hundred copies, thirteen of which have been located. All but one of these is in Portugal, Spain, or Latin America. The history of the thirteenth contrasts markedly with those of the others: it was bought by a London book-dealer, and has been in an academic library since the 1650s. This copy is here in Oxford, in the Bodleian Library. Its existence went apparently unremarked (certainly in the literature on Lobo and on Portuguese music of the period) until it came to my attention some four years ago. It is thanks to an inscription on the title page that we know the identity of its original owner—the London bookseller George Thomason—and the date (July 1659) at which he gave it to the Bodleian. Thomason might have bought the volume at the Frankfurt book fairs or direct from Antwerp: he made several visits to Frankfurt, and the Plantin archives show that four copies were sent there in 1621.

No evidence has come to light regarding use of the Bodleian copy until the eighteenth century. Certainly, Henry Aldrich’s substantial collection of early music at Christ Church does not include works by Lobo. However, we can identify two eighteenth-century musicians who consulted and copied from the Bodleian volume, one of them active principally in Oxford, the other in London: William Walond senior (1719–68) and Henry Needler (?1685–1760).

Walond was an organist (deputy to the organists of New College and Christ Church), composer, and copyist (for example, for the colleges just named and the Oxford Musical Society). He made two surviving manuscript scores of works from Lobo’s *Liber missarum*, now in the library of the Royal College of Music. It is clear from many details of these copies that Walond was consulting the print, and therefore surely (given that he was in Oxford) the copy in the Bodleian.

Henry Needler, a London civil servant, was (as the eighteenth-century music historian John Hawkins informs us) ‘one of that association which gave rise to the establishment of the Academy of Ancient Music, and being a zealous friend to the institution, attended constantly on the nights of performance, and played the principal violin part. The toils of business he alleviated by the study of music; and in his leisure hours employed himself in putting into score the works of the most celebrated Italian masters, with a view to improve himself, and enrich the stores of the Academy.’ A good number of these scores of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works in his hand survive in the British Library. Two of these, and another in the library of the Royal College of Music copied by Needler and three others, include music from Lobo’s *Liber missarum*. The most substantial of these is British Library manuscript Additional 5046, a fair copy in score of the entire contents of the *Liber missarum* (including all the prefatory material). Another British Library manuscript, Ms Add. 5036, has selections from Lobo’s print, and opens with a table recording the library from which Needler obtained each piece. Thanks to this table we know that Needler copied the Lobo pieces in the Bodleian.
Once Lobo’s music was available in London musical circles, it enjoyed a striking success among lovers of ‘ancient music’. That success can be measured in terms of the number of surviving manuscript copies of *Audivi vocem* (in the British Library, the Royal Academy of Music, the Royal College of Music, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge), and also in the number of references to performances of the piece. I am currently aware of no fewer than twenty-two English manuscript copies of works by Lobo, including sixteen copies of *Audivi vocem*. Most of the performances of which we have record involved two of the societies which were most prominent in cultivating ‘ancient music’ in eighteenth-century England: the Madrigal Society and the Academy of Ancient Music, and many of the manuscript copies can also be connected with these societies or their members. We know of performances of *Audivi vocem* by the Academy of Ancient Music in 1733/4 (just a few years after the foundation of the Academy), 1772, and 1773, and the motet was firmly established—indeed, it seems to have been something of a favourite—in the repertory of the Madrigal Society from the 1760s onwards. In 1769 Lobo's motet was sung at no fewer than eight of the Society's weekly meetings.

