

**Confession Carried Aloft:
Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c. 1540–1560**

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BA	Bristol Archives
DHC	Devon Heritage Centre
Gb-Cgc	Gonville and Caius College Library, Cambridge
Gb-Cp	Peterhouse College Library, Cambridge
Gb-Gu	University Library, Glasgow
Gb-Lbl	The British Library
Gb-Llp	Lambeth Palace Library, London
Gb-Ob	The Bodleian Library, Oxford
Gb-Obac	Balliol College Library, Oxford
Gb-Och	Christ Church Library, Oxford
GL	Guildhall Library, London
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
OHC	Oxfordshire History Centre
TNA	The National Archives (U.K.)

ABSTRACT

The gradual unfolding of religious reform movements in Tudor England has generated considerable scholarship intent on evaluating why and how the English reformations happened as they did. Although musicologists typically consider the reigns of Edward VI (1547–53) and Mary I (1553–8) as distinct “Protestant” and “Catholic” periods, respectively, historians including Christopher Haigh, Susan Brigden, and Diarmaid MacCulloch have shown that religious practices and beliefs remained remarkably heterogeneous even into the reign of James I. This dissertation examines music and religious identity in mid-sixteenth-century London, investigating the cases in which local parishes and individual inhabitants turned to music—in a variety of forms, styles, genres, and contexts—to make sense of the doctrinal and liturgical reforms imposed on them by a rapidly changing succession of monarchs in the two decades from c. 1540–1560. Through a study of archival documents, popular print books and broadsides, contemporary diaries, religious drama, and manuscript and print sources of music—undertaking research into topics and repertoires not usually studied in musicological scholarship—this dissertation not only shows that music played a larger role in the early English reformations than has been heretofore acknowledged, but also demonstrates that it was the versatility of music as a communicative medium that allowed it to facilitate, reinforce, and reflect religious change in this pluralistic society.

A basic assumption underlying this study is that the transformation of religious life in mid-sixteenth-century London entailed a radical rethinking not only of religious dogma, but also

(and more importantly) of the phenomenology of ritual as a sensory experience. Drawing on theories of ritual, space, and place by writers such as Michel de Certeau and Catherine Bell, as well as work in sixteenth-century sensory theory by Matthew Milner, this dissertation highlights how Londoners used music and sound to sacralize formerly Catholic (and then recently Protestant) spaces, corroborating Jonathan Z. Smith’s contention that “ritual is not an expression of or a response to ‘the Sacred’; rather, something or someone is made sacred by ritual.” In sixteenth-century England, the church was omnipresent; people attended mass on Sundays, read from prayer books in their homes, celebrated with their trade guilds at special worship services, and sang religious ballads together. Beginning with the parish church, this dissertation offers evidence that polyphonic music—whether in Latin or English—was foundational rather than incidental to liturgical as well as domestic religious expression. Text-oriented forms of religious music, especially that issued in print for wide circulation, likewise provided an important means for articulating confessional teaching during these years. Both reformers and conservatives also saw the potential of music and sound to render profane places temporarily sacred; those across the confessional spectrum used public performances including celebratory religious processions and theatrical productions as opportunities to invite religious conversion. By investigating music making across these confessional, performative, and contextual boundaries, this dissertation demonstrates that mid-sixteenth-century Londoners used both new and old music to anchor contemporary practice in the past and mediate between shifting religious orthodoxies, providing a window into what historian Christopher Marsh has called “the view from the pew.”

INTRODUCTION

Sounding Religious Heterogeneity in Mid-Tudor England

What can the musical practices of communities and individuals tell us about their religious orientations, especially during periods of turmoil? Why did music matter and how did it function in mid-sixteenth-century England, when the accepted rituals and practices which had sustained religious life for centuries were called into question? Recent musicological scholarship on sixteenth-century religious reform has demonstrated that communities often used music to reinforce strongly held religious beliefs, convert others to their cause, and take control of contested spaces; music, moreover, played a critical role during periods of transition, as people grappled with spiritual uncertainty.¹ Across Europe, the character and force of religious reform, and its relationship to musical practice, was tied to the political trends, civic structures, and local customs of the places in which it was carried out.² While musicological scholarship on the German Reformation has seen a flourishing in recent years, however, the topic of music and reform in other regions of Europe, and especially in England, has received comparatively little attention.³ This dissertation examines music and religious identity in mid-sixteenth-century

¹ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

² For recent studies of this phenomenon see Daniel Trocmé-Latter, *The Singing of the Strasbourg Protestants, 1523–1541* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), and Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

³ For example, Robin Leaver, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2017).

London, investigating the cases in which communities and individuals turned to music—in a variety of forms, genres, and contexts—to enforce, challenge, and negotiate the doctrinal and liturgical changes imposed on them by a rapidly changing succession of monarchs from c. 1540–1560. Through a study of archival documents, popular print books and broadsides, contemporary diaries, and manuscript and print sources of music, this dissertation shows that music acted as a critically significant medium in the complex renegotiation and recalibration of religious identities that took place in the early English reformations.⁴ This research in turn allows for a reevaluation of music making in the early years of Elizabeth I’s reign, demonstrating that musical practices at this time were indebted to those carried out under Edward VI and Mary I.

This dissertation focuses on the period between King Henry VIII's break with Rome and the Elizabethan settlement, which were fraught with political and theological tensions that led to a series of dramatic shifts in official religious policy. Between 1529 and 1546, Henry VIII enacted a series of reforms that established royal supremacy, rejected some traditional theology and worship practices, dissolved religious houses, and abrogated a number of minor holy days, creating what Ronald Hutton has called “not so much a reformed Catholic Church as a mutilated one in decay, being picked away piecemeal.”⁵ Religious reform moved swiftly ahead under Edward VI, however, when on 31 July 1547 the government of Lord Protector Somerset ordered the destruction of images, limited the number of lights in the church, forbade processions, and banned wooden crosses.⁶ These sweeping reforms lasted only a handful of years: when Edward

⁴ I follow Christopher Haigh’s example in referring to plural reformations; see Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

⁵ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 73–78. For an overview of changes under Henry VIII, see G. W. Bernard, *The King’s Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁶ Hutton, *Merry England*, 79–93. Eamon Duffy also provides a concise summary of the changes under Edward VI; see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), chs. 11–13.

VI died in July of 1553, he was succeeded by his half-sister Mary I, who only a month later announced her intention to restore the Latin mass. Yet this return to Catholic observance was also short-lived, and with the accession in November 1558 of Elizabeth I, England again found itself a Protestant country.⁷

Mid-twentieth-century scholarship on religious reform in England assumed widespread popular support for reform, portraying the Reformation as a bottom-up movement underpinned by fifteenth-century Lollardy and spread through the activities of local clergy and laypeople.⁸ Groundbreaking research in the 1990s by scholars including Eamon Duffy and Ronald Hutton argued rather for the vitality of the late medieval Catholic church and viewed the Henrician and Edwardine reformations as top-down impositions by the English government, sparking a debate about late-medieval piety and the role of the laity in the English reformations.⁹ More recent historical research has instead sought a middle ground, demonstrating that religious reforms in England relied on a number of factors, including earlier reform movements, contemporary criticism of the late medieval church, and political tensions; reform was neither strictly bottom-up or top-down but rather was promulgated via both avenues.¹⁰

The treatment of music in historical scholarship, however, is often cursory, and the role of music in these negotiations has yet to be fully scrutinized. Indeed, Duffy's assertion about Edwardine music is typical of scholarship by historians: "The most devastating impact had

⁷ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 527–530, 565.

⁸ The most famous of these studies is Arthur Geoffrey Dickens, *The English Reformation*, rev. ed. (London: Batsford, 1989), originally published in 1964.

⁹ Hutton, *Merry England* and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.

¹⁰ G. W. Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 1999). Christopher Haigh suggests that despite the religious upheavals imposed by the crown, not much had changed by the end of the sixteenth century. See Haigh, *English Reformations*.

probably been in music, since the heavy emphasis of reformed Protestantism on the intelligibility of the written or spoken word in worship left no place for Latin word-setting and elaborate polyphony. The entire repertoire of sacred music from late antiquity to the recent past, therefore, had been swept aside as redundant in a matter of months.”¹¹ Duffy’s statement overlooks both the large body of English-texted plainchant adapted from Sarum models in this period as well as the substantial number of extant Edwardine English *contrafacta* (Latin-texted polyphony revised with new English words). In addition, he also reiterates claims about the relationship between Henrician and Edwardine musical style that musicologists have long since disproven.¹² Despite the plethora of historical studies of the English reformations, then, the musical practices of the period and their relationship to religious reform are often mischaracterized.

A number of studies offer a short overview of religious music-making under Edward VI, but scholars have largely treated the years from 1547–53 as incidental in the history of music and religious reform in England. For example, in his seminal study on polyphonic music of the English Reformation, Peter le Huray argued that since most composers writing under Edward VI were also alive in the early Elizabethan years, it was “at once convenient and practical to consider the Edwardian and early Elizabethan periods as one.”¹³ More recent musicological

¹¹ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 3. Katherine Brokaw’s assertion that under Edward reforms “stripped church ritual to the unaccompanied singing of psalms” is also typical of the conclusions historians and literary scholars draw about music at this time; see Brokaw, *Staging Harmony: Music and Religious Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2016), 5.

¹² Both John Alpin and John Milsom noted continuities of musical style between the late Henrician and Edwardine periods as early as the late 1970s; see, for example, John Alpin, “The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early English Te-Deum Settings,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, No. 2 (1979): 247–275; and John Milsom, “Songs, Carols and ‘Contrafacta’ in the Early History of the Tudor Anthem,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 107 (1980–1): 34.

¹³ Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 172. To a certain extent this approach was necessitated by contemporary musicological knowledge of the extant repertoire; the precise dating of much of this music has been improved in recent years.

scholarship has expanded scholarly knowledge of specific repertoires, but has continued to view the Edwardine years (and to a lesser extent, the Marian period) as a precursor to the more clear-cut reign of Elizabeth I.¹⁴ Whereas musicologists usually consider the reigns of Edward VI (1547–53) and Mary I (1553–8) in isolation, religious practices and beliefs remained remarkably heterogeneous even into the reign of James I.¹⁵ Not only did English people hold a range of opinions on issues from transubstantiation and the Latin mass to predestination and royal supremacy, but even the officially sanctioned orthodoxies of each of the aforementioned regimes underwent almost continuous changes, making it difficult for laypeople to adapt to current requirements. In this climate, many adhered to some tenets and rituals of religious orthodoxy while also following beliefs and practices that might be considered heterodox (that is, departing from current orthodoxy); as Daniel Gates puts it, “the heterodox [was] not simply marginal to the orthodox center.”¹⁶ By investigating a variety of genres and performance contexts during multiple political regimes, this dissertation considers the intersections between the often fluid nature of religious orthodoxy and music’s role in mediating and expressing religious identity. In following these lines of enquiry, my project both responds to and complements Jonathan Willis’s

¹⁴ Both Robin Leaver and Timothy Duguid, for example, have included the Edwardine period in chronologically broad studies of metrical psalms. See Robin A. Leaver, “*Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes: English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566*” (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) and Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English ‘Singing Psalms’ and Scottish ‘Psalm Buiks’, c.1547–1640* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2014).

¹⁵ The most notable study of this sort is Daniel Bennet Page, “Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1996), but this practice is also found in overviews such as le Huray’s *Music and the Reformation* and Nicholas Temperley’s *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), both of which do not consider musical practices under Mary I. For more on the porousness and permeability of the boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy in late-medieval England see J. Patrick Hornbeck II, *What is a Lollard? Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁶ Daniel Gates, “Faith and Faction: Religious Heterodoxy in Renaissance England,” *Religion & Literature* 32, No. 2 (2000): 1.

recent study of Elizabethan religious music, illuminating how the relationship between music, religion, and politics changed during the mid-Tudor period.¹⁷

In sixteenth-century England, the church was omnipresent. People attended mass on Sundays, read from prayer books in their homes, celebrated with their trade guilds at special services, and sang religious songs together. No place felt the religious changes of the mid-century more keenly than London, the economic and political center of the country. In 1500, London had been a relatively small, walled city of approximately 50,000 inhabitants. By mid-century, however, the population had increased to roughly 70,000, and by 1605, it would reach 250,000. Although disparities existed between London's richest and poorest inhabitants, by 1550 approximately two-thirds of Londoners were what contemporaries called "the middling sort of people:" neither poor nor rich but able to make a living, join one of the city's trade guilds, and partake of the privileges of citizenship.¹⁸ Popular religious reform spread more rapidly in London than elsewhere in the country, with a group of more than fifty reforming clergy operating there in Henry VIII's last years. But as was the case across England, the situation in London was decidedly complicated. Not only were there a number of Londoners who continued to express fealty to the pope following Henry's break with Rome, but even its evangelical preachers held varying opinions regarding controversial issues like predestination.¹⁹ As the central hub of the

¹⁷ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

¹⁸ Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 384. In his study, Rappaport provides a model for how the growing London population impacted various aspects of economic life; see especially ch. 5, "The Standard of Living," pp. 123-161. Ian W. Archer has suggested perhaps a slightly less favorable view of the city's social relations; he argues that during the Elizabethan period London maintained its stability only through the reciprocal ties binding the city's rulers and those they governed. See Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁹ For an overview of religious reform in London, see Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Brigden traces the activities of a number of prominent clergy and laypeople in London during this period, documenting their actions on behalf of and responses to reform movements.

nation, London thus offers a compelling case study of how a large and diverse audience both reacted to religious reform and employed music to negotiate religious change.

In specific terms, this dissertation explores how both individuals and communities made use of music to confessionalize a diverse audience. By confessionalization I refer to attempts by both reformers and conservatives to align the religious beliefs and practices of individuals and communities with specific forms of orthodoxy—in these cases, the official theological positions and ritual customs of the Edwardine and Marian governments. My aim is to uncover traces of the music making that formed the backbone of the laity's regular interaction with religious music by expanding the typical musicological focus on polyphonic repertoires to include a broad range of both notated and un-notated genres. In doing so, I resituate music as an important factor to consider within the larger scope of scholarship on the English reformations. Yet I also wish to pose two broader musicological questions: how did the mix of genre, style, and performance context influence the value individuals and communities placed on music's contribution to religious experience, and how did their practices reflect both continuity and change?

Answering these questions requires studying genres from composed polyphony and liturgical chant to godly ballads and Biblical song, as well as questioning how the performance context of each genre shaped its reception. Beginning with the parish church, the primary administrative, social, and religious unit of the city, this dissertation offers evidence that polyphonic music—whether in Latin or English—was foundational rather than incidental to liturgical as well as domestic religious expression throughout this period. Text-oriented forms of confessional music, especially that issued in print for wide circulation, provided an important means for spreading religious teaching during these years. Both reformers and conservatives also saw the potential of music and sound to render profane places temporarily sacred, and those on

across the confessional spectrum used public performances as opportunities to invite religious conversion. During the English reformations certain sensory experiences of the sacred were rejected, and others were altered and incorporated into new forms of worship and religious practice.²⁰ The delineation of sacred space, as Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer have argued, was of fundamental importance for both reformers and conservatives.²¹ By investigating music making across this confessional, genre, and contextual range, I contend that the inhabitants of mid-sixteenth-century London not only held strong views regarding music and religion, but also used music as a way to reinforce or reject religious orthodoxy, providing a window into what historian Christopher Marsh has called “the view from the pew.”²²

A basic assumption underlying this study is that the transformation of religious life in mid sixteenth-century London entailed a radical rethinking not only of religious dogma, but also (and more importantly) of the phenomenology of ritual as a sensory experience. Drawing on theories of ritual, space, and place by writers such as Michel de Certeau, Jonathan Z. Smith, and Catherine Bell as well as work in sixteenth-century sensory theory by Matthew Milner, I show that music played a crucial and largely unacknowledged role in the public and private spiritual lives of people in England’s capital at this turbulent time. To understand the specific characteristics that made music particularly important, this study relies on de Certeau’s distinction between “space” and “place.” Whereas places (such as buildings, town squares, and churches) are defined by physical markers, spaces are created: they are fluid and mobile, with shifting

²⁰ For an overview of how the senses were perceived in sixteenth-century England see Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

²¹ Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, “Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space,” in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hamilton and Spicer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 6–9.

²² See the discussion of this term in Christopher Marsh, “‘Common Prayer’ in England 1560–1640: The View from the Pew” *Past and Present* 171 (2001): 66–94.

boundaries.²³ Sound does not simply inhabit space, then, but plays a vital role in constructing its individual and social meanings.²⁴ In addition, sound permeates physical barriers, allowing its meaning to carry beyond its initial point of inception. Thus, music not only functions as an ornament or decoration but also contains the potential to alter perception; it does so, moreover, even when those hearing it did not mean to listen. This distinction is important, for—as Fisher has also argued—the production of space was crucial to the process of confessionalization in early modern Europe: religious identities relied on practices that were intended to encode places as unequivocally Catholic or Protestant, irrespective of (or sometimes as a response to) their former uses.²⁵ At a time when many of the traditional rituals of the church had been altered or forbidden, the lack of official government policies on liturgical music meant the medium of sound offered a unique possibility for the delineation of sacred space.

In theoretical terms, this dissertation highlights how Londoners used music and sound to sacralize formerly Catholic (and then recently Protestant) spaces. I define sacralization as the process of constructing sensory experiences in order to evoke a sense of the sacred and move those participating closer to God. Sacralization occurs, for example, as the culmination of various acts of the medieval Catholic liturgy: placing images in a church or elevating the host; singing plainsong and polyphony; waving a censor of incense, and so forth. This basic description of sacralization relies first and foremost on Catherine Bell’s theory of ritualization, which she posits as a method of constructing the sacred that “temporally structures a space-time environment through a series of physical movements... thereby producing an arena which, by its

²³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

²⁴ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

molding of the actors, both validates and extends the schemes they are internalizing.”²⁶

Expanding Bell’s framework to include all sensory processes rather than just physical movement highlights how auditory experiences in particular play a role in creating sacred space. That the sacred is created *through* ritual acts has also been stressed by Jonathan Z. Smith, who contends that “ritual is not an expression of or a response to ‘the Sacred’; rather, something or someone is made sacred by ritual.”²⁷ In other words, ritual actions, rather than physical markers, fundamentally create sacred space. In the case of music, this argument rests on the assumption popularized by Tia DeNora that music’s semiotic force is derived from the circumstances of its use—the meaning of liturgical music, for example, is encoded in the conventional signifying materials of genre and style, but it is the way in which it is used *as* ritual that imbues it with meaning in the first place.²⁸ The laity’s regular experience of the liturgy also meant that its ritual acts became signifiers themselves, which in turn allowed them to “mean” outside their original context: a parishioner could recall a specific moment in the mass every time she heard the distinctive sound of the *Sanctus* bell, for example, experiencing a version of the elevation of the host without actually *seeing* it happen. Thus, the ritual acts, images, sounds, and smells of the liturgy carried with them distinctive meanings that extended beyond their typical use. As Matthew Milner has shown, this reliance on sensory experience did not stop with the onset of religious reform in England.²⁹ Rather, as this dissertation will stress, reformers likewise engaged the senses, relying on the same understanding of their efficacy, to win converts to their cause.

²⁶ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 109–10.

²⁷ Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 105.

²⁸ Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33.

²⁹ Milner, *Senses and the English Reformation*; see especially ch. 5, “Sensory Landscapes of Reformation England.” What changed for reformers was the degree to which certain sensory experiences, such as gazing upon images, were dangerous rather than beneficial. Indeed, these experiences were problematic precisely *because* they were so potent; their ability to turn the laity away from the “true” (i.e., reformed) church meant that they had to be forbidden.

Whereas sacralization most typically occurred in places already understood to be sacred—church buildings, for example—it could also be realized temporarily in profane contexts. Forms of religious encoding might be more or less clear in their confessional overtones, moreover, but the distinctive places in which music could be employed to achieve sacralization—from homes to public streets—each required different strategies and musical choices. This dissertation argues that both reformers and conservatives deliberately used liturgical or stylistically liturgically oriented music in their attempts to effect religious conversion in places usually experienced as secular. This type of sacralization was dependent on its connection to the liturgy; it was through bringing the sounds of liturgical experience into new contexts that these places were temporarily transformed into spaces for worship. In such instances, the typical elements of a particular place—the smells of cooking in the home, or rubbish on the street, for example—were temporarily overwritten by liturgical performance, only to come to the fore again once the experience in question had ceased.

The temporary creation of sacred space outside the church might also occur without an audible link to the liturgy, and when music is involved in these cases, I posit that it is because of its connection instead to a practice evangelicals found to be particularly efficacious: the reading of vernacular scripture. For reformers, reading the Word of God was the single most important activity the laity might undertake to benefit their souls, as it provided them with unmediated access to Christ.³⁰ By singing Biblical texts outside the liturgy, laypeople created a temporary space in which they might bring themselves closer to God. In these cases, it was the connection

³⁰ This belief was expressed by a number of reformers. In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (Antwerp, 1528), for example, William Tyndale argued that “the scripture is that wherewith God draweth us unto him. The scriptures spring out of God, and flow unto Christ, and were given to lead us to Christ. Thou must therefore go along by the scripture as by a line, until thou come at Christ, which is the way’s end and resting-place” (fol.cxli^v). The reformer Hugh Latimer, in a sermon preached before Edward VI on 8 March 1549, characterized scripture similarly: “The excellency of this word is so great, and of so high dignity, that there is no earthly thing to be compared unto it. The author thereof is so great, that is, God himself, eternal, almighty, everlasting. The Scripture, because of him, is also

with text, rather than musical style, that effected sacralization; although scripture was sung during the liturgy, these performances were usually presented by trained musicians and relied on musical styles associated with Catholic worship, rather than the melodies used for singing Biblical song outside the church. Nevertheless, it is significant that laypeople accessed the devotional experience of scripture through musical means, for in using specific tunes to sing the Word of God, laypeople encoded these melodies with religious meaning. In singing scripture, then, laypeople participated in a new type of ritual experience dependent on music for its value.

This dissertation considers musical practices in a variety of contexts, but it is structured around a study of the parish church.³¹ Its primary documentary evidence is drawn from forty-four sets of churchwardens' accounts (CWAs) from parishes in London (twenty-five), Bristol (eight), Oxford (five), and Exeter (four), which are supplemented by material from contemporary diaries and accounts, as well as the 1547 chantry certificates and 1552 dissolution inventories ordered by the Edwardine government. These materials and their bibliographic information are listed in the appendix. CWAs record the income and expenditures of a given parish in yearly accounts, and provide evidence about the employment of individual musicians, the purchase of service books or polyphony (known as pricksong), music at special feasts and celebrations, organ and bell maintenance, and occasionally other records about musical practices. In order to provide a holistic snapshot for the London area, the data for London include parishes in Westminster and Southwark. Both Westminster and Southwark were part of the London economy from at least the

great, eternal, most mighty and holy." See *Sermons by Hugh Latimer Sometime Bishop of Worcester* (London: J. M. Dent & Co, 1906), 72.

³¹ Historians have shown the parish to offer a wealth of evidence about medieval and early modern English communities; see Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie, eds., *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Katherine L. French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion After the Black Death* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and Beat Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400–1560* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1996).

beginning of the sixteenth century, and by its end they had been swallowed up by urbanization; the latter, moreover, was acquired by the City from Edward VI in 1550.³² As such, they are included here because their parishes also reflect the religious changes that affected the capital.

Alongside the aforementioned archival materials, this dissertation is concerned with the many forms and genres of printed music that played a role in the English reformations, from books of polyphony and Biblical metrical song to godly ballads and religious carols, and with the use of these publications outside the church. These sources, along with other sixteenth-century printed material of relevance for this project, are listed in the bibliography; where applicable, the number of copies of publications consulted and their current locations are also included. Although this list is not exhaustive, it nevertheless provides an overview of extant printed sources containing religious music published for use in mid-Tudor England, and as such might serve as a basis for further research into these repertoires.

This dissertation contains five body chapters plus a conclusion and the aforementioned appendix. Chapter 1 examines musical practices in London's parish churches during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Richard Lloyd has shown that the laity were particularly involved in financing and administering liturgical and paraliturgical music in late-medieval London parishes.³³ Lloyd's analysis of the pre-Edwardine period provides a useful point of departure for this chapter, as it suggests that parish musical practices under Edward VI and Mary I were

³² Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 62.

³³ Richard Lloyd, "Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late-Medieval London" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1999). An earlier musicological dissertation on London parishes in the Tudor period also exists: Hugh Baillie, "London Churches, Their Music and Musicians, 1485–1560" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1957). Although Baillie covers the Edwardine and Marian years, however, he makes little mention of how religious reforms affected musical practices (a surprisingly large omission); rather, he is instead concerned with the various roles of parish officials and musicians over a long duration. His discussion of organ building and maintenance in this period, and the Howe family's monopoly of the organ trade, is particularly illuminating.

largely driven by lay concerns.³⁴ This chapter argues that the musical choices of the city's churches from 1547–53 demonstrate a strong and relatively consistent desire to incorporate polyphonic music into worship. While in a few instances parishes may have been inspired by an interest in liturgical polyphony irrespective of confessional preference, in some cases these choices were informed by a community's support of reform. Free from the constraints of an official policy on music from the Edwardine government yet limited by financial concerns, these communities relied on music to reach a heterogeneous public. The use of English-texted polyphony in the liturgy, moreover—at least for reformers—provided a way to turn the aural memory of Catholic practice into a signifier of reform, enacting a process of continuous re-sacralization of a place that had been profaned by “popish” worship.

Under Mary I, the ritual elements of Catholic worship were restored, but despite Bishop Edmund Bonner's focus on liturgical music in his London injunctions, parish acquisition of new polyphonic music books declined. In most places, a combination of financial constraints, disinterest, and (in some cases) the retention of Henrician books explains this change. In two instances, however, parishes clearly resisted liturgical reform by refusing musical provision, reinforcing the notion that music served as a site of contestation during this period.

Contemporary musical sources, specifically three sets of partbooks either copied or containing music written for use in London parishes, show that both Edwardine and Marian composers embraced Henrician musical style but for different purposes: whereas Edwardine music emphasizes the clear-cut lines of late Henrician music to create aural continuity, under Mary I composers return to the more florid style of the earlier Henrician church, and revive genres such

³⁴ Fiona Kisby notes that musical activities in early Tudor Westminster were similarly robust; see Kisby, “Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster,” *Early Music* 23, No. 2 (1995): 223–240.

as the Lady Mass and votive antiphon.³⁵ These musical choices highlight music's continued significance in shaping religious policy under both monarchs but also demonstrate key differences in the religious agendas of reformers and conservatives.

Chapter 2 focuses on how Edwardine reformers crafted printed music books in an attempt to effect religious change, drawing on a genre I term music “Biblical metrical song” (that is, metrical translations of psalms and other scripture that were meant to be sung). The Edwardine government kept a tight rein on the content of printed publications; nothing deemed subversive or treasonous was to be printed or imported from abroad, and publications were to be approved before printing.³⁶ These restrictions indicate both the importance of the medium and the extent to which it might be used to sway popular opinion. There has been considerable literary and musicological scholarship on metrical psalms, with the former aimed at—as Beth Quitslund puts it—understanding these translations “as rhetorical constructions intended to move the reader and singer in particular directions,” and the latter tracing musical and textual links between different psalm repertoires.³⁷ In England, this genre is unique to the Edwardine period, and its propagation depended on the London print market for its success. This chapter elucidates links between

³⁵ The sets in question are the Wanley Partbooks (GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 420–2), c. 1547–50, the Gyffard Partbooks, c. 1570s–early 1580s (GB-Lbl Add. MS 17802–5), and the Baldwin Partbooks, c. 1575–81 (GB-Och Mus. 979–83). For more on these sources see James Wrightson, *The ‘Wanley’ Manuscripts: A Critical Commentary* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989); David G. Mateer, “The ‘Gyffard’ Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance,” *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 28 (1995): 21–50; and Roger Bray, “The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church MSS. 979–83: An Index and Commentary,” *Musica Disciplina* 25 (1971), 179–97.

³⁶ On 13 August 1549, for example, an order was taken that no printer should print any book in English without it first being examined by one of the king's principal secretaries; see Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 739. These strictures, of course, did not entirely prevent the production of pamphlets and books denouncing doctrinal changes.

³⁷ For literary studies, see Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 8. See also Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), and Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535–1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For musicological work on metrical psalms, see Leaver, “*Goostly Psalmes*,” and Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice*.

English metrical psalms and earlier Catholic Books of Hours (known in England as primers), arguing that the former were intended as a musical and scripturally accurate replacement for the latter. The popularity of metrical psalmody furthermore inspired the creation of other musical adaptations of Biblical texts, and these more experimental publications pushed the boundaries of the genre by expanding, summarizing, and even dramatizing scripture.

The second part of Chapter 2 features a more detailed analysis of the most musicologically significant of these Edwardine experiments: Christopher Tye's 1553 *The Actes of the Apostles*, a volume containing polyphonic settings of the first fourteen chapters of the Biblical book of Acts in metrical verse. The largest volume of sacred music printed in England before 1553, Tye's publication has received little concentrated scholarly attention.³⁸ I contend that Tye's settings offer a compelling example of the interplay between a composer's personal conviction, the popularity of metrical Biblical texts in the print market, contemporaneous theological discussions, and the development of musical style at this time. Both John Hawkins and Robert W. Weidner have noted the didactic intent of Tye's volume, which is explicated in Tye's introduction.³⁹ The links between Tye's project and contemporaneous theological discussions, however, have not been examined in the literature.⁴⁰ Extant copies of Tye's *Actes* also shed important light on the early practices and difficulties of printing polyphonic music in England. An analysis of the musical style of these settings furthermore demonstrates not only strong concordances with contemporary polyphonic repertories but reveals considerable

³⁸ The exception is Robert W. Weidner's "Tye's 'Actes of the Apostles': A Reassessment," *The Musical Quarterly* 58, No. 2 (1972): 242–258, which addresses the volume's didactic function and its musical style.

³⁹ Weidner, "Tye's 'Actes of the Apostles,'" 245 and John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1963), 452–455; the latter was first published in 1776.

⁴⁰ The Book of Acts played an important role in contemporary theological debates, serving as the scriptural foundation for reformers who argued that the Catholic church cried out for renewal.

compositional variety. Reformers thus relied heavily on this newly created musical genre in their attempt to effect religious conversion during the Edwardine period.

Continuing the emphasis on music and print, Chapter 3 compares and contrasts the religious carol and the godly ballad, two genres of religious song that share some topics and functions but which are not typically studied in relation to one another. The former was one of the most prominent devotional genres of the Middle Ages, remaining widespread even into the mid-1540s.⁴¹ The latter, meanwhile, came into existence only during the reign of Henry VIII.⁴² Although the function and core repertory of the sixteenth-century printed carol remained largely unchanged from its medieval counterpart, the genre was not entirely untouched by religious reform in the Henrician period. I argue that the carol's wide variety of functions, along with its breadth of topics, may offer a reason for its continued presence long after Henry VIII's break with Rome. The godly ballad, meanwhile, was particularly popular in the mid-Tudor period, just as the carol largely ceased to be printed.⁴³ Whereas literary scholars have focused on the ballad's function as a literary genre, this chapter argues instead that the musical dimension of the godly ballad was one of the primary reasons for its ubiquity.⁴⁴ Through a survey of extant ballads, I identify two distinct types of godly ballad: the devotional ballad, which was designed for

⁴¹ For a recent study of the medieval carol, see Louise McInnes, "The Social, Political and Religious Contexts of the Late Medieval Carol: 1360–1520" (PhD diss., University of Huddersfield, 2013).

⁴² For recent work on ballads, see chs. 5 ("Ballads and Their Audience") and 6 ("Balladry and the Meanings of Melody") of Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴³ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 41. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger has shown that similar popular songs in sixteenth-century German-speaking lands often contained polemical language intended to sway a diverse audience. See Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

⁴⁴ See, for example, Kate Roddy, "Polemical Paeans: Constructing the Queen in Marian Literature 1553–1558," in *New Perspectives on Tudor Cultures*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Zsolt Almási (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 54–77. Cathy Shrank, in "Trollers and Dreamers: Defining the Citizen-Subject in Sixteenth-Century Cheap Print," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 38, No. 1/2 (2008), 102–118, goes so far as to suggest that ballads in this period were not meant to be sung.

religious edification or personal prayer; and the polemical ballad, which instead took religion or theology as a topic for debate. In the second form, the godly ballad attempted something new: it encouraged discourse on the nature and value of religious beliefs and practices. As such, it expanded the functional possibilities of popular religious song.

These two genres are linked not only by their broadly religious topics, but more specifically by their engagement with political rhetoric and their role in the construction of English identity—the latter of which was explicitly tied to religious experience.⁴⁵ Louise McInnes recently identified a subset of medieval religious carols that also relate to contemporary politics, and I suggest that these songs served as an important antecedent to the politically oriented godly ballad.⁴⁶ Although these two subtypes of their respective genres are easily distinguished from one another, the presence of themes relating to English nationhood in these two genres demonstrate that the concept of “Englishness” was tied to religious experience even in the late medieval period. It was arguably under Edward VI and Mary I, however, that the relationship between national identity, the crown, and religious creed became more overtly politicized, and this process was aided by this theme’s prominence in the broadside ballad genre. While these genres are often treated separately in musicological scholarship, this chapter demonstrates that both the carol and the ballad offered their creators a musical opportunity to inject religious discourse into everyday life and confessionalize an increasingly divided public.

Moving into the city itself, Chapter 4 examines religious music making in contexts tied to London’s trade guilds, or livery companies. This chapter is structured around three sections,

⁴⁵ For more on English identity and nationhood in this period, see Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) and Stewart James Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2008).

⁴⁶ McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 193, 196–203, 210–214.

which in turn consider the role of religious music in annual livery company feasts, religious drama and theatrical productions, and civic processions. Although these musical performances were infrequent, they were connected to important professional and civic events. As music making in the first two instances occurred largely outside the purview of ecclesiastical authorities, this chapter offers evidence of how laypeople negotiated the complexities of new doctrines when left to their own devices. In the case of civic processions, meanwhile, it is possible to learn how authorities used music in order to promote religious conversion.

This chapter's study of music making at livery company worship services corroborates Laura Branch's assertion that the members of these trade guilds held a plurality of views on religious reform.⁴⁷ Just as in London's parishes, some companies adopted explicitly reformed practices under Edward VI, while others favored the Catholic mass; yet polyphonic services remained a regular feature throughout the mid-sixteenth century. Still additional companies, however, seem to have found themselves with a divided membership, and avoided having to adapt their worship practices by replacing *all* religious services with another form of entertainment—in other words, the complications imposed by the official orthodoxies of the period were so challenging that it was better to eschew all religious festivity. These practices thus demonstrate the plurality of religious beliefs present in mid-Tudor London, but also show that music served as something of a unifying medium in such polarizing times.

London's livery companies also often sponsored dramatic productions, which were usually put on for the benefit of their membership.⁴⁸ This chapter's second section focuses on

⁴⁷ Although scholars often emphasize the susceptibility of English merchants to Protestantism based on their international trade connections, Branch's detailed study of archival records and wills shows that London merchants were as likely to be conservatives as evangelicals. See Laura Branch, *Faith and Fraternity: London Livery Companies and the Reformation 1510–1603* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

⁴⁸ Mid-Tudor London was home to a thriving theatrical scene. See Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

two plays printed during the Edwardine and Marian periods, respectively: John Bale's *God's Promises*, written in 1538 and first printed c. 1547, and the anonymous reformist *The History of Jacob and Esau*, published late in the reign of Mary I. In both instances, the writers of these plays employed religious music; in Bale's case, the music in question was the seven "O" antiphons prescribed during Vespers in the octave before Christmas, while in *Jacob and Esau* the characters sing religious and moralizing songs that resemble the form of the religious carol. In both instances, the authors of these plays relied on audiences' previous experience of Catholic musical styles to frame Protestant retellings of scripture.

In a similar fashion, Mary I and her government used the audible and visual spectacle of civic processions, and specifically the Latin hymns *Te Deum* and *Salve festa dies*, to reach a public with previous knowledge of this music. This third section demonstrates that the participatory nature of these processions—members of the city's livery companies usually processed alongside church officials and clergy—was intended to bind London's inhabitants to one another and to their shared community. Furthermore, these events were meant to undertake the crucial work of re-sacralizing the city's public spaces, invoking the rituals of the Catholic liturgy to effect a temporary sacralization that relied on the meaning encoded in a specific musical style. Though these processions were widely attended, unlike the Henrician practices they were intended to recall, they also met with resistance. These public events thus underline the range of functions religious music might fill during such a transitional period, and highlight the heterogeneity of religious beliefs and practices at this time.

Chapter 5 looks further afield, situating London within the broader context of music making in other English cities and towns—specifically Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford—investigating how music making and the liturgy changed in places further removed from the

epicenter of religious and political policy. This geographical breadth both confirms London's unique commitment to liturgical music and demonstrates how economic and doctrinal considerations affected religious music making in other urban centers.⁴⁹ Bristol shares the most in common with London; not only did it maintain similar civic institutions, but public debate about the merits of reform occurred early, with strong opinions on both ends of the spectrum.⁵⁰ Music likewise played a role in the Edwardine and Marian periods in Bristol, with books of polyphony and other service music purchased by parish communities throughout both reigns; thus, in many ways the evidence from Bristol corroborates the situation in London.

Although most parishes surveyed in this chapter acquired the necessary service books in both 1549 and 1554, in Exeter there is little indication of confessional preference in the city's parish accounts.⁵¹ In Oxford, we find a middle ground: some music purchases, but slim evidence that musical provision reached the level of larger population centers or that it was particularly important to residents in these communities. In Exeter, meanwhile, there are no records of music purchases at any parish during this period—an omission that I argue reflects practices dating to at least the end of Henry VIII's reign. Thus, London's proximity to court, its status as capital, its

⁴⁹ This sample excludes Norwich, England's second-largest city in this period, as unfortunately no parish records from the city itself that cover the Edwardine or Marian periods are still extant. For a full list of sixteenth-century English parish records see the appendix in Hutton, *Merry England*, 263–293.

⁵⁰ As Clive Burgess has noted, there were also personal links binding London and Bristol together; see Burgess, "Educated Parishioners in London and Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation," in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson. Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 286–304. For more on Bristol and its trading communities, see David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy 1450–1700* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); for an overview of early reform in Bristol, see Joseph Bettey, *Church and Community in Bristol during the Sixteenth Century* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, University of Bristol, 1983), 13.

⁵¹ Robert Whiting notes, for example, that there are almost no examples of reformist tendencies in the entire diocese (encompassing both Devon and Cornwall) before Edward's reign. See Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 23.

size, its wealth, and its demographics all contributed to an environment that fostered musical expression as a means to negotiate continuity and change in this period.

Finally, the conclusion of this dissertation turns to religious musical practices immediately preceding and following the Elizabethan settlement, showing that they were heavily reliant on mechanisms and repertoires developed under Edward VI and Mary I. Both historians and musicologists typically characterize Elizabethan religious policy as a compromise between the radical evangelical Edwardine church and Marian Catholicism.⁵² Yet the desire for musical worship reflects not a compromise between two “opposing” policies on music, but rather a continuation of practices that were born out of the lay negotiation of official doctrine at the parish level that occurred prior to Elizabeth’s reign. Much, too, has been made of the return of the so-called Marian exiles, who—armed with books of metrical psalms—transformed Elizabethan worship with their “Ienova bokes;” and indeed, these reformers had a considerable impact on parish musical practices in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁵³ Yet the widespread acceptance of these psalms also lay in their popularity under Edward VI, and the efforts evangelical writers and composers gave to growing this genre before 1553. Similarly, the continued prominence of godly ballads in the early Elizabethan period reflected the importance of this repertory in the previous two decades. Thus, I stress that the musical experiences of London’s (and England’s) laypeople in the Edwardine and Marian years had considerable impact

⁵² With respect to music, this conclusion reflects the language in article forty-nine of the queen’s 1559 injunctions for religion, which allows for “an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised,” to be performed before or after morning or evening prayer. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 2, *The Later Tudors (1553–1587)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), 127–128. Jonathan Willis provides an overview of this scholarship, as well as his own take on the debate, in *Church Music and Protestantism*, 57–58.

⁵³ Five of these books were purchased, for example, by the churchwardens at St. Margaret Pattens in 1558/9. London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/002, p. 4. For more on musical practices in parishes under Elizabeth I see Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, ch. 3 “Musical Provision in the Elizabethan Parish Church,” 83–131. On metrical psalms, see Leaver, “*Goostly Psalmes*,” ch. 7 “Return to England,” 238–271.

on how they used music in the early period of Elizabeth's reign. By exploring a variety of genres and performance contexts throughout the dissertation, I hope to have underscored the significance and breadth of the role religious music played in mid-Tudor England.

CHAPTER I

Reforming Communities: Musical Continuity, Liturgical Change, and the Re-Sacralization of the Parish Church

In the year 1559, Thomas Draper, in his capacity as churchwarden of the London parish St. Mary at Hill, dutifully recorded the purchases he had made in the preceding year. In addition to procuring new Psalters, copies of the English procession, and plainsong books, Draper noted a payment of twelve pence “for the changing agayne of the sayd bookes.”¹ In the months after Queen Elizabeth I’s accession, it must have seemed to Draper, and countless other Londoners, that their world had once again been thrown into turmoil. Churchwardens’ account books such as the volume from which Draper’s entry is taken provide a wealth of information about parish practices, yet rarely do these books offer insight into how those keeping the accounts *felt* about their purchases. What is remarkable about Draper’s seemingly mundane statement is the emphasis the entry places on the act’s repetition: Draper expresses not a preference for the Latin mass over the English, nor a desire for a return to the vernacular, but instead a feeling of resignation and, perhaps, even frustration that his parish must once again overhaul their customs—a demand requiring a considerable outlay of time and money.

Chapter 1 of this dissertation examines musical practices in London’s parish churches in the period immediately preceding Draper’s account entry; that is, during the reigns of Edward VI (1547–1553) and Mary I (1553–1558). This chapter argues that the musical choices of many of the city’s parish churches under Edward VI demonstrate a strong and relatively consistent desire

¹ LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, fol. 817r.

to incorporate polyphonic music into the reformed liturgy; in some cases, this practice correlates to reformist tendencies, while in other instances such connections are less clear. In addition, a number of churches purchased vernacular music even *before* implementation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, indicating that some in these communities hoped to use music to confessionalize fellow parishioners. The maintenance and expansion of performing forces in London's parishes likewise reveals that Londoners sustained a high degree of interest in liturgical music. A survey of musical style in the Wanley Partbooks, a contemporary collection of liturgical polyphony copied for use in a London church, further corroborates the archival evidence, demonstrating that there was a great deal of continuity in the sound of parish worship from the Henrician period into the 1550s.

Although the majority of London parishes quickly purchased Latin-texted liturgical and music manuals in the first year of Mary I's reign, the level of new polyphonic music book purchases was lower than under Edward VI. In a few cases, moreover, the *lack* of new music, particularly when compared to an excess of music purchases from 1547–53, suggests that these communities resisted liturgical change through refusing musical provision, hoping to prevent the re-Catholicization of both church space and the beliefs of its parishioners. A decline in the musical forces retained in a few parishes during the Marian period may indicate a similar disinterest in England's return to the Catholic church, though this phenomenon may also be the result of financial considerations. A discussion of contemporary works by William Mundy, then a London parish clerk, reveals links to both early and late Henrician style, indicating that the musical past could similarly be employed to promote Catholic beliefs. Music thus played a crucial function in both the confessionalization and sacralization of the parish church at this time.

The Late-Medieval English Liturgy and London's Parishes under Henry VIII

The parish church served as a spiritual touchstone for laypeople in the early sixteenth century. In addition to Sunday mass, many laypeople attended a low mass several times each week, and votive masses in honor of specific saints, as well as masses dedicated to Jesus and the Virgin Mary, were popular.² Daily *Salve* services, short musical devotions to the Virgin Mary held in many parishes following Vespers, also offered laypeople an opportunity to worship in the parish.³ These services were usually financed and organized by lay fraternities, whose members paid yearly dues to support the group's work. A large parish might boast more than one of these organizations, though some had none at all. Membership in a religious fraternity was voluntary; while their primary functions typically included weekly masses, aid to the sick, and yearly commemorative services for the dead, on occasion fraternities might raise funds for parish building projects, and the wealthier of these institutions could support almspeople.⁴

All of these services, of course, relied heavily on sensation—on the ability of the laity to see, hear, touch, smell, and even taste the elements that constituted the liturgy. Music was crucial to the worship experience both in London and across England, and it was the strong foundation of musical performance in the late-Henrician church that led to its continued use under Edward VI and Mary I. As Matthew Milner has shown, the late medieval church exploited sensory

² For an overview of these practices see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 112–115.

³ The Eton Choirbook, for example, contains a substantial body of repertoire most likely written for these services; see Magnus Williamson, “*Pictura et scriptura*: The Eton Choirbook in Its Iconographical Context,” *Early Music* 28 (August, 2000): 359–380. Frank Ll. Harrison also briefly discusses the *Salve* service in *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1958), 82–5.

⁴ For an overview of parish fraternities, see Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England 1250–1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), as well as Rosser, “Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages,” in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350–1750*, ed. S. J. Wright (London: Century Hutchinson, 1988), 29–55; for London parish fraternities specifically see Caroline M. Barron, “The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London,” in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honor of F. R. H. Du Boulay*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1985), 13–37.

physiology to heal and restore believers; in the sixteenth century sensation was thought not just to *enhance* the experience of worship, but instead to *do* something real and physical to the perceiver.⁵ Although sight was the most valued of the senses in the Middle Ages, hearing came in a close second, for unlike any other sense, it was partnered by an active faculty: the voice.⁶ Medieval aurality characterized listening as a virtual turning of attention to a specific noise—significant sounds would stand out to the soul from a potentially distracting acoustic background.⁷ Music, and specifically texted music, played a particularly important role in traditional piety, offering what Milner has described as “a potent mixture of the intellectual power of speech and the affective consonant power of music.”⁸ Religious music, moreover, could restore consonance between the body and the soul.⁹ As ritual, the act of performing music allowed for the expression of belief, but also converted music into a site for reintegrating thought (belief) with action.¹⁰ As such, the ritual performance of music provided a powerful platform for

⁵ Milner, *Senses and the English Reformation*, 4; see also ch. 2, “Religiosity and Sensing in Pre-Reformation England.”

⁶ Following Aristotle’s *De Anima*, Reginald Pecock, a mid-fifteenth-century English moral theologian, divided the senses into two groups: those necessary for life, and those allowing individuals to “leerne and encrease in knowyng.” Pecock ranked the senses as Aristotle had done: sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. See Reginald Pecock, *Folewer to Donet by R Peacock*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 22. The voice was particularly affective because words and thoughts were direct expressions of the soul; see Jonathan Rée, *I See a Voice* (London: Flamingo, 2000), 82.

⁷ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, writing in the thirteenth century, characterized this process as the “soule taking heede” to significant sounds; see *Batman vpon Bartholome his booke De proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged and amended* (London, 1582), fol.19r. See also Charles Burnett, “Sound and Its Perception in the Middle Ages,” in *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, Michael Fend and Penelope Gouk (London: Warburg Institute, 1991), 48.

⁸ Milner, *Senses and the English Reformation*, 30.

⁹ The inverse was also true: if poorly combined or used incorrectly, texted music posed a danger to the soul. This thread of medieval thought, of course, traces its roots to a passage in Augustine’s *Confessions* (Book 10, Chapter 33 [49–50]); see *Augustine, Confessions, Vol. II*, ed. and trans. Carolyn J. B. Hammond (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 150–5.

¹⁰ Although theories of ritual are diverse, Catherine Bell emphasizes that most distinguish between the conceptual aspects of religion (such as beliefs) and ritual, which acts out or performs these conceptual orientations; ritual is also, however, “the very mechanism or medium through which thought and action are integrated.” See Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 19–23.

effecting spiritual growth in lay congregations. It is also worth noting the fundamental aural character of the mass itself: late medieval English men and women more often wrote of masses heard, not masses seen.¹¹ Although extant church buildings from this period are few, architectural evidence shows that their creators took into account the critical affective potential of music. Choir stalls were built against chancel walls or on raised, hollow platforms, for example, or might have paneling running along the upper rank as soundboards; all of these innovations were designed to aid in the reverberation of the human voice.¹²

The soundscape of the late medieval parish encompassed liturgical chant, religious polyphony, secular minstrelsy, the chiming of bells, and the playing of organs, not to mention all the incidental noises of worship. Documentary evidence shows that parishes paid close attention to the sounds that combined text and music—namely, liturgical chant and polyphony. Plainsong, of course, was a universal staple of parish services, whereas polyphony was an optional adornment. However, by the later fifteenth century, pricksong, or composed polyphony, was sung increasingly on a regular basis at Lady and Jesus masses, High Mass, Vespers, Compline, and at *Salve* services.¹³ In addition, by the third quarter of the century choirmasters were often required to teach their pupils how to extemporize three types of simpler polyphony: faburden, descant, and squarenote, all of which were used on a regular basis.¹⁴

¹¹ Milner, *Senses and the English Reformation*, 148.

¹² *Ibid.*, 107.

¹³ Magnus Williamson, “Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means,” in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), 180–181, 210, 213–214. Lady and Jesus masses were special masses celebrated weekly, most often on a Friday or Saturday, for which churches often purchased specially composed musical settings.

¹⁴ Jane Flynn, “The Education of Choristers in England During the Sixteenth Century,” in *Institutions and Patronage in Renaissance Music*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 143.

This interest in explicitly musical services in the late medieval English church was not unique to London, but there is strong evidence for its practice there.¹⁵ Even small or poor parishes usually employed at least one musician: the parish clerk, whose duty it was to sing the parts of the mass and office not assigned to the priest. At the smallest churches they might carry out the maintenance normally undertaken by a sexton, but at larger churches they might oversee other musical staff. From the late fifteenth century, many London parishes began to hire assistant musicians, or conducts, paying them a yearly wage like the clerk. By 1547, the wealthiest two parishes in London, St. Dunstan-in-the-East and St. Mary at Hill, employed six and four conducts, respectively, though the average number was much closer to one or two.¹⁶ Parishes also began to hire additional singers for special feasts and services more regularly during the latter half of the century.¹⁷ This focus on explicitly musical services affirms the value many of these communities placed on texted music for spiritual edification.

In his investigation of the financial basis for parish music in London from 1450–1550, Richard Lloyd documented an important source of funding for late medieval music-making, which points directly towards lay support of music-filled liturgies: the chantry. Chantries were individual foundations that financed regular intercessory masses in remembrance of their benefactors; these endowments also provided the parish with supplementary labor in the form of a chantry priest. Lloyd’s examination of the *post mortem* bequests of London inhabitants demonstrates that a number of churches received several such bequests. Records from the

¹⁵ For an overview of the growth of music making in London parishes from the end of the fifteenth century through the beginning of Edward VI’s reign, see Baillie, “London Churches,” especially 195–217.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 53–8, 83–6. Baillie gives the number of conducts at St. Mary at Hill at five, but both the chantry certificate and the CWA list only four. Baillie offers an overview of the staff of a typical parish church (rector, parish priest, morrow mass or chantry priests, parish clerk, conducts, and choristers) on pp. 39–65; Richard Lloyd provides a similar summary on pp. 28–60 in “Provision for Music.”

¹⁷ Richard Lloyd offers some examples of these payments on pp. 43–45 of “Provision for Music.”

chantry certificates produced in 1548 indicate that the roughly 100 London parish churches supported in excess of 240 perpetual chantries, the vast majority of which were administered by laypeople.¹⁸ Most churches thus had at least one chantry priest, who was required by canon law to sing in the choir and assist at Matins, Evensong, mass, and the other hours.¹⁹ In some parishes, several chantry priests would be formed into a “college” along with other clerks or conducts.²⁰ In addition, lands from chantries and other endowments often produced revenues in excess of their needs; these funds, Lloyd shows, were used by parishes to supplement their musical forces, allowing for the regular performance of composed polyphony.²¹

Significantly, the musical life of the parish in this period was supported primarily by the laity: Lloyd demonstrates that the founders of chantries often left detailed instructions concerning which masses were to be celebrated, and even, in many cases, that certain services were to be sung polyphonically. In addition, these chantries were by and large managed by laypeople, who hired new priests, decided how to spend excess funds, and ensured that perpetual chantries were kept, well after the lifetimes of their benefactors. Although the majority of parishioners could not afford to found chantries, some established similar, temporary endowments; the majority, moreover, belonged to parish fraternities, which likewise supported masses and devotions.²² This lay focus on music suggests not only that laypeople valued the sensory experience of a polyphonic liturgy, but that they gained some spiritual benefit from its

¹⁸ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 63–5, 97–8. In London 67 parishes had between one and three chantries; 16 supported four or five, and six supported six or more; only 10 parishes had no chantries. See also C. J. Kitching, ed., *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548* (London: London Record Society, 1980).

¹⁹ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 80–81.

²⁰ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 8.

²¹ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 90–100.

²² Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 65–69, 74–78.

performance. Music served thus both as a means of expressing praise *of* God, and a method for turning the soul more directly *to* God.

Parish fraternities and testamentary endowments also increased the number of opportunities for the performance of polyphony in London parishes. Testators often requested that their obits—the celebration of *placebo* and *dirige* services on the eve of the anniversary of the founder’s death, with requiem mass the following morning—be performed by a large body of priests and clerks, suggesting polyphonic masses.²³ Fraternities occasionally held lavish festivities for their members that likewise included the performance of polyphony.²⁴ In one London case, the performance of polyphony was the sole rationale for the existence of a fraternity: the *Salve* guild of St. Magnus the Martyr, the chapel on London Bridge, employed chaplains and clerks to sing Lady Mass and the *Salve* antiphon daily.²⁵ These services all allowed parishioners to experience polyphonic performance during liturgies that parishes were not strictly required to offer by canon law; lay enthusiasm for such devotions, then, indicates a sustained interest in musical performance within worship.

The zeal for music expressed in testamentary bequests, fraternity activity, and employment records is matched in many late medieval London parishes by their purchase of books of composed polyphony. At St. Mary at Hill, one of London’s wealthiest and most musical parishes, successive wardens purchased at least sixteen distinct books of prick-song—probably three sets of five partbooks and a choirbook—over the course of Henry VIII’s reign, and

²³ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 70–2.

²⁴ The Fraternity of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary at St. Margaret’s, Westminster, for example, held triennial celebrations consisting of a grand dinner and the performance of a festal Mass of the Virgin’s Assumption. See Fiona Kisby, “Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster,” *Early Music* 23, No. 2 (1995): 231.

²⁵ Williamson, “Liturgical Music,” 190. Williamson also notes further instances of fraternities founded with similar goals in other parts of England.

recorded at least three payments for pricking additional songs into existing books.²⁶ This list, when considered alongside St. Mary at Hill's music staff of a parish clerk, five conducts, and five chantry priests, strongly suggests that the choir performed polyphony not only on feast days but perhaps even several times per week.²⁷ Similarly, St. Margaret Pattens employed a parish clerk and two or three conducts; one of these men trained choristers with whom they regularly sang Lady Mass, Jesus Mass, and anthems.²⁸ These churches were almost certainly the exception rather than the rule, however. A more typical example is the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, whose Henrician CWA records a purchase of four pricksong books in 1541/2, alongside occasional payments to singers hired to supplement the normal full-time staff of two clerks.²⁹ Although it is difficult to draw broad conclusions about the regularity of polyphonic performance in late medieval London churches due to the small number of extant CWAs, based on his survey of these records Hugh Baillie estimates that nine out of ten London parishes performed composed polyphony at least on major feasts as a supplement to plainsong and faburden.³⁰

The picture that exists of musical life in London parish churches under Henry VIII, then, is one of enthusiastic engagement. When able, laypeople endowed or donated money that underwrote musicians' salaries and financed supplementary masses and devotions. London parishes moreover began to increase the number of paid musicians in their choirs toward the end

²⁶ Baillie, "London Churches," 200–1. In 1521/2, a pricksong book of Kyries, Alleluias and Sequences; in 1529/30 five pricksong books of anthems and five of masses; in 1537/8 five "square" books.

²⁷ The 1548 chantry certificate for St. Mary at Hill lists five separate chantry priests serving its seven perpetual chantries; see Kitching, *Chantry Certificate*, 5–6. As Hugh Baillie discusses in an article on St. Mary at Hill, by 1530 the parish regularly paid six clerks (a parish clerk and five conducts); in some years there were fewer full-time clerks and more part-time clerks (in 1538, for example, 11 clerks received wages but only three of them had a full year's salary). Hugh Baillie, "A London Church in Early Tudor Times," *Music & Letters* 36, No. 1 (1955): 61.

²⁸ Baillie, "London Churches," 213.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 212. Records for the last years of Henry VIII's reign document payments to two full-time clerks, though turnover could be high; see fols. 109r, 112v, 115v, and 118v of LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 219.

of the fifteenth century, and under Henry VIII several invested in books of polyphony. Though there were undoubtedly many churches that were unable to afford the expansive offerings of parishes like St. Mary at Hill, the majority believed that music played a vital role in worship, and sought to augment their offerings when possible. Thus in the last years of Henry VIII's reign the laity saw music as a foundational aspect of worship—one that would enhance their devotional experience and help their prayers to be heard.

Music in Reformed Worship: A Fragmented Soundscape

Although much has been made of the “official” attitude of the Edwardine government towards the presence, function, and style of music in the liturgy, the overwhelming majority of pronouncements concerning music reached relatively limited audiences.³¹ Perhaps the most widely quoted passage is a private letter by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1532–53, written to Henry VIII on 7 October, 1544. In this letter, Cranmer tells the king that he has written plainsong for his new, English-texted litany, which he argues “will much excite and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness.” Additionally, Cranmer expresses his preference for new music to be written in a specific style:

... but in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly as be in the Matins and Evensong, *Venite*, the Hymns, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, and all the Psalms and Versicles; and in the mass *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, the Creed, the Preface, the *Pater noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*.³²

³¹ Discussions of contemporary writings, injunctions, and proclamations that refer to music appear (for example) in Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 7–25, and Hyun-Ah Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and The Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 107–25.

³² Le Huray, Kim, and Temperley all quote the majority of this letter: Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 7; Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music*, 118; Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 12.

Cranmer's vocal support of music in the liturgy, even in a private letter, is important; as the highest religious authority in England and one of the primary authors of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Cranmer had the power to curtail or support existing practices, and it is clear from his letter that he preferred the latter. His desire for syllabic music with clear text declamation also corresponds with examples of extant contemporary polyphony, so scholars have often treated this letter as an official music policy. Yet Cranmer's letter was unpublished and therefore likely known only to the few others with whom Henry VIII might have shared it; certainly, we cannot assume that a majority of clergy—let alone laypeople—knew the archbishop's views.

Similar opinions abound in injunctions and articles written for specific dioceses. Perhaps the most famous of these comes from a set of injunctions received by the Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral on 14 April 1548 from the royal visitors appointed for their diocese:

They shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and then not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other. And after them read the collect for the preservation of the King's Majesty and the magistrates, which is contained and set forth in the English suffrage.³³

This emphasis on syllabic music certainly echoes Cranmer's position, suggesting that this opinion was widespread among reformers working for the crown; like Cranmer, the royal visitors are on the whole supportive of a musical liturgy. Another more restrictive example is the injunction given by Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York, to his diocese on 4 August 1552:

We will and command that there be none other note sung or used in the said church at any service there to be had, saving square note plain, so that every syllable may be plainly and distinctly pronounced, and without any reports or repeatings which may induce any obscureness to the hearers.³⁴

³³ Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co.: 1910), 2:168.

³⁴ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 318.

We cannot assume that such pronouncements had wider circulation, even though they clearly expressed opinions that were popular among both lay and clerical reformers at the time. Not every reformer, moreover, dictated specific instructions about musical style. Proclamations issued by Edward VI and his advisors, for example, provide few clues about the “official” government stance on music.³⁵ Both the Royal Articles and the Royal Injunctions of 1547 mention singing, but these are only references to the performance of specific sections of the liturgy, such as the directions in Article 23 noting that the priests and choir shall “sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany” in English.³⁶ Likewise, the Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, had little to say about parish music making in his own diocese. In his visitation articles for London, issued in May of 1550, Ridley is concerned with the frequency of organ playing in worship and whether members of any parish “doth in interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by open words, declare or speak anything in depraving or despising the said book [the *Book of Common Prayer*].”³⁷ Otherwise, he asks no questions about parish musical practices, nor does he indicate any concern for the musical tastes of London’s inhabitants.

The lack of explicit instruction in royal proclamations and injunctions regarding music in the liturgy suggests that controlling this element of worship was not high on the list of priorities for the new Edwardine government. Although some bishops and royal visitors expressed concern over the nature and style of liturgical music, these examples were the exception rather than the rule. In addition, each author *assumes* a place for music in the liturgy. Thomas Cranmer’s early interest in reforming musical practice, moreover, indicates that he would have been supportive of

³⁵ For a modern edition of royal proclamations made during the reign of Edward VI see Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, *The Early Tudors 1485–1553* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964).

³⁶ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 124.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 234–5.

efforts to write new music for the English liturgy under Edward VI. The dearth of information Londoners received from their bishop on the matter thus implies that the choices they made were based to their own inclinations—they were offered little guidance on how best to accommodate music in the reformed liturgy. This absence of an official policy on music thus allowed parish communities to make their own choices about the role music should play in reformed worship.

Old Wine in New Bottles? Music and Worship under Edward VI

The earliest Edwardine reforms began soon after the king's accession, and on 4 November 1547 at the mass opening the new session of Parliament, the Gloria, Creed, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei were all sung in English.³⁸ The first official change to the liturgy, however, did not come until April of 1548, with the publication of *The Order of the Communion*, an English-language supplement to the Latin liturgy.³⁹ Owing to the imprecise nature of entries relating to book purchase in many CWAs, it is possible to conclude only that a few London parishes—nowhere near the majority—bought this leaflet.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Charles Wriothesley, a contemporary chronicler, notes that beginning in May, “Poules [Paul’s] quire with diuers other parishes in London song all the service in English, both mattens, masse, and even-songe.”⁴¹

³⁸ Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1569*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton (London: The Camden Society, 1875), 187.

³⁹ Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv.

⁴⁰ CWAs invariably refer to English-texted service manuals as “service books,” “communion books,” “books of the new service,” “books of the communion,” and so on; presumably the purchases of “communion” books prior to 1549 in CWAs refer to the 1548 *The Order of the Communion*, but even then in some cases it is not possible to tell whether the book was purchased before or after the *Book of Common Prayer* was available in 1549. For example, in 1548/9 the churchwardens at St Stephen’s Walbrook paid for “ij Bokes of the order of the commvnion” (LMA P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/002); the wording here strongly suggests purchase of the 1548 publication but other entries are ambiguous.

⁴¹ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:2. The anonymous Grey Friars chronicler also notes that after Easter in 1548 “beganne the servis in Ynglyche” at St. Paul’s and “also in dyvers other pariche churches.” J. G. Nichols, ed., *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (London: Camden Society, 1852), 55.

Though experimental practices such as these are often difficult to document, evidence from CWAs corroborates Wriothesley's testimony, demonstrating that in the first two years of Edward's reign several parishes experimented with English in worship, even in some instances expressing a clear desire to enact reform *through* a sung liturgy. On 17 July 1548, the wardens at St. Botolph's, Aldgate purchased six books of the psalms in English, in order "to haue the seruyce of the church there vpon them songe to the ende that the people shulde vnderstande to prayse god the better." Unfortunately for the parishioners, their curate, William Rofford, "wolde not so synge." After Rofford had Robert Owen, one of the parish churchwardens, arrested in an attempt to prevent the matter from moving forward, the parishioners took the matter to the Lord Mayor of London, receiving dispensation to hire a new curate.⁴² Such specific conflicts over the musical and linguistic contents of the service are rare, but this example speaks to the strong religious convictions of Londoners across the confessional spectrum, and highlights the central role music could play in such battles.⁴³

The wardens at St. Andrew Hubbard similarly purchased two "mattyns bookes" in English in 1548, though the entry does not specify whether these volumes were intended for the choir.⁴⁴ English psalm books also made an appearance at several churches: at St. Dunstan in the West, St. Alphage London Wall, and St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, the wardens each purchased five psalters or psalm books; at St. Mary Woolnoth, the wardens bought six copies. At the latter three parishes, moreover, CWAs indicate that the books were purchased for the choir.⁴⁵

⁴² LMA P69/BOT2/B/012/MS09235/001, fol. 5r.

⁴³ As Susan Brigden notes, this conflict ostensibly began over a tithe, but was fundamentally a tussle between the conservative and reform-minded parishioners of the church; see Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 431–2.

⁴⁴ LMA P69/AND3/B/003/MS01279/002, fol. 52r.

⁴⁵ LMA P69/ALP/B/006/MS01432/001; P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, fol. 128v; P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, fol. 5; and P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A, fol. 48r. At St. Dunstan's the psalms were sung by priests.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, sung English-texted psalms formed a cornerstone of devotional literature during Edward VI's reign, increasing in popularity throughout the period. This early interest in liturgically sung English psalmody, then, ties into the broader popular consumption of English psalms and indicates a reformist desire for English scripture in these communities.

At both St. Margaret Moses Friday Street and St. Mary Woolnoth, moreover, the wardens purchased pricksong in English at this time. At St. Mary Woolnoth, the wardens paid the parish clerk "for wryting and prykking the bokes for the preistes to syng their servys in the quyre by note."⁴⁶ Thus, the lay leadership of the parish acted to ensure musical performances of some parity with previous practice; like at St. Botolph, Aldgate this community wanted the service to be *sung* in English. At St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, the wardens similarly paid their clerk for "v bouckes *that* be prycked for the chvrch in eyngleshe."⁴⁷ Although it is impossible to tell what type of music these latter books contained, this desire to incorporate composed, English-texted polyphony into a still-Latin service demonstrates a sustained interest in both reform and liturgical music. The churchwardens of these parishes thus saw no reason to abandon the musical practices of the past in order to embrace reform; instead, they employed a sung liturgy to confessionalize their parishioners.

These parishes that incorporated some vernacular music into worship in the first year and a half of Edward's reign, of course, are unusual; of the twenty-five parishes with extant records, only the six aforementioned communities bought English-texted music books. With such a small sample size, it would be dangerous to draw conclusions about the percentage of parishes overall that quickly accepted reform. Still, it is important that reform-minded parishes embraced music

⁴⁶ LMA P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A, fol. 48r.

⁴⁷ LMA P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, fol. 5. At St. Christopher-le-Stocks the records note a payment "for pryckinge of sonnge bookes to the clearke of sainte peters churche for our quire" in 1548 (TNA E 117/4/49); however, these records do not indicate the language in which these books were written.

as a means of promoting reform, rather than rejecting its central role in worship; these parishes relied on vernacular music as a means to create reformed spaces before such use had been officially sanctioned. The larger change to the liturgy, and one that would affect all parishes, came the following year with the publication of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

On 14 March Parliament ordered that this “uniforme booke” be used across the king’s dominion by Whitsunday of 1549. In London, it was duly purchased by most parishes—of the thirty-two parishes whose records survive for the years 1548/9, 1549/50, or 1550/1, twenty-seven bought the volume. As Charles Wriothesley notes, some churches implemented the *Book of Common Prayer* early: “Poules [St. Paul’s] quire, with divers parishes in London and other places in England, begane the use after the said booke in the beginning of Lent.”⁴⁸ Aside from its theological differences and vernacular text, the *Book of Common Prayer* introduced another potentially radical change: much of the liturgy is (or can be) spoken.⁴⁹ The volume does indicate, however, that much of the text may sung. In further instances, most notably in the ordinary of the mass, singing is offered as the *only* means of delivery (see Figure 1, which includes an instruction after the “Sanctus” saying “This the clerkes shall also synge.”).⁵⁰ Yet despite allowances for a partially sung liturgy, the *Book of Common Prayer* offers no help in preparing its users to do so. Moreover, Edward’s government issued no official proclamation regarding music in the liturgy, requiring only that parishes use the *Book of Common Prayer* for worship.

⁴⁸ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:9.

⁴⁹ In Catholic service books large portions of the liturgy were circulated as notated plainchant.

⁵⁰ The Kyrie may be said by the priest or sung by the clerks. The priest begins the Gloria, and the clerks continue.

At the Communion. Fol. C. lx.
all the holy companie of heauen: we laude and magnify thy glorious name, euer more praising the, and sayng.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hostes, heauen and earth are full of thy glorie: Osanna in the higheste. Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the lord Glorie to the Lord, in the highest. This the clerkes shall also synge.

When the Clerkes haue done synging, then shall the Priest or Deacon, turne him to the people and say

Let vs pray for the whole estate of Christes church.

Then the Priest turnyng him to the Altar, shall say or synge playnely and distinctly, this prayer following,

Almyghtie and euerlyuynge god, whiche by thy holye Apostle, haste taughte vs to make prayers and supplications, & to geue thanks for all men. Wee humbly beseeche the, mooste mercifullye to receiue these oure prayers, which we offre vnto thy diuine Maiesty, beseeching the to inspire continuallye the vniuersall Church, with the spirite of truthe, vnitie and con corde. And graunt that all they that do confesse thy holy name may agre in the truth of thy holye worde, and lyue in vnitie and godly loue. Specially we beseeche the to saue & defende thy seruauit **EDWARD** our kynge, that vnder him we may be godly and quietly gouerned. And graunt vnto his whole Counsaile, and to all that be putte in Aucthoritie vnder hym, I, u, y that

Figure 1. Fol. C. lx. of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

One of the book's many innovations had substantial repercussions for the sound of parish worship: it required that the entire psalter be read through once each month at both Morning and Evening Prayer. By the end of 1550, twenty-nine of the thirty-two London parishes with extant records had purchased multiple English-texted books of psalms. Although the *Book of Common Prayer* does not indicate that the psalms must be sung, the early purchase of English psalters for the choir in 1547/8 at St. Dunstan in the West, St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, and St. Mary Woolnoth suggests that reform-minded parishes were loath to abandon the existing practice of

chanting the psalms. Further purchases of the psalter continued through the end of Edward's reign: by the time the so-called "dissolution inventories" were compiled in 1552, at least sixty-three of the ninety-seven parishes in London, Westminster, and Southwark had purchased English psalters (though the number is likely much higher).⁵¹ Many of these churches, moreover, possessed substantial numbers of psalters, suggesting choral use.⁵²

Strong external evidence corroborates the possibility that many of these volumes were music books. Shortly after the *Book of Common Prayer* was printed, Richard Grafton issued a service manual designed to help parish clerks administer the new English service. Designated *The Clerk's Book of 1549* by J. Wickham Legg, the volume contains two parts. The first half is a set of rubrics and texts containing "All that appertein to the clerkes to say or syng at the ministracion of Communion," as well as other services laid out in the new *Book of Common Prayer*. Following these texts is "The Psalter or Psalmes of Daud, after the translacion of the greate Bible, poynted as it shal be song in Churches."⁵³ Within each psalm text, each verse is divided in half with a colon, indicating to the user where the verse should be split when sung, if

⁵¹ Only fifty-two of the ninety-five parishes which submitted returns included *any* service books on their inventory list, suggesting that book ownership numbers in the dissolution inventories are artificially low: nine parishes which either did not complete returns or did not include any books in their lists do show payments for books in their respective CWAs: St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Dunstan in the West, St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, St. Margaret's Westminster, St. Mary at Hill, St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Olave Southwark, and St. Stephen Walbrook.

⁵² Combined data from CWAs and similar accounts submitted with a handful of dissolution inventories shows that psalters were almost always purchased in multiples of two, with parishes buying two, four, six, or eight copies at a time. On the lower end, parishes such as St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish St held only two copies (one purchased in 1550/1 and another in 1552/3; TNA E 117/4/14), while other parishes like St Sepulchre without Newgate bought psalters in greater numbers (fourteen copies in 1549/50; TNA E 117/4/89). Of parishes with extant records, St Stephen Walbrook purchased the largest number, eighteen psalters during Edward's reign, also paying for a further eight psalters to be "changed," presumably from Latin to English. There is further no indication in *any* account that psalms were sung congregationally in this period, despite claims to this effect in existing scholarship.

⁵³ J. Wickham Legg, ed., *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (London, 1903). Legg gives the shelfmark of *The Clerk's Book* as C.36.d.1., but this is incorrect; his *Clerk's Book* is probably C.36.e.18. (STC 2377, also available at Lincoln Cathedral Library, and Yale University). Edward Whitchurch also produced a copy of this book under Grafton's direction (STC 2376.5; copies available at Emmanuel College, Cambridge and the New York Public Library).

using the standard Sarum psalm tones (see Figure 2). This volume thus provides all the means necessary for a parish clerk to sing the psalms: relying on his memory of the existing tones, he need only follow the new text to produce music that would retain much of the audible experience of Catholic worship. Several further versions of the psalter section of this book also exist, suggesting that copies of the psalter designed for singing held considerable appeal at the time.⁵⁴

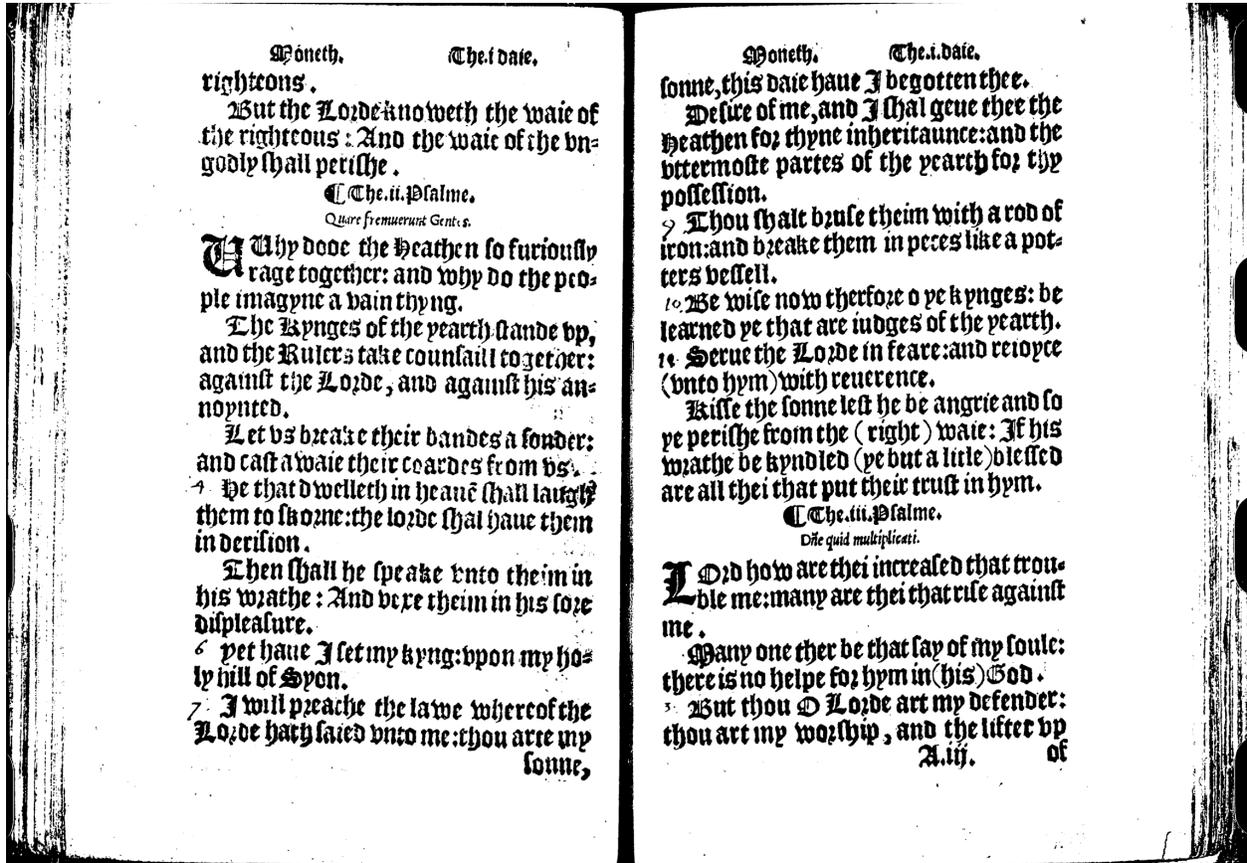


Figure 2. Text for the second psalm on fols. A.ii.v to A.iii. of *The Clerk's Book*.

While the psalter was the most widespread of all types of liturgical music printed or copied in the Edwardine period, a number of London parishes expressed interest in a more completely sung liturgy: at least six churches purchased some type of musical setting of the service in 1549 or 1550. For example, at All Hallows Staining, the wardens paid for “sarten

⁵⁴ With a publication date of 1549 alone: STC 2376, 2376.3, 2378, and 2380.

saltar bokes and odar pryked bokes of the engells sarvys” in 1549.⁵⁵ At All Hallows Bread Street the wardens paid the clerk of St James’s church to “prick” books of the new service, while the wardens at St. Sepulchre without Newgate paid their own clerk for the same task. At St. Dunstan in the West, the clerk was paid for “setting forthe the seruice” in English in the same year.⁵⁶ The records of St. Margaret Moses, Friday Street likewise indicate a purchase of “iiij bokes to syng sarvusse apon.”⁵⁷ At St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, moreover, the wardens purchased not only eight psalters, but paid for “*the serves* in englyshe with *serten* songs of iij partes”⁵⁸—the latter of which were perhaps English-texted anthems. In some of these cases, such as at All Hallows Staining, All Hallows Bread Street, and St. Sepulchre without Newgate, the mention of “pricksong” or “pricked” books indicates a purchase of polyphonic service music; in the other cases, this conclusion must be inferred from the surrounding text in the accounts.

This interest in a musical adaptation of the new service, when viewed alongside the aforementioned efforts of 1548, shows that approximately one-quarter of the parishes in London with surviving accounts made an attempt at using musical settings of the service within the first three years of Edward’s reign.⁵⁹ This parish outlay of money on new English service music is significant; though the *Book of Common Prayer* allowed for a sung liturgy, its lack of direction on the matter placed the burden on individual parish communities to provide music. These purchases thus suggest that for these communities, a sung liturgy was a high priority; in addition,

⁵⁵ LMA P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/001, unfoliated.

⁵⁶ TNA E 117/4/76; TNA E 117/4/89; LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, fol. 133v.

⁵⁷ LMA P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, fol. 7r.

⁵⁸ LMA P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/001, fol. 98v.

⁵⁹ This number is difficult to calculate, since there are thirty-two parishes with accounts for 1549/50 but only twenty-five for 1547/8; seven parishes in total purchased musical settings of the service in Edward’s first three years, or between twenty-two and twenty-eight percent of parishes with extant accounts.

they indicate that, at least in the minds of some reformers, the best way to introduce congregants to English-texted services was to rely on the aural familiarity of liturgical polyphony.

The introduction of the vernacular into English worship may have been gradual—first the litany in 1544 and then the *Order of the Communion* in 1548—but the adoption of a fully English liturgy at Pentecost of 1549 must still have come as a shock to those spiritual lives had been nurtured by the Latin mass. This change would have been even more pronounced had the new services been primarily spoken, since in the medieval liturgy speech was overshadowed by singing. Latin, and specifically chanted or intoned Latin, was the means through which communicants had received the word of God for centuries. Even if the church walls had not been whitewashed and its candles, images, and communion vessels had not been banned, the replacement of Latin with the profane, spoken language of everyday life would have represented a clear, audible break with the religious past.

The use of English-texted, polyphonic service settings in these parishes, then, might serve several functions. For those suspicious of or opposed to religious change, polyphonic service music offered a link to the immediate religious past, retaining a prominent audible feature of the late medieval mass. Susan Guinn-Chipman has noted a similar phenomenon in English parishes with respect to building interiors and material items, demonstrating that communities often adapted or recycled physical objects as a way of retaining a connection with earlier religious identity under Edward VI.⁶⁰ Though some reformers disparaged all polyphonic singing, most who mentioned music at all only noted a preference for *syllabic* settings.⁶¹ For reform-minded

⁶⁰ Guinn-Chipman highlights how this reaction played out following the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII and the dissolution of the chantries under Edward VI. See Susan Guinn-Chipman, *Religious Space in Reformation England: Contesting the Past* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 26–72.

⁶¹ Erasmus was the most prominent critic of English musical practices, calling *faburden* “a distorted kind of song” that “neither returns to the pre-existing melody nor observes the harmonies of the art” (see Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music*, 100).

parishioners and clergy, then, this polyphonic service music not only enhanced the experience of the new English texts but also facilitated a turning of the soul toward God in a more transparent or perfect manner, now uncorrupted by the opacity of Latin text. These efforts are best characterized as a method of sacralization, in which parishes used music to construct a new type of sacred experience meant to confessionalize a Catholic audience and reimagine the sacred space of the church. Many reformers in this period rejected outright the Catholic rite of church consecration, dismissing this ritual as superstitious.⁶² The use of music within the liturgy to sacralize these buildings, then, became even more crucial once the traditional rites that originally formalized these places as separate from secular society had been abolished. Finally, the new Edwardine injunctions and *Book of Common Prayer* had abolished the many occasional services traditionally held in parishes, such as Lady and Jesus masses or the *Salve* service, for which these communities typically commissioned or purchased polyphony. By commissioning their own musical settings of the English service, parishes could reclaim a degree of the autonomy they had enjoyed before the Edwardine government's dramatic changes to the liturgy.

What is more, a number of parishes went out of their way to purchase polyphony during Edward's reign, despite the financial difficulties these communities now faced. Including the seven parishes whose purchase of polyphonic service settings I have already described, twenty of the thirty-two parishes in my study—that is, over sixty percent—acquired books of polyphony between 1547 and 1553.⁶³ Furthermore, eight additional parishes record prick-song books in their

⁶² Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage, and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 135.

⁶³ All Hallows Bread Street (TNA E 117/4/76, fols. 7r, 8r, 10v); All Hallows the Great (TNA E 117/4/95); All Hallows Staining (LMA P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/001); St. Benet Gracechurch (LMA P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001, 18, 35, 43); St. Christopher-le-Stocks (TNA E 117/4/49); St. Dionis Backchurch (TNA E 117/4/70); St. Dunstan in the West (LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, fol. 133v); St. Margaret Moses Friday Street (LMA P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, fols. 5r, 7r); St. Margaret Westminster (Westminster Archives SMW/E/1/3); St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street (LMA P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/001, fol. 98v); St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish St (TNA E 117/4/14); St. Mary at Hill (LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, fol. 709v);

dissolution inventories, though as these records are notoriously unreliable, this number is presumably artificially low.⁶⁴ Some of these records are unclear about what *type* of texts were set; the standard wording indicates only that someone was paid to “prick” books for the choir or that “books of pricksong” were purchased, meaning it is impossible to tell in many cases whether these were settings of the communion service, books of anthems, or a combination. Nevertheless, when read collectively these records intimate that many London communities saw music as an integral part of the liturgy, irrespective of their religious beliefs. That parishes were purchasing music books at a time when Protestant reforms made considerable demands on their budgets, *and* after they had lost the chantry funds that supported liturgical spending in the past, further suggests that music making in worship was a particular priority. Moreover, though in many ways the sound of worship had fundamentally changed—gone were the Latin texts, the sanctus bell, and the votive antiphons of the medieval mass—pricksong in the reformed communion service provided an opportunity for aural continuity that many parishes must have found desirable.

In the late medieval English church, the singers in the choir of a parish were often supplemented by one or more chantry priests.⁶⁵ What happened to the musical staff at London’s churches, then, when parishes lost the income (and clerical support) of chantries after the

St. Mary Woolnoth (LMA P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A, fols. 48r, 58r); St. Michael Cornhill (LMA P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/001, fol. 29r); St. Michael le Querne (LMA P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/001, fol. 126v); St. Olave Southwark (Southwark Local History Library and Archives Stolave, p. 19); St. Peter upon Cornhill (TNA E 117/4/11, p. 18); St. Peter Westcheap (TNA E 117/4/31); St. Stephen Walbrook (LMA P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/002); St. Sepulchre without Newgate (TNA E 117/4/89, fol. 9r)

⁶⁴ All Hallows Honey Lane, Holy Trinity the Less, St. Anne and Agnes, St. Faith’s, St. Lawrence Pountney, St. Mary le Bow, St. Mary Woolchurch, and St. Olave Hart Street all included pricksong books in their inventories; see H. B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation with an Account of their Contents* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939), 101, 129, 162, 333, 437, 463, and 541, and TNA E 117/4/5 fols. 7r–v for St. Faith’s (Walters inexplicably omits this information from his entry for St. Faith’s). As noted above, some parishes listed *no* books in their inventories, and my research has demonstrated that many of those parishes did, in fact, possess multiple books; this suggests that many of these inventories are incomplete. Richard Lloyd also notes this discrepancy (Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 232).

⁶⁵ Lloyd, “Provision for Music,” 98.

Edwardine Chantries Act of 1547?⁶⁶ St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, one of the parishes that invested in English-texted polyphony at this time, boasted one chantry priest and one morrow mass priest at Edward's accession, as well as a parish clerk.⁶⁷ The parish maintained only a full-time parish clerk in 1547/8 and 1548/9, occasionally hiring additional singing men to help on major feasts. In the last quarter of 1549/50, however, the congregation hired a conduct; payments to the conduct in the next two years indicate that the position was not quite permanent, but by 1552/3 he was earning 40s (£2) per year.⁶⁸ Although this wage does not indicate full-time employment, the relatively small number of services required under the new *Book of Common Prayer* suggests that the liturgical need for full-time musicians was less than it had been. This additional position indicates that this parish was committed to finding a way to fund musical services, even after the endowments that had supplied extra priests were no longer available.

Likewise, St. Michael Cornhill supported three chantry priests, two of whom also served as conducts, as well as one clerk and two further conducts. In 1548/9 the parish was able to pay only one clerk for the full year, though one of the chantry priest-conducts received a half year's salary. By 1549/50, however, the parish had hired three musicians (a clerk, a conduct, and an organ player), indicating that they placed a relatively high importance on musical services.⁶⁹ St. Mary Woolnoth, similarly, had three chantry priests in 1547, plus one clerk and one conduct; if their CWAs are to be believed they paid no musicians the following year, but by 1550/1 had

⁶⁶ Although a similar Chantries Act was passed under Henry VIII in 1545 which ordered all chantry lands and funds to belong to the king, few chantries were closed or transferred to Henry VIII in the remaining two years of his life; the Edwardine Act of 1547 completed this process.

⁶⁷ Kitching, ed., *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate*, 19. A second chantry paid out 5s. to Sir Nicholas Prideaux, priest, but this was clearly only a small supplementary position, not full-time work.

⁶⁸ LMA P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, fols. 3v, 4v, 7r-v, 13v, 16v, 17r, 23r, 24r, 27r.

⁶⁹ LMA P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/001, fols. 27r-v, 29r, 32r, 34v, 35v, 37v, 38r, 40r, 42r. These records are somewhat problematic; two accounts exist for both 1547/8 and 1548/9, and they do not always agree. In addition, a payment to the clerk is missing in 1551/2, but I assume this is an error, since payments to the clerk occur in every other year, and it is unlikely a parish would hire a conduct and organ player without a parish clerk.

hired three clerks. The next year, however, the parish was back down to two clerks, a fluctuation suggesting that St. Mary Woolnoth struggled with finding regular funding to pay their musicians after having their endowments confiscated.⁷⁰

The records of St. Mary at Hill, which supported four conducts under Henry VIII, at first paint a similar picture. The CWAs show a dip in employment in the period immediately following the implementation of the Chantries Act: in 1547/8 the parish employed three conducts; in 1548/9 only the parish clerk was paid for the full year, with one additional singer paid for half the year; but in 1549/50 there were three paid musicians again and by 1550/1 the total was up to four positions.⁷¹ The chantry certificate shows that the funds for all four conducts originally came from chantries; as the parish could no longer rely on chantry revenue, we may conclude that hiring trained singers remained a priority for this community even when they had to find new income sources to do so. St. Mary at Hill also supported five chantry priests in 1547, however, and no traces remain of them in the Edwardine CWAs. Moreover, most parishes neither increased nor decreased their musical staff under Edward's rule, yet most had lost at least one chantry priest. How, then, did these communities make do with smaller forces?

Typically answers to this question focus on the perceived simplification of musical style at mid-century, but there is another possible explanation: court records show that a number of laymen sang in their parish choirs as volunteers during Edward VI's reign. In his 1554 visitation articles for London, the reinstated bishop Edmund Bonner asked "Whether there hath been any...who in the time of the English service did commonly use to sing in the choir, [and who]

⁷⁰ LMA P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A, fols. 47r, 50r, 52v, 55r, 57v.

⁷¹ LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, fols. 697r, 701r, 707v, 742v. Of course, the situation is not quite as clear-cut as this: William Mundy, who served as parish clerk from 1548/9, was paid a yearly salary, but many of the conducts were paid by the quarter or half year, and seemed to change jobs regularly; my totals are based on the collective salaries paid in these accounts (i.e., two conducts each paid for a half year would represent one "position" in a single year).

doth now... absent and withdraw himself from the choir.”⁷² The wording of Bonner’s question implies that volunteer choir membership in mid-sixteenth-century London was common, and perhaps predates the Edwardine period, as Nicholas Temperley has suggested.⁷³ Those laymen who sang in the choir, moreover, must have achieved a certain level of musical literacy; as the polyphonic music purchased by parishes possessing only one or two paid musicians indicates, at least three or four singers would have been required to perform this repertoire. I suggest, then, that an influx of volunteer singers may have helped parishes to cope with the sudden unavailability of their chantry priests, allowing churches to supplement their paid musical staff.

For reform-minded individuals, the English-texted polyphony performed by such choirs could re-sacralize churches that—to their minds—had been profaned by “popish” practices. In the opening of the preface to the *Book of Common Prayer*, Thomas Cranmer highlights the need for the church to reform its ways: “There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so surely established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted: as (among other thinges) it may plainly appere by the common prayers in the Churche, commonlye called divine service.”⁷⁴ Cranmer’s focus in the preface on a uniform liturgy and the reading of divine scripture—two practices he found sorely lacking in Catholic worship—was part of a larger agenda which sought to eradicate the “superstitious” rituals of Catholicism. As Jonathan Z. Smith points out, reformist rhetoric insisted on the “emptiness” of ritual; the images, Lady masses, candles, vestments, and other implements required in the Catholic liturgy—all of which had served to demarcate sacred places in the Middle Ages—obscured the true purpose of

⁷² Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 351–2.

⁷³ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 10.

⁷⁴ Text citations from the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* are taken from Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer*, here p. 4.

worship.⁷⁵ For reformers, then, Catholic ritual had not only corrupted the true practices of the church but had also profaned church buildings through these actions.

Despite their hostility to Catholic practices, however, reformers too relied on the process of sacralization to construct meaning—Cranmer did not, for example, abandon existing church buildings, nor the basic structure of the liturgy or the actors (clergy, parish clerks) responsible for its enactment. Catherine Bell emphasizes how such a process “gives rise to (or creates) the sacred as such by virtue of its sheer differentiation from the profane.”⁷⁶ In order to re-sacralize the profaned church, reformers had to construct a mode of worship that would cleanse the building of its Catholic associations. Furthermore, the new *Book of Common Prayer* services also had to generate new reformed spaces in buildings that had been stripped of their ritual implements. As Henri Lefebvre has argued, sense impressions are fundamental in fashioning the spaces we perceive;⁷⁷ texted music, with its power to turn the soul toward God more effectively than text alone, might then hold the ability to create reformed space. Through the performance of English-texted polyphony—itself a ritual action—these parish communities could shape new, reformed spaces and turn their membership toward a new set of beliefs at a time when many of the traditional elements of ritual were no longer available to them. Sound, as Georgina Born has argued, has the ability to constitute both subjective and communal identity;⁷⁸ this performance of reform-oriented polyphony could also thus serve as a tool of religious conversion for individuals who were hesitant to embrace religious change.

⁷⁵ Smith, *To Take Place*, 100–2. For a discussion on the sacralization of the medieval church, see Hamilton and Spicer, “Defining the Holy,” 5–11.

⁷⁶ Smith, *To Take Place*, 105; Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 91.

⁷⁷ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

⁷⁸ Georgina Born, introduction to *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, ed. Georgina Born (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 19.

Thus, archival evidence from London parishes demonstrates that these communities by and large embraced music in worship under Edward VI, but did so for numerous reasons. Some employed both monophonic and polyphonic music to promote reform, while others retained polyphony as a link to the liturgical past; in both cases, such practices might appeal to both reformers and conservatives, as well as those who cared little about the theological details of religious change. In order to perform polyphony, these communities may have seen an expansion of lay membership in their choirs, after losing the benefit of chantry priests in 1547. Still other parishes—whether due to financial considerations or lack of interest—ignored music altogether. Despite the small number of parishes in the latter group, the strong interest in music in most communities nevertheless demonstrates that musical practices remained a vital piece of reformed worship for Londoners at this time, indicating that these laypeople continued to believe that music—and polyphony in particular—aided in turning the soul toward God.

Pricksong for London Parishes: the Wanley Partbooks

Discussions of musical style in mid-sixteenth-century England have often drawn connections between Edwardine reformers' writings on music and the relatively plain, syllabic style found in collections such as the Wanley and Lumley Partbooks.⁷⁹ The Wanley manuscripts (GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 420–2) form the largest collection of Edwardine music, with 90 complete pieces; roughly seventy-five percent of these are found only in this source.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, both sets of four partbooks are incomplete: Wanley is missing its tenor book, and Lumley its bassus. Fifteen concordances between Wanley and John Day's *Mornyng and Evenyng*

⁷⁹ These two sets of partbooks, together with John Day's publication *Mornyng and Evenyng prayer* (1565), constitute the principal and most valuable surviving collections of Edwardine vernacular sacred music.

⁸⁰ James Wrightson, *The 'Wanley' Manuscripts: A Critical Commentary* (New York: Garland, 1989), 1.

prayer (1565), however, offer numerous complete examples, and the extant parts still allow for conclusions about musical style and function.⁸¹ The Wanley Partbooks, furthermore, are of particular relevance for this dissertation. In his codicological analysis of these manuscripts, James Wrightson has shown that the Wanley Partbooks were most likely produced and bound in London. Based on the primarily four-part settings and the tessitura of the parts, Wrightson also suggests a parish connection to the manuscripts: a larger musical establishment such as the Chapel Royal would have employed choristers and been able to perform five- and six-part music regularly, rendering a collection like Wanley, with its settings for men alone, superfluous.⁸²

Although there is a clear correlation between certain reformers' desire for syllabic music and the style of much Edwardine polyphony, the musical settings in Wanley exhibit numerous links with earlier repertoire that indicate not only a continuity in practice and style, but in certain cases an intentional cooption of Catholic music in the service of promoting reformed belief. In a series of three articles published between 1979 and 1982, John Alpin drew attention to the features in this repertory that link this new Edwardine music to the Sarum liturgy, demonstrating that composers relied on techniques originating in earlier practices.⁸³ More specifically, Alpin identified fourteen items (nine canticles, one psalm, and four "Te Deum" settings) that incorporate a plainsong-based structural voice.⁸⁴ In the nine canticles and the psalm setting, the

⁸¹ In *The 'Wanley' Manuscripts*, Wrightson lists concordances between Wanley, John Day's *Mornyng and Evenyng prayer* (1565), the Lumley Partbooks (GB-Lbl Royal Appendix MSS 74–76), and a single tenor/bassus partbook held at the British Library (GB-Lbl Add. MS 34191).

⁸² Wrightson, *The 'Wanley' Manuscripts*, 19, 241–8.

⁸³ John Alpin, "Early English Te-Deum Settings," 247–275; Alpin, "'The Fourth Kind of Faburden': The Identity of an English Four-Part Style," *Music & Letters* 61, No. 3/4 (1980): 245–265; Alpin, "Cyclic Techniques in the Earliest Anglican Services," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 409–435.

⁸⁴ These pieces include three settings of the Benedictus (numbers 35, 39, and 72); two Magnificats (numbers 3 and 80); two Nunc Dimittis settings (numbers 33 and 81); a setting of Psalm 47 (number 46), a Venite (number 40), a Benedicite (number 45); and four Te Deum settings (numbers 30, 34, 38, and 71); see Alpin, "'The Fourth Kind of Faburden,'" 265 and "The Survival of Plainsong," 261.

formal structure is largely governed by the psalm-tone recitation formulas they incorporate.⁸⁵ As noted above, London's parishes purchased substantial numbers of psalters in this period, which were likely designed for chanting the psalms. This contemporary compositional practice in Wanley, then, offers further evidence that these recitation tones were still being used in London parishes, demonstrating not only an indebtedness to the late medieval liturgy, but a desire to retain an audible connection to previous practice.

Alpin has argued that the *cantus firmus* function of plainsong in the Wanley repertory was retained primarily as a "musical stabilizer" against an "increased pressure for stylistic change," which he claims was "made necessary through the changing doctrines."⁸⁶ Alpin's characterization of this practice implies that composers relied on Sarum melodies as a preventative measure, to guard against dramatic aural change. The subset of items that use this technique, however, suggests a specific compositional attention to the ubiquity of psalm tones in Catholic worship. The similar organizational structure of the "Te Deum" settings around this text's preexisting Latin chant, moreover, links this hymn's myriad Henrician functions to the new vernacular liturgy—an important connection now that the "Te Deum" no longer played a ritual role in public life. If this use of plainsong were only meant to stabilize a changing musical style, we might expect to see it appear in more varied text categories, such as the communion services or vernacular anthems. Instead, its use is concentrated and particular, maintaining an audible connection to the liturgical past *and* present.

Alpin also links the overarching features of these plainsong-based compositions to a compositional practice called by the sixteenth-century music theorist Scottish Anonymous "the

⁸⁵ See Wrightson, *The 'Wanley' Manuscripts*, 172–77, for a slightly different take on these settings.

⁸⁶ Alpin, "The Survival of Plainsong," 260. Alpin's assumption that there was external "pressure" for stylistic change is based on the standard scholarly reading of diocesan injunctions concerning music as "official" policy.

Fourth Kind of faburden,” in which the two upper voices (and to a lesser extent, the bass voice) are derived from an existing plainchant tenor.⁸⁷ The extemporization of faburden was a common practice in late medieval English parishes; as Jane Flynn has shown, it was one of the first techniques taught to young choristers when they began their musical education.⁸⁸ In traditional or simple faburden, one new voice is created above the existing chant moving primarily in parallel fourths; a new voice below sings in fifths or thirds beneath it.⁸⁹ In fourth kind faburden, which bears strong resemblance to the continental practice of falsobordone, two upper voices move in parallel sixths and thirds with the plainsong tenor, below which a bass supplies either a unison with the tenor or a third, fifth, or octave below it. Although the plainsong-based works in Wanley do not display a direct representation of this style, the link is quite strong (see Figure 3).⁹⁰ This connection further indicates, then, that Edwardine composers relied on earlier compositional techniques and style in creating vernacular music for the new liturgy.

Indeed, it is difficult not to find links to faburden in *any* of the relatively homophonic, syllabic sections of music in Wanley and its contemporary sources, in part due to the preponderance of passages with alternating 5/3 and 6/3 chords and a practice of using the sixth as a consonance in its own right.⁹¹ These Wanley pieces, moreover, have precedents in earlier Latin repertoire, namely the three so-called “Playn Song” masses that survive together in the Gyffard Partbooks, and which were likely written towards the end of Henry VIII’s reign. Although they

⁸⁷ Alpin, “The Fourth Kind of Faburden,” 245–6.

⁸⁸ Flynn, “The Education of Choristers,” 143.

⁸⁹ Brian Trowell, “Faburden,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09199>).

⁹⁰ Alpin, “The Fourth Kind of Faburden,” 248. Alpin suggests that the differences are likely due to the complications presented when fourth kind rules are put into practice.

⁹¹ Wrightson provides a valuable overview of the treatment of harmony in Wanley; see *The ‘Wanley’ Manuscripts*, 152–68.

C1
Lord, now let - test thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace:

C2
Lord, now let - test thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace:

T
Lord, now let - test thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace:

B
Lord, now let - test thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace:

2
ac - cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes have seen: thy sal - va - ti - on,
ac - cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes have seen: thy sal - va - ti - on,
ac - cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes have seen: thy sal - va - ti - on,
ac - cord - ing to thy word. For mine eyes have seen: thy sal - va - ti - on,

Figure 3. “Nunc Dimittis” (number 81) from the Wanley Partbooks.⁹²

lack plainsong tenors, Alpin notes “strong plainsong-like features” in all three masses by John Taverner, John Sheppard, and Thomas Tallis, and each of the settings shows connections with fourth kind faburden to some degree (see Figure 4). More significantly, in contrast to earlier sixteenth-century festal masses, these masses are four-part works which are frequently homophonic and largely syllabic.⁹³ As James Wrightson has demonstrated, of the free

⁹² In this “Nunc Dimittis” from the Wanley Partbooks, the composer adapts fourth kind faburden: although the tenor has been reconstructed (using the solemn form of tone 1/v), the top countertenor sounds mainly a parallel sixth above the tenor; the second countertenor does not run in strict parallel fourths but rather fourths or thirds with an occasional fifth or sixth; the bass is the most free of the three new voices.

⁹³ Alpin, “The Fourth Kind of Faburden,” 256–9.

compositions in Wanley, about twenty-five percent are homorhythmic, and most of the rest contain at least some chordal writing.⁹⁴ This stylistic feature, which is often linked in scholarly literature with the desire for plain, syllabic music expressed in Edwardine injunctions, thus predates Edward’s accession by at least two years, but probably more.⁹⁵

C1 Et ex - spe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - - - - - nem mor

C2 Et ex - spe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - - - - - nem mor - tu

T Et ex - spe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - - - - - - - - - - -

B Et ex - spe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - - - - - - - - - - -

Figure 4. “et exspecto resurrectionem” from the “Credo” of Taverner’s *Playn Song Mass*.

Other features also point to the continuity of musical style in the Wanley repertory. The alternation between chordal and imitative textures found in Taverner’s *Playn Song Mass*, for example, is also a prominent feature of such Wanley works as the anonymous Communion 4 (59a–e) and Thomas Knight’s “Magnificat” (32), as well as anthems by Tallis (“If Ye Love Me,” 49) and Sheppard (“Christ Our Paschal Lamb,” 58), among others; this structure also features in the settings in Christopher Tye’s *The Actes of the Apostles* (1553), which are discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Wrightson notes that there are several text categories represented in pieces of this structural type, but that the largest number of examples are of the “antem” (or

⁹⁴ Wrightson, *The ‘Wanley’ Manuscripts*, 181. This figure includes numbers 2, 5, 9, 16, 27, 42, 47, 51, 53, 56, 60, 63, 66, 67, 83, 84, and 90.

⁹⁵ John Taverner died in 1545, so his “Playn Song” mass must date from at least before 1545; as Hugh Benham has shown, however, Taverner worked as a professional musician only until the 1530s, probably finishing his career by 1537. See Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), especially 9–13.

anthem) type, a new genre whose antecedents can be found in the votive antiphon repertory of the Henrician period.⁹⁶ In his own study of the early English anthem, John Milsom has drawn a similar conclusion: “for composers of the period, the sense of connection and continuity was almost certainly as strong as that of distinction and change.”⁹⁷ Although Milsom’s point here is that the compositional techniques and formal structures of Edwardine and early Elizabethan anthems can also be found in “secular” partsongs and carols written in the two decades preceding Edward’s accession, he shares with Alpin and Wrightson the conclusion that there is a great deal of continuity in early Edwardine musical style.

Despite the desire expressed in Edwardine injunctions for Lincoln Cathedral (1548) and York Minster (1552), as well as Cranmer’s 1544 letter to Henry VIII—all of which indicate a preference for syllabic, plain settings—there is no evidence that any London officials held similar beliefs; certainly Bishop Nicholas Ridley mentioned nothing of the sort in the injunctions issued for his diocese. Given the stylistic connections between the Wanley repertory and earlier polyphony, a more likely explanation is that this music was written precisely *because* it maintained an audible feature of Catholic worship. The rapid pace at which over sixty percent of parishes with surviving accounts purchased polyphony in the Edwardine period demonstrates that obtaining this music was a priority; though we cannot know whether all this polyphony resembled the Wanley repertory in musical style, the breadth of Wanley’s textual sources, as well as the high degree of textual variance, suggests that these pieces were written by a number

⁹⁶ Wrightson, *The ‘Wanley’ Manuscript*, 184.

⁹⁷ John Milsom, “Songs, Carols and ‘Contrafacta,’” 34.

of different composers.⁹⁸ These factors, then, indicate that it is musically representative of the vernacular repertoire being performed at this time.

It is possible that the potentially smaller size of Edwardine parish choirs contributed to the preference in Wanley for a simpler or more streamlined style; certainly those parishes that lost several trained musicians with the dissolution of the chantries, such as St. Mary at Hill, would have had fewer singers equipped to manage complex polyphonic repertory. However, few sources of liturgical polyphony exist that were copied in the two decades prior to Edward's accession, and of the existing choirbooks and partbooks, none were created for parish use.⁹⁹ Although the music in the Wanley manuscripts provides a strong contrast with the six-part repertory of the Forrest-Heyther Partbooks, for example, and the two sets are only separated by some fifteen years, the latter were copied for use at Cardinal College, Oxford, where John Taverner served as the Master of the Choristers from 1526–30.¹⁰⁰ The financial and musical means available to an Oxford college—not to mention one of Cardinal Wolsey's new

⁹⁸ For an in-depth discussion of Wanley's text sources, see Wrightson, *The 'Wanley' Manuscripts*, ch. 3 (49–96). Wrightson's study demonstrates that the King's Primer of 1545 was an important source for the Wanley repertory, as were the Bible and *The institution of a Christen man* (1537); though there are some settings where the text concords with the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, he cautions that they may predate 1549 in some cases, since certain of these texts had been published previously in nearly identical versions; in addition, the text of the *Book of Common Prayer* was approved as early as September of 1548. See pp. 94–98 in particular.

⁹⁹ The first layer of the Forrest-Heyther Partbooks (c. 1528–30; GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 380; available online at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2289/>) was copied in Oxford for use at Cardinal College; the Ludford Partbooks (c.1525, before 1533; GB-Lbl Royal Appendix 47; available online at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2106/>) were copied at St. Stephen's, Westminster but probably intended as a gift for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon; and the repertory of the Henrician Peterhouse Partbooks (c.1539–41; GB-Cp MSS 31–2, 40–1) comes from Magdalen College, Oxford but was probably copied for use at one of the New Foundation cathedrals such as Canterbury or Durham (see Nicholas Sandon, "The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse: A Study, with Restorations of the Incomplete Compositions Contained in Them" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1983). The Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks (both c.1525; GB-Cgc MS 667/760 and GB-Llp MS 1) were copied by the same scribe, who also copied the music on what is known as the Arundel Roll (Arundel Castle, Archives of the Duchy of Norfolk, Ms.A34). David Skinner and Roger Bowers have proposed conflicting provenances for these sources; Skinner puts Arundel College forward as the likely place of copying, while Bowers argues the evidence instead points to the household chapel of the Earl of Arundel. See Skinner, "Discovering the Provenance and History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks," *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (1997): 245–66, and Bowers, "More on the Lambeth Choirbook," *Early Music* 33, no. 4 (2005): 659–64.

¹⁰⁰ Benham, *John Taverner*, 8–12.

foundation—were more substantial than those of the average London parish. Even the masses by Taverner, Sheppard, and Tallis in the Gyffard Partbooks were probably written for ensembles capable of performing more complex polyphony; thus, it seems likely that some of the simpler musical style in the Wanley repertory might be explained by the abilities and number of musicians available to perform this music in a London church. Though there are links between musical style in Wanley and Edwardine reformist rhetoric, the music in Wanley is also typical of later Henrician style. This connection indicates that London parishes were incorporating music that sounded familiar into reformed worship, demonstrating that musical continuity played an important role in the adoption of reform in these communities.

Returning to the Fold: Religious Policy under Mary I

Shortly after Mary I's accession to the throne in July of 1553, the new queen entered London with a large retinue to sounds of great rejoicing. On 8 August, Mary assured the Mayor and Aldermen of the city that she would not "compel or strain other men's consciences" with respect to their religious beliefs.¹⁰¹ This temporary peace did not last long, however. An anti-Protestant sermon at Paul's Cross the following week, given by Edmund Bonner's chaplain Dr. Gilbert Bourne, resulted in the audience screaming "thou liest" and "papist" at Bourne before someone in the crowd threw a dagger at him; the crowd was only prevented from doing further damage at the intervention of John Bradford, a prebendary at the cathedral. Immediately, the Privy Council summoned the Mayor and Aldermen to offer a guarantee that they could keep

¹⁰¹ J. R. Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 4 (London: 1892), 317; also quoted in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 528.

control of the city. Meanwhile, on 15 August an opposition pamphlet urging those “favouring the Word of God” to band together flooded the city streets.¹⁰²

Although it seemed initially that Mary I might tolerate some degree of religious freedom, her government moved quickly to reverse the reforms made under her brother’s rule.¹⁰³ In October, Parliament approved an Act of Repeal, which nullified all religious legislation passed under Edward VI. After 20 December, parishes would be compelled to celebrate “all such diuine seruice and administration of Sacramentes” as they had done in the last year of Henry VIII’s reign, returning English religion to the practices of the late medieval church.¹⁰⁴ After the dust had settled, Mary issued a set of injunctions to her bishops on 4 March 1554, in order to ensure that parishes were adhering to her liturgical changes. Like the injunctions issued by Edward VI’s government, Mary’s articles say nothing specific about musical practices or style; beyond a mention of unlawful ballads there is no direct reference to music in her text.¹⁰⁵ This omission suggests that at least for the new queen, there were more important issues to pursue.

Music and its continued performance in the parish church was, however, central to the newly re-appointed Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner. His articles for his 1554/5 visitation of his diocese contain two statements about music that demonstrate his concern over its appropriate use. In article 54 Bonner asks whether the physical items needed for the ritual performance of the liturgy are present in the church, specifying individual books: “a legend, an antiphoner, a grail, a

¹⁰² A detailed account of this event (drawn from several primary sources) can be found in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 528–9. Bradford was a reformer who was later imprisoned for alleged crimes against Mary I, and eventually burned at the stake.

¹⁰³ One of Mary’s first proclamations, issued 18 August, affirms her own Catholicism but also offers some religious freedom, stating “that of her most gracious disposition and clemency her highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto unto such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein.” See Hughes and Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 2:6.

¹⁰⁴ The text was published as “An acte for the repeale of certayne actes made in the tyme of Kyng Edwarde the Sixt.”

¹⁰⁵ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 322–9.

psalter, an ordinal... a missal, a manual, [and] a processional.”¹⁰⁶ Although owning these items was standard practice in the late medieval English church, the precision of Bonner’s list suggests he was worried that some parishes might skimp on purchasing *all* the necessary Catholic books. Bonner’s inclusion of music books in this list also indicates an interest in ensuring that parishes were properly singing the Latin mass. Indeed, article 55 asks when the aforementioned items were purchased; if they are not present or in use, through “whose fault and negligence” has this situation arisen?¹⁰⁷ Thus it was not just a return to Catholic theology and the Latin language that motivated Bonner; he saw the proper ritual performance of the sung elements of the liturgy as crucial for bringing about the spiritual homecoming of the English people.

Bonner’s concern for the sound of worship, moreover, extended beyond his desire for musically correct and uniform services. His question regarding lay participation in the choir, already mentioned briefly in this chapter, demonstrates a clear belief that singing played a vital role in Catholic ritual:

“Whether there hath been any that being able to sing at the least his plain-song, and who in the time of the English service did commonly use to sing in the choir, doth now since the setting forth and renewing of the old service in the Latin tongue, absent and withdraw himself from the choir; declaring and expressing the names, surnames, and dwelling-places of all such persons?”¹⁰⁸

Bonner’s article draws into focus several important points. First, it gives voice to the belief that the efficacy of the mass was derived in part from the ritual act of singing its texts. Second, it foregrounds this action as an important element of worship; though many of the forty articles for the laity deal with whether people were attending church, as well as their actions and beliefs,

¹⁰⁶ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 344.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 345.

¹⁰⁸ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 351–2.

relatively few focus on the ritual acts within the mass itself.¹⁰⁹ This article thus concentrates Londoners' attention on the value of singing for spiritual edification. Finally, Bonner's question highlights the potential of music to serve as a site of contestation. In abstaining from this act of sacralization—in refusing to afford liturgical singing the power in Catholic worship they had allowed it in the vernacular—staunch reformers could weaken the affective potency of song.

In addition to requiring full participation in a sung liturgy, Bonner was also concerned with excess levels of noise during worship, afraid that such acts would “disturb” the laity. In other words, he put great stock in the value of aurality for religious (re)conversion. Article 76 focuses on whether members of the congregation had “murmured, grudged or spoken against, directly or indirectly, the Mass or other Divine Service,” but perhaps more importantly it asks whether anyone “hath made noise, jangled, talked, or played the fool in the church, in the time of Divine Service or preaching.”¹¹⁰ The problem of noise in worship was hardly a new phenomenon, and the criminalization of unauthorized liturgical speech predated England's return to Catholicism.¹¹¹ Indeed, Bonner likewise asked whether anyone did “wilfully interrupt, let, or disturb” any sermon or liturgy.¹¹² What is significant about Bonner's declaration in article 76, however, is his emphasis on the use of noise as a means to disrupt the *proper* auditory experience

¹⁰⁹ Only three of the articles deal with ritual acts in the liturgy (excluding those articles that focus on the sacraments of baptism and marriage): article 86 on processions, article 96 on proper reverence during “sacring time,” and the above-quoted article 89 on singing in the choir; see Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 347–55.

¹¹⁰ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 349.

¹¹¹ An act issued by Edward VI's government in 1551/2, for example, mandated punishment for “any person whatsoever” who “by wordes onelye, qyarrell chyde or brawle in any Church.” See ch. 4 (1551–2), in *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of his Majesty King George the Third...*, vol. 4 (London, 1819), 133. Legally, “to brawl in church” included any speaking other than that prescribed in the *Book of Common Prayer*; during Edward's reign, this phrase was interpreted to allow prosecution of those who worshipped using any other liturgical manual, essentially criminalizing all other forms of speech as quarreling or brawling. See Laura Feitzinger Brown, “Brawling in Church: Noise and the Rhetoric of Lay Behavior in Early Modern England,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, No. 4 (2003): 957.

¹¹² See article 81 in Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 350.

of liturgical ritual. Indeed, his concern here is on the audibility of worship—on ensuring that the aural elements of the liturgy will be able to affect the laity without the interference that other sounds could certainly create. Unlike the relative freedom offered under Bishop Nicholas Ridley, then, during Mary’s reign the musical choices of London’s churches were more carefully controlled—or at least, inspected—by the returning Bishop Bonner. Yet while Bonner’s concern for the audibility of the sung mass is clear, there is limited evidence that his policies had much of an effect on the musical practices of London’s parishes.

A Return...to What? Music and Worship under Mary I

Given the focus on musical liturgies during the reign of Henry VIII, one might expect that Mary’s reign precipitated a type of musical revival; certainly, there is evidence that Mary I’s government attempted such a restoration. My research demonstrates, however, that while most London parishes purchased the requisite Catholic service books, overall the financial outlay on polyphonic music amounted to less than it had under Edward VI. Thus, despite Bishop Bonner’s considerable—and official—focus on the audible elements of the mass, music appears to have been less important in worship under Mary I than it had been during her half-brother’s reign. While in some cases this choice may have been made due only to the financial constraints posed by having to acquire new liturgical ornaments, in other cases, a comparison with parish spending on music under Edward VI demonstrates that particular churches refrained from spending on Latin polyphony in order to undermine the officially mandated return to Catholicism; like Bonner, they believed in music’s power to affect the soul, but sought rather to use its benefits to promote reform. Still another possibility for this lack of spending on music might be that the presence of visual elements of Catholic ritual like crosses, statues, and vestments did the primary work of sacralizing space under Mary I, lessening the need for aural cues.

Bonner's question concerning parishioners singing in their choirs demonstrates the value religious individuals placed on music for creating sacred space and confessionalizing both individuals and entire congregations. Moreover, his concern suggests that there were fewer volunteers in Marian choirs than there had been under Edward VI, and the limited evidence available confirms this suspicion. There were, in fact, at least seven men charged by the London Consistory Court for failing to sing in their parish choirs during Bonner's visitation.¹¹³ These records, moreover, demonstrate both individual and collective resistance to participation in the Catholic mass. One James Golyver, a parishioner of St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, was concerned with not only his own religious inclinations but those of his household: he "hath not suffered nor wold not suffer his prentyses & other his *seruantes* to *serue* and sing in the queir" after the restoring of the Latin service.¹¹⁴ Thomas Bullocke of St. Stephen Walbrook was written up because he "was wonte to syng in the quyre in the tyme of Englyshe *servyce*" and now would not; Henry Blakeham of St. Alphage claimed that he was "inexperienced altogether in singing," but admitted to singing English psalms in the time of Edward VI.¹¹⁵ Although there exist only a few examples of individuals prosecuted for this offense—in part because only one Office Act Book from the reign of Mary I survives—that some men abstained from singing the Latin mass even when faced with specific consequences demonstrates that laypeople recognized the confessional implications of singing in Latin.

¹¹³ Records of the cases can be found in the Office Act Book of the London Consistory Court (November 1554 to June 1555), LMA DL/C/614, fols. 22v, 26r, 36v, 52v, and 59v.

¹¹⁴ LMA DL/C/614, fol. 22v.

¹¹⁵ LMA DL/C/614 fols. 26r and 52v; for the latter: "Quo die comparuit personaliter dictus Henricus Blakeham, cui objecto per dominum hujusmodi articulo, idem Henricus dixit, quod in cantando penitus inexpers est, quodque tempore Edwardi sexti solet cantare psalmos in Anglicis, unde dominus eum dimisit."

Granted the possible decrease in volunteer choir members, one might expect a slight increase in the number of paid musicians at London parishes, but this is not the case: the majority of parishes—eleven of eighteen—maintained their musical staff during this time.¹¹⁶ Of the remaining seven, three saw a decrease in staff, and four an increase.¹¹⁷ Most changes resulted in the hiring or letting go of a single staff member, typically meaning a parish would move from paying two musicians to hiring only one, or vice versa. Given the general instability of the period, and the tendency of parish musicians to change jobs regularly, only the decrease at All Hallows Staining (from three musicians to one) and the increase at St. Michael Le Querne (from one musician to three) stand out as unusual. Further study of the records of both parishes, however, does not offer any additional evidence as to the motivation behind these hiring choices; they may be indicative of a general preference for or against Latin worship, but it is not possible to provide a definitive answer.

A survey of parish book purchases, moreover, demonstrates that parish acquisition of Catholic service books was piecemeal. Just as the overwhelming majority of London parishes purchased the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* within the first year of its publication, likewise eighteen of the nineteen churches with extant CWAs for 1553/4 bought some Catholic service

¹¹⁶ Parishes whose musical staff remained the same: St. Alphage London Wall, St. Andrew Hubbard, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Margaret's Westminster, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street, St. Mary at Hill, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Matthew Friday Street, and St. Olave Southwark.

¹¹⁷ Decrease: All Hallows Staining (LMA P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/002, from three musicians under Edward VI [fol. 52v] to one clerk in 1554/5 [fol. 55v]); St. Benet Gracechurch (LMA P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001, one clerk and one conduct in 1552/3 [pp. 57–8] and one clerk under Mary I [p. 65]); and St. Botolph Aldersgate (LMA P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/059–60, one clerk and one conduct in 1552/3 and one clerk only in 1553/4). Increase: St. Dunstan in the West (LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, one clerk in 1552/3 [fol. 154v] and one clerk and one conduct in 1553/4 [fol. 160r]); St. Margaret Moses Friday Street (LMA P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, one clerk and one conduct in 1552/3 [fol. 27r] and one clerk, one conduct, and one semi-regular singer [later an organ player] in 1553/4 [fol. 30r–v]); St. Michael Le Querne (LMA P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/001, one clerk in 1552/3 [fol. 149v] and 1553/4 [fol. 155r] but one clerk and two conducts from 1554/5 [fol. 156a.r]); and St. Stephen Walbrook (LMA P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/002, one clerk in 1552/3 [fol. 26v] and one clerk and one conduct in 1553/4 [fol. 31r]).

books during this year, as outlined in Table 1. Though most parishes obtained the single mass book that would allow a priest to sing the Latin mass, few purchased what might be considered “full” sets of books; only St. Margaret’s Westminster, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Michael Cornhill, and St. Stephen Walbrook bought more than four different types of liturgical book.¹¹⁸ It is possible, of course, that a number of these parishes had kept some books purchased before 1547; though the majority of Edwardine dissolution inventories (and extant CWAs) indicate that parishes sold their Latin-texted books during Edward’s reign, these records most often only specify that “old” service books had been sold, without listing particular books.¹¹⁹ Indeed, in some places in England, mass books were removed from the church but then cared for by local inhabitants; such was the case at St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster, where in 1555 the parishioner John Best gifted the congregation “ij graylls, one Antyphoner, a precessyoner & a manuell.”¹²⁰ More likely, however, is that in the majority of London cases parishes had not retained their existing books.¹²¹ Thus, while many parishes were set up to do the most pared-down of Latin masses by Mary’s deadline of 20 December, this haphazard purchasing may explain why Bishop Bonner asked for a specific list of liturgical books in his 1554/5 visitation.

¹¹⁸ The CWAs for St. Dunstan in the West include an inventory from 1553/4 listing five antiphoners, three grayles, two mass books, one legend, and two old psalters; since none of these books were recorded as purchased this year, we must surmise that they had been kept during Edward’s reign. See LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, fol. 164r.

¹¹⁹ St. Dunstan in the West, for example, sold “certen bokes” in 1549/50 (LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, fol. 136r); similarly, St. Margaret Pattens received 20s in the same year from a stationer who bought “the churche bokes” (LMA P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/001, fol. 104r); St. Matthew Friday Street also sold its “quyer bokes” in 1548/9 for 13s, 4d (LMA P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/001, fol. 4).

¹²⁰ John Kitto, ed., *St Martin-in-the-Fields: The Accounts of the Churchwardens 1525–1603* (London: 1901), 158.

¹²¹ Most parishes across England either sold their books or had them confiscated under Edward VI; see Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 87.

Book Title	Number of Parishes Purchased ¹²²
Antiphoner (Antiphonal)	10 (53%)
Dirige Book	1 (5%)
Grayle (Gradual)	8 (42%)
Hymnal	5 (26%)
Legend	4 (21%)
Manual	7 (37%)
Mass Book (Missal)	16 ¹²³ (84%)
Processioner (Processional)	11 (59%)
Psalter	3 (16%)
Venite Book	2 (11%)

Table 1. London parishes that purchased Catholic service books in 1553/4.

Aside from procuring the mass book, London’s parishes were most concerned with obtaining music, specifically books that contained that for the mass (grayles), the office (antiphoners), and processions (processioners).¹²⁴ Although only up to half of the parishes in my study purchased such volumes, this number does not necessarily suggest limited interest. Prior to

¹²² Unless otherwise noted, each parish purchased one copy of each book. Antiphoners: St. Alphage London Wall, St. Botolph Aldersgate (multiple), St. Dunstan in the West (5), St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, St. Margaret’s Westminster (4), St. Mary at Hill (4), St. Mary Woolnoth (2), St. Michael Cornhill (3), St. Michael Le Quern (2), St. Olave’s Southwark, St. Stephen Walbrook (2); Dirige Books: St. Mary Woolnoth; Grayles: St. Alphage London Wall, St. Dunstan in the West (3), St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, St. Margaret’s Westminster (2), St. Mary at Hill (2), St. Mary Woolnoth (2), St. Michael Cornhill (2), St. Michael Le Quern, St. Stephen Walbrook (2); Hymnals: St. Margaret Moses Friday Street (2), St. Margaret’s Westminster (1), St. Mary at Hill (2), St. Michael Cornhill, St. Stephen Walbrook (2); Legends: St. Dunstan in the West, St. Margaret’s Westminster, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Stephen Walbrook; Manuals: St. Botolph Aldersgate (multiple), St. Margaret Pattens, St. Margaret’s Westminster, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Stephen Walbrook; Mass Books: All Hallows Staining, St. Alphage London Wall, St. Andrew Hubbard, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Dunstan in the West (2), St. Margaret Moses Friday Street (2), St. Margaret Pattens, St. Margaret’s Westminster (2), St. Martin in the Field, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. Mary Woolnoth (2), St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Michael Cornhill (2), St. Olave’s Southwark (probably 3), St. Stephen Walbrook; Processioners: All Hallows Staining (2), St. Botolph Aldersgate (multiple), St. Margaret Pattens, St. Margaret’s Westminster (2), St. Mary Woolnoth (3), St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Michael Cornhill (2), St. Michael Le Quern (4), St. Olave’s Southwark, St. Stephen Walbrook (4); Psalters: St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Dunstan in the West (2), St. Margaret Pattens; Venite Books: St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Michael Le Quern.

¹²³ St. Olave’s Southwark purchased three “communion” books after buying one processioner and one antiphoner; this suggests that these were Latin mass books, rather than copies of the *Book of Common Prayer*, though it is possible this church adopted some sort of hybrid worship model in the early period of Mary’s reign (Southwark Local History Library and Archives MS Stolave, 30). St. Botolph Aldersgate purchased “other bokes” along with their antiphoners, manuals, and processioners; it seems likely one of these was a mass book (LMA P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/060).

¹²⁴ For an overview of the basic books of the medieval English liturgy see Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7–8.

Edward's accession, most music books owned by parishes were in manuscript form; such books took time to copy, given the volume of music in each. Printed music books, meanwhile, had to be imported from Paris, Rouen, or Antwerp. Although a printed antiphoner might cost on average £2—a substantial decrease from the £5–10 range for a manuscript—this amount for a single book was considerable when compared to the unbound *Book of Common Prayer*, which was sold for no more than 2 shillings, 2 pence. Furthermore, although at least eight editions of the processioner were printed during Mary's reign, there is no evidence that any new grayles or antiphoners were published.¹²⁵ For these parishes to have acquired grayles and antiphoners so quickly, then, suggests that they purchased copies that had been sold only a few years earlier.¹²⁶ A handful must furthermore have kept some of their Latin books, since holding a Latin mass *without* a mass book would have been difficult.¹²⁷ Slightly over twenty-five percent of the parishes in my study also bought hymnals, moreover—one of the few books Bonner did not specify—again suggesting a potential awareness of the value of liturgical singing.

The picture of liturgical practice in London at the outset of 1554, then, was one of uneven conformity: most parishes were able to offer Latin masses, but many were still missing a number of the books required for the full celebration of Catholic liturgies. Two brief case studies will further demonstrate the complicated nature of religious heterodoxy, and its relationship to musical practice, during Mary's reign: the parishes of St. Mary Woolnoth, and St. Botolph Aldgate. Both churches each bought six books of English psalms for the choir early in Edward's reign (1547/8), indicating a strong interest in vernacular, sung psalmody; each similarly acquired

¹²⁵ Prices are taken from Magnus Williamson's recent article "Affordable Splendour: Editing, Printing, and Marketing the Sarum Antiphoner (1519–20)," *Renaissance Studies* 26, No. 1 (2012); see 80–5 (price calculations on pp. 80–1).

¹²⁶ In some cases, parishes likely purchased their own books back.

¹²⁷ Both St. Mary at Hill and St. Michael Le Quern purchased other Latin books, but not mass books, at this time.

the *Book of Common Prayer*. At St. Botolph Aldgate, the curate would not allow the psalms to be sung, and it was only after a protracted legal battle that the parish received dispensation to hire a sympathetic curate. At St. Mary Woolnoth, the church's interest in vernacular psalmody was accompanied by a purchase of English-texted service music in pricksong in the same year. Thus in both cases at least some members of each parish not only supported religious reform, but saw liturgical music as an important means through which to spread the new teaching.

At St. Botolph Aldgate, external evidence shows that the parishioners were deeply divided, with some supporting reform and others remaining conservative, and this information clarifies the heterogenous nature of the musical records. We at first see signs of resistance early in Mary's reign: in 1553/4 the wardens bought only one mass book and one psalter, though they acquired candles, crosses, vestments, and altar cloths.¹²⁸ The parish did not purchase any new books at least until after Pentecost the following year, instead paying 4s for "hyring of the Bookes that they songe with all in the quyre from easter vnto whytsontyde."¹²⁹ Finally, in 1554/5 the church obtained two processioners, two antiphoners, two grayles, four hymnals, a legend, and "foure other bookes the iijth daye of december for the Quyre."¹³⁰ This slight delay might be explained by the considerable cost of these books—in total, they ran £7, 8s—but it may also relate to the particularly bitter battles between reformers and conservatives at this parish.¹³¹

Liturgical music and its performance could thus become wrapped up in arguments over doctrinal

¹²⁸ LMA P69/BOT2/B/012/MS09235/001, fol. 28v.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 46v.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Susan Brigden touches on the punishment that befell the most ardent reformers in the vestry after Mary's accession in *London and the Reformation*, 568–9. The old guard hastened to restore the church, collecting money on Hock Monday of 1555 for a cross cloth; Anthony Anthony, John Farminger, and John Frank, who had brought reforming preachers to the church under Edward VI, were forced to contribute £20 towards the rood (*ibid.*, 592).

concerns in communities in which there was little agreement over which rituals proved a valid method for worshipping God.

The records of St. Mary Woolnoth, on the other hand, show a strong inclination towards music purchases during the reigns of both Edward VI and Mary I, suggesting either that the parish membership was divided, as at St. Botolph Aldgate, or that they placed a high priority on a musical liturgy irrespective of government religious policy. During the first year of Mary's reign, the wardens dutifully purchased "two antiphoners, ij grales, ij masse bookes, one legend, one manuell one venite booke, iij processyoners, and one derige booke" for a total of £10 16s 8d, demonstrating a willingness to follow Marian religious policies.¹³² What is more, the following year the parish bought "a booke of masses and antims in pricketsonge;" though the language of the music in this volume is unspecified, the term "masses," taken together with the previous year's purchase, indicates Latin-texted music. St. Mary Woolnoth thus invested early in new polyphonic music for the Latin liturgy.

Yet under Edward VI, this parish had been one of the earliest adopters of vernacular worship, paying in 1547/8 for six psalters in English for the choir as well as remunerating their clerk "for wryting and prykking the bokes for the preistes to syng their servys in the quyre by note."¹³³ The early adoption of a vernacular liturgy, *before* it was mandated by Edward VI, seems a clear choice on the parish's part to embrace liturgical change—but was this parish divided, the way St. Botolph Aldgate had been, over Edwardine reform? There is no information in the surviving sources that allows us to determine whether the purchase of both English- and Latin-texted polyphony meant certain parishioners favored the former while others preferred the

¹³² LMA P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A fol. 63r; the parish also bought a second manual the same year for 3s.

¹³³ LMA P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A, fol. 48r.

latter. What this material does reveal, however, is that those attending St. Mary Woolnoth had a strong preference for a polyphonic liturgy; the purchase of new pricksong under both Edward VI and Mary I—when the financial burdens of making required changes to the church fabric were considerable—indicates that perhaps polyphony and its role in sacralization more generally was more important to these parishioners than the language in which the service was performed.

St. Mary Woolnoth's acquisition of pricksong under Mary I, however, was unusual. Given the high percentage of parishes that purchased polyphonic music during the reign of Edward VI, the dearth of similar acquisitions under Mary I is striking. This change was likely due to a combination of financial constraints, disinterest, and (in some cases) the retention of Henrician pricksong books. As mentioned above, between 1547 and 1553 over sixty percent of parishes with extant records from the Edwardine period acquired books of polyphony. During Mary's reign, this number drops precipitously: of the twenty-two parishes in my study, only five record payments relating to pricksong.¹³⁴ One, St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, was like St. Mary Woolnoth an early adopter of vernacular polyphony under Edward VI. Under Mary I they paid for additional pricksong in 1553/4, two books "for the sarvys of Iesus and ower ladey" in 1555/6, and several books of polyphony in 1556/7: two books of Jesus' service and "iiij pricksonges bookes for the qwyer."¹³⁵ The parallels with St. Mary Woolnoth suggest that here, too, a polyphonic liturgy was of utmost importance to the parishioners; the acquisition of books of Mary and Jesus mass music indicate that at least some of the parishioners, like at St. Botolph Aldgate, celebrated the return to Catholic services.

¹³⁴ This number includes the aforementioned St. Mary Woolnoth, as well as St. Dustan in the West (mending pricksong books in 1553/4), St. Margaret Moses Friday Street (1553/4, 1555/6, 1556/7), St. Mary at Hill (1553/4), and St. Olave Southwark (1555/6 and 1556/7).

¹³⁵ LMA P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, fols. 5r, 29v, 35v, 39v.

It is possible that some parishes had kept their Catholic books of polyphony during Edward's reign, storing them for safekeeping either in the church or in the home of a parishioner. The entry in the CWA from St. Dunstan in the West in 1553/4 for "mending off the pryksong bokes," for example, suggests this was the case in some places.¹³⁶ Indeed, an inventory compiled at St. Dunstan in the same year includes several Catholic liturgical books—five antiphoners, three grayles, a legend, two mass books, and two old Psalters—none of which were purchased in that year.¹³⁷ The parish's hiring of an additional musician in 1553/4, moreover, suggests that the members of St. Dunstan in the West were eager to return to the Catholic worship they had been forced to abandon. Likewise, at St. Mary at Hill, an inventory dated 10 February in the seventh year of the reign of Edward VI lists several books predating Edward's reign: two mass books, two antiphoners, five carol books, and numerous books of polyphony, including "x bokes of song to be sovng at mas in parchmemeant" and "v littell song bokes in parchement & v song bokes in paist with v song bokes to be song at mas in paist."¹³⁸ Extant lists such as these are unusual, but they offer strong evidence that at least some London parishes kept their old books, though the majority sold them as they had been ordered to do.

It is also probable that a number of churches were financially unable to buy new polyphony at this time. The high prices of Catholic service books, not to mention the number required, would have been costly for parishes that only a few years before had spent considerable amounts whitewashing their walls and removing altars and images. In addition, these communities were now on the hook for replacing the ornaments they had been required to sell under Edward; whereas they had received only the value of the materials when they sold their

¹³⁶ LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, fol. 162r.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 164r.

¹³⁸ LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, fol. 750v.

chalices, crosses, candlesticks, and other accoutrements, new versions of these items were considerably more expensive than the cost of the materials. Parishes consequently had little money left over for optional adornments, and it is likely that many simply could not afford to buy new books of polyphony at this time; thus, what might be read as disinterest in the return of Catholic worship may indicate only poor financial circumstances.

In at least two instances, however, a case may be made that the lack of musical purchases under Mary I was an act of protest: the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street and St. Benet Gracechurch. The parishioners of St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street were early adopters of reformed worship, purchasing eight English-texted psalters as well as English-texted polyphony in 1548/9, and continued to acquire English-texted music books throughout Edward's reign.¹³⁹ Though they dutifully bought a mass book in 1553/4, their acquisition of the requisite Catholic service books was slow: two "bokes for the quier" in 1554/5, a legend and a mass book in 1555/6, and three processioners, an antiphoner, and a grayle in 1558/9 before the accession of Elizabeth I.¹⁴⁰ Although the church obtained the bare minimum of books needed to perform the mass adequately by 1555/6, they never purchased a hymnal; by 1557, they owned only two mass books, one antiphoner, one legend, two manuals, and three processioners.¹⁴¹ Perhaps most significantly, they did not acquire any Latin-texted Psalters. Although the 1557 inventory in the CWA does not list any English-texted service books, there is also no record of these books being sold. The slow acquisition of Latin-texted books, combined with the community's strong interest in reform in the early years of Edward's reign, suggests that the parishioners at St. Mary

¹³⁹ LMA P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/001, fols. 98v–99r.

¹⁴⁰ LMA P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/001, fols. 113r, 114v, 117r, 120r.

¹⁴¹ An inventory on fol. 116r dated 25 March 1557 includes the aforementioned books, as well as a bible in English and a book of homilies.

Magdalene Milk Street avoided buying service books under Mary I due to their religious preferences. Though they must have celebrated the Catholic mass, their lack of adequate preparation for the task would have meant that the mass would have been missing some of its intended splendor.

At St. Benet Gracechurch, meanwhile, the churchwardens apparently refrained from acquiring *any* Catholic books during Mary's reign. Like St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street, St. Benet Gracechurch bought a significant amount of English-texted service music under Edward VI: not only did they purchase "iiij song bookes" in 1548/9, but they paid their clerk for "prycking of Certeyne songes into the same bookes" in 1549/50 and 1550/1.¹⁴² There is no indication that the churchwardens sold these books under Mary I; in addition, the first entries indicating a move towards Catholic worship—painting Mary and John on the rood, setting up the sepulcher—did not occur until 1554/5.¹⁴³ In light of their lack of interest in Catholic liturgical books, the fact that St. Benet Gracechurch also decreased its musical staff at this time takes on added significance: by the end of Edward VI's reign they had been paying one clerk and up to three conducts, a practice dating back to at least the first extant account of 1548/9. Although in 1552/3 they were down to two full-time musicians, by the following year they were paying only a single parish clerk; they continued this practice through the end of Mary I's reign.¹⁴⁴ These parishioners, then, despite the warnings issued by Bishop Bonner during his 1554/5 visitation of London parishes, clearly chose to ignore the injunctions issued by both their bishop and their monarch; instead, although they probably did acquire a mass book and merely forgot to record its

¹⁴² LMA P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001, 18, 34, 43.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁴⁴ For the relevant payments see LMA P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001, 17–18, 28–29, 39–40, 42–43, 47–48, 51–52, 57–58, 65, 72, 83, 94, and 103.

purchase in their accounts, they took pains to avoid the possibility of celebrating the Latin liturgy in the same splendid manner as they had done the English service.

Recreating (Catholic) Musical Affect: William Mundy and the Turn to Older Genres

While there are no manuscript sources of polyphony associated with a London parish dating from the reign of Mary Tudor, there exists a substantial body of Latin-texted polyphony, most likely written during this period, by William Mundy, who served as parish clerk of St. Mary at Hill from 1548–58. Born around 1528, Mundy would have been too young to write Latin-texted music under Henry VIII; as a vicar at St. Paul’s Cathedral shortly after the coronation of Elizabeth I, he took the Protestant Oath of Supremacy, suggesting that unlike his later colleague William Byrd, he was probably not a recusant Catholic. All this evidence, as Kerry McCarthy argues, points to Mundy’s Latin-texted works being written during the reign of Mary I.¹⁴⁵ This music is transmitted primarily in two Elizabethan sources: the Gyffard Partbooks, c. 1570s–early 1580s (GB-Lbl Add. MS 17802–5) and the Baldwin Partbooks, c. 1575–81 (GB-Och Mus. 979–83). Those settings in the Baldwin Partbooks are for five or six voices, while those in Gyffard are for four voices. This output is both substantial and includes a range of genres, among them two masses, several motets, psalm settings, and votive antiphons, a “Magnificat,” Lady Mass propers, and a setting of “In exitu Israel” written with John Sheppard and William Byrd.¹⁴⁶ Although it is impossible to tell which of these works were written or

¹⁴⁵ Kerry McCarthy, “William Mundy’s ‘Vox Patris Caelestis’ and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary,” *Music and Letters* 85, No. 3 (2004): 355. David Mateer suggests in his Grove entry that “stylistically many of [Mundy’s Latin-texted] pieces belong to Elizabeth’s reign,” but offers no evidence of this conclusion. See Mateer, “Mundy, William,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19357>).

¹⁴⁶ For more information on these manuscripts, see Roger Bray, “The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church MSS. 979–83: An Index and Commentary,” *Musica Disciplina* 25 (1971): 179–97, and David Mateer, “The ‘Gyffard’

performed specifically at St. Mary at Hill, the church consistently paid four singers throughout Mary's reign, suggesting that at least Mundy's four-voice music was sung there; payments to supplementary musicians at major feasts indicate that they would have been capable at times of performing more complex repertoire.¹⁴⁷ In addition, if the church did maintain any volunteer choir members, even Mundy's six-part votive antiphons would have been no burden. Finally, in 1553 the parish paid 8d. for "for ij qwyses of paper for to prycke songes in," indicating that they copied music during Mary's tenure, when Mundy was clerk.¹⁴⁸

The range of genres in which Mundy composed during Mary's short reign demonstrates the rapidity with which churches again took up the various liturgical and paraliturgical forms of polyphony cultivated during the reign of Henry VIII. This variety may speak, in part, to a sense of nostalgia—an interest in the Lady and Jesus masses of the Catholic church that was not, for example, about doctrinal differences but rather relied on the comfort of accepted ritual practices. The reappearance of these votive masses is perhaps the most striking of the liturgical revivals of Mary's reign; Mundy composed at least one "Kyrie" ("Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor*") and two "Alleluya" settings for these masses, and the Gyffard Partbooks contain a further five Lady Mass propers possibly written during this time.¹⁴⁹ Mundy's three sets of propers all bear a slight

Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 28 (1995): 21–50.

¹⁴⁷ Daniel Page makes the case, based in part on the contents of the Gyffard Partbooks and presumably also on Mundy's later employment at St. Paul's Cathedral, that Mundy's four-voice works were performed (or perhaps even written for use) at St. Paul's; it is certainly possible that Mundy's pieces were performed at the cathedral, but it seems unlikely that the parish that paid Mundy an annual salary and for whose musical life he was responsible would not also have performed his compositions. See Page, "Uniform and Catholic," 297–300.

¹⁴⁸ LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, foliation obscured (between 757 and 762).

¹⁴⁹ Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor* was the Kyrie for various feasts as well as Lady Mass on Wednesdays; Alleluya *Per te dei genetrix* was the first Alleluia in the daily Lady Mass during Eastertide and on Mondays in the Lady Mass from Purification to Advent, as well as the Alleluia on ferias within the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. See David Mateer, ed., *The Gyffard Partbooks I, Early English Church Music* 48 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2007), 49 and 53.

motivic relationship to their respective Sarum plainchants. All begin imitatively: the “Kyrie” with paired voices (medius-bassus and triplex-contratenor), “Alleluya I” with one motive in the upper three voices and a contrasting bass line, and “Alleluya II” with the same motive in all four voices. Although the polyphonic sections of the propers are short, they are elaborate; particularly in the case of the “Alleluya” settings, these moments function as musical reflections meant to draw the listener’s ear to the importance of a specific liturgical moment. These works contain none of the rapid rhythmic motion or truly florid writing of early sixteenth-century works such as those in the Eton Choirbook, but they are a far cry from the mostly syllabic settings of their immediate predecessors in Wanley. These settings thus might have recalled an earlier time for their listeners, connecting them with Catholic worship before Henry VIII’s break with Rome.

Perhaps the work that speaks the most clearly to Mary I’s reign is Mundy’s short “Exurge christe,” which is transmitted in three voices in Gyffard and in a four-voice arrangement in the Mulliner Book.¹⁵⁰ Its text demonstrates its relevance to the topic of religious heterodoxy at the parish level in London:

Exsurge, Christe, defende nos, salva et libera nos; confundantur universi, Domine, qui te oderunt; per te schisma profligatur; reviviscat inter nos veritas apostolica.

Rise up, O Christ, defend us, save and free us; may all those who hate you, Lord, be put to confusion; through you schism is overthrown; let apostolic truth come to life again among us.

The short piece takes as its subject matter the religious conflict of the mid-sixteenth century, calling on Christ to defend its listeners from “those who hate you,” or reformers. The reference in the third phrase to the ending of a schism suggests the piece was written following, or commissioned in response to, Mary I’s reuniting of the Church of England with Rome at the end

¹⁵⁰ David Mateer notes that the piece is technically ascribed only to “m^r mondy;” the fact that it appears with other three-part settings added to the latest layer of the partbooks as an afterthought might indicate William’s son John Mundy as its composer, but its text “seems more relevant to the doctrinal oscillations of the 1550s.” See Mateer, ed., *The Gyffard Partbooks I*, 150.

of 1554. David Mateer has posited that the canonic nature of the upper three parts, as well as the “inconclusive nature” of the final cadence, may mean the piece is a reduced-voice section extracted from a larger antiphon setting.¹⁵¹ The strict canon of the upper three voices stands out as unusual, though it has parallels to the last setting of Christopher Tye’s 1553 *The Actes of the Apostles*, in which the mean and countertenor are in strict canon at the fourth throughout, while the tenor and bass do likewise with a different melody.¹⁵² Stylistically, however, the work retains the syllabic text setting favored under Edward VI in works like those in Wanley (see Figure 5).

As Susan Brigden has demonstrated, under Henry VIII the parish of St. Mary at Hill was home to a number of reformers. The church’s rector, Alan Percy, survived in his parish through four reigns (1521–60); he allowed two priests, first William Wegen, then William Erith, to spread reform in his parish, though his own leanings remain unknown.¹⁵³ The parish bought some English-texted polyphony under Edward VI, and their churchwardens’ accounts demonstrate at least outward conformity with reformed worship. Perhaps Mundy’s setting, if it was in fact performed at St. Mary at Hill, was aimed at those parishioners who already at the end of Henry VIII’s reign John Foxe recorded as having scorned an anthem of Our Lady, on the grounds that there was heresy in it.¹⁵⁴ Of course, the Latin text of “Exurge christe” would have been difficult for some parishioners to understand; yet as one of London’s wealthiest parishes, St. Mary at Hill also no doubt counted among its members a number of merchants who might have been able to make out Mundy’s syllabically set text.

¹⁵¹ Mateer, ed., *The Gyffard Partbooks I*, 150.

¹⁵² For more on Tye’s setting see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹⁵³ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 403 and 577; see 96, 118, and 407 for examples of reform-minded parishioners.

¹⁵⁴ John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* V, 447; cited in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 407.

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Tr1 (Tenor 1), Tr2 (Tenor 2), C (Cantus), and B (Bass). The music is in a single system with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: "Ex - ur - ge chris - te de - fen - de nos, ex - ur - ge sal - va et li - be - ra nos, con - fun - de - nos sal - va et li - be - ra chris - te de - fen - de nos sal - va et li".

Figure 5. The opening six measures of William Mundy’s “Exurge christe.”¹⁵⁵

In addition to writing music in a more simplified style, Mundy also wrote larger-scale votive antiphons, whose stylistic features suggest an intentional recalling of much earlier Henrician compositional practices. Kerry McCarthy has posited that the Marian votive antiphon “Vox patris caelestis,” possibly alongside Mundy’s only other comparable votive antiphon “Maria virgo sanctissima,” was performed at St. Mary at Hill during the parish’s celebration of its patronal feast: the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August. Pointing to the two-day festivities for which the churchwardens paid each year, which in 1556 included “viii syngnye men” as

¹⁵⁵ Gyffard includes only the top three voices; in his critical edition of the partbooks, David Mateer reconstructs the bassus voice based on the arrangement found in the Mulliner Book, as above.

well as the “chylterns” of the neighboring parish of St. Magnus, McCarthy suggests that “Vox patris caelestis” may have even been written for this occasion.¹⁵⁶ The piece shares several stylistic characteristics with earlier Marian votive antiphons: a differentiation between full and reduced-voice textures, complex rhythmic figuration, a wide compass between the voices, some extended melismatic writing, and relatively little harmonic motion (see Figure 6). These features recall not only the more complex works of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks, but even the earlier writing of the Eton Choirbook composers.¹⁵⁷ Although “Vox patris caelestis” incorporates the type of imitative writing more commonly found among contemporary works, Mundy also relies on an almost archaic musical style in setting this text. This stylistic choice, I argue, is linked with the Marian regime’s efforts to win over the laity by highlighting the connections between her reforms and the Catholicism of the early Henrician church. In writing music that evoked an earlier time, Mundy depended on his listeners’ memory of earlier Catholic practices of sacralization, before the Church of England had separated from the rest of the Catholic world. In the context of St. Mary at Hill, such music might be employed to remind those who had embraced reform of the important rituals they had lost.

¹⁵⁶ McCarthy, “William Mundy’s ‘Vox Patris Caelestis,’” 362–3. The singing men and children from St. Magnus were also paid in 1557 and 1558 for the same feast.

¹⁵⁷ Hugh Benham, identified the following as general traits of the Eton composers in *Latin Church Music in England c. 1460–1575* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977), 74–97: dense textures, lines that generally avoid text-painting, extensive melismatic writing, triadic harmonies, a complex rhythmic interplay between voices, and a wide compass between the voices.

S.1 - a no-bi-lis - sima, no - bi - lis - si - - - - ma
 S.2 - ma me - a no-bi - lis - si-
 A.1 me - a no-bi - lis - sima, no - bi - lis si - - -
 A.2 si - - - - ma me - a
 B.1 me - a no-bi - lis - si-ma, no-bi-lis - si - - -
 B.2 ma mea no-bi-lis - si-ma me - a no-bi-

me-a no - bi-lis - si - ma pro po - pulo tu - o o - ra
 ma, no - bi-lis - si - - - - ma
 - - - - ma no - bilis - si
 no - bi - lis - si ma pro po - pulo tu - o o - ra tu
 - - - - ma, pro po - pulo tu - o o - ra tu
 lis - sima, no - bilis-si - - - - ma

Figure 6. Measures 208–13 of William Mundy’s votive antiphon “Vox patris caelestis.”

Although the case of “Vox patris caelestis” and its possible links to a specific London parish are compelling, St. Mary at Hill, among London churches, is an exception rather than a typical example. The parish has received an abundance of musicological attention, in part due to its notoriety as one of Thomas Tallis’s known pre-Chapel Royal places of employment, and both Hugh Baillie and Richard Lloyd have detailed its musical practices.¹⁵⁸ It was one of the city’s wealthiest churches, and its expenditure on music and musicians was well above the norm; few other churches could have sustained musical practices like those undertaken by William Mundy and his colleagues. At the other London parishes that purchased polyphonic music at this time, choirs could at most have performed some of Mundy’s four-part music. Thus, if Mundy’s simpler examples may be taken as typical, parishes were probably performing music whose sound gestured to earlier Henrician practices—there is no homophonic writing in Mundy’s Latin-texted works, for example, even when the text is set syllabically.

Although Mundy’s extant works only provide a partial snapshot of mid-century polyphonic music practice in London, they nevertheless show a concerted effort to return to the musical style of pre-Reformation Henrician England. What is more, these examples indicate that London’s parishes may have eagerly returned to specific Catholic practices—namely, the votive mass—that were explicitly forbidden under Edward VI, demonstrating that reform was not as complete as Edwardine officials had hoped, and that the popularity of these devotional services returned at this time. Yet it also speaks to an important fact often overlooked in musicological scholarship on this period: lay religion under both Edward VI and Mary I was more fluid, and constantly shifting, than we tend to assume. Although hardline reformers are the individuals whose voices are most easily heard, this musical evidence suggests that laypeople may have

¹⁵⁸ See Hugh Baillie, “A London Church in Early Tudor Times,” and Richard Lloyd, “Music at the Parish Church of St Mary at Hill, London,” *Early Music* 25, No. 2 (1997): 221–226.

embraced a vernacular liturgy under Edward VI *and* found Latin-texted devotional services like the Lady Mass efficacious. Examining Mundy's musical output within its probable intended context, then, uncovers the complexity of lay belief and ritual practice at this time.

The Audible Parish: Some Conclusions about Music under Edward VI and Mary I

Although the theological and liturgical reforms carried out under Edward VI are often characterized as anti-music, in truth extant writings on music in worship are relatively few, and there is little evidence that even these received wide circulation. In addition, at least in London the extant sources suggest that many reformers instead embraced music. The substantial focus on parish music making that began in the second half of the fifteenth century, and which was financed in large part by lay contributions, laid the foundation for the continued support of music making during Edward's reign. Extant churchwardens' accounts indicate that in the majority of parishes, music, and polyphony in particular, played an important ritual role in the new Edwardine liturgy. Indeed, the removal of so many ritual items at this time—images on the walls; candles, paintings, and statues; the chalice and pyx; altar cloths and vestments; even the altar itself—fundamentally changed accepted methods of piety and devotion and notions of the sacred; the lack of official policy on music in the liturgy, and the opportunity for experimentation offered by the *Book of Common Prayer*, allowed parish communities to use music to sacralize places of worship that must have felt for some stripped of their holiness. Despite the loss of chantry priests and the financial burden of replacing or removing these ritual items, parishes continued to invest in music and musicians from 1547–53; in some cases, this was likely inspired by a strong desire to implement a new vernacular liturgy and confessionalize a Catholic-leaning congregation, while in others music allowed them to retain an element of traditional worship at a time when much of the liturgy and its celebration had changed.

In both instances, however, extant musical sources suggest a strong continuity in the compositional techniques and structural features of this new English-texted repertory, indicating that for both reformers and conservatives there was much to be gained by looking to earlier liturgical music and contemporary secular genres for musical inspiration. This continuity of musical style, moreover, was what allowed such music to sacralize a newly Protestant space, imbuing Catholic sound with new reformed meaning. For reformers, the act of coopting the audible markers of traditional piety and reimagining them as foundational elements of vernacular worship could help them legitimize and solidify a relatively radical theological agenda. For those who were apathetic or even hostile to reform, retaining audible links to Catholic worship may have been a subversive act designed to strengthen their ties to the old religion. There is little evidence, beyond that I have given above, to indicate which parishes, or even subsets of these communities, sided with reformers and which with supporters of the old religion; certainly in cases like St. Botolph Aldgate it is clear that the parish membership was divided over the issue of reform, but documentary sources are often vague about such relationships. For members of both groups, however, what is certain is that polyphonic liturgical music continued to be of value under Edward VI, and that the musical style of this repertory shared much in common with both earlier liturgical music and contemporary secular genres.

Under Mary I, music policy became more prescriptive, and Mary's Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, affirmed in his visitation articles a strong belief in the efficacy of music for returning lapsed Catholics to the fold. As with the *Book of Common Prayer* under Edward VI, when ordered to do so most London parishes acquired the service books needed for the Latin liturgy; although not all purchased the full complement of books, most bought at least a missal, a processionaler, and an antiphoner. Given the overwhelming majority of parishes that purchased

English-texted service music under Edward VI, one might expect a similar trend under Mary I, yet the number of churches acquiring optional music books dropped dramatically. In some cases this choice appears to have been part of a conscious effort to resist the re-Catholicization of the church: communities who paid special care to incorporate English-texted polyphony in worship were more likely to avoid such purchases under Mary I. Yet in the majority of instances, this decision probably had more to do with the high financial costs of returning to Catholic practices or the retention of existing books of polyphony from the reign of Henry VIII. In addition, the return to Catholic worship allowed the visual elements of ritual—crosses, rood images, statues, vestments and altar cloths—to do the primary work of sacralizing space. It is thus also possible that music, notwithstanding its critical place within the Catholic liturgy, actually became less important at this time, in spite of Bishop Bonner’s clear hope that musical performance would retain its central place in the liturgy.

Liturgical music sources from the reign of Mary I, despite their more limited number, show that those communities that did commission polyphony incorporated all the polyphonic genres in use prior to 1547, including masses, mass propers, motets, votive antiphons, psalm settings, and processional. Although this music retains some of the features of contemporary English-texted polyphony, such as syllabic text setting and imitative writing, it avoids homophony in favor of a more florid texture. In addition, certain pieces of this repertory, especially the votive antiphons, recall the more elaborate, lengthy musical style of the early reign of Henry VIII. These latter works suggest an intentional choice on the part of composers (and whoever commissioned this music) to re-sacralize Catholic liturgical space *through* the use of music designed to recall an earlier, more peaceful time: by returning to the musical style of the years prior to Henry VIII’s break with Rome, proponents likely hoped that this sound might

erase the tensions of the past three decades and lead listeners to believe that the Protestant period had been only an aberration. It is possible that this trend might have continued, were it not for Mary I's untimely death in 1558.

Thus, in the reigns of both Edward VI and Mary I, the musical content of worship in London parishes mattered considerably more than scholarship has heretofore acknowledged: these communities made conscious choices about when to purchase new music and how best to use it. In London, parish musical practices were strong; these churches hired musicians, bought musical books, and likely maintained volunteer choirs to help carry out the liturgy. Not only did these communities pay close attention to the use of polyphonic music in the liturgy, but in certain cases they employed it as a means to effect reform or reverse its perceived damage. Under Edward VI, when most traditional tools and ornaments of ritual were forbidden, music was a privileged method for sacralizing space, suggesting that even those who did not agree with reform found value in liturgical polyphony. After the accession of Mary I, music again became only one of many tools communities might use to sacralize their places of worship; perhaps as a result, they paid it less attention. This move away from purchasing liturgical polyphony, however, may have been financial rather than confessional, and it is important to bear in mind the non-religious reasons these communities may have had for making the choices they did.

CHAPTER II

Reshaping Private Devotion: Metrical Songs, Biblical Exegesis, and Edwardine Music Printing

Across Europe in the sixteenth century, both reformers and conservatives sought to confessionalize laypeople through private devotional materials. In addition to producing vernacular copies of the popular Catholic Book of Hours, reformers also turned to music, which led first to the appropriation of older genres and then to an exploration of new formats.¹ Chapter 2 of this dissertation examines the role of printed music books in reformed religious devotion, highlighting how first Henrician and then Edwardine reformers employed the medium of print in an attempt to effect religious change. This chapter takes as its focus the most widely disseminated and influential musical genre of the mid-sixteenth century and its offshoots, the metrical, English-texted psalm. These publications, whose contents I characterize as “Biblical metrical song,” were designed for widespread consumption by a diverse public and intended to replace or supplement existing devotional materials. These volumes were issued both with and without musical notation, though the latter was more common, and their authors’ clear instruction that the books be used for singing indicates that these reformers believed in song’s power to reach the laity. In promoting music with texts drawn from scripture, reformers emphasized the importance of the Word over the Catholic focus on images that dominated lay devotional practices in the late Middle Ages. Through the singing of metrical Biblical song at

¹ The Book of Hours was the most popular devotional volume of the Middle Ages, and by the 1530s, the English appetite for printed editions of this text had been flourishing for decades. See Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 121–146.

home, reformers offered lay men and women a new means through which they might temporarily create a space for worship in places most often reserved for profane activities. It was arguably this new, simple musical genre that had the most significant impact on private devotional practices in this period, as books of metrical psalms grew in popularity throughout the reign of Edward VI, supplemented by other publications featuring metrical Biblical song.²

Beth Quitslund has demonstrated that English metrical psalmody grew out of practices fostered at Edward VI's court.³ It was the function of such music in bringing the practice of scripture singing into the home, however, that was responsible for its ubiquity. Among these experimental publications I highlight the composer Christopher Tye's 1553 volume *The Actes of the Apostles*. Tye's settings offer a compelling example of the interplay between a composer's personal conviction, the popularity of metrical Biblical texts in the print market, contemporaneous theological discussions, and the development of musical style at this time. In drawing on a musical style clearly associated with the English-texted verse anthem, Tye created additional connections between the domestic singing of metrical Biblical song and lay experience of the Edwardine liturgy. Furthermore, extant copies of Tye's *Actes* shed important light on the early practices and difficulties of printing polyphonic music in England. The Marian government's disapproval of vernacular Biblical translations, meanwhile, meant that no comparable genre developed to fill this devotional void from 1553–58; thus, this genre was

² Following Thomas Sternhold's initial publication of *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid* in 1547, authors including William Hunnis, Robert Crowley, and Francis Seager also issued their own metrical psalms. Collections of Biblical metrical song were similarly compiled by William Baldwin, William Samuel, and Christopher Tye. Sternhold's *Certayne psalmes*, when taken together with the expanded version of this collection published in 1549, was the most reprinted text of any kind (excluding ecclesiastical publications) in Edwardine England, going through fourteen editions by 1554. For statistics on Sternhold, see Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 60.

³ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 8.

unique to the Edwardine period, though it remained in active use by Marian exiles on the continent, who played a significant role in the flowering of metrical psalmody under Elizabeth I.

Music Printing and Devotional Books in Late-Medieval England

The music printing industry in early sixteenth-century London was well behind its continental counterparts in terms of technical expertise, size, and commercial output; few prints containing musical notation have survived at all.⁴ This section highlights the development of both vernacular devotional music and devotional prints in the same period, arguing that these parallel trends overlapped only occasionally. Yet this intersection nevertheless helped to pave the way for the early public interest in vernacular metrical psalm prints under Edward VI.

Indeed, music texts played a foundational part in a genre that was the most popular type of print on the market in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Sarum Book of Hours, or primer. Although these were not music books (that is, volumes whose contents were designed to be sung), it was through this medium that the English public consumed the largest number of printed musical texts prior to 1547. Primers were relatively affordable: by the early Tudor period, an unbound printed Book of Hours could be purchased for three or four pence, making the book available to the majority of those living in a city like London.⁵ Although the Biblical texts had to be printed in Latin, English might be used for rubrics and prayers; over time, the amount of vernacular material in some of these editions increased. The first fully English-texted, reform-

⁴ Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 21. Despite the relative paucity of extant sources, John Milsom has convincingly argued that it is likely that Henrician London maintained a lively, though small, market interested—at the very least—in secular polyphonic song. See John Milsom, “Songs and Society in Early Tudor London,” *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 235–293.

⁵ Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 4.

oriented primer, the *Ortulus anime*, was compiled in 1530 by the English reformer George Joye, who had the volume printed in Antwerp for distribution in London.⁶

Joye's primer is notable for several reasons, two of which are relevant to a discussion of vernacular devotional music. The *Ortulus* contains prose translations of thirty-nine psalms spread throughout the volume. The inclusion of psalms is itself unremarkable, as the psalms formed the backbone of the "little hours" upon which primers were based. Yet in light of the later popularity of metrical psalm translations under Edward VI, the early introduction of vernacular psalmody to an English audience in the most common type of book on the market is important. Alongside these prose psalms, Joye also incorporated eight vernacular hymns, one for each hour. Charles C. Butterworth was the first to note the unusual nature of these hymns "in crude English verse," calling them one of the "curious features" of the *Ortulus*.⁷ Aside from the first hymn, which is neither undergirded by a metrical pattern nor rhymed, each hymn contains two verses in 8.8.8.8 meter. Robin Leaver argues that the prose nature of the Matins hymn, combined with the attachment of a prose *Nunc dimittis* to the end of the hymn for Evensong, indicates that these texts were intended to be used for devotional reading, rather than for singing,⁸ an assertion that seems reasonable in light of the primer's general purpose as a domestic devotional aid.

Yet if this were the case, why did Joye bother to set the majority of the hymns in verse? Leaver also highlights several connections between Joye's texts and Martin Luther's hymns, demonstrating in particular a relationship between "Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein" and

⁶ Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1525–1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), 6–9.

⁷ Butterworth, *The English Primers*, 43.

⁸ Leaver, "Goostly psalmes," 59.

the hymns for Terce, None, Lauds, and Evensong.⁹ This influence is hardly surprising: Joye was one of a group of English reformers who fled to the continent in 1527; associated with Tyndale in Antwerp, he came into contact with Luther's writings and hymns at this time.¹⁰ Luther's writings, moreover, were becoming more well known in London.¹¹ Joye's choice of verse settings was probably inspired by contemporary practices, as Latin-texted hymns were typically in meter. Popular melodies such as that for the Pentecost hymn "Veni creator spiritus" may also have been known by—or at least recognizable to—devout laypeople, suggesting that primer hymns could have been sung as part of domestic devotional practice. Even those who did not sing these primer hymn texts, however, may have unconsciously recalled their melodies through the act of reading. Emma Dillon has stressed that such connections in the Middle Ages between printed texts and their musical potential are significant—music removed from its audible context retains traces of its original sound.¹² The links between Joye's English hymns and Luther's German ones, then, point to an important early intersection of Latin, German, and English hymnody. Even if Joye's hymns were not intended to be sung, they carried with them musical implications, and the residue of a contemporary reformed musical tradition.

It was not long before an English-texted primer was published in London. Printed by John Byddell for William Marshall, the volume replicates almost the entire contents of Joye's

⁹ Leaver, "Goostly psalmes," 60–62. Leaver also identifies connections between Joye's Lauds and Evensong hymns and other early Lutheran hymns, such as Speratus's *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* and Spengler's *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt*. Furthermore, he notes that the first line of the Prime hymn is reminiscent of *Veni creator Spiritus*, but that the remaining text is similar to the Pentecost hymn *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*. Joye's hymns also follow Luther's cross rhymes (ABAB), rather than employing the more common rhymed couplet form.

¹⁰ Butterworth, *The English Primers*, 19.

¹¹ By the mid-1520s the Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, had begun to warn book distributors not to import books containing Lutheran heresies. See Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 243.

¹² Dillon makes this observation, in fact, about the texts contained in Books of Hours, many of which came from liturgical items that were sung in the medieval office. See Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 218.

Ortulus, though in a somewhat altered sequence.¹³ In 1536, the London printer John Gough issued another version of the primer, this time with both English and Latin text; here, Gough incorporates different English-texted hymns. Like Joye’s hymns, the texts in Gough’s volume seem at first to have some connection to Latin originals, such as Gough’s “Com holy ghoste,” the hymn for Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, whose first verse is a loose translation of the opening of the popular “Veni creator spiritus” (Come holy creator):

Com holy ghoste \ O creatour eternall. In our mindis\to make visitacion And fulfull thou with grace supernall Our hartes that be\of thy creacion. ¹⁴	<i>Veni creator spiritus, mentes tuorum visita, imple superna gratia quae tu creasti, pectora.</i>
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The remaining two verses in this hymn, however, have only a slight connection to the Latin “Veni creator spiritus.” The last line of verse two (“Thou tokest vpon the\oure frayle nature”), for example, appears a reference to the third line of verse four of the “Veni creator spiritus” (“*infirmi nostri corporis*”), but whereas the first half of the “Veni creator spiritus” verse asks for guidance from the holy spirit, Gough’s second verse speaks instead of the holy spirit’s role in the annunciation—a theme that appears nowhere in the Latin hymn:

Remember lorde\author of saluacyon That sumtyne\of a virgyn pure without helpe or mannys operacyon. Thou tokest vpon the\oure frayle nature	<i>Accende lumen sensibus, infunde amorem cordibus, infirmi nostri corporis virtute firmans perpeti.</i>
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Likewise, the final verse of Gough’s hymn is a doxology of sorts—in that it praises each part of the trinity—but it is a translation of neither of the final two Trinitarian verses of the “Veni

¹³ Butterworth, *The English Primers*, 50, 56, 59. The hymns are lightly revised, and both Marshall’s subsequent editions and the Godfray primer of c. 1535 reprint these revised hymns. See Leaver, “*Goostly psalmes*,” 58.

¹⁴ Text taken from a copy in the Bodleian Library (GB-Ob Douce B 238 (1)); see the bibliography for more information.

creator spiritus.” Indeed, whereas Gough’s text again stresses the purity of Christ’s birth, the “Veni creator spiritus” instead emphasizes the pivotal moment of Christ’s resurrection:

Glory to the lord \ of myghtis most
That of a virgyn chast \ was bore
Glory to the father and the holy ghoste.
To them be praying\for euermore.

*Per te sciamus da Patrem
noscamus atque Filium,
te utruisque Spiritum
credamus omni tempore.*

*Deo Patri sit gloria,
et Filio qui a mortuis
Surrexit, ac Paraclito,
in saeculorum saecula.*

A closer comparison of Latin hymns with Gough’s remaining English texts, moreover, demonstrates that rarely are the latter derived from existing hymns; instead, new English metrical verses fill the role Latin-texted hymns typically played in English primers.¹⁵ This interest in creating new English metrical devotional texts, and their use in lieu of the texts of well-known Latin hymns, suggests that English-texted primers ought to be understood as a precursor to Edwardine metrical psalters. At the very least, these new English hymns must be understood as musical—although not necessarily intended to be sung, they have clear musical origins.

Whereas English primers contained musical texts but did not serve as songbooks themselves, there does exist a fully-notated, reformed music print from the Henrician period: Miles Coverdale’s *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes*. Printed c. 1536 in London, *Goostly psalmes* contains forty-one hymns and psalms in English with both text and melodies.¹⁶ As Robin Leaver has noted, the hymns and psalms in this book suggest that Coverdale travelled in northern Germany, Denmark, and Sweden from 1530 to 1534, that he made his acquaintance

¹⁵ As Leaver notes, though these new hymn texts are not explicitly reformist in their theology, the Marian emphasis of Sarum primer hymns is eliminated. See Leaver, “*Goostly psalmes*,” 58.

¹⁶ There is no date on the title page of the only surviving copy; Robin Leaver argues that the songbook was probably printed around the same time as Coverdale’s translation of the Bible, either in 1535 or 1536, though more recently Peter W. M. Blayney has suggested a date of late 1536 or 1537. See Leaver, “*Goostly psalmes*,” 62–67 and Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company*, 458. The dating of this volume is incidental to this dissertation.

with Lutheran hymnody during this period. Most of the book's contents are German in origin, and many were written by Luther himself.¹⁷ This connection to Lutheran practices suggests that Coverdale viewed Lutheran hymn singing as an ideal method of delivering the Word of God to reformed congregants. Moreover, his focus on the psalms shows that, like Luther, he believed these texts in particular might provide a worthy vehicle for reaching a broad audience.

The introduction to *Goostly psalmes* demonstrates that Coverdale believed music an effective method of spreading reformed thought. Just as Luther had done, Coverdale encouraged the book's users to sing wholesome and religious songs in the course of their daily lives:

“Yee wolde God that oure mynstrels had none other thyng to playe vpon, nether oure carters & plowmen other thyng to whistle vpon, saue Psalmes, hymnes, and soch godly songes as Dauid is occupied withall. And yf women syttinge at theyr rockes, or spynnyng at the wheles, had none other songes to passe theyr tyme withall, than such as Moses sister, Elchanas wife, Debora, and Mary the mother of Christ haue song before them, they shulde be better occupied, then with hey nony nony, hey trolly loly, & soch lyke fantasies.”¹⁸

Coverdale's rhetoric likely would have resonated with those who had already read translations of Luther's writings, since his language mirrors Luther's thinking on the spiritual import of music.¹⁹ Coverdale lists psalms as his first category of “godly song,” linking them and other singing to the Biblical practices of King David.²⁰ This emphasis on the psalms, whose texts would have been known in the vernacular to Londoners who had purchased English-texted primers, again highlights the importance of the psalms as vernacular devotional music. Coverdale's warning

¹⁷ Leaver, “*Goostly psalmes*,” 69–70. Of the twenty-nine texts Luther had completed by 1535, Coverdale translated eighteen of them in his volume. The book's contents are also ordered in a manner similar to Luther's Wittenberg hymnal, specifically the grouping of spiritual songs (1–23) and psalms (24–38) together (*ibid.*, 79).

¹⁸ Miles Coverdale, *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of the holy Scripture, for the co[m]forte and consolacyon of soch as loue to reioyse in God and his Worde* (London, c. 1535–6).

¹⁹ In the preface to the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* (1524), for example, Luther expresses his belief that the hymns will educate those who sing them, and points to the cases in which psalms have been and should be sung in the liturgy. See Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 36, 316.

²⁰ Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 3.

about the dangers of secular music, moreover, brings to the fore the contemporary debate about music's power to affect the senses both positively and negatively.

In 1539, Coverdale's volume appeared on a list of books prohibited by royal injunction, and Bishop Bonner's register lists the book as one burnt at St. Paul's Cross on 28 September 1546.²¹ It is thus unclear to what extent this book reached or affected its intended audience. Popular reform had not yet swept London, and reformist books had limited circulation.²² The book's musical contents, moreover, likely detracted from, rather than adding to, the book's viability. The melodies in Coverdale's book come primarily from German-speaking lands, and a brief survey of the tunes highlights features that would have made them easily sung, including a narrow ambitus, stepwise melodies, and repetitive structures (usually aab or bar form).²³ These musical traits, however, connected German audiences with Lutheran hymns because they were also found in most popular German song of the period.²⁴ In London, however, this musical style would have been unfamiliar to the majority of inhabitants. Coverdale's attempt to transfer the musical practices of one place whole cloth to another thus proved ineffective.²⁵ In addition, the lack of interest in Coverdale's volume may have been due to the tunes' marked differences from the most widely circulated vernacular religious musical genre of the later Middle Ages, the carol.

²¹ Leaver, "Goostly psalmes," 65.

²² Although there was general resentment of the clergy in the 1520s and 1530s, and several books issued at this time called for reform, the movement was still relatively small in scale, and tied at least in part to Londoners' support of Queen Catherine prior to Henry's break with Rome. See Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 144–175.

²³ Coverdale, *Goostly psalmes*. Robin Leaver discusses these melodies in detail, tracing their origins, in "Goostly psalmes," 73–81.

²⁴ For an overview of the musical style of Lutheran hymns, see Robin A. Leaver, "The Reformation and Music," in *European Music 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 388.

²⁵ The political and religious conservatism that swept the court from 1539 through the mid-1540s, and which was probably one of the reasons Coverdale's volume was burned in 1546, may also have played a role in the book's short life. See Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 299–377.

“Holye Songes of Veritie”: Printed English Metrical Psalmody under Edward VI

The rapid progress of the early Edwardine reformation inspired the creation and support of a musical genre that dominated the English liturgy from the Elizabethan period through the seventeenth century: the metrical psalm. Under Edward VI, however, metrical psalms were marketed primarily as devotional material in slim volumes, intended for personal or domestic consumption rather than liturgical use. These rhymed, verse translations of individual psalms, which first appeared in print c. 1547, proved to be immensely popular with their intended audience, and several individuals attempted to break into this market from 1547 to 1553. Ultimately, the composite volume by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins proved far more successful than its competitors, which I argue was due in part to the early date of Sternhold’s first 1547 volume, but also to the choice to have these settings printed without musical notation. Using these short volumes served to create a temporary, sacred space for worship within the home, much like reading the primer had done in the late medieval period but with the added benefit of encouraging lay familiarity with scripture.²⁶ Their musical dimension, however, was the feature that made the genre truly novel. While literary scholars have largely overlooked the latter point—particularly in volumes printed without music—I argue that it was this musical focus that ultimately inspired public interest in metrical psalmody. In filling a gap between liturgical music and the more secularly inspired godly ballads, metrical psalms offered laypeople the opportunity to orient themselves towards God through sung devotion.

²⁶ The so-called “King’s primer” continued to be printed during Edward’s reign, complete with English translations of Latin-texted hymns, which Robin A. Leaver notes were given new liturgical contexts. These hymn translations could in fact have been sung to their original melodies; not only are the last two hymns written in the same meter as their Latin originals, the remainder use a pattern of 7.7.7.7, which would have been easy to adapt to the existing melodies. At least one of these hymn texts, moreover, was set polyphonically and copied in the Wanley partbooks: the Compline hymn “O Lord, the maker of all thing.” See Leaver, “*Goostly psalmes*,” 110–115.

Thomas Sternhold's *Certayne psalmes*, printed c.1547, is a small book containing nineteen metrical psalm texts. Sternhold was a member of the Privy Chamber of Henry VIII as well as a Groom of the Robes, a position he also held under Edward VI.²⁷ Sternhold capitalized on this relationship in his psalm collection, dedicating it to the young boy king. In his preface, Sternhold encourages Edward VI to hold fast to the reform principles espoused by his advisers, reminding the king of the delights of sung psalms. The preface also indicates that Sternhold himself has sung these psalms to Edward in the past, and that he hopes their publication will make their performance more feasible in the future:

“Seeynge furdre that youre tender and Godly zeale doeth more delyghte in the holye songes of veritie than in anye fayned rimes of vanitie, I am encouraged to trauayle furdre in the sayed boke of psalmes, trustyng that as your grace taketh pleasure to heare them song sometimes of me, so ye wyll also delyghte not onlye to see and reade them to your selfe, but also to commaunde them to be song to you of others: yt as ye haue ye psalme it selfe in youre mynde, so ye maye iudge myne endeuoure by your eare.”²⁸

Sternhold also uses his relationship with the king to bolster his own credentials, indicating to his audience that he used to sing his psalms to Edward when the king was a child. Like Coverdale before him, he distinguishes between “holye songes of veritie” and “fayned rimes of vanitie,” claiming that the king himself rightly prefers the former to the latter. Likewise, Sternhold enters into the time-honored theological debate about the value of music and its potential dangers, and concurs with many English reformers that music enhances religious experience.

Sternhold was not known as a poet, and his collection does not resemble any other compendia of hymns or vernacular metrical psalms circulating in England. The psalms he chose, moreover, are largely non-contiguous, and do not represent any of the common liturgical or

²⁷ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 5, 24. As a member of the Privy Chamber, Sternhold was one of between 20 and 40 men with regular access to the king.

²⁸ Thomas Sternhold, *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the Psal=ter of Dauid, and drawn into Englishe Metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of the kynges Maiesties Roobes* (London: Edward Whitchurch, c. 1547).

devotional groupings of psalms; instead, his selections offer considerable variety in terms of themes and forms.²⁹ Beth Quitslund has argued that when viewed through the lens of court culture, which employed song, poetry, and scripture as political discourse, Sternhold's translations show a careful consideration of his royal and aristocratic audience, as the lessons contained in the psalms he chose primarily concern the relationship between divine and human power. Quitslund has further argued that a close reading of his paraphrases shows that Sternhold interpreted portions of the psalter in a way that would say something coherent to the king and court. Indeed, the psalms he paraphrases repeatedly illustrate the relationship between ethics, godliness, and authority; thus, they both encourage readers to observe godly tenets of behavior and advise Edward (and others of the ruling class) of their pious duty to England. As such, she concludes, his volume was not intended as a program of private devotion.³⁰

Sternhold's choice to have his translations printed, at a time when many court poets such as Wyatt were circulating their work only in manuscript, suggests that he viewed his collection as valuable for lay devotion as well. To a broader audience the topics of divine and royal power would also have served a key function, emphasizing the authority of both God and the king at a time when the relatively radical theological agenda of government left conservative members of English society deeply unsettled. Sternhold's 1547 volume was clearly popular with a broad audience, moreover; not only was it reprinted, but Sternhold immediately set to work translating more psalms. Unfortunately, Sternhold died in 1549, but his publisher, capitalizing on the popularity of the first volume, printed a new edition including both Sternhold's remaining

²⁹ Sternhold translated psalms 1–5, 20, 25, 28, 29, 32, 34 (misnumbered as 33), 41, 49, 73, 78, 103, 120, 123 (misnumbered 122), and 128 in this volume. Notably, Sternhold only included one (psalm 32) of the seven penitential psalms, the most popular collection of psalms in the Henrician church. Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 20–21. This psalm numbering matches that of Coverdale's authorized Great Bible of 1539.

³⁰ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 30–55.

translations and seven additional psalms by a clergyman named John Hopkins. The evangelical emphasis of several of Sternhold's additions, as well as the strong reformist tone of Hopkins's contributions, has led Quitslund to conclude that the new version, *Al such psalmes*, was aimed at a broader audience than the first edition.³¹ By 1553 this third edition had been reprinted at least ten times, becoming the most frequently reprinted publication during Edward's reign.³² While Sternhold's first volume may have been printed in a small quantity, subsequent editions were almost certainly issued in larger runs. Given fourteen editions published between 1547 and 1554, and assuming large runs for editions subsequent to the first, a rough estimate of 20,000 copies may have been sold during this period.³³ The book's popularity, then, suggests that its lack of a particular theological focus was irrelevant.

Sternhold's preface, moreover, indicates that the psalms might either be read to oneself or sung by one or many, further demonstrating the ways they could play an individual or communal role in religious devotion. Although the book contains no musical notation, almost all of Sternhold's translations are in what would later be known as "common" or "Sternhold's" meter: four lines of text in each verse with the syllable pattern 8.6.8.6.³⁴ It is impossible to determine how widespread this meter was in the 1540s, but it quickly became popular following its use in Sternhold's initial publication, suggesting that tunes in this form existed at the time of

³¹ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 71, 95. Hopkins's psalms seem to be directed even more clearly to the laity, and show considerable alignment with the theological concerns of the Edwardine Reformation.

³² Leaver, "Goostly psalmes," 120.

³³ Print runs in mid sixteenth-century London are difficult to quantify, as no data from the time are available. Ian Green notes that some books were printed in runs as small as 500, while the upper limit of a run for ordinary works was set in 1587 by the Stationers' Company at 1,500 copies (or up to 3,000 by petition). See Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 176–177. My calculation assumes a small print run of 500 copies for the first edition, but 1,500 for each subsequent edition.

³⁴ Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody*, 4.

Sternhold's writing.³⁵ Furthermore, the use of the same meter in multiple psalms implies that Sternhold's texts were intended to be sung to well-known tunes—ones familiar enough to the English populace that musical literacy was not required in order to purchase or use the volume.³⁶ This practice was also common for godly ballads and vernacular carols, so it is reasonable to assume that Sternhold could count on his audience's ability to sing his texts. Sternhold's advertisement that he sang these psalms to Edward VI, moreover, demonstrates the value he felt the act of *singing* or *hearing* lent to lay devotion: in this form, psalms had the potential for effecting a stronger religious experience than reading or speaking might have accomplished. The devotional act of singing psalms in the home, moreover, mirrored the chanting of vernacular psalms that was now required in the liturgy. Indeed, as the ritual act of chanting vernacular psalms in the liturgy effected the sacralization of a formerly Catholic place, domestic space might be, in the words of Jonathan Z. Smith, "made sacred"—at least temporarily—through the singing of Sternhold's psalms. This type of sacralization relied not on a replication of liturgical experience, but on a custom that reformers deemed the most spiritually valuable of all devotional practices: the consumption of scripture. In arguing that scripture should be sung in the home as a devotional practice, reformers like Sternhold created new method of sacralizing space that relied on music whose sound only later *became* sacred because of its association with sung scripture.

The public appeal to the king's authority in the preface of *Certayne psalmes*, which places Sternhold carefully in the king's favor while tacitly assuming the latter's endorsement, sent an important message to a broad readership. If those who purchased the book were to sing and read from it as the head of their church and spiritual leader had done, then they, too, would

³⁵ Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 24.

³⁶ The earliest source for any melodies associated with Sternhold's psalms is the 1556 Geneva Psalter, so there is no way to know what tunes were employed at this time. Leaver, "*Goostly psalmes*," 123.

find God's favor. In this sense, Sternhold's volume was a product of and for an English market, focused on the specific needs of his lay audience and printed at just the right time—one reason, I suggest, that his book succeeded where Coverdale's had failed. His decision to publish the volume suggests he believed his psalms would find a welcome audience among London's inhabitants, to whom the volume would have been most easily accessible. Furthermore, in publishing text *without* musical notation, Sternhold not only recognized the possibility that purchasers could simply read the psalms to themselves, but also made the book cheaper to produce and thus to purchase. More significantly, he removed the barrier many may have found in a volume containing musical notation: the added complexity of an illegible notational system might have deterred potential customers, and by omitting it, Sternhold indicated that sung psalmody was not limited to those with a musical background.

Although Sternhold's collection had no intended liturgical function, one London church, St. Dionis Backchurch, did purchase four copies, paying four shillings in 1549 for "*the changyng of vj salters and for j of salter & for iiij bokes of sternall salmes.*"³⁷ How the parish used these books is impossible to know, as they could not be employed interchangeably with other psalters. Nevertheless, this unusual acquisition suggests that at least one church experimented with Sternhold's psalms in the liturgy. In addition, at least two of Sternhold's texts were sung polyphonically during worship at this time: anonymous settings of psalms 4 and 128 appear in the Wanley Partbooks, in the section of anthems and under the heading "Weddings," respectively.³⁸ The inclusion of these psalms speaks, first and foremost, to the widespread

³⁷ TNA E 117/4/70.

³⁸ The settings appear on fols. 48r–49r and 26r–26v (420), 48v–50r and 25v–26r (421), and 48r–49r and 26r–27r (422) of the Wanley partbooks. As Wrightson notes, the setting of psalm 4 contains a single verse of psalm 49 at the beginning, which has led many scholars to misidentify its text. Wrightson, ed., *The Wanley Manuscripts*, xvi.

popularity of Sternhold's initial publications: the Wanley Partbooks were neither created for, nor produced in a courtly environment, and the musical settings contained within do not suggest use by a particularly elite choir. Instead, these two anthems demonstrate that London-based musicians had access to Sternhold's texts at a relatively early date. In addition, these settings highlight the diverse ways Sternhold's musical book might be used: the flexibility of publishing a book of music *without* notation meant that those who purchased it were free to adapt the contents to a variety of uses. While Sternhold could hardly have had such a use in mind, he must nevertheless have understood that such a choice made his texts ripe for adaptation.

Sternhold's publication, and its immediate success, inspired a number of imitators. Not all of these Edwardine metrical psalm collections were intended as music books, indicating that the genre was flexible at mid-century. Literary scholars have paid considerable attention, for example, to the intended audience and function of Thomas Wyatt's *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of Dauid* (1549 whose introduction makes no mention of singing its contents).³⁹ Beth Quitslund has discussed a number of these books at length, and I make no attempt to replicate her work here.⁴⁰ Instead, I focus on the three metrical psalm publications whose authors explicitly designated their books for singing: those by Robert Crowley (1549), William Hunnis (1550), and Francis Seager (1553). Although their purposes were different, and each of their publications received relatively little interest compared to Sternhold's, all three demonstrate that

³⁹ See, for example, Elizabeth Heale, *Wyatt, Surrey, and Early Tudor Poetry* (London and New York: Longman, 1998); Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Zim, *English Metrical Psalms*, 47–74. Quitslund has noted that while Wyatt's psalms predate Sternhold's and were thus not inspired by the latter's publication, their printer and editor John Harrington probably was, since his chosen title of Wyatt's translation of the penitential psalms (*Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of Dauid...drawen into englyshe meter by Sir Thomas Wyat knyght*) suggests a much closer link to Sternhold's agenda than did Wyatt's project itself. See Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 73.

⁴⁰ See Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 72–93.

these authors saw *sung* psalms as foundational for lay religious devotion and an important means through which to confessionalize a broader public.

Robert Crowley's *Psalter of Dauid newly translated into Englysh metre* was the first set of metrical psalm translations to appear in print following Sternhold's *Certayne Psalmes*, and it uses Sternhold's meter exclusively. Crowley's psalter held the distinction of being the first complete English metrical psalter, but more importantly, it was also the first psalter to incorporate printed music.⁴¹ Crowley was an early reformer; educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, he later worked as a publisher in London.⁴² His translations, he asserts in his introduction, are a result of scholarly rigor—certainly they use the most challenging diction of any psalm translations to date, and his word choices are often overtly Latinate.⁴³ As J.W. Martin has shown, during his short publishing career (1548 to 1551) Crowley was quite prolific. It is clear, moreover, that Crowley entered the printing trade mainly to make reformist propaganda: both the character of the books he was writing himself in the years prior to 1548 and the titles he issued in the following years incorporate topics with a strong evangelical bent, including attacks on church corruption and current social ills.⁴⁴ Crowley's collected output, therefore, shows that he saw the value of print for the dissemination of reform literature. Yet Crowley's psalter, which includes not only the complete book of psalms but also English versions of six important canticles, was clearly intended for a liturgical purpose—one that could have solidified his translations as the most important version of the psalms used in the English church.

⁴¹ Crowley's title page indicates a print date of 20 September, 1549. Robert Crowley, *The Psalter of Dauid newly translated into Englysh metre in such sort that it maye the more decently, and wyth more delyte of the mynde, be reade and songe of al men* (London, 1549).

⁴² J.W. Martin, "The Publishing Career of Robert Crowley: A Sidelight on the Tudor Book Trade," in *Publishing History* 14 (1983): 85.

⁴³ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 91.

⁴⁴ Martin, "The Publishing Career of Robert Crowley," 85–94.

As noted in Chapter 1, the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* ordered the whole psalter to be read through once each month.⁴⁵ Although prose translations of the psalter were widely available, Crowley clearly saw the contemporary popularity of Sternhold's short collection and decided to capitalize on his predecessor's success, creating a full metrical psalter for parish use. Crowley included just one four-part setting for all of his metrical psalms, pointing out in his introduction that since all his translations are the same meter, the same music might be used for each. This musical setting reveals Crowley's intended liturgical purpose: placing the seventh psalm tone of the Sarum rite in the tenor, he harmonizes the tune in faburden style (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. Psalm tune, Robert Crowley.

⁴⁵ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 14. There is no indication in the prayerbook of what translation or version of the psalms must be used.

Crowley thus replicates the standard musico-liturgical form of psalm singing, relying on already familiar musical material. His choice to include only one, rather than eight, psalm tones, presents a conundrum; surely parishes were most likely to vary the tones to which psalms were performed. Nicholas Temperley has posited, however, that the presence of only one setting suggests that Crowley published the book in a hurry; in order to capitalize on the new requirement that the psalms be read each month, Crowley likely saw that time would be of the essence if he wished his translations to be purchased. As it was, Crowley's book was issued three months after the *Book of Common Prayer* came into widespread use.⁴⁶

Several additional features of Crowley's volume further demonstrate that he intended his book to be used liturgically. Not only did he include metrical versions of six canticles, but Crowley also printed a calendar for calculating feast days, similar to the one in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Unlike Sternhold before him, Crowley does not discuss the merits of singing for the transmission of God's word, nor does he warn of the dangers of secular music. Instead, his preface focuses on the accuracy of his translation, and the book's potential function; he hopes to move his audience "to delyte in the readyng and hearyng of these Psalmes, wherin lyeth the most precieuse treasure of the christian religion."⁴⁷ Thus, Crowley did not intend the laity to sing his psalms; rather, he emphasizes singing the psalms in worship. Although the *Book of Common Prayer* did not specify which available translation of the psalms ought to be used, there were also no decrees authorizing metrical translations for liturgical use. Thus, I suggest that the late publication date of Crowley's *Psalter of Dauid*, coupled with its liturgical focus, were the

⁴⁶ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 25.

⁴⁷ Crowley, *Psalmes of Dauid*, fol. ❖❖.i. v.

primary factors for its limited success; the book was not reprinted, and there are no records—at least in London—of any parishes purchasing it.

William Hunnis's 1550 *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of Dauid*, by contrast, was issued as a companion volume to the 1549 *Al such psalmes* by Sternhold and Hopkins. Hunnis was appointed a member of the Chapel Royal under Edward VI shortly after the publication of this volume, later becoming Elizabeth I's Master of the Children in 1566.⁴⁸ Although he makes no explicit mention of Sternhold in his epistle to the reader, refers to the earlier publication: "I Haue here picked oute (moost gentyll reader) these psalmes folowing which no late wryter hath hytherto touched, & yet for the excellency of the matter in them contened, semed most worthy this labour and payne."⁴⁹ His volume is notable for its brevity, containing only six psalm paraphrases (51, 56, 57, 113, 117, and 147), two English versions of scriptural hymns (the *Benedictus* and *Benedicite*), the last chapter of Ecclesiasticus, and an original song, "The complaint of a sinner." The explicitly devotional framework of Hunnis's psalms demonstrates that he had two primary concerns for his reader: the first three psalms petition God for aid during periods of sin or hardship, and the remaining three are songs of thanksgiving for times of joy.⁵⁰ Hunnis's introduction focuses primarily on his audience's ability to read these translations—all of which except the last two use Sternhold's meter—but he also acknowledges "that those, whiche in psalmes and pleasaunt songes hathe delyte, myghte hereof

⁴⁸ Michael Smith, "Hunnis [Ennis, Honnys, Hunys, Hynnys etc.], William," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013568>).

⁴⁹ William Hunnis, *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of Dauid* (London: 1550), fol. Av. As Beth Quitslund notes, obviously Crowley's complete psalter renders this claim incorrect, so Hunnis must not have known Crowley's earlier publication. Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 85.

⁵⁰ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 86. These themes would have been particularly suitable for individual devotion.

receiue some pleasure or profyt.”⁵¹ Given the almost exclusive use of Sternhold’s meter and the implicit reference to Sternhold’s earlier collection, it is clear that Hunnis hoped his audience might employ his psalms and songs in a personal devotional context, whether read or sung.

Hunnis’s inclusion of the *Benedictus* and the *Benedicite* adds a further musical dimension to his short book.⁵² In borrowing music from the liturgy and placing it alongside his psalms, Hunnis reinforced the connection between personal singing of the psalms and their chanting in divine worship, while also bringing liturgical song into a devotional context. Singing a vernacular *Benedictus* or *Benedicite* in the home was, in effect, a momentary enactment of the liturgy in an otherwise profane context; this act relied on the sacralizing potential of liturgical song—and its sound—for its efficacy. The new song at the end of the volume also highlights Hunnis’s musical agenda. Its repetition of the phrase “Miserere mei deus” at the end of each verse recalls the contemporary ballad technique, discussed in the next chapter, of employing the same text or variation on a text at the end of verses as a unifying structural device. Furthermore, the penitential language, with its petition to Jesus (lines 6 and 13) and focus on salvation through prayer in the final verse (“Mercy is with god my sauyour / And he onlye shalbe my refuge / He wyll not dispice his creatoure / Ne yet forsake his owne ymage”), marks the song as distinctly reformist, with a clear agenda: through singing or reading this song directly to God, an individual might receive his forgiveness and blessing. This type of lay singing, moreover, supplemented (and in some cases replaced) the singing monks, clerks, and choirs often undertook on the laity’s behalf, underscoring the laity’s new function as members of a universal priesthood.

⁵¹ Hunnis, *Certayne psalmes*, fol. Av.

⁵² Both of these texts appear in Henrician primers as well as the *Book of Common Prayer*. Polyphonic settings of these texts were also common—there are four settings of the *Benedictus* (23, 35, 39, and 72) and one of the *Benedicite* (45) in the Wanley Partbooks, for example—and they were also presumably sung in many parishes.

If the musical intent of Hunnis's *Certayne psalmes* is obscured in the volume itself, the importance of singing the psalms could not be more overt in Francis Seager's *Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalter of Dauid* (1553), a collection comprised of sixteen of Seager's own translations along with three psalm translations by the Earl of Surrey that Seager reworked into meter. Seager follows Sternhold's format by prefacing each of these paraphrases with an explanatory quatrain, and his title page points to the book's musical contents: the psalms are presented "with Notes to euery Psalme in iiij. parts to Synge."⁵³ Seager dedicates the book to Francis, Lord Russell, acknowledging the nobleman's delight in "vertuous songes, and ghostly psalms" in the opening dedication, much as Sternhold had done with Edward VI.⁵⁴ Although Seager eschews an epistle to the general reader, his choice to print the collection indicates that he had a broad audience in mind. The majority of Seager's psalms take up moralizing themes, including God's role as comforter in times of adversity (psalms 120, 130, 138, 142, and 143); God's grace, omnipotence, and the necessity of trusting in him (psalms 43, 145, 146, and 147); and God's punishment of the wicked (psalms 112, 140, 144, and 149).⁵⁵ Quitslund has noted the attention Seager gave to his translations; his version of psalm 120, for example, shows a careful rewrite of a verse Sternhold mis-translates, restoring the verse's original meaning.⁵⁶ The themes Seager emphasizes, moreover, not only point to a decidedly reformist outlook but suggest that

⁵³ Francis Seager, *Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalt=er of Dauid* (London: William Seres, 1553).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. A ij. Quitslund reads this dedication as indicating that Seager "directs his advice to Edward's counselors" rather than the king, as Sternhold had done. See Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 78. Scott Lucas has demonstrated, however, that Seager had no personal connection to Lord Russell, and posits instead that Seager made use of this literary trope to position his collection alongside other contemporary publications. See Lucas, "From Court to Community: Francis Seager's *Certayne Psalmes* and the Popularization of Mid-Tudor Scriptural Verse," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Toronto, Canada, March 2019.

⁵⁵ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 79.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Although Seager claims that he has "sought helpe, of learned books" in making his translations, they are largely paraphrased from the Great Bible with little outside influence.

his intention was to teach his audience the most appropriate ways to worship God, building on the foundation laid by Sternhold's and Hopkins's already popular translations. His incorporation of new versions of psalms 43, 120, 146, however—all of which may be found in *Al such psalmes*—demonstrates that he did not see his book *only* as a companion to the earlier collection; instead, its program might stand alone for any layperson who wished to purchase it.

Perhaps the most significant feature of Seager's volume is its inclusion of two four-part musical settings, one for the first twelve and a second for the last seven psalms. Aside from Crowley's single faburden harmonization in 1549, Seager's book is the only collection of metrical psalms to be printed with musical notation in the Edwardine period. The two settings incorporate a number of features typical of mid-century English compositional style; both, for example, are primarily syllabic, though not quite homophonic. The first setting, the first opening of which is shown in Figure 8, uses the common English system of a single flat signature in the upper three parts and double flats in the bassus. This opening shows a common printing error of the period, which is repeated throughout the volume: the reprinting of a flat in the melodic line (here on "call" in the bassus) that is already present in the signature. Such small printing problems, however, pale in comparison to the larger issue that exists with all twelve psalms that use the first musical setting: although the volume is laid out in choirbook format, with two parts on each facing page so multiple singers might read from the same book, the faulty layout of the music means users would have been unable to do so.



Figure 8. Opening of Francis Seager's first musical setting in *Certayne Psalmes*.

A careful examination of the openings in Figures 8 and 9 shows that while the book's printer, Nicholas Hill, aligned the *text* of each system of music with its counterparts in all voices, this arrangement results in unequal lines of music, as each respective system might contain an unequal number of beats. Such a layout would not present difficulties if this arrangement were accounted for by the final system of each part in the same opening, but that is not the case. Instead, in the opening in Figure 8 the treble and tenor have thirty-five minims, the mean has thirty-four, and the bassus has thirty-seven. Thus, although the music was easy enough to be performed by amateur musicians, the printer's intention that multiple singers use a single copy

Psalmes of Dauid	In Mettre.
	
<p>Graunte that þy iuste, & ryght request Of my repentaunt mynde: So perce thyne cares, that in thy syght Some fauoure it maye fynde.</p>	<p>The burden of, thy wraoth and yre Doth me so soze oppresse: And sondry trozmes, thou hast me sent Of terroure and dystresse.</p>
<p>My soule (o Lorde, is fraughted full w yth greife of folyes paine: My restles body, doth consume And death appzoceheth paine.</p>	<p>The faythfull frendes, are from me fled And banysht from my syght: And such as I, haue held full deare Hath set my frendeshyp lyght.</p>
<p>Lyke vnto those, whose fatal thred Thyne hand hath cut in twayne: Of whom there is no farther byrte But in theyr graues remaine.</p>	<p>My durance doth, now styll perswade Of freedom such dyspayre: That by the teares, that payne my harte Myne eye syght doth appayre.</p>
<p>Lorde in thy wraoth, thou hast me cast Into the pyt of payne: w herin I mourne, and playne my wo That I byde and sustayne,</p>	<p>Yet dyd I neuer, cease noz slake Thyne ayde for to desyre: w yth humble harte, and stretched hands for to appeale thyne yre.</p>

Figure 9. Second opening of Francis Seager's first musical setting in *Certayne Psalmes*.

would have required a bit of maneuvering—or at the very least, memorizing of the final few pitches of each opening—for this practice to be carried out as intended. In each subsequent psalm that uses this music, moreover, this problem persists. Although this error likely would not have been enough to prevent the books from being used, it does suggest a lack of musical literacy on behalf of the publisher, William Seres, and his printer Nicholas Hill, which might point to another reason that the majority of Edwardine metrical psalm collections contain no musical notation. The second musical setting, meanwhile, does not suffer the same fate, but this

is more likely due to its primarily homophonic texture; Hill used the same method of text alignment for the last seven psalms as he did in the first twelve.⁵⁷

These discrepancies, coupled with Seager's inclusion of only two distinct tunes, suggest that the musical contents of the volume, while they are foregrounded on the book's title page and in its opening verse dedication, were secondary. The use of only two melodies means that the text underlay of some psalms is more idiomatic than others, and there is no correlation between a psalm's theological themes and its musical material. The volume's musical arrangement is thus far more prescriptive than that of any contemporary publications, while offering no logical evidence for why each psalm is paired with its respective musical setting. All of these factors, when considered alongside the volume's high production costs (with such a large body of musical notation), likely means that the volume would have received less interest than a more universal book like that of Sternhold and Hopkins. Nevertheless, Seager's determination to produce metrical psalmody in four-part harmony foreshadows later developments in the genre. In addition, it again highlights the extent to which reformers believed sung scripture might effect a process of sacralization, in which both the singing of the text as well as its source created a temporarily sacred space for worship (in this case, in the home).⁵⁸

What all of the aforementioned authors have in common is an interest in encouraging lay devotional practices that were distinctly Protestant—and thus might aid in confessionalizing a diverse public—through the use of sung scripture. These metrical psalms, intended for both individual and collective prayer, gave laypeople an opportunity to sing vernacular scripture, a

⁵⁷ The one exception is psalm 149, beginning on fol. f.ii. v, where only the first line of each part appears on this leaf and the remainder of the psalm is on the next opening. The first line in the treble, tenor, and bassus have ten minims and the mean has eleven; in all other instances there are at least two lines printed for each part on an opening, which in total each contain twenty-one minims.

⁵⁸ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 109–10. As Bell notes, ritualization constructs the sacred by “temporally structur[ing] a space-time environment.”

practice that is both a natural progression of the late medieval customs of carol singing and primer reading and yet also revolutionary in its reformist focus on the Word. Like earlier devotional practices, the reading or singing of metrical psalms at home could temporarily sacralize an otherwise profane place. Such actions paralleled the sacred rituals of the liturgy but brought them into the domestic sphere, allowing laypeople to worship in their homes through specific processes that they believed enhanced the religious experience. What was new about metrical psalmody, however, was its focus on scripture, and specifically its creators' emphasis on providing accurate translations that would aid in orienting the users of these psalms towards reformed beliefs. The psalms, as scripture already in the format of prayers to God, provided the perfect foundation for both fostering explicitly Protestant devotional practices among those with reformist sympathies and reaching individuals who maintained Catholic beliefs. The lack of images in these books, furthermore, reinforced the evangelical belief that proper devotion ought to be carried out without visual aids. The added layer of *singing* these psalms, moreover, tied them to a long and popular tradition of vernacular devotional song, making this new musical genre more familiar and accessible. The flexibility of un-notated books like Sternhold's, finally, also reflects the earlier consumption of devotional music, such as can be found in Henrician carol publications. Thus, this genre relied on a mixture of old and new trends for its popularity, sharing connections to earlier and contemporary devotional genres but offering users a novel format.

Following in Sternhold's Footsteps: Singing Protestant Biblical Exegesis

Not only did Sternhold inspire a number of reformers to try their hands at metrical psalmody, but his example also aroused interest in metrical translations of Biblical texts more broadly. Three such publications exist, each of which sets texts from a different book of the Bible: William Baldwin's *The Canticles or balades of Salomon* (1549), William Samuel's *The*

abridgemente of goddess statutes in myter (1551), and Christopher Tye's *The Actes of the Apostles* (1553). In this section, I examine the two text-only publications of this genre, Baldwin's *Canticles* and Samuel's *Abridgemente*. As I will show, both Baldwin and Samuel use the medium of Biblical song to push for a clearly reformist reading of scripture, either implicitly or explicitly referring to evangelical beliefs, and both likewise demonstrate a strong desire to have their texts sung. The authors' presentation techniques, however, are quite different, both from one another and also from the metrical psalmody of Sternhold and his imitators. These books thus demonstrate the broad range of uses towards which Protestant reformers believed sung metrical scripture might be put, and further emphasize the role reformers hoped music could play in drawing members of the general public to their cause.

Printed in the summer of 1549, William Baldwin's *The Canticles or balades of Salomon* sets the popular allegorical and Christological reading of the Song of Songs, with Christ as the bridegroom to the Church's bride, as a series of dramatic scenes. Each chapter begins with a full translation taken from the Great Bible, following which the verses are broken up into smaller sections. Each section of text is then paraphrased as a song, preceded by a short prose "argument," in which Baldwin lays out the song's meaning and indicates what four individual characters—Christ, the Bride or Church, the Younglings, and the Bridegroom's Friends—are intended to do during or preceding the song. Quitslund argues that Baldwin's *Canticles* should be read "less as an imitation of than a collaboration with Sternhold's project."⁵⁹ As Sternhold had done, Baldwin dedicates his book to Edward VI, lauding the young king's "earnest zeale to knowlege of truth, & diligent endeour to auance the same."⁶⁰ Defending both royal supremacy

⁵⁹ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 75. The dedication in Baldwin's *Canticles* is dated 1 June 1549, when Sternhold was still alive and at work on additional metrical psalms.

⁶⁰ William Baldwin, *THE CANTICLES or Balades of Salomon* (London: 1549), fol. A.ii.

and the non-clerical reading of scripture, Baldwin holds up the actions of the king's Biblical predecessors as exemplars for Edward VI's own rule, also calling on God to give Edward "the gyft of prophecie, truly to vnderstand the holy scriptures."⁶¹ Baldwin thus emphasizes his hopes that the new sovereign's plans for the reformed Church of England will come to fruition.

Baldwin's explicitly Protestant agenda comes through in each of his seventy-one songs, both in the paraphrases themselves and in each "argument." The first song, for example, allegorizes the opening of the first chapter of Song of Songs: "That he would kysse me with the kisses of his mouthe: For thy teates are better than wyne, smelling swete with moste fragraunte oyntmentes. Thy name is a poured furth oyntment: Therefore the Damsels haue loued thee. Draw me vnto thee." In the "argument," Baldwin presents a standard reading of this verse: the Church, Christ's spouse, is delivered from earthly pleasures; having tasted of God's love, she is inflamed to love Christ. Baldwin infuses reformist rhetoric, however, into his explanation. The spouse's deliverance from "the corrupt kysses of fleshly pleasures and delites," for example, might be read as a typical Christian attack on humanity's penchant for sin, but in Edwardine England also references the Catholic church, which reformers routinely accused of corruption and immorality. Similarly, Baldwin's characterization that the spouse is "ryd from the vayne wurkes of men in which she longtyme trusted" refers to the Henrician break with the Catholic church; the reference to "vayne wurkes" also hints at the Catholic emphasis on good works for salvation.

The lengthy song that follows this "argument," moreover, supports Baldwin's Protestant reading of this passage: the Church describes Christ as having brought her "from vayne to perfect blisse, To perfect fayth, from wurkes of worldly myer."⁶² Likewise, the emphasis on Christ's

⁶¹ Baldwin, *Canticles*, fol. A.iii.

⁶² Baldwin, *Canticles*, fol. a.i.

sacrifice on the cross, and the saving power that belongs only to him—“thou, thou alone...by mercie hast made free vs that wer thral”—reminds Baldwin’s audience that the intercession of saints, so popular in Catholic devotion, was worthless in the eyes of God.⁶³ The remainder of Baldwin’s songs also deliver an evangelical message: in the “argument” for song six, for example, Baldwin refers to “the subtil deceyte of false doctrine,” and song thirty-three emphasizes predestination with its reference to “the elect and faythfull that doe dwell / In thee my church.”⁶⁴ Baldwin’s focus thus remains on offering a reformist message throughout, even when his scriptural passages make it difficult to do so.

Although Baldwin dedicates his *Canticles* to the king, his main audience is the general public, whom he addresses in a preface. Born in London in late 1526, Baldwin was one of the most celebrated authors of the Tudor period. The *Canticles* was his first foray into scripture translation, completed while he was still an assistant to the reformist printer Edward Whitchurch, whose shop printed the volume.⁶⁵ His earlier success likely meant he could count on some public interest in a book published with his name on the title page, especially given the popularity of metrical psalters like Sternhold’s. In the opening line of the note to the reader, Baldwin stresses the musical quality of his publication, indicating that “there be fower singers” that comprise the intended performers of his work.⁶⁶ This reference to singers, rather than characters or people, signals to the reader that this is a musical book. Baldwin also legitimizes his work by claiming a musical link with the original text—he has paraphrased these scriptural verses in meter “because

⁶³ Baldwin, *Canticles*, fol. a.i.v.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. a.4v and f4.

⁶⁵ Scott Lucas, “The Birth and Later Career of the Author William Baldwin (d. 1563),” *Huntington Library Quarterly: Studies in English and American History and Literature* 79, No. 1 (2016): 151. Baldwin won immediate fame from his first book, *A Treatise of Morall Phylosophie*, in 1547.

⁶⁶ Baldwin, *Canticles*, fol. A.i.v.

they bee balades.”⁶⁷ Although he calls his audience readers more than once, he also continues to refer to his texts as songs, thus stressing a dual purpose that recalls Sternhold’s similar presentation. Yet Baldwin’s text also speaks to an understanding of “song” that is neither purely musical nor purely textual—song need not require performance, though Baldwin makes clear that musical performance is one intended use of the volume; even when his songs are read, Baldwin wants his readers to understand his paraphrases as music.

Baldwin also stresses his book’s musical function in his dedication to the king, calling the book’s contents “swete & musical balades” that “will delite any christen harted eare.”⁶⁸ Like Sternhold, he further prays that “suche songes myght once driue out of office the baudy balades of lecherous loue that commonly are indited and song of idle courtiers in princes and noble mens houses.”⁶⁹ The most obvious connection to Sternhold’s agenda comes at the end of Baldwin’s dedication, however, when he notes that the king has “caus[ed] the psalmes brought in to fine englysh meter, by youre godly disposed seruaunt Thomas Sternholde, to be song openly before your grace in the hearyng of all your subiectes.”⁷⁰ Baldwin thus emphasizes the important role he felt *music* played in the acceptance and popularity of Sternhold’s book. Quitslund refers to Baldwin’s *Canticles* as a drama, but this characterization is incomplete: with his *Canticles*, Baldwin envisioned a fully sung performance of an allegorized Biblical text with at least four performers. Although Baldwin offers no stage directions per se, he indicates in each “argument” where the characters ought to direct their attention, and to whom they are singing. Thus, he relies

⁶⁷ Baldwin, *Canticles* fol. A.i.v.

⁶⁸ Baldwin, *Canticles*, fol. A.iii.v.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. A.iii.v.

on not only the musical but also the dramatic possibilities of his songs to allow his audience to appreciate and respond to his work.

Unlike Sternhold and the other psalm authors' direct scriptural translations, however, Baldwin's *Canticles* occupy a more liminal space akin to the popular medieval Biblical play. Although Baldwin's texts have a distinctly reformist bent, in expanding and paraphrasing Biblical text in a dramatic fashion Baldwin eschews direct translation for a format that allows him instead to stress the importance of understanding the Song of Songs allegorically. Baldwin's tactic, in light of his subject matter, is unsurprising. As a reformer, he believed that lay men and women ought to have access to scripture in the vernacular; nevertheless, he must have recognized the probability that laypeople might "misread" the Song of Songs—that is, they might be tempted to understand the text literally. He thus relies on metrical song to achieve his aims, situating his project as adjacent to the devotional agenda of metrical psalm writers.

Baldwin's *Canticles* may not contain musical notation, moreover, but it is possible to glean several details about the typical musical characteristics of these songs from their texts. Baldwin's songs show a surprising amount of musical variety, though many fall into regular patterns that would allow them to be sung strophically to popular melodies.⁷¹ The most standard form in the *Canticles* is for songs in verses of four lines using an ABAB rhyme scheme, often (though not always) in common meter, and such songs might be easily sung to the same melodies often employed for Sternhold's psalms.⁷² Yet Baldwin frequently varies this form,

⁷¹ Evidence indicating who may have composed the music for these texts is nonexistent, but it may not have been Baldwin himself: there are no indications that Baldwin was musically literate, and the *Canticles* was his only musical work. For more on Baldwin's education see Lucas, "William Baldwin," 152.

⁷² Equal lines of 10 and 12 syllables are also common in these songs with four-line verses.

often by including a short tag at the end of verses, as in song seven: here each verse is followed by a short five-syllable phrase, which Baldwin reuses in the subsequent verse, as in verses 1–2:

Yf thou the fayrest of all woman kynde,
That euer I founde most faythful in dede,
Doest not of thy self know where me to fynde,
Except by my grace thou therto procede:
Because all wisdom of flesh is to blynde
To searche out the place where I lye and fede:
Because I thee loue and am to thee kynde,
The trueth yl I teache thee: yf thou wylt spede,
 Cum furth fro thy selfe.
Cum furth fro thy self, cum furth fro the darke=
sum trust in thy deades, wherof all the packe
That man may deuse, are not wurth a sparke
Of fayth in my blud, where can be no lacke.
Although that the church malignant doe barke,
Cum furth from her foldes: and bear on thy backe
My Lode, Croße, and yoke, whiche shall be thy marke
For her to detest, and put thee to wracke:
 Yet trace thou my steppes.⁷³

This level of textual variation in otherwise standard forms suggests that a substantial amount of music would either need to have been written or modified in order to perform Baldwin's songs correctly. Certainly, this lack of standardization may have posed difficulties for some who purchased Baldwin's book, since not all of the songs could be sung to popular tunes.

Nevertheless, Baldwin favored these varied verse forms despite this complication, which suggests that he may have had a specific performance context in mind—most likely in London, where he resided—when he first began his project.

Unlike the metrical psalm collections of Sternhold and his colleagues, however, the dramatic, narrative focus of Baldwin's volume meant that it lent itself to educating and entertaining the laity, but not to ritual practice—it was not meant to create sacred space through the repeated singing of scripture, but rather to teach the correct interpretation of a Biblical story

⁷³ Baldwin, *Canticles*, fols. b.i.r–v.

in an engaging manner. Indeed, Baldwin may have referred to Sternhold's psalms as his model in his introduction to his readers, but what he offered them was something radically different. Baldwin's *Canticles* thus not only provides evidence of Edwardine reformers' dependence on domestic music, but indicates that some proponents of doctrinal change went out of their way to pursue new musical forms through which to effect religious conversion.

In contrast to Baldwin's *Canticles*, William Samuel's *The abridgemente of goddess statutes in myter* condenses, rather than elaborates, a selection of scripture (in this case, the Pentateuch) into metrical verse.⁷⁴ Samuel's project is ambitious: noting in his dedicatory epistle that this book is only "the begynnyng of my work," he aims eventually to have his "contrey people able in a smale some to syng the hole contents of the byble."⁷⁵ Setting the entire Bible in English verse would have been a monumental undertaking, and it is no wonder that Samuel never quite fulfilled his aspirations.⁷⁶ Samuel structures his book in a straightforward manner, making use easy for his audience: each section covers a single book of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy), and each chapter is summarized in two verses. Samuel's use of Sternhold's meter throughout his *Abridgemente* ensured that users of his book would have no difficulty singing his settings, and he structures each section of his work with an alphabetical neumonic, where each chapter in a given book starts with the next letter in the sequence. Thus, the first chapter of Genesis begins with "Almyghty God dydde make the heauen," and chapter two starts "B**e**gyn dyd then the lord to rest."⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Unlike Sternhold and Baldwin before him, Samuel dedicates his book not to the king but to the Duchess of Somerset, the wife of his patron.

⁷⁵ William Samuel, *The Abridgemente of goddess Statutes in myter* (London: Robert Crowley, 1551), fol. A.ii.r-v.

⁷⁶ Samuel did eventually publish the entire Old Testament in verse in 1569 as *An abridgeme[n]t of all the canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter*.

⁷⁷ Samuel, *Abridgemente*, fol. A.iii.

In summarizing scripture Samuel focuses on teaching his audience the Bible's overarching narrative—this is a book designed to familiarize the laity with Biblical stories. Indeed, as Beth Quitslund has argued, Samuel's aim is to ensure that his audience had some context for the more well-known portions of scripture, allowing them to understand the coherent whole.⁷⁸ What stands out in his proposition, however, is a common thread it shares with the other books of metrical Biblical texts discussed in this chapter: it highlights the emphasis Samuel and his fellow reformers placed on the act of *singing* scripture, rather than reading or even hearing it read, as the most efficacious way to introduce the Bible to the general public. Like Sternhold before him, Samuel warns his audience about the dangers of other music, but his focus is not the distinction between the profane and the sacred, but primarily that between the old religion and the new: “where as in tymes past the musicians or mynstrells, wer wont to syng fained myraclles, saints liues, & Robin hode, in stede thereof to sing, vndoutyd truthes, canonycall scryptures, and Gods doynge.”⁷⁹ As Quitslund notes, Samuel's concern is with the falsity of these earlier, primarily Catholic songs, and “their ability to mislead true belief into superstition.”⁸⁰ His solution, that people ought to sing songs based on scripture, certainly reflects the reformist ideal of making the Bible accessible to the laity. Yet in offering summaries of scripture, rather than metrical versions of Bible verses themselves, Samuel's project offers music that blurs the typical boundaries of this genre. In eschewing any type of direct translation, moreover, Samuel's *Abridgemente* had more in common with “traditional” religion than he perhaps intended—his method of teaching Biblical stories recalls the famous medieval mystery play cycles, which

⁷⁸ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 89.

⁷⁹ Samuel, *Abridgemente*, fol. A.ii.v.

⁸⁰ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 89.

similarly presented non-scriptural renderings of Biblical (as well as apocryphal) material in order to familiarize laypeople with Christian theology.⁸¹

In their shortened, plot-based format, these songs are also more akin to the c. 1548 godly ballad by Luke Shepherd beginning “Antipus,” a reformist, satirical song discussed in the next chapter that offers an overview of religious history. While Shepherd’s ballad presents a purposefully false Biblical narrative designed to mock Catholic beliefs, it mirrors Samuel’s songs in summarizing Biblical events; it is likewise designed to remind its listeners of scriptural truth and of the validity of new doctrines. Samuel’s book therefore relied on the popularity of Sternhold’s metrical psalmody to achieve commercial success, but like Baldwin’s *Canticles* offered music without the same sacralizing potential of the metrical psalm. Both Baldwin’s *Canticles* and Samuel’s *Abridgemente* thus, while echoing Sternhold’s desire for scripture-based song, offered distinctly different versions of Biblical song, expanding the potential of the genre.

Liturgical Sound in Domestic Space: Christopher Tye’s *The Actes of the Apostles*

Whereas the majority of Edwardine Biblical metrical song was printed without notation, a single publication of this type exists whose emphasis was on providing the laity with new music: Christopher Tye’s *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre*.⁸² Within the context of metrical Biblical music, Tye’s *Actes* is the only print created by an individual known for his musical and compositional—rather than literary or theological—talents. Although Tye’s book is often dismissed in the scholarly literature as irrelevant or musically inept, this

⁸¹ My thanks to Theresa Tinkle for this observation.

⁸² Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles, translated in=to Englyshe Metre, and de=dicated to the Kynges moste excel=ent Maiestye* (London: William Seres, 1553). Tye’s publication has received little scholarly attention, despite the print’s significant place in the history of English music printing. Not only was this volume the first collection of a single composer’s works to be printed in England—predating Tallis and Byrd’s *Cantiones sacrae* by more than two decades—but it also seems to have been the only volume of sacred music to be published until this time.

publication reveals a concerted effort on its composer's part to create musically appropriate and theologically significant settings for a broader audience than might typically have been able to access Tye's musical output. Both Tye's choice of text and the relative simplicity of his musical settings indicate that the composer showed a thoughtful consideration of his prospective audience when creating the *Actes*. The musical style of these settings, moreover, corresponds with that found in contemporary liturgical music, and I argue that Tye intentionally coopted the musical style of the English liturgy to enhance domestic devotional experience in his *Actes*. The extant copies of the *Actes* also shed important light on the difficulties of music printing in mid-sixteenth-century London; although these problems are not the primary reason most metrical Biblical song was printed without notation, they do suggest one possible reason for the lack of notated print music in England at this time.

Educated at Cambridge (receiving a BMus in 1536 and a DMus in 1545), Tye was well known at the end of Henry VIII's reign—by no later than 1543, he had been appointed *Magister choristarum* of Ely Cathedral. Although his name does not appear in extant lists of Chapel Royal staff from 1545–60, it is probable that he served there during the 1550s, participating at the very least at Mary Tudor's coronation in 1553.⁸³ Tye's musical output, like that of his contemporaries Thomas Tallis and John Sheppard, encompasses both Latin- and English-texted sacred polyphony; in Tye's case, the latter was likely produced exclusively during the reign of Edward VI. This compositional flexibility, however, appears not to have influenced Tye's own religious beliefs: shortly after the accession of Elizabeth I, Tye took religious orders, becoming ordained

⁸³ Paul Doe and David Mateer, "Tye, Christopher," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28665>. Not only does Tye identify himself as "one of the Gentrymen of hys grace's most honourable chappell" on the title page of the *Actes*, but a mandate for his livery allowance for Mary's coronation likewise describes him as one of the "gentrymen of our Chapell." As Doe and Mateer note, it is possible Tye maintained his position at Ely Cathedral during this time, though a reference from 23 May 1559 seems to indicate that he was absent for at least a period before 1558.

deacon in July and priest in November of 1560.⁸⁴ When combined with his decision to issue a printed volume of reformist music at the end of Edward VI's reign, Tye's ordination suggests that he held strong reformist convictions as early as 1553. His choice to take holy orders, moreover, lends credence to the possibility that the *Actes* was a project instigated by the composer, rather than commissioned from him by a patron.

Discussion of Tye's *Actes* is limited in scholarly literature concerned with reformed church music, due to both its unusual format and early conclusions that the music itself is of insufficient quality to warrant attention. In his formative study of music and the English Reformation, for example, Peter le Huray dismisses Tye's *Actes* as "of no great distinction. The word accentuation is stiff and the imitative points are rather mechanically contrived."⁸⁵ What scholarship exists on the *Actes*, moreover, often rests on incomplete knowledge of extant copies of the work, leading to incorrect assertions about the volume's function, Tye's contributions, and the book's potential audiences. Quitslund claims that Tye "composed only three tunes for the fourteen verses of text," for example, when Tye wrote fourteen distinct settings for each of the first fourteen chapters of Acts.⁸⁶ Robert Weidner's 1972 article on the print, meanwhile, focuses on only the two extant copies in the British Library.⁸⁷ A full treatment of this publication is thus missing from even the most focused scholarly research on it. Before delving into a study of the books and their musical contents, then, a brief overview of the nature and contents of extant copies of the *Actes* will show when and how Tye created this odd print.

⁸⁴ Doe and Mateer, "Tye, Christopher."

⁸⁵ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 384.

⁸⁶ Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 107. Quitslund clearly only consulted the Cambridge copy of the *Actes*.

⁸⁷ Weidner, "Tye's 'Actes,'" 242.

Tye's *Actes* contains metrical translations of the first fourteen chapters of the Book of Acts each set to music, for a total of fourteen distinct musical compositions. The volume is in octavo and pocket-sized (approximately three and a half by five inches), and unlike the earlier polyphonic music print *Twenty Songs* it is laid out in choirbook format.⁸⁸ Although its contents were produced by an eminent composer whose ties to the court are highlighted in its preface, the book's small size and layout, combined with its general lack of ornamentation and single-color printing, indicate that it was made with affordability in mind. Indeed, despite its musical notation it resembles no print of the period so much as Sternhold's *Certayne psalmes* or Seager's similar publication: each chapter is prefaced first with a four-line introductory verse in Roman type, and Tye uses common meter (8.6.8.6.) throughout. The volume thus clearly engages the visual conventions of prints of this type, and was formatted with other Biblical metrical song in mind.

There are five known copies of the *Actes*: two at the British Library, and one at each of three additional locations: Lambeth Palace, the Cambridge University Library, and the Boston Public Library.⁸⁹ Except for the copy in Cambridge, all contain only minor variations in their colophons, suggesting that they were either part of the same print run or produced in fairly quick succession.⁹⁰ The publisher of Tye's *Actes* was William Seres, a newcomer to the trade with ninety known Edwardine editions to his name. Like Tye, Seres embraced religious reform and had connections to the English court: from at least 1548, he was a trusted and valued servant of William Cecil, who himself served as Lord Protector Somerset's private secretary. Although

⁸⁸ In practice, the volume seems a bit small for this purpose, and I would suggest that two singers per book would be a more comfortable arrangement. Nevertheless, the format clearly indicates that it was meant for four-person use.

⁸⁹ Although the English Short Title Catalogue claims a copy is available at the New York Public Library, this is incorrect; what exists at the New York Public Library is a manuscript copy made of the original in 1777.

⁹⁰ Oddly, one of the British Library copies has its own record in the *English Short Title Catalogue* (STC 2984); the remaining four (at the BL, Lambeth, Boston, and New York) share the STC reference 2985. The Cambridge edition, meanwhile, is correctly catalogued separately as STC 2983.8.

Seres is often referred to as a printer in colophons for his publications, as Blayney notes he was not himself a printer.⁹¹ Instead, Tye's *Actes* was printed by Nicholas Hill, who is credited in two of the Tye colophons. Hill appears to have been the only printer during the Edwardine period in possession of musical type; Robert Crowley's single setting in his *Psalter of David* (Example 7), for example, was printed instead using a woodcut.⁹²

The Cambridge copy of Tye's *Actes* is unique, a fact that remains unacknowledged in the scholarly literature, and although it is undated I argue that it was printed earlier than the remaining four copies. Whereas each of the four matching copies of the *Actes* contains a different printed musical setting for each chapter, the Cambridge copy includes settings only for the first two chapters, with a truncated opening (featuring only the first lines of the mean and the countertenor) for the third chapter. There are no indications in the volume that the two complete settings ought to be used to sing the remaining texts, and a close examination of the printed music shows a substantial error in the first two settings that must only have been noticed after the first two gatherings had been printed. Just as in the first setting of Seager's *Certayne Psalmes* (shown in Figures 8 and 9), in the Cambridge *Actes* Hill aligned the *text* of each system of music with its counterparts in all voices, resulting in unequal lines of music (see Figures 10–12). In this case, the problem is compounded by the piece's presentation over three openings, such that *neither* page turn works for all singers: in the first opening, the tenor contains only twenty-seven minims while the remaining parts have twenty-nine, while by the end of the second opening *none* of the parts line up correctly over the page turn. The second setting, "When that the fyfte daye was cume," suffers from a similar layout problem, but if anything the issue is worse: already by

⁹¹ Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, 664–5.

⁹² Hill also printed Richard Beard's *A Godly Psalme of Marye Queene*, which is discussed in Chapter 3, for William Griffith in 1553.

the end of the first opening, all four singers would need to turn the page at different moments, as Tye's setting of the text "They came together," occurring over the page turn, is imitative. As with Seager's *Certayne Psalmes*, then, four singers would have been unable to sing from a single copy of the *Actes* in this format without considerable practice.

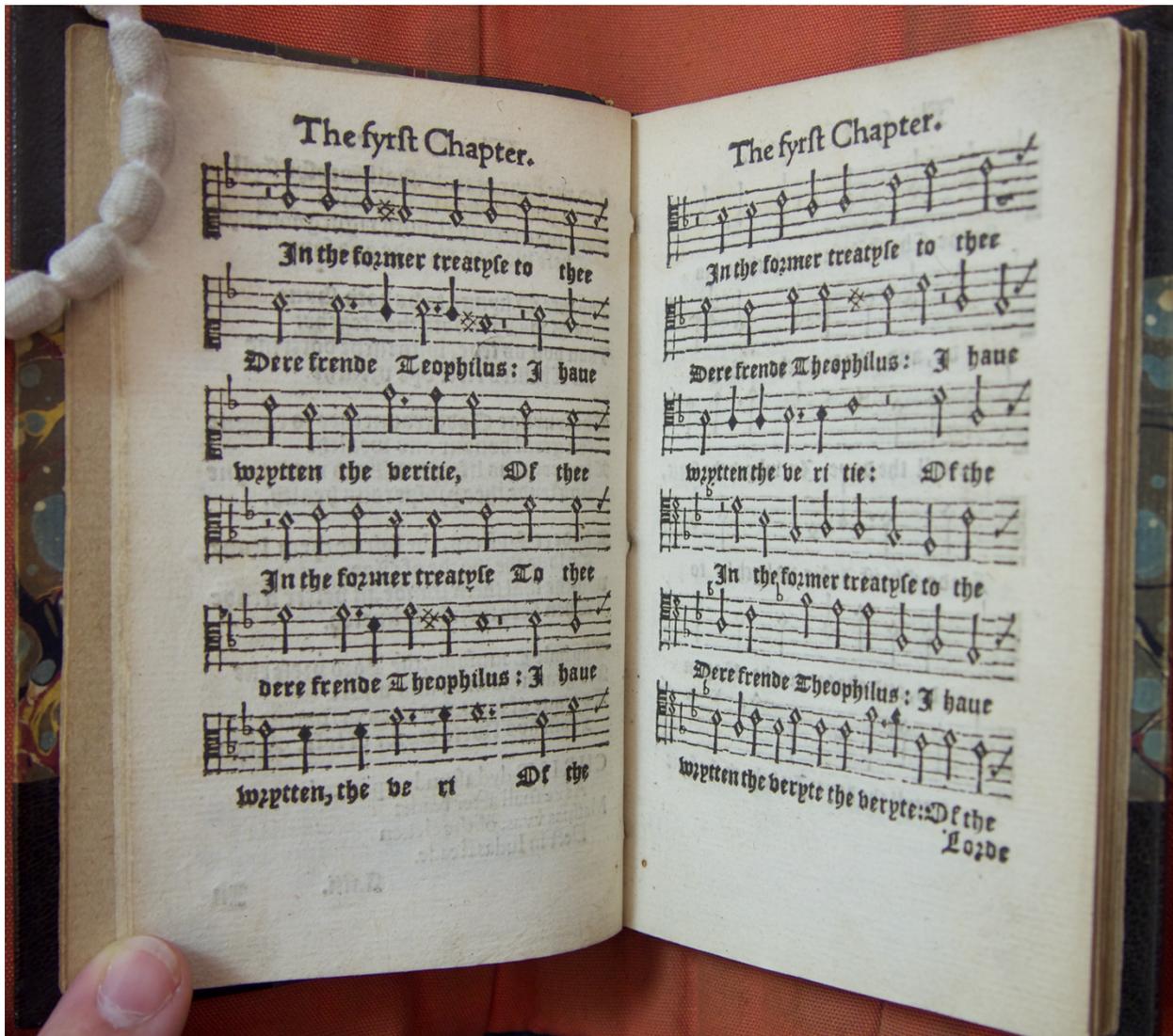


Figure 10. First opening of Chapter 1, Tye's *Actes* (Cambridge copy).

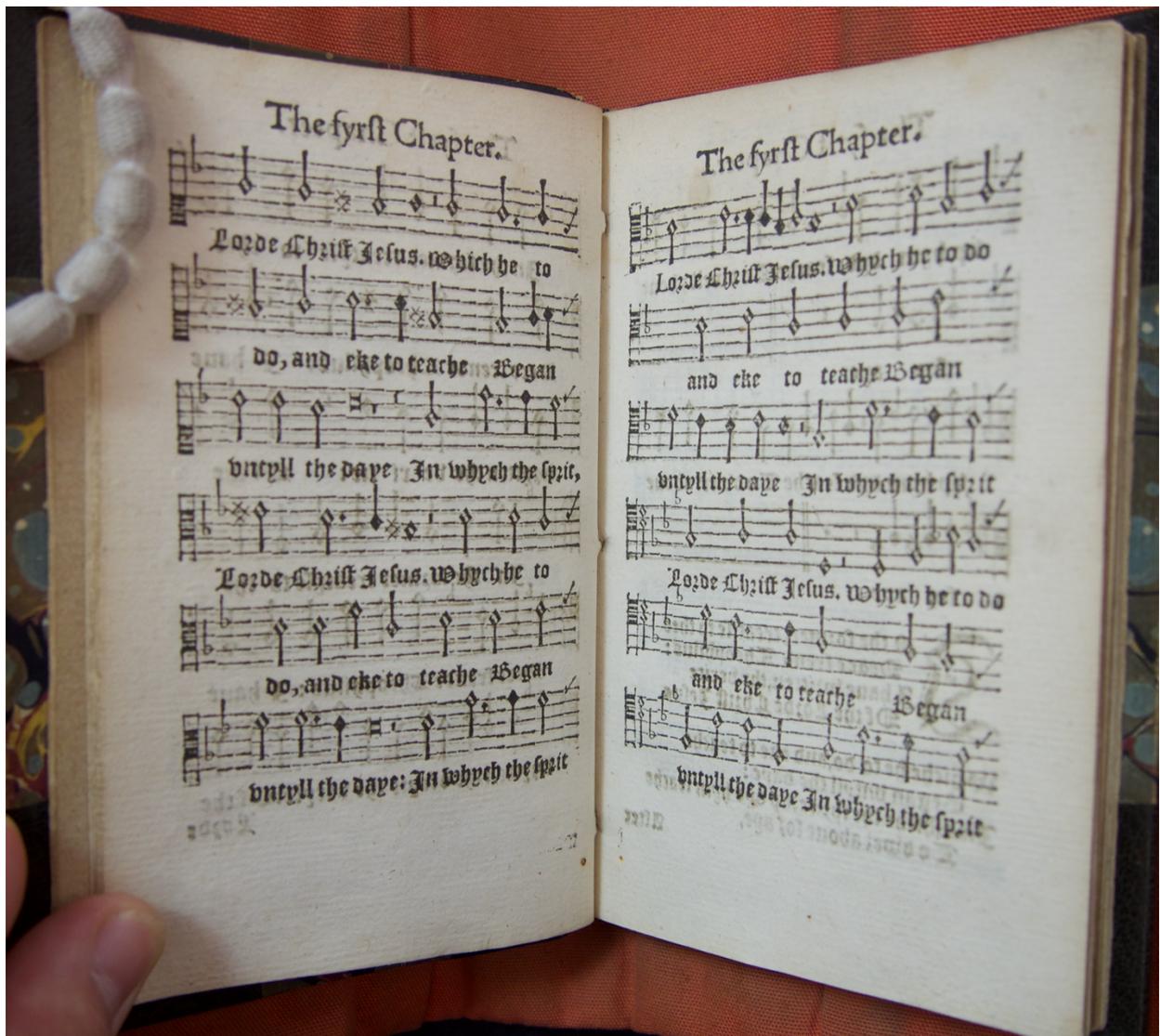


Figure 11. Second opening of Chapter 1, Tye's *Actes* (Cambridge copy).



Figure 12. Final opening of Chapter 1, Tye’s *Actes* (Cambridge copy).

The first two settings in the Cambridge *Actes* are printed on gatherings A and B of the volume, with the truncated opening of setting three beginning on the verso of the last leaf (fol. B8^v). At the beginning of gathering C, however, rather than a continuation of printed music, Hill instead begins with the text of Chapter 3, “Peter and John, they toke theyr way” (see Figure 13). It is clear that at this point in the printing process, someone—possibly even Tye himself, as Hill’s persistent errors suggest he was not musically literate—noticed that the print, though useable, was likely to require singers to purchase multiple copies, thus limiting its affordability

(and marketability) to a broad audience. This abrupt break in the Cambridge copy, I posit, indicates that this volume predates the remaining extant versions; it is highly unlikely that Hill would have made such typesetting errors *after* printing at least one run of the *Actes* correctly.

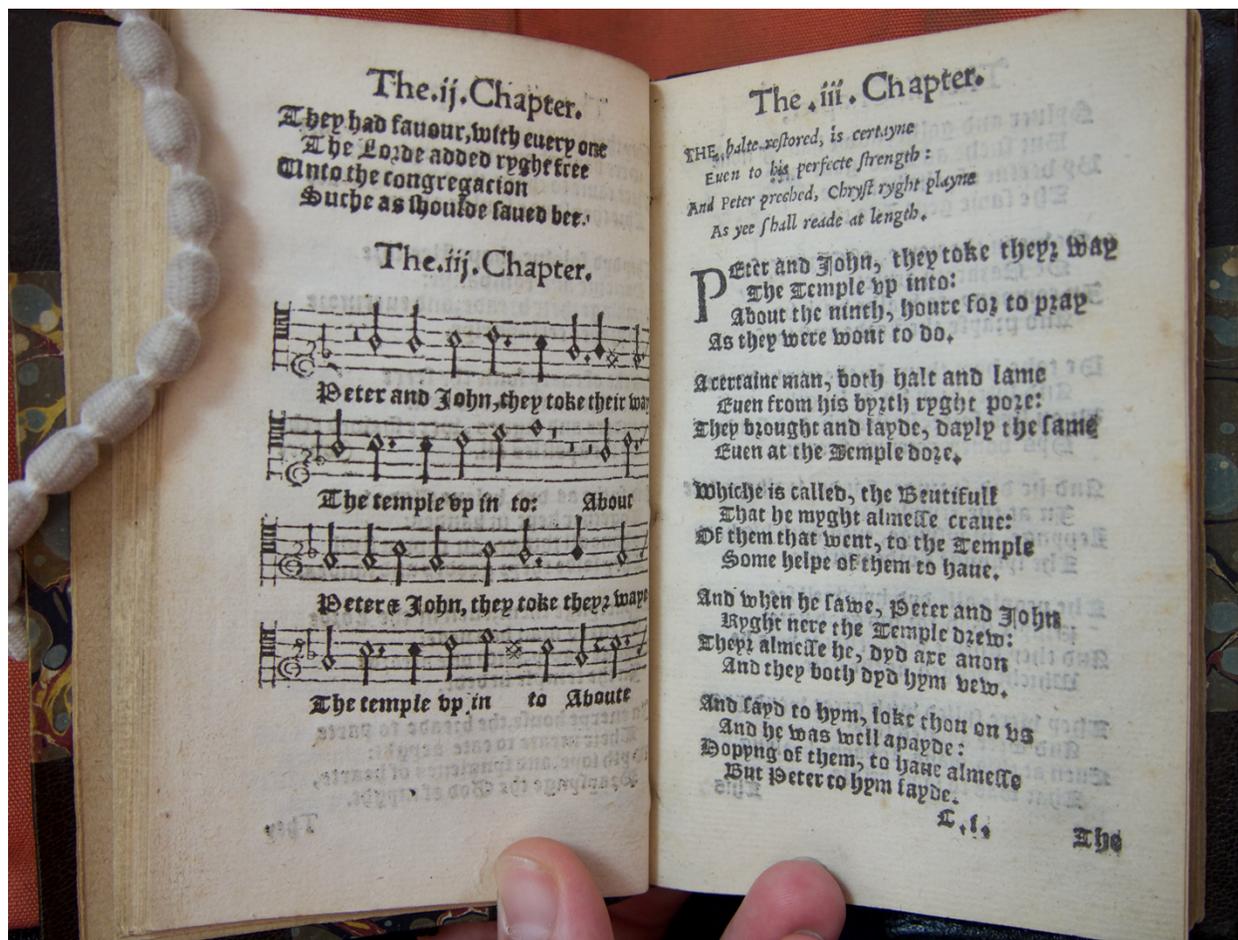


Figure 13. Beginning of Chapter 3, Tye’s *Actes* (Cambridge copy).

Differences between the music of the settings for Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 in the Cambridge *Actes* and that found in the remaining copies, moreover, offer further corroboration that the Cambridge *Actes* is the earliest extant copy of Tye’s print. Furthermore, these musical changes strongly suggest that Tye himself remained directly involved throughout the printing process. The overwhelming majority of the differences between the two versions of the *Actes* are found in the setting for Chapter 1, and some are minor, such as an E-natural on both “Lorde” (see

Figure 11) and “hym” (see Figure 12) in the countertenor, which are changed to E-flats in the later copies. In a similar manner, the tenor B-flat and A-natural on “did feach,” both minims, are replaced in the other copies with a sequence of B-flat (semi-minim), A-natural (semi-minim), and G-natural (minim), altering the sonority in the third beat of that bar (from a first-inversion A minor to a root position C minor, as it were; see Figures 14 and 15). These changes do not correct errors—there is nothing wrong with the sonorities in the Cambridge copy. Instead, these alterations must have occurred for one of two reasons: either they were mistakes made in translating the manuscript source into print, or they were changes made according to taste—that is, Tye himself decided to make musical alterations to the score.

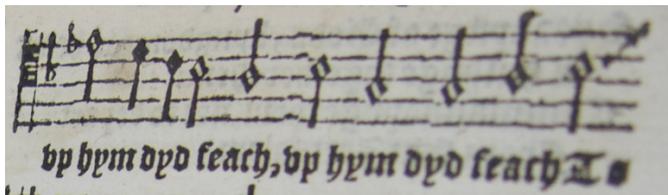


Figure 14. Tenor, “did feach,” Cambridge copy of Tye’s *Actes*.



Figure 15. Tenor, “did feach,” Lambeth Palace library copy of Tye’s *Actes*.

One more significant change than those described above further corroborates the possibility that Tye was involved in the process: before the remaining versions of the *Actes* were printed, the last phrase of the setting for Chapter 1 was rewritten, with only the bass line remaining the same. As can be seen in Figures 16 and 17, the ornamentation of the Cambridge copy has been stripped away in favor of a strictly homophonic setting. The ornamentation in

M
To dwell a - bove for aye.

C
To dwell a - bove for aye.

T
To dwell a - bove for aye.

B
To dwell a - bove for aye.

Figure 16. “To dwell above for aye,” Cambridge copy of Tye’s *Actes*.

M
To dwell a - bove for aye.

C
To dwell a - bove for aye.

T
To dwell a - bove for aye.

B
To dwell a - bove for aye.

Figure 17. “To dwell above for aye,” second edition of Tye’s *Actes*.

Figure 16 is typical of English anthems of this period; not only is elaboration of the syllables preceding a final cadence common, but the specific figuration in the mean can be found in countless contemporary examples. Throughout the volume, moreover, Tye often incorporates rhythmic and harmonic interest in the penultimate bar of his settings through similar gestures. As written in Figure 16, however, the voice-leading is awkward—all three upper parts resolve down by a third. To have noticed this possible concern, an individual would have had to possess at least basic musical literacy. The most expedient solution to fixing this potential issue, moreover,

would have been to simply rewrite the single problematic beat. The simplification of the upper three voices that occurs in conjunction with this change, then, suggests that Tye himself decided to rewrite the entire phrase; the resulting music is cleaner, albeit less rhythmically interesting.

Given the number of problems in the first two musical settings in the Cambridge copy, it might seem surprising that they ever saw the light of day. Yet Seres (and perhaps Tye) chose to rescue Hill's problematic first two gatherings by incorporating them into a text-only edition of the *Actes*, which I suggest allows us to draw three important conclusions regarding this volume and its history. First, it stands to reason that Hill must have already printed a full complement of gathering A and most likely gathering B by the time his errors were discovered; otherwise, the existing gatherings would presumably have been discarded. Second, the choice to go ahead with a text-only edition indicates that Seres was confident enough in the market for Biblical metrical song to risk the cost of printing the rest of the volume without music, assuming that it would be purchased by willing consumers. Finally, and perhaps most importantly for modern scholars of sixteenth-century print, this copy's existence says something about the nature of printing "errors" at this time: what we might see as irredeemable faults in a later print were clearly less concerning to sixteenth-century publishers, printers, and even consumers. Given the irregularity of the printing process in this period, it is possible that these individuals might not even have acknowledged such problems as errors in the same way a modern audience might. Thus, while the musical settings in the Cambridge copy were clearly of enough concern that Seres and Hill halted the printing process and corrected the issues with the musical layout, they nevertheless did not see these problems as insurmountable—rather, they might be overcome by directing the finished product to a different audience.

Although the layout problems in the Cambridge copy are corrected in the remaining copies of Tye's *Actes*, these volumes are not without their own issue that would likewise have necessitated singers purchasing four copies of the book. In the remaining copies, in most of the setting for Chapter 3, as well as in those for Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the parts are printed consecutively, rather than in choirbook format, so that only one individual might be able to sing from a single volume at a time (see Figure 18 for the beginning of Chapter 3).⁹³ This change in format cannot have been intentional, as in Chapter 6 the layout reverts to the choirbook format of

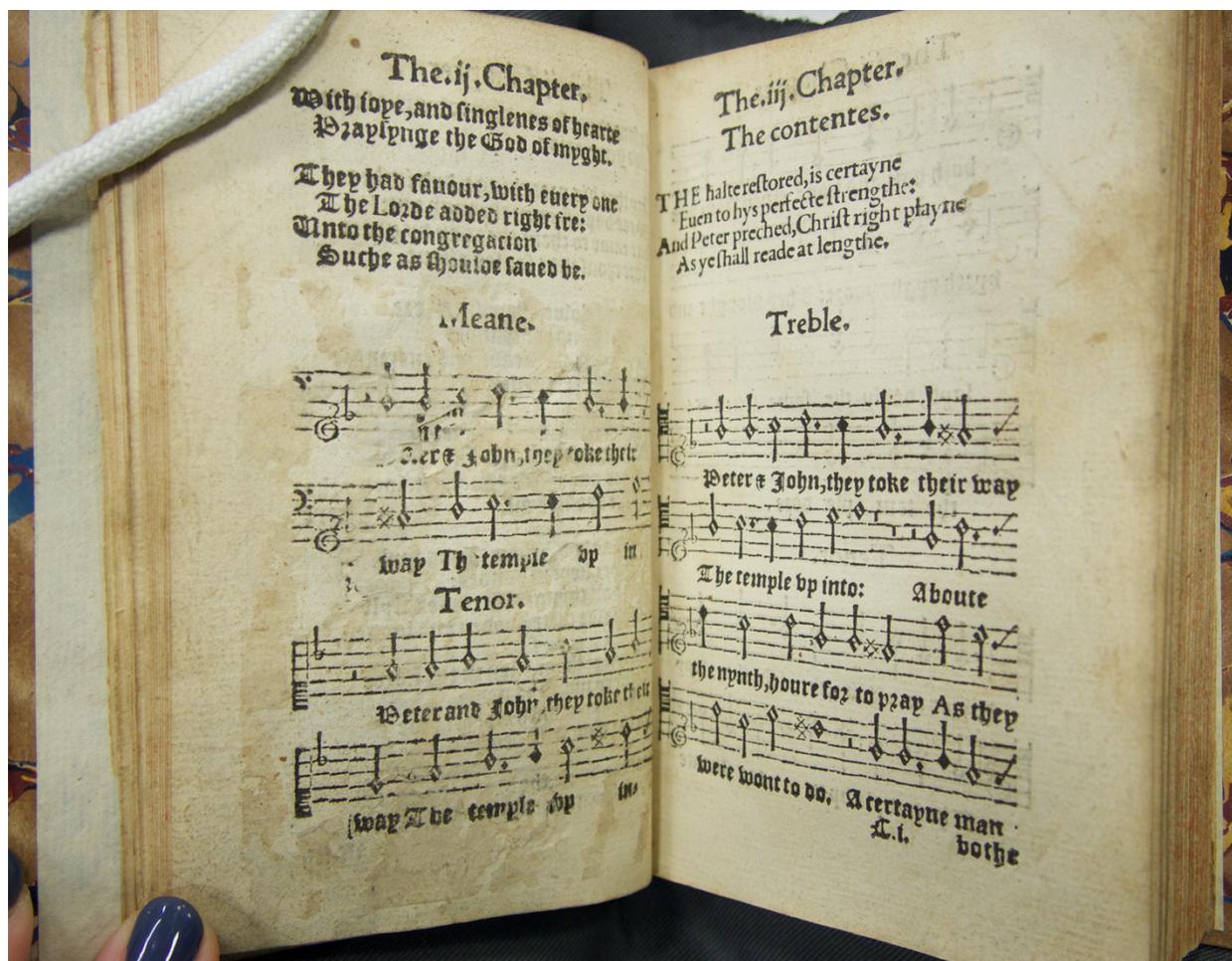


Figure 18. Beginning of Chapter 3, Tye's *Actes*.

⁹³ Weidner comments "that so glaring a defect so soon detected should be allowed to stand, disfiguring a work dedicated to the king, bespeaks a curious, almost unseemly haste of preparation." Weidner was unfortunately unaware of the Cambridge copy of the *Actes* and its more problematic errors. See Weidner, "Tye's 'Actes,'" 243.

Chapters 1 and 2. These settings are all found in gatherings C and D, signifying an error similar to that in gatherings A and B of the Cambridge copy. Notably, this mistake suggests that the original manuscript copy may have been in partbook (rather than choirbook) format. If indeed this was the case, it might help to explain the preponderance of layout problems in Tye's *Actes*: if there was only one individual in Hill's shop with sufficient musical skills to transfer Tye's music from manuscript to print, then problems of this kind would be difficult to catch.

Why Seres and Hill decided to proceed with the remainder of the edition but chose not to print corrected versions of gatherings C and D is impossible to know. Given that all five remaining extant copies of the *Actes* contain consecutively laid out music for Chapters 3–5, Hill had probably already finished printing *all* copies of both gatherings; perhaps Seres simply could not afford the cost of re-printing two gatherings yet again. Robert Weidner's hypothesis that Seres was under pressure to finish the print quickly is also possible: as the year is printed on the title page rather than in the colophon and the volume is dedicated to Edward VI, Tye's *Actes* was likely produced between March 25 (the beginning of 1553) and late May, when Edward VI's decline was widely known. Weidner argues that Seres would have been pressed for time to produce a finished product if he (and Tye) hoped to have the book on the market once news of the king's illness had begun to spread.⁹⁴ Further supporting Weidner's suggestion is the presence of a small number of more minor errors in the music, such as the omission of four beats in the bass part over the second page turn in Chapter 1, or the printing of a B-flat instead of a G in the fourth bar of the tenor line of Chapter 6.⁹⁵ Although the accidental omission of two or three notes

⁹⁴ Weidner, "Tye's 'Actes,'" 256–7.

⁹⁵ In the Cambridge copy, the bass in Chapter 1 is correct; one of the British Library copies has the missing pitches handwritten in the margin at the end of the leaf (fol. A6). That the note in m. 4 of Chapter 6 in the tenor is meant to be a G rather than a B-flat is confirmed by the respective C-C-E of the bass, countertenor, and mean; the note is

in a single line or the printing of an incorrect pitch is common in early printed music, that these problems were not corrected corroborates Weidner's conclusion that Seres and Hill were in a hurry to finish production. Ultimately, such pitch inconsistencies, though they would perhaps have marred a texture that otherwise produced only passing dissonances, would likely not have proven detrimental to Seres's ability to market the book, even to the musically literate.

Tye's *Actes* stands out in a genre that overwhelmingly focused on volumes of metrical psalms, but as I have shown above, forays into the creation of musical settings of other books of the Bible were not unheard of in the Edwardine period. Tye's choice of the Book of Acts, however, is not random; rather, the composer almost certainly selected Acts because of its theological importance for reformers. Given Tye's own religious leanings, it is not impossible to believe that the creation and publication of these settings was instigated by the composer himself, who not only produced the music for each chapter but probably wrote the texts as well. Although there is no evidence regarding Tye's pre-Elizabethan religious instruction, English reformers such as William Tyndale and Thomas Cranmer referred to the importance of the Book of Acts in their published writings, which circulated widely in Edwardine London. In addition, continental reformers including John Calvin, whose theology influenced that of the Edwardine Church of England, likewise saw the Book of Acts as a valuable depiction of the earliest practices of the Christian church.⁹⁶ Tye's *Actes*, then, served a didactic function with respect to both its music and its theology, and thus his choice of text is not as unusual as it might seem.

corrected (though without explanation) in the 1977 edition of the *Actes*. Problems of this sort arise five times (once in Chapters 6, 12, and 13 and twice in Chapter 8), resulting in awkward or inappropriate sonorities in each case.

⁹⁶ In the *Argumentum* to his commentary on Acts, for example, Calvin indicates several times that "the beginning of the church" is a theme of the book. See Wilhelmus H. Th. Moehn, "Calvin as Commentator on the Acts of the Apostles," in *Calvin and the Bible*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 213. Although he never visited England, Calvin clearly also maintained an interest in the Edwardine reformation; he dedicated his commentaries on the Catholic epistles to Edward VI in 1551.

As Weidner notes, Tye's text draws equally from the Biblical translations of Tyndale (from his New Testament of 1534) and Coverdale (in the so-called "Great Bible" of 1539), where the two differ. Tyndale was a particularly important early English reformer, being the first to translate selections from the Bible into English directly from Hebrew and Greek texts. Although he was burned at the stake in 1536, his work remained influential throughout the English reformations.⁹⁷ In his tract *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), which Henry VIII used to justify his break with Rome in 1534, Tyndale was forceful in his defense of scriptural translation into English, arguing that because the Hebrew of the Pentateuch and the Greek of the New Testament, for example, were the vernacular languages of the people, English was likewise suitable as a "mother tongue" for the Bible. In the volume's preface, Tyndale points to the sermons preached by the apostles in the Book of Acts as proof of his claim; as these sermons "were no doubt preached in the mother tongue...why then might they not be written in the mother tongue?"⁹⁸ Tyndale emphasizes that the Book of Acts, if translated into English, provides a direct means through which laypeople might hear the teaching of the apostles. Tyndale also stresses an important reformist point about the Book of Acts: many of the chapters feature the apostles preaching to groups of the as-yet-unconverted or newly converted. The Book of Acts thus not only provided a suitable means for instruction in Christian teaching, but offered a model for how reformers might confessionally recalcitrant Catholics.

During the reign of Edward VI, the Book of Acts grew in popularity among reformers, who frequently referred to it as a model for religious instruction. John Calvin, working at the

⁹⁷ For more on Tyndale, see David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

⁹⁸ William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (Antwerp, 1528); excerpted in *Voices of the English Reformation: A Sourcebook*, ed. John N. King (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 39.

time in Geneva, began a five-year series of Sunday sermons on Acts in 1549—the same year he began his monumental commentary on the book. For Calvin, the most important theme of Acts is that, by describing the efforts of the apostles following Christ’s death, the book depicts the continuous effect of Christ’s earthly work following his ascension. As Herman H. van Alten has noted, this reading falls neatly in line with Calvin’s view on the all-important place he believed Jesus ought to occupy in Christian practice.⁹⁹ Calvin was far from the only reformer to emphasize Christ as the central figure of the church; early Edwardine reforms, for example, focused on removing visual and liturgical references to saints. Calvin’s notion that Acts sheds light on Christ’s direct influence on the mortal world would certainly have resonated with English evangelicals, as his reading portrayed Acts as a model for appropriate Christian preaching and worship. Indeed, for Calvin the apostles’ preaching of the Gospel was the true beginning of the church.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the book provides the clearest picture possible of the church before it was tainted with the trappings reformers found so offensive in Catholic practice, and as such might be used as an example of how a new Protestant church ought to find its way.

In England, too, Acts was often cited as a particularly important New Testament book. Martin Bucer, for example, a continental reformer who was invited by Cranmer to immigrate to England, saw Acts as a valuable source for lay education. In his *De regno Christi* (1550), dedicated to Edward VI, he pointed to the Biblical stories of the apostles—alongside those of the holy patriarchs, kings, and prophets of the Old Testament—as appropriate subjects for comedies and tragedies intended to instruct audiences in scriptural subjects.¹⁰¹ It is significant for Tye’s project that Bucer singles out the acts of the apostles as particularly appropriate for their

⁹⁹ van Alten, “Calvin’s View on the Book of the Acts of the Apostles,” 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰¹ Martin Bucer, *De regno Christi*, excerpted in King, ed., *Voices of the English Reformation*, 222.

theological and dramatic possibilities; as Tye's settings were clearly intended for performance, they might serve as a didactic form of entertainment like a play or interlude, while their scriptural focus made them suitable for private devotion. Similarly, the English reformer Hugh Latimer, who served as chaplain to Edward VI, drew parallels between the apostles' actions after Christ's ascension and contemporary preaching of the Gospel in his sermon on the plowers, which was preached in the crypt at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1548. Like Calvin, Latimer upholds the apostles as examples, remarking that "preaching hath come down, contrary to the Apostles' times."¹⁰² The radical reformer John Bale also made comparisons between the early church and the Edwardine reform endeavor, likening the imprisonment and persecution experienced by Christ and his apostles to the project of religious reform in England in *The Vocation of John Bale* (1553).¹⁰³ While each of these authors makes a different point regarding the specific value of the Book of Acts for religious reform, all agree to its importance for their shared agenda.

It is uncertain whether Tye himself knew any of the aforementioned works, but they circulated in London, where Tye must have spent time while he was at court. There are two books incorporating stories or texts from Acts that Tye must have known, however, and which also might have influenced his choice to set these texts: the *Book of Common Prayer*, and *Certayne sermons, or homelies appointed by the kynges Maiestie* (1547). Authorized by Archbishop Cranmer and printed only six months after Edward VI's accession, the latter book was intended to be used in English parishes across the realm: Edward ordered that "all parsons, vicars and curates shall read in the churches every Sunday one of the Homilies."¹⁰⁴ It is impossible to know how widely and often the book was employed in England's parishes, but its

¹⁰² Hugh Latimer, *The Sermon on the Plowers*, in King, ed., *Voices of the English Reformation*, 71.

¹⁰³ John Bale, *The Vocation of John Bale*, excerpted in King, ed., *Voices of the English Reformation*, 256.

¹⁰⁴ Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 129.

re-publication in 1548, 1549, and 1551 indicates that its use was of importance to the crown.¹⁰⁵

The apostles feature in three of the twelve sermons, but it is in the eleventh, “An Homelie of whoredome and vnclennesse,” where clear references to the Book of Acts occur. Specifically, the sermon’s author tells the story of the apostles’ time at Antioch, which is detailed in chapters 11–15 of Acts. Antioch held particular significance with respect to the history of the early church, for it was here where the disciples were first called Christians (Acts 11:19–26), and from whence St. Paul began his missionary journeys (beginning in Acts 13–14). For the anonymous reformer who authored this sermon, then, the apostles’ instructions to the congregation in Antioch offered a perfect example of how best to educate English congregations in appropriate practices.

In this homily, the author condenses the events of Acts 11–15 into one short passage, describing how the apostles “were gathered together to pacifie the hartes of the faithfull.”¹⁰⁶ Focusing on Acts 15, when the apostles return to Antioch, the author stresses the apostles’ charge that those gathered abstain from idolatry and fornication—the latter of which is the topic of this homily. Far more important for understanding the importance of the Book of Acts in the Edwardine reformation, however, is the author’s general conclusion regarding the apostles’ demand: “Note here, how these holy and blessed fathers of Christes Churche, would charge the congregacion with no mo thynges, then wer necessary.”¹⁰⁷ For this author, the story of the disciples’ time in Antioch is worthy of mention not only because it warns against idolatry and fornication, but because it stresses that Christians should be asked to do only what is necessary to practice their faith correctly, with the implication that contemporary customs had, until recently,

¹⁰⁵ Richard S. Briggs, “The Christian Hermeneutics of Cranmer’s Homilies,” *Journal of Anglican Studies* 15, No. 2 (2017): 171.

¹⁰⁶ *Certayne sermons, or homelies appoynted by the kynge Maiestie, to be declared and redde, by all persones, vicars, or curates, euery Sondag in their churches, where they haue cure* (London, 1547), fol. T.ii.v.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. T.iii.

included many needless requirements. Indeed, this element of the story is so important that the author repeats the sentiment twice (reiterating that the apostles decided “to charge them with no more, then with necessary thynges”). Thus, the apostles’ actions at Antioch and their charges to the new Christian congregation there might serve as an example for both priests and laypeople grappling with Edwardine religious policies. Tye’s inclusion of most of this story in his *Actes* also highlights its significance for reformers: while many commentators make a distinction between the first twelve chapters of Acts and the remaining sixteen, Tye ties Paul’s initial missionary campaign to Antioch to the first half of Acts.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that Tye simply chose to set the first fourteen chapters because they comprise half of the book’s total, but in light of the reference to the apostles’ time in Antioch in this contemporary and well known homily, I suggest that Tye’s inclusion of the Antioch period in his *Actes* is not coincidental.

Finally, a number of the collects in Cranmer’s 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* are drawn from Acts, highlighting how this Biblical book was central to Edwardine theology. This itself cannot be viewed as evidence of Tye’s knowledge of the importance of Acts for the reform movement, but it does demonstrate that Tye’s text choice was in line with contemporary reformist readings of the Bible. As Esther Chung-Kim and Todd R. Hains have shown, eight of the collects in the *Book of Common Prayer* draw directly from the Book of Acts; their subjects range from Pentecost to the celebration of individual saints.¹⁰⁹ Worship of the saints had been a fundamental part of lay devotion in the late medieval Catholic church, but the practice was often

¹⁰⁸ As Weidner has argued, Tye does appear to have stopped intentionally with Chapter 14; the final two lines of Tye’s text highlight the sense of closure that is already present in the chapter’s narrative: “And there long tyme, they dyd abyde / With the disciples all.” Weidner, “Tye’s ‘Actes,’” 256. It is perhaps odd that Tye chose to omit Chapter 15 in light of its further reference to Antioch, but this chapter ends with the disciples dispersing to multiple far-flung cities, so Chapter 14 likely offered a more appropriate conclusion.

¹⁰⁹ Esther Chung-Kim and Todd R. Hains, eds., *Reformation Commentary on Scripture: New Testament VI: Acts* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014), 12, 22–23, 102, 116, 119, 144, 164, 170.

based on non-Biblical writings like saints' lives or the *Legenda aurea*. For Cranmer, then, Acts offered a method through which appropriate devotion to specific saints—namely, the apostles—might be modeled to the English laity. In each case, the collect precedes the epistle reading, itself from Acts; the collects thus summarize and reflect on appointed readings. Notably, all of these collect/epistle pairs are drawn from the first twelve chapters of Acts, thus placing the liturgical emphasis directly on the first half of the book. Tye's choice to write and publish settings for only the first fourteen chapters of Acts, then, has precedent in the newly reformed Church of England.

The prefatory matter in Tye's *Actes* also demonstrates that he was aware of the book's potential for teaching the laity to worship in an appropriate manner. From the first, the title page points to Tye's interest in educating laypeople of all types; Tye notes that his *Actes* is "very necessarye for studentes after theyre studye, to fyle theyr wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge, to reade the good and Godlye storyes of the lyues of Christ hys Apostles."¹¹⁰ Like Sternhold before him, Tye stresses his relationship to the king in his dedication, demonstrating not only his qualifications as a musician but his personal service to the crown. Likewise, Tye emphasizes the importance of scripture for proper lay education:

And that your grace, oft tymes doth looke
To learne of the last daye:
The whiche ye fynde, with in gods booke
That wyll not passe awaye.

Whose boke is geuen, in these your dayes
Wherin ye do reioyce:
And eke prayse hym, in al his wayes
And that with thankful voyce.

Which doth make glad, your subiectes all
And moueth them to learne:
Gods lyuelye worde, and how the shal
The truthe therby discearne.

¹¹⁰ Tye, *Actes*, fol. A.

Tye underscores that lay access to the Bible, moreover, must not be prevented by the use of “ynkhorne termes,” or language that obscures rather than clarifies the scripture. He notes that his own verses, in this vein, use “playne” words and speech. “Playne” in this context meant straightforward or unambiguous, but could also have implied language that was complete and perfect—in other words, Tye’s translation was meant to be both easily comprehensible and faithful to God’s original.¹¹¹ Tye’s choice of “playne” language is not only about providing his audience with a clear translation; “playne” (and accurate) language is also pleasing to God:

But he that shal, of scripture treat
Yf he wyll please God well:
Of force he must, such termes forgeat
The truth playnely to tell.

Tye thus presents his metrical version of Acts as appropriate for lay instruction and devotion, reminding his audience of the efficacy of reading scripture and cautioning reformers that their language must be “playne” for it to have pedagogical value. In stressing “playne” language, moreover, Tye’s presentation appears intended to reach laypeople of all educational levels, including those without a university education.

Tye also highlights the multi-use possibilities of his *Actes*, which speaks to both Seres’s choice to finish the first printing as a text-only volume, and Tye’s hope that the book might receive widespread use. Tye offers three possible ways in which his *Actes* might be used: the texts may be read or sung, or the music used separately and played on the lute. Tye is careful to place his *Actes* within the broader genre of metrical Biblical song, noting that “some doth vnder take: / Upon the Psalmes, to wryte in ryme / The verse pleasaunt to make.”¹¹² Tye’s nod to

¹¹¹ Among uses of the word “playne” in the sixteenth century, Tye might mean “clear to the senses or the mind,” but also “full, complete, entire; perfect, absolute.” For definitions of “playne” as well as sixteenth-century examples of its use, see “plain, *adj.*¹” and “plain, *adj.*²” in the *Oxford English Dictionary (Third Edition)*, <https://www.lib.umich.edu/database/link/8747>.

¹¹² Tye, *Actes*, Aii.v.

purely musical instruction in the form of lute playing, however, draws attention to the book's musical contents: unlike the creators of other volumes of metrical Biblical song, Tye highlights his unique ability, as a composer, to offer his audience a musical education. It is thus the book's musical contents that set it apart from its predecessors and contemporaries in the genre.

There are several musical features of Tye's settings that demonstrate the composer's knowledge of his audience's potential musical limitations and speak to the level of skill an English composer might expect an educated sixteenth-century audience to possess. Like much of the music of the Wanley partbooks, Tye's *Actes* settings are primarily syllabic, with the occasional syllable stretched over two or three pitches. All except the two canonic settings (Chapter 9 and Chapter 14) begin with homophonic phrases, allowing the performers to begin singing simultaneously and find a comfortable tempo. Indeed, Tye most commonly structures the four phrases of each setting with three homophonic sections followed by a final imitative phrase (Chapters 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, and 12), or in alternating homophonic and imitative sections (Chapters 1, 2, and 4); only Chapter 8 is purely homophonic. This reliance on homophony offers the singers an opportunity to ensure they are together throughout performance of each setting—a useful tool when each chapter runs to at least a few dozen verses (Chapter 2, for example, has forty-nine stanzas in total). The imitative entrances, moreover, are typically close to one another, usually only separated by one or two minims. Though Tye varies the order in which the voices enter in these sections, the results have been described in the literature as formulaic.¹¹³ Yet such straightforward musical structures, especially among amateur musicians with only some formal

¹¹³ le Huray describes Tye's imitative sections as "mechanically contrived;" see *Music and the Reformation*, 584. Weidner suggests that Tye used close-following imitation because "spacious imitations would be most ill-suited" in the strophic performance of complete chapters (presumably because they would elongate performances). See Weidner, "Tye's 'Actes,'" 253.

training, might actually have made Tye's *Actes* more appealing than music set using more complex construction, as performers would remain together while singing subsequent verses.

Tye's focus on homophony also draws attention to the didactic and devotional function of his *Actes*: in setting the majority of the phrases in his book syllabically and homophonically, both singers and auditors would be able to concentrate on the meaning of the Biblical texts when these pieces were performed. Indeed, echoing Thomas Cranmer's unpublished opinion of nearly a decade earlier that liturgical music ought not to be "full of notes" but rather syllabic "so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly," Tye eschews superfluous ornamentation in his quest to create music appropriate for lay devotion.¹¹⁴ Like Sternhold's psalms or Baldwin's *Canticles*, where the repetition of monophonic melodies would ensure that users contemplated the message of the scripture they were singing, through the use of homophony and syllabic text setting the music of Tye's *Actes* deliberately turned singers' attention toward the texts they were performing. Yet at the same time, the music was meant not only to enhance users' understanding of and appreciation for the texts, but to *do* something to its perceivers. Rather than serving merely as decoration for the scripture, the physical act of singing—or of hearing the text sung—was thought to allow for the type of spiritual and emotional response that St. Augustine described in his own experience of hymn singing as more powerful than reading text alone.¹¹⁵ Singing was clearly the preferable method of consuming the *Actes*; after all, Tye points in his introduction first to the texts' musical possibilities. In publishing a volume containing specific musical settings, Tye emphasized the importance of music for effecting religious conversion and enhancing spiritual experience perhaps to a greater extent than his contemporaries.

¹¹⁴ These quotes, which are discussed in Chapter 1, are from a letter Cranmer wrote to Henry VIII dated 7 October, 1544. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 7.

¹¹⁵ For the passage in question see Hammond, ed. and trans., *Augustine, Confessions, Vol. II*, 150–5.

Tye's settings in his *Actes* are also typical of the musical style that dominated parish liturgical music in this period, and which, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, likewise had much in common with late Henrician Latin-texted music. When compared to the verse anthems of the Wanley partbooks, for example, several of these similarities become clear: a preference for syllabic and homophonic writing; the use of dotted rhythms and anticipations or delays of text declamation in individual lines to avoid strict homophony; parts with a limited compass moving mostly in stepwise motion with occasional leaps; the use of cross-relations for added harmonic variety, especially from the end of one phrase to the beginning of the next; and a marked preference for root-position chords, to name just a few characteristics. Figures 19 and 20, taken from the beginning of Chapter 3 of Tye's *Actes* and the anonymous anthem *O God, in Whose Hands* [69] in the Wanley partbooks, respectively, illustrate several of these features. Although some Wanley anthems are purely homophonic and others employ a great deal more imitative polyphony than *O God, in Whose Hands*—as a whole, the collection contains greater stylistic variety than Tye's *Actes*—the more limited use of imitation in the *Actes* seems a clear choice on the composer's part to present his publication as a complete artistic concept whose settings are related through their style, text sources, and intended functions. In addition, though the music of Wanley was no doubt performed at least in part by amateur volunteers singing in their parish choirs, these men were typically joined by at least one professional; thus, one would expect more compositional variety and complexity in a collection such as Wanley.

M Pe - ter and John they took their way The tem - ple up in - to,

C Pe - ter and John they took their way The tem - ple up in - to, About the

T Pe - ter and John they took their way The tem - ple up in - to,

B Pe - ter and John they took their way The tem - ple up in - to, A

Figure 19. Opening of Chapter 3, Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles*.

C1 O God, in whose hands are the hearts of

C2 O God, in whose hands are the

T O God, in whose hands are all the hearts

B O God, in whose hands are all the hearts

Kings, which

hearts of Kings, which art the Com - fort - er

of Kings, which art the Com - fort - er, the

of Kings, which art the Com - fort

Figure 20. Opening of *O God, in Whose Hands* [69], anonymous, Wanley partbooks.

The settings in Tye's *Actes* are also stylistically consistent with Tye's simpler English-texted verse anthems, such as *Save Me, O God* (Figure 21) and *Deliver Us, Good Lord*, a characteristic that offers additional evidence of the connection between Tye's *Actes* and the sound of the new Edwardine liturgy. As in the *Actes*, both of these anthems begin homophonically and feature imitative writing, while their texts are set mostly syllabically. There is no text painting or writing suggesting specific connections between text and music; instead, Tye emphasizes intelligibility, ensuring that listeners would understand the message of these anthems. Yet this relative plainness does not suggest a lack of ingenuity on Tye's part, nor a "simplification" of earlier musical style. Instead, it speaks to the reformist belief that text was the

M
Save me, O God, for thy name's sake: and a -

C
Save me, O God, for thy name's sake: and

T
Save me, O God, for thy name's sake: and

B
Save me, O God, for thy name's sake: and a -

venge me in thy strength.

a - venge me in thy strength. Hear

a - venge me in thy strength. Hear

venge me in thy strength. Hear my

Figure 21. Opening of *Save Me, O God*.

most efficacious means through which lay men and women might achieve a closer relationship with God.¹¹⁶ Such straightforward anthems, meanwhile, also demonstrate that many English reformers still believed in the value of music to effect religious experience. Through singing these anthems, whose texts resemble nothing so much as prayers, performers engaged in direct conversation with God, while those listening were likewise brought closer to the divine.

What sets Tye's settings in his *Actes* apart from the contemporary verse anthem, however, and what they share with other metrical Biblical song, is their performance context: although liturgical performance of the *Actes* was possible, this was not its primary purpose; rather, these books were meant to be used by individuals in their homes, or in devotional settings outside the church. It is here, then, that I suggest Tye made a contribution to this genre that exceeded the sacralizing possibilities of the monophonic metrical Biblical song of his predecessors. Whereas Sternhold and other psalm translators took an act from the liturgy—the singing of vernacular psalms using Sarum psalm tones or their faburden harmonizations—and modified it for home use with metrical texts and non-liturgical melodies, Tye capitalized on the existing popularity of Biblical metrical song but reinforced the practice of singing scripture by borrowing his musical style *directly* from the liturgy, writing musical settings whose sound would be equally at home in worship. The performance of Tye's *Actes* might thus sacralize the home as a devotional space in two distinct ways: first, by facilitating the reading and singing of vernacular scripture as a public and private devotional practice; and second, in recreating the *sound* of the liturgy in a context that was often profane. In other words, the process of

¹¹⁶ In his 1540 preface to the Bible, for example, Thomas Cranmer praised not only lay consumption of vernacular scripture, but the practice of reading and listening to sermons, so that laypeople might further fix in their minds learned commentary on scripture. Cranmer thus emphasizes the overall importance of language for lay spirituality. See *A Prologue or Preface made by the most reverend father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of England*, in *The Work of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. G. E. Duffield, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 32–33.

sacralization—the creation of the sacred through its differentiation from the profane—occurs here on two levels: through the recitation of sacred text, and the hearing or singing of sacred sound. As I argued in Chapter 1, the Edwardine reliance on Henrician musical style coopted a sound most recently associated with Catholic worship and Latin-texted music to generate new, reformed spaces, both reinforcing the validity of reformed practices for those who had already embraced them and serving as a tool for the conversion of those who were wary of religious change. Tye’s project in his *Actes* is similar, in that the composer brings a style associated with the ritual of the liturgy into the home, but the sacralization effected by the performance of the *Actes*, like the singing of metrical psalms, was ultimately temporary; once such private devotion was complete, the individuals responsible for the performance would eventually turn to the profane tasks typical of domestic life.

Tye’s reliance on a musical style associated with liturgical performance in order to effect the transitory sacralization of profane space must not be underestimated. This technique is not entirely new; religious songs such as the medieval *lauda* or carol were used in both domestic and liturgical places, and in the Middle Ages Latin-texted motets might be performed outside the liturgy in the households of European noblemen. The rise of the printing press and the subsequent production of sets of partbooks that included sacred music on the continent likewise made liturgical music available for domestic consumption beginning in the early sixteenth century. But Tye’s *Actes*—music designed explicitly for private devotion rather than liturgical performance, and issued in a single small, inexpensive pocketbook-sized edition—despite its similarities or overlap with earlier prints, was nevertheless something new. The publication tapped into an existing market for Biblical metrical song that was only seven years old and experiencing a rapid growth in popularity, and reinforced its potential to create a sacred

experience through the inclusion of liturgically oriented musical settings. Furthermore, unlike earlier English prints of polyphony such as the *Twenty Songs*, its simpler style and multi-purpose function meant the *Actes* might appeal to a broad, middle-class audience. Tye's *Actes* thus offers a tantalizing possibility of what domestic music making might have looked like had the Edwardine reformation been allowed to continue under Mary I.

Reshaping Private Devotion: The Legacy of Metrical Psalms

The Edwardine fascination with metrical Biblical song, instigated by Thomas Sternhold's short psalm collection printed c. 1547, quickly became one of the primary means through which reformers attempted to shape the devotional habits of a diverse laity. Although the vernacular "King's primer" continued to be printed throughout this period, it was the innovation of metrical Biblical song that offered reformers an avenue untainted by earlier Catholic practices; while the primer had been stripped of the contents that many reformers found problematic, it nevertheless offered devotional continuity to the laypeople who purchased it, and as such its innovations had primarily to do with *removing* Catholic matter, rather than *adding* Protestant content.¹¹⁷ Biblical metrical song, on the other hand, was a blank slate: its reliance on scripture, and its ability to be both sung and read, meant that it was flexible in form while adhering rigidly to one of the primary principles of reformed belief. The popularity of the psalms, moreover, was no accident; their centrality to the new *Book of Common Prayer* service ensured that they were likely the most recognizable of all Biblical texts to laypeople, making them particularly suitable for domestic use. What is more, their inherent musical qualities (as songs of King David), coupled

¹¹⁷ The King's primer, first printed under Henry VIII in 1545 and probably compiled at least in part by Thomas Cranmer, was intended to replace the numerous vernacular primers that had cropped up in the past ten years. The primer continued to be issued under Edward VI, with only slight modifications (omitting the intercessions naming the Virgin, angels, and saints, as in Richard Grafton's imprint *The primer set furth by the kinges maiestie & his clergie* (London, 1547); STC 16048a).

with the continued liturgical practice of singing these texts, must have made their adaptation into vernacular song only natural.

In creating a genre that borrowed its basic principle of psalm recitation from the liturgy but was intended for domestic or private use, reformers like Sternhold, Hopkins, Hunnis, and Segar crafted a new means for the temporary sacralization of profane places, allowing living quarters and other such venues to be momentarily transformed into places of worship. This sacralization was effected both through the reading or singing of scripture but also through the adaptation of a practice from the liturgy, which linked the singing of metrical psalms to both older Catholic practice and the Edwardine *Book of Common Prayer*. Once this devotional practice was established and flourishing, other authors like William Baldwin and William Samuel sought to expand this repertory to other books of the Bible, further exploring how metrical Biblical song might be used to teach laypeople the “correct”—i.e., Protestant—reading of scripture. Christopher Tye, with his *The Actes of the Apostles*, took this practice a step further by incorporating into his print musical settings with strong stylistic connections to the English-texted verse anthem, thus bringing the sound of the liturgy into domestic devotional practice and sacralizing the home through both text and music. It is clear that the creators of these volumes saw the books’ musical possibilities as of fundamental importance to their function and value.

Whereas Edwardine reformers embraced printed metrical Biblical song, Marian conservatives did not, no doubt deterred by their aversion to lay consumption of vernacular scripture. Indeed, despite the Marian regime’s focused use of the printing press, proponents of traditional religion created no comparable devotional music during her reign.¹¹⁸ Primers made a

¹¹⁸ On the Marian regime’s use of the printing press, see ch. 3, “Contesting the Reformation: Plain and Godly Treatises” in Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 57–78; for an overview of printing at this time see ch. 10, “1553–1557: From Catastrophe to Charter” in Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company*, 842–926.

comeback: twenty-four Latin-texted editions were printed in England, with a further eleven issued in Rouen.¹¹⁹ Yet printed devotional music was primarily limited to the godly ballad, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. It is possible, of course, that Marian authorities were occupied with overseeing the publication of new liturgical books and preventing the spread of seditious materials from abroad. Given the significant printed musical output of reformers, and specifically the clear popularity of metrical psalms, it seems nevertheless surprising that Marian conservatives did not support the printing of much vernacular devotional music. The sung, metrical translations of vernacular scripture that received widespread popularity from 1547–1553 thus remain one of the defining musical genres of the Edwardine period; although metrical psalmody continued to gain support under Elizabeth I, the level of experimentation found under Edward VI is unique, leading to the publication of a number of intriguing music books.

¹¹⁹ Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, 776.

CHAPTER III

Changing Hearts and Minds: Spirituality and Propaganda in the Religious Carol and Godly Ballad

Now synge we as we were wont
Vexilla regis prodeunt.

– Burden from one of Richard Kele’s
Christmas carolles, printed c. 1545

To heare of such thinges ye be not wont
Nam horum contraria verissima sunt

– Refrain from an anonymous ballad,
printed c. 1548

Now singe, now springe, our care is exiled,
Oure vertuous Quene, is quickned with child

– Refrain from an anonymous ballad,
printed late 1554 or early 1555

Whereas metrical Biblical song of the Edwardine period had a devotional function that aligned it closely with domestic use, it was by no means the only religious song to play a part in the English reformations. Chapter 3 takes as its subject two musical genres employed by both reformers and conservatives in this period, the religious carol and the godly ballad. While the former has a long history stretching back at least to the fourteenth century, the latter came into existence only with the advent of print during the reign of Henry VIII.¹ Drawing on previous

¹ The ballad as a genre dates to the Middle Ages, and variants of this genre—broadly defined as narrative verse, often set to music—can be found across Europe. Medieval English ballads are typically rhymed and strophic, features they share with many sixteenth-century broadside ballads. See Friedman, “The Oral-Formulaic Theory of Balladry—A Re-Rebuttal,” in *The Ballad Image: Essays Presented to Bertrand Harris Bronson*, ed. James Porter (Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology, University of California, 1983), 218.

scholarship that treats these individual genres, I argue that the carol served as an antecedent to the godly ballad. As the three refrain texts that open this chapter suggest, these genres shared common stylistic characteristics and functions. In addition, two subsets of the carol and godly ballad repertory engage openly with contemporary politics, and this connection is one of the strongest links between these genres.

This chapter begins with the carol, demonstrating that the function and core repertory of the sixteenth-century printed carol had much in common with its fifteenth-century counterparts, but that the genre was not untouched by religious reform in the Henrician period.² Intended for purchase by both individuals and churches, and used in domestic devotion, public celebrations, and perhaps during the liturgy, the sixteenth-century carol was a multi-faceted genre that both facilitated devotional experience and offered an opportunity for public celebration of religious identity. Its popularity through the end of the Henrician period speaks to the heterogenous views of the purchasing public: even as reform grew increasingly popular, carol books including fifteenth-century material were printed and distributed in London. As a genre, it furthermore bridged the divide between the purely devotional purpose of the Biblical metrical song discussed in the previous chapter and the more secularly and politically oriented godly ballad.

The second half of Chapter 3 deals with the godly ballad, a genre that owes its widespread popularity to the technological advances of print. Using a survey of extant ballads and ballad fragments, I identify two distinct subtypes of godly ballad: one, the devotional ballad, was designed for religious edification or personal prayer; a second, the polemical ballad, couches theological or moral topics in the context of mid-sixteenth-century political discourse. While the

² Although secular carols do exist, approximately five out of every six surviving carols treat religious or moral subjects, and it is these that are the focus of this chapter; see Richard Leighton Greene, *The Early English Carols*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), cxi.

former were intended to engender an inward, personal religious experience, the latter were meant to win converts through crude, often humorous language that poked fun at specific religious leaders or practices. In the second form, the godly ballad encouraged debates on the nature and value of religious beliefs and practices—a new function for religious song. An overlapping subset of ballads, meanwhile, speak to the central role of the monarchy in theological debates in England and the heterogeneity of religious belief at this time by invoking the crown.

Finally, this chapter highlights the close connection that appears in numerous contemporary carols and godly ballads between English nationhood and English religious practices. Although the link between English religion and English identity is most prominent in the godly ballad, it may also be found in a subset of the late medieval carol repertory. I contend that the presence of themes relating to English nationhood in these two religious, primarily non-liturgical genres offers further evidence that the concept of “Englishness” was tied to religious experience even prior to the Edwardine and Marian reformations.³ This link demonstrates not only the multi-use possibilities of these respective repertories, but also the considerable overlap between religious and secular music making in mid-sixteenth-century England.

Before moving on the religious carol, I must first confess to a sleight of hand with respect to the examples that begin this chapter: while the burden, or refrain, is a fundamental formal characteristic of the carol, mid-century ballads only rarely include this musical device; in addition, macaronic ballads (featuring both English and Latin) are quite rare. As such, my examples have perhaps made the genres appear more closely linked in musical form than they

³ Cathy Shrank and James Mottram have both highlighted this process in English literature, but their conclusions might be broadened to other humanistic and artistic output. See Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) and Stewart James Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2008). For recent scholarship on English nationhood in the Elizabethan period, see Patrick Collinson, *This England: Essays on the English Nation and Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011).

probably were in practice.⁴ Nevertheless, it is my contention that there is much to be gained from studying the printed carol and ballad alongside one another, particularly in light of the carol's long history and the godly ballad's popularity in mid-sixteenth-century England.

The Carol Prior to Print: A Genre Designed for Flexibility

Although the sixteenth-century printed carol is the topic with which this chapter is concerned, knowledge of its medieval roots, its formal fluidity, and its typical subject matter is crucial for understanding why the genre maintained popularity into the 1540s, and for discerning its relationship to the godly ballad. Previous scholarship of the late-medieval English carol has shown that it is a difficult genre to trace: substantial numbers of carols, in both notated and unnotated manuscripts, survive from the fifteenth century, but they vary in format, subject matter, and type of collection;⁵ in addition, ownership and use of these volumes can be problematic to determine. The aforementioned variety, however, is the primary reason the carol continued to appeal to an increasingly divided public in the late Henrician period. Indeed, the genre maintained a fluidity in form and function in the sixteenth century that had strong connections to its medieval roots, while showing some influence of religious reform.

By the sixteenth century, the association of the carol with Christmas was common, but “carol” might occasionally be interchangeable with “song” in published material.⁶ Unlike many medieval musical forms, carols are rarely found in manuscripts dedicated to music; they are

⁴ Of course, as none of the surviving sources of from this period of either genre contain musical notation, and the only extant musical examples are either substantially later (in the case of the late Elizabethan ballad) or far removed in context and format (such as the handful of early Henrician polyphonic carols by composers like Cornysh and Fayrfax), one cannot entirely rule out the possibility of musical similarities.

⁵ Kathleen Palti, “An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection: Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat. 141,” *Medium Ævum* 2, No. 77 (2008): 260.

⁶ Greene, *The Early English Carols*, xxix.

more likely to be tucked alongside recipes and accounts, or embedded within sermons.⁷ As a genre, the carol is defined primarily by its poetic and musical form, whose predominant characteristic is the use of a burden (refrain) and verse structure.⁸ Extant carol texts are a mixture of a learned style (frequently macaronic texts combining Latin and English) and a simpler style; though they generally employ a specific accentual meter, the number of syllables per line may vary between stanzas, requiring a performer to add or subtract notes. As Beth Ann Zamzow observes, extant manuscript sources containing musical notation confirm that this practice was standard, and thus likely posed few problems for performers.⁹ The most common verse form is the quatrain, and burdens are most commonly rhyming (aa) or contrasting (ab) couplets, though both sections can range in length from carol to carol.¹⁰ Thus, while the late medieval carol has a clearly definable basic structure (burden + verse), within this format composers had relative freedom when choosing how to structure their carols.

In the fifteenth century, carols might be recorded in manuscripts in one of three forms: as notated polyphonic settings, notated melodies, or un-notated texts. Of these types, text-only carols are by far the most common, comprising seventy-five percent of the repertory, which suggests that this was the preferred method of transmission for the genre. Of approximately 500

⁷ Louise McInnes, “The Social, Political and Religious Contexts of the Late Medieval Carol: 1360–1520” (PhD diss., University of Huddersfield, 2013), 15.

⁸ Greene, *The Early English Carols*, xxxii–xxxiii. A number of later notated medieval carols were written with what John Stevens describes as a “double burden” structure, where the burden’s text is provided two musical settings. Performance in these cases usually follows the format of “burden I, burden II, verse I, burden I, burden II, verse II,” etc. rather than the typical “burden, verse, burden” form. See John Stevens, ed., *Mediaeval Carols, Musica Britannica* 4 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1970), 69. McInnes notes that in the Ritson Manuscript (GB-Lbl Add. 5665), forty-one of the forty-four carols use a double burden structure, suggesting this practice was more common in the second half of the fifteenth century. See McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 29.

⁹ Beth Ann Zamzow, “The Influence of the Liturgy on the Fifteenth-Century English Carols” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2000), 13. Given this trend, we should be careful not to take slight syllabic irregularities in un-notated musical sources in the Edwardine and Marian periods as evidence that the texts must not have been sung.

¹⁰ Zamzow, “The Influence of the Liturgy,” 13.

carols that survive from 1360–1520, just over 130 have extant musical notation; of this latter group, only ten are monophonic.¹¹ The existence of such a substantial portion text-only carols has led Louise McInnes to that the majority of carols were transmitted partially through oral means—that is, while the texts were passed down in writing, consumers learned their melodies from others familiar with them.¹² As demonstrated in Chapter 2, Edwardine Biblical metrical song, was usually published without musical notation; not only does the large body of un-notated fifteenth-century carols suggest that this practice predated the Edwardine reformation, but it indicates that laypeople *most often* consumed written devotional songs without the aid of musical notation. These fifteenth-century carol texts, then, provide further evidence that those transcribing them did not see the transmission of music in this form as partial or incomplete, but rather as the preferred method for recording and teaching devotional song. Without musical notation, these carols might be understood and passed on by the largest number of individuals possible, as users were freed from the burden of needing to read music.

Although it is often difficult to discern the provenance of carol sources, one pre-Reformation London source offers an important point of comparison for later London-based carol prints, showing that topics typically favored at the beginning of the century remained so in the 1540s: the London grocer Richard Hill’s commonplace book. Commonplace books were miscellanies that contained items of personal interest to the owner and were one of the typical source types for un-notated carols. Richard Hill’s commonplace book (GB-Obac 354), compiled between 1506 and 1536, includes seventy-eight carols: forty-five in English and thirty-three macaronic. Hill was a prosperous merchant, who was possibly employed for a time as cellarer to

¹¹ McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 13.

¹² *Ibid.*, 123.

Henry VIII.¹³ As Adele Smaill has shown, most of Hill's carols are occasional or devotional, taking as their topics the Christmas season or the Virgin Mary; as such, they might have been sung either as part of a private devotional practice or at a civic celebration of a religious feast. However, Hill also copied carols of almost every type, and a few of his texts address secular themes. A number of the carols in Hill's commonplace book also appear often in other collections, indicating that many of them were widely known.¹⁴ Although Hill may not be a prototypical example—he was certainly wealthier than the majority of London's inhabitants—the book's contents nevertheless suggest that devotional carols were broadly popular during the first third of the sixteenth century in London. Their subject matter, moreover, implies that carols for the Christmas season and those dedicated to the Virgin were the most popular. On the eve of the Reformation, then, at least some Londoners remained steadfast in their adoration of the Virgin Mary. Finally, the lack of musical notation in Hill's commonplace book shows that even among the well educated, carols were most commonly transmitted in text-only format.

The majority of the carols explored in this chapter are un-notated; however, an examination of the form and musical style of extant monophonic carols, as John Stevens suggests, offers some possible evidence as to what the un-notated carol repertory may have sounded like.¹⁵ These extant melodies display several characteristics that might be offered as probable shared stylistic features: they are primarily syllabic and move in mostly stepwise motion, and are demanding in terms of neither vocal range nor rhythmic complexity. Two

¹³ David R. Parker, *The Commonplace Book in Tudor London: An Examination of BL MSS Egerton 1995, Harley 2252, Lansdowne 762, and Oxford Balliol College MS 354* (Lanham, NY: University Press of America, 1998), 3–11, 49.

¹⁴ Adele Margaret Smaill, "Medieval Carols: Origins, Forms, and Performance Contexts" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2003), 174–5. Smaill posits that most of the carols in Hill's commonplace book were probably part of an established repertoire.

¹⁵ Stevens, ed., *Mediaeval Carols*, xiv. Stevens argues that these melodies are most likely "the written residue of a vast body of popular tunes now lost."

examples illustrate these characteristics: the carols “Nova, nova” (Figure 22), found notated in a late fifteenth-century manuscript (GB-Gu Hunter 83) as well as un-notated in two further sources (GB-Ob Eng. Poet.e.1, c. 1460–68, and GB-Obac 354, Hill’s commonplace book); and “Nowell, nowell, nowell” (Figure 23, notated in GB-Ob Eng. Poet.e.1). If these melodies are indeed typical of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century popular carols, they suggest a further reason why Miles Coverdale’s *Goostly psalmes*, discussed in Chapter 2, may not have found popularity among sixteenth-century audiences. Coverdale’s tunes, as adaptations of German hymns, used the popular German song form AAB. The lack of shared stylistic and formal characteristics between the carol and Coverdale’s hymns indicates that contemporary English consumers would likely have heard Coverdale’s melodies as distinctly foreign. Indeed, not only is there no overlap between bar form and the burden/refrain form of the carol, but despite a general tendency for the melodies of both types to rely on stepwise motion, Coverdale’s tunes bear little relation to the musical style English men and women would have associated with devotional song in the 1530s. Thus, it is perhaps unsurprising that Coverdale’s publication failed to gain traction.

BURDEN

VERSE

No - va, no - va: A - ve fit ex E - va. Ga - bri-el of high de-gree, he_came
 down from Tri-ni-ty, from Na-za-reth to Ga - li-lee: [no - va, no - va]

Figure 22. “Nova, nova” (GB-Gu Hunter 83; cited in McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol”).

The image shows a musical score for the carol "Nowell, nowell, nowell". It is written in 3/2 time and consists of four staves of music. The first staff is labeled "BURDEN" and contains the lyrics "No-well, No-well, No - well, _____ this is the sa - lu - ta - tion of the an -". The second staff is labeled "VERSE" and contains the lyrics "gel Ga - bri - el: Ti - dings true there be come new sent from the Tri - ni -". The third staff continues the lyrics: "ty, Be Ga - bri - el to Na - zareth ci - ty of Ga - li - lee, A clean maiden and pure virgin through". The fourth staff concludes the lyrics: "her hu - mi - li - ty, Hath con - ceiv - ed the per - son se - cond in De - i - ty." The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and a double bar line.

Figure 23. “Nowell, nowell, nowell” (GB-Ob Eng. Poet.e.1).

Perhaps most significantly for the study of the carol as it relates to Reformation-era religious music, the carol was popular across all strata of society.¹⁶ This widespread popularity, I suggest, was due to two primary factors: first, the carol’s breadth of topics (dealing with themes from politics to religion to romantic love); and second, the genre’s multi-faceted uses in the late medieval period. Although the carol is not a liturgical genre, for example, there is some evidence to suggest that religious carols were used liturgically on occasion. While carols were perhaps most often performed in non-devotional contexts, as McInnes observes, they are found in a substantial number of manuscripts alongside sermons, theological material, and instructional devices; such a pattern of transmission, she argues, when taken alongside the numerous liturgical quotations in medieval carols, suggests possible use in medieval worship.¹⁷ Rossell Hope

¹⁶ McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 122–145. It is likely that notated, polyphonic carols were largely the purview of the upper classes. However, McInnes points in particular to the large number of extant un-notated and monophonic carols, as well as the appearance of many carols in informal pocket-book style manuscripts suitable for personal use, as evidence that the genre received widespread use and circulated in an oral tradition.

¹⁷ Greene, *The Early English Carols*, xxxviii and McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 253–258.

Robbins has also made the case, based on a study of the polyphonic carol manuscripts, that the carol was sometimes used as a processional hymn.¹⁸ Although none of this evidence is concrete, it is thus a possibility that the carol found occasional liturgical use in the medieval Latin mass. Carols with macaronic texts, moreover, frequently borrow sections of Latin verse from hymns, sequences, and antiphons, offering laypeople a direct link between their own devotional songs and the music of the liturgy—much as the later metrical psalm intended to do. As Zamzow demonstrates, approximately thirty-five percent of extant notated carols have some type of musical connection to the liturgy, typically through the quotation of liturgical melodies.¹⁹

In the monophonic Marian carol “Salve, sancta parens,” for example, the manuscript combines both plainchant and mensural notation, with the burden in the former and the verse in the latter (see Figure 24). Of the three aforementioned genres (hymns, sequences, and antiphons), the hymn contributes the greatest number of lines to carol texts, and these two genres show similarities in both stanza and line form.²⁰ Hymns are also often found in manuscripts alongside carols, which could mean that both were performed in devotional contexts during the Middle Ages.²¹ Given the central function of hymns in the late-medieval primer, their connection to vernacular religious song is significant. Indeed, this cross-contextual function further corroborates the evidence of the late-medieval primer, which suggests that of the Latin liturgical

¹⁸ Rossell Hope Robbins, “Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns,” *Studies in Philology* 56 (1959): 559–582.

¹⁹ Zamzow, “The Influence of the Liturgy,” 394.

²⁰ Greene, *The Early English Carols*, lxxxv and xcii.

²¹ McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 87–93; see also the table on p. 71. Although the placement of items in a manuscript miscellany does not necessarily indicate that the included items were used within the same context, the presence of hymns in several music-only manuscripts containing both secular and sacred material (seven in the Egerton MS, three in Ritson, and one in the Selden MS) suggests they were sung outside the liturgy. Greene also notes the existence of faithful late fifteenth-century English translations of Latin hymns: the prolific carol writer James Ryman, moreover, translated a number of the hymns most often quoted in carols. See Greene, *The Early English Carols*, xci.

performed in York and Coventry from the late fourteenth century into the reign of Elizabeth I.²³ Clifford Davidson has argued that such civic plays “represent a communal project for maintaining the cultural memory of events in salvation history seen to be immensely comforting to the people,” proposing that repeated performances were intended to sustain a community over time.²⁴ Civic religious drama drew large crowds, and the inclusion of carols meant that hundreds might hear any given performance of a single song, thus providing an opportunity to learn unfamiliar carols. Conversely, the use of well-known carols allowed performers to draw on their audience’s previous familiarity with this music, connecting this performance context to earlier (and contemporary) devotional experiences. Such a reference might be particularly valuable in the case of carols that drew on liturgical texts, since these carols provided audible links to the liturgy. Indeed, as a genre often performed in paraliturgical settings, the carol would hardly have seemed out of place in religious plays that also maintained a connection to the liturgy through performances of Latin-texted liturgical chant, and whose role was to both educate and entertain lay audiences.²⁵ The continuation of this performance tradition in York through the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, moreover, meant that carols retained a dramatic function through the reigns of both Edward VI and Mary I, even as newer genres eclipsed the carol in availability.

The considerable functional flexibility of the religious carol was linked to a related variety in the genre’s typical topics. Within the subset of religious carols, for example, these songs ranged from the purely devotional—narratives of the nativity or prayers to the Virgin, for

²³ Smaill, “Medieval Carols,” 325.

²⁴ Clifford Davidson, “York Guilds and the Corpus Christi Plays: Unwilling Participants?” *Early Theatre* 9, No. 2 (2006): 25.

²⁵ For more on the connection between liturgical chant and medieval cycle plays, see Richard Rastall, *The Heavens Singing*, vol. 1 of *Music in Early English Religious Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 250–299. Pamela King has also argued for further connections between the liturgy and the York cycle beyond such musical links; see King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006).

example—to the theological and even political. The latter belong to their own, partially overlapping subset of the genre, first noted by McInnes, which rose in prominence in the late medieval period.²⁶ Whereas some political carols were strictly secular, others had decidedly sacred texts; the breadth of topics within this subgenre demonstrates the carol's versatility. In addition to carols commemorating important events and individual monarchs, certain of the religious-political carols share a common feature with later godly ballads, emphasizing English religion—and more specifically, the English saints Thomas of Canterbury and George—as the foundation of the English nation.²⁷ These religious-political carols stress the miraculous deeds of the saints in question and emphasize the value of praying to these saints; in this sense, they are similar to other narrative carols that highlight individual saints' particular powers. Yet both St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. George played a crucial role in the construction of English identity in the Middle Ages: St. Thomas of Canterbury as an English martyr attempting to protect the Church from the overreach of an unruly monarch, and St. George as England's patron saint.²⁸

The narrative carol about St. George “Enfors we vs” from the Egerton manuscript, for example, stresses the saint's importance for the English military victory over France at Agincourt, crediting the English nation's prowess to its patron saint. Copied c. 1430–44, the

²⁶ McInnes includes within her category of political carols “carols that recount political events, carols associated with royalty, and carols associated with the politically significant saints St George and St Thomas of Canterbury.” See McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 193, 196–203, 210–214.

²⁷ For more on the growing sense of English nationhood in the later Middle Ages see the essays in Kathy Lavezzo, ed., *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

²⁸ St. Thomas was immensely popular, with Canterbury becoming one of the country's great pilgrimage destinations; by Henry VII's accession in 1485, the cult and shrine of St. Thomas had become an integral part of the religious, social, and political life of England. Of course, St. Thomas quickly became a problematic figure during the Henrician reformation, as Henry VIII viewed him as emblematic of the church's overreach against the monarchy's authority. See Robert E. Scully, “The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 86, No. 4 (2000): 579–602.

carol recalls a recent, though not quite current, event in English history. Thus, while the carol serves to glorify a particular saint, it also addresses his role in bringing about the nation's glory:

Enfors we vs *with* all our myght
To loue Seynt Georg, Owr Lady knyght

Worschip of vertu ys the mede
And sweyth hym ay of ryght
To worschip George than haue we ned
Whych is our *souereyn* Ladys knyght

He kepyd the mad from *dragons* dred
And fraid al France *and* put to fligh[t]
At Agyncourt *the* crownecle ye red
The French hym se formest in fyght

In hys *vertu* he wol vs led
Agaynys the fend the ful wyght
And *with* hys manner vs ouersprede
Yf we hym loue *with* all our myght²⁹

Here, the carol's author employs military rhetoric—stressing the “myght” of his audience's devotion and calling St. George a “knyght”—to exhort listeners to praise the saint for his role in bringing about victory. The author further celebrates St. George, moreover, by emphasizing his relationship to the Virgin: he is not only a knight, but one belonging to “our *souereyn* Lady,” whose cult in medieval England was quite popular; as such, all should worship him. Carols such as “Enfors we vs” straddle the line between devotion and propaganda, both encouraging proper attention to the saints as well as reinforcing the message that England's prosperity and supremacy are divinely apportioned. Certainly, this carol would be appropriate for performance on the feast of St. George, but its reference to English military prowess also made it fitting for other state or military celebrations. Its first-person plural perspective suggests communal rather than private or personal devotion, moreover; this was a public song meant to draw its audience

²⁹ A transcription of this carol's text (found on fol. 63v of GB-Lbl MS Egerton 3307, compiled c. 1430–44) can be found in Greene, *The Early English Carols*, 190.

and performers together. The dual religious/political function of this text also highlights the close relationship between military endeavors and religion in the Middle Ages, which also manifested itself through both liturgical and extra-liturgical musical performances from the singing of polyphonic masses based on the “L’homme armé” tune to the practice of singing the *Te Deum* on the battlefield after a victory. This blurring of a religious message with a political one also frequently occurs in the mid-sixteenth-century godly ballad; as such, this is one of the primary points of contact between these genres.

Composers of fifteenth-century religious carols explored topics from English politics to the birth of Christ in their quest to create religious song suited for a broad audience and multiple purposes. Indeed, these texts were intended to fill a variety of functions: religious-political carols like “Enfors we vs” reminded those listening to thank England’s patron saint for their prosperity and victory on the battlefield, while devotional texts such as “Salve, sancta parens” encouraged individuals to contemplate Mary’s virginity and grace. The meaning of such songs, moreover, might change depending on the context in which they were performed: a carol to St. Thomas of Canterbury sung during the liturgy on the saint’s feast day, for example, might emphasize the saint’s holiness, while a performance of the same carol at a banquet in a lord’s honor might stress instead the saint’s contributions to building England’s spiritual bona fides. It is this versatility of use that I argue made the carol a compelling and lasting form of devotional music in late medieval England, and allowed the genre to flourish during the Henrician reformation. As the following section will demonstrate, the carol continued to play a role in both private and public life into the 1540s, though now transmitted in a more easily accessible format: print.

Reimagining the Genre: The Printed Carol in Henrician London

By the early sixteenth century, the carol had been circulating in manuscript for generations, with many of its melodies also passed down orally. It seems only natural, then, that publishers would take advantage of the genre's popularity and the affordability of print to create volumes of carols for a broad market. Though titles of the majority of known editions stress the usefulness of their contents for Christmas, these publications had much broader functions, typically containing music for multiple feasts and liturgical seasons. Like the majority of carols transmitted in the fifteenth century, these prints include only carol texts without musical notation. In what follows, I argue that the printed carol maintained strong links to the medieval carol tradition. I consider the textual and topical variety in these extant publications as evidence of the continued multi-use nature of the genre; these were not just songs intended for private devotion, but texts meant to be sung at public celebrations such as feasts and festivals. As I will show, however, the carol was not entirely immune to the influence of reform, and I suggest that it was the genre's historical versatility, as well as its previous engagement with political topics, that led to the inclusion of a polemical carol in one of the extant mid-century booklets.

While complete examples are rare, at least nine collections containing carols were printed in London in the first half of the sixteenth century, confirming that this genre enjoyed widespread popularity perhaps even into the reign of Edward VI. Although typically carols were printed in single-genre booklets, the quarto partbook set *Twenty Songs* (1530) contains several carols: two anonymous amorous carols ("Joly felowe, joly" and "And wyll ye serue me so"), Pygot's lullaby "By by," and Ashwell's Marian "She may be callyd a souerant lady."³⁰ Three of

³⁰ Greene only characterizes "Joly felowe, joly" as a carol, as it is the only strophic setting in *Twenty Songs*; all the remaining carols in this collection incorporate repeated refrains into through-composed music. In his edition *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century Including Kele's Christmas carolles newly Inprynted Reproduced in Facsimile from the Copy in the Huntington Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,

the further known volumes of carols share titles similar to one another: Wynkyn de Worde's *Christmasse carolles newly enprinted* (1521); Richard Kele's *Christmas carolles newly Inprinted* (dated c. 1545 in the *English Short Title Catalogue* but 154-? in the catalogue of the Huntington Library); and an unattributed *Christmas carolles newly Imprinted* (dated c. 1547 in *ESTC* and c. 1550 by Greene).³¹ The single extant copy of Kele's *Christmas carolles* is bound, moreover, with fragments from five other pamphlets, all of which are unfortunately lacking leaf A (and whose titles and dates are therefore unknown).

A study of the extant texts in these booklets demonstrates that the subject matter of printed carols was quite broad. Much like their late medieval manuscript counterparts, printed carol books feature a high ratio of religious to secular texts, and also continue to present such texts alongside one another, indicating that the functions and devotional possibilities of this genre remained various through the mid-sixteenth century. Table 2, below, lists the first lines and topics of all known carols printed in the first half of the sixteenth century; as its contents demonstrate, most of these carols had specific liturgical associations, while a handful are secular. Although the carols listed likely constitute only a fraction of the carols printed during the first half of the sixteenth century, the number of publications represented and their chronological breadth suggest they might be used to draw a few conclusions about the overall nature of printed

1932), meanwhile, Edward Bliss Reed includes only Ashwell's "She may be callyd a souerant lady" from this collection, as it is the only carol whose text relates thematically to Christmas. One might include in this list of carols *all* songs from *Twenty Songs* that use a repeated refrain form, in which case the anonymous "Beware my lytyll fynger," "Mynyon goo trym," and Taverner's "The bella" would make the cut, but owing to their irregular refrain structure and subject matter I do not.

³¹ Edward Bliss Reed notes all three volumes in Reed, ed., *Kele's Christmas carolles*, xxxvii–xli. A single leaf of the first item and fragments from the second are both held in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson 4°. 598 (10) and Douce fragments f. 48); the book containing Kele's *Christmas carolles* is held by the Huntington Library. Reed incorrectly assumed that the leaves bound as Kele's *Christmas carolles* were part of only three different volumes; Greene correctly describes the contents as being from six different prints, the first and last of which were printed by Copland for publisher Richard Kele. See Greene, *The Early English Carols*, 340–341.

carols in the Henrician and Edwardine periods; at the very least, they provide information on how the genre's transition to print might have affected its subject matter or continued popularity.

Title/First Line	Topic	Publication Title	Publisher	Date
A caroll of huntynge	Hunting	<i>Christmasse carolles</i>	Wynkyn de Worde	1521
A caroll bringing in the bores heed	Feasting/Christmas	<i>Christmasse carolles</i>	Wynkyn de Worde	1521
By by	Lullaby	<i>Twenty Songs</i>		1530
She may be callyd a souerant lady	Marian/Mary as Mother of Christ	<i>Twenty Songs</i>		1530
Joly felowe, joly	Love	<i>Twenty Songs</i>		1530
And wyll ye serue me so	Love	<i>Twenty Songs</i>		1530
Now synge we as we were wont	Passion/Crucifixion	<i>Christmas carolles</i>	Richard Kele	c. 1545
If thou be Iohan	St John (Baptist & Evangelist)	<i>Christmas carolles</i>	Richard Kele	c. 1545
Be thou poore or be thou ryche	Sin/God's Mercy	<i>Christmas carolles</i>	Richard Kele	c. 1545
Psallemus cantantes	St John the Evangelist	<i>Christmas carolles</i>	Richard Kele	c. 1545
O my hert is wo	Marian telling of the Passion	<i>Christmas carolles</i>	Richard Kele	c. 1545
Alone alone	Marian telling of the Passion	Fragment 1		
Synge Dyllum	Love/Amorous	Fragment 1		
Inducas inducas	Friars and Nuns/Polemical	Fragment 1		
My harte of golde as true as stele	Love/Nonsense	Fragment 1		
Gebit gebit	Nonsense	Fragment 1		
To increase our ioy and blysse	The Circumcision	Fragment 1		
Be we mery in this feste	Nativity/Christmas	Fragment 1		
Nowell Nowell	Marian/Annunciation	Fragment 1		
O blessed & maruelous natyuyte	Nativity/Christmas	Fragment 1		
Gaudeamus synge we	Crucifixion/Marian	Fragment 2		
To saynt Steuen wyll we pray	St. Stephen	Fragment 2		
Pray for vs to god on hye	St. John the Evangelist	Fragment 2		
Marke this songe for it is trewe	Feast of the Holy Innocents	Fragment 2		

In what estate so euer I be	Mortality	Fragment 3		
Blessyd Stephan we the praye	St. Stephen	Fragment 3		
Hayl, Mary, ful of grace	Marian	Fragment 4		
Salue regina mater misericordie	Prayer to Mary	Fragment 4		
A voyce from heuen to erth shall com	Doomsday	Fragment 5	Richard Kele	
Jesu christe fili dei	Prayer to Christ	Fragment 5	Richard Kele	
Come to Bethleem and ye shal se	Nativity/Christmas	<i>Christmas carolles</i>		c. 1547
Quid vltra debui facere	Appeal of Christ to Man	<i>Christmas carolles</i>		c. 1547
Blow the winde styl & blow nat so shyl	Passion/Appeal of Christ to Man	<i>Christmas carolles</i>		c. 1547
Farewell aduent & haue good daye	Complaint of Advent	<i>Christmas carolles</i>		c. 1547
first line unknown	Complaint of Lent	<i>Christmas carolles</i>		c. 1547
In the honour of Christes byrth	Nativity/Christmas	<i>Christmas carolles</i>		c. 1547

Table 2. Carols printed in the sixteenth century.³²

As the subject matter of the carols in Table 2 indicates, events of the Christmas season were popular topics, but the majority of carols in “Christmas” books celebrated other occasions. Of the thirty-six carols listed above, only four focus on the nativity, though seven others commemorate events during the Christmas season: the Feast of St. Stephen (December 26; two carols), the Feast of St. John the Evangelist (December 27; three carols), the Feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28; one carol), and the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ (January 1; one carol).³³ What is notable about these Christmas carols is their specific liturgical orientation: each describes or commemorates a particular event (or saint’s life) that was central to the celebration

³² The fragmentary publications bound with Kele’s *Christmas carolles* are labeled “Fragment 1,” “Fragment 2,” etc.

³³ These feasts were also often celebrated in late medieval carols; see Zamzow, “The Influence of the Liturgy,” 74–152, for their texts.

of the Christmas season. Some of these carols employ macaronic burdens, such as “To increase our ioy and blysse / Christus natus est nobis” for the Feast of the Circumcision or “Be we mery in this feste / In quo saluator natus est” for the nativity; in both of these cases, the final line of each verse is also in Latin. Although these texts are not drawn directly from the liturgy or the Latin Vulgate, they often employ words and phrases that would have been familiar to the laity from the mass (e.g., “Christus natus est”); as such, they maintain a strong connection to contemporary liturgical practice, and point to a possible paraliturgical or devotional function. Other carols in the Christmas category seem likewise suited to public feasts attached to saints’ days, such as the two carols to St. Stephen: “To saynt Steuen wyll we pray” and “Blessyd Stephan we the praye.” These two carols are most likely variants of the same text, as a comparison of the first two verses suggests:

To saynt Steuen wyll we pray
To pray for vs bothe nyght and day

Of saynt Steuen goddes knyght
That preched *the* fayth day & nyght
He tolde the Iewes as it was ryght
That Chryst was borne of a may.

The Iewes sayd in grete scorne
That Christ was not of a mayde borne
Than sayd Steuen ye are but lorne
And all that beleue in your lay.

Blessyd Stephan we the praye
Pro nobis preces funde

I shall you tell this ylke nyght
Of saynt Stephan goddes knyght
He tolde the Iewes that it was ryght
That Chryst was borne of a mayde

Then sayd the Iewes *with* grete scorne
That goddes sone myght not be borne
Stephan sayd ye be forlorne
And all that byleueth on that lay

These carols’ clear association with a specific liturgical feast again suggests a close link with divine worship—like “Enfors we vs,” they would have been appropriate for singing on the feast of St. Stephen, either following or perhaps during the liturgy. But whereas the verses of the carols tell the story of St. Stephen as a first-person narrative, both burdens frame the verses as prayers *to* St. Stephen that ask for his intercession, indicating that these carols might also have had a private devotional function.

Not all the texts one might classify as “Christmas” carols, however, were necessarily religious in nature—the first two carols in Table 2, for example, reflect activities likely to take place during the Christmas season, but do not mention religious themes or events. Such carols would have been appropriate for feasts or other gatherings, but would not have formed part of an individual’s private devotional practice. Including these two secular carols, a full third of the carols in this sample revolve around the Christmas season, making Christmastide the most popular topic for printed carols. Even volumes with “Christmas carols” in the title, however, do not focus predominantly on the Christmas season. The title *Christmas carolles newly imprinted* was thus most likely employed as a marketing strategy: drawing on the obvious popularity of the genre at Christmas, contemporary publishers and printers designed booklets meant to catch the eye of prospective customers. Yet the acquisition of carols for Christmas cannot have been the only reason laypeople purchased these volumes; had this been the case, we might expect such publications to contain primarily or exclusively Christmas-related texts. Moreover, as I have suggested with the carols for St. Stephen—and this argument holds equally true for those texts focused on St. John the Evangelist—some of these “Christmas” carols might also serve a private devotional purpose as intercessory prayers. The carol “If thou be Iohan,” meanwhile, is not a song *about* an individual saint, but rather stresses the significance of the name John for men with the appellation, highlighting the desirability of sharing a name with saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Thus, even some carols with topics based in the Christmas season might have multiple purposes for the laypeople who bought these booklets.

In addition to Christmas carols, one other major season stands out as significant within the oeuvre of printed carols, and that is the passion of Christ. The inclusion of these carols suggests that the carol played an important role in devotional practices surrounding two

theologically-significant feasts, Christmas and Passiontide. In total, five of the thirty-six extant carols tell the story of the passion or Christ's crucifixion. Of the four prints from which we have more than two extant examples, moreover, the only publication *missing* a passion carol is the *Twenty Songs* partbooks. This set of partbooks, furthermore, cannot be considered representative: this set of partbooks was meant for accomplished musicians, and as such had a very small audience. The remaining carols surveyed in Table 2, on the other hand, were issued in small booklets without musical notation, meaning they were intended for the general public. Thus, the passion carols printed in this period point to a secondary seasonal use of the carol—religious song meant for reflection on the suffering of Christ. Like their Christmas counterparts, some of these passion carols employ macaronic burdens, the sole example of which in this sample is the first carol in Kele's *Christmas carolles*, "Now synge we as we were wont / Uexilla regis prodeunt." This particular carol stands out for its Latin source material: the second phrase of the burden comes from the first line of a Vespers hymn used on Passion Sunday in the Sarum liturgy.³⁴ Although the carol quotes only this first line, the text's clear link to the liturgy suggests that when used for domestic devotion, it might help its singer recall the sacred space of divine worship. The print's relatively late date, furthermore—in the mid-1540s—demonstrates that carols with macaronic texts and ties to the Latin mass continued to be popular with laypeople at the end of Henry VIII's reign, possibly even after the introduction of the English litany in 1544.

One last pattern stands out in surviving printed carols from this period: a focus on the Virgin Mary. Devotional practices centering around the Virgin were common in the late Middle Ages across Europe, and England was no exception; the later fifteenth century saw a flowering of parish fraternities dedicated to Mary and an increased emphasis on the *Salve* service, a short

³⁴ For a modern edition of the Sarum breviary, see *The Sarum Rite*, published online by the Gregorian Institute of Canada (<http://hmcwordpress.mcmaster.ca/renwick/>).

devotion to the Virgin held at least weekly following Vespers.³⁵ Of the thirty-six carols in Table 2, seven revolve around the Virgin Mary. These carols can be further separated into two groups: carols whose narratives are told from Mary’s perspective, and carols addressed to or about the Virgin herself. In the former category fall three of the five passion-related carols mentioned above. In framing the story of the passion from Mary’s point of view, these carols humanize the narrative, making Jesus’ suffering understandable by portraying it through the lens of a mother’s love for her child. Using Mary’s perspective, moreover, also highlights her role as intercessor, reminding listeners and performers that it is through Mary that spiritual benefits might be bestowed. Those Marian carols that are more directly related to the Virgin’s own life, such as “Nowell Nowell” (which tells the story of the Annunciation) and “Salve regina mater misericordie” (a prayer directed to Mary), furthermore, also emphasize Mary’s intercessory function. Indeed, the first three verses of the latter carol indicate that prayer to the Virgin remained a popular topic for sung devotion at this time:

Salve regina mater misericordie/
Uita dulcedo et spes nostra salue.

O Uery lyfe of swetnes and hope
Of thy mercy sende vs a drope
As thou bare Iesu *that* our kynd dyd grop
Salve regina mater mīe.vita.&c.

Unto our helth thou bare that chyld
With spot of syn thou were neuer defyld
Mary mother bothe meke and myld
Salve regina mater mīe.vita.&c.

We synners lady to the we crye
In this world to haue mercy
We synge to the yet or we dye

³⁵ For an overview of parish fraternities, see Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages*; on the *Salve* service, Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 82–5. For a specific case study of this phenomenon, see Gary G. Gibbs, “Four Coats for Our Lady: Gender, Space, and Marian Devotion in the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London 1466–1542,” *Reformation* 13, No. 1 (2008): 1–49.

Salve regina mater mīe.vita.&c.

Although the dates are unknown for a majority of the prints containing these Marian carols, and as such it is impossible to tell whether interest in devotional music for the Virgin declined in the later part of Henry VIII's reign, the inclusion of "O my hert is wo" (a Marian telling of the passion) in Kele's *Christmas carolles* (c. 1545) suggests that Kele may have intended his book to appeal to a mix of traditional and reforming readers.³⁶

Whereas the majority of carols printed in the first half of the sixteenth century are neither reformist nor conservative, the genre was not immune to the influence of reform: a short carol on fol. A.iii. of Fragment 1, "Inducas inducas / In temptationibus," tells the story of a friar who gropes a nun during prayer, implying that the papacy is to blame for allowing such behavior:

Inducas inducas
In temptationibus.
The nunne walked on her prayer
Inducas. &c.
Ther cam a frere and met with her
In temptationibus. &c.
Inducas inducas
In temptationibus.
This nunne began to fall aslepe
Inducas
The frere knelyd down at her fete
In temptationibus.
Inducas inducas
In temptationibus.
This fryer began the nunne to grope
Inducas
It was a morsell for the pope
In temptationibus.
Inducas inducas
In temptationibus.

³⁶ Marian devotion remained a typical custom in many late-Henrician churches and homes, but there were also reformers vehemently opposed to veneration of the Virgin; the shrine to Mary at Walsingham, for example, was destroyed in 1538 as part of a purposeful rejection of her intercessory role. See Michael P. Carroll, "Pilgrimage at Walsingham on the Eve of the Reformation: Speculations on a "Splendid Diversity" only Dimly Perceived," in *Walsingham in Literature and Culture from the Middle Ages to Modernity*, ed. Dominic Janes and Gary Waller (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 35–48.

The frere & the nunne whan they had done
Inducas
Eche to theyr cloyster dyd they gone
Sine temptationibus
Inducas inducas
In temptationibus.

Rumors of indecency and calls to reform monastic life were common in Henrician England in the years leading up to Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries between 1536 and 1541. Polemical songs about clergy, monks, and nuns were also widespread in German-speaking lands in this period, and such themes furthermore appear in mid-century godly ballads.³⁷ Yet this carol is the only one to engage in contemporary theological debates out of the thirty-six extant printed carols listed above, suggesting that while politically oriented carols were common, the genre did not tend to engage *controversial* politico-religious topics. It is unfortunate that the print date for this volume is unknown, as its publication would have different implications if it was printed under Edward VI rather than Henry VIII. Whether the carol's inclusion reflects popular taste or the predilections of the volume's compiler, moreover, is impossible to determine.

It is notable, however, that this carol was printed in a volume also containing two Marian carols. Whereas radical reformers saw the English cult of the Virgin Mary as in fundamental opposition to religious reform, this undated print indicates that the religious tendencies of the laity at this time were quite varied;³⁸ the publisher of this print, for example, clearly found no contradiction in presenting a devotional carol about the Annunciation alongside one critiquing the papacy. In addition, an antecedent for this carol exists from the latter part of the fifteenth century: a carol with the same burden and a similar text is the third of a series of four carols

³⁷ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger discusses a number of such German songs in *Music as Propaganda*, 122–136.

³⁸ As Gary Waller notes, hostility to the Virgin was not only widespread among reformers in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, but persisted well into the reign of Elizabeth I. See Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

written on a small, unbound paper bifolium attached to a late fifteenth century manuscript.³⁹ Although the text of this earlier carol is quite different, the print “Inducas inducas” was undoubtedly inspired by the earlier version. In a late Henrician or even early Edwardine context, however, “Inducas inducas” held much clearer connotations of religious reform than it might have in the late fifteenth century. Thus, this popular devotional genre, like primers of the late Henrician period, began to show signs of religious reform. Furthermore, this carol stresses the multi-functional nature of the genre: whereas some carols were clearly intended to enhance private religious devotion, others might be more suitable to public performance, even one without any overt religious connections. “Inducas inducas” hardly merited singing as part of a spiritual practice designed to aid its performer in finding a closer connection to God.

Whereas “Inducas inducas” appears to have been a relatively late addition to the carol repertoire, not all of the carols printed in the sixteenth century were contemporary. As Smaill has shown, for example, eight of the carols now bound in the volume containing Kele’s *Christmas carolles* appear in other sources, ranging from pocket songbooks to polyphonic collections, as demonstrated in Table 3.⁴⁰ These concordances show that the mid-sixteenth-century printed repertoire included carols dating from the first half of the fifteenth century. This data suggests, then, that the medieval carol remained well liked throughout the early years of the Reformation. Although a polemical carol like “Inducas inducas” might be incorporated and now read in a reformist light, there is scant indication of a shift in the types of carols most likely to be popular on the print market. Indeed, the similarities in textual focuses between Richard Hill’s commonplace book and those carols found in the mid-century prints demonstrate that Christmas

³⁹ For more on this earlier carol, see P. J. Croft, “The ‘Friar of Order Gray’ and the Nun,” *The Review of English Studies* 32, No. 125 (1981): 1–16.

⁴⁰ Smaill, “Medieval Carols,” 176–7.

carols and songs to the Virgin remained popular among London audiences throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. Although there is no conclusive evidence of printed carol collections during the reign of Edward VI, this genre retained its medieval roots well beyond its first appearance in print, and may have done so into the early years of Edward’s reign.

Title/First Line	Concordance Source	MS Date
O my hert is wo	GB-Obac 354, 230r	1506–36
O blessed & maruelous natyuyte	GB-Ob Eng.poet.e.1, 53r	Late 15 th / Early 16 th c
Be we mery in this feste	GB-Cu Ee.1.12, 38v	c. 1492
Gaudeamus syngwe we	GB-Lbl Sloane 2593, 23r GB-En Advocates 18.7.21, 121r GB-Lbl Add. MS 31042, 94v GB-Ob Eng.poet.e.1, 27 ² r	c. 1400–50 c. 1372 Mid 15 th c Late 15 th / Early 16 th c
To saynt Steuen wyll we pray	GB-Lbl Egerton 3307, 54v	1430–44
In what estate so euer I be	GB-Ob Eng.poet.e.1, 38v GB-Obac 354, 176v	Late 15 th / Early 16 th c 1506–36
Blessyd Stephan we the praye	GB-Lbl Egerton 3307, 54v	1430–44
Hayl, Mary, ful of grace	GB-Ctc O.3.58 GB-Ob Selden B.26, 23r	c. 1400–50 1425–40

Table 3. List of concordances for carols now bound with Kele’s *Christmas carolles*.⁴¹

The small size of the booklets and their relative affordability, along with their lack of musical notation, suggest their primary market was the laity. Extant information regarding the specific use or purchase of carol books in late medieval England is rare, but a reference to carol books in the Henrician records of a London parish demonstrates that churches occasionally bought these volumes, corroborating earlier evidence suggesting possible liturgical use of the carol. At St. Mary at Hill the churchwardens purchased “carolles for cristmas” along with “v square bookes” in 1537.⁴² As the contents of the similarly titled publications explored above

⁴¹ Manuscript concordances are taken from a similar table in Smaill, “Medieval Carols,” 569. Smaill considers the two carols for St. Stephen to be the same, listing a single concordance for both. Smaill also lists the late fifteenth century “Inducas inducas” as a concordance for the Huntington carol with the same burden, but while the texts show similarities, the print version contains none of the narrative and wit of the earlier version, so I argue that the print carol was inspired by, rather than a version of, the earlier carol. Dates in the table are taken from the *DIAMM* (*Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*) database and McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 287–310.

⁴² LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, fol. 691.

imply, these books were likely filled with texts concerning a variety of topics. As these publications also intimate, while the books purchased at St. Mary at Hill probably contained some carols suitable for liturgical use, others may have been better suited to performance at church festivals or celebrations. Archival evidence further suggests that the parish continued to use these carols throughout the reign of Edward VI; the churchwardens recorded “v caroll bokes” in an inventory dated 10 February 1553.⁴³ It is unknown exactly how these books were used at St. Mary at Hill, and even by whom—were these carols for performance by the professionally trained choir, or meant for lay use? At the very least, the financial expenditure by a parish community on a collection likely containing non-liturgical music suggests that at St. Mary at Hill, carols played a role in the collective life of the church’s parishioners. As noted in Chapter 1, moreover, the parish of St. Mary at Hill was home to a number of reformers in the Henrician and Edwardine periods, both in its priests and lay members. The continued use of Catholic carol books under Edward VI, then, offers strong evidence of the limits of reform and the continuity of a longstanding Catholic musical tradition. In addition, it suggests that Catholic devotional songs and the vernacular liturgy coexisted elsewhere in London, and that congregants may not have seen any conflict in using carols alongside the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Like the Biblical metrical song discussed in Chapter 2, carols were meant to be sung by both men and women, from the highly educated to those with only basic (or no) literacy; the ownership of such books by a parish church, then, might mean they could be used by a mixed-gender group of congregants.⁴⁴ Although some carols in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century

⁴³ LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, fol. 750v.

⁴⁴ Certain carols, of course, were intended specifically for women: as Kathleen Palti has demonstrated, extant lullabies are not only set from a female perspective, but female writers and performers most likely played a role in their creation. See Kathleen Palti, “Singing Women: Lullabies and Carols in Medieval England,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 110, No. 3 (2011): 359–382. McInnes likewise highlights carols written from a female

manuscripts, especially those set polyphonically, were intended for a learned audience, the simple musical and textual form of the monophonic and un-notated carol meant that this genre was also well suited to oral transmission. In print, then, these songs could be quickly learned by any literate member of the public; like the short, strophic hymn texts in primers, these carols' melodies would have been easy to teach aurally. Although gender is not a focal point of this dissertation, it is nevertheless relevant that this vernacular devotional music had a general audience, as this point sets most printed religious music from the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I apart from other mid-sixteenth-century English music sources. The carol's wide variety of subjects, with the genre's focus on both important liturgical seasons as well as devotion to the Virgin, allowed it to speak to this broad audience.

As I have shown, the printed carol shared a number of features with its manuscript counterpart, and indeed, there is considerable overlap in these two repertoires. The typical themes featured in sixteenth-century prints, moreover, are likewise common in the manuscript tradition, leading to the conclusion that the genre saw little in the way of formal, stylistic, or topical innovation in the sixteenth century. Carols continued to function as both private devotional material and song for public, non-liturgical celebrations; while some texts were meant to be used in either context, others were better suited to only the former or the latter based on their contents. The single polemical carol that survives in print, "Inducas inducas," can furthermore claim a late fifteenth-century antecedent, showing that while carols critiquing monks and nuns were arguably rare, they did exist in the medieval tradition. My contention, however, is that the inclusion of this carol in a 1540s booklet, when it would reach an audience that included reformers, may have delivered a more specific, reform-minded message about the papacy and the

perspective, though cautions that such evidence may not signify female authorship. See McInnes, "Late Medieval Carol," 185–186.

dangers of adherence to earlier religious traditions. Such polemical religious songs, however, were nevertheless unusual in the carol tradition; instead, such music primarily found its home in a relatively new genre in mid-sixteenth-century England: the godly ballad.

Singing on the Streets and in Taverns? The Popular Godly Ballad c. 1540–1560

In early sixteenth-century England, broadside ballads quickly became an established feature of cultural life.⁴⁵ They were printed by the hundreds, and sold for less than a penny; by 1600, roughly 3,000 distinct ballads had been issued across England.⁴⁶ Their topics ranged from the utterly profane to the religious, with a substantial number crossing subject boundaries that were usually more firmly fixed in other genres. These ballads were probably largely *contrafacta*, their tunes borrowed from both court and more lowly contexts. Performed in homes, taverns, and town squares, at bride-ales and within plays; sold in print shops and by traveling peddlers, ballads were performed by amateurs and professionals alike, by those of all classes and occupations.⁴⁷ By the middle of Elizabeth I's reign, the writing of godly or religious ballads was already on the wane; the genre was most popular, then, during the early English reformations.⁴⁸ As Rebecca Wagner Oettinger has demonstrated, *contrafacta* provided a particularly effective vehicle for the spread of religious beliefs in German-speaking lands, as famous melodies retained

⁴⁵ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 225.

⁴⁶ Tessa Watt estimates this figure based on a comparison of the Stationers' Registers with extant ballads, which shows that roughly sixty-five percent were recorded; allowing for a similar level of production from 1550–1557 and 1571–1576, years for which there are no records, Watt suggests that from 1550 to 1600 approximately 3,000 distinct ballads were produced. See Watt, *Cheap Print*, 42.

⁴⁷ For a more thorough overview of the genre, see Watt, *Cheap Print*, 11–38.

⁴⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print*, 41. In the period from 1560–1588, on average 35% of the ballads being produced were godly ballads. Twenty-six of the forty-seven extant ballads or ballad fragments printed between 1540 and 1558—over half—are religious in nature. For a list of mid-sixteenth-century ballad titles and their whereabouts, see Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the Sixteenth Century*, 70–195.

their original associations even when given new texts.⁴⁹ Well-known tunes also allowed individuals to memorize new texts quickly, and a relatively small body of musical material might make remembering song tunes easier. In using familiar melodies, then, ballad composers could ensure a level of distribution greater than was possible through print alone.

The broadside ballad has long remained the purview of literary scholars, with the notable exception of Claude M. Simpson's *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, published in 1966. Recently, Cathy Shrank has even suggested that only a handful of early ballads were meant to be sung—an argument predicated on the assumption that a lack of clear verse/refrain structure, as well as the absence of musical notation, indicates read or spoken use.⁵⁰ But since the ballad was solidly a musical genre at an only slightly later time, it is unlikely that such a dramatic shift in function would have been achieved in a few decades. There are, moreover, three extant examples of early broadside ballads issued with musical notation from the presses of John Rastell and his son William, printed between c. 1523 and c. 1532–4.⁵¹ Thus, any argument that the ballad might not be a musical genre in this period is suspect.

Both reformers and conservatives employed this cheap, accessible genre throughout the mid-sixteenth century, using it specifically to persuade audiences of the validity of particular theological arguments or to denigrate those with opposing religious beliefs. That ballads might be consumed both through reading *and* singing, moreover, suggests their creators had a broad audience in mind when choosing to employ this genre. In London, that audience was particularly

⁴⁹ See Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 89–93.

⁵⁰ Cathy Shrank, “Trollers and Dreamers: Defining the Citizen-Subject in Sixteenth-Century Cheap Print,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 38, No. 1/2 (2008): 103–104. The second half of this argument is implicit, of course, in Shrank’s article, but it does underpin her assumption that most early ballads were not intended for singing.

⁵¹ Although these song-sheets contain three-voice settings and secular texts, and are thus outside the scope of this dissertation, their strophic forms align them with other un-notated ballads printed during this period. For an extensive discussion of these publications, see Milsom, “Songs and Society in Early Tudor London,” 241–254.

large, as literacy was much higher in the capital than in other parts of the country.⁵² One notable element separates the godly ballad from other forms of religious song in this period, however, and that is the fact that the majority of extant religious ballads are political.⁵³ Although some godly ballads might be suitable for private devotion, such songs were rare; this function in the Edwardine period was more typically filled by metrical Biblical song. Godly ballads in this period furthermore express deference to the crown: although both reformers and conservatives employed crude jokes and name-calling in their ballads, both Edward VI and Mary I are treated with respect.⁵⁴ In addition, a number of extant mid-century ballads highlight the continued overlap between English religion and English national identity. As such, these short, popular songs shed light on mid-century attitudes towards religious change, contemporary politics, Englishness, and the value of song as a medium through which to debate these issues for those across the confessional spectrum. As a musical form, then, the broadside ballad played an integral role in English religious reform; it further highlights, moreover, the increasing acceptability of controversial commentary on contemporary religious practices.

Broadside ballads with religious topics in the mid-sixteenth century might explore any number of interrelated themes. While some ballads are easily identified as having a single, specific function, the majority are difficult to categorize, clearly intended to reach multiple audiences and touching on numerous themes; depending on the context in which they were performed, their meaning might change. This considerable variety shows that the godly ballad's

⁵² Watt, *Cheap Print*, 7.

⁵³ These godly ballads range from debates on contemporary politicians to anti-papist satire (under Edward VI) and anti-heresy ballads (during the reign of Mary I). The propagandistic nature of these ballads suggests the genre had much in common with contemporary broadsheet songs from the German-speaking world. For more on the latter, see Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*.

⁵⁴ It is possible that there were some ballads that were critical of Edward VI and Mary I, but none survive, likely because copies would have been ordered found and destroyed when they came on the market.

particular effectiveness was derived in large part from the genre's flexibility: unlike religious song with a specific devotional function—such as the metrical psalm or some vernacular carols—the godly ballad could engage religious topics that fell outside the typical boundaries of acceptability in more liturgically oriented genres. Combined with the possibility for wide circulation and the lack of musical literacy needed to write or perform its texts, the godly ballad thus provided both reformers and conservatives with the most accessible musical medium through which to reach a broad audience.

In the following survey, I examine how reformers and conservatives wrote godly ballads that attempted to change the minds of their audience at a time when religious doctrine and practices were in flux. This analysis is based on a comprehensive study of known ballads and ballad fragments printed between c. 1540 and 1560; although the number of extant mid-century ballads is small compared to the number likely printed, the godly ballads available demonstrate a consistent effort on the part of their creators to employ this genre for religious conversion. The overwhelming majority of extant ballads make their case through the use of polemical—or at least political—themes and language. In this way, the godly ballad shares an important function with a subset of the carol repertory, in that political themes or events overlap with religious concerns in what is billed as godly or spiritual song. Yet godly ballad creators push this tactic into more overtly profane territory than their carol-writing counterparts, using the ballad to question the very efficacy of religious experience and doctrine while also often criticizing specific individuals for their beliefs. Whereas the Biblical metrical psalm or even the carol both led users to the “correct” religious practices by example (that is, singing these songs *was* the correct practice), the godly ballad instead *told* consumers which practices they should (or should

not) follow.⁵⁵ Thus, the godly ballad was a product of its time: a musical vehicle through which both reformers and conservatives could reach a broad public, upon whom they impressed their conviction that the “wrong” religious practices would endanger the souls of their audience.

In late Henrician England, religious reform was tied up in contemporary politics, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the exchange of ballads, or flyting, that occurred between Thomas Smythe and William Gray in 1540. The theologically oriented ballads in this flyting show how authors at this time used popular music to comment on both contemporary politics and religious beliefs, and serve as an important example of how the godly ballad diverged from other earlier and contemporary forms of religious song. Smythe and Gray’s topic was Thomas Cromwell, and the first, anonymous ballad in the series, which celebrated Cromwell’s fall from power, was most likely written shortly before or even to commemorate Cromwell’s execution on 28 July of 1540.⁵⁶ This ballad, comprised of sixteen verses and a repeated two-line refrain (“Trolle on away, trolle on awaye, / Synge heave and howe rombelowe trolle on away.”), accuses Cromwell of embezzlement and mocks his ambition.⁵⁷ More importantly, it adopts a conservative religious stance, most apparent in verses 7–10:

Thou dyd not remember, false heretyke,
One God, one fayth, and one kynge catholyke,
For thou hast bene so long a scysmatyke.
Synge, &c.

⁵⁵ As Catharine Davies notes, reformers consistently pushed a narrative that they preached a return to the “true” church, in contrast to the “false” church of Catholicism; this rhetorical strategy reflected evangelicals’ belief that “the world had been turned upside-down by popery,” and proved extremely effective. See Davies, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 21–33.

⁵⁶ Shrank, “Trollers and Dreamers,” 104.

⁵⁷ The original broadside is now lost; a copy of this ballad is reprinted in J. A. Kingdon, ed., *Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton, Two Citizens and Grocers of London, who suffered loss and incurred danger in common with Tyndal, Coverdale, and Rogers, in bringing out the Bible in the vulgar tongue; collected and confused by J. A. Kingdon, a Past Master of the Guild; dutifully dedicated to the Worshipful the Master and Wardens of the Company* (London: Rixon & Arnold, 1895).

Thou woldyst not learne to knowe these thre;
But euer was full of inquite:
Wherfore all this lande hathe ben troubled with the.
Synge, &c.

All they, that were of the new trycke,
Agaynst the churche thou baddest them stycke;
Wherfore nowe thou hast touchyd the quycke.
Synge, &c.

Both sacramentes and sacramentalles
Thou woldyst not suffer within thy walles;
Now let vs praye for all christen soules.
Synge, &c.

Although the anonymous author's primary intention is clearly to eviscerate the king's former chief minister, the emphasis on Cromwell's religious proclivities indicates a wider audience for the ballad. Purchasers of the ballad, which was printed in London, most likely had some knowledge of Cromwell and his activities, yet they were hardly privy to the inner workings of Henry VIII's court. Accusations of financial malpractice, as Shrank has noted, were common in invective of this nature. Although Shrank dismisses the ballad's conservative religious stance as "unremarkable," I suggest that the author's painting of Cromwell with a radical brush—calling him a "scysmatyke" and accusing him of turning people "agaynst the churche"—was a direct attempt to engage a populace that through the beginning of 1540 had proven itself increasingly susceptible to radical reform.⁵⁸ In warning against contemporary religious fervor and referencing some of the conservative doctrines—such as the sacraments—highlighted in the 1539 Act of Six Articles, the author's focus on the heresy of radical reform served both as a timely warning and a call to action, urging the ballad's performers and audience not to follow in Cromwell's footsteps.

⁵⁸ Susan Brigden notes that in the early months of 1540, shortly before Cromwell's arrest in June, the progress of reform among Londoners was increasing. See Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 309.

The musical response to this initial attack on Cromwell's character, most likely written by the humanist scholar William Gray, likewise demonstrates that religious topics and political attacks were often intertwined in this genre.⁵⁹ Calling Cromwell "a christen soule," Gray's "A balade agaynst malycyous Sclaunders" acknowledges that Cromwell has been put to death for treason, but pushes back against the notion that he held heretical beliefs, instead calling the author of the first ballad (and his printer) "papistes." Like the anonymous author, Gray takes as his most important theme contemporary religion, criticizing many of the Catholic practices that reformers deemed particularly egregious, in verses paralleling the original (7–11):

Thou sayest he was with the church to quycke
Fauouryng none but of the new trycke
But nowe thou spurnest agaynst the prycke
And thou of force/ must confesse the same
Trolle into the way agayne for shame

For bysshops haue now as they haue had
If preestes wold complayne / they were to mad
Wherfore thou apperest to be a popysse lad
For vsyng thy popery/ thou arte to blame
Trolle into the way agayne for shame.

For here thou vpholdest both monkes and fryers
Nunnes and naughty packes / and lewed lowsy lyers
The bysshop of Rome/with all his rotten squyers
To buylde such a church / thou arte moche to blame
Trolle nowe into the way agayne for shame.

May not men thynke now in the meane ceason
That thou hast deserued by ryght and by reason
As moch as he hath done for clokyng thy treason
For he was a traytour/and thou arte the same
Trolle away papyst/ god gyue the shame.

The sacrament of the aulter / that is most hiest
Crumwell beleued it to be the very body of Chriest
Wherfore in thy writyng/on him thou lyst

⁵⁹ Copies of this and the remaining ballads in this flying may be found in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

For the kyng & his counsell wyll wytnesse the same
Trolle into the waye/ than agayne for shame.

Here, Gray draws on typical tropes found in Protestant polemic: the excesses of priests and bishops; the monks, friars, and nuns who were often portrayed as committing irreverent and lewd acts; and even the “rotten squyers” of the pope. It is worth noting that the first ballad mentioned no such topics—rather, Gray most likely invokes them to pique the interest of his prospective audience; such satirical portrayals were clearly popular, as they appear in other contemporary ballads and songs, including in the carol “Inducas inducas” mentioned above. Gray pushes the hardest on the anonymous author’s contention that Cromwell did not believe in the sacrament of the altar (“Wherfore in thy writyng/on him thou lyst”); given that Cromwell’s personal beliefs on transubstantiation are unknown, this strong refutation seems to be a political attempt to rehabilitate the former royal advisor, who had developed a reputation for reformist sympathies.

The remaining ballads in this flyting quickly devolve into a malicious back-and-forth concerned *not* with the character of Thomas Cromwell but rather with that of the two authors themselves, each seeking to impugn the reputation of the other. The respondent is revealed as one Thomas Smythe, “seruaunt to the Kynges Royall Maiestye,” and he and Gray engage in an entertaining bout of public name-calling. The pointed doctrinal arguments of the earlier ballads disappear in favor of a series of increasingly creative accusations of heresy, treason, and papist sympathies; while entertaining, neither author keeps up the pretense of attempting to sway public opinion on religious doctrine, though both authorize themselves through claims of piety and faith. Both writers likewise, as Shrank notes, desire to promote themselves as loyal and loving subjects to the king.⁶⁰ This deference to the monarchy, as we shall see, is central to the godly ballad in this period; despite their opposing religious views, Smythe and Gray both align

⁶⁰ Shrank, “Trollers and Dreamers,” 106.

themselves with the crown. Their battle finally comes to an end—following an intervention on Gray’s behalf by the prolific reforming polemicist John Bale—with an anonymous pamphlet directed at both authors.⁶¹ Returning to the religious themes of the earliest ballads, this writer seeks common ground, repudiating those who follow the pope but assuring his audience that neither Smythe nor Gray is a papist: “But he that hathe a popyshe harte / And wyll not vnto Christ be wonne / He seekyth not, but to subuert / All that the kyng hathe well begonne.”⁶²

The theologically oriented ballads in this flying demonstrate how authors used popular music to comment on both contemporary politics and religious beliefs, employing the former to sway opinion on the latter and vice versa. These songs, of course, are clearly religious in nature, yet they are not devotional—that is, they were not meant to enhance or effect an individual’s spiritual growth. Instead, they focus on the *correct* practices of religion as a whole, emphasizing how their consumers ought to behave. This heavy-handed didactic function, notable in this as well as several of the ballads discussed below, is a new feature of religious song in mid-sixteenth-century England. Whereas previously laypeople would have learned how to practice their religion from studying their primers and attending their parish churches, now that multiple factions existed, those invested in this debate sought new methods through which to teach the laity, turning in part to the godly ballad to do so.

A later political ballad, printed c. 1549 as a response to the Cornish rebellion against the *Book of Common Prayer*, further demonstrates the value the godly ballad could have for those trying to bolster specific religious beliefs, and again highlights the overlap between religious and political topics in this genre. Known as “Our god hath gyven ouer Kynge the victorye,” the

⁶¹ Shrank notes that Bale’s contribution, printed abroad, “seems to comprise covert criticism of Henry’s regime and, in particular, his religious policy;” see Shrank, “Trollers and Dreamers,” 108.

⁶² “A Paumflet compyled by G. C. / To master Smyth and Wyllyam G.,” copy held in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

existing copies are fragmentary, making a full analysis impossible.⁶³ Nevertheless, the extant verses reveal a propagandistic narrative designed to squelch any support the rebellion may have had outside Cornwall and Devon. Like earlier political carols praising the monarch, such as the famous “Agincourt Carol,” this ballad emphasizes King Edward VI’s prowess in suppressing the revolt. The ballad likewise recalls the political carol “Enfors we vs” in celebrating a military victory by employing religious language and themes, as evidenced in two of the extant verses:

They had falce prophites which brought thigs to passe
Cleane contrary to ther owne expectasion
Ther hope was for helpe in ther popishe masse
They wolde nedes have hanged up a reservacion
The vecare of pomodstoke with his congeracion
Commanded them to stike to ther Idolatry
They had muche provicion and great preperacion
Yet God hath gyven our Kynge the victorye

They did robe and spoule al the Kynges frendes
They called them heritekes with spight & disdayne
They roffled a space lyke tirantes and Findes
They put some in preson & sume to greate payne
And sume fled awaie or else they had bene slayne
As was Wyllam hilling that marter truly
Whiche they killed at sandford mowre in the playne
Where yet god hath given oure Kynge the victory

Here, the ballad’s author describes how the rebels’ behavior led to their demise, emphasizing their participation in the “popishe masse” and arguing that they—falsely, of course—labeled the king’s supporters “heritekes.” Unlike earlier political carols, the focus of this ballad is the inappropriate actions of the rebels, and their religious implications, rather than the king’s (or an individual saint’s) actions; in other words, the rebels made their choices *because of* their religious beliefs, so their Catholicism caused their treason. Each verse concludes with a variation

⁶³ Fragments exist at the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Don. d.80) and the Huntington Library (HEH 131401:53); they are available online as part of the UC Santa Barbara *English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA)*: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32596/image>.

on the phrase “God hath gyven our Kynge the victorye,” legitimizing the crushing of the rebellion—and Catholic or popish practices—by reminding its listeners of the boy king’s divine right to the throne and God’s support of his rule. The “rightness” of the Protestant cause is thus connected to the monarchy, and by association also to the author’s sense of English identity.

Rather than relying on a saint for his intercessory power, however, “God hath gyven our Kynge the victorye” links Edward directly to God, which highlights its author’s reformist religious bent: Edward does not need a priest or saint to intervene on his behalf, because he—like any good Protestant—can pray to God directly. Indeed, stressing that the activities of the rebels constitute both “Idolatry” and “Treason,” the author argues that these men tried to “subdew” “The gossell of Christ.” He also cautions that their hearts were “roted in the popes lawse,” a clear reference to Edward’s position as both sovereign and head of the Church of England, not only implying that his audience would do well to follow the king’s commands but also highlighting the important connection between English religion and the English nation. Thus, this ballad author, like Smythe and Gray before him, relies on a contemporary political event—here, one with an explicitly religious impetus—to warn a broad audience that “popish” tendencies are not merely spiritually dangerous, but a direct act against the crown. The repetitive nature of the ballad’s tune—its verse structure clearly indicates a strophic setting—might help its performers and audiences heed these warnings: hearing this melody over and over, with its final line emphasizing God’s support of Edward VI, would hammer home both the importance of deference to the king and remind people of the consequences of turning from what the author presents as the true English religion.

During Edward VI’s reign, godly ballads condemning adherents of the old religion were common, and one such example both highlights the extent to which the ballad was indebted to

the earlier carol in its form, and shows how ballad authors used this genre to win converts by using humor. The short, polemical ballad by Luke Shepherd beginning “Antipus,” printed in 1548, begins with a two-line, macaronic refrain that recalls both the form of the religious carol and its Latin-English texts.⁶⁴ The refrain indicates that the contents of the ballad are purposely false, setting up the conceit needed for an audience to understand the ballad’s humor: “To heare of such thinges ye be not wont / Nam horum contraria verissima sunt.” Unlike in many religious carols, the Latin text here does not come from scripture or the liturgy; rather, Shepherd instead relies on this genre convention to link his ballad more generally to devotional song. Each verse of the ballad presents a biblical story turned on its head: Adam created God; Abel killed Cain; Goliath destroyed King David. These falsehoods—so blatant that they must have provoked laughter—come to a head in the eighth verse, whose first line expresses the most contrary statement of all, claiming that “the deuyll hath perfecte loue and hope.” A London audience, by now familiar with common reformist propaganda techniques, might even have expected a variation on the sentiment expressed in the second half of the verse: “So verily goddes worde doth constitute the pope.” Shepherd thus presents the papacy as so outrageous that any listener or performer would have to concede that religious reform was the only logical way to escape the reach of the pope—in other words, the theology of the Catholic church was so backwards that anyone might understand its flaws. Such a conclusion would have been more likely accepted in a city like London, where parishes had already begun experimenting with a reformed liturgy, than farther afield, where early Edwardine reform efforts were being met with resistance.

⁶⁴ Shepherd’s ballad was printed by John Day. See Elizabeth Evendon, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 12. A copy of this ballad may be found at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Arch. A d.6 (2)).

In its printed form, however, Shepherd's ballad includes a further note to the literate reader, who presumably might understand the political impetus for his ballad: in smaller text at the bottom of the broadside, Shepherd castigates William Layton (Leighton), a prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral who refused to denounce the mass, claiming "A Papiste he is and the popes owne knight / That preacheth falshed in stead of ryght."⁶⁵ Shepherd's ballad thus serves two purposes: as a song, it is an anti-Catholic piece of propaganda; as a printed text, it enters into a debate regarding the religious and political allegiances of a specific individual. Like the anonymous author of the first Cromwell ballad, Shepherd's "Antipus" attracted a rejoinder (the "Antigraphium") that defended the literal sense of scripture by correcting Shepherd's verses.⁶⁶ Yet its final line ("As verely as the deuel hath not perfecte loue and hope / So verely consente not I to the falsenes of the pope") might be read either as confirming the pope's legitimacy, or as defending Leighton from the charges of papacy: either the author does not "consente" to (agree with) the claim that the pope *is* false, or he refuses to submit to the pope's falseness.⁶⁷ Both authors thus employed the medium of the godly ballad to comment on individual belief and current politics—much as Smythe and Gray had done in their flyting about Thomas Cromwell.

Such paired godly ballads, in which the second author mimicked the form and contents—as well as, presumably, the tune—of the first, but strove to deliver an opposing political or religious point of view, were widely available in Henrician and Edwardine England. Whereas the aforementioned examples all came down firmly on the side of religious reform (with varying

⁶⁵ Mark Rankin, "Biblical Allusion and Argument in Luke Shepherd's Verse Satires," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature: 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 265.

⁶⁶ This ballad, the work of privy council member Sir John Mason, and a further reply from Shepherd were printed by Day, most probably in the same year.

⁶⁷ Rankin argues for the former reading exclusively, but the language "consente to" is ambiguous. See Rankin, "Luke Shepherd's Verse Satires," 266.

degrees of radicalism), the 1548 ballad purported to be by Stephen Gardiner, the conservative bishop of Winchester, and its response demonstrates that the political godly ballad might also be used to engage in more direct religious discourse, and that conservatives, too, saw the potential of this medium to reach the general public. The first ballad, beginning with the line “Theyr dedes in effecte, my lyfe wolde haue,” calls out Gardiner’s critics and justifies his actions, and is signed by “Stephen Wynton.” Although the ballad refers neither to specific individuals nor particular deeds, the author sets up a clear dichotomy between the Catholic belief in good works (“matters and dedes”) and the Protestant focus on faith (characterized as “wynde and vayne wordes”). Continual references to death and its welcome appeal, likewise, set Gardiner up as a potential Catholic martyr, suggesting to both strong Catholics and those on the fence that steadfast resistance to reform is the only godly path. Though the ballad *itself* is not devotional—its first-person narrative of Gardiner’s sacrifices would hardly be appropriate for engendering a private spiritual experience for anyone other than Gardiner himself—it nevertheless encourages proper devotion by pointing to what the author perceives as the “correct” ways to practice religious observance.

The antagonistic response to this ballad (“Your dedes in effecte, that made your lyfe braue”), meanwhile, not only calls Gardiner’s actions “lewde,” but claims they “Hath caused your wordes, the truth to deprae.” Death would be a just punishment (“But yf ye haue deathe, that Iustyce gyue can / Drede then your desertes, and blame ye not man.”) for a man such as Gardiner. The author calls on Gardiner to repent, but is clearly more excited by the prospect of turning his audience against the disgraced bishop, for he subsequently turns to Gardiner’s “popysshe” behavior and the “Popes pageantes” that occupied his years as bishop of Winchester. Although the attack on Gardiner is personal, this version—like the original ballad it mimics—

emphasizes broader theological concerns, such as the Protestant emphasis on faith over good works and the denouncing of liturgical pageantry. In focusing on these topics, these ballads reach out to an audience perhaps unfamiliar with the intricacies of court and ecclesiastical politics, attempting to sway listeners by reminding them of pressing doctrinal concerns. Both authors, likewise, use similar techniques to impress upon their audience that the “correct” practicing of religion is of utmost importance for their salvation.

These polemical, religious ballads attacking individuals were clearly popular, given the number that come down to us, yet they also mark a turning point in the history of English religious popular song. Whereas prior to Henry VIII’s break with Rome, criticism might be leveled at *the* church, individuals now had to contemplate the existence of *two* churches, at least one of which—by logical conclusion—had to be false. Laypeople now had a choice about who and what to believe, and those choices could be subjected to public criticism. This type of public debate concerning the religious beliefs of individuals, carried out through music, thus broadened the range of subject possibilities in mid-century religious song. While medieval religious carols only ever took individuals as their subject matter if the figures in question were saints (or the king), polemical ballads shifted the discourse to focus instead on contemporary men whose religious beliefs might be suspect or problematic. This trend made religious song at once more immediately relevant, by dealing with pressing social and religious questions, but also stripped it of many of its devotional properties—a godly ballad decrying Stephen Gardiner, for example, was certainly not appropriate or intended for devotional use. The godly ballad, then, while some of its repertoire—like the carol—might be used as personal or even collective prayer, also introduced a new type of religious song into the popular imagination that was the explicit result

of contemporary debates over religious reform: one that was about religion as a *subject*, rather than intended to effect a particular religious *experience* for the performer or listener.

Godly ballads with theological topics might also appear without any explicit political agenda attached, in which authors instead relied on doctrinal arguments, rather than *ad hominem* attacks, to try to win converts. Yet any ballad that was concerned with religion and printed at this time might have political implications, as support for a particular agenda could be read as support for (or against) a sitting monarch; in this way, the godly ballad was unique among mid-century religious song genres. Take, for example, the verses printed during the reign of Mary I by Richard Lant under the heading “An Exclamation vpon the erronious and fantasticall sprite of heresy, troubling the vnitie of the Church, deceauing the simple Christian, with her vnperfect, vnprofitable & vayn wordes.”⁶⁸ The title’s reference to the “erronious and fantasticall sprite of heresy” suggests a general polemical, anti-Protestant diatribe, though the text focuses on Catholic doctrine and practices. Verse four, for example, reminds listeners of the seven sacraments, which had been whittled down to two (baptism and the Eucharist) under Edward VI: “Babtisme is one : Confirmation: / with trew Penaunce certayne : / wedlocke to endure : Presthod most pure: / Christ body to remayue : / At our last ende, suche grace God sende, / Extreme Unction to attayne” (19–24). The ballad also calls attention to several Catholic practices that had come under attack by Protestants, including the use of images to aid in devotion, calling Edwardine religion “a false fayth” and urging England’s populace to defend Christ’s true church. Rather than focusing most of its attention on the wrongs of the Protestant church, this ballad writer relies on his audience’s memory of Catholic practice to turn them back towards what he perceives as the true religion. Such a religious song might be used in a devotional or

⁶⁸ A copy of this ballad may be found in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

paraliturgical context to remind individuals of the importance of “appropriate” spiritual practices, encouraging them to count the sacraments while praying to God to deliver them from the sin of following Edwardine edicts for reform. Yet this text, unlike a Catholic carol, relies more on a theological argument than on affect or narrative to engage its audience, and again uses polemical language (“heresy,” “false fayth,” “vayn wordes”) to dismiss the viewpoint of the opposing side.

Protestant writers used a similar technique to try to entice listeners to “correct” religious practices, such as in the early Elizabethan “A Prayer of supplication made vnto God by a yonge man, that he woulde be mercifull to vs, and not kepe his worde away from vs, but that the truth maie springe,” printed on 23 March 1559. Written by one John Pyttes, the two-line introduction already indicates to consumers that the text has a reformist bent by emphasizing that the young man puts his faith in God’s word. The ballad, however, begins as a prayer, personalizing the text’s message. Indeed, the reader beseeches God on behalf of his audience, asking in the first verse “O Lorde of mercye vs beholde / The whiche are here in great mysery / And in doynge thy wyll lorde we are to colde / Therefore on vs shewe some pytye / For mercy vnto thee now do we crye / That thou in our synnes suffre vs not to dye” (1–6). Pyttes likewise takes up the Protestant call against idolatry, asking God to forgive the recent practice of image worship and sanctifying Henry VIII’s break with the pope. In adopting a first-person perspective and speaking directly to God, Pyttes couches his propagandistic ballad as devotional verse—an unusual technique among extant ballads of this period. Like “An Exclamation vpon the erronious and fantastical sprite of heresy,” moreover, Pyttes’s “A Prayer of supplication” calls on God to forgive its performer (and audience) their sins of adhering to the wrong practices under the previous monarch—without placing any blame on the sovereign for these actions. It is unclear whether these two texts were intended to be sung; neither uses the term “ballad” in its title, though both are written

in rhymed verse. Even if these texts were not intended by their authors to be performed, they engage with the ballad tradition and were offered in the same format; at the very least, then, they likely circulated among the same individuals who were purchasing ballads at this time.

What all of the above ballads all have in common, despite their varied techniques and secondary emphases, is a propagandistic focus on religious practices: whether conservative or reformist, each writer sought to sway a heterogenous audience using the popular medium of the godly ballad. Unlike the earlier and contemporary forms of religious song already addressed in this dissertation—the carol and the metrical psalm—the godly ballad repertory was a less devotional form of religious music (or, at the very least, less focused on individual spiritual growth), despite sharing a more broadly political function with a subset of the earlier carol repertory. There were other methods ballad authors might use to emphasize the validity of one side of the religious debate over another, however. Indeed, godly ballads printed in mid-sixteenth-century London might also focus on the individual monarch in power at the time, using his or her personal religious beliefs as a vehicle through which to sway a broader audience. In their focus on a specific monarch, these ballads more closely resemble earlier political carols like the Agincourt Carol, in which a ruler's features and actions are attributed to his divine right to rule; these ballads thus reinforce the close connection between English nationhood and English religious identity by reminding listeners that the monarchy was the foundation of the nation. This technique relied on both the public's general deference to the crown and the popularity of the godly ballad as a musical genre, and it is most apparent during the reign of Mary I.

An unusual group of three extant ballads printed between 1553 and 1554 highlight the intersection of the godly ballad with themes of royal supremacy, Englishness, and religious devotion. All take as their subject Mary I, and seek to legitimize and sanctify the first reigning

queen of England. As mentioned above, their subject matter recalls certain of the late medieval political carols that glorify individual monarchs, such as “Enforce yourself as Goddes knight,” a carol in the Fayrfax Manuscript most likely written in homage to Henry VII, or the three carols in the Henry VIII Manuscript that take the current king as their subject.⁶⁹ Unlike those particular carols, however, these Marian ballads are distinctly religious in subject matter. The earlier two ballads, “An Ave Maria, in commendation of our Most vertuous Queene” and “A new Ballade of the Marigolde,” were both printed by Richard Lant in 1553, and were clearly intended to celebrate Mary I’s accession to the throne. The first of the two, written by Leonard Stopes, intersperses a paean to the new queen with an English translation of the first half of the *Ave Maria*. In this ballad, Stopes has essentially created a troped, English-texted *Ave Maria*: every verse is both preceded by and begins with the subsequent word in the *Ave Maria*’s text, so that each verse relates the meaning of an individual word of the *Ave Maria* to a characteristic or belief of the new queen, as in verses 1–2:

Haile

Haile Quene of England, of most worthy fame
For vertue, for wisdome, for mercy & grace:
Most firme in the fath: Defence of the same:
Christ saue her and keepe her, in euery place.

Marie

Marie the mirrour of mercifulnesse,
God of his goodnesse, hath lent to this lande:
Our iewell, our ioye, our Iudeth doutlesse,
The great Holofernes of hell to withstande.

Thus, Stopes turns the invocation to the Virgin at the beginning of the *Ave Maria* into a text praising the new queen’s virtue, mercy, and defense of the true church.

⁶⁹ McInnes, “Late Medieval Carol,” 216–217, 221.

The comparison of Queen Mary with the Virgin in this ballad is unsurprising; Catholic devotion to the Virgin was extraordinarily popular in late medieval England, and Queen Mary's virginity was often evoked early in her reign to prove her piety.⁷⁰ In using the *Ave Maria* as the basis for his new song, Stopes created a godly ballad with two distinct musical forms: the melody of the *Ave Maria*, although it is not itself supposed to be performed, nevertheless frames the tune a performer would use to sing the ballad text. This musical duality, I suggest, was central in reinforcing what Kate Roddy has called a "blurring" effect in the text: a slippage in Stopes's pronoun usage that obscures whether the queen or the Virgin is the true object of the text's praise. Through this blurring, Roddy argues, the Marys became interchangeable or both present at any given moment in the text, thus inspiring devotion to the new queen while also emphasizing the Virgin's importance in Catholic practice.⁷¹ The musical duality of the ballad, moreover—invoking an ancient chant of the Catholic church in a new, vernacular religious song—made the ballad particularly appropriate for performance in a devotional context: although addressed to the new queen, the song's meaning hinged on the veneration of the Virgin typical of Catholic practice. Although the ballad contains a handful of explicit references to the religious reforms of the previous decades—praying that "All vices [be] exiled" (40) and calling for "Catholike Capitaynes" (43) to withstand the "foes of Faith" (44)—it is nevertheless the focus on the Virgin that presents a clear traditionalist orientation. Thus, the ballad serves as a gentle reminder to its audience of the validity of the old religion without invoking the antagonistic—and ubiquitous—charge of heresy. Though it is political in nature, its politics have more to do with drawing a clear line between Mary I's divine right to rule and the practicing of

⁷⁰ Sarah L. Duncan, "The Two Virgin Queens," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 30, No. 1 (2004): 81–84.

⁷¹ Kate Roddy, "Polemical Paeans: Constructing the Queen in Marian Literature 1553–1558," in *New Perspectives on Tudor Cultures*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Zsolt Almási (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 62–63.

religion in the correct, Catholic manner; unlike the polemical ballads discussed above, it relies heavily on affective language, rather than sharp critique of an opposing viewpoint.

“A new Ballade of the Marigolde” presents a less liturgically oriented version of the same theme. Written by William Forrest, a poet, priest, and purported chaplain to Mary Tudor, “A new Ballade of the Marigolde” offers a Christocentric reading of the marigold’s symbolism through a series of allusions that link the Virgin Mary with the new queen.⁷² The contents of the ballad indicate that it was most likely issued in London to coincide with Mary I’s coronation; it was aimed at a general audience, rather than at Mary herself.⁷³ Although the broadside contains no references to music, the regularity of the verse structure (8.8.8.8.8.8.8) and the repetitive final lines of the verses, each emphasizing the marigold in a similar manner, would make the text easily sung to a common tune. Forrest spends the first five verses setting up his conceit, which is that of all the flowers in the garden, the marigold is superior. It is only in verse 7 that Forrest finally links the marigold with the new queen:

To Marie our Queene, that Floure so sweete,
This Marigolde, I doo apply,
For that the Name, doth serue so meete,
And propertee, in eache partie,
For her enduryng paciently,
The stormes of such, as lift to scolde
At her dooynges, without cause why,
Loth to see spring, this Marigolde.

Like the marigold, the new queen is steadfast, “enduryng paciently” the “stormes” of unwarranted criticism she has received. Forrest continues at the beginning of verse 8, however, to liken the marigold instead to the Virgin Mary:

⁷² As Roddy notes, the Virgin Mary was frequently associated with flowers and gardens in medieval devotional literature; Forrest’s choice of the “homely” marigold, rather than the more typical rose or lily, is unusual. Roddy, “Polemical Paeans,” 60.

⁷³ John Milsom, “William Mundy’s ‘Vox patris caelestis’ and the Accession of Mary Tudor,” *Music and Letters* 91, No. 1 (2010): 4.

Shee may be calde, Marigolde well,
Of Marie (chiefe) Christes mother deere,
That as in heauen, shee doth excell,
And Golde in earth, to haue no peere:
So (certainly) shee shineth cleere,
In Grace and hononr double folde,
The like was neuer earst seene here,
Such is this floure, the Marigolde.

As in Stopes' "Ave Maria," Forrest likewise equates the Virgin with the queen—does the "shee" in the third line refer to the Queen of Heaven or the new queen on earth? Or, as is most likely, is the audience meant to read it both ways?⁷⁴ Forrest uses the remaining verses in the ballad to legitimize Mary's rule, using her service and devotion to God as evidence that God "So loueth hee this Marigolde" (80) that he has chosen her to "Reigne ouer Englande" (79). Thus, Forrest stresses the connection between Catholic practice, Mary's legitimacy, and the English nation. Like Stopes' "Ave Maria," Forrest's "A new Ballade of the Marigolde" might be equally appropriate for a devotional context as for more public, secular use. Prayers for the monarch had become a common part of Tudor devotional practice since Henry VIII's issuing of the 1544 litany, which included prayers for the king, his wife Queen Katherine, and his son Prince Edward alongside prayers to the saints. A godly ballad that channeled its audience's prayers toward the new Catholic queen while also urging them to contemplate the wonders of God, Christ, and the Virgin Mary, then, both reflected contemporary religious practice and refocused a Protestant public's attention on the "true" English church. In light of the ubiquity of late medieval Marian carols in the 1540s, this turn to Marian devotion was also likely an attempt by these authors to capitalize on the previous popularity of devotional songs about the Virgin.

The final ballad in this trio, "The Ballad of Ioy, upon the publication of Q. Mary, Wife of King Philip, her being with child, Anno Dom.ni 15 .," is later in date and differs in subject

⁷⁴ Roddy, "Polemical Paeans," 62.

matter; celebrating Mary I's pregnancy shortly following her marriage to Philip II of Spain, the song was most likely printed in late 1554 or even early 1555. I include this ballad with the two aforementioned examples, however, because it, too, exemplifies how the godly ballad was employed to glorify the reigning monarch by using religious language. The ballad's reference to Mary as "the swet marigold" (9), moreover, suggests its author intended a direct link between this and the previous example. The ballad's two-line refrain, which urges its readers and audience to rejoice, strongly suggests musical performance: "Now singe, now springe, our care is exiled, / Oure vertuous Quene, is quickned with child" (1–2). Worry over Mary's lack of an heir was a primary concern of not only her advisors but also some conservative members of the general public, who feared a crisis should Mary die without issue. Although the ballad's author raises no specific theological concerns, the text clearly supports Mary's returning of the Church of England to Catholicism; referring to the queen's recent union with Philip, verses 4–5 chastise those who opposed Mary's marriage and doubted her pregnancy:

And yet synce her highnes, was planted in peace,
 Her subjects wer dubtfyl, of her highnes increse:
 But nowe the recomfort, their murmour doth cease,
 They have their owne wyshynges their woes doo release.

And such as envied, the matche and the make
 And in their proceedinges, stode styffe as a stake:
 Are now reconciled, their malis doth slake,
 And all men are wilinge, theyre partes [f]or to take.

The ballad's author likewise urges that all such differences now be resolved; indeed, he claims, those who resented the marriage "like foles have repented, / The Errours & Terrours, that they have invented" (25–26). The focus here may be on Mary's marriage and pregnancy, but the resolution these events have precipitated is attributed entirely to God, beginning in verse 7:

But God dothe worke, more wonders then this,
 For he is Auther, and Father, of blysse:

He is the defender, his workinge it is,
And where he dothe favoure, they fare not amys.

The remaining three verses urge the ballad's audience to offer prayers to God, both in thanksgiving for Mary's pregnancy and in hope that God will protect the new queen from the dangers of pregnancy. As in the previous two ballads, Mary's faith in God (and God's support of her reign) is invoked to legitimize her rule and unite the ballad's audience in an act of conservative devotion. And just as in countless other godly ballads, prayer to God is presented as the most efficacious act a pious subject might undertake for his or her monarch. What sets this ballad apart from the previous two examples is its reliance on a narrative structure, which places it more in line with the polemical ballads discussed earlier in this chapter. Yet although this ballad eschews the affective devotional language of the previous two, it nevertheless highlights the important relationship between the monarchy, the church, and the English nation.

As the examples of godly ballads in this section have shown, this genre offered both reformers and conservatives a unique opportunity to use popular song to infuse religious discourse into discussions concerning a variety of issues, from debates over contemporary politics or the actions of individual figures to dialogues about theological matters. Although some godly ballads, such as those written back and forth over Cromwell's demise, had relatively little to do with religion or piety, others had clear devotional value, displaying much in common with the vernacular religious carols of the preceding generations. Indeed, it is possible that the mid-century godly ballad enjoyed widespread popularity in part due to its similarities with earlier vernacular devotional song; like their Henrician counterparts, some of these ballads might be used for both private and public devotion, in order to express personal belief or reinforce theological doctrine. Yet others, and in particular those that attacked individuals for their religious beliefs, were clearly part of a new trend in religious song.

This survey of extant Edwardine and Marian godly ballads shows that both reformers and conservatives understood the extent to which politics, religion, and royal power were linked in this period, as well as how influential inflammatory rhetoric could be in such debates—indeed, almost all the extant mid-century godly ballads engage multiple topics, and ballads that focus on theological concerns *without* employing incendiary names like “papist” or “heretic” are rare. More so than the carol, which often incorporated praise for individual monarchs or political topics but did so in a way that was uncontroversial, the godly ballad of the mid-sixteenth century was often intentionally provocative. This genre thus allowed its creators a medium through which their own views might reach a large audience, while providing a broad range of tactics through which to do so. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, most printed religious music issued under Edward VI was more limited in terms of its functional possibilities; as a result, the godly ballad is a valuable source for understanding the methods that both reformers and conservatives were using in their attempts to sway a public with both orthodox and heterodox beliefs.

Genre Fluidity, the Cachet of “Psalms,” and the Edwardine-Marian Divide on Printed Music

In both this chapter and in Chapter 2, I have shown that religious popular song in the mid-sixteenth century encompassed a wide variety of texts, topics, and forms. While these genres had their own defining characteristics, they also share a number of features that made this music readily accessible to the public: they are printed, rhymed songs in usually strophic forms, and are most commonly published without any musical notation; designed for a broad audience, they are meant to teach the laity correct methods for worshipping God. Songs in these genres might be used for religious devotion, either in groups or by individuals, or in more profane settings such as churchyards, streets, and taverns. While the above examples fit relatively neatly into their respective categories, despite some overlap between them, I close this chapter by discussing a

piece that remains difficult to classify, given its contents, its intended function, and the manner in which it was marketed: Richard Beard's *A Godly Psalm of Marye Queene* (1553). Its characteristics highlight the variety of uses to which printed music in this period might be put, confirming substantial overlap between the functions of different types of religious song published at this time while also demonstrating that devotional songs played an important role in the relationship between individuals and their monarch.

This short, six-leaf booklet was printed by Nicholas Hill for William Griffith in July, before the new queen had announced her intention to return to the Catholic church.⁷⁵ The volume contains only two items: Beard's song of praise for Mary I, and a "godly psalme in meetre" by Thomas Bownell comprised of four verses from psalm 145, two from psalm 146, and two from psalm 148. Although Beard labels his song a psalm, the only characteristic it has in common with psalmody is the rhyme scheme (ABAB) and verse structure (8.6.8.6) that it borrows from Sternhold's metrical psalms; indeed, Old Testament themes and references to King David or the psalms are entirely absent, and the text is not directed *to* God, as the psalms are, but to a collective public. Its contents, moreover, possess much more in common with those contemporary godly ballads that focus on devotion to both God and the monarch, and thus from its text, with its narrative form and lengthy set of verses, one would classify it as a godly ballad. Unlike Forrest, however, Beard writes from a decidedly Protestant perspective.

The song begins as a general hymn of praise celebrating Mary's accession: "Al England now bee glad at ones, / With one heart mynde and voice: / For now haue wee the greatest cause / To synge & eke reioyce" (1–4). Beard thanks God for his steadfast mercy for England and its people, for protecting them from foreign rule (verse 11) and vanquishing their enemies (verse

⁷⁵ Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, 751.

12). Much of his rhetoric reflects the language employed by both reformers and conservatives when speaking of the righteousness of their respective causes: he speaks of a “deuyded” (49) kingdom that “shall now in vnitie bee kept,” (51) and stresses the importance of God’s “trewth” (59) for “godly men” (86). Indeed, through verse twenty-six, when he finally praises “oure liege Lady, Marie Queene,” (103) there is little indication of whether Beard is a reformer or a conservative, and even still, the next few verses only reinforce Mary’s position as the “lawful, iust, and rightuouse” (109) head of England. It is not until verse thirty-three—a full three-quarters of the way through the song—that we learn of Beard’s Protestant leanings; speaking of Mary’s divine right to rule, he states: “Whiche being oure moast godly Queene, / That seekes our preseruacion: / No doubt wil strongly build vpon / Her brothers good fondacion.” Thus, the reference to “trew religion” (136) in the following verse is to the reformed Church of England; Beard’s “psalme,” then, is meant to reassure his audience that the new queen will be amenable to the reforms begun under her brother’s tenure. Although Beard seems sure of his claims, he does not hesitate to call on God to help the queen in her mission, asking that “from thy holy word, / She neuer swarue ne start” (155–156). Meant to rally those who already supported reform around the cause, Beard’s psalm functions as both praise for the new monarch and a prayer to God, linking Protestant religious practice to the English nation. The song’s conclusion with a verse doxology strengthens its intended use as the latter, while its emphasis on praising Mary I and asking for God’s aid links it with contemporary godly ballads that likewise stress royal supremacy and religious devotion.

Unlike most of the metrical psalm collections and all of the godly ballads on which Beard’s psalm is modeled, this print includes a four-voice musical setting, aligning it more closely with Edwardine publications like Seager’s *Certayne psalmes* and Tye’s *Actes*. Like

Seager's psalm settings, the music is primarily syllabic; however, its texture most closely resembles the settings found in Tye's *Actes*. Indeed, Beard's psalm begins homophonically, but also features imitation; likewise, cross-relations from one phrase to the next are common, and Beard employs dotted rhythms and anticipations or delays of text declamation in individual lines to avoid strict homophony (see Figure 25 for the full setting). The setting uses the typical English signatures of one flat in the medius, tenor, and contratenor, and two in the bassus, and opens and closes on G. As in Tye's *Actes*, Beard's music is not purely functional: he repeats the last line of the verse in the medius, tenor, and bassus, elongating each verse's close and drawing attention to the meaning of each final line. Beard's music also does not suffer from the text-setting problems of Seager's and Tye's slightly earlier publications, suggesting that Hill had, by this point, solved the problems that had plagued his press when he printed those volumes. Although the text might be sung to any tune or even simply read, then, careful attention seems to have been made to *this* specific musical setting, suggesting that its musical features were important to its author. Beard thus hoped that through religious song, the laity might cause God to hear their prayers that England's new queen would embrace the reformist agenda favored by her brother.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Beard's use of this format also offers a glimpse of how reformers might have continued to expand the genre of metrical devotional song after Edward's death; in this case, it is Beard's non-Biblical text that is revolutionary.

celebration. His turn to Protestant orthodoxy only three-quarters of the way through the song also indicates that Beard was deliberately cautious in his embrace of rhetoric that his audience might perceive as divisive, and in this respect he largely eschews a literary device that was quite popular among many contemporary ballad writers. The song also shares with some examples of both carols and ballads a focus on the monarchy and an individual sovereign's considerable prestige and power; Beard's emphasis on Queen Mary and her divine right to the throne showcases the weight the English populace placed on not only royal supremacy, but English sovereignty. Indeed, the latter is important, for shown individual monarchs and their divinely ordained power were popular themes in medieval carols well before Henry VIII's break with Rome. Beard thus draws on a number of themes with antecedents in earlier (and contemporary) genres, while nevertheless choosing the popular appellation of "psalme" to title his sung prayer to (and for) Queen Mary. His song, then, is very much an example of its time—one that owes a debt to the varied characteristics of religious song genres of the period and also reflects the religious heterogeneity of the mid-sixteenth-century English public.

Changing Hearts and Minds: Printed Religious Song in Mid-Tudor England

In this chapter, I have argued that religious song in mid-sixteenth-century England was a complex web of genres that relied on a variety of techniques to reach the individuals who might appreciate or perform this music. These songs reached their intended audience, moreover, primarily through the medium of print, though tunes were typically transmitted orally. Due to the divisive nature of much of the rhetoric surrounding both reformist and conservative religious practices and beliefs at this time, it is hardly surprising that popular religious song became yet another vehicle through which individuals might rally others to their cause. This considerable broadening of what topics might be appropriate for religious song, which occurred through the

newly popular genre of the godly ballad, marked a fundamental shift in how religious music was typically consumed by English society. Unlike the earlier carol or contemporary Biblical metrical song, the godly ballad offered a form of entertainment that was neither wholly sacred or profane; rather, it introduced into musical discourse the practice of debating theological differences, political allegiances, and religious rituals in a format that may have shared some characteristics with other genres, but was fundamentally a product of the English reformations. While this genre was more overtly political than other forms of religious song, and less well suited to private devotion, its affordability and availability likely meant it was the most widely consumed music of the mid-sixteenth century.

Given the carol's prominence on the London print market through the end of Henry VIII's reign, it is surprising that there was no resurgence of the genre under Mary I; the popularity of metrical Biblical song in the Edwardine period suggests that new vernacular devotional music would have been well received during Mary's Catholic restoration. It is possible, of course, that individuals who had purchased these books in the 1540s simply kept using them throughout this period; there is no indication, for example, that the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill sold or disposed of the carol books they bought in 1537, and which they still possessed in 1553. Yet there remain no extant carol books printed during Mary's reign, and given the plethora of carol sources dating from the 1540s this suggests that few (if any) volumes were produced at this time. Such limited evidence prevents definitive conclusions, but I would like to offer a possible suggestion for the absence of carol prints dating from Mary's rule. While under Henry VIII and earlier, the vernacular religious carol was viewed as a useful—and even particularly efficacious—part of spiritual practice, under Edward VI vernacular devotional materials became inextricably linked to a specifically Protestant agenda of radical religious

reform. In other words, vernacular religious song had perhaps, for adherents of the traditional faith, become tainted by its association with heretical practices in the years preceding Mary's accession. The turn away from vernacular devotional materials—including the carol—long accepted by the medieval English church may thus have been part of an intentional distancing that was meant to draw clearer distinctions between the problematic practices of the Edwardine Church of England and the traditional orthodoxy Marian officials wished to restore.

Marian printers may not have issued carol prints in the 1550s, but the godly ballad, likely due to its more profane orientation and lack of devotional purpose, remained a viable form of religious song. And as the variety of topics and religious inclinations espoused in both Edwardine and Marian godly ballads indicates, the populace adhered to both orthodox and heterodox beliefs through this period. The efforts on both sides to win over others to their cause was significant—otherwise, there would have been little need for polemical ballads such as the anonymous “Antipus” of 1548, or even those theologically oriented ballads like Pyttes’s “A Prayer of supplication.” Unlike the purely devotional metrical Biblical song of the Edwardine period or the more multi-functional religious carol of the late Middle Ages, the godly ballad’s primary purpose was not to enhance an individual’s relationship with God, but rather to encourage him to think carefully about his religious allegiance—in other words, like the aforementioned genres these godly ballads were meant to confessionalize a divided public, but they did so in a new manner. It is probable, moreover, that such songs did indeed eventually change individual devotional habits through effecting religious conversion, either by turning reformers back to the Catholic practices of their youth or by enticing religious conservatives to adopt new reformist customs. The extant songs suggest, however, that this was a fierce battle in which no single side truly emerged victorious.

CHAPTER IV

Promoting Popular Piety: Music for Livery Company Feasts, Religious Drama, and Civic Processions

As the previous three chapters have demonstrated, the intersection between music, political discourse, and religious conversion was nuanced and varied in England in the middle of the sixteenth century. Religious music in its numerous forms permeated daily life, playing a central role in private devotion and public performance, and also occupying a place of importance in special civic celebrations and other irregularly occurring events. Chapter 4 of this dissertation examines religious music making in the public sphere, investigating how Londoners used music at events that fell under the purview of professional or civic life but were designed to promote popular piety. More specifically, the chapter focuses on three contexts overlooked by previous musicological scholarship on the English reformations: annual livery company worship services, religious drama and dramatic productions, and public processions. These events are linked through their connection to London's livery companies, the craft guilds that formed the backbone of the city's economy and together with the city's parishes also provided the basis for societal cohesion. By examining musical performances in contexts generally understood as secular, this chapter stresses that religious music was more pervasive during the Edwardine and Marian periods than previous scholarship has claimed, and shows that music's effects in these contexts relied on listeners' memories of both previous and current religious practice.

Significant scholarship exists on the craft guilds upon which London's economy was built, but study of the contribution of London's livery companies to the arts and music has been

primarily limited to the companies' role in the city's dramatic productions.¹ Since their founding in the early Middle Ages, however, London's craft guilds had fostered a practice of holding annual feasts for their members, which included a celebratory mass and services honoring those of their number who had died. As records from the majority of these organizations demonstrate, there were a number of ways to alter the format of these annual events, and studying the musical changes to these religious celebrations demonstrates that in liturgical contexts beyond the parish church, communities were less likely to adopt new religious practices whole cloth, and that music might serve to mitigate tensions between conservatives and reformers.

Vernacular religious drama, meanwhile, was likewise a popular tradition in English cities and towns. Evidence of specific productions in London is scant, but surviving documents show a thriving practice of dramatic performances. This chapter focuses on two such plays that might have been performed in London: John Bale's *God's Promises* and the anonymous Protestant play *The History of Jacob and Esau*.² In both cases, these plays' respective authors employed Catholic musical forms as vehicle for religious reform, depending on their audience's concurrent experience with and memory of contemporary religious music and engaging directly with the learned behaviors and emotional responses such music might elicit. These authors thus employed a hybrid mix of reformist and conservative techniques to confessionalize a diverse audience.

¹ See, for example, Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Chapter Three ("The Politics of Control: Playing at Mid-Century") in William Ingram's *The Business of Playing: The Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theater in Elizabethan London* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992); Claire Sponsler, "Alien Nation: London's Aliens and Lydgate's Mummings for the Mercers and Goldsmiths," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 229–242; and Sandra Billington, "Butchers and Fishmongers: Their Historical Contribution to London's Festivity," *Folklore* 101, No. 1 (1990): 97–103.

² Although there exist other extant plays from this period, the Biblical settings of these examples are unique, and the print dates of these two plays mean that Londoners had access to them during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I.

Whereas livery companies were responsible for their own worship services and dramatic performances, they formed one participating group among many in London's civic processions, which are the topic of the last part of this chapter. As the country's capital city and its largest population center, London had functioned as a venue for civic and religious celebrations since the early Middle Ages. This chapter examines religious music at the latter, arguing that Mary I and her government turned to the audible and visual spectacle of celebratory processions to reinforce Catholic doctrine and ritual, relying on the shared memory of similar communal events under Henry VIII.³ More specifically, I argue that Mary used the liturgical hymns *Te Deum* and *Salve festa dies* to sacralize (and re-Catholicize) London's public spaces. Yet these celebrations also met with resistance, and they thus underline how liturgical music might provoke strong reactions among those across the confessional spectrum.

Religious Practice in the Professional Sphere: Music and Ritual in Livery Company Celebrations

In late medieval and early modern London, the city's livery companies provided the foundation for civic life. As Laura Branch has noted, London's livery companies also had strong religious elements to their corporate identity and ritual culture, and while past scholarship typically characterized London's merchants as zealous reformers who oversaw the secularization of their companies, in reality the picture is more nuanced.⁴ In this section, I demonstrate that the annual feasts of these organizations supported a rich liturgical and musical tradition, which underwent significant changes during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Organized around a specific saint's feast day and designed to mark the beginning of a company's administrative year,

³ In contemporary accounts an event of this type is typically referred to as a "general procession;" these were celebrations ordered by the crown in which various civic groups (such as livery companies, monastic houses, parish clerks, and city musicians) formed a religious procession to mark an occasion of political significance.

⁴ Branch, *Faith and Fraternity*.

these celebrations played a vital role in constructing both communal and individual identity.⁵ The modifications these celebrations underwent during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I, which in particular included changes to the part played by music, demonstrate that no element of communal life in London was immune to religious reform. An examination of extant records from fifteen of these organizations shows that they by and large conformed to the changing liturgical requirements imposed by Edward VI and Mary I. Early adoption of vernacular liturgies and Protestant musical practices in certain cases, however, indicate a particular interest in reform in some craft communities, while the foregoing of celebrations in others suggests a desire to avoid conflicts over religion at events meant to celebrate the unity and success of individual professions. The study of these celebrations from a musicological perspective allows us to broaden our understanding of the functions and scope of religious music at this time, showing that such music played a role beyond the usual parish and devotional contexts.

At their most basic, the livery companies of London were craft guilds: organized around specific professions, each regulated the practice of and rules regarding an individual occupation.⁶ Each was built on an apprenticeship system, where younger members first worked as assistants to more established members before gaining mastery themselves, and becoming journeymen; a few of those number eventually went on to become members of the highest rank, or liverymen.⁷

⁵ Whereas in other English cities and towns, craft guilds held regular masses dedicated to their patron saints throughout the year, London's livery companies by and large do not appear to have had communal religious practices outside their annual feasts, with the exception of attendance at funerals and obits for former members. A handful of companies maintained their own separate (but related) religious fraternities, which were usually dedicated to that company's patron saint, but this was uncommon; most Londoners belonged to parish-based rather than company-oriented religious fraternities. See Branch, *Faith and Fraternity*, 19–22.

⁶ There were just under one hundred companies and other occupational associations that regulated London's crafts and trades in the sixteenth century: a list of "the Crafts of the City" compiled in 1501/2 contains the names of seventy-eight companies, but there were at least fourteen other occupational associations in London at this time. See Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 25.

⁷ For an overview of how the apprentice system worked see Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 23–36.

Yet reaching the journeyman stage bestowed not only the ability to practice a trade on one's own, but something much more coveted: the freedom of the city, or citizenship.⁸ The London livery companies thus served as the foundation of civic society more generally, for citizenship allowed men to engage independently in economic activity and hold elected office; membership in a livery company, then, was essentially a prerequisite for full participation in the economic and political life of the city.⁹ In addition, these organizations provided Londoners with a social network separate from—though in some cases overlapping with—that of their parish church. As these communal associations had no more than a few hundred members (excluding apprentices), those involved would have known the majority of their fellow members.¹⁰

In addition to several smaller administrative meetings held throughout the year, each livery company held an annual meeting of its membership in order to elect new officials, resolve disputes between members, and approve new ordinances.¹¹ Although these administrative tasks were ostensibly the primary purpose of such meetings, these assemblies also had public, social, and religious functions of equal importance.¹² An annual meeting typically began with a solemn procession of the membership, clad in the livery they wore for state occasions and bearing

⁸ As Rappaport notes, the freedom might also be attained by redemption (through purchase) or patrimony (Londoners born to freemen could claim both citizenship and company membership), apprenticeship was the course through which nine out of every ten men in sixteenth-century London became citizens. See Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 24.

⁹ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, 29–30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 215. Women were not technically barred from obtaining the freedom, and there were cases in which women become apprentices and members of livery companies, but these occurrences were rare. Single women of legal age and widows had the most economic and social advantages: they could acquire property, contract debts, make wills, and engage independently in a trade or craft. For more on women in Tudor London see Nancy Lee Adamson, “Urban Families: The Social Context of the London Elite, 1500–1603” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1983).

¹¹ T. F. Reddaway, “The Livery Companies of Tudor London,” *History* 51, No. 173 (1966): 289.

¹² Reddaway gives a brief overview of a typical company meeting on p. 289 of “The Livery Companies,” but the majority of the details here are gleaned from the livery company records listed in the appendix. Branch also provides a more detailed account of the elements of the Drapers’ celebrations in *Faith and Fraternity*, 32–33.

company banners, from the company hall to a parish church, where mass was celebrated. After the service, the procession returned to the hall, where the business of the day was followed by a communal dinner, often with musical or dramatic entertainment. Typically, these feasts were also marked through the celebration of a requiem mass commemorating members of the company who had died, known colloquially as the *dirige*, almost always held the day after the company's feast. Although rare, some companies paid singers for an additional service, such as in 1555 when the Butchers' Company hired clerks for "evensong masse & dirge."¹³

Companies spent significant sums of money to celebrate their annual feasts, hiring priests and clerks for the masses and *dirige*, paying cooks and their assistants for preparing large quantities of food, and providing musicians or players to perform during the dinner itself. Members paid small sums to offset these costs, and were fined if they failed to attend or pay their fees. As Michael Berlin has noted, these celebrations had public meaning in addition to private function: ceremonies such as those installing new guild officers "gave tangible expression of the exclusive nature of citizenship, reminding those privileged members of the body politic of their place in the hierarchy as well as those excluded from such formalities."¹⁴ These meetings were therefore more than simply a way to ensure the completion of yearly administrative duties. Through their public processions, each guild displayed its status to their fellow Londoners, reminding those watching of the importance of both the collective and the individuals who practiced the company's craft. These processions also doubled as a means through which members might celebrate their profession and its successes, offering a festive atmosphere and

¹³ Wardens' Accounts of the Butchers' Company, Guildhall Library (GL) CLC/L/BI/D/003/MS06440/001, fol. 114v. Evensong also appears in other accounts, such as in 1550 when the Grocers' Company paid "synging men" eleven shillings "at the evynsong and communyon for the company at the lleccion day." Wardens' Accounts of the Grocers' Company, GL CLC/L/GH/D/001/MS11571/005, fol. 356.

¹⁴ Michael Berlin, "Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London," *Urban History Yearbook* (1986): 15.

rendering the city's streets bright and colorful. The company masses and *diriges*, meanwhile, provided the opportunity for company members to worship together, giving thanks for their good fortune and offering prayers for those who had died. These events thus filled civic, professional, and spiritual functions, tying together these often disparate aspects of Londoners' lives.

In the final years Henry VIII's reign, the masses livery companies attended as part of their annual meetings retained the same format as they had in previous years despite the reforms of the 1530s and 40s. Almost all of these annual masses featured musical performances, and more importantly, these performances were of a high caliber.¹⁵ In 1544, for example, the wardens of the Brewers' Company paid nine shillings, four pence for "our solempne masse with prestes clarkes and other syngyng men on our dener day with dyryge and masse of Requyem on the morow."¹⁶ As this payment suggests, at least some companies hired substantial numbers of musicians for these masses, whose duties most likely included the performance of written polyphony—indeed, the Brewers would not have needed additional singing men to perform a monophonic mass. Although most livery company records contain only brief entries about payments to priests and clerks, an entry from the accounts of the Pewterers' Company confirms that polyphonic masses were typical. Whereas the company recorded yearly payments of three shillings, four pence to "the Clarke and his company" throughout Henry VIII's reign, in 1547 the account notes that these fees are "for syngyng the highe masse in pryckesonge and for...dyryge and masse of Requyem."¹⁷ That the men responsible for organizing these celebrations hired

¹⁵ Almost all companies record payments for their annual feasts most years, though in some cases the money appears as a lump sum expended on the entire proceedings; in these cases, it is impossible to tell what percentage of the amount was paid for the mass, and how many or even whether clerks were hired to sing.

¹⁶ Wardens' Accounts of the Brewers' Company, GL CLC/L/BF/D/001/MS05442/001, unfoliated. Similarly-worded entries also exist for 1542 and 1543.

¹⁷ Wardens' Accounts of the Pewterers' Company, GL CLC/L/PE/D/002/MS07086/002, fol. 112v.

musicians for the express purpose of performing a polyphonic mass demonstrates that they valued polyphony for its ability to enhance the religious experience of their membership. This account entry furthermore highlights the opulence of these festal masses, as polyphony was not a typical part of weekly parish worship: these were services designed to impress the membership, during which individuals were meant to connect religious experience to their professional lives.

Hence, although these celebrations were held only yearly, they included musical performances of a high caliber, and were arguably the most important professional day of the year for many Londoners. That polyphonic masses marked the beginning and end of these celebrations indicates that the performance of Latin-texted polyphony was one of the primary means through which the members of these companies practiced religious devotion in this professional context. In addition to enhancing members' experience of the sacred, these performances also exhibited each livery company's status to the rest of London, serving as a public display of piety. By staging multiple polyphonic services in a two-day period, companies could prove that spending on "extras" was incidental to their operating costs, while also showing that they were respectful of the church by attending to the spiritual needs of their membership. The importance of these masses for London's livery company communities is thus clear from the archival evidence; their changing status under Edward VI, then, and the modifications to the role of music at these events, shows the extent to which religious reform affected professional life.

Among the fifteen livery companies whose records were consulted for this study, at least ten note regular payments to priests and clerks for mass and *dirige* prior to 1547, and to this number based on later accounts three more companies might also be added.¹⁸ The regular hiring

¹⁸ The ten companies who note payments to priests and clerks are the Bakers, Blacksmiths, Brewers, Butchers, Carpenters, Coopers, Ironmongers, Pewterers, Vintners, and Wax Chandlers. To this number might be added the Founders (who record payments for the feast as a lump sum until 1555), the Grocers (whose accounts likewise only occasionally break down payments for the company feast), and the Tallow Chandlers (whose records do not start

of church musicians for the purposes of singing mass, then, was common practice for livery companies even after popular reform had begun to spread in London.¹⁹ Following Henry VIII's death, however, this practice changes substantially: the records of five livery companies contain no mention of payments to church musicians or priests under Edward VI, suggesting that these companies stopped holding communal worship services.²⁰ It is possible that these companies simply did not record payments to priests and musicians during this period, as the records are often irregular. The Coopers' Company, for example, hired a priest to give a sermon at some point in 1549/50, so they at least may have experimented with how best to adapt to Edwardine policy.²¹ The lack of entries concerning priests and clerks for masses in *five* sets of accounts, however, when all five companies maintained an annual practice of hiring singers for masses under Henry VIII, does strongly imply that at least some of these companies chose to stop requiring their members to worship together as part of their annual celebrations.

This decision suggests two possible motives: either each company's membership remained so firmly Catholic that it was more preferable to forego religious observance altogether than to attend a reformed service, or—more likely—the membership was split on Edwardine

until 1549 but whose subsequent practices suggest continuous hiring of musicians). The Curriers, meanwhile, did not record any payments concerning the annual feast in their wardens' accounts at all, suggesting that those records were kept elsewhere (and that the Curriers might likewise have paid musicians to sing masses).

¹⁹ Branch notes a possible exception: in 1543 the Drapers changed their ordinances so that the Sunday before the company feast the livery would hear "divine service and collacyon;" then on Monday they would attend church where "Divine Service and sermon be done and Holy Communion ministered, if any be appointed." Branch suggests these changes were made in response to the publication of the King's Book in the same year, which was critical of masses for the dead. The new wording, however, was ambiguous, allowing for a range of services to be covered, so the *dirige* might still be used if desired. See Branch, *Faith and Fraternity*, 47.

²⁰ The companies in question are the Blacksmiths, Brewers, Butchers, Carpenters, and Coopers. The Ironmongers did not pay musicians from 1548 to 1550, but hired a preacher in 1551 and resumed payments to clerks in 1552. It is possible that these companies objected primarily to the practice of annual *dirige* services, which were traditionally held on the day that followed the yearly feast and mass, but if this were the case one would expect the companies to have stopped celebrating the *dirige* (which was forbidden under Edward VI) but have continued to incorporate communal worship into their annual meetings, and that is not the case.

²¹ Wardens' Accounts of the Coopers' Company, GL CLC/L/CI/D/001/MS05606/001, fol. 145v.

orthodoxy, with some members accepting and others suspicious of or hostile to reform. By avoiding vernacular worship, these companies could keep the peace between members on what was supposed to be a day of communal celebration, retaining only the elements of the day that would foster a sense of community. Yet in eschewing a practice that had been foundational for promoting company identity at least since the fifteenth century, those organizing these annual feasts fundamentally changed how the community came together. The loss of musical practices that might have helped impart a sense of religious continuity, moreover, meant that the soundscape of this important piece of community life was altered dramatically. As such, even if hoping to stave off conflict these companies could not avoid the influence of religious reform.

In at least one of the aforementioned companies, those arranging the annual feast appear to have replaced the earlier expenditure on religious music with payments to other entertainers, indicating that organizers perhaps felt that attendees would feel its absence. Beginning in the first year of Edward VI's reign, the Blacksmiths' Company compensated players at the "Cvnyny feast," ceasing their earlier annual payments for "the durge."²² Although it is impossible to make a direct connection between earlier spending on Catholic services and later payments to players, that the latter only began to appear *after* the Blacksmiths' Company had ceased celebrating the mass at least hints at the possibility that some type of performance was needed to replace the opulence of masses at earlier celebrations. Notably, the Blacksmiths continued to pay players for at least one year under Mary I and never seem to have returned to holding annual masses; thus, it is likely that this choice was made out of a desire to avoid religious controversy.

²² Wardens' Accounts for the Blacksmiths' Company, GL CLC/L/BD/D/001/MS02883/001-2, 97 (Vol. 1) and 305 (Vol. 2). "Players" refers in this case to actors (and probably a specific acting troupe) who probably would have put on a dramatic performance for those gathered.

At least eight companies, meanwhile, continued to pay singing men or clerks to perform during worship services (now commonly referred to as “communion”) from 1547–1553.²³ In the case of the Bakers’ Company, the change in communal religious observance came early: at the company’s feast on St. Clement’s day in November of 1547, the wardens paid three shillings, four pence “to the clerckes in saynt dunstones church for singing salmes.”²⁴ Although it is impossible to know whether these were metrical or prose psalms, the existence of the entry strongly suggests the former.²⁵ This mention of a reformist music practice in such an early account is significant, for it suggests that most members of the Bakers’ Company—or, at the very least, their leadership—were supportive of reform and saw this devotional music as something they might harness to their advantage. Not only does this change predate the Edwardine requirement of a vernacular liturgy by a year and a half, but the singing of psalms is rarely mentioned in parish accounts, being in this period much more commonly a private custom.²⁶ The Bakers’ Company thus transformed a domestic practice into a communal one, choosing to mark their feast in the first year of Edward’s reign with explicitly reformist music. The Bakers’ early emphasis on psalm singing also suggests that livery companies were afforded

²³ These companies are the Bakers, Grocers, Merchant Taylors, Pewterers, Ironmongers, Tallow Chandlers, Vintners, and Wax Chandlers. Of these, the Merchant Taylors are the only ones who did *not* record payments to musicians under Henry VIII. It is possible the Founders’ Company also paid musicians in this period, but until 1555 their accounts record all payments for the annual feast in a lump sum.

²⁴ Wardens’ Accounts of the Bakers’ Company, GL CLC/L/BA/D/001/MS05174/001, unfoliated.

²⁵ The performance of prose psalms was a regular feature of both Catholic and Anglican liturgies, so it would hardly have warranted a specific note in an account book (nor would the payment of three shillings, four pence have been necessary for such a typical task). I have come across no similar entries in parish or livery company accounts, moreover, and since the chanting of prose psalms occurred regularly in at least the former, one would expect similar entries in churchwardens’ accounts if it was typical to pay clerks for singing prose psalms.

²⁶ Robin Leaver details the transition of metrical psalms from private devotional material to public worship song in “*Goostly psalmes*” (for more on this, see Chapter 2 as well as the conclusion of this dissertation). Nicholas Temperley and Beth Quitslund also cover this ground in their critical edition of John Day’s *The Whole Book of Psalms*. See Quitslund and Temperley, eds., *The Whole Book of Psalms Collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and Others: A Critical Edition of the Texts and Tunes*, Renaissance English Text Society Publications 36, 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

more freedom than parishes in structuring communal worship. The account further mentions a payment at the same time to a curate for reading a homily. Taken together, these two account entries indicate that the Bakers were more than willing to relinquish their traditional annual celebration of the mass and *dirige*. The accounts are silent, of course, on whether *all* members of the company welcomed these changes; that those in charge chose to mark the annual feast in this manner, however, indicates that at least some members saw singing psalms as an important practice for encouraging religious reform.

Among the remaining seven companies that sustained religious services under Edward VI, the Merchant Taylors likewise maintained clearly Protestant practices; their outlay on music at communion services demonstrates not only an interest in reform, but an understanding that music provided an effective way to mark an important religious observance. Like the Bakers, the Merchant Taylors began reformed worship early, paying for the service of “comunyon” in 1548/9. They, too, chose to feature preaching at their service, hiring one “*master* Coverdale for makyng of a sermond” for six shillings, eight pence. It is possible, given the Merchant Taylors’ standing in the community—ranked sixth among the “Great Twelve” livery companies of London—that this preacher was the reformer Myles Coverdale, whose Great Bible (1539) was the first authorized edition of the Bible in English. If so, this communion service would have been a clear signal to both the community and to London at large that the Merchant Taylors were at the forefront of the reform movement; Coverdale was well known for his radicalism and commitment to reform, having remained in exile in the latter years of Henry VIII’s reign.²⁷

²⁷ The Drapers made a similar choice for a preacher in 1550: John Hooper, future bishop of Gloucester and Marian martyr. See Branch, *Faith and Fraternity*, 56. For more on Coverdale, see Susan Wabuda, “A Day after Doomsday: Cranmer and the Bible Translations of the 1530s,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700*, ed. Kevin Killeen et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 23–37.

Yet the company's commitment to an explicitly *musical* religious celebration is a reminder that embracing reform and favoring preaching did not necessarily preclude the use of polyphony in worship. Each year of Edward's reign, the Merchant Taylors paid "Angell clerke of seynt Anstyns church by poolles & his companye of singingmen" at least nine shillings for their services at their company feast.²⁸ Not only is this payment more than double what the Bakers paid for psalm singing in the previous year, but it is in line with typical expenditures on worship-related music under Henry VIII, suggesting a similar number of singers (eight or nine) who performed polyphony at Edwardine services.²⁹ Similar expenditure by the Grocers' Company, another of the "Great Twelve" London livery companies, shows that at least for these two companies, providing polyphonic services for their members within the context of the vernacular liturgy was important. Branch notes that a number of Grocers were ardent reformers under Edward VI, but that others remained religiously conservative.³⁰ As such, their continued practice of hiring singers to perform polyphony might have served a similar function to the polyphonic services of Edwardine parishes: for those opposed to religious change, polyphony offered a link to the religious past, while for evangelical members music might both enhance the experience of the new English texts and facilitate a turning of the soul toward God in a more perfect manner. Although an extravagant celebration such as this also functioned to display company wealth to outsiders, and as such expenditures on the performance of polyphony might have been meant to

²⁸ Wardens' Accounts of the Merchant Taylors' Company, GL CLC/L/MD/D/003/MS34048/004, fols. 128v, 165v, 199, 236, and 260.

²⁹ Expenditure on singers by other companies shows that wealthier companies like the Merchant Taylors spent more money on musicians: the Grocers' Company spent ten or eleven shillings annually on both communion and evensong, for example, while the Pewterers paid three shillings, four pence (like the Bakers).

³⁰ Branch, *Faith and Fraternity*, 54–57.

reinforce a company's standing in the community, these examples nevertheless show that companies with reformist tendencies were often also vocal supporters of music in the liturgy.

The return to celebrations of mass and *dirige* during Mary I's reign in the overwhelming majority of livery companies whose records were consulted for this study, however, would seem to indicate that most companies were happy to return to traditional services. Indeed, thirteen of the fifteen companies in this study held masses at some point during the reign of Mary I.³¹ For most, this return to Catholic practices was quick, with payments for mass and *dirige* replacing earlier entries about communion the previous year. Yet an immediate return to Catholic worship was not universal: for the Butchers, Ironmongers, and Brewers masses were not resumed until at least 1554.³² The Tallow Chandlers, meanwhile, paid clerks and a preacher in the final two years of Edward VI's reign, but did not pay musicians or priests for mass until 1555.³³

These irregularities in practice are intriguing, and might mean that during the religious and political upheaval of Mary I's early reign, these companies chose to forego communal worship at their company feasts, removing the opportunity for a religiously divided membership to argue over the correct way to celebrate the liturgy. The Ironmongers, for example, did not even hold a company feast in the year of Mary I's accession, though why they made this choice is impossible to know.³⁴ Branch notes evidence of opposition to the re-imposition of the Catholic

³¹ The only two companies whose records do not contain payments for masses during this time are the Curriers, who do not note any payments for worship services at all, and the Blacksmiths, who seem to have stopped holding any services after the death of Henry VIII.

³² Wardens' Accounts of the Butchers' Company, GL CLC/L/BI/D/003/MS06440/001, fol. 114, Ironmongers' Company, GL CLC/L/IB/D/001/MS16988/002, fol. 63v and Brewers' Company, GL CLC/L/BF/D/001/MS05442/003. The Butchers' first Marian mass is recorded in October of 1554; the Ironmongers likewise resumed masses in 1554, and the Brewers did the same at their feast in 1554/5.

³³ Wardens' Accounts of the Tallow Chandlers, GL CLC/L/TC/D/001/MS06152/001, fols. 19 and 44.

³⁴ See the Wardens' Accounts of the Ironmongers' Company, GL CLC/L/IB/D/001/MS16988/002, fols. 56–59 for the relevant accounts.

faith in records concerning *individual* Drapers and Grocers, but also points out that both *companies* nevertheless conformed with Marian orthodoxy—seemingly contradictory evidence that may indicate a level of doctrinal conflict among members of these companies.³⁵ The Merchant Taylors, meanwhile, paid “Angell syngyngman & his companey” for singing at mass in 1553/4, but also hired one “doctor yonge” to preach a sermon on the same day.³⁶ Whether Yonge preached reform or a return to the Catholic fold is impossible to know, but his religious inclination tells only part of the story: the tradition of hiring a preacher was for the Merchant Taylors a custom begun only under Edward VI, so even the inclusion of a sermon alongside mass in 1553/4 represented a fusion of Protestant and Catholic practices, and as such reflects the hybrid devotional observances the English populace embraced at this time.

It is thus clear from the archival records that despite the general acceptance of Catholic liturgies following the accession of Mary I, the members of London’s livery companies held differing views about how best to negotiate the return to Catholic orthodoxy. Certainly, a larger percentage of companies chose to include masses at their feasts than had decided to hold communion services under Edward VI; this statistic suggests that by and large, the members of London’s livery companies were not all accepting of religious reform, and saw these optional services as one area in which they might choose for themselves how to toe the line of official religious orthodoxy. Here, then, the practices of livery companies help to clarify the picture of worship under Edward VI and Mary I: while the majority of London’s citizens dutifully altered both parish and company religious practices, reformed services were not as widespread among London’s livery companies as they were in the city’s churches. Given the central role the mass

³⁵ Branch, *Faith and Fraternity*, 58–61.

³⁶ Wardens’ Accounts of the Merchant Taylors’ Company, GL CLC/L/MD/D/003/MS34048/004, fol. 187v.

and *dirige* had played in company feasts under Henry VIII, this choice is surprising; although Edwardine reforms had forbidden celebration of commemorative services such as the *dirige*, the communion service would still have offered those gathered a way to give thanks to God. Yet it is possible that for the livery companies that eschewed communal liturgies (or replaced them with something else), reformed services were a poor substitute for the splendor of Catholic worship.

The majority of livery companies, however, *did* adjust their religious customs under both Edward VI and Mary I, just as parish communities had done; receiving little of the ecclesiastical oversight burdening parishes, these craft guilds adapted to the shifting religious orthodoxies of the mid-sixteenth century, suggesting that the majority were willing to change directions while preserving what they could of earlier traditions. What is more, these companies show a consistent practice of hiring groups of singers to perform at their religious services, regardless of whether the liturgy in question was Catholic or Protestant. Thus while the content of these observances shifted as different monarchs came to power, communal worship remained an integral part of the annual celebrations of these largely secular craft institutions, serving as a point of continuity for members of these companies. That polyphonic music in both Latin and English played a large part in this sense of continuity further highlights music's prominent role in the English reformations as they unfolded in London. Although there are no extant sources documenting *how* members of these communities felt about liturgical music in these circumstances, its use at livery company worship services throughout this period demonstrates that it was integral to laypeople's spiritual lives at this time.

Adapting Religious Music for the Stage: Song in Mid-Tudor Biblical Drama

The religious changes of the mid-Tudor period also permeated London's livery companies through the dramatic performances that were a semi-regular feature of many of these

organizations' entertainment offerings. Indeed, throughout this period, writers attempted to fashion plays that might, like broadside ballads, demonstrate the value of reformed theology to a recently Catholic audience or traditional theology to a reform-minded demographic.³⁷ Although there is no conclusive evidence of which plays were produced in London during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I, records of dramatic productions staged for livery companies (as well as a handful of parishes) indicate that plays were popular. In explicitly religious plays, moreover, reformers used music and musical forms drawn from late-medieval Catholic practice to reach their audiences, relying on the public's memory of and concurrent experience with contemporary liturgy and devotional song. Like the musical practices of London's livery company feasts, these choices show an attachment to Catholic musical traditions that is often assumed absent among reformers. Although authors of mid-century religious plays relied on a number of techniques to achieve their aims, that music performed a prominent role in these plays indicates that reformers believed it had a particular ability to effect religious conversion, and that those attending these performances likewise found music an important feature of dramatic entertainment.

This chapter focuses on two plays chosen for their musical content but also their subject matter: John Bale's *God's Promises* (written in 1538, first published c. 1547), and the anonymous *Jacob and Esau* (printed c. 1557–8). Both plays take their stories directly from scripture; although they share much in common with the popular morality plays of the period, their reliance on the Bible itself is reminiscent of the evangelical turn to metrical Biblical song that occurred at this time. Their Biblical framework also links them to other contexts in which

³⁷ Numerous scholars have remarked on the ways in which English reformers adapted the tradition of religious drama to suit their purposes. For recent examples see White, *Theatre and Reformation*; Alexandra F. Johnston, "Protestant Drama and the State in England 1535–75," *European Medieval Drama* 19 (2015): 1–31; and Ernest Gerhardt, "'We pray you all...to drink ere ye pass;': Bann Criers, Parish Players, and the Henrician Reformation in England's Southeast," *Early Theatre* 11, No. 2 (2008): 57–88.

religious music might be used to achieve similar aims, such as the liturgy and private devotion.³⁸ Indeed, Bale's choice to structure a reformist reading of scripture around a group of seven liturgically connected, Latin-texted antiphons in a late-Henrician play demonstrates a strong understanding of the power of the contemporary liturgy. His decision to retain this feature of his play in the edition published c. 1547, however, gives this Catholic musico-liturgical framework a new purpose: to confessionalize audience members wary of or hostile to religious reform. The author of the anonymous play *Jacob and Esau*, printed c. 1557/8 and most likely written between 1547 and its date of publication, chooses instead vernacular devotional song as a means through which his audience might learn the "proper" reading of scripture, demonstrating to his viewers the spiritual import of such music. His use of the explicitly Catholic form of the carol, however, suggests he was aware that his audience held both heterodox and orthodox religious views, and chose to capitalize on the flexible nature of this traditional genre.

Plays and pageants dramatizing Biblical stories and the lives of saints that reflected the doctrinal positions of the Catholic church were one of the major vehicles for religious instruction in late-medieval England. As Anne Lancashire has shown, London was home to a thriving theatrical scene where public pageants at the Midsummer Watch, during royal and other entries, and within processions rivalled those held in towns that are more frequently studied in relation to drama.³⁹ Such public events drew large crowds, and were open to and attended by those from all levels of society. Pageants at these events were often held in fixed locations, with the result that Londoners would know exactly when and where they should appear in order to view one of these

³⁸ The publication dates of these two plays are also important, as they bookend the years that are the primary focus of this study: the beginning of the reign of Edward VI and the last year of Mary I's rule.

³⁹ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*; see especially chs. 7–9 ("Land Entries," "Water Shows," and "The Midsummer Watch").

spectacular productions.⁴⁰ Although a handful of pageant texts from such events do survive, the subject matter of the majority is unknown; those at the Midsummer Watch, however, most often depicted characters and events from the Bible.⁴¹ The Drapers' Company, for example, most frequently used the pageant of the Assumption at the Watch, as this was the feast at which the membership annually celebrated its founding and therefore its story formed part of the guild's corporate identity.⁴² The "Great Twelve" livery companies were typically responsible for putting on these pageants, which thus served as another intersection between the civic and professional identity guild membership bestowed and acts of religious devotion. These pageants were often accompanied by or featured musical performances,⁴³ and as such served as important precursors to later dramatic performances that used music to draw audiences to a "correct" interpretation of scripture. Records of smaller-scale pageants at London's parishes are also common, most notably in the form of Palm Sunday dramatizations featuring boys and men playing (and singing) the Old Testament prophets, and in the practice of celebrating St. Nicholas Day (6 December) or Holy Innocents' Day (28 December) with a boy bishop.⁴⁴

Music was a typical feature of late-medieval dramatic productions, appearing in both public pageants and in plays written for smaller audiences. In religious drama, music might be either sacred or profane, serious or humorous; it could feature instruments, voices, or both

⁴⁰ Lancashire describes pageant locations for land entries, for example, in *London Civic Theatre*, 134–138.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴² Branch, *Faith and Fraternity*, 35. In the first four decades of the sixteenth century the Drapers also put on pageants of St. Blythe, St. John the Evangelist, St. Ursula, and St. Christopher, as well as other pageants with historical and secular themes.

⁴³ Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 153.

⁴⁴ As Mary C. Erler notes, celebration of the latter was more common in London than it was in other parts of the country; records relating to the Palm Sunday prophets, meanwhile, continue to appear in churchwardens' accounts well into the 1540s. See Mary C. Erler, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Ecclesiastical London* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), xxv–xxvii.

together. Its role was often to edify audiences about appropriate religious practices, but it might achieve this aim through both modeling correct behavior, and poking fun at those who had erred in their ways. Plays often incorporated existing religious music in both liturgical and popular forms, moreover. Corpus Christi pageants were notable for their inclusion of both types of music: the *Coventry Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors*, for example, features a three-part carol lamenting the slaughter of the innocents, while in pageant twelve of the York Corpus Christi cycle (“The Annunciation to Mary and the Visitation”), the Angel sings the *Ave Maria* and Mary concludes the pageant with *Magnificat*.⁴⁵

As Katherine Steele Brokaw has demonstrated, even as early as the fifteenth century playwrights in England were using music to engage in religious discourse. In both the morality play *Wisdom* and the saint’s play known as the Digby *Mary Magdalene*, Brokaw shows that the authors of these plays enter into debates about the role of music in the church and its potential dangers, themes that worried earlier theologians such as Augustine and Wyclif as well as the later reformers quoted in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. In *Wisdom*, for example, the play’s author juxtaposes profane and sacred musical moments to highlight this dichotomy.⁴⁶ In addition, he relies on the affective power of liturgical music and his audience’s pre-existing familiarity with both specific music and musical style to emphasize the value of religious song for spiritual practice—a technique that I argue Bale also employs in *God’s Promises*.⁴⁷ Through watching ritual song on the stage, audiences of these plays might experience the same spiritual growth such music might elicit in a liturgical setting, even within plays whose stories were not

⁴⁵ For more on *Lully lulla*, the carol in the Coventry pageant, see Smail, “Medieval Carols,” 112–117.

⁴⁶ Brokaw, *Staging Harmony*, 21. For Brokaw’s analysis of the musical features of these plays see Chapter 1, “Sacred, Sensual, and Social Music: *Wisdom* and the Digby *Mary Magdalene*,” 12–49.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

explicitly religious. Both plays also reflect, moreover, what Brokaw characterizes as “a hybridized understanding of religion” that reveals the doctrinal diversity of fifteenth-century East Anglia, from whence both originate.⁴⁸ That mid-Tudor reformers would similarly turn to music to grapple with doctrinal differences among potential audience members is thus to be expected.

Plays such as *Wisdom and the Digby Mary Magdalene*, as well as Bale’s *God’s Promises* and the anonymous *Jacob and Esau*, were not pageants designed for a city’s streets but instead staged plays requiring different venues. In London, productions such as these likely found their audiences in the performances livery companies produced at their annual celebrations that Anne Lancashire categorizes as “company hall plays.” The Drapers’ Company and the Blacksmiths’ Company, for example, both have extensively documented traditions of hiring players at their yearly feasts dating from the early fifteenth century, and some livery companies also hired the children of St. Paul’s, who performed both liturgical polyphony and plays during the Tudor period. Although records of such performances in other company archives are rarer, Lancashire argues that the performance of plays at livery company feasts was nevertheless a regular occurrence throughout the later Middle Ages.⁴⁹

In addition to the plays presented as part of livery company feasts, in London in the 1540s companies of players began *renting* livery company halls to put on their own productions.⁵⁰ Similar rentals occurred of parish churches, churchyards, and parish guild halls—in 1539/40, for example, St. Andrew Hubbard received twelve pence from players on one

⁴⁸ Brokaw, *Staging Harmony*, 37.

⁴⁹ See ch. 4 of Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, “Company Hall Plays: Performance Records,” 69–94. The spotty survival of the types of account books in which payments to players and schoolchildren might be documented means that the absence of evidence of playing in other guilds is not necessarily evidence of absence.

⁵⁰ David Kathman, “The Rise of Commercial Playing in 1540s London,” *Early Theatre* 12, No. 1 (2009): 18–19. The halls of both the Weavers and the Founders, for example, were rented regularly during the 1540s for this purpose; according to Kathman’s calculations, players rented out the Founders’ hall fifteen or sixteen times in 1544 and 1545.

occasion, and in the following year St. Dunstan in the West paid ten pence for “the amending of the pews after the play.” Two London parishes also received civic licenses for plays during this time, which allowed continuous performance from Easter to Michaelmas: All Hallows London Wall (1528) and St Katharine Cree (1529 or 1530). In 1557, meanwhile, St. Olave Silver Street put on its own “Stage-Play, of a goodly Matter.”⁵¹ Paul Whitfield White also suggests that of two performances of John Bale’s playing troupe that Thomas Cromwell is known to have attended in 1538, one likely occurred at Cromwell House by Old Broad Street in London.⁵² Injunctions against players for performing without an official license, meanwhile, continued regularly under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I, indicating that performances of plays—likely of material deemed inappropriate by the crown—were taking place across England.⁵³

Although there is almost no evidence indicating *which* plays were performed, professional players most likely put on a number of the extant plays that come down to us.⁵⁴ It is thus reasonable to assume that London audiences might have not only *read* the two plays that are the subject of this section, but may even have seen them performed at company feasts, in independent performances held in company halls, at private residences, or even in their parish churches. While Lancashire dismisses the plays of John Bale as “probably too ideologically strident for most” and therefore poor candidates for performance at livery company events, at

⁵¹ Erler, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Ecclesiastical London*, xxviii, xxxvi.

⁵² White, *Theatre and Reformation*, 17.

⁵³ For the Edwardine examples see Johnston, “Protestant Drama,” 22. The Edwardine injunctions call out London specifically as a place in which such plays “tendyng to sedicion” were being performed.

⁵⁴ Given the lack of specific payments regarding staging arrangements in livery company records, Lancashire suggests that extant saint or miracle plays from the fifteenth century such as the Digby *Mary Magdalene* were probably not performed in these contexts, since they are long and involve elaborate special effects, but she also concedes that almost any type of performance is possible. Several extant plays, she notes, have London references and thus may have been particularly suitable to livery company hall performance. See Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 104–117.

least in the case of *God's Promises* Bale's use of Latin-texted antiphons within a reformist reading of Biblical stories would have allowed this particular play to appeal to a broad audience. In addition, the play could have been performed at a parish whose members were staunch advocates of reform; in London, there were several such communities.

Written one year into the four-year period when John Bale and his playing troupe undertook tours of the English countryside as part of a propaganda campaign funded by Thomas Cromwell, Bale's *God's Promises* is the first of three Biblical plays created to present an explicitly Protestant reading of scripture.⁵⁵ Designed to appeal to a broad audience, these plays (*God's Promises*, *Johan Baptystes Preachynge*, and *The Temptation of Our Lord*) were probably meant as a re-imagining of the medieval mystery play cycles popular in cities like York, which were still being performed before large audiences in this period. As scholars including Peter Happé, Dermot Cavanagh, and Ernst Carl Gerhardt have shown, Bale was a well educated and often polarizing reformer whose work was aimed at a broad and varied audience.⁵⁶ Born in Suffolk in 1495, Bale spent his early childhood in East Anglia, where he probably attended some of the popular theatrical productions of plays like *Wisdom* and the Digby *Mary Magdalene*.⁵⁷ His Biblical plays were written only a few years after his conversion to the evangelical cause, which had begun by the time he was serving as Carmelite prior in 1533.⁵⁸ Bale's Biblical plays reflect

⁵⁵ For more on this tour and the cities in which "Bale and his felowes" performed see White, *Theatre and Reformation*, 13–23.

⁵⁶ Peter Happé, "A Reassessment of John Bale's Rhetoric: Drama, Bibliography, and Biography," in *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 53, No. 2 (2013): 259–275; Dermot Cavanagh, "Reforming Sovereignty: John Bale and Tragic Drama," in *Interludes and Early Modern Society: Studies in Gender, Power and Theatricality*, ed. Peter Happé and Wim Hüskén (Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi, 2007), 191–209; and Ernst Carl Gerhardt, "Reforming Drama: John Bale and Early Tudor English Nationhood" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 2007).

⁵⁷ Brokaw, *Staging Harmony*, 54.

⁵⁸ Bale had a long and storied career: fleeing to the Continent in 1540, he returned upon the accession of Edward VI, only to depart again under Mary I and then return for good in 1558. For a biography of Bale see Peter Happé, *John*

first and foremost his views as an early convert to radical theological reform, but their subsequent publication at the beginning of Edward VI's reign demonstrates that Bale understood both the efficacy of Catholic ritual music and the contemporary desire not to stray too far from the musical practices of the Henrician church.

God's Promises is comprised of seven scenes framed by a prologue and epilogue given by Baleus Prolocutor—most likely Bale himself—that highlight the play's most important themes. Bale's chronologically-ordered stories—six from the Old Testament and a final scene featuring John the Baptist conversing with God—present a series of moments in which God makes humanity progressively more explicit promises of salvation through Christ. Bale chooses atypical examples but well-known Biblical figures—rather than the story of Abraham and Isaac, Bale offers his audience Abraham debating the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah with God, for example. Bale's prose is prescriptive, explicitly noting what his audience should learn from each story, yet he is also careful to incorporate evangelical theology in his characters' dialogue, using rhetorical strategies that recall the techniques favored by Protestant psalm translators.⁵⁹ Throughout *God's Promises*, for example, Bale relies on the conscious repetition of specific keywords that suggest he hoped his audiences might retain Protestant teachings. In a staged play, which relies on the audience's hearing of speech and music as much as on their seeing of visual cues, this literal repetition of specific words might function as what R. Murray Schafer calls "keynote" sounds—sounds that remain in the background but serve as anchors in the broader

Bale (New York: Twayne, 1996), 1–25. Bale also resided in London both before and shortly after his first period of exile, and was thus connected to the city; see Gerhardt, "Reforming Drama," 10.

⁵⁹ Bale's prose has led Cathy Shrank to comment that "Bale chooses to tell, not show," for example. See Cathy Shrank, "John Bale and Reconfiguring the 'Medieval' in Reformation England," in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 185.

aural environment.⁶⁰ In *God's Promises*, aural cues play a significant part in directing the audience's attention. Thus, this type of literal repetition of specific words and doctrinal practices gave Bale a means through which to reach his audience.

In the prologue, for example, Bale emphasizes that his audience will benefit from understanding scripture, repeating the word “knowledge” (or a variant) in rapid succession in lines 2, 6, and 8. Bale stresses how critical it is for his audience to understand not just the Biblical stories *God's Promises* presents, but rather that they know the Word specifically; without such knowledge they will never “atteyne to the lyfe perpetuall” (line 7). Thus, it is knowledge that is placed at the forefront of Bale's Protestant reinterpretation of medieval religious drama.⁶¹ Bale likewise focuses on faith as a means for salvation, using the literal repetition of “faythe” in numerous scenes. In God's conversation with Adam, for example, Adam emphasizes “faythe” four times (lines 123, 130, 138, and 177), following God's own use in line 53. This “faythe” is often linked with grace and mercy, other key evangelical focuses. Yet such repetition is not foregrounded in most cases; although “faythe” is occasionally the subject of the lines in which it is used, more often it serves as a passing reference—a usage that recalls William Baldwin's contrast between “vayne wurkes” and “perfect fayth” in the songs of his *Canticles*.⁶² Bale employs a similar technique to convey more radical doctrinal positions, infusing the

⁶⁰ R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 9. Numerous scholars since have employed Schafer's terminology in subsequent research on soundscapes; notably, these concepts have also been employed to deal with sounds in past cultures. See Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002) and Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, for recent examples.

⁶¹ . The English reformer William Tyndale was similarly concerned that the laity have access to scripture, complaining in his 1527 *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* that Catholic authorities “have taken away the key of knowledge.” Bale's framing of his Protestant drama as a means for knowledge acquisition thus fits into the broader conversation about religious doctrine among Henrician reformers. See Heather Hill-Vásquez, *Sacred Players: The Politics of Response in the Middle English Religious Drama* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 58.

⁶² See the discussion of Baldwin's *Canticles* in Chapter 2 for more on his rhetorical techniques.

prologue (line 13) and God's conversation with John the Baptist (line 861) with references to predestination, for example, inserting the idea in such a way that it subtly colors his narrative's outcome. Thus, as with the literal repetition of ideas like "knowledge" and "faythe," Bale introduces explicitly reformist ideals into his text.

What is notable about *God's Promises* is the playwright's choice to use Catholic liturgical music to structure his play. As Brokaw notes, Bale incorporates song to a significant extent in two other of his plays, *Three Laws* and *King Johan*.⁶³ Whereas in both *Three Laws* and *King Johan* Bale links Latin-texted, liturgically oriented music to the abuses of Catholic clergy and critiques of Catholic practices commonly derided by reformers, in *Three Laws* Latin-texted music also restores order at the end of the play. In *God's Promises*, meanwhile, Bale deliberately structures his play using an existing liturgical framework, requiring the Biblical protagonist of each scene to sing a Latin-texted antiphon, joined (presumably) by the remaining players. For this purpose, Bale chose a specific set of antiphons: the so-called "O" antiphons prescribed to follow the "Magnificat" at Vespers in Advent in the octave before Christmas. Although the number of "O" antiphons in the Middle Ages was sometimes as many as twelve, in the Sarum rite eight were used—the original seven plus the Marian antiphon "O virgo virginum." In *God's Promises* Bale omits the latter and changes the order in which the antiphons are performed.⁶⁴

⁶³ For Brokaw's take on music in *Three Laws* and *King Johan*, see *Staging Harmony*, 57–77.

⁶⁴ It is likely that the first seven of these antiphons were conceived as a set—the texts follow the same basic pattern, first addressing Christ by different titles ("O Sapientia," "O Adonai," etc.), and then begging him to come ("veni"). These antiphons also originated at the latest in the eighth century: they were quoted by both Alcuin (735–804) and Amalarius of Metz (775–850). Richard Sherr, "O Antiphons," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20200>).

In addition to a parallel text structure, these antiphons all employ the same second mode melody, both features that would have been obvious in a liturgical context.⁶⁵ Presented within a single week, each antiphon is designed to underscore the significance of Christ's impending arrival. Understood collectively, these antiphons thus offer a musical prelude to Christ's birth, highlighting Christ's role in saving humanity from sin. Although Bale's audience certainly would have recognized that the musical selections in *God's Promises* were liturgical given their Latin text and musical style, it is possible they would have recognized *these* antiphons more specifically, because of when they were sung in contemporary worship. Due to their placement after the "Magnificat" at Vespers, the "O" antiphons would have preceded the *Salve* services that were popular among laypeople during the week before Christmas. Since each antiphon text was sung to the same melody over the course of an eight-day period, anyone who attended Vespers that week would have been able to recognize this tune, forming an aural link between these individual antiphons. Schafer has coined the term "soundmark" to refer to sounds that are "specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community."⁶⁶ The eight "O" antiphons, might have functioned in this way—their repetitive text structure, liturgical role, and single melody all indicate that they would have been easy to differentiate from their surroundings. Thus through their musical, textual, and liturgical repetition, the "O" antiphons signaled a kind of musical Advent, aurally prefiguring the coming of Christ.

Bale's choice of these particular antiphons, I suggest, is part of a larger program that recasts largely Old Testament stories as a narrative in which God's promise of salvation becomes

⁶⁵ As a monk Bale would have learned these antiphons, singing them each liturgical year from 1507 (when at age twelve his parents sent him to the Carmelite House) until he left the Carmelites in 1536—in total, repeating the entire sequence some twenty-nine times.

⁶⁶ Schafer, *Tuning of the World*, 10.

progressively more immediate. In each of the first five scenes, God argues that humanity's sin has increased, and that some type of action is needed to punish or correct this sin. That Christ is the only solution is confirmed in the sixth scene, when Esaias (Isaiah) becomes the first mortal character to stress humanity's sins (lines 696–704). Rather than begging God's forgiveness, Esaias points out the necessity of Christ's delivery to earth from heaven (line 754). In the final scene, John the Baptist looks forward to Christ's coming, and the epilogue reinforces this reading, making the link between these stories and the New Testament explicit. Bale thus coopts the liturgical "O" antiphons to fit an explicitly Protestant reframing of the Old Testament—it is no accident that he omits the popular "O virgo virginum," which to a radical reformer would have added an unnecessary emphasis on the Virgin to a series of antiphons that otherwise stressed the importance of Christ. In relying on existing music to recast his scripturally based play, Bale frames his evangelical narrative in the guise of contemporary liturgical practice.

Indeed, the *type* of performance Bale calls for ties these antiphons to the late Henrician liturgy. At the end of each scene, the Biblical protagonist indicates to the audience in English that he will begin to sing, after which Bale includes a variation of the following stage direction:

*Tunc sonora voce, provolutis genibus Antiphonam incipit,
O Sapientia, quam prosequetur chorus cum organis, eo interim exeunte.
Vel sub eodem tono poterit sic Anglice cantari:*

[Then with a loud voice, on bended knees, he begins the antiphon,
O Wisdom, which the chorus will continue with the organs, as he meanwhile exits.
Or it can be sung using the same melody thus in English:]

O eternal Sapyence, that procedest from the mouthe of the hyghest, reachynge fourth
with a great power from the begynnynge to the ende, with heavenlye swetnesse
dysposynge all creatures, come now and enstruct us the true waye of thy godlye
prudence.

Accompaniment on the organ would have been consistent with the contemporary performance practice for plainchant, and Bale's stage direction implies the traditional manner of singing

antiphons (calling for a choir to respond to the soloist's chanting of the incipit). Brokaw characterizes this performance as "reminiscent of traditional practice," yet what Bale does is much more radical: he transplants segments of the liturgy into his play whole cloth, recreating liturgical moments at the end of each scene. White suggests that *God's Promises* was performed regularly in churches, and possibly included parish choirs singing its antiphons.⁶⁷ In this context, these familiar performances would have offered a potentially conservative audience links to their collective devotional experience, with the players literally reenacting a section of the liturgy *in situ*, and could have provided a welcome balance to Bale's evangelical retelling of scripture. They also mirror contemporary musical practices in mystery play cycles, recalling, for example, the "Magnificat" sung by the Virgin Mary in the "Annunciation" pageant of the York cycle. The reason this music had such affective potential, however, was because liturgical music had the ability to create a sacred space within an otherwise profane context. *God's Promises* was likely also staged in the secular meeting halls of craft guilds and in private homes, where performers would have been unable to rely on a church building to construct a façade of holiness. The sacralizing function of liturgical music, then, made performances of the "O" antiphons in *God's Promises* not just memory aids but catalysts for effecting a spiritual transformation.

Bale's reconfiguration of the "O" antiphons' performance order, moreover, is directly connected to his play's narrative. In the second scene, for example, in which God saves only Noah and his family from the great flood, Bale ends with "O Oriens," which emphasizes God's righteousness (*justitia*) and asks for enlightenment for those who live in death's shadow (*illumina sedentes in...umbra mortis*). Just as the need for humanity's deliverance becomes more pressing over the course of the play, moreover, the antiphons' requests move from the broad to

⁶⁷ White, *Theatre and Reformation*, 150.

the specific. Bale begins, for example, with “O Sapientia,” which is the first of the “O” antiphons but more importantly portrays God as and asks for prudence (*prudentia*). This prayer, in other words, seeks patience as the singer waits for God’s arrival. In the sixth scene, however, when Esaias becomes the first character to point to Christ’s necessity, Bale ends with what is usually the third “O” antiphon, “O Radix Jesse,” whose last line (*veni ad liberandum nos, jam noli tardare*) echoes Esaias’s urgency. Bale thus uses this liturgical framework not only to provide an audible link to the mass, but also to reflect an ever more pressing need for Christ’s salvation.

Whereas Bale’s use of these antiphons is often characterized as “inconsistent” with his reformist agenda, there is no evidence to suggest that by 1538 he believed Latin-texted music should be abandoned. By 1544, he was condemning both sacred and secular music making, painting liturgical music as inherently problematic in *The image of both Churches*:

“Neyther shal *the* swéet Organs containing the melodious noyse of all maner of instruments & byrdes be plaied vpon, nor *the* great belles be rong after that, nor yet *the* fresh discant, prick song, counter point, and faburden be called for in thée, which art the very sinagog of Sathan. Thy lasciuious armonye & delectable musique much prouoking *the* weake hartes of men to meddle *with* thy abhominable whordom by *the* wantonnes of Idolatry in that kinde, shal perish with thée for euer.”⁶⁸

Bale presents Catholic liturgical music as confirming Augustine’s worst fears: this music is so compelling to its hearers that it has blinded them to the “abhominable whordom” of the current church. As Brokaw notes, Bale’s characterization of music in *The image of both Churches* suggests his own attachment to such music: the use of words like “swéet,” “melodious,” and “delectable” indicates, even as Bale rails against liturgical music, that he likewise finds its sound pleasing.⁶⁹ Bale’s critique is thus in direct opposition to that of many contemporary reformers: this music is not the “thundering and raucous yelling” or “incessant clamour of diverse sounds”

⁶⁸ John Bale, *The image of both Churches* (London: Thomas East, 1570 [original 1544]), fol. Ccc.6v.

⁶⁹ Brokaw, *Staging Harmony*, 83.

Erasmus claimed it to be; rather, it is *too* effective, erasing its audience's ability to understand how the church has led them astray.⁷⁰ In acknowledging the power of contemporary liturgical performance, Bale hints at why he might have employed it in *God's Promises*.

In his *Votaries* (published in 1546), Bale's invective against music is tempered, and his concern has more to do with music's link to other Catholic traditions. In the volume's introduction, he complains that the church has required participation in "euensonges, howres, processyons, lyghtes, masses, ryngynges, syngynges, sensyges, and the deuyll and all of soche heythnysh wares." Yet his protest is actually directed at the "whoremongers, bawds, brybers, Idolaters, hypocrytes, trayters, and most fylthe Gomorreanes" that the church has canonized—i.e., the Catholic saints—for whom the aforementioned practices must be carried out.⁷¹ While Bale's characterization of Catholic musical practice in the *Votaries* is thus dismissive, his invective is not truly directed at the liturgy itself; instead, he objects to the veneration of saints. This distinction may be slight, but it is important: reformers of the 1540s and 1550s are often portrayed as hostile to the use of music within the liturgy, but as I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, such was not always the case—whereas Thomas Cranmer argued in 1544 that the English litany ought to be syllabic, for example, he never questioned that it *would* be sung. Bale's use of liturgical antiphons to frame an evangelical retelling of Old Testament stories for a late-Henrician audience, then, is hardly unusual. Furthermore, it demonstrates that, at least for Bale at this stage, he was not fundamentally opposed to all Latin-texted music in the mass; while he was

⁷⁰ Erasmus, *Declarationes ad censuras lutetiae vulgatas sub nominae facultatis theologiae parisiensis* (1532), cited in Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music*, 92–93.

⁷¹ John Bale, *The Actes of Englysh votaryes comprehendynge their vnchast practyses* (Antwerp: S. Mierdman, 1546), 2.

against the use of liturgical music in service of a Catholic agenda, he was well aware of the power of contemporary ceremony.

The choice to retain the Latin-texted “O” antiphons in a print issued in 1547, although the English versions are still offered as optional substitutions, further demonstrates Bale’s understanding of the power such music may still have had on an English audience. In the same year, Bale published his *Examination of William Thorpe*, in which he argued that the directive to music making in the psalms was “to be interpreted ghostly,” and that a sermon was “mickle more pleasant” than the organs and singing of the Catholic liturgy.⁷² These statements certainly reflect Bale’s earlier polemic against music, and Bale goes a step farther than many of his evangelical contemporaries in arguing that the psalms ought not to be sung.⁷³ Yet in printing *God’s Promises* with its antiphons intact, Bale acquiesces to the power he knows liturgical music possesses—indeed, his retention of Latin texts that are human creations rather than the divine word is in direct contradiction to his own writings. As I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, Edwardine congregations in London showed a strong interest in a musical liturgy that included sung psalms and polyphonic service music. Even in English, Bale’s antiphons could retain the *sound* of the Catholic liturgy, providing a link to previous practice that would mirror what was happening in churches across London. The “O” antiphons, moreover, are largely syllabic, with only the occasional short melisma (see Figure 26).⁷⁴ In the vernacular, these antiphons would reflect the typical desire of English reformers for music that was easy to understand, while also appealing to laypeople who were less eager to embrace a liturgy that strayed too far from the familiar. Bale’s

⁷² John Bale, *The Examination of William Thorpe*; quoted in Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 53–54.

⁷³ In making such a statement, Bale exposes himself as hypocritical: he was also the author of a handful of metrical psalm translations, at least three of which were published after 1547. See Robin Leaver, “John Bale, Author and Revisor of Sixteenth-Century Metrical Psalms,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 34 (1992/3): 98–106.

⁷⁴ Technically this antiphon is best classified as neumatic, but it features a high percentage of syllabically set text.

retention of this explicitly Catholic music in an edition printed c.1547, then, shows that he would use every tool in his arsenal to spread religious reform to the English populace—even one so problematic as the “swéet” and “delectable musique” of the Catholic mass.

1. Ant.
II.ii.

Sa-pi-énti- a * que ex o-re Altíssimi pro-

dis-ti, at-tíngens a fi-ne usque ad fi-nem fórti-ter :

su- á-vi-ter disponénsque ómni- a : ve-ni ad do-céndum

nos vi- am pru-dénti- e. *Ps. Magníficat. 48**.

Figure 26. “O sapientia,” antiphon at Vespers on 16 December in the Sarum breviary.⁷⁵

Whereas John Bale wrote *God’s Promises* as part of a propaganda campaign designed to spread religious reform and had it printed under the evangelical government of Edward VI, the anonymous *Jacob and Esau* published c. 1557/8 came onto the market during the reign of Mary I. Most scholars believe the play was written sometime in the reign of Edward VI or Mary I, and that its author was probably a schoolmaster.⁷⁶ Although Nicholas Udall, the contemporary author of such Marian plays as *Respublica* and *Ralph Roister Doister*, has been proposed as the creator

⁷⁵ This and other examples from the Sarum breviary are drawn from the online scholarly edition of the Sarum rite currently in production by the Gregorian Institute of Canada (<http://hmcwordpress.mcmaster.ca/renwick/>).

⁷⁶ Paul Whitfield White, “Predestinarian Theology in the Mid-Tudor Play ‘Jacob and Esau,’” *Renaissance and Reformation* 12, No. 4 (1988): 292.

of *Jacob and Esau*, the more likely candidate is William Hunnis, a member of Edward VI's Chapel Royal whose *Certayne psalmes* (1550) is discussed in Chapter 2.⁷⁷ If indeed Hunnis wrote *Jacob and Esau*, it is hardly surprising that he incorporated music into this play; not only did he publish metrical psalms under Edward VI, but he had additional notated music printed in the Elizabethan period, and his poems were set by numerous contemporary composers.⁷⁸ Thus, he well understood the value of music for spiritual edification, and also possessed the training to write new tunes for the play himself. That the play was designed for schoolchildren, moreover, meant that it could have been part of the repertory of the boys of St. Paul's or the Chapel Royal; both were known for their productions during this period, and were often paid to sing polyphony at parish churches on major feasts, as well as hired by livery companies for playing.⁷⁹

Like *God's Promises*, *Jacob and Esau* is a reformist framing of an Old Testament narrative designed to present a new reading of scripture. Yet while Bale's play highlights multiple evangelical tenets—among them knowledge of scripture, predestination, and the value of faith over good works—*Jacob and Esau* has a narrower focus: proving that individuals are elected for salvation by divine grace. In this play, the author dramatizes the story of Isaac's twin sons, born in the “wrong” order but whose inheritance is rectified through divinely sanctioned trickery, to provide a Biblical basis for the doctrine of predestination. As White notes, debate about the validity of this doctrine was rampant among English reformers in the decade between

⁷⁷ Given Hunnis's staunch commitment to the evangelical cause—he was implicated in plots against the Catholic regime and imprisoned in 1556—and later work with the children of the Chapel Royal, Naomi Pasachoff argues that Hunnis is far more likely than Udall. See Naomi Pasachoff, “Playwrights, Preachers and Politicians: A Study of Four Tudor Old Testament Dramas” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1970), 16–55; on the latter two plays, see Brokaw, *Staging Harmony*, 87–88.

⁷⁸ Smith, “Hunnis, William.” The composers who set his texts included William Mundy, William Byrd, Thomas Morley, and Thomas Weelkes.

⁷⁹ The amount of music in the play has led White to conclude that it was probably written for boys in a choir school. If Hunnis was in fact its author, performance by the Chapel Royal boys almost certainly took place after the play was written. See White, *Theatre and Reformation*, 110, 118.

1547 and 1558.⁸⁰ The author of *Jacob and Esau* illustrates the validity of predestination through the contrasting characters of Jacob (the elect) and Esau (the reprobate), demonstrating that each character's actions are reflective of his position in God's eyes: Jacob is a devoted and obedient son whose piety is well known in the community, while Esau constantly annoys his neighbors and parents with his wicked and selfish actions. The author thus warns his audience that wicked and deceitful actions are signs of God's disfavor, admonishing them to avoid such behavior.

Although the author of *Jacob and Esau* does not incorporate musical performance in the same structural way as Bale does in *God's Promises*, the three songs in the play perform an important role in teaching the audience to understand the main theme of predestination. In addition, through their performances of these songs the play's characters model proper communal and individual devotional behavior, demonstrating the power of vernacular song for lay prayer. This latter function is particularly important, as *Jacob and Esau* incorporates extra-Biblical characters who participate in the performance of each of the play's diegetic songs. Although the main purpose of these servant characters—Ragau, Mido, Abra, and Deborra—is to provide comic relief, their participation in songs praising God for bringing about Jacob's deception complicates their stock function and serves to incorporate them more fully into the play's narrative. In addition, their singing allows these characters to become more relatable to the audience, demonstrating that even those whose piety cannot match that of Jacob or his mother Rebecca have a duty to praise God.

In the play's first song, Rebecca, Mido, Jacob, and Abra kneel in thanksgiving, singing a narrative prayer that reminds listeners of Isaac's lineage and praises God for promising to help

⁸⁰ White, "Predestinarian Theology," 291. White argues that the theory of predestination articulated in *Jacob and Esau* reflects not a strict Calvinist or Erasmian interpretation, but rather the leading opinions of English reformers of the mid-sixteenth century (namely John Bradford, but also Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer).

Jacob. In calling Jacob and her servants to prayer, Rebecca stresses the importance of communal singing: “Sonne Iacob, forasmuche as thou hast so well sped, / With an himne or psalme let the Lord be praised. / Sing we all together, and geue thanks to the Lord, / Whose promise and performaunce do so wel accord” (861–864). Rebecca uses language typical of reformers in calling for a “himne” or “psalm,” reiterating the popular evangelical opinion that the psalms ought to be sung. Mido, meanwhile, calls for the song to be performed in a specific manner, arguing “Then must we all knele downe thus” (868) and chastising Abra for not complying quickly. In kneeling to sing, the characters model the proper method for the devotional performance of sacred song, encouraging audience members to do the same. The song itself, comprised of quatrains in an *abab* rhyme scheme, is largely a narrative of Abraham’s lineage, framed within praise to God that stresses the latter’s ability to fulfill his promises, and the characters’ dialogue notes that it is “the same himne that al our house doth sing” (865). After its completion, Rebecca hastens to link this *particular* performance to God’s election of Jacob, telling him: “Now dout not Iacob, but God hath appointed thee / As the eldest sonne vnto Isaac to bee: / And now haue no dout, but thou art sure elected, / And that unthrift Esau of God reiected” (889–892). Thus, this song of praise is framed by Rebecca’s conviction that Jacob is predestined to be chosen by God over Esau; musical prayer, then, is the form through which the play’s characters give thanks for the doctrine of predestination.

From the aforementioned dialogue, it is clear that this song is intended to serve as a model of devotional practice for the audience: it is a song often sung in Isaac’s household when prayer is required, and it has served its purpose well for this Biblical family. Yet the play’s author does not reach for the most popular form of evangelical devotional music, the metrical psalm, to model this behavior. Instead, the song’s form recalls that of earlier devotional song: its

first verse is repeated as a refrain at the close of the text, much as sixteenth-century carols commonly had their burdens sung only at the beginning and end rather than after each verse. The use of song to condense a Biblical narrative, meanwhile, similarly has precedents in earlier carols (for two such examples, see the discussion of “Nowell, nowell, nowell” and “Nova, nova” in Chapter 3). In its description of an Old Testament story this song falls outside the typical subject matter for a carol, and in this sense the song owes a debt to contemporary publications such as William Samuel’s *Abridgemente*, designed to familiarize lay audiences with the Old Testament. Nevertheless, the song’s formal characteristics suggest a link to the carol tradition—an important connection considering the play’s publication date.

Indeed, this refrain form is present in two of the play’s songs, suggesting that the author chose this musical format as a way of connecting with his audience’s previous experience of similar repertoire. The second song of the play has an even clearer connection to the carol tradition, as the refrain takes the form of a two-line, rhymed burden: “It hath bene a prouerbe before I was borne, / Yong doth it pricke that wyll be a thorne.” Here, following a comical scene in which Rebecca warns her maid Abra to carry out her duties, alone in the kitchen Abra sings a moralizing song about young children, warning that those who act wicked in their youth are likely to meet a bad end. Although the song itself is not religious or devotional, it nevertheless strikes at the play’s main theme of predestination as Abra sings “Who so in youth will no goodnesse embrace. / But folow pleasure, and not vertues trace, / Great meruaile it is if such come to grace. / For yong doth it pricke that will be a thorne” (1109–1112). Rather than singing a frivolous song, as a stock character left to her own devices might typically be scripted to do, Abra instead models good behavior by offering moral commentary on the human condition. Her song echoes the play’s portrayal of Esau and Jacob, whose actions and temperaments reflect their

status as condemned and chosen, respectively. Although it might be read in a Catholic context as a reminder to begin good works at an early age, here the generalized lesson Abra's song serves as a warning to the audience that even though their fates have been predestined, their actions indicate whether they are members of the elect.⁸¹ In both form and content, Abra's song may easily be categorized as what Richard Leighton Greene has called "carols of moral counsel:" songs whose texts teach a specific lesson about humanity and society, but that do not usually refer to God or religion.⁸² The repetition of the second line of the refrain at the end of each verse in Abra's song, moreover, is a typical rhetorical technique of the late-medieval carol. In this song the play's author thus relies on genre conventions of vernacular devotional song that was popular in the late Henrician church, but claims the genre instead for the evangelical cause.

The final song in *Jacob and Esau*, which concludes the play's action in the last scene, contains the most striking and obvious references to predestination, explicitly telling the audience that God has preordained who will be saved. The focus again is on collective prayer, as Isaac requests: "Cal foorth all our household that with one accord, / We may all with one voyce syng vnto the Lorde" (1722–1723). In calling for the entire household to sing, Isaac demonstrates to the audience that communal, sung devotion in the vernacular is an appropriate manner of thanking God. This song, too, is strophic, but it does not have a refrain, thus lacking an overt tie to the carol tradition. The purpose of the song's text is twofold: within the play it functions to praise God for his creation and thank him for his protection, while to the audience, it makes a

⁸¹ This warning about good works was an imperative point for a reformer to make, as the doctrine of predestination might easily be read as giving license to immoral behavior, but the author's hedging here does not quite convince: after all, though Jacob's intentions are pure he nevertheless tricks Esau into relinquishing birthright—hardly the action of a moral leader.

⁸² For examples, see the texts in Greene, *The Early English Carols*, 208–213. Such songs cannot be divorced from their religious context, as contemporary morality was taught *through* the church, but their generalized lessons do not rely on religious narratives.

strong argument for the doctrine of predestination. Notably, the song warns that God's choices cannot be questioned: "Man of the earth thou haste formed and create, / Some do thee worship, and some stray awrye, / Whome pleaseth thee, thou doste choose or reprobate, / And no fleshe can aske thee wherfore or why!" (1728–1731). In delivering this unequivocal message through music, the author places his faith in the power of song to persuade and convince; although the song is followed by the Poet's summary of the doctrine of predestination, it is the musical moment that links the action on stage with the Biblical basis the author has provided. Through this final song, then, the play's author reinforces the legitimacy of his reading of scripture.

Whereas *Jacob and Esau* would hardly have seemed revolutionary to Edwardine authorities, the play's publication in 1557/8 paints it in a different light. Its emphasis on a single topic, its focus on an Old Testament story, and its lack of a named author might have allowed it to shed some of its explicitly Protestant connections, but it would nevertheless have been hard to dismiss as falling in line with Catholic theology. Its implication to its audience, after all, was that the elect are those who continue to follow the true path (Protestantism), even when circumstances do not favor the hoped-for outcome. The author's use of the familiar song form of the carol, although the texts (and probably music) of these songs were newly composed, would have provided audiences with aural familiarity to accompany the play's presentation of relatively new (and currently forbidden) doctrine. Yet in relying on a song form explicitly associated with medieval devotion, the play's music also presented a form of devotional practice much more acceptable to Catholic authorities, explaining the doctrine of predestination through music that would have sounded familiar. Just as for Bale, the music in *Jacob and Esau* is structural rather than ornamental, designed to reach an audience with a diversity of religious beliefs at a time when the position of the official church was still precarious.

Although John Bale and the author of *Jacob and Esau* incorporated different types of religious song in their plays, that each did so speaks to the value both felt music could have for effecting religious conversion. Indeed, within the confines of mid-Tudor drama musical performances were common but not ubiquitous; for both reformers to rely on religious song demonstrates that each believed older musical styles would help audiences accept evangelical readings of scripture. Whereas scholarship often presents music making in the mid-Tudor years as fractured and sparse compared to the late-Henrician period, reformers such as Bale and the author of *Jacob and Esau* used earlier musical forms to reach their prospective audiences at exactly this moment, relying on laypeople's connection to these past sacred sounds. The musical performances in *God's Promises* and *Jacob and Esau* thus counter the conventional narrative about the relationship between music and religious reform in the Edwardine and Marian periods. Even those like Bale, who recognized the potential danger of religious music, also understood its necessity; it provided reformers with a powerful tool to aid them in achieving their aims.

Due to the lack of specificity in most records of dramatic performance in mid-Tudor London, it is impossible to say whether either *God's Promises* or *Jacob and Esau* was ever performed there; certainly, both would have been candidates for performance at a livery company feast or for a company of players to put on in a rented hall. Their publication and circulation during this time, however, meant that even those who had never seen either play might still have consumed them, and in London, with its high literacy rate, the likelihood of laypeople reading these plays was even greater. Perhaps, too, the royal injunctions against "sedicious" playing issued under both Edward VI and Mary I would have meant that a greater number of people would have read, rather than heard, these two plays. While the songs of *Jacob and Esau* in this instance may have been lost in translation—without any musical notation or

directions indicating a known tune it would have been difficult for a reader to “hear” this music—the antiphons of *God’s Promises* would have resonated with any reader familiar with the Latin liturgy. These two plays show, then, that music remained an important part of religious drama through the mid-Tudor period, giving audiences an opportunity to understand new theological tenets while still retaining a connection to their religious past.

Politicizing Ritual: Processions, Music, and the Contestation of Public Space

Whereas both livery company worship services and dramatic performances were produced by and intended for the membership of individual organizations, London’s craft guilds were also active participants in larger-scale events designed to promote popular English piety: the civic religious processions that took place on London’s streets under Henry VIII and Mary I. These processions were part of a broader phenomenon of public ceremony that James S. Amelang has characterized as “the most visible intersection of local identity, political power, and spiritual life” in early modern Europe.⁸³ London’s processions occupied the liminal space where sacred ritual overlapped with civic identity; they celebrated both communal religion and Londoners’ pride in their city. As the most wealthy and influential residents of London, the members of the livery from each company walked in these processions. Their involvement suggested to those gathered that the city’s elite agreed with and supported the crown’s agenda, even if individual liverymen were opposed to certain governmental policies.

This section examines the revival of civic processions under Mary I as a means for understanding how the queen attempted to reach a diverse public accustomed to the austerity of Edwardine religion, arguing that she and her government used the audible and visual spectacle of

⁸³ James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

civic processions to reinforce Catholic doctrine and ritual, relying on the shared memory of similar communal events under Henry VIII. Designed to facilitate the re-conversion of a “reformed” public to orthodox practices, these processions were intended to reclaim public space in London for the crown and for the Catholic church and strengthen Mary’s position as a female head of state. The hymns *Te Deum* and *Salve festa dies* were central to this agenda, as they provided a way to sacralize (and re-Catholicize) London’s public places and retained a link to music with specific functions in the Sarum rite, thus reimagining Catholic liturgical practice for a new age. Yet these processions, unlike the Henrician practices they were intended to recall, also reminded viewers of a notion promoted by religious reformers: that the efficacy of religious practices relied on personal belief, and that public devotional displays afforded an opportunity for both participation and resistance.

Sydney Anglo has noted that Henry made substantial use of ceremony and pageantry at his court to impress his enemies, display his wealth, and generate goodwill for his policies.⁸⁴ Public processions played a significant role in this agenda: like many of his contemporaries, following major events of royal importance Henry would order a general procession to be held in London. These processions celebrated many things—the birth of Henry’s son Edward, or victories of the king’s army in Scotland, for example.⁸⁵ A description of one of these rituals will demonstrate the typical magnificence of such events. On November 12, 1535, Henry ordered a procession honoring the French king, who was thought to be near death but had undergone a miraculous recovery. First, a mass of the Holy Ghost and a *Te Deum* were sung at St. Paul’s. Then, those assembled processed through London along the route shown in Figure 27 (a detailed

⁸⁴ Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

⁸⁵ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 1:66–7, 147, 149, 163–4; J. G. Nichols, ed., *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (London: Camden Society, 1852), 50.

list of those processing may be found in Table 4; those groups in red were singing the litany in *faburden*).⁸⁶ First came the city musicians, playing trumpets, shawms, and drums. Following them were the children of three grammar schools, and the minstrels of London in their best apparel. Next came five groups of friars—each carrying a cross and all singing the litany in harmony. Following them were the canons, priors, and vergers of the Augustinian monasteries, carrying crosses and candlesticks. Next came the parish clerks and priests of London, followed by monks and mitred abbots from the extramural abbeys, all singing, with crosses, censers, and

City Musicians (Waits)
Grammar School Children
London Minstrels
Crouched Friars (<i>Fratres Cruciferi</i>)
Augustinian Friars
White Friars (Carmelites)
Grey Friars (Franciscans)
Black Friars (Dominicans)
Canons, Priors, Vergers of St. Mary Overy (Augustinians)
Canons, Priors, Vergers of St. Bartholomew's (Augustinians)
Canons, Priors, Vergers of Elsing Spital (Augustinians)
Canons, Priors, Vergers of St. Mary Spital (Augustinians)
London Parish Clerks and Priests
Monks & Abbots from New Abbey (Cistercians)
Monks & Abbots from Bermondsey (Clunatic)
Monks & Abbots from Westminster (Benedictines)
Choir of St. Paul's
Various Other Abbots & Priors
Bishop of London with Servants and Minstrels
Members of the Lord Mayor's Company
Lord Mayor
Aldermen
Livery Companies

Table 4. Members of the procession on 12 November, 1535, with singers highlighted in red.

⁸⁶ Processions usually went out the north door of St Paul's Cathedral into Cheapside, by Saint Michael Le Querne and Cornhill on the north side, turning around at Leadenhall corner; and then homeward on the south side, through Cheap, and then through St. Paul's churchyard, entering the cathedral again through the west door.

candlesticks. After them came the choir of St Paul's, also singing the litany in harmony, and more abbots and priors. The Bishop of London came under a canopy, bearing a cross with the host and other relics within; surrounding him were servants with twelve wax torches. Finally came the city officials, all wearing their respective liveries. One chronicler notes that the number of copes worn in the procession totaled 718.⁸⁷

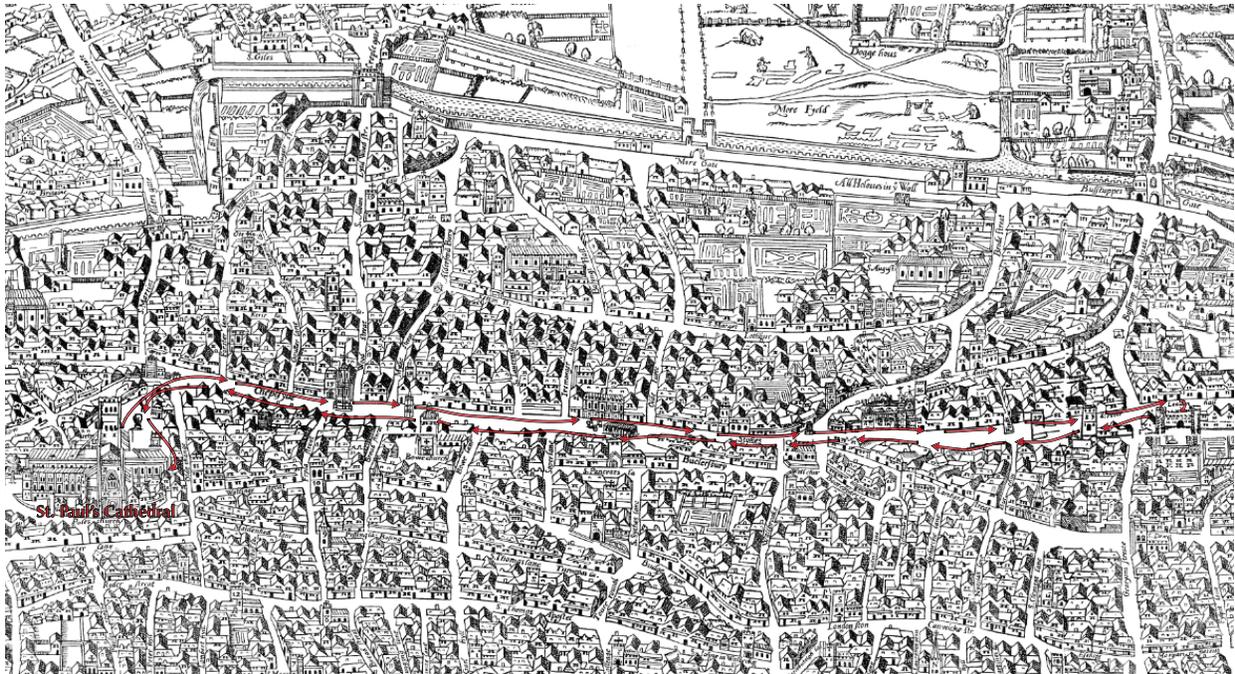


Figure 27. Map of London, with typical procession route highlighted in red.

Although these processions were ordered by the king, he was not a participant; these were events designed to display the king's power and religious devotion to residents of the city of London, as well as courtiers, other officials, and visitors. Just as the late-medieval Catholic liturgy relied heavily on the senses, these processions were dependent on sensory experience for their power. Indeed, the visual and aural spectacle was nothing short of astounding: those

⁸⁷ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 1:32; this procession is also described in the first of two anonymous chronicles in Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, ed., *Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1910), 11–12.

gathered must have been amazed to see hundreds of men, both lay and clerical, all dressed in ceremonial attire and making their way down the city's main commercial street. The sound of hundreds of voices singing the *Te Deum* in St. Paul's, and then the litany in polyphony during procession, must likewise have been impressive. Indeed, even for those who were not gathered along the procession's route it would have been hard to ignore the event's audible markers: in a city of only a single square mile, hundreds of voices joined in song would have spread a fair way through the streets, permeating houses and buildings across the city with the sound of the liturgy. These processions were thus designed to tie the growing population of Londoners together by attempting to build a sense of shared community and identity.

Sixteenth-century accounts of processions across Europe occasionally document what these events sounded like, but often focus on their visual elements.⁸⁸ For contemporary London chroniclers to have noticed the performance of *Te Deum* at the beginning of these processions speaks to its centrality in these rituals. The act of processing along London's public streets, evoking the sounds, smells, and sights usually associated with the rituals of the liturgy, meant that the space was temporarily transformed. I characterize this transformation as a type of sacralization, in which the typical (and perhaps even still-present) elements of a particular place—in this case street hawkers, market carts, animals, rubbish, and people—are temporarily overwritten by sensory experiences meant to evoke a sense of the sacred. As the physical markers of place in these cases bear none of the sacred indicators one would find in a building such as a church, this type of sacralization is inherently more difficult to effect, and thus relies even more strongly on the actions that create it than does the ritual of the liturgy.

⁸⁸ A notable exception are contemporary accounts of processions in Rome; see Noel O'Regan, "Processions and their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome," *Recercare* 4 (1992): 45–80. These processions, too, featured performances of the *Te Deum*, though they are later in date than the processions discussed in this chapter.

The centrality of the *Te Deum* in Henrician processions is both important and unsurprising, as this chant was ubiquitous in the Middle Ages. In the Catholic liturgy, the *Te Deum* was performed regularly at the end of Matins on Sundays and feast days, but also served numerous additional functions in late medieval culture; in England, it made appearances at the conclusion of liturgical dramas, in royal coronation ceremonies, as a song of thanksgiving on special occasions, as a hymn of victory on the battlefield, and as a processional chant. It was widely believed that St. Ambrose and St. Augustine composed the *Te Deum* as an improvised prayer for St. Augustine's baptism, which no doubt helped to solidify its importance as a celebratory chant.⁸⁹ Of course, the text itself also indicates its suitability as a general hymn of praise, as it touches on the most significant pillars of Christianity, glorifying God's power, praising God for his aid, and recalling Christ's sacrifice.⁹⁰ Musically, the hymn is unusual: its irregular construction involves three separate melodies, with a first line that includes additional variation.⁹¹ It is largely syllabic, allowing for the text to take precedence, and it is relatively long, with twenty-nine verses of prose. These elements make the hymn musically engaging and memorable, as well as audibly distinctive from other hymn melodies.

In addition to its general celebratory tone, the *Te Deum* also carried additional meanings. As Kate van Orden notes, within the context of a coronation or other royal ceremony the *Te Deum* reminded performers and listeners "that the king before them was a *rex Christus* and his

⁸⁹ Ruth Steiner, et al. "Te Deum," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/27618>).

⁹⁰ Ruth Steiner, et al. "Te Deum." The first section of text consists of ten lines praising God the Father, quoting the Sanctus of the Mass in the middle, which are followed by a three-line doxology. The second section, in praise of Christ, begins with verse 14 and continues to verse 23. The final section, from verse 24 to the end, consists almost entirely of psalm verses that adapt what has preceded them.

⁹¹ John Caldwell provides an excellent overview of the structure of the hymn in "The 'Te Deum' in Late Medieval England," *Early Music* 6, No. 2 (1978): 188–9.

body politic a *corpus mysticum* they joyfully shared.”⁹² As part of a procession ordered by Henry VIII, the *Te Deum* inserted the monarch into a ceremony from which he was physically absent, mirroring on a musical level the link between a king’s first entry into a city and the advent of Christ that was typically fostered during royal entries.⁹³ The *Te Deum*’s performance thus glorified Christ and reinforced the king’s divine authority as English ruler, allowing participants and spectators to give thanks for both heavenly and earthly kings. Following Henry VIII’s break with Rome, moreover, the *Te Deum* and its accompanying processions became more overtly political, signaling that Henry himself, rather than the Pope, was the head of Christ’s church on earth. Henry VIII employed these processions, then, in an attempt to draw Londoners together and inspire them to praise both God and king, while also retaining a ceremonial connection to the Catholic past. Although it is possible that these events drew some negative reactions from members of the public, contemporary diaries and accounts do not record any such disruptions; thus, any uncooperative or even destructive behavior that occurred was likely minor.

Edward VI’s government clearly recognized the importance of public processions for Catholic worship, but to his Protestant counselors such celebrations represented a threat to their religious agenda. Indeed, the Edwardine government moved quickly to forbid processions, stating in the 1547 royal injunctions that people “shall not from henceforth in any parish church at any time, use any procession about the church or churchyard or other place.”⁹⁴ This restriction

⁹² Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 139.

⁹³ As Gordon Kipling notes, across northern Europe in the Middle Ages royal entries usually borrowed heavily from the liturgical season of Advent, reimagining the city as a New Jerusalem and drawing parallels between the first coming of a king into a city and the advent of Christ. See Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 25–47. The performance of *Te Deum*, with its link to the royal coronations that typically preceded such royal entries, thus provided an audible resonance of the king’s entry despite the lack of his physical presence in the procession.

⁹⁴ Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 124.

also clearly encompassed the larger celebratory processions so common under Henry VIII, as mention of them vanishes from contemporary records during this period. By banning processions, Edward's government effectively removed most civic religious ceremonial from communal life, using the *absence* of this practice as tool for religious conversion. Yet the *Te Deum*, which had played such an integral role in Henry VIII's celebratory processions, continued to occupy a place of importance in Protestant worship. An English version of the *Te Deum* had first surfaced as early as 1538 in London, when it was sung following sermons made by Robert Barnes, Thomas Rooffe, and "other of theyr sect."⁹⁵ In the new *Book of Common Prayer*, the English *Te Deum* retained its place as part of Matins, and John Merbecke adapted the existing music of the Latin hymn to fit the new English words in the *Book of Common Praier Noted*.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the substantial number of surviving polyphonic settings of the English *Te Deum*—many of which are based on the original Latin melody, as earlier settings were—suggests that the *Te Deum* continued to play an important musical role in worship.⁹⁷ As a Protestant text, of course, it was exemplary—its focus on God and Christ and its central commemoration of Christ's sacrifice highlighted doctrinal positions reformers were eager to promote. Furthermore, its ancient provenance resonated with reformers who desired to return to an earlier version of the church. Edward and his government thus converted a hymn whose ritual significance played a vital role in Catholic devotion into an emblem of reformed belief.

After her accession to the throne in July of 1553, Mary I was plagued by questions of her legitimacy and competence, and she devoted considerable effort to assuaging the fears of her own advisors, the court's most powerful noblemen, and the general public. In London, her reign

⁹⁵ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 1:83.

⁹⁶ Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer*, 135.

⁹⁷ John Alpin discusses some of these pieces in "Early English Te-Deum Settings."

began with an auspicious start: on July 19, when she was proclaimed queen at the Cross in Cheapside, there was such a shout from the crowd that, according to one eyewitness, “the style of the proclamation could not be heard.”⁹⁸ Although some English men and women welcomed her rule, Mary also met with resistance. Her proposed and subsequent marriage to Philip of Spain, for example, sparked considerable rancor in the capital, with publications in opposition to the marriage, printed both at home and abroad, flooding London’s streets in the months leading up to Philip’s arrival.⁹⁹ Likewise, her prosecutions of suspected heretics and the executions that began in January of 1555 left those residing in the capital particularly wary; London had been home to a substantial number of reformers under Henry VIII and Edward VI, and it saw more executions than any other diocese in this period.¹⁰⁰ Mary’s program of public processions, designed to mirror similar events during her father’s tenure, thus offered her a way to engender public support when many viewed some of her actions with suspicion.

The *Te Deum* played an early role in Mary I’s relationship with the city of London. After the announcement of her accession at the Cross in Cheapside, the Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Common Council and several Lords, rode to St. Paul’s, where they heard the *Te Deum* sung. In most parishes a solemn *Te Deum* was likewise performed in thanksgiving that evening, and then again throughout the following day.¹⁰¹ Given the *Te Deum*’s prominence to mark the beginning of Henrician processions and its use in the Edwardine liturgy, its appearance at Mary’s accession is perhaps unsurprising; yet even its initial performance at St. Paul’s was already

⁹⁸ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:88–9.

⁹⁹ For an overview of these prints, see Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company*, 827–830.

¹⁰⁰ For more on the Marian heresy trials and executions see Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 102–154.

¹⁰¹ *A London Provisioner’s Chronicle, 1550–1563, by Henry Machyn: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*, ed. Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore (Michigan Publishing, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>), fol. 19r. Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:89–90.

designed to forge a link to Henrician, rather than Edwardine practice. Contemporary accounts all indicate that the July 19 performance following Mary's proclamation was accompanied by the organs, despite their lack of use at the cathedral in the final year of Edward's rule.¹⁰² Moreover, during the reigns of Edward and Henry chroniclers tend to indicate when the *Te Deum* was sung in English, and refer to the Latin original as simply "*Te Deum*."¹⁰³ Thus, I posit that this performance marking Mary's accession was in fact in Latin, despite the regularity of English performance of the hymn over the previous seven years. This immediate return to the performance practice of the Henrician church, then, was an audible signal that Mary's regime would once again require a reconfiguration of spiritual life. That so many were celebrating in London's streets and parishes suggests numerous members of the public welcomed at least a return of public ceremonial.

Like her father before her, Mary I used the *Te Deum* to mark events of political significance. Her first official procession, for example, celebrated her defeat of a popular rebellion led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, which was motivated in large part by her decision to marry Philip of Spain. Among the rebellion's supporters were a detachment of the London trainbands, who were initially sent to help suppress Wyatt's army but instead joined the rebels. Wyatt and his army were stopped, in turn, by other Londoners who blocked access to the city.¹⁰⁴ Though the trials and executions resulting from the rebellion took several months to conclude, Mary

¹⁰² On Sunday, September 4, 1552, the choir at St. Paul's had been commanded to cease use of the organs during the divine service. Nichols, ed., *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 80; *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, fol. 19r; Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:88–9.

¹⁰³ The Pope's representative, Monsignor Giovanni Francesco Commendone, also reported that "various Lords of the Council went to St. Paul's...and had there sung the 'Te Deum laudamus,' playing organs and thanking the Almighty, which displays were not customary with them and had altogether been put aside of late." C. V. Malfatti, *The Accession, Coronation, and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial* (Barcelona, 1956), 20.

¹⁰⁴ Wriothesley gives a detailed account of Wyatt's rebellion and its aftermath on pp. 107–13 (vol. 2).

moved quickly to celebrate her success. On February 8, the day after Wyatt's defeat in London, she ordered St. Paul's and every parish to sing *Te Deum* and ring their bells before going on a general procession. Henry Machyn, a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company and citizen of London, records that processions went about "evere wher that day for joy."¹⁰⁵

In using a celebratory procession to mark her victory, Mary expressed her power *through* an explicit act of Catholic ritual—an important choice at a time when the official religious settlement was far from clear.¹⁰⁶ Given London's role in Wyatt's rebellion, both on the side of the rebels and on behalf of the queen, Mary likely saw the importance of a public display of her political power. Moreover, the ritual would demonstrate to any noblemen inclined towards joining Wyatt that his uprising had been decisively beaten back. By ordering the performance of the *Te Deum*, accompanied by a public, participatory procession through the city's streets, Mary thus sent an audible and visual signal of her intent to her subjects, reminding them of her authority as the spiritual and earthly head of both the English state and its church. In drawing on the liturgically oriented medium of public processions, she further reinforced the validity of such spectacles for communal religious (and national) identity.

When Mary issued her first set of royal injunctions in March of 1554, she took special care to mention processions, stating "that all and all manner of processions of the Church be used, frequented, and continued, after the old order of the Church in the Latin tongue."¹⁰⁷ She herself made use of this directive only four months later, when on July 23 every parish in London was commanded to go on procession, sing *Te Deum*, and ring their bells, probably to

¹⁰⁵ *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, 28r.

¹⁰⁶ Parliament had only passed an act nullifying all Edwardine religious legislation in December.

¹⁰⁷ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 327.

celebrate the arrival of Prince Philip in Winchester the same day.¹⁰⁸ Given the general public opposition to the marriage, Mary likely hoped that a civic celebration would dispel any lingering doubts still held by those fearful of Spanish influence. In ordering a ritual celebration of her upcoming marriage, Mary also reminded her subjects of the sacramental nature of matrimony—a tenet which had been denied under Edward VI. Through their musical procession along London’s streets, the participants in this procession created a temporary space in which to sanctify Mary’s marriage to Philip, bringing the ritual practices of the liturgy into the city’s profane places. By requiring the city’s inhabitants to celebrate her impending marriage publically, Mary also gave Londoners little room to object. Even those who chose not to attend could not escape the pervasive sound of the *Te Deum* and the litany, or the smell of incense.¹⁰⁹ Thus, this procession was designed both to entice Mary’s subjects back to the comfort of Catholic ritual, and to establish her authority over those who might resist.

Like the aforementioned example, Mary’s announcement of her pregnancy at the end of November of 1554 celebrated an event of a personal as well as political nature. Upon receiving news that the queen had conceived a child, St. Paul’s Cathedral held a mass, its choir sang *Te Deum*, and its clergy and singers held a solemn procession around the exterior of the cathedral on November 28.¹¹⁰ The queen also sent a letter to the Bishop of London asking that *Te Deum* be sung in every parish church; and so the following day the bishop commanded every parish to offer a mass of the holy ghost, sing *Te Deum*, go on procession, and ring their bells.¹¹¹ Like the

¹⁰⁸ *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, fol. 34v.

¹⁰⁹ As Magnus Williamson notes, the majority of Marian processions included litanies, even on feasts not traditionally associated with litany recitations. See Magnus Williamson, “Queen Mary I, Tallis’s *O sacrum convivium* and a Latin Litany,” *Early Music* 44, No. 3 (2016): 261.

¹¹⁰ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:124.

¹¹¹ Both Machyn (fol. 40v) and the Greyfriars’ chronicler (93) record these processions.

events that precipitated the two previous processions, Mary's pregnancy would have been cause for concern among staunch reformers, whose hopes rested on Mary's lack of an heir. Eamon Duffy has argued that a great number of Mary's subjects were welcoming of her religious changes, especially early in her reign;¹¹² for those who *did* celebrate the return of Catholic ritual this moment was likely a cause for celebration. Mary's pregnancy also represented the deeply personal, physical triumph of her body to produce an heir. Mary thus once again turned to a ritual recalling the practices of her father's church as a tool to re-convert her subjects to the *Catholicism* of Henry's early reign. Although some of her subjects were hostile to her agenda, that others welcomed their queen's pregnancy is confirmed by records from April 30 the following year, when parishes across London, having heard a rumor that the queen had given birth to a son, spontaneously sang *Te Deum* in thanksgiving.¹¹³

When creating her public image through the performance of the *Te Deum* and ritual processions in her country's capital city, Mary I faced multiple challenges her father had not. Whereas for Henry VIII the link between the *Te Deum*, Christ's supremacy in heaven, and the divine right of kings on earth was taken for granted, Mary I was a female head of state. As such, she was not automatically guaranteed the status that a king in her place would have been accorded. Her position was furthermore tenuous because of her birth—her mother's marriage to her father having been deemed illegitimate by the latter—and her religious identity; Edward VI had, after all, attempted to remove her from the line of succession. By using the *Te Deum* to begin celebratory processions designed to engender public support, Mary symbolically adopted

¹¹² Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, ch. 1, "Rolling Back the Revolution." Duffy admits that reconciliation with the pope was more controversial, but argues that the majority embraced the familiarity of Henrician ritual and liturgy at this time.

¹¹³ *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, fol. 44v. The CWAs of St. Benet Gracechurch record a payment of twenty pence for this event: "Item payd vpon may evyn last to a preste & vj Clarkes for singing of te deum & playnge vpon the orgayns for the berth of our prince *which* was thowght then to be." See LMA P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001, 76.

the title of “king” that ritual performance of the *Te Deum* typically conferred. In reaching back to earlier practices, she furthermore aligned her reign with that of both earlier English monarchs and her Catholic contemporaries abroad. As part of the same strategy, she often referred to herself as “king” or “prince” in both public and private addresses, adopting male-gendered language in order to legitimize her position as head of England.¹¹⁴

Marian processions also often featured a second celebratory hymn that had a long tradition of performance in the Sarum rite: the *Salve festa dies*. Like the *Te Deum*, the *Salve festa dies* had an ancient provenance; its text was taken from a Resurrection poem written by Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530–c. 600) and it was standardized as a liturgical hymn by the tenth century. Originally conceived as a processional hymn for Easter, the *Salve festa dies* proved so attractive that it was adapted for a variety of feasts, with new versions being created as late as the fifteenth century. Adaptations of the hymn were particularly common in the British Isles; the Sarum processional, for example, contains versions of the *Salve festa dies* for Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Visitation, the Name of Jesus, and the dedication of a church.¹¹⁵ In late medieval England, the *Salve festa dies* was often performed in polyphony during processions that celebrated the aforementioned feasts, as handwritten evidence of this practice in surviving printed processions attests.¹¹⁶ Although the *Te Deum* is far more commonly noted in contemporary accounts that record evidence of Marian processions, the *Salve festa dies* makes a

¹¹⁴ Sarah L. Duncan, “The Two Virgin Queens,” *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 30, No. 1 (2004): 78.

¹¹⁵ The York processional also includes seven versions of the *Salve festa dies* for the same feasts, but the majority are different from those in the Sarum processional, indicating a widespread English practice of creating *Salve festa dies* variants. For a general overview of the *Salve festa dies*, see Ruth Ellis Messenger, “Salve Festa Dies,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947): 208–222.

¹¹⁶ Williamson, “Queen Mary I,” 251. Williamson notes two typical types of addition to these books: refrains for processional litanies sung during Rogationtide are commonly accompanied by *faburdens*, and squares (single voice-parts around which polyphony was improvised) were frequently added for the *Salve festa dies*. The general Litany of Saints is also accompanied by *faburden* in the two Westminster-based volumes that are the focus of Williamson’s study.

regular appearance, even in one instance occurring at the same procession as the *Te Deum*: when on 28 November of 1554 Mary's pregnancy was celebrated at St. Paul's.¹¹⁷ In this instance, the intent is clear; the combination of *two* important medieval processional hymns, both of which were typically performed in times of celebration, offered Mary an opportunity to reinforce the festive spirit she hoped to engender among London's doctrinally heterogeneous public. Whereas the *Te Deum* legitimized her as England's monarch, the *Salve festa dies* sanctified and glorified her pregnancy. Although contemporary accounts do not indicate *which* version of the *Salve festa dies* was performed on this occasion, the text for the Visitation would have been the most appropriate: through performance of a hymn celebrating the Virgin's pregnancy with Jesus (and Elizabeth's with John the Baptist), Mary I could petition God for the grace that was bestowed on Elizabeth while also framing her pregnancy as England's salvation from the heresy of English Protestantism, just as Christ's birth had saved humanity.

Unlike the *Te Deum*, moreover, the *Salve festa dies* was always sung *during* rather than preceding processions, meaning that in cases when it was performed, we have a sense of what the auditory experience of those attending would have been. The survival of polyphonic versions of this hymn in Sarum processions, some of which date from the reign of Mary I, strongly implies that the performances of *Salve festa dies* recorded in contemporary accounts were either in faburden or based on squares. Although the *Salve festa dies* was associated with several specific feasts in the Sarum rite, its performance in Marian processions was rarely tied to these feasts. Within the context of general processions, for example, it was performed on 25 January 1555 (the Conversion of St. Paul and the city's most important annual procession), as well as on

¹¹⁷ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:124.

30 November 1557 for St. Andrew's day.¹¹⁸ There is no evidence in contemporary accounts that the *Salve festa dies* was ever used in public celebratory processions ordered by Henry VIII, though the absence of such evidence is inconclusive— given the chant's ubiquity at many of the primary feasts of the liturgical year it would be unsurprising to learn of its performance during an Ascension procession, for example. Yet it does not appear to have been associated at this time with any other feasts. During Mary's reign, then, the *Salve festa dies* seems to have become a general celebratory hymn, functioning like the *Te Deum* in serving as an audible symbol for public religious observance.

By incorporating polyphonic performance of the *Salve festa dies* into civic processions, the Marian government coopted the public's memory of earlier performances of this hymn and linked these past events to current experience. The inclusion of the *Salve festa dies* thus moved Marian processions even further in the direction of recreating Catholic liturgy along London's streets, bringing the sound of late medieval worship alive and reclaiming the city's spaces for the Catholic church. Magnus Williamson has furthermore highlighted the possibility that large general processions such as these might even have included composed polyphony under Mary I, arguing convincingly for a performance of Thomas Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* at a procession in Westminster (perhaps the one held on 27 January 1555) alongside a faburden litany.¹¹⁹ These processions might then have been an even more explicit means of temporary sacralization, recreating the liturgical performance of processional hymns, the litany, and polyphonic anthems in the public, profane place of London's streets.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Wriothsley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:126; *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, 42r; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 94; and Kingsford, ed., *Two London Chronicles*, 41 for descriptions of the former; and *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, 83v for the latter.

¹¹⁹ See Williamson, "Queen Mary I," especially 261–263.

Although Mary drew on Henrician rituals that were designed to elicit support for the English crown in the 1530s and 40s and seem to have met little opposition at that time, she was operating at a moment when two decades of first gradual and then rapid religious reform had reshaped civic life. Gary Gibbs has claimed that as a result of the shift in the cultural meaning of religious signifiers, the “trappings of the old religion” were much more politically powerful for Mary’s government than they had been under earlier monarchs.¹²⁰ Certainly, for those who were grateful for the Marian restoration, the return of rituals they had thought lost forever would have engendered potent religious experiences. Contemporary chroniclers’ dutiful recording of these events, and their descriptions of most participants’ willing—or at least acquiescent—behavior, moreover, also suggests that some Londoners accepted the symbolic power of these rituals. Although typically the individuals recording contemporary events rarely included their own responses to these experiences, Henry Machyn’s candid comments on April 30, 1555, following what was thought to be the celebration of their queen’s newborn son, hint at the devotion to the queen Marian processions may have inspired in him. He writes: “And the morrow after it was turned otherwise to the pleasure of God, but it shall be when it please God, for I trust God that he will remember his true servants that put their trust in him when that they call on him.”¹²¹ Machyn’s commentary reflects both his support for his monarch, and his belief that God will provide for the English people: he has no doubt that Mary will give birth to an heir, because he trusts that when she does so it will be the will of God.

Yet Mary’s processions also provoked strong reactions from Londoners who were opposed to Catholic ritual, and who invoked the “trappings” of traditional religion as a form of

¹²⁰ Gary G. Gibbs, “Marking the Days: Machyn’s Manuscript and the Mid-Tudor Era,” in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon and David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 306.

¹²¹ *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, fol. 44v.

mockery. On Corpus Christi in May of 1554, for example, a man named John Strett attacked the priest bearing the sacrament in a parish procession in Smithfield with a knife, and was taken to Newgate prison for his crime. At the general processions on March 25 and May 15 in 1555, meanwhile, two events occurred involving puddings: at the former a man “delyveryd” (that is, threw) a pudding at one of the prebends in the procession, while at the latter a man was hauled before the bishop after hanging *two* puddings around the neck of a priest.¹²² Such acts were anomalies, but they suggest that some of Mary’s audience attended public processions only grudgingly, and saw these rituals as not only dangerous but, in the case of John Strett, heretical. Bishop Bonner’s visitation of his London diocese, undertaken from 3 September 1554 through 8 October of the following year, supports this hypothesis. In his visits, Bonner asked specifically whether any members of each parish “denieth or refuseth to go in procession upon Sundays or other days, when it is used.” In November of 1554 at least one parishioner, Stephen Walden of St. Martin’s, Ludgate, was found to have been shirking this duty, and was ordered to reform his ways.¹²³ Although it is possible that similar disruptions may have occurred at Henrician processions, none of the contemporary accounts of these events record any such incidents, which suggests that these Marian protests were unique in their scale and meaning.

In his study of Machyn’s chronicle, Gibbs has argued that since Mary could not rely on the traditional backing usually afforded a monarch by the nobility, she needed the negotiating leverage that came from popular support instead. These civic processions, he suggests, provided

¹²² John Strett’s actions were noted by both Henry Machyn (32v) and the anonymous Greyfriars chronicler (89); for the event on March 25 see Greyfriars, 95 and for May 15’s occurrence, see *A London Provisioner’s Chronicle*, fol. 45r. In the sixteenth century puddings were most often made of meat, grains or breadcrumbs, spices, and fat, and they were usually boiled. These were heavy concoctions, which—when hurled at an individual walking in procession—could have done serious bodily harm. For more on the ingredients in sixteenth-century English food, see Thomas Dawson’s *The Good Huswifes Jewell* (Edward White: London, 1585), one of the earliest printed English recipe books.

¹²³ Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 351.

the opportunity to solidify the spiritual relationship between subject and sovereign, allowing Mary to win individuals over to her cause in a religiously and politically profound manner and serving as a catalyst for those who remembered such ceremonies from their youth but whose beliefs had been shaped by a Protestant education.¹²⁴ Machyn's brief interjection about Mary's child following the ritual performance of *Te Deum* across London, for example, does suggest empathy for and devotion to his sovereign. The participatory nature of these processions likewise meant that they bound London's inhabitants to one another and to their shared community, reinforcing their identity as residents of the realm's most important city. For ardent Catholics, they undertook the crucial work of re-sacralizing the city's public spaces after they had been stripped of their liturgical possibilities by Edward VI, demonstrating to London's inhabitants the value of Catholic ritual for public faith. As the consistent use of the *Te Deum* at the beginning of these processions indicates, the sound of this particular hymn played a crucial role in re-imbuing these rituals with symbolic meaning and claiming for Mary the title of king.

Mary's similar use of the *Salve festa dies* to heighten certain processions' celebratory nature likewise linked these events to the Sarum liturgy, and was similarly meant to draw those involved back to the Catholic church. Indeed, the *Salve festa dies* became so ubiquitous as a part of Marian processions that it featured in an illustration in John Foxe's *The Actes and Monuments*, a martyrology written during the reign of Elizabeth I (see Figure 28). In this image, which depicts a general procession held during the burning of the bones of reformers Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius in Cambridge in 1557, those processing include tonsured priests holding service books as well as men carrying crosses, candles, and banners of the Trinity and St. George; the holy sacrament is borne under a canopy, and those watching the event kneel as it passes by. In

¹²⁴ Gibbs, "Marking the Days," 299–302.

the middle of the image, the largest text on the page indicates that those processing are singing the *Salve festa dies*. The inaccuracies and exaggerations in Foxe's *Actes*, of course, have long been recognized by scholars, and it is possible that the *Salve festa dies* did not make an appearance at this particular event.¹²⁵ Yet for Foxe and his publisher John Day to include the hymn's text in one of the book's images indicates that memories of Marian processions containing *Salve festa dies* were strong even five years after Elizabeth's accession, which in turn



Figure 28. Burning Martin Bucer's and Paul Fagius's bones, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ See, for example, William E. Andrews, *A Critical and Historical Review of Fox's Book of Martyrs, Shewing the Inaccuracies, Falsehoods, and Misrepresentations in that Work of Deception* (London, 1824–26); for a more recent discussion of this issue see John N. King, "Fact and Fiction in Foxe's Book of Martyrs," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 12–35.

¹²⁶ The caption reads: "The description of the burning of Mayster Bucers and Paulus Phagius bones and burning of their bookes with a solemne procession" (1563 edition, p. 1629).

suggests that the hymn's use may have been even more widespread than contemporary records specify. Mary's adaptation of this liturgical item from a processional hymn for specific feasts into a song of general thanksgiving, then, appears to have been successful (or at least widespread); through the publication of this image in Foxe's *Actes* throughout Elizabeth's reign, the Marian regime continued to be linked to processional singing of the *Salve festa dies*.

Yet as the few negative reactions to these events recorded by contemporary chroniclers indicate, Marian civic processions were not entirely successful: public displays such as these also afforded opportunities for resistance, and staunch reformers in London took advantage of these openings to protest the return of civic Catholicism. While Mary exploited the power of civic ceremony and ritual in London in an attempt to win support for her rule, reintroduce her subjects to Catholic practice, and sacralize the public spaces profaned by the reforms of her brother Edward VI, the "trappings of the old religion" were not enough to reach every member of London's community. The ritual performance of liturgical music such as the *Te Deum*, the *Salve festa dies*, and the Latin litany were central to Mary's agenda: not only did the general musical style of these performances explicitly recall the experience of the Latin mass, but the specific music of these individual pieces signified royal power, religious celebration, and communal prayer. The performance of these particular hymns, then, was intended to lay the groundwork for public acceptance of the Marian restoration. Certainly for many of those gathered to witness or participate in these processions, these techniques would have been effective, drawing them back into the familiarity of Catholic ritual and promoting popular piety. But both reformers and conservatives believed in the power of liturgical music to sway hearts and minds, and the ubiquity of these hymns likely played a role in provoking the acts of protest with which certain of these processions were met.

Popular Piety and Doctrinal Change: Religious Music for Civic London

Religion permeated not only the typical devotional contexts of church and home but also the more profane realms of employment and social life for those living and working in London during the late Middle Ages. Popular expressions of religious piety likewise took many forms, and religious music appeared in numerous guises. As this chapter has demonstrated, professional and civic forms of religious experience continued to play a foundational role in secular life under both Edward VI and Mary I. The primary organizations through which Londoners encountered such experiences were their livery companies, which sponsored religious events and the performance of sacred music in a variety of contexts, and joined in civic processions that likewise featured liturgical hymns and polyphony. Some of these experiences, such as religious services for company feasts and the production of plays in company halls, shifted or were adapted to accommodate the changing liturgical and theological requirements of the Edwardine and Marian regimes. In these instances, the changes made to musical practices by and large indicate a reliance on earlier musical genres and styles that allowed London's inhabitants to navigate a changing religious landscape, though exceptions shed light on the extent to which religious musical forms could be contested in this period. The civic religious processions of Henry VIII, meanwhile, ceased entirely under Edward VI but enjoyed a dramatic revival by Mary I. Although contemporary accounts by and large suggest Mary's civic processions achieved their aims, the resistance with which they were met by some Londoners indicates that public acts of piety in this period were nevertheless a risky endeavor.

In each of these instances, acts designed to provoke spiritual growth in those participating were framed by circumstances or surroundings that were more commonly occupied by strictly secular experiences. That such religious events were a (relatively) constant part of communal life

in England's capital throughout the 1540s and 50s demonstrates a conspicuous level of continuity in a period of rapid and often polarizing change. This phenomenon furthermore suggests that those in charge of planning the types of events surveyed in this chapter deliberately sought out elements of the familiar in order to survive the religious upheaval effected by the Edwardine and Marian governments. Popular piety in the mid-Tudor period, then, was deeply indebted to the structures and systems of the late medieval Catholic church.

In each of the aforementioned contexts, music did (or had the potential to) play an important role in communal events. Although musicological scholarship of sixteenth-century England more often focuses on music making in settings like chapels and churches, these cases show that religious music was more pervasive, and its styles and functions more eclectic, than is usually acknowledged. Whereas London's inhabitants heard the religious music used in these contexts infrequently compared to the practices of their parish churches, this music was nevertheless an important piece of their collective experience of the English reformations. Such music, moreover, often played a vital role in constructing religious, communal, civic, and national identity. Many if not all of these experiences relied on the audible resonance of similar events in the not-so-distant past for their efficacy; it was only through an audience's memory of this music in different circumstances that imbued these musical performances with meaning in the here-and-now. In these cases, moreover, those performing or calling for performance of religious music depended on music's unique potential to sacralize space at will. Like the music of the parish church, or the devotional and religious song discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the musical style, form, and content of this music was not always constant; yet in the majority of these situations, there was nevertheless considerable overlap in musical practice from one regime to the next. What is more, religious music continued to be central to the actions of both reformers

and conservatives, who relied on the medium's affective potential to encourage acceptance of doctrinal change. Whilst their objectives were at odds, they agreed that music could be harnessed to mold religious experience and confessionalize a diverse public, and that civic life provided an important mechanism for doing so.

CHAPTER V

Reforming Urban England: Music and Religious Change in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford

The first four chapters of this dissertation have centered around London and its role in the English reformations. Chapter 5, finally, expands the geographic boundaries of the project by exploring the relationship between music and religious reform in other English urban centers, namely Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford.¹ Scholarship of music making in this period tends to focus on documentation of local musical practices, rather than examining important *places* with an eye to understanding their relationship to one another.² By comparing musical practices in cities with some fundamental characteristics in common, it is possible to determine how economic, geographic, social, political, and cultural factors affected the intersection between music and religious reform across England, and what set London apart from other urban communities. Chosen primarily for their relative sizes but also for their extant source material, the parish archives of Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford demonstrate that while acceptance of—or acquiescence to—religious change under both Edward VI and Mary I largely mirrored that in London, key differences in musical practice and religious belief separate the nation’s capital from its other

¹ All three of these cities were among the thirty largest population centers in England at this time: Bristol was third behind London and Norwich, while Exeter was fifth or sixth and Oxford twenty-ninth. For more on England’s population during this period see E.A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

² Magnus Williamson’s study of Louth is one such example; although it is a fascinating case study of parish music making in an English town, Louth was not a particularly important place. See Williamson, “The Role of Religious Guilds in the Cultivation of Ritual Polyphony in England: The Case of Louth, 1450–1550,” in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 82–93.

cities. I furthermore posit fundamental economic and cultural distinctions between London and Bristol on the one hand and Exeter and Oxford on the other, which had considerable impact on the choices their communities made with respect to liturgical music making.³ Whereas parishes in the former two cities were by and large quick to turn to polyphonic music, in Exeter and Oxford music played only a minor role in new worship services at this time. The maintenance of performing forces in almost all parishes in this sample, however, indicates an important degree of continuity in musical practice throughout the period.

Records from the parishes in all three of these cities furthermore suggest a practice that sets them apart from those in London: certain parishes in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford owned Catholic and Anglican service and music books simultaneously, suggesting a tendency towards hybrid liturgical services designed to appeal to a membership with both heterodox and orthodox views. Although in some cases this may reflect merely the typical sluggishness of parish bureaucracy, this type of liturgical blending mirrors the musical hybridity found in several of the livery company-related practices discussed in Chapter 4. I suggest, then, that the musical practices of these urban parishes reflect a more widespread custom of incorporating and adapting previously celebrated music as a means of understanding doctrinal change, and that in this, they—like London’s church communities—saw music as a valuable way to make sense of their rapidly shifting world. Examining musical practices in these communities thus allows for a more granular understanding of the complexities of religious change at this time.

Before continuing, I must offer one note of caution about this chapter’s primary source material. Unlike in London, where the majority of extant CWAs from the Edwardine and Marian

³ For a discussion of the change in wealth in medieval England over time see H. C. Darby et al., “The Changing Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England: 1086–1334–1525,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 5, No. 3 (1979): 247–262.

years cover the entire period without gaps or with only a year or two missing, in the cities discussed in this chapter that is the case for only eight of the nineteen parishes whose records are extant.⁴ Dissolution inventories survive only for Exeter and Oxford, moreover, and these lists unfortunately do not include books of any kind.⁵ Likewise, manuscript sources of music do not exist for any of the three cities covered here. Although a number of churches provide enough data to offer some insight into parish musical practices in these cities, the conclusions expressed in this chapter are necessarily more tentative than those offered in Chapter 1. Further research into the civic and ecclesiastical archives of these communities, such as court records or the accounts of the craft guilds of Bristol, may offer additional evidence of how religious music played a role in confessionalization in English urban centers at this time, but such a task is beyond the scope of this dissertation.⁶

Charting the Late-Medieval Liturgy: Urban Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford

Like London, each of the three cities surveyed in this chapter functioned as an economic, cultural, and political center for its surrounding countryside in the sixteenth century (for a map of these cities in relation to London, see Figure 29). Whereas Oxford played this role primarily through housing its universities and colleges, Bristol and Exeter were port cities: located on or

⁴ The parishes in question are All Saints, St. Mary Redcliffe, and St. Werburgh in Bristol; St. John, St. Mary Steps, and St. Petrock in Exeter; and St. Michael Carfax in Oxford. It is remarkable that records remain from Bristol's and Exeter's parishes at all: one typical method of account keeping in former at this time was to record each year's accounts in a small booklet, and in the latter churchwardens used rolls exclusively.

⁵ Partial rough inventories compiled for Bristol's parishes in 1552 do exist (located in TNA E 117/2/66), but these are lists of church plate only, and offer none of the other information typically found in the dissolution inventories. Bristol is also missing visitation records that date before 1556, making it difficult to ascertain whether any individuals or communities were punished for refusing to adapt their liturgical practices.

⁶ The majority of Exeter's craft guilds were only established in the mid-sixteenth century, so their records would not contain information regarding religious reform under Edward VI or Mary I. Ecclesiastical court records across England for this period are sparse, but as extant records for London's Consistory Court for 1554/5 contain a handful of entries regarding parish musical practices, it is possible similar sources for other cities would also be fruitful.

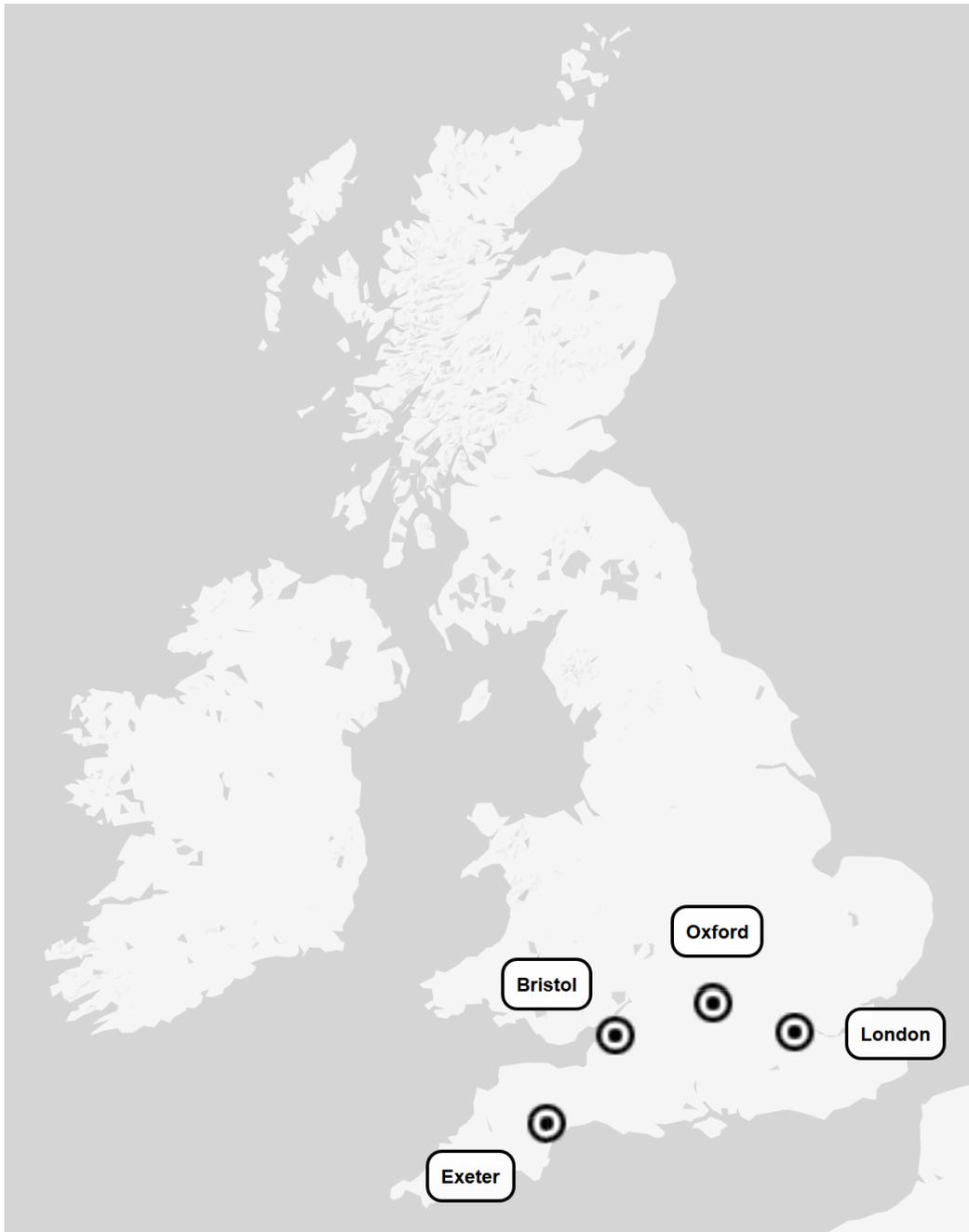


Figure 29. Map of Exeter, Bristol, Oxford, and London.

near the English coast, they served as trade hubs for bringing goods into the country.⁷ In this section, I offer an overview of the unique as well as shared features of these locations,

⁷ Exeter, of course, is located slightly inland on the river Exe, and in the Middle Ages had been effectively cut off from the sea by successive earls of Devon, who erected weirs to serve their manor. During this time, Exeter's trade was carried out in Topsham, some four miles closer to the sea than Exeter. In 1539 a group of citizens petitioned to

demonstrating their connection to and differences from the English capital. Although little scholarship exists concerning the musical practices of these cities prior to the mid-sixteenth century, I offer a brief discussion of parish music making in these centers during the late-Henrician period; while Bristol shared strong similarities with London's parishes, in Oxford and Exeter a lack of funds and reduced congregation sizes often meant musical practices were somewhat limited. Although the populations of Bristol and Exeter were close in size during this period, I argue that Bristol's history as an important port city meant its institutions—both civic and religious—functioned similarly to those in London. Exeter's rapid ascendancy in the early to mid-sixteenth century, meanwhile, meant that even at the end of Henry VIII's reign it was more akin to the smaller city of Oxford.⁸ These key differences played a role in how parishes in these urban centers used music throughout the mid-Tudor period.

Bristol – A Commercial Hub

In the early fifteenth century, Bristol was home to a flourishing trade in French wine and English wool, which spurred the city's rapid growth; brought to a halt by the English defeat in the Hundred Years' War, trade figures bounced back to new heights by the 1490s only to wane again at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹ As Bristol experienced this second major decline, it was surpassed in economic importance by Exeter, which rapidly overtook Bristol in cloth trade at a time when traffic in imports also began to concentrate in London.¹⁰ Despite these economic setbacks, Bristol nevertheless maintained its stature as England's third-largest city;

remove these blockages, setting off a lengthy engineering project that took several decades to complete and resulted in Exeter itself serving as the port city. For more on the Exeter canal see W. B. Stephens, "The Exeter Lighter Canal, 1566–1698," *The Journal of Transport History* 3, No. 1 (1957): 1–11.

⁸ By the mid-sixteenth century, for example, Bristol's craft guilds were well established, forming the backbone of civic life and regulating most manufacturing and commerce in the city. In Exeter, the major craft guilds were not founded until the 1550s (from 1556 to 1560 the Bakers, the Cordwainers, the Merchants, the Glovers, the Skinners, the Smiths, and the Cutlers were all incorporated in Exeter). For more on Exeter's craft guilds see Walter J. Harte, *Gleanings from the Common Place Book of John Hooker, Relating to the City of Exeter. (1485–1590)* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Co., 1927), 26.

⁹ For an overview of Bristol's trade history in the late medieval and early modern periods see Sacks, *The Widening Gate*; Sacks discusses this rocky history on pp. 12–25.

¹⁰ Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, 28–9.

like London, in the later Middle Ages its citizens were well educated.¹¹ Though less than one-fifth the size of London, it similarly maintained a high density of ecclesiastical provision, including eighteen parishes, a large Augustinian Abbey, a Benedictine priory, two hospitals, and four friaries.¹² As in London, in Bristol religious processions played an important role in the official civic calendar: on Corpus Christi, for example, the city's friars, monks, and clergy, along with contingents from the city's parishes and possibly its civic officials, assembled with music, flags and banners to process through the streets.¹³ Celebrations of specific saints were likewise tied to the city's craft guilds, who honored their patron saints with their own feasts and processions.¹⁴ The most important of the city's civic processions were those that, like in London, merged religious thanksgiving with secular celebration, in this case of the community's role in Bristol's trade economy. Held on the feasts of St. Clement (November 23) and St. Katherine (November 25), these processions came at the precise moment in the liturgical year when the great cloth fleet sailed from Bristol to Bordeaux; through a mixture of ritual, music, and civic celebration, Bristol's communities marked the most major events in the city's annual economic cycle.¹⁵ Public ritual was thus, as in London, integral to the process of placemaking and the shared sense of identity Bristol's residents cultivated.

¹¹ For more on the educational opportunities afforded to inhabitants of Bristol and London see Burgess, "Educated Parishioners in London and Bristol."

¹² Burgess, "Educated Parishioners in London and Bristol," 289–90.

¹³ Martha C. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c. 1530–c. 1570* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 28. David Harris Sacks claims that members of every trade or craft company, along with the mayor and members of the Common Council, also participated in these processions; Skeeters argues that the lack of expenditure on this event in the city's account books means it was primarily a clerical affair. See Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, 137.

¹⁴ Bristol's guilds also maintained their own chapels where they held special masses for members and services honoring the guild's dead. John Latimer, *Sixteenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1908), 5–6.

¹⁵ For a more thorough overview of these ceremonies see Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 30–2 and Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, 139–43.

Henry VIII's dissolution of the English monasteries in the 1530s, although it affected those across the realm, had an oversize impact on the city of Bristol, where the act resulted in the unification of the city's churches under a single administrative unit. Until 1542, the parishes of Bristol had been overseen by two separate dioceses: the fifteen parishes west and north of the river Avon were subject to the Bishop of Worcester, and the three remaining parishes to the east

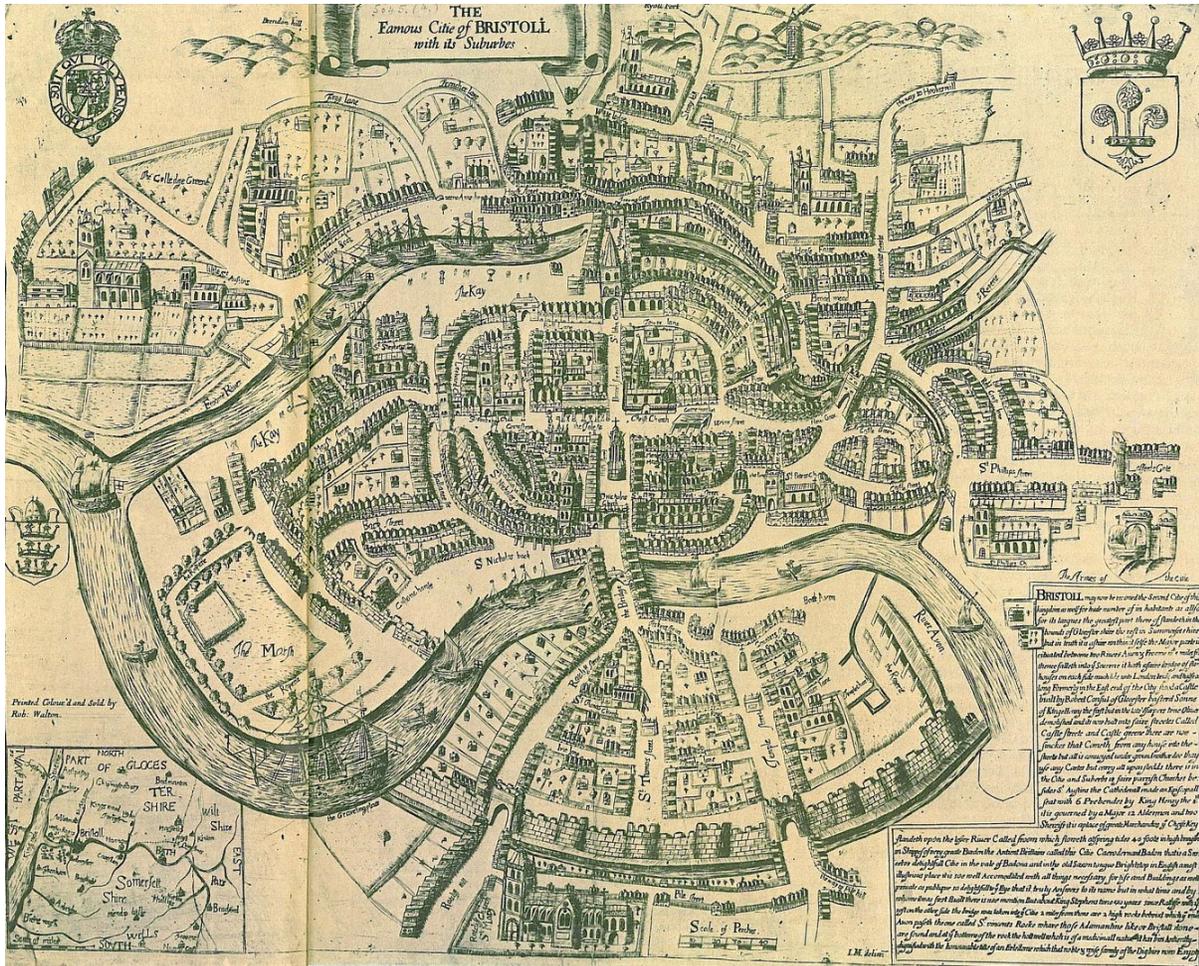


Figure 30. Map of sixteenth-century Bristol.¹⁶ and south fell under authority of Bishop of Bath and Wells (for a map of sixteenth-century Bristol, see Figure 30). Following the dissolution, the property of St. Augustine's Abbey became the foundation of the new diocese of Bristol, which brought the city's parishes closer together

¹⁶ Map courtesy of <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/timeline/bristolmap.htm>; I have been unable to locate the original source.

and also gave them consistent central oversight.¹⁷ This centralization prior to the onset of Edwardine reform allows for the treatment of the city's parishes as a unified sample—representing the practices of a specific place—though they were shaped by this disjunct history.

Given Bristol's economic prominence in late medieval and early modern English life, it is surprising that religious reform in the city has received comparatively little scholarly attention. Joseph Bettey's pamphlet on the topic provides a cursory overview of sixteenth-century religious life, demonstrating that as in London, there were a number of prominent citizens and clergy in Bristol who preached or supported religious reform in the later years of Henry VIII's reign.¹⁸ Martha Skeeters, meanwhile, has documented the role of Bristol's clergy in the reform movements of the sixteenth century, arguing that evangelical theology helped to redefine the role of the clergy from the 1540s on; her discussion of lay reactions to reform, however, is limited to the laity's relationship with Bristol's clergy.¹⁹ Bristol had been one of England's greatest centers of Lollardy in the fifteenth century, and even into the sixteenth century ecclesiastical authorities continued to uncover groups in the city that professed Lollard beliefs.²⁰ Joining Lutherans in the 1520s to distribute heretical books, these Lollards almost certainly became part of the reform movement in the city.²¹ By the 1530s, the rejection of the cult of saints was a popular ideal espoused by a number of Bristolites. Indeed, the reformer Hugh Latimer preached on this topic in Bristol in Lent of 1533, winning the support of large numbers of leading townsmen, while also

¹⁷ R. C. Latham, ed., *Bristol Charters, 1509–1899* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1947), 21.

¹⁸ Bettey, *Church and Community in Bristol*. Bettey places heavy emphasis on the vitality of late medieval religious practices in Bristol, demonstrating how such rituals were integrated into civic life. As such, he overstates the extent to which the Edwardine government's reforms were "devastating" for the church in Bristol.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the beginning of this transformation see Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 60–62.

²⁰ Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, 157; Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 18.

²¹ Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 36–7.

spurring opposition from some members of the clergy.²² In the 1540s, Bristol saw open hostility between vocal reformers and adamant conservatives. The conservative preacher Roger Edgeworth, who preached in the city either late in Henry VIII's reign or early in Edward VI's reign claimed that some residents' "mocking of diuine seruice letteth and hindreth other men from theyr praiers," and counseled conservative listeners to ignore the taunting of reformers.²³ Although Edgeworth is hardly an unbiased observer, his indignant claims about Bristol's reformers must have held a kernel of truth; it is thus reasonable to conclude that there was strong sentiment across the confessional spectrum in the city on the eve of Edward VI's accession.

The provision of music at Bristol parishes in this period is relatively easy to document; though the survival of churchwardens' accounts is less chronologically consistent than in London, records from this period exist for five of the city's churches.²⁴ Whereas most of England's parishes were able to pay regular salaries for only a single parish clerk, Bristol's churches on average maintained performing forces like their London counterparts: Christ Church boasted three or four clerks from 1544–47, while All Saints, St. John the Baptist, and St. Nicholas all hired two full-time clerks throughout the 1540s; only St. Thomas the Martyr employed a single clerk.²⁵ Extra singers, including children, regularly made appearances at the

²² Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, 157; Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 38–9. For an overview of religious reform in 1530s Bristol see Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, ch. 3: "Community and Conflict: The 1530s."

²³ *Sermons Very Fruitfull, Godly and Learned, Preached and Set Foorthe by Maister Roger Edgeworth* (London: R. Caly, 1557), 169, 236; quoted in Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 57.

²⁴ For a list of Bristol parishes and their extant records, see the appendix.

²⁵ CWAs of Christ Church, Bristol, Bristol Archives (BA) P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fols. 18v, 26v47r; CWAs of All Saints, Bristol, BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated; CWAs of St. John the Baptist, BA P.St JB/ChW/1/c, pp. 87, 91, 98. Information about St. Nicholas comes from E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, "On the Medieval Parish Records of the Church of St. Nicholas, Bristol," *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society* 6 (1906): 60; Atchley notes that in the sixteenth century St. Nicholas always maintained two clerks, but that in some years there were one or two more clerks besides these. The records of All Saints are more difficult to parse than the other two parishes; since neither of the men whom I suggest were paid as clerks in this period are identified by title, my assessment is based on similar payments to different individuals identified as clerks in later accounts.

more well supplied churches: All Saints, for example, made yearly payments to a “clerke & his company” on Corpus Christi, also paying six children for the same feast in 1542.²⁶ Even the smaller of these parishes, moreover, ensured a more elaborate level of musical performance on feasts or for special services: in 1544, for example, St. Thomas’s hired a second clerk to help in the choir through the Christmas season, while also paying three shillings, five pence during the year to a priest and clerks “for synging of our lady masse.”²⁷ The parish of St. Nicholas, similarly, paid “for syngyng of a antem at mydsomere befor the hy awtyre” in 1538/9. This parish, moreover, maintained the common practice of singing a short *Salve* service after Compline each evening, at which an anthem was sung to the Virgin Mary.²⁸ These expenditures on musical personnel are in line with the figures outlined for London in Chapter 1, demonstrating that Bristol’s parishes sought out musical elaboration of the Latin mass in the final years of Henry VIII’s reign similar to that found in England’s capital.

Although fewer accounting entries document the purchase of music books at Bristol’s parishes in this period, what records exist again suggest provision similar to London, with churches owning the necessary books to perform a full complement of Catholic services. An inventory taken in 1519 at the parish of St. Nicholas, for example, demonstrates typical holdings: the church possessed seven antiphoners, six grails (graduals), six processional, four legends, four hymnals, three manuals, two ordinals, a gospel book, an epistle book, a mass book for the

²⁶ BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated. St. Nicholas also maintained children in the choir; Atchley notes a payment, for example, in 1521/2 “for mendyng a chilles suplis belongyng to the quer, j d.” See Atchley, “St. Nicholas, Bristol,” 61.

²⁷ BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, unfoliated. One “Thomas clerke” who had previously served at St. Stephen’s was hired “to helpe the Quyer the Cristmas holydays.”

²⁸ Atchley, “St. Nicholas, Bristol,” 56. This parish apparently also maintained a special Lady mass sung during Lent, the last of which was held in 1548 (*ibid.*, 60).

high altar, a collect book, and “a queyer of the transfiguracion & of fest of Ihesu.”²⁹ At All Saints in 1539/40, the churchwardens supplemented the parish’s liturgical books with “v prycksonge bokes,” which were presumably filled with polyphonic settings of the mass ordinary and possibly other items. Given its staff of three or four paid musicians Christ Church in Bristol would probably have owned similar books, but unfortunately, accounts survive for only a single pre-Edwardine year. Nevertheless, what information does exist suggests that Bristol’s parishes enjoyed rich musical traditions in the years preceding Edward VI’s accession, and that these communities valued music for enhancing and structuring their worship experience.

Exeter – A City on the Rise

Although Exeter was only slightly smaller in size than Bristol, its parish provision for music under Henry VIII was not nearly so robust. Like Bristol and London, Exeter boasted a wealthy merchant class whose members held the most important civic offices and ran their respective craft guilds, and who donated their wealth likewise to their parishes and religious fraternities.³⁰ For its size of approximately 8,000 inhabitants, Exeter possessed a large number of parishes: nineteen in total, including the two churches that lay outside the city walls, St. Sidwell’s and St. David’s (on average 420 inhabitants per parish; see Figure 31 for a map). As Wallace T. MacCaffrey notes, the extent and population of each parish was relatively small, which MacCaffrey argues helps to explain why Exeter’s churches received fewer benefactions

²⁹ Atchley, “St. Nicholas, Bristol,” 51.

³⁰ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540–1640: The Growth of an English County Town* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 165, 177. The city’s civic life revolved also around its cathedral, which dominated the landscape. MacCaffrey argues that Exeter’s episcopal and monastic establishments “stood apart from and above” the lives of the city’s citizens, but also points out that eight of the city’s parishes were controlled largely by the dean and chapter of Exeter, suggesting that the latter in fact had considerable oversight of parish life.

supporting the church fabric than parishes in much smaller towns.³¹ Compared to Bristol, with a population of roughly 10,000 but only eighteen churches (on average 555 inhabitants per parish), these communities would have been considerably smaller and less well off, though both cities had a range of large and small churches. Still, this size difference seems to have had an impact on musical provision, both in the Henrician period and throughout the mid-sixteenth century.



Figure 31. Map of sixteenth-century Exeter (John Hooker’s map, published 1587).³²

Unlike in both London and Bristol, where a number of inhabitants spoke out in favor of reform even before Henry VIII’s government had implemented any changes, early support of religious reform in Exeter was almost nonexistent. No traces of Lollardy can be found among

³¹ MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540–1640*, 177.

³² John Hooker, *Isca Damnoniorum ... Latine Exonia, Anglice Exeancestre vel Exestre at nunc vulgo Exeter ... Opera et impensis J. Hokeri ... hanc tabella[m] sculpsit R. Hogenbergius* (London, 1587); copy held by the British Library (<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/isca-damnoniorum>, shelfmark Maps C.5.a.3.).

extant records, and, as Robert Whiting notes, only a handful of examples of inhabitants challenging the ritual system exist for the entire diocese.³³ This is not to say that there was no interest in learning about religious reform—the Exeter resident John Hooker, writing during the reign of Elizabeth I, claimed that when Hugh Latimer came to preach in Exeter in 1534 the audience was “so greate and the Church so full that the Church glass wyndowes were broken open for the people to hear the sermon; who the more he was heard the more he was lyked.”³⁴ Hooker was a child when the incident in question occurred, and his description is likely exaggerated. Still, his account suggests some interest in religious change in Exeter, even if overall the city’s residents were less approving of reform than those in London and Bristol.

Churchwardens’ accounts (CWAs) and other records from Exeter parishes are, on the whole, less revealing than those in the other cities considered in this dissertation, as they contain fewer records of parish practices than those from London, Bristol, and Oxford. Whether this is due to the smaller size of the churches in question, a lack of funds, or simply a tendency to keep less detailed accounts is impossible to know. Extant CWAs from the 1540s exist for four of Exeter’s nineteen parishes: Holy Trinity, St. John, St. Mary Steps, and St. Petrock. Although each of these churches almost certainly maintained a parish clerk, only the records of St. Petrock list payments to one.³⁵ According to these accounts, moreover, none of these parishes ever hired additional musicians for special services or important feasts, though as at most English churches

³³ Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, 23. One of these individuals, the Exeter resident Otto Corbinhe expressed his contempt for intercessions in 1515: “I care not for my soul so I may have an honest living in this world; and when ye see my soul hang on the hedge, cast ye stones thereto.” Hostility was also expressed towards images and the cult of saints, but again rarely; Whiting documents one instance of each in Exeter, the former occurring not until 1558 (*ibid.*, 62).

³⁴ Devon Heritage Centre (DHC) Book 51, fol. 343. Quoted in MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540–1640*, 188.

³⁵ CWAs for St. Petrock, Exeter, DHC 2946A/add99/PW/3, rolls 110, 111, 112. The general paucity of information about the employment of both priests and clerks in Exeter CWAs suggests that payments to these individuals were typically recorded elsewhere, since it would have been impossible for these communities to function without at least a small staff.

often the priest and clerk received small sums for the parishes' annual obits. As was the case in London, these churches probably maintained small volunteer choirs comprised of a handful of parishioners with musical training led by the parish clerk, but these groups most likely performed polyphony only in the form of simple faburden. Personnel evidence from Exeter thus suggests on the whole that its churches were adequately staffed but that its choirs were also unlikely to have performed complex polyphony, even on major feasts.

Records regarding music and other liturgical books support this hypothesis. Of the aforementioned parishes, none record purchases or even maintenance of *any* books in the 1540s, let alone copies of polyphony. Certainly, these communities must have possessed the bare minimum of liturgical books needed to perform some Catholic services; without at least a missal even performing a weekly mass would have been impossible. At St. Mary Major, for example, an Exeter parish whose only surviving sixteenth-century records are in the form of inventories, in 1553 the church still owned two Latin mass books, two half portises, one manual, and a “boke of the feastes of *our lady* in parchment.”³⁶ It is likely, therefore, that other Exeter parishes were similarly endowed in the late Henrician period. Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey have demonstrated that parish clerks in some instances might have owned personal music books, which they used in their respective churches.³⁷ It is possible, then, that at some Exeter parishes

³⁶ Inventories for St. Mary Major, Exeter, DHC 2945A/add99/PW/1, 12v. This inventory, which will be discussed in the following section, also included English-texted service books.

³⁷ Burgess and Wathey cite a single example to make this point: at All Saints in Bristol, when the parish clerk William Brigeman died in 1524, he left the church at least four sets of partbooks (containing masses, votive antiphons, Magnificats, and responsorial items), two choirbooks (containing Kyries, Alleluias, masses, antiphons, Lady mass sequences, a passion, and Fayrfax's mass *O bone iesu*), books and rolls for children, other rolls containing anthems, carols, processional items, and “diverse other small songs.” While this list is impressive, few other records like it exist. Burgess and Wathey argue that given the wealth of other English parishes at this time, there is no reason to assume this practice did *not* occur at other churches during this period. Yet one example is hardly paradigmatic; while this record suggests that some English parishes did possess music not accounted for in CWAs, there is little evidence that the practice was widespread. See Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey, “Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450–1550” *Early Music History* 19 (2000): 34–35.

liturgical books were provided by the parish clerk. Yet liturgical books at this time were often in need of repair due to their constant use; in London and Bristol, CWAs record payments for rebinding and other book maintenance in the 1540s. Thus, the fact that none of these Exeter parishes paid for similar services during this period suggests they were unwilling to spend money on music whose function was to enhance liturgical experience. It is unlikely, moreover, that *all* music books in Exeter would have been the property of parish clerks and thus absent from CWAs. Thus, whether due to financial resources or community desire, musically elaborate liturgies do not appear to have been regular in Exeter on the eve of the Reformation.³⁸ As I will demonstrate, this trend continued throughout the mid-Tudor period, indicating that preferences about music had little to do with the confessional inclinations of the city's inhabitants.

Oxford – A Center of Learning and Local Trade

In contrast to London, Bristol, and Exeter, all of which owed their prominence first and foremost to their commercial significance, Oxford was an important center because it housed institutions of higher learning (for a map, see Figure 32). Its high survival rate of source material, combined with its economic, educational, religious, and cultural connections to both London and the court, nevertheless make it a valuable point of comparison. Although the city had steadily gained

³⁸ In contrast, musical provision at Exeter Cathedral was robust; its accounts document several payments for either new musical books for the choir (“pro libris cant’ pro choro”) or repairs to existing books. See Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547–1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 16.

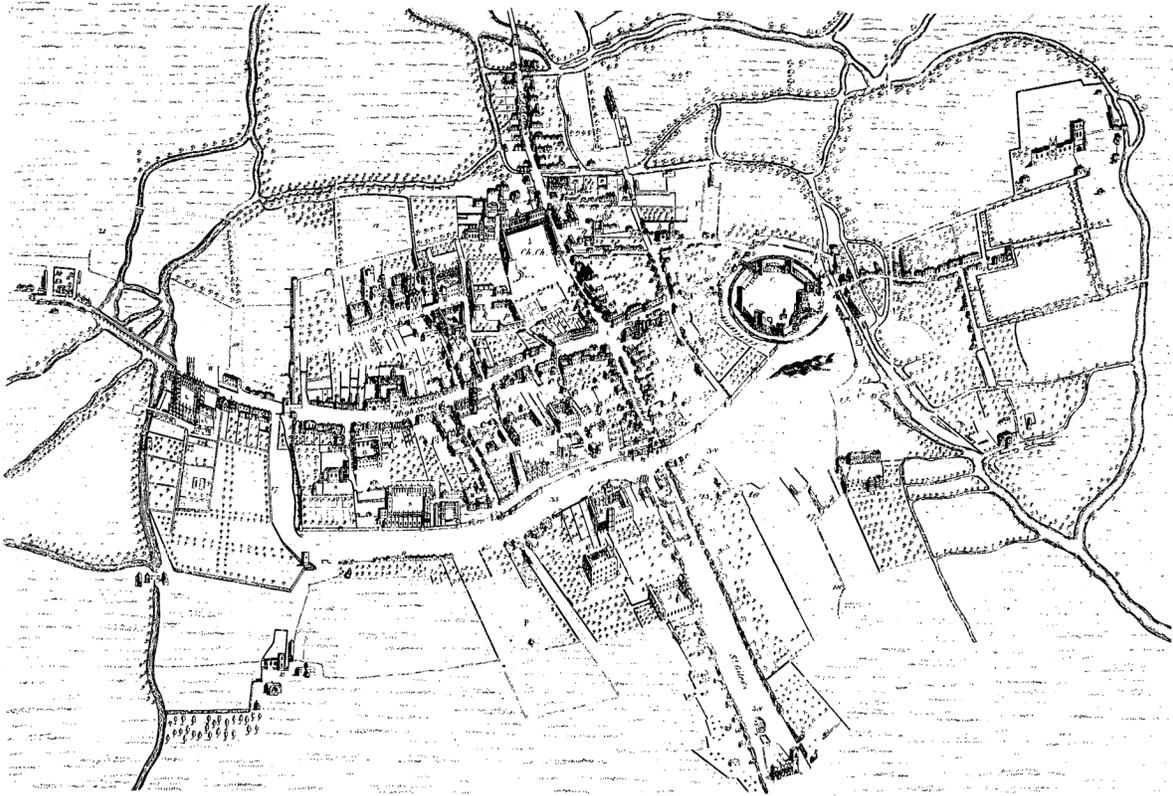


Figure 32. Agas's Map of Oxford, 1578 (with south at the top).³⁹

influence in the early Middle Ages as its institutions grew in size, following an epidemic of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century its population, wealth, and political importance entered a steady decline; by 1523/4 it had fallen from eighth to as low as twenty-ninth in taxable wealth. This decline allowed the university to purchase much of the property in the city center, with the result that Tudor Oxford's commercial activity revolved around Carfax and its parish of St. Martin.⁴⁰ The city's comparatively smaller size and dependence on the university make it a

³⁹ Eleanor Chance et al., "Early Modern Oxford," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 4, the City of Oxford*, ed. Alan Crossley and C. R. Elrington (London: Victoria County History, 1979), 74–180.

⁴⁰ For an overview of Oxford in this period see Eleanor Chance et al., "Medieval Oxford," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 4, the City of Oxford*, ed. Alan Crossley and C. R. Elrington (London: Victoria County History, 1979), 3–73. Accessed via *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol4/pp3-73>. Oxford continued to suffer outbreaks of plague and other epidemic diseases through the end of the fifteenth century, which accounts in part for the city's continued decline.

valuable foil for Bristol and Exeter, which were more outward facing in their economic transactions. The town's lack of financial resources, moreover, likely affected its parishes' ability to provide musical embellishment for their liturgies.

Oxford's position as an early center for reform similarly provides a contrast to Exeter. The significance of the university towns as incubators of reformist tendencies in the later Henrician period has been well documented; the Cambridge church of St. Edward, for example, claims for itself the title of "the cradle of the Reformation," as reformers Thomas Bilney, Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer were all connected to the church. As Ceri Law has recently shown, however, Cambridge was also home to a number of strong conservative voices in the 1520s and 30s.⁴¹ Much the same can be said about Oxford: the city housed both reform-minded and conservative residents in the late Henrician period, who by and large made little objection to changes in government policy.⁴² A few examples exist of reformist citizens, such as the councilor who attended a feast held by "favourers of God's word" in Lent of 1539. Still, the majority of those living in the city who supported reform at this time were members of the university, rather than city residents; Oxford, then, like Exeter remained relatively conservative through the end of Henry VIII's reign.⁴³

The CWAs of Oxford's parishes, like many of those in Exeter, do not include records of annual payments to parish clerks, so it is impossible to say which of these churches employed more than one full-time (or part-time) musician. Accounts from St. Martin Carfax suggest the

⁴¹ Ceri Law, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge, 1535–1584* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2018); see especially ch. 1, which focuses on the university's role in reform controversies and its relationship to the state between 1535 and 1547.

⁴² Chance et al., "Early Modern Oxford," 74–180.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Lollardy was likewise originally a university phenomenon and only gradually spread into the broader population, so the dissemination of sixteenth-century reform in these communities parallels earlier developments.

parish had both a clerk and an organ player, who was paid just over £1 per year—well below the average for a parish clerk, but a considerable sum nonetheless.⁴⁴ None of the Oxford parishes with extant records from the 1540s, moreover, appear to have hired additional singing men for special feasts or services, suggesting a level of musical provision in line with what was possible at Exeter’s churches—that is, liturgies performed by a volunteer choir and parish clerk who may have used *faburden* regularly, but who might not have had the ability to sing more complex written polyphony. On feasts such as Whitsunday at St. Martin Carfax, however, the churchwardens *did* occasionally retain minstrels.⁴⁵ Thus, while the paid musical personnel of Oxford’s parishes seems to have been limited in most cases to a single musician, St. Martin Carfax emerges as an important outlier.

Records of liturgical books in Oxford’s parishes likewise indicate that these churches were able to offer a full complement of Catholic services but either lacked the funds or did not wish to maintain elaborate polyphonic services on a regular basis. Of the four parishes with Henrician records, all but one—St. Michael—denote payments for book maintenance, such as the binding of a manual at St. Peter le Bailey in 1541 or the binding of a hymnal at St. Peter in the East in 1545/6.⁴⁶ Whereas Exeter’s parishes paid no mind to liturgical books in this period, then, Oxford’s churches display activity on a middle ground. Despite small musical forces, moreover, records from Oxford’s parishes show that the city’s churches offered polyphonic

⁴⁴ The clerk received between five shillings and six shillings, eight pence per quarter. In 1543/4, the churchwardens recorded an excess of three shillings, eight pence “more then was paid to the organ player” collected from the parishioners, though what they chose to spend this on is unclear (Oxfordshire History Center [OHC], CWAs for St. Martin Carfax, PAR207/4/F1/1). Since the wardens elsewhere list payments to a “clerk” for various odd jobs, it is almost certain that these were two separate individuals.

⁴⁵ In 1545/6, the churchwardens paid a minstrel on Whitsunday as well as on “the shotyng daye,” though the payment was considerably higher at the former (three shillings, six pence) than the latter (twelve pence), suggesting Whitsunday featured more elaborate music. See OHC PAR207/4/F1/1.

⁴⁶ OHC PAR214/4/F1/25, and OHC PAR213/4/F1/1 (bound rolls, unfoliated).

music on some occasions: in 1540/1, for example, the churchwardens of St. Peter in the East paid one “morys” (possibly the parish clerk) for “ij anty[mes].”⁴⁷ A 1547 inventory taken by the churchwardens at the parish of St. Martin Carfax, meanwhile, suggests a robust volunteer choir in addition to its two paid musicians: in addition to seven mass books, five manuals, and two legends, the church possessed eight processioners, four antiphoners, four psalters, three grails, and two hymnals, as well as two books for “the vysytacion of *our ladyes seruice*” and four books for “the feaste of the transfyguracion of our ladye.”⁴⁸ Although it is impossible to know if any of these books contained polyphony, at the very least they indicate a large number of men in the choir—possibly as many as eight, given the number of processioners. St. Martin Carfax thus provided more robust musical offerings than the rest of Oxford’s parishes with extant records—a factor which may have been influenced by the parish’s location in Oxford’s commercial center.

From this picture of parish musical practices in the late Henrician period in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford, there are distinct similarities between and differences from musical provision at London’s churches at the same time, which are key to understanding similar relationships during the Edwardine and Marian years. Bristol, despite a recent economic downturn, was most like London; while its smaller communities had little extra to spend on musicians and polyphony, its larger churches maintained large professional musical forces and regularly supplemented their services with polyphonic singing. Oxford offers an example of a middle ground: not so robust in its outlay on music as Bristol, but with some emphasis—especially at St. Martin Carfax—on using music to create spiritually effective liturgies. Exeter’s parishes, meanwhile—despite the city’s strong economic status and large population size—had

⁴⁷ OHC PAR213/4/F1/1 (bound rolls, unfoliated).

⁴⁸ OHC PAR207/4/F1/1, roll 11.

relatively little in the way of musical embellishment in their services at the end of Henry's reign. Before the onset of Edwardine reform, then, there were dramatic differences in the role parish music played in each of these cities.

Change in the Parish? Music and Worship under Edward VI

As I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, almost all of London's parishes acquired the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* within that or the following year. What is more, some communities showed an early interest in incorporating vernacular music into their liturgies in 1547 or 1548, while others similarly opted to purchase English-texted polyphony following 1549. These choices suggest a strong desire to employ music to negotiate religious change: not only was music one of the few elements remaining for sacralizing space, but it aided in the process of confessionalization by linking the sound of the Latin liturgy with vernacular, reformed texts, drawing both those who wished for a return to the Catholic mass and those who favored the new religion together. In comparison to Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford, London was unique in its quick adoption of the vernacular liturgy and strong focus on using music to effect doctrinal reform. Ronald Hutton has claimed that all English parishes obtained the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, for example, but this was not the case in all churches in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford.⁴⁹ Whereas in Bristol some of the city's parishes did buy polyphonic music, moreover, the city's churches did not seek out music in particular as a way to reach a diverse public; rather, it was a tool that provided audible continuity during otherwise dramatically different worship services. In at least one instance, moreover, a Bristol parish seems to have actively avoided complying with the Edwardine religious injunctions, using music as a form of resistance to doctrinal change.

⁴⁹ Hutton claims that "the book was obtained by every parish from which accounts survive from that year, apparently by the specified date of Whit Sunday." See Hutton, *Merry England*, 85.

The contrast between London and Exeter and Oxford is even starker: while acquisition of required service books continued much as it had in Bristol, even in Oxford there is little indication that music played a significant role in religious reform. In Exeter, meanwhile, the lack of music provision of the late Henrician period continued into the end of Edward's reign. Although in cities like London and Bristol this choice might have reflected a strident reformist tendency to eschew music altogether, I argue that in Exeter it was rather merely the continuation of a trend set well before severe doctrinal and liturgical reforms were under consideration by the English government. As noted above, in Exeter there were few signs of radical reform during Henry VIII's reign, and Exeter's citizens took a particularly pragmatic approach to religious reform under Edward VI. The comparison between parish music in London and these two regional centers thus highlights not only London's relatively strong interest in reform, but also its communities' emphasis on music throughout the reign of Edward VI (and long before). Indeed, in communities with robust musical provision such as London and Bristol it is possible to glean information about reformist or conservative tendencies among a parish's membership. In the smaller cities of Exeter and Oxford, by contrast, where musical elaboration was sparse or nonexistent, choices concerning music offer little evidence of confessional preference and more likely reflect a lack of funds or general disinclination towards incorporating music into the liturgy. Thus, a study of England's provincial centers indicates that music does not always provide an index of the position of parish communities vis-à-vis religious reform.

Bristol – Slow Acceptance, but Musically Inclined

The most striking oddity about the provision of liturgical books in Bristol's parishes in comparison to London is the slow rate at which this city's churches acquired the *Book of Common Prayer*. This choice, I suggest, indicates some initial resistance to Edwardine reform,

and reflects strong religious conflicts among the city's populace.⁵⁰ Indeed, of the five churches with extant accounts from this period, only one, All Saints, purchased the new volume in 1549.⁵¹ Other parishes followed—St Werburgh in 1550, and St. Nicholas in 1551/2—but even three years into the crown's mandated adoption of the vernacular liturgy, all of Bristol's churches still had not bought the volume.⁵² The 1552 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* saw a similar pattern; it was purchased by the churchwardens at St. Ewen and St. Thomas as well as those at All Saints, whose 1552/3 accounts specify "a new boke of the servis."⁵³ Of the churches with accounts from 1547–53, moreover, one church has no record of acquiring a *Book of Common Prayer*: the large parish of St. Mary Redcliffe.⁵⁴ Psalter use fared little better; the wardens at St. Ewan, St. Nicholas, and St. Werburgh bought psalters or "bokes of the salmes" during Edward's reign, but those at All Saints and St. Mary Redcliffe did not.⁵⁵ On the whole, book acquisition data thus suggests piecemeal adoption of the crown's requirements, and no overall pattern of uniformity among Bristol's churches.

The parishes of St. Werburgh and St. Nicholas, however, do display both some early interest in reform and an intent to carry out liturgical change by incorporating English-texted

⁵⁰ As Martha Skeeters has shown, public clashes over religious doctrine and ritual were common in Bristol in the 1540s; see Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 62–66.

⁵¹ BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated.

⁵² BA P.St W/ChW/3/a, fol. 4r and Atchley, "St. Nicholas, Bristol," 61. Unfortunately the accounts for St. Ewen are incomplete, and the years 1548/9, 1549/50, and 1550/1 are all missing; it is possible the churchwardens here bought a 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* during one of these years.

⁵³ BA P.St E/ChW/2, p. 8; P.St T/ChW/2; and BA BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated. There is a single account from Edward's reign for the parish of St. Thomas, which bought "the communion booke" in 1552/3, but as there are no earlier accounts for this parish it is impossible to know whether this was their first *BCP* or whether they had also acquired one in 1549/50.

⁵⁴ The first account in the book, made in December of 1548, is quite damaged, and accounts from 1550 and 1552 are missing, so it is possible the church did acquire the *Book of Common Prayer* in either 1550 or 1552.

⁵⁵ For St. Ewan, St. Nicholas, and St. Werburgh see BA P.St E/ChW/2, p. 8; Atchley, "St. Nicholas, Bristol," 63; and BA P.St W/ChW/3/a, fols. 3v–4, respectively.

music into their services. They are valuable case studies, moreover, because of their relative size: with 160 communicants in 1548 and two priests, St. Werburgh was on the smaller side (fifteenth in size of the city's eighteen parishes), while St. Nicholas was the city's largest church, with nine priests serving 800 communicants.⁵⁶ The records of music making in these communities suggest that though finances were a consideration, a church's small size or inadequate assets were not necessarily a barrier to implementing religious reform or purchasing music at this time—in other words, even with limited means these communities worked to make choices that reflected their desires. In addition, in Bristol a parish's wealth did not necessarily mean its churchwardens would choose to spend their funds on implementing the Edwardine government's reforms.

The purchase of music books at St. Werburgh and St. Nicholas indicates that the leadership of both churches valued the appeal music could add to the liturgy, and saw it as a mechanism for aiding in the confessionalization of their communities. In 1548, for example, the wardens at St. Werburgh purchased six “sawter bokes,” and added two more to the church's inventory in 1550 when they bought the “ij bokes of sarves.”⁵⁷ The wardens at St. Nicholas, meanwhile, had complied with Henry VIII's edict ordering purchase of Cranmer's English-texted litany in 1544: in that year they paid nine pence “ffor iij englyshe prossessionalles.” Like the wardens at St. Werburgh, those at St. Nicholas similarly bought two “bokes of the salmes” in 1549.⁵⁸ In London, such purchases are best understood as compliance with the crown's required

⁵⁶ Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 111. The data Skeeters offers regarding parish clergy comes from 1534 records, so it is possible the 1548 numbers would not quite match, but this is the chronologically closest data available.

⁵⁷ BA P.St W/ChW/3/a, fols. 3v–4. It is possible, of course, that these psalters were in Latin, but unlikely; psalters were purchased infrequently in Catholic periods in England, and with the exception of the missal (mass book), Latin service books were almost always referred to by a single word (processioners rather than procession books, antiphoners rather than antiphon books, and so on).

⁵⁸ Atchley, “St. Nicholas, Bristol,” 61, 63.

liturgical reforms, but in Bristol, where not all churches even acquired the *Book of Common Prayer*, these book acquisitions suggest an interest in reform.

What is more, both of these parishes bought books of polyphony during this period. In 1549/50, for example—the same year in which they acquired two service books—the wardens at St. Werburgh paid “wallker the clarke” six shillings, eight pence for “iiij bokes ffor the quyer.”⁵⁹ In 1552, the wardens at St. Nicholas likewise paid the same amount for “iiij bokes ffor the quyere.”⁶⁰ Although the accounts do not indicate definitively that these were partbooks of polyphony, the number of books enumerated in each entry and their purchase alongside or in addition to service books and psalters suggests they provided settings of service music or anthems. Even if the existence of psalters and service books at these churches indicates only acquiescence to the crown’s wishes, then, the presence of polyphony at both St. Werburgh and St. Nicholas demonstrates that these communities believed polyphony offered a way of negotiating the Edwardine government’s rules that also allowed for the creation and sacralization of reformed church space. Unfortunately, no sources of polyphonic music from the Edwardine period exist from Bristol, making it impossible to know how the style of the music these communities purchased relates to that written for use in London; such a comparison would demonstrate whether the music the wardens at St. Werburgh and St. Nicholas obtained relied on a continuity of musical style, as that written for London had done.

In contrast to St. Werburgh and St. Nicholas, the wealthy parish of St. Mary Redcliffe offers some insight into how church communities in Bristol might have employed music as a means of resisting doctrinal and liturgical change. As mentioned above, St. Mary Redcliffe is the

⁵⁹ BA P.St W/ChW/3/a, fol. 3v.

⁶⁰ Atchley, “St. Nicholas, Bristol,” 61.

only Bristol parish with extant records from the Edwardine period whose wardens may not have acquired the *Book of Common Prayer*, and whose records do not include any vernacular music purchases.⁶¹ Although Edward's government began implementing liturgical reforms in 1547, the parishioners of St. Mary Redcliffe continued to hold a regular lady mass in 1548, paying three shillings, four pence for its keeping. In addition, the churchwardens purchased paper "to prick songes in" in the same year.⁶² The accounts are silent on whether this polyphony was in English or Latin, but its appearance alongside an account of the lady mass strongly suggests the latter. Throughout Edward's reign, St. Mary Redcliffe maintained a large paid choir, featuring two clerks who were supplemented in many years by additional musicians paid for both short and long stretches of time.⁶³ Given that the parish might not have purchased any English-texted music during this period, what was this choir singing? I suggest that, given the evidence available, it is possible that worship at St. Mary Redcliffe involved a hybridization of the old and new. It seems unlikely that one of Bristol's largest parishes *never* adopted the *Book of Common Prayer*; it would have been nearly impossible for such an action to escape notice of the Edwardine authorities.⁶⁴ But it is possible that this church's choir continued to perform Latin-texted anthems *within* a vernacular liturgy—such a practice would have been easy to hide when necessary, and might explain why the church continued to pay large numbers of singers.

⁶¹ As mentioned above, the accounts from 1550 and 1552 are missing, and the parish may have obtained either the *Book of Common Prayer* or other service books during those years. Even if they did so, however, it is odd that there are *no* payments for English-texted music or service books in the accounts for 1548, 1549, 1551, and 1553.

⁶² BA P.St MR/ChW/1/a, account for 1548 unfoliated.

⁶³ It is not always easy to determine which of the men paid each year were clerks and which were priests, especially given the entry in 1548 recording a payment of two shillings to "sir Thomas the *prieste* that songe the Base." Nevertheless, the lengthy list of "priests & clerks" paid each year (five or six, plus the sexton) suggests that most years at least two of these men were clerks.

⁶⁴ Unfortunately, ecclesiastical court records for Bristol in this period are no longer extant, so it is impossible to know for sure what happened to services at St. Mary Redcliffe at this time.

No other Bristol parishes purchased any polyphony during Edward's reign, but all for whom records are available maintained or increased their musical staff at this time. For smaller communities like St. Ewen, the retention of a single clerk says little about the relationship between parish musical practices and religious reform.⁶⁵ For larger churches to increase their paid musical staff, however, indicates a continued commitment to not just incidental but *regular* musical services. Indeed, the parish of All Saints went from two clerks under Henry VIII to three under Edward; although there are no extant CWAs from Christ Church for most of Edward's reign, by 1553 this parish was paying four clerks yearly rather than the three they had retained in 1547.⁶⁶ These additional clerks were likely hired to replace the chantry priests who had supplemented the choirs of these churches throughout the Middle Ages, which was a practice that also took place in London at this time (see Chapter 1 for more detail). Yet not all of these institutions purchased polyphony during this period, and in the case of All Saints, a church whose wardens purchased the *Book of Common Prayer* in both 1549 and 1552/3 but otherwise acquired no other service or music books from 1547–53, I suggest that the choice to retain three paid singers indicates regular performance of a practice that is often difficult to trace but was pervasive in the late medieval period: the singing of the liturgy in faburden. Although there are no explicit records of Edwardine services being harmonized using faburden, there is no other explanation for the retention of three regular parish musicians during this period—one clerk would have been sufficient to sing his portions of the liturgy, and additional singers would only have been needed if they had been performing polyphony on a regular basis. It is likely that

⁶⁵ With only 56 communicants in 1548, this church had few resources available to dedicate to musical elaboration of the liturgy. For this and other parish size information see Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 111.

⁶⁶ Compare BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, records for 1542/3 and 1549/50; and BA P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fols. 57v (1547) and 73 (1552/3).

faburden liturgies were common in the Edwardine period around England, but the records from All Saints are unusual in so strongly suggesting the practice.

This personnel trend is virtually identical to the one present in London in this period: by and large parishes retained the number of musicians they had under Henry VIII, with a few churches hiring additional singers to make up for the lack of chantry priests. Yet while in London these personnel decisions occurred at the same time that most parishes also acquired vernacular books of polyphony and psalms, in Bristol far fewer communities obtained English-texted music, and—at least from the slow rate of *Book of Common Prayer* acquisition—implementing the new liturgy was not a high a priority. The retention of large numbers of musicians in the majority of Bristol parishes, then, suggests a desire for musical services that existed irrespective of confessional preference. Indeed, the persistence of the medieval value placed on the sensory experience of sung liturgies seems to have largely eclipsed these communities' concerns about vernacular worship. Whereas the parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Werburgh embraced music to *enact* reform and the church of St. Mary Redcliffe used it to *protest* liturgical change, the remainder of Bristol's parishes held to the status quo: they maintained sung services, even in some instances using faburden, but did so with the vernacular books they were now required to use. Music in these communities thus served as a way to sacralize church space while being used for different confessional purposes.⁶⁷ What stands out in Bristol in the Edwardine period, then, is the extent to which music remained an integral part of the liturgies of its churches—a practice likely indebted to the importance of sung services under Henry VIII—across a broad spectrum of communities with varying responses to reform.

⁶⁷ There is unfortunately little scholarship that deals to any extent with the religious inclinations of these individual communities, so the relationship between musical practices and other reformist (or conservative) tendencies awaits further research.

Oxford – On Reform, A Mixed Bag

If Bristol's parishes exemplify a strong commitment to incorporating music into their liturgies from 1547–53, the churches in Oxford and Exeter present a more complicated picture. Due to both a limited amount of information in extant records and the relative wealth of some of the parishes in question, it is sometimes difficult to tell how these communities reacted to religious reform, or to what extent music played a role in any changes they adopted. What records do exist, however, indicate that adoption of the *Book of Common Prayer* played out similarly in Oxford and Exeter as in Bristol. The purchase of music books, however, was almost nonexistent save for one Oxford parish, suggesting either financial constraints that limited churchwardens' means for buying additional music or a disinclination toward implementing reform. In addition, certain inventory lists indicate the potential for the type of hybrid services I suggest may have been carried out at St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol: ones where a mix of Latin- and English-texted books might have been in use at the same time, and that reflected the diversity of congregants' beliefs in these regional centers.

Unfortunately, CWAs for more than a single year exist for only two Oxford parishes from the Edwardine period, and of these, only one is relatively complete; additional records would allow for a more nuanced picture of how Oxford's communities engaged liturgical music.⁶⁸ Even from this limited sample, however, it is apparent that Oxford's congregations had mixed responses to both religious reform and musical liturgies. Both the churches of St. Martin Carfax and St. Michael acquired copies of the new vernacular service, for example—the former in 1547/8 and the latter in 1549/50.⁶⁹ Whereas St. Michael dutifully procured an additional

⁶⁸ For the Edwardine years, the following CWAs exist for Oxford parishes: St. Martin Carfax (1547/8 and 1552/3), St. Michael (1547/8, 1549/50, 1551/2, 1552/3), St. Peter in the East (1552/3), and St. Peter le Bailey (1547/8).

⁶⁹ OHC PAR207/4/F1/1, roll 14 and E. H. Salter, ed. *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael's Church, Oxford* (Long Compton: The 'King's Stone' Press, 1933), 216.

service book in 1552/3, they did not otherwise make any attempts to supplement their new English services with additional music.⁷⁰ Thus they, like some Bristol and London churches, met the crown's requirements but neither resisted nor celebrated religious change. The early date of purchase of a vernacular service book at St. Martin Carfax, however, suggests that this community had some interest in reform. The book in question was most likely the 1548 *The Order of the Communion*, as the *Book of Common Prayer* was not issued until 1549. As noted in Chapter 1, only a handful of London parishes owned copies of this leaflet; although its use was mandated, it was not implemented widely. The book's appearance at St. Martin Carfax at this early date, then, indicates an interest in both doctrinal reform and vernacular worship.

The parish's musical acquisitions in the same year, moreover, not only bolster this claim but offer direct evidence of sung vernacular liturgies as early as 1548. Indeed, not only did the church possess the aforementioned "boke of the new *seruyce yn Inglysshe*," but they also owned two "Inglyshe salters" as well as "iij plane song bokes yn Inglyshe."⁷¹ As noted in the previous section, St. Martin Carfax employed both a clerk and an organ player during the reign of Henry VIII, which appears to have continued under Edward VI. The presence of three plainsong books in English in this parish suggests not only volunteer membership in the church's choir (only one of these volumes was likely intended for the parish priest), but indicates a commitment to implementing vernacular worship *through* a sung liturgy. Whereas the language and theology of worship had changed, the members of this congregation maintained the practice of singing services. These liturgies thus conferred legitimacy on the new vernacular worship practices the parishioners of St. Martin Carfax had adopted by offering a sense of ritual continuity and

⁷⁰ Salter, ed., *St. Michael's Church, Oxford*, 220. The payment of five shillings for "the boke of the new seruyce" suggests that this was most likely the updated *Book of Common Prayer*.

⁷¹ OHC PAR207/4/F1/1, roll 11.

sacralizing church space, while also aiding in the process of confessionalization that would continue throughout Edward VI's reign. Although there is only one additional Edwardine CWA from St. Martin Carfax still extant, and thus the parish's musical practices between 1548–51 are unknown, an inventory from 1552 confirms the church's acquisition of two psalters, a bible, and a copy of Erasmus's *Paraphrases*, as well as an additional communion book, in subsequent years.⁷² Thus, the churchwardens of St. Martin Carfax, like those at St. Nicholas and St. Werburgh in Bristol, invested in music to aid in spreading reform during the Edwardine years.

Exeter – Accepting Religious Change, sans Music

In Exeter, not only did music play little (if any) role in religious reform, but adoption of the mandated service books was irregular, and in one instance—like at St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol—did not occur at all. Only four of the five parishes with extant accounts ever acquired any reformed service books: Holy Trinity, St. John, St. Mary Major, and St. Petrock.⁷³ At Holy Trinity, moreover, a vernacular liturgy seems not to have been implemented until 1552, when the churchwardens paid four shillings, four pence for “a *commvnyon boke*.”⁷⁴ At both St. John and St. Petrock, meanwhile, the purchase of vernacular liturgical books occurred early enough to suggest an interest in reform: St. John acquired “the booke of the *servys*” in 1548/9, and at St. Petrock the churchwardens purchased “a boke called the order of the Churche” in the same

⁷² OHC PAR207/4/F1/1, roll 20.

⁷³ DHC 1718A/add/PW/4, roll 3; DHC DD36770, unfoliated rolls; DHC 2945A/add99/PW/1, 12v; DHC 2946A/add99/PW/3, rolls 114 and 115. The churchwardens at St. John and St. Petrock each recorded two acquisitions: “the booke of the *servys*” in 1548/9 and “the boocke of *commen prayer*” in 1550/1 at St. John, and “a boke called the order of the Churche” in 1548/9 and a communion book in 1549/50 at St. Petrock. The only records that exist from St. Mary Major are inventories, so it is impossible to tell when this parish acquired service books, but two “*comunyon bookes*” are listed in a 1553 inventory.

⁷⁴ DHC 1718A/add/PW/4, roll 3.

year.⁷⁵ In both instances, the acquisitions in question might have been the 1548 *The Order of the Communion*; the wording of the entry in the CWA for St. Petrock suggests this possibility. The churchwardens at St. John, moreover, also procured a psalter in 1549/50, alongside a copy of the Bible.⁷⁶ These two communities, then, may have had an interest in implementing vernacular liturgies at this time, though this evidence is inconclusive; at the very least, they followed the crown's injunctions quickly and correctly.

Yet unlike in Bristol and Oxford, not a single Exeter parish with extant accounts acquired additional music books—either plainsong *or* polyphony—during Edward VI's reign. In matters relating to the crown, Exeter's residents took a particularly pragmatic approach to the government's implementation of religious reform, and I suggest that these choices may help to explain why records from the city's communities do not show any particular interest in doctrinal change or vernacular music. During the so-called "prayer book rebellion" of 1549, for example, in which laypeople in Devon and Cornwall protested the imposition of a vernacular liturgy by laying siege to Exeter and demanding the withdrawal of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Exeter's mayor and aldermen rejected the rebel summons, defending the city and raising money for the crown's army.⁷⁷ Although a number of prominent Exeter merchants privately supported the rebels and some even attempted to betray the city, roughly 100 citizens pledged to stand in defense of their city, and most of Exeter's residents appear to have supported the actions of the mayor and aldermen.⁷⁸ Thus, the city's inhabitants acted to protect their city during a period of intense political and religious conflict, even though they held conflicting views on reform.

⁷⁵ DHC DD36770, unfoliated rolls; DHC 2946A/add99/PW/3, roll 114.

⁷⁶ DHC DD36770, unfoliated rolls. The churchwardens at St. Mary Major also acquired psalters; two "psalters in Englyshe" are listed in their 1553 inventory. See DHC 2945A/add99/PW/1, fol. 12v.

⁷⁷ Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, 36–37.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 37, and MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540–1640*, 188–189.

In a similar manner, Exeter's parishes invested in both religious and civic infrastructure when faced with the possibility that they might lose funds and plate to the crown. Although the Edwardine government did not commission inventories of church goods until 1552, and had not publicized any intention to seize church assets, many communities were wary following the dissolution of parish chantries in 1548 and the government's subsequent appropriation of the assets attached to these endowments.⁷⁹ City authorities in Exeter certainly saw the writing on the wall, for they confiscated between 800 and 1,100 ounces of church plate to fund the city's project to clear the river Exe before the crown's commissioners arrived. Individual parishes also used their plate to pay for new expenditures: several sold pieces for poor relief during and after the rebellion, while others paid for parish-related expenses such as building a new tower (All Hallows Goldsmith Street) and painting the scriptures on the walls (St. Olave).⁸⁰ When the crown's commissioners arrived to take account of the assets held by Exeter's parishes, then, they found detailed descriptions of how these churches had already disposed of their valuables.

The actions of these communities indicate not religious conviction or confessional preference, but rather a desire to use communal assets in a manner that might best benefit either the parish collective or the city at large. It was probably not the case, then, that the choice the city's parishes made not to buy vernacular music reflects a lack of interest in implementing religious reform or a form of protest at the changes imposed by the Edwardine government.⁸¹ In light of the dearth of music books found at Exeter's parishes under Henry VIII, I suggest that this

⁷⁹ For more on the effects of the crown's seizure of chantry assets see Peter Cunich, "The Dissolution of the Chantries," in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640*, ed. Patrick Collinson and John Craig (London: Palgrave, 1998), 159–174.

⁸⁰ MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540–1640*, 180. All Hallows Goldsmith Street also used a chalice to pay soldiers' wages during the rebellion, and used a censor, ship, and spoon to pay for pews.

⁸¹ In London or even Bristol, a dearth of music books would suggest such an attitude, but Exeter's residents seem to have been divided on issues of religious creed.

decision instead indicates a general disinterest in musically ornate services that was well established by 1547, and which was only bolstered by the city's general approach to dealing with official policy. Of course, as mentioned above this disinclination to acquire music may have been influenced by the smaller incomes upon which Exeter's parishes could draw compared to their counterparts in cities like London and Bristol. Exeter's cathedral had always offered elaborate services, and they continued to do so under Edward VI, acquiring not only vernacular service manuals and psalters but books of English-texted polyphony as early as 1549.⁸² Thus, those who were interested in musical liturgies might have attended one of the cathedral's services. Even if Exeter's residents had other avenues available to them through which to enjoy liturgical polyphony, however, their choice not to procure vernacular music suggests musical services were not of particular interest to these communities, and that they believed they would be best served by using their resources to protect their communal and civic interests.

Records from Exeter, moreover, add further evidence that hybrid liturgies may have been common during Edward VI's reign or in the early months after Mary I's accession. While in England's capital inventories listing both Catholic and reformed books are exceedingly rare—parishes almost always disposed of their old service books when ordered to do so—an inventory from the church of St. Mary Major in Exeter suggests that outside London, parishes were not so quick (or eager) to discard expensive church goods like liturgical books. Table 5 contains a list of the books catalogued in the inventory that the churchwardens of this parish took in November of 1553; as this account demonstrates, the church owned both Catholic and reformed service

⁸² Payne, *Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 16, 25–6. Payne notes a robust musical life at Exeter Cathedral in the mid-1540s: they acquired new processions and paid twice for new books for the choir (in 1545/6 and 1546/7). In 1549, the cathedral acquired at least twenty-four vernacular psalters, as well as a book “de *communione* pro choro.” In the same year, accounts record a payment for “pryckying of foure Masses [and] sondry other songes” including “Te Deum, Magnificat, Benedictus & Nunc Dimittis” into sixteen books (Payne suggests two collections each with two sets of four books, one for each side of the choir), as well as four additional partbooks. In 1550/1, moreover, the cathedral paid for additional pricksong.

books during the reign of Edward VI.⁸³ While simultaneous use of a missal and the *Book of Common Prayer* would have been rather difficult (not to mention confusing), a Latin-texted psalm setting might be used as an introit during a prayer book service with relative ease. Another possibility was that the performance of forbidden services such as lady masses might occur on Saturdays while a parish also offered vernacular worship on Sundays. It is also possible that the churchwardens of this parish did not comply with Edward VI's order that all old service books be destroyed but also did not make use of them at this time, or that the diocesan bishop was lax in carrying out Edward's injunction.⁸⁴ Yet many Edwardine reforms were expensive, and though Latin-texted books were no longer useful, the parchment on which many of them were written would still have offered parishes some income to offset these new costs. In addition, churches might be fined or otherwise disciplined if they were not in compliance with Edwardine policy, and so the retention of these volumes was unlikely to have been an administrative oversight.

St. Mary Major, Exeter (25 November)⁸⁵
In primis a byble in Englyshe of the gretyst volume
Item the paraphrases in Englyshe vpon the gospell
Item tow comunyon bookes
Item tow psalters in Englyshe
Item one masse booke in Latteyn
Item tow halff portuses of the largest sort in lattyn
Item on manuell in lattyn yn prente
Item on boke of the feastes of our lady in parchement
Item a masse book in parchement pro temp[orale] in latyn of the larg[est] volumme x noted

Table 5. Books listed in inventory of St. Mary Major, Exeter in November of 1553.

⁸³ Although this inventory was compiled four months after Mary I's accession, it likely reflects Edwardine possession—Mary I's injunctions for religion that restored the Latin mass fully were not issued until 4 March 1554. For the text of these injunctions see Hughes and Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 2:35–38.

⁸⁴ For the text of this order see Hughes and Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 1:485–486.

⁸⁵ DHC 2945A/add99/PW/1, fol. 12v. The entries for Catholic books in this inventory are struck through, which Robert Whiting takes as evidence that the church no longer owned these items in 1553 (see Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, 39). This was almost certainly a later emendation, however, made after the church had finally sold its Latin-texted books; there would have been no reason for the churchwardens to include these volumes in this list if they were no longer in the church's possession at the time the inventory was written in 1553.

Rather, the choice to keep Latin-texted service books at a time when they were explicitly forbidden indicates a type of compliance that allowed churches to serve both those who favored and those opposed to reform, as well as the members of these communities with varying degrees of interest in confessional concerns.

Whereas in London vernacular religious music emerged during the Edwardine period as an important tool for not only the sacralization of the parish church, but in some cases the confessionalization of its communities, in cities farther from the capital the situation was decidedly more complicated. In all three of the cities considered in this chapter, most parishes purchased the *Book of Common Prayer*, but acquisition was on the whole slower than it was in London, suggesting both reticence on the part of some parishes and less well developed ecclesiastical oversight structures. In Bristol, some parishes maintained large performing forces and bought new vernacular music, yet the lack of music expenditure at St. Mary Redcliffe also shows that parishes whose members were hostile to reform went out of their way to avoid vernacular music. Even in Bristol, then, which shares the most in common with London, both interest in reform and the use of vernacular music were less prevalent than they were in England's capital. Whereas in Oxford the church of St. Martin Carfax did buy some vernacular music, by and large this city's parishes avoided purchasing new English-texted music—a feature that was also true in Exeter. Evidence from an inventory taken by the Exeter parish of St. Mary Major, moreover, adds further proof suggesting that some urban churches found a measure of freedom during this period by sometimes crossing the line of official orthodoxy, and in doing so may have offered services that would appeal to a broader public. Farther away from England's capital, then, both responses to reform and interest in vernacular music were mixed; thus, the Edwardine reformation was neither as complete or popular in the country's other urban centers,

and music played a comparatively smaller role in the provinces. Yet while some of this lack of musical practice might be attributed to either hostility to reform or an evangelical desire to remove music from the liturgy, in most cases it was instead the continuation of musical practices under Henry VIII, and thus a sign of continuity rather than change.

Returning to the Fold? Music and Worship under Mary I

Whereas during the reign of Mary Tudor London parishes displayed a mix of conformity with and antagonism towards official religious policy, in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford there is little evidence to suggest that any church communities deliberately avoided the return of the Latin mass or used music as a mechanism for resistance. As in London, within the first two years of Mary's reign the overwhelming majority of the parishes studied in this chapter acquired the requisite Catholic service books needed for the correct performance of the Sarum rite. In Bristol, however, churchwardens not only purchased new books of polyphonic music beginning as early as 1553/4, but also acquired these volumes at a rate that far outstripped their outlay on vernacular music in the Edwardine period. At a time when parish revenue was still lower than it had been under Henry VIII, and church communities had to spend large sums on the items necessary for traditional services, three of Bristol's parishes nevertheless sought out additional music. While this evidence speaks first and foremost to a general desire to incorporate polyphonic music into worship, in at least one instance I argue that it also highlights the doctrinal and liturgical conservatism of one of Bristol's wealthiest parishes. The lack of similar polyphonic music purchases in Exeter and Oxford parishes at this time, meanwhile, is likely due to the comparative wealth of these communities, and not their doctrinal inclinations. What musical provision in these provincial urban centers during this period demonstrates, then, is a mixed reaction to both religious change and the role these communities felt music should play in the liturgy. The desire

for musical embellishment is only occasionally linked to confessional preference; even in these cases, however, I argue that the decision to purchase polyphonic music often had more to do with a parish’s ability to pay for music and its history of musical provision than a reformist desire to refuse music or a Catholic one to embrace it. With more consistent records from each parish surveyed in this chapter it would be possible to offer a more nuanced picture of the correlation between musical practice and religious reform from 1547–58, but given the available evidence only a few conclusions about these links may be drawn.

Of the parishes whose records were surveyed for this study, twelve have extant CWAs from this period: six in Bristol, three in Exeter, and three in Oxford. A total survey of the books these churches acquired in 1553/4, shown in Table 6, demonstrates that the rate of purchase was haphazard; only 75% of churches (nine of the twelve) bought any Catholic volumes at all during this year. Mass books were by far the most common acquisitions, though a smaller percentage of churches (58%) acquired them in 1553/4 in these cities than in London (84%). Just as in London,

Book Title	Number of Parishes Purchased⁸⁶
Antiphoner (Antiphonal)	1 (8%)
Grayle (Gradual)	1 (8%)
Hymnal	2 (17%)
Legend	1 (8%)
Manual	4 (33%)
Mass Book (Missal)	7 (58%)
Processioner (Processional)	3 (25%)

Table 6. Parishes in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford that purchased Catholic books in 1553/4.

⁸⁶ Unless otherwise noted, each parish purchased one copy of each book. Antiphoners: All Saints Bristol; Grayles: St. Martin Carfax Oxford; Hymnals: St. Martin Carfax Oxford and St. Mary Redcliffe Bristol; Legends: St. Martin Carfax Oxford; Manuals: St. John Exeter, St. Martin Carfax Oxford, St. Mary Steps Exeter, and St. Werburgh Bristol; Mass Books: All Saints Bristol, Christ Church Bristol, St. John Bristol, St. Mary Redcliffe Bristol, St. Mary Steps Exeter, St. Mary the Virgin Oxford, and St. Werburgh Bristol; Processioners: St. Martin Carfax Oxford, St. Mary Redcliffe Bristol, and St. Mary the Virgin Oxford (6). The entry in the CWA of All Saints Bristol indicates only two books to “serve in the quire;” it is impossible to know what one of these was, but the other was almost certainly a mass book. St. Mary Steps in Exeter acquired their manual and missal in 1552/3, *before* the Latin mass had been officially restored.

some communities did buy or pay for repairs of additional books, but again the overall percentages are lower. Unlike in London, antiphoners were no more common than other books, and processioners were also less prominent. In addition, three book types—the Dirige Book, the Psalter, and the Venite Book—are nowhere to be found in this sample. Although the parish of St. Mary the Virgin in Oxford bought six processioners at this time, all other book purchases were for single copies, indicating that these communities had little money to spend on new service manuals. The relatively low rate of mass book acquisition, moreover, suggests that at least some churches in this sample had kept their old books—we know from the inventory in Table 5 that St. Mary Major in Exeter owned mass books in 1553, for example.⁸⁷ Thus, it is probable that parishes that bought new Latin books but did *not* purchase mass books already owned those volumes. By the end of Mary I's first year, then, the majority of the churches in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford were probably capable of holding at least stripped down Latin masses. By the following year, parishes in all three cities had acquired Latin-texted service books at a rate comparable to that of their London counterparts (compare Table 7, below, with Table 1 in Chapter 1), although the number of antiphoners and graduals procured was still lower than in London.⁸⁸ As was the case under Edward VI in these provincial centers, then, the rate of religious change was slower than it had been at the same time in London; whether this was due to the more limited resources available to these communities, a sense of apprehension about enacting reforms quickly, or a lack of government oversight is impossible to tell.⁸⁹ What is clear

⁸⁷ The parish did not acquire those books during this year so they are absent from the totals in Table 6.

⁸⁸ By 1554/5, all six of Bristol's churches had purchased some Catholic books, as had all three in Exeter, though only two-thirds of those in Oxford had done the same.

⁸⁹ Mary I's visitors certainly made appearances at parishes across England, but London typically received more direct oversight from the crown than other cities in religious matters. One event from the beginning of Mary's reign (also discussed briefly in Chapter 1 of this dissertation) provides an example of this scrutiny: following an incident in which a man threw a dagger at a conservative preacher at St. Paul's Cathedral, Mary's Privy Council summoned London's mayor and aldermen to give assurances that they could control the city, and threatened that if they were

from this data, however, is that the services these parishes were holding in 1553/4 were by and large less ornate than those found in London during the same year. This piecemeal acquisition of Latin-texted service books also hints at the possibility raised earlier in this chapter that parishes in these cities may have practiced hybrid liturgies during transitional periods, which offers one explanation for why these communities were slow to purchase the books required of them.

Book Title	Number of Parishes Purchased⁹⁰
Antiphoner (Antiphonal)	5 (42%)
Grayle (Gradual)	3 (25%)
Hymnal	3 (25%)
Legend	2 (17%)
Manual	8 (67%)
Mass Book (Missal)	7 (58%, no new purchases)
Processioner (Processional)	7 (58%)

Table 7. Parishes in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford that purchased Catholic books by 1554/5.

A more specific breakdown of parish data by city, however, when viewed alongside music purchases and choir personnel at individual churches, shows key differences between how communities in Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford adapted to Marian reform, and demonstrates that while a large-scale study of parish music making in this period may paint a picture of widespread uniformity, individual responses to doctrinal and liturgical change were mixed.

Exeter – A Continuity of Practice

In Exeter, while all of the city’s churches with extant accounts had purchased some Latin-texted books by 1554/5, two of the three parishes bought only two books: St. John and St.

unable to do so, the mayor would be forced to “yield up his sword” (that is, give up control of the city to the Privy Council). For more on this event and the actions taken by the mayor, aldermen, and common council to control the city’s residents in the aftermath see Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 529–30.

⁹⁰ The following is a list of books purchased in 1554/5; unless otherwise noted, each parish purchased one copy of each book. Antiphoners: All Saints Bristol, Christ Church Bristol (2), St. Mary Redcliffe Bristol, and St. Petrock Exeter; Grayles: St. Mary Redcliffe Bristol and St. Petrock Exeter; Hymnals: Christ Church Bristol (2); Legends: Christ Church Bristol; Manuals: Christ Church Bristol, St. Ewan Bristol, St. Mary Redcliffe Bristol, and St. Petrock Exeter; Processioners: All Saints Bristol (2), Christ Church Bristol (4), St. Ewan Bristol (2), and St. Petrock Exeter.

Mary Steps. The former acquired two additional volumes in 1555/6, only then finally purchasing a mass book, which suggests that the parish's leadership was cautious about implementing widespread liturgical change again.⁹¹ None of these churches, moreover, ever acquired additional polyphonic music, nor was there an increase in the number of parish musicians—each church maintained a single clerk, as they had under the previous two monarchs. The general attitude suggested by this information, then, is one of caution: just as they had done under Edward VI, the city's inhabitants obeyed the will of the crown, but did so in a pragmatic way that allowed them to follow the letter of the law while refraining from spending the large sums that would have been required for a lavish adoption of Henrician worship practices.

Yet even as the parish of St. Mary Steps, like the communities of St. John and St. Petrock, bought few liturgical books in this period, the time at which they purchased their two acquisitions allows for an extrapolation of confessional preference from this limited data. The parish's records from 1547/8 to 1550/1 are missing, so whether they acquired the *Book of Common Prayer* or any other English-texted service volumes is unknown. In 1552/3, however, before Mary I had officially restored the Latin mass (though presumably after her repeal of Edwardine religious statutes in October), the churchwardens purchased both a manual and a mass book, costing a total of eleven shillings.⁹² Rumors surrounding the new queen's intention to bring back the liturgies and ceremony of the late Henrician church had abounded since her accession, yet this parish's anticipation of such an event must still have been somewhat risky. This congregation did not buy any additional service books until the reign of Elizabeth I,

⁹¹ DHC DD36771; the churchwardens paid ten shillings for “*duobus libris hoc anno emptes vis a masse booke and a portes.*”

⁹² DHC 4768A/add99/PW/1. The accounts of St. Mary Steps run from 25 November 1552 to the same date the following year, so the churchwardens most likely bought these books between October and November 25 of 1553. The entries read: “*Et solus pro libro voo a manuell*” and “*Et solus pro missale.*” The manual cost two shillings, eight pence while the mass book cost eight shillings, four pence.

which—when taken alongside this early purchase of a manual and a mass book—suggests that they kept some Henrician books during the reign of Edward VI. It is possible that the churchwardens who purchased these volumes represented only one faction of the congregation, but their decision to acquire Latin service books in 1553 nevertheless indicates a strong confessional preference for the old religion.⁹³

Whether Exeter's congregations were quick or slow to adapt to the new Marian injunctions regarding religion, however, just as was the case under Edward VI music played little if any role in their decisions and practices. The choices of this city's communities with respect to music, then, I suggest were unrelated to their confessional preferences; whether due to a lack of funds or a disinterest in music (or most likely, some combination of the two), Exeter's inhabitants did not use polyphonic music as a means of sacralization or confessionalization throughout the mid-Tudor period. Exeter Cathedral was quick to acquire or repair existing Catholic service books under Mary I (doing so as early as December of 1553), and while they too did not buy Latin-texted polyphony during this period, they may have acquired some via bequests or other means.⁹⁴ Exeter's inhabitants who were interested in musical services, then, may have attended masses at the cathedral, just as they might have done from 1547–53. Nevertheless, Marian parish records indicate a sustained opposition to polyphonic music throughout the mid-Tudor period that is difficult to explain for a city of Exeter's size.

⁹³ These books were almost certainly purchased before 20 December 1553, the date after which parishes would be compelled to celebrate the mass as they had at the end of Henry VIII's reign; it is possible the churchwardens acquired them before Parliament approved the Act of Repeal (nullifying Edward VI's religious legislation) in October, but this is speculative.

⁹⁴ Payne, *Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 40. Payne notes that aside from the vernacular polyphony procured from 1549–53, Exeter Cathedral purchased no polyphonic music from 1486 until 1557. As it is highly unlikely that the cathedral would not have performed *any* polyphonic music other than during the reign of Edward VI, he suggests that the cathedral acquired polyphony via other means during this period.

Oxford – A Hybridity of Practice?

CWAs from the parishes of Oxford at this time reveal a similar disinclination to purchase music books; not a single account includes any volumes of polyphonic music. The acquisition of liturgical books, similarly, was piecemeal, with gaps suggesting that some communities had retained at least some of their old books. At St. Mary the Virgin, for example, the churchwardens acquired six processioners, a manual, and a mass book in 1553/4. This was theoretically enough material to hold the most basic of services, but St. Mary the Virgin had a medium-sized musical staff, likely employing both a clerk and an organ player during this year.⁹⁵ The lack of a gradual and an antiphoner in this list, given the presence of more than one paid musician, is highly unusual. I suggest, then, that either this parish or its individual musicians owned copies of these books, which had been stored for safekeeping during Edward VI's reign but were then brought out as soon as the mass had been restored.

In the case of St. Martin Carfax, moreover, inventory evidence not only corroborates this claim, but suggests a desire on the church's behalf to return to Catholic worship as soon as it was possible, as the parish of St. Mary Steps had done in Exeter. Here, the churchwardens did not purchase a mass book, a gradual, or a manual between 25 November, 1553 (the feast of St. Katherine) and the same date the following year, though they bought both a legend and a hymnal.⁹⁶ Table 8 contains two inventories from this parish, taken in 1552 and November of 1553.⁹⁷ Whereas the first inventory lists only reformed service books, the second, made only a

⁹⁵ OHC PAR209/4/F1/1, unfoliated rolls. There is no direct payment to the clerk recorded in this year's accounts, but he is mentioned in several entries; the organ player, meanwhile, was paid three shillings, four pence this year.

⁹⁶ OHC PAR207/4/F1/1, unfoliated rolls. The accounts of this parish between 1554 and 1557/8, unfortunately, are missing, so it is impossible to know whether this parish bought additional service books (or even music) in subsequent years of Mary I's reign.

⁹⁷ OHC PAR207/4/F1/1, unfoliated rolls.

few days prior to the date on which this year’s account began, demonstrates that the parish by this point owned two antiphoners, a gradual, a mass book, a manual, three processioners, and a Latin-texted psalter. In addition to possessing many Latin-texted service books by the end of 1553 that do not appear in the previous year’s inventories, at the same time they paid for a new hymnal and legend they also had a gradual and processioner bound. As the 1552/3 accounts for St. Martin Carfax are no longer extant it is impossible to know exactly from whence the Latin-texted books in the 1553 inventory came, but entries in the 1553/4 account offer a possible source: during this year, several parishioners gave “gooddes & ornamentes” to the church, including one William Joyner who gave “a graylle & an antefoner oncouerred.”⁹⁸

Inventory of 1552	Inventory of 25 November 1553
Itm a comvnyon booke	Itm a great byble
Itm a bybyll	Itm a paraphras
Itm a paraphrasys	Itm a communyon booke
Itm ij salters	Itm iij sawter bookes
Itm anewe comvnyon booke	Itm tow antefoneres a great & a smalle
	Itm a gralle
	Itm a pryntyd masse booke
	Itm a manwell
	Itm iij pressessyoners
	Itm a lattyn sawter booke off the churchys

Table 8. Two inventories made by churchwardens at St. Martin Carfax in Oxford.

Thus, there are two possible sources of provenance for the Latin-texted service books listed in this 1553 inventory: either they had been retained by the church during the reign of Edward VI, in which case they had been hidden and intentionally left off the parish’s official inventory so as to escape notice of church officials; or they were bought from the church by parishioners after the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* and remained intact in

⁹⁸ OHC PAR207/4/F1/1, unfoliated rolls.

individual homes.⁹⁹ Books and other liturgical items (altar cloths, vestments, etc.) were occasionally “purchased” for a nominal fee by wealthy or conservative parishioners who wanted to preserve the ornaments and goods that facilitated celebration of the Latin mass; these individuals often then donated or “sold” the items back to their parishes once they were no longer forbidden. Of course, these parishioners had no way of knowing that they would ever be allowed to use such materials in parish liturgies again, but the items came in handy when Mary I ordered them back into use in December of 1553. In either case, what the acquisition of these books at such an early date indicates is an interest on behalf of the church’s membership (or at the very least, its churchwardens) in returning to Henrician worship practices as soon as possible after Edward VI’s death. Like the community of St. Mary Steps in Exeter, these individuals took it upon themselves to begin holding Latin services before the government mandated their celebration, and thus must have done so out of some communal desire.

As I noted in the previous section, however, the parish of St. Martin Carfax was also the only Oxford church that appears to have shown some interest in religious reform, buying a copy of the 1548 *The Order of the Communion* at a time when most parishes had chosen not to procure it; they furthermore owned both English psalters and plainsong books by 1549. When compared to the church’s rapid acquisition of Latin-texted service books in 1553, this evidence suggests two factions in the church: one that supported the elements of traditional religion, and another whose members sustained an interest in vernacular liturgies. As outlined in Chapter 1, a similar mix of staunch conservatives and radical reformers existed at the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, where book and music purchases similarly suggest a divided membership. It is likely,

⁹⁹ It is possible that the churchwardens purchased these books in 1552/3 from a bookseller in Oxford, but Latin-texted service books were by this time exceedingly rare, and it seems unlikely that such a large complement of volumes would have been available.

moreover, that some members of St. Martin Carfax occupied other points on the religious spectrum, and that the religious views of the parish's membership were continually in flux at different stages throughout this period.

In both Exeter and Oxford, then, individual communities showed a mixed reaction to the return of Latin masses that occurred under Mary I. Some were cautious, while others embraced the Marian restoration; what is consistent at all these churches, however, is that none bought polyphonic music during this period. As in London, where the rate of music book purchases declined from 1553–8, these communities likely struggled with the cost of outfitting their churches for the celebration of Catholic services. Yet in Bristol an entirely different phenomenon occurred, in which multiple parishes bought polyphonic music; this choice, I suggest, speaks to these churches' strong music programs throughout the reigns of both Henry VIII and Edward VI, but also shows how music played an important role in the sacralization and confessionalization of space in England's third-largest city in this period.

Bristol – Embracing Music to Support Traditional Worship

As noted above, in Bristol most parishes acquired Latin-texted service books in 1553/4; by 1554/5 all six of the churches with extant accounts had done so. As in London, Exeter, and Oxford, most communities bought only a few books in each year—the single exception was Christ Church, whose churchwardens acquired five different book types in 1554/5 (two antiphoners, four processioners, one legend, one manual, and two hymnals).¹⁰⁰ Bristol's congregations, then, by and large conformed to the crown's requirements that the Latin mass be reinstated at a rate that was comparable to that in other English cities. At All Saints, Christ

¹⁰⁰ BA P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fol. 85v.

Church, and St. Mary Redcliffe, however, the churchwardens took the additional step of purchasing polyphonic music throughout Mary I's reign, using pricksong as a means for providing liturgical continuity—or in the case of St. Mary Redcliffe, for affirming a Catholic identity that the parish had most likely maintained throughout the reign of Edward VI.

Indeed, although no other churches in Bristol, Exeter, or Oxford bought any polyphony during Mary's reign, these communities collectively obtained substantial numbers of polyphonic music books. At Christ Church, moreover, acquisitions far surpassed those by any London parish during the same period, even the musically robust St. Mary at Hill.¹⁰¹ The churchwardens of Christ Church began this purchasing at an early date, paying “ffor the prykyng of iiij pryckesowne bockys” in 1553/4. After acquiring a number of Latin-texted service books the following year, the parish *twice* more invested in polyphonic music, buying five pricksong books in 1555/6 and five further volumes the following year.¹⁰² Each of these entries almost certainly catalogues a set of partbooks that contained multiple pieces of music, meaning that from 1553 to 1557 Christ Church acquired three collections of polyphony in total. Although the first two sets were relatively inexpensive (costing sixteen and twenty pence, respectively), and thus likely only contained a handful of pieces, the volumes the churchwardens purchased in 1556/7 cost three shillings, four pence, and must have been a larger collection.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Only one London parish with extant records purchased polyphonic music during this period more than once: St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, whose churchwardens paid for “prykyng of certayne books” in 1553/4 and bought “iiij pricksonges bookes for the qwyer” in 1556/7; see LMA P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001, fols. 29v and 39v. All other London parishes that bought polyphony during Mary's reign did so only once.

¹⁰² BA P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fols. 81, 94, and 97.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

Both during this period and under Henry VIII, Christ Church maintained not only a parish clerk but two or three additional musicians.¹⁰⁴ Although accounts for only the last year of Edward VI's reign are extant, that year, too, Christ Church paid at least four regular musicians, and also paid four additional singing men for short stints of a quarter or eight weeks.¹⁰⁵ This large complement of professional singers, of course, needed a repertoire; yet even at London parishes with larger (and better paid) performing forces during this period, only a limited amount of polyphony was procured. The considerable quantity of partbooks the churchwardens at Christ Church chose to obtain, then, suggests that its membership (or at least its leadership) thought that Latin-texted polyphony would be a valuable addition to its services. As only the single record from the reign of Edward VI survives, there is unfortunately no way to know whether this community chose to maintain polyphonic services under both monarchs, or whether this outlay on polyphony reflected instead a desire to harness music's sacralizing potential in order to restore the Catholic mass. Given the presence of many paid musicians at this church at the end of Edward's reign, it is likely that Christ Church held vernacular services featuring English-texted polyphony; otherwise, there would have been no need for such a large, paid choir. This community's decision to spend their money on three sets of partbooks in a four-year period, then, indicates a belief that music was a vital part of the liturgical experience.

It is impossible to know if the music the wardens at Christ Church purchased had a stylistic connection—like some of the compositions William Mundy wrote for St. Mary at Hill—to the pre-Reformation Henrician liturgy. If this indeed were the case, the use of Latin-texted

¹⁰⁴ Payments to these musicians were variable, but in 1556/7 the clerk received £5, 6s and 8d per year, while the assistants were paid £4, £2, and £1, 16s, 8d, respectively. The amounts listed in this year's accounts were certainly enough for the third and fourth clerks to sing each Sunday, but presumably they each held an additional job, while the main clerk and first assistant presumably sang only at Christ Church. See BA P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fol. 96v.

¹⁰⁵ BA P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fol. 73.

polyphony meant to recall an earlier era of worship would have been a practice designed to effect reconversion by bringing communicants back to the familiarity of the Catholic mass. It is also possible, however, that this music had more in common with the Edwardine compositions acquired by the churchwardens at St. Werburgh and St. Nicholas—just as Mundy’s short *Exurge christe* retained a close stylistic connection with the music of the Wanley partbooks. Although there is no reason to suggest that music in Bristol was markedly different from that being performed in London at the same time (and thus it is likely that this music was designed to connect parishioners to both Henrician Catholicism and Edwardine reform), without further evidence, answers concerning musical style in Marian polyphony in Bristol remain speculative.

The parish of Christ Church, however, was not the only community to invest in polyphonic Latin music during the reign of Mary I. Both All Saints and St. Mary Redcliffe each acquired a set of partbooks in this period, indicating that—like under Edward VI—polyphonic music continued to hold a place of importance for Bristol’s religious communities. Yet in these two cases—and particularly at St. Mary Redcliffe—the interest in composed polyphony revealed through these purchases may also reflect a belief that, because written polyphony had such power for affecting the soul, it ought to be reserved for “true” (i.e., traditional) worship. As noted above, both All Saints and St. Mary Redcliffe maintained large choral forces under Edward VI, each paying three musicians annually to keep their services. Under Mary I, this practice continued; although St. Mary Redcliffe paid four musicians in 1556/7, otherwise each church paid three clerks annually from 1553–58.¹⁰⁶ Neither parish bought polyphony under Edward VI, though All Saints did acquire the *Book of Common Prayer*. As I argued above, at All Saints the choir most likely sang *faburden* services at this time, delivering musical embellishment for the

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, records in BA P.AS/ChW/3/a (unfoliated) and BA P.St MR/ChW/1/a, pp. 47, 64, 81, and 98.

vernacular service that would provide audible continuity during a radically different liturgy; at St. Mary Redcliffe, the lack of vernacular music books at this time might indicate instead a musical protest, where polyphonic, Latin-texted music continued to be incorporated into the liturgy despite royal injunctions that explicitly forbid the practice. In both cases, the fact that neither parish bought English-texted polyphony despite maintaining musical staff suggests that the leadership at these churches was not interested in using music to promote doctrinal reform.

In 1554/5, however, following Mary I's reinstatement of the late Henrician liturgy, the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe bought not only three Latin-texted service books (a gradual, a manual, and a piece of an antiphoner) but "iiij bowkes of prycksong," or a set of partbooks, for four shillings.¹⁰⁷ The churchwardens had also acquired three Catholic service books the year before (a mass book, a processioner, and a hymnal "for the quiar"); by the second year of Mary I's reign, then, St. Mary Redcliffe was well equipped to hold the full complement of Henrician services. The choice to buy books of Latin-texted polyphony, moreover, indicates that the leadership in this parish saw polyphony as an important method for confessionalizing a congregation whose members almost certainly held conflicting views on the value of religious reform. This parish's embrace of composed polyphony at this time, then, not only highlights this community's conservative religious stance but speaks to the value they placed on music for delineating sacred space, even as all the ritual elements of late Henrician religion had been restored. Indeed, this outlay on music at a time when the church was faced with the financial responsibility of acquiring a great number of *mandatory* Catholic items shows how important composed polyphony was to this community's sense of ritual purpose.

¹⁰⁷ BA P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 66.

The churchwardens at All Saints in Bristol likewise purchased a set of partbooks during Mary I's reign, paying for "iiij pryksong bokes" in 1556/7. Like St. Mary Redcliffe, this community obtained the requisite Latin-texted service books during Mary I's reign.¹⁰⁸ Their eventual choice to invest in Latin-texted polyphony, however, indicates a similar belief that music was an important tool for creating a specifically conservative religious space and that it should be put to use in reconverting a "reformed" congregation to the "true" religion. When taken alongside the decision *not* to buy vernacular polyphony under Edward VI despite maintaining three paid singers, the use of Latin-texted polyphony at All Saints at this time indicates that some of this parish's members viewed pricksong as too compelling to be used as a vehicle for vernacular text. The parish evidently realized that polyphony created to enhance the liturgy had the potential to sway hearts and minds to embrace new doctrines. Music's power, in other words, was too great—while the performance of a faburden liturgy might ease the transition into the unfamiliar *Book of Common Prayer* services and provide a link to the past, composed polyphony had the potential to create real believers in reformed doctrine. For exactly this reason, Latin-texted polyphony provided a means for ensuring that congregants turned away from the "false" doctrines of the Edwardine church and returned to the "true" beliefs and practices set out by the Marian government. That All Saints waited to purchase Latin-texted polyphony until 1556/7, however, suggests that either they had little money to spend on such a non-essential purchase in the early years of Mary's reign, or that the community remained divided in its religious views during this period.

In light of additional musical evidence from the first year of Mary I's reign, I suggest the latter was an important consideration. Whereas acquisition of Latin-texted service books and

¹⁰⁸ BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated. Two of the books this church bought in 1553/4 are identified only as being "for the quire," so it is impossible to know what type of Latin service books this community procured first.

polyphony was piecemeal, the community of All Saints was much quicker to return to a paraliturgical musical Catholic practice that had been abandoned under Edward VI: in 1553/4 the churchwardens paid the parish's clerks sixteen pence to sing carols, presumably for the benefit of the congregation.¹⁰⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, the religious carol as a genre encompassed a wide variety of subject matter and played several important devotional roles in the late-medieval church. Despite its typically vernacular text, the carol was nevertheless a "Catholic" genre—that is, its performance was associated with the English religion of the late medieval, rather than Edwardine, church, and thus its performance under Edward VI was rare. Indeed, although there are no Edwardine injunctions forbidding carol performance, authorities must have discouraged the singing of religious carols; certainly those emphasizing the intercessory power of Mary and the saints would have been inappropriate for use in reformed worship and devotional practices.

Yet the versatility of the genre and its largely vernacular texts also meant it might appeal to both those who welcomed Mary I's return to traditional religion and those who had favored the liturgies of Edward VI's church, and I suggest that the leadership at All Saints saw the carol's potential for bridging a divide among their membership that must have grown during the reign of Edward VI. It is impossible to know the subject matter of the carols in question, but given the popularity of carols for Christmas and Easter in the late Henrician period it seems likely that these clerks were paid for singing carols at one of these feasts. Carol performance, then, may have offered a nostalgic appeal to those who had been raised singing and hearing these songs, while also providing the vernacular language upon which reformers had insisted for religious expression. Although records of carol singing in the 1550s are rare, at least in this instance the practice may have helped to bridge religious divides that the previous years had caused.

¹⁰⁹ BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated.

While music played almost no role in the Marian restoration in Exeter and Oxford, then, in Bristol it emerged as a crucial means through which communities might negotiate their responses to rapid religious change. In some instances, such as at Christ Church or All Saints, the purchase of Latin-texted polyphony probably afforded these parishes a way to ease the transition between vernacular and Latin services, offering music that bore traces of earlier practice and thus provided reassuring audible continuity. At the conservative St. Mary Redcliffe, the performance of Latin pricksong was likely also meant to reintroduce late Henrician worship to a partially reformed public, while also serving as a means through which this congregation might assert a conservative identity that had remained conspicuous throughout the reign of Edward VI. In all of these cases, however—irrespective of the relationship between confessional preference and musical practice—what is notable is the desire to *use* music, and polyphony in particular, as a means of understanding and responding to religious change. Individual congregations may have turned to music for different purposes, but these communities understood its potential power in converting others to their cause and easing an otherwise difficult liturgical transition.

Hearing the Parish: London, Bristol, Exeter, and Oxford under Edward VI and Mary I

Each of the three cities whose parish records were the focus of this chapter provide additional evidence for how the English populace used music in both reformed and conservative liturgies during the mid-Tudor period. Here, I turn finally to the broader conclusions these data allow us to draw, demonstrating key differences between religious musical practices in London and those in other English cities, while also highlighting the political and economic circumstances that likely made liturgical polyphony more popular in London and Bristol than elsewhere. Although in some specific cases there exist clear connections between confessional preference and a desire to use music to aid in confessionalization, overall a common interest in

incorporating music into the liturgy appears to have united both reformers and proponents of traditional religion. In other words, reformers were no more “against” musical liturgies than conservatives were “for” them; those across the confessional spectrum saw the value of using music to create sacred space and draw those worshipping closer to God. Whether music, and polyphony in particular, played a large role in a particular parish’s liturgies certainly was linked in some instances to a specific confessional preference, but overall this desire had more to do with whether a community had the resources to offer musically elaborate services. Liturgical music was thus not by any means universal, but it nevertheless acted as a shared medium for radical reformers, staunch conservatives, and those in between.

London stands in stark contrast to Bristol, Oxford, and Exeter with respect to its quick adoption of reform, which—as noted in Chapter 1—in certain cases parishes chose to implement specifically through musical means. Whereas the overwhelming majority of the parishes studied in this dissertation obediently purchased the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, the process was quicker in London; by the end of 1550/1, eighty-four percent of the churches with extant records had purchased the volume. London also saw a much greater acquisition of psalters or psalm books, many of which were bought specifically for use by the choir, which indicates an interest in maintaining the longstanding practice of singing the psalms.¹¹⁰ Yet the most striking difference between London and the three cities surveyed in this chapter is the early implementation of vernacular music in the former from 1547–9. Combined with the strong interest in purchasing English-texted polyphony in the majority of communities for which we have records from 1549–53, these data indicate that Londoners were more accepting of religious reform than their counterparts in other English cities and more likely to rely on music to spread

¹¹⁰ For detailed data on London book acquisition, see Chapter 1.

new doctrines and practices. Susan Brigden's study of early reform movements in London provided strong evidence for this position; even prior to Edward's reign Londoners were experimenting with new tenets and rituals, and many churches rid themselves of liturgical ornaments like crosses and sanctus bells in the first two years of Edward's reign.¹¹¹ Although some of the quick adoption of vernacular services in London might be explained by the additional scrutiny the city faced from both ecclesiastical and royal authorities, the consistency with which its parishes acquired Edwardine service books indicates that at least some of these communities favored religious reform. Londoners' specific focus on music as a vehicle to implement religious reform, moreover, and evangelicals' understanding of its ability to both create reformed space and confessionalize a broad public, are crucial factors that have until this point been understudied in existing scholarship, and are unique to the nation's capital.

The presence of vernacular music in Bristol under Edward VI, meanwhile, speaks not only to its parishes' relative wealth, but also to their desire to provide supplementary adornments to their services. These churches had likewise supported strong musical establishments under Henry VIII; thus they—like London's communities—used music to provide a sense of audible continuity in worship at a time of great change. Given the financial constraints these churches faced, the choice to spend their funds on liturgical music demonstrates that despite the hostility of some reformers to polyphonic services, many English men and women found liturgical music to be an important part of their spiritual lives. Although it is impossible to know what the polyphonic music purchased by Bristol's congregations sounded like, its format (partbooks of three or four parts) suggests music similar to that found in the Wanley partbooks; thus, I argue that this music, too, was meant to provide a sense of continuity for Bristol's residents. While

¹¹¹ On the former see ch. 2, "The Heretical Community," in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 82–128.

fewer congregations in Bristol opted to invest in vernacular polyphony than those in London, and they did so at a later date, in England's third-largest city there was nevertheless demonstrable interest in incorporating music into Edwardine services.

Such actions were uncommon in Oxford and nonexistent in Exeter, however. Although it would be tempting to attribute the lack of vernacular music in Oxford and Exeter to a reformist disdain for florid polyphony, these decisions were more likely part of preexisting patterns that had more to do with economic circumstances than a dislike of liturgical music. Not only did Exeter's churches show little inclination to purchase music under Henry VIII, for example, but the city's residents also had a pragmatic approach to religious reform, siding with the crown in the prayer book rebellion and using their church plate to fund public infrastructure. The dearth of music books at Exeter's parishes in this period, then, likely had more to do with a general disinclination towards musically ornate services. While in Oxford the church of St. Martin Carfax seems to have shown some interest in incorporating plainsong into a reformed liturgy as early as 1548, the procurement of polyphonic music that occurred in both Bristol and London at this time was absent. In Exeter and Oxford, then, there is little evidence that music played a role in the spread of reformed teachings under Edward VI.

In contrast to the strong emphasis on liturgical music in London from 1547–53, during Mary I's reign those in the English capital acquired less music, even as London's bishop Edmund Bonner made musical liturgies a priority. In many cases this choice was likely due to financial constraints, but in a few instances reform-minded communities who had invested heavily in music under Edward VI conspicuously avoided doing so once the mass had been restored. While the leadership at these parishes carefully followed the letter of the law, they omitted a practice that they knew had the potential to reconvert their "reformed" congregations

into adherents of the traditional religion. Both music's absence and its presence, then, became tools that might be used for Londoners across the confessional spectrum. Yet even still, many communities in London used music as a means for negotiating the Marian restoration, indicating that musical liturgies remained important in London throughout the mid-Tudor period.

The particular focus on Latin-texted polyphony in Bristol's parishes at this time, by comparison, is as striking as the emphasis on vernacular music had been in London under Edward VI. Although external evidence indicates that Bristol's population was divided on a number of key doctrinal and liturgical concerns, overall Bristol's churches turned much more readily to polyphonic music under Mary I than they had done during her half-brother's reign.¹¹² Despite the interest in Bristol in religious reform that has been documented by historians, then, I suggest that overall the population was more conservative than that in London, and that its largest congregations—like some communities in the capital—believed the ritual efficacy of music meant it could be used to strengthen support for traditional religion. Although in the case of Christ Church, the city's biggest purchaser of Latin-texted polyphony, the evidence is inconclusive due to a paucity of source material from Edward's reign, these purchases at the very least indicate strong interest in liturgical music during the Marian restoration.

Whatever the small differences between them with respect to musical provision, both Bristol and London stand in strong contrast to Oxford and Exeter from 1553–58. Again in these regional centers, historians have traced both reforming and conservative citizens and clergy who held varying opinions about the nature and validity of religious change. Yet in these cities, music played a minor role throughout Mary's reign. Again in Exeter, I suggest this choice may reflect a general disinterest in musical liturgies that was present during the reigns of both Henry VIII and

¹¹² For more on Bristolites' reactions to religious reform see ch. 4, "Religious Conflict: Resistance and Change," in Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, 57–66.

Edward VI, coupled with the city's pragmatic approach to religious change. In both cities, moreover, one likely explanation for the dearth of liturgical music purchases is financial: unlike London and Bristol, which boasted considerable wealth and a number of high-status citizens, in comparatively smaller Oxford, and Exeter with its relatively small parishes, church communities simply did not have the financial means to support large choirs who might regularly perform liturgical polyphony. For those living in smaller cities, then, elaborate parish music remained a luxury confined to performance on major feasts, while for communities who could afford it the practice persisted as a vital part of both reformed and conservative liturgies.

Although London was in many ways unique when it came to musical provision, it thus shared more in common with Bristol, England's third-largest city, than with other, smaller regional centers. London's commercial and economic importance, along with its centrality for public ritual and its educated populace, meant that reform spread more quickly there than it did elsewhere in England, and its relative wealth allowed its reform-minded parishes to invest heavily in vernacular music designed to provide audible continuity and reach those with both heterodox and orthodox views. Yet the characteristics London shared with Bristol—a civic life structured around craft guilds, a wealthy elite, and economic influence—were what made musical provision in the latter robust during the reign of Mary I, even while vernacular liturgical music was less popular under Edward VI. The lack of similar civic institutions and wealth in Exeter and Oxford, meanwhile, meant that music played a relatively minor role in the spread of both Edwardine and Marian religious change. As I will demonstrate in this dissertation's conclusion, these trends were not fleeting, but in fact would continue into the early years of the reign of Elizabeth I.

CONCLUSION

Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in Early Elizabethan England

On 17 November, 1558, Queen Elizabeth I acceded to the English throne, from which she would rule for forty-four years—four times the combined length of the reigns of her two half siblings. With respect to religious music, she patronized some of the greatest composers of the later sixteenth century, and her pragmatic approach to liturgical polyphony is often viewed as a reflection of her own love of music. In the first years of her reign, however, the stability that marked her later rule was far from certain, and her subjects were once again forced to negotiate another change in official religious policy. Although Elizabethan religious music has received considerable attention by scholars, it is rarely studied in light of the musical practices and policies of the Edwardine and Marian governments. Based on the evidence presented in this dissertation, in conclusion I propose a brief reevaluation of religious music making in the first two years of Elizabeth's reign, demonstrating that Elizabethan music policy and parish musical practices were dependent on the musical actions taken by England's inhabitants over the previous eleven years. My aim is not to dismiss the conclusions of other scholars, but rather to provide a more nuanced explanation for religious music making early in Elizabeth's reign. I contend that English men and women relied on continuity in musical practice to negotiate religious change, and that their connection to and dependence on music was predicated on an understanding that music had the potential to sacralize and transform religious space. Although these trends are easiest to document in London, they also occurred in two of the three urban

centers surveyed in Chapter 5; thus, I posit that uses of religious music that were central during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I were consolidated during the early years of Elizabeth's rule.

Existing scholarship on early Elizabethan religious music often makes the case that Edwardine musical practices were limited, and that it was the revival of Catholic worship under Mary I, coupled with the actions of the so-called Marian exiles who returned to England following Elizabeth's accession, that "saved" music for the Elizabethan Church of England. Elizabethan musical policy was thus what Robin Leaver characterizes as "a middle line of compromise between two extremes" that attempted to find common ground between radical reformers and staunch Catholics.¹ Peter Le Huray, for example, notes the opposition many reformers had to elaborate musical practices, arguing that the future of English choral music under Edward VI had looked "bleak."² More recently, Jonathan Willis has pointed out the value of Mary's short-term restoration of "traditional musical forms" for the musical practices of the Elizabethan church, and has argued that it was "the experience of exile, together with the influence of Calvin and Bucer, that in the long run helped *save* English church music from Bullingerian austerity" (emphasis mine).³

In her royal injunctions issued in the summer of 1559, Elizabeth set out an explicit policy concerning the use of sung music in *Book of Common Prayer* services:

49. *Item*...And that there be a modest and distinct song, so used in all parts of the Common Prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing. And yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or suchlike song, to the praise

¹ Leaver, "Goostly psalmes," 239.

² Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 29.

³ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 55.

of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.”⁴

Far more prescriptive about liturgical music than the injunctions issued by either of her siblings, Elizabeth’s policy is notable for its focus on textual intelligibility, which recalls a similar preference for syllabic music shared by a number of Edwardine reformers.⁵ The injunction’s unrestricted approach to musical form is also often credited with inspiring the flourishing of liturgical music genres that occurred during Elizabeth’s reign; as Willis puts it, the injunctions “effectively issued a blank cheque, which could be taken to sanction anything from polyphonic choral music to the unaccompanied congregational singing of metrical Psalms.”⁶ Certainly following Mary’s tenure, during which London-based composers like William Mundy experimented with genres and styles of both the Edwardine years and the more distant Henrician past, an openness to musical variety would have been appreciated. An allowance for the metrical psalmody that had become popular with Marian exiles was likely equally welcome, at least among those returning from abroad. Thus, Elizabeth’s policy would have appealed to both reformers who valued textual clarity and conservatives who favored elaborate polyphony.

Yet as I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, during Edward VI’s reign musical practices in London’s parish churches reflected few of the limits radical reformers hoped to place on liturgical music; the majority of these communities invested in music books, whether psalters or copies of polyphony, and viewed music as an integral part of the new vernacular liturgy. In other words, while certain evangelicals voiced opposition to musical liturgies, the majority of those

⁴ Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 3 (London: Longmans, Green & Co.: 1910), 23.

⁵ Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music*, 118; for more on religious music by Henrician and Edwardine reformers see the discussion of this material in Chapter 1.

⁶ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 57–8.

living in England’s capital—including some staunch reformers—believed liturgical music, including polyphony, was beneficial rather than harmful. I contend, then, that while Elizabethan musical policy may have occupied a middle ground between the views of a few radical reformers and ardent conservatives, it is not necessarily the “compromise” scholars have claimed it to be; rather, Elizabeth’s injunction reflects actual parish practices under both Edward VI *and* Mary I that were then continued. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 1, Edwardine and Marian religious injunctions were silent when it came to any sort of musical policy, affording English parishes the opportunity to make their own choices about how and when to incorporate music into the liturgy. Elizabeth I’s pragmatic music policy may have been more prescriptive than that of her predecessors, but it had the same effect of allowing England’s church communities to use liturgical music in whatever manner they thought most appropriate.

In London, patterns of music making in the early years of Elizabeth’s reign mirror those of the previous decade, demonstrating a great deal of continuity in how church communities viewed liturgical music throughout the mid-Tudor period. Parishes moved quickly to acquire the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* by the required date of 24 June, with most churches with extant accounts (seventeen of twenty-one) buying the volume in 1558/9.⁷ Some London churches, in fact, celebrated vernacular services even earlier: the Windsor Herald Charles Wriothesley notes that on Whitsunday (14 May), “the service began in divers parishes in London, after the last

⁷ The parishes in question are All Hallows Staining, St. Alphage London Wall, St. Andrew Hubbard, St. Benet Gracechurch Street, St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Dunstan in the West, St. James Garlickhithe, St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, St. Margaret Westminster, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Michael LeQuerne, and St. Peter Westcheap. Three additional churches bought English procession books (St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street, St. Mary at Hill, and St. Stephen Walbrook) in this accounting year, moreover, which suggests some form of vernacular service was also occurring at these churches.

booke of service of Common Prayer used in the tyme of King Edward the VI.”⁸ By the following year, all but one parish with existing records had obtained the new service manual, indicating a strong degree of compliance with official policy.⁹ Similarly, the vast majority—eighteen of the twenty-one churches—purchased psalters or psalm books in either 1558/9 or 1559/60.¹⁰

Although the most common number of psalters for a parish to buy was two, several churches purchased larger quantities (up to eight, though four was more typical) suggesting choral or group performance. At least a few of these psalters, moreover, contained musical notation, such as the “salme booke *with* nottes” that the churchwardens at St. Matthew Friday Street bought in 1559/60 for ten pence.¹¹ It is likely, then, that most of London’s parishes were holding services that resembled those they had offered under Edward VI by the second year of Elizabeth’s reign, and that these liturgies included sung psalms.

In addition to prose psalters, however, a handful of churches bought books of psalms in meter during the first two years of Elizabeth’s reign—three in 1558/9 and at least four in 1559/60.¹² Robin Leaver has documented the popularity of metrical psalmody in English exile

⁸ Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, 2:145. According to Henry Machyn, vernacular services began in Elizabeth’s chapel only two days before. See *A London Provisioner’s Chronicle*, fol. 104.

⁹ Several of the aforementioned parishes bought further copies of the *Book of Common Prayer* in this year; of those that did not purchase the book in 1558/9, St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street and St. Stephen Walbrook acquired copies in 1559/60 while St. Olave Southwark did not. St. Mary at Hill, whose wardens did not buy the *BCP* in 1558/9 but who *did* procure English procession books, psalters, and plainsong books, unfortunately has no extant records from 1559/60; given their purchases in 1558/9 it is likely they bought the *BCP* in the following year.

¹⁰ The parishes in question are All Hallows Staining, St. Andrew Hubbard, St. Benet Gracechurch, St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. James Garlickhithe, St. Margaret Moses Friday Street, St. Margaret Pattens, St. Margaret Westminster, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street, St. Mary at Hill, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Matthew Friday Street, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Michael LeQuerne, St. Peter Westcheap, and St. Stephen Walbrook.

¹¹ LMA P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/001, fol. 29. Given the cost of only ten pence, it is more likely that this was a printed than a manuscript psalter, but to this author’s knowledge, there are no prose psalters that were printed in 1558/9 or 1559/60 that included musical notation, which suggests that this was actually a collection of metrical psalms.

¹² In 1558/9: St. Benet Gracechurch (“two bookes of the spalmes of Ienevay,” LMA P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001, p. 115), St Botolph Aldgate (“payde for the palmes in myter” LMA

communities during Mary's reign, arguing convincingly that when members of these congregations returned to England they were responsible for spreading this repertoire to the parishes of their native land. Thomas Sternhold's name and work had carried significant weight among these continental congregations—all forty-four of the basic Sternhold and Hopkins psalms were included in both the 1555 Wesel psalter and the 1556 Anglo-Genevan psalter, though many of Sternhold's texts were revised in the latter.¹³ The volumes of metrical psalms that London's parishes purchased were either copies of the Anglo-Geneva psalter or had their contents drawn from this volume: half of the CWA entries documenting the acquisition of psalms in meter call these books "Ienova bokes" or "spalmes of Ienevay." It is likely, moreover, that all of these metrical psalm collections contained musical notation; not only did the 1556 Anglo-Genevan psalter contain some tunes, but at least two books of metrical psalms were printed in London in 1559 that included melodies.¹⁴ Thus, by 1559/60 at least seven congregations—thirty-five percent of those with extant records—were incorporating sung metrical psalmody into their reformed liturgies.

While Marian exiles' enthusiasm for this repertoire certainly played a role in its widespread use in Elizabethan churches, I suggest that it was the popularity of Sternhold's

P69/BOT2/B/012/MS09235/001, fol. 63v), and St Margaret Pattens ("payde for v. Ienova bokes," LMA P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/001, p. 4). In 1559/60: St. James Garlickhithe ("It pd for te deum & other salmes in englishe meter," LMA P69/JS2/B/005/MS04810/001, fol. 10r), St. Martin in the Fields: ("for tow salme bookes in meter by note," Kitto, ed. *St Martin-in-the-Fields*, 185), St. Mary Woolnoth ("Item payed for ij psalme bookes in mytre for the churche," LMA P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A, fol. 96r), and St. Michael Cornhill ("paid for viij genevian bookes," LMA P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/001, fol. 61v).

¹³ Leaver, "Goostly psalmes," 202, 228. Sternhold is credited on the title page of both the 1556 Anglo-Genevan psalter and its 1558 revision.

¹⁴ William Seres received a printing license from the Stationers' Company in late 1558 or early 1559 for "psalms in mytre noted," while John Day was fined in October of 1559 for printing "a quatron of psalmes with notes" without a license. See Leaver, "Goostly psalmes," 241. At least one of London's parishes, St. Martin in the Fields, explicitly documented purchasing a book with tunes, paying twenty pence "for tow salme bookes in meter by note." See Kitto, ed. *St Martin-in-the-Fields*, 185.

psalms (and other collections of Biblical song) under Edward VI that truly allowed this phenomenon to take hold. While those returning from abroad held strong convictions with respect to religious reform and vernacular worship, they were small in number and held few positions of authority immediately after Elizabeth's accession. For their views on metrical psalmody to become mainstream (or at least accepted) in such a short time meant that those who had remained in England must have been predisposed toward metrical psalmody. Thus, without the ubiquity of Sternhold's psalms and other Biblical metrical song under Edward VI, the genre would likely not have seen widespread use in the early Elizabethan church.

Just as a number of London's congregations had turned to composed polyphony to make sense of the Edwardine reformation, so too did several communities purchase pricksong in the first two years of Elizabeth's reign, suggesting that polyphony continued to play a vital role in the liturgies of the capital's churches. Parishes were at first cautious in their acquisition; in 1558/9 only the churchwardens of St. Mary at Hill and St. Michael Cornhill paid for partbooks and the "pricking" of music into these volumes.¹⁵ By the following year, however, at least three additional churches—All Hallows Staining, St. Botolph Aldersgate, and St. James Garlickhithe—had also invested in polyphonic music; at St. James Garlickhithe, moreover, the churchwardens paid for pricksong at two different times.¹⁶ After dealing with the abrupt liturgical and doctrinal changes of the Edwardine and Marian governments, London's inhabitants must have been wary of Elizabeth's reforms; under considerable financial strain from the

¹⁵ LMA P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003, fol. 817 and LMA P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/001, fol. 58v.

¹⁶ LMA P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/002, fol 64v, LMA P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/064, and LMA P69/JS2/B/005/MS04810/001, fol 10. The purchase at St. Botolph Aldersgate was for five "songe bokes," which could mean something other than polyphony, but the number of books (five) does suggest partbooks. The parish of St. Peter Westcheap also bought twenty-one "songebokes" in 1559/60 for twenty shillings; while the high price could indicate polyphony, the quantity is large enough that these might also have been metrical psalters purchased for congregational use.

continuous adoption of new practices, London's parishes would have had to be judicious in allotting their funds. For five of London's churches with extant accounts to have purchased polyphony at this time—i.e., twenty-five percent of the parishes in this study—indicates a strong prioritization of sung liturgies that mirrors the previous musical practices of London's churches. Yet this was not just a continuation of customs fostered under Mary I; as I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, more of London's churches bought polyphony under Edward VI than they did under his half sister. It was the strength of musical practices in *both* reigns, then, that inspired these communities to invest in liturgical polyphony at the outset of Elizabeth's reign.

Musical provision in early Elizabethan worship services was not limited to that supported by parish churches in London, moreover. At least six of the thirteen London livery companies with extant records from 1558/9 and 1559/60, for example, held annual worship services incorporating music in the first two years of Elizabeth's reign, hiring clerks and even singing children.¹⁷ Just as they had done under Edward VI, these companies adapted their devotional practices to accommodate changes in official religious policy, relying on the continuity of a sung liturgy to reach a membership holding both heterodox and orthodox views. Their choices mirror those of London's parishes during the same period, indicating a strong interest in both reform and polyphonic liturgies: six companies similarly returned to the practice of paying for sermons during at least one of these years, and of these, four paid for *both* singing men and a sermon at

¹⁷ These companies include the Carpenters (GL CLC/L/CC/D/002/MS04326/002, pp. 169, 187), the Founders (GL CLC/L/FG/D/001/MS06330/001, p. 437), the Grocers (GL CLC/L/GH/D/001/MS11571/006, fols. 110r-v, 144v), the Ironmongers (GL CLC/L/IB/D/001/MS16988/002, fols. 114, 119v), the Pewterers (GL CLC/L/PE/D/002/MS07086/002, fols. 223, 232v), and the Vintners (GL CLC/L/VA/D/002/MS15333/001, p. 400). Three further companies, the Bakers, Brewers, and Coopers, made regular payments to a parish clerk; it is possible, therefore, that these clerks were also responsible for providing music at annual worship services. This is of course a marked decrease in the number of companies that paid for masses under Mary I, which does suggest that some companies were hostile to the return of vernacular services.

the same time.¹⁸ Musical activity in these guilds, then, was at least in certain circumstances tied to a desire for enacting religious reform.

If parishes and craft communities in London showed enthusiasm for Elizabethan reform and a clear desire to implement it through music, the process was not so straightforward in other English cities, indicating that London was unique in its approach to this round of government-sanctioned religious change. Of the three cities surveyed in Chapter 5, Bristol remained the most similar to London: by 1559/60 at least six of the eight parishes with extant records had purchased either the *Book of Common Prayer* or books of the “Englyshe proressyon.”¹⁹ Psalter acquisition followed a similar pattern, with at least half the churches buying one or more psalters by 1559/60; while this is a substantially smaller percentage than in London, it nevertheless suggests some interest in implementing Elizabethan reform and doing so through a musical liturgy.²⁰ At least one parish, moreover, bought a copy of the psalms in meter, so the popularity of this genre was not limited to the nation’s capital.²¹ Bristol’s parishes, then, were well placed to perform the new vernacular liturgy correctly only shortly after it was implemented across the country.

¹⁸ The Carpenters (GL CLC/L/CC/D/002/MS04326/002, pp. 169, 187), Coopers (GL CLC/L/CI/D/001/MS05606/001), Founders (GL CLC/L/FG/D/001/MS06330/001, p. 447), Grocers (GL CLC/L/GH/D/001/MS11571/006, fol. 110v), Tallow Chandlers (GL CLC/L/TC/D/001/MS06152/001, fols. 68, 83v), and Vintners (GL CLC/L/VA/D/002/MS15333/001, p. 400) all paid for at least one sermon at this time.

¹⁹ These parishes include All Saints (BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated), Christ Church (BA P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fol. 110v), St. Ewen (BA P.St E/ChW/1, fol. 154v), St. Mary Redcliffe (BA P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 139), St. Nicholas (Atchley, “St. Nicholas, Bristol,” 61), and St. Werburgh (BA P.St W/ChW/3/a, fols. 20av, 22). The churchwardens at St. John also bought “yngleshe bowkes” in 1558/9, which likely included a copy of the *Book of Common Prayer* (BA P.St JB/ChW/1/c, p. 131). The CWAs for the parish of St. Thomas, moreover, is missing an account for 1558/9; given that they purchased psalters in 1559/60, it is likely they acquired the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1558/9; thus, it is conceivable that all of Bristol’s churches with extant records did buy the *Book of Common Prayer* in the first two years of Elizabeth’s reign.

²⁰ The parishes in question are All Saints (BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated), Christ Church (BA P.XCh/ChW/1/a, fol. 110v), St. Ewen (BA P.St E/ChW/1, fol. 154v), and St. Thomas (BA P.St T/ChW/3). The “yngleshe bowkes” bought by the churchwardens of St. John in 1558/9 may also have included a vernacular psalter.

²¹ The churchwardens of All Saints paid twenty pence for “two bokes of sames in meter” in 1558/9 (BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated).

Yet while a number of these communities invested heavily in polyphonic music under Mary I—and several had likewise done so during Edward’s reign—in the first two years of Elizabeth’s rule only one parish, All Saints, ever purchased any volumes that *may* have contained polyphony. Indeed, the record for “two other bokes with notes” that the churchwardens acquired in 1558/9 is ambiguous.²² The high price of four shillings, combined with the separate entries in the account for “sauter bokes,” suggests that these were books of polyphony, yet the number (two rather than three or four) is unusual for pricksong. All Saints had purchased a set of partbooks during Mary’s reign, and the church seems to have fostered the practice of faburden liturgies under Edward VI, so their acquisition of new polyphony in the early years of Elizabeth’s rule fits a pattern of musical practice dating at least to 1539/40, when the churchwardens similarly bought five books of pricksong. The lack of musical provision at Bristol’s remaining parishes, however, in light of the amount of polyphony they purchased in the previous decade, suggests that either these communities were wary of the latest religious reforms, or they were financially unable to support the musical practices to which they had been accustomed. Despite the quick procurement of service books in Bristol, then, musical provision was limited in the city’s liturgies from 1558–60.

The two parishes in Oxford with extant records from these years suggest a similar pattern to that in Bristol: the church of St. Martin Carfax dutifully bought both a communion book and a psalter in 1558/9, while the records from St. Michael only note the purchase of “ij bokes” in the same year. In 1559/60, however, the churchwardens at St. Martin Carfax paid three shillings, four pence for “singinge bokes for *the* quier.”²³ This latter purchase recalls the similar outlay this

²² BA P.AS/ChW/3/a, unfoliated.

²³ OHC PAR207/4/F1/1 and PAR211/4/F1/2, unfoliated rolls.

community made on music early in the reign of Edward VI, suggesting that certain of these parishioners were amenable to reform and saw liturgical music as an important vehicle for effecting change. Yet the church of St. Michael bought no polyphony at this time, and may or may not have procured the *Book of Common Prayer*. Whether this choice was financial or indicates a conservative community is impossible to tell; what is clear, however, is that Oxford, like Bristol, stands in contrast to London in the early Elizabethan period.

The parish churches of Exeter, meanwhile, were not only slow to purchase the new *Book of Common Prayer*, but showed no interest in musical liturgies. By 1559/60, two of the city's three churches with extant records had acquired the *Book of Common Prayer*, though only one did so in 1558/9. At least one of these communities likewise bought a psalm book in 1559/60, indicating a degree of compliance with official religious policy that matched that in Oxford.²⁴ Yet just as they had done under Edward VI and Mary I—as well as at the end of Henry VIII's reign—from 1558–60 no Exeter parish bought any additional music books. As I suggested in Chapter 5, this longstanding pattern likely reflects both the relative wealth of the city's individual parishes and a general disinterest in liturgical music that predated even the Henrician reformation. Although this lack of liturgical music in a city as large and economically important as Exeter seems abnormal, the consistency of the choices the city's communities made with respect to musical provision indicates that these decisions had little (if anything) to do with attitudes toward religious reform.

In the first two years of Elizabeth's reign, then, musical practices in urban parishes across London, Bristol, Oxford, and Exeter were marked by a high degree of continuity with the music

²⁴ These churches were St. Mary Steps (DHC DD70919 and DD70921) and St. Petrock (DHC 2946A/add99/PW/3, roll 124). The 1559/60 records for St. Petrock also include an entry for "iij bookes for the churche," which could include a psalter, but this evidence is unfortunately inconclusive.

making that occurred under both Edward VI and Mary I. London was unique in its quick adoption of Elizabethan reforms and its inclination to bring about religious change through liturgical music; just as the city's churches had done in the Edwardine period, in the early years of Elizabeth's rule several communities went out of their way to invest in vernacular polyphony designed to enhance the liturgy and confessionalize congregants. Although fewer London parishes purchased pricksong under Mary I, this dip is negligible when examining overall trends in comparison to other cities. Bristol, in contrast, may have had the most in common with London out of the three cities surveyed in Chapter 5, but its inhabitants were still slower to invest in religious reform and liturgical music than those living in London. And while in Oxford the inclusion of music in the liturgy appears to have been tied closely to confessional preference, in Exeter liturgical music making was nonexistent—both under Elizabeth I and her predecessors.

What the aforementioned evidence indicates is that those parishes that prioritized liturgical music in the mid-Tudor period did so because they understood the impact music could have on congregations whose members held differing views on religious doctrine. These communities were not following any official policies; neither the Edwardine nor the Marian governments did much to control how (and whether) parishes might use polyphonic music. Rather, of their own volition, they allocated often scarce financial resources to the procurement of vernacular and Latin-texted polyphony. For both reformers and conservatives, music could aid in the confessionalization of their communities by sacralizing church space and turning parishioners towards “true” doctrinal positions. The ritual power of this music, in other words, came from what was perceived as its unique ability to stir the emotions and speak directly to the soul—a capacity that frightened theologians from Augustine to the Tudor reformer John Bale. Indeed, even as the latter derided liturgical music for leading listeners astray, he acknowledged

its sweetness and melodious quality, and himself relied on its power to sway a diverse audience. These parishes thus went out of their way to incorporate musical practices with strong links to the past into their liturgies at a time when their communities were often divided, relying on liturgical music to provide a sense of continuity while also using it to adapt to change.

That many Edwardine reformers and individuals who embraced religious reform valued music for its potential to effect spiritual conversion is also evidenced by the large quantity of vernacular religious music that was printed from 1547–53, from Biblical metrical song to godly ballads. Designed to offer a broad audience a thorough grounding in evangelical doctrine, this simple, mostly un-notated music saw widespread use throughout Edward's reign. In its various guises and functions, it both offered users a way to express religious devotion and functioned as propaganda, attempting to show its audience the errors of those on the opposite end of the religious spectrum. Marian conservatives may have derided vernacular Biblical song for its close association with Protestant doctrine and practices, but they similarly used the medium of the godly ballad to critique Edwardine reform and legitimize Mary's return to the practices of the late Henrician church. As the cheapest form of religious music available in the mid-Tudor period, the godly ballad was central to how London's inhabitants received and reacted to religious change.

Just as the popularity of metrical psalms in the early Elizabethan church may be attributed in part to the widespread use of Biblical metrical song during Edward's reign, the godly ballad retained a place of prominence at the beginning of Elizabeth's rule. As Tessa Watt has noted, while the godly ballad was very popular mid-century, the genre saw a decline in popularity at least by 1579, with godly ballads accounting for only 35% of ballads produced

between 1560 and 1588.²⁵ Like those printed under Edward VI and Mary I, early Elizabethan religious ballads remained strongly confessional in nature, and often invoked the crown or engaged political rhetoric. In the anonymous ballad “A Complaynt agaynst the wicked enemies of Christ,” for example, printed c. 1564, the author criticizes the “tirants” (that is, religious conservatives) “whose practyse late hath bene, / Both to destroy our realme / and Elisabeth our Quene.”²⁶ Likewise, in “The cruel assault of Gods Fort,” published c. 1558–63, John Awdeley likens England to a fort attempting to withstand the siege of papists; it is the arrival of Queen Elizabeth, he argues, that has saved England from its enemies.²⁷ Although this genre’s popularity faded as the Elizabethan Church of England became more established, it was thus still very much a crucial tool for the confessionalization of a divided public at the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign.

Reformers likewise continued to make use of music in evangelical plays that were written and performed in the early years of Elizabeth’s rule, and like the drama created under Edward VI and Mary I, these plays relied on contemporary religious musical genres for their efficacy. In the 1560s and 70s religious drama remained popular with English audiences; not only were a large number of religious plays printed during this period, but reformist noblemen financed acting companies that traveled around the country staging plays designed to effect religious conversion.²⁸ Both the plays discussed in Chapter 4, John Bale’s *God’s Promises* and the anonymous *Jacob and Esau*, were reprinted in 1577 and 1567/8, respectively, indicating that these particular works (and their music) remained relevant beyond the mid-century. Katherine

²⁵ Watt, *Cheap Print*, 46–48.

²⁶ “A Complaynt agaynst the wicked enemies of Christ in that they have so tyrannusly handled the poore Chrystians” (Publication information unknown, c. 1564).

²⁷ John Awdeley, “The cruel assault of Gods Fort” (London: John Awdeley, c. 1558–63). Jonathan Willis also discusses both of these ballads in *Church Music and Protestantism*, 183–184.

²⁸ Jeffrey Leininger, “Evangelical ‘Enterluders’: Patronage and Playing in Reformation England,” *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 4, No. 1 (2002): 55.

Brokaw has further demonstrated that the musical genres employed in early Elizabethan plays were often linked to the crown's religious agenda: two plays performed before Elizabeth's court early in her reign, *Cambises* and *Patient and Meek Grissill*, present the private singing of religious music (in these cases psalms or psalm-like songs) as a meaningful way to petition God.²⁹ At least one London livery company may have funded a production of such a play at this time: between 6 August 1559 and the same date in 1561, the Tallow Chandlers paid thirteen shillings, four pence to "the master of the children of paules for their musicke and playeng of an enterlude."³⁰ Although it is impossible to know what play the children performed, given the popularity of reformist drama and the Tallow Chandlers' payments for sermons at the same time, the performance of a religious interlude is not out of the question. The instances in which the English populace encountered these performances thus may have been rare, but they—and their music—nevertheless affected the spread of reform in the early Elizabethan period.

From its practice in parish and livery company liturgies and domestic devotion to its performance in religious drama and on city streets, religious music thus played a crucial part in the reform movements of the mid-Tudor period. Beat Kümin has demonstrated that parish expenditure on "worship" as a whole (and more specifically, on "ornaments" including books) declined under Edward VI, and that there was no significant recovery of spending in this category under Mary I.³¹ The voluntary purchase of music at this time, then, indicates that

²⁹ Brokaw, *