It may be interesting to describe the nature of the musical meetings at which *Audivi vocem* was sung. The weekly meetings of both the Academy of Ancient Music and the Madrigal Society were held in London taverns: the Crown & Anchor tavern on the Strand, for example, was the Academy's base until its demise in the 1790s, and was thereafter used by the Madrigal Society. The Academy held 'publick nights' on Thursdays, when each member could bring two guests. A number of printed programmes of these 'publick nights' survive, giving us our information about the performances of *Audivi vocem* mentioned above, and also—in 1746—a *Kyrie* by Lobo. In addition, the texts of four items by Lobo were included in *The Words of such Pieces As are most usually performed by the Academy of Ancient Music*, first published in 1761. Professional singers from the great London choral foundations (St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and the Chapel Royal) were prominent in the membership of the Academy; the membership of the Madrigal Society, originally essentially amateur, was a mixture of professional and amateur musicians by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The stipulated maximum number of members of the Madrigal Society fluctuated between about twenty and about forty. Among those who would have sung *Audivi vocem* at Madrigal Society meetings was John Hawkins, famous as the author of *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776). Besides the members themselves, a number of boy choristers—from St Paul's Cathedral, for example—were brought to Madrigal Society meetings to sing, and other non-members (including professional adult singers) attended. The musical repertory of the Society included both secular and sacred music of (mainly) the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. English and Italian composers predominated. Individual members of the Society took it in
turns to preside at meetings, and the president was expected to 'present' (i.e. introduce) a work at that meeting: *Audivi vocem* was thus presented by Mr H. Saxby in August 1760. The musical programme for each meeting was divided into two 'Acts', with approximately four pieces in each act. *Audivi vocem* was consistently placed in the second Act in meetings of the 1760s.

Lobo's music also received a more public airing in eighteenth-century London: one item by Lobo was included in the programme of a benefit concert for Johann Cristoph Pepusch, a noted instrumentalist, composer, and teacher, who was a central figure in the Academy of Ancient Music and was greatly influential in the cultivation of interest in 'ancient music' in English circles. The benefit concert was held at Hickford's Rooms in James Street, a fashionable concert hall in the West End of London, on 31 March 1732. This is the earliest reference so far discovered to the performance of Lobo's music in England. The other composers mentioned in the press notice for the concert were Corelli, Byrd, and Purcell. Although this press notice does not name the pieces concerned, it is not improbable that the item by Lobo was *Audivi vocem*.

Among the members of the Madrigal Society who copied and/or acquired copies of *Audivi vocem* was the organist and glee composer Richard J. S. Stevens (1757–1837). Luckily for us, Stevens wrote both a diary and several volumes of 'Recollections', thanks to which we are given a view of a different—more private—type of performance context for *Audivi vocem* in the early nineteenth century. Stevens regularly invited to dinner a group of his musical friends, who would together perform a programme of works organized (as at meetings of the Academy of Ancient Music and the Madrigal Society) into two 'acts'. Stevens lists in his diary and 'Recollections' the repertoire for a number of these evenings, and we learn that *Audivi vocem* was included on the evenings of 5 April 1816 and 22 March 1822. He comments on the first of these occasions that the first Act (which included *Audivi vocem*) was 'badly performed', while regarding the latter evening he notes that Lobo's motet was sung twice and that all of that night's music was 'very well performed'.

Stevens's regular guests at these musical evenings included the professional bass singer James Bartleman (1769–1821), likewise a member of the Madrigal Society, who owned two eighteenth-century manuscript copies of *Audivi vocem*. In 1799 Stevens himself bought a manuscript (now in the library of the Royal Academy of Music) entirely devoted to the music of Lobo, at the sale of the music library of William Hayes and his son Philip. Both of these men had been Heather Professor of Music at Oxford, and were avid collectors of 'ancient music'. Using this manuscript as his exemplar, Stevens copied out a set of vocal parts and two scores of *Audivi vocem*. Presumably one score was for the use of the conductor and the other for the accompanist at the piano.

This brings us to the question of how such enthusiasts of 'ancient music' performed *Audivi vocem*. The number of performers varied widely depending on the context. At one extreme we have
Stevens's private evenings, with approximately one singer to a part if one allows for an accompanist: on 22 March 1822, for example, the party numbered nine. The meetings of the Madrigal Society involved varying but usually significantly larger numbers of performers. One surviving sets of parts of *Audivi vocem*, dating from the early nineteenth century, includes enough copies for some forty singers: six copies each of the cantus primus and cantus secundus, three copies of the altus primus, four of the altus secundus, twelve tenor copies, and no fewer than fifteen bassus copies. Far surpassing this, however, were the forces employed in two performances of *Audivi vocem* in Paris in the 1840s. These performances, in April 1844 and March 1846, were given by the Société des Concerts de Musique Vocale Classique, founded and directed by Joseph Napoléon Ney, Prince de la Moskowa (1803–1857). The choir for the second of these concerts numbered approximately 150 singers. Ney included *Audivi vocem* in his monumental edition of the repertoire of the Société, *Recueil des morceaux de musique ancienne executés aux concerts de la Société de musique religieuse vocale et classique*. It is apparent, incidentally, that nothing was known about Duarte Lobo himself in this context, as emerges from a review of the concert of April 1844 for *La France musicale*.

This Parisian exposure of *Audivi vocem* derived from the English cultivation of the piece already described. Details of Ney's edition reveal that he had clearly obtained *Audivi vocem* not, for example, from a copy of the 1621 print, but from another edition published in 1825: Vincent Novello's *The Fitzwilliam Music*. Novello owned two manuscript copies of *Audivi vocem* and consulted the copy in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. He also may have been ignorant of Lobo's origins, since in the preface to *The Fitzwilliam Music* he states that the composers included are Italian. There is an irony here, since Novello was organist of the Portuguese Embassy church in London from 1797 or 1798 until 1824.

The manuscript copies and printed editions of *Audivi vocem* can tell us a good deal about how the motet was regarded and performed in the contexts described above, particularly in two respects: dynamic markings, and the notation of accidentals not shown in the original source. Many of the dynamic markings in the Madrigal Society sources were added in pencil by those using the part-book concerned, and thus bring us a fascinatingly vivid glimpse of the rehearsing and performing of *Audivi vocem* by the Society's members gathered for their weekly meetings. A high proportion of these markings are clustered in the second section of the motet, setting the words 'Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur', and particularly attention was paid to the dramatic gesture with which this sections begins: the isolated cantus primus phrase and the response in the other voices. At Madrigal Society meetings it was clearly normal practice to have the cantus primus phrase performed by just one singer: it is marked 'solo' in the earliest of the copies made by the Society's founder, John Immyms, and the next cantus primus entry is correspondingly marked 'tutti'. As for the dynamic inter-
pretation of the solo, both Immyns and Richard Stevens marked it to be sung *forte*, and it is again so marked in the large set of early-nineteenth-century manuscript part-books belonging to the Society which I mentioned. In the Madrigal Society score Ms J.83 a crescendo is marked in pencil over the second note of the cantus primus solo. It is interesting, in our postmodern climate where the gulf between our culture and past cultures and the barriers to our understanding earlier approaches to performance are frequently emphasized, that overall there is considerable coincidence between the performance decisions made by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century performers of *Audivi vocem* and those made independently by modern performing groups following the separate ‘rediscovery’ of the piece in recent decades.

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The evidence for the editing and performing of Lobo's *Audivi vocem* in England extends well over a century, from the 1730s to the 1850s, when Alfred Novello (son of Vincent) published a 'New and cheap edition' of *The Fitzwilliam Music*. Perhaps further research will reveal that *Audivi vocem* continued to be valued and sung in England after this period, but as things stand there is a lacuna in the evidence (for England at least) until Bruno Turner published the piece in 1978, and in so doing contributed significantly to the revival of interest in the work since, with multiple recordings and many performances. In a review of the William Byrd Choir's CD recording of 1986, Ivan Moody—while generally praising the performances—expressed disappointment 'that there is so little dynamic variation', commenting that 'music as passionate as this deserves passionate performance'. We cannot of course know with precision what the performances by the members of the Academy of Ancient Music, John Immyns's Madrigal Society, or Richard Stevens's musical friends sounded like, but it is evident from the sources that the approach of Stevens and others to the piece was very far from a 'dry' antiquarianism (however much they doubtless admired Lobo's polyphonic technique): rather, they regarded *Audivi vocem* as a dramatic work which demanded the sensitive application of dynamic nuances in a 'passionate' interpretation.

The evidence which I have outlined here reveals what will in all probability turn out to be a highly unusual case of the reception history of Portuguese polyphony abroad. Nevertheless, and although few other instances have so far been identified of such music's dissemination beyond the Peninsula and the overseas possessions of Portugal and Spain, this is an area where investigation is paying further dividends, for the music of not only Duarte Lobo but also, for example, his great contemporary Manuel Cardoso. Certainly, and taking a wider repertorial view, the international transmission of polyphonic repertoires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and particularly
as international interest in such early music grew in the nineteenth century, is I suspect a rich field for future discoveries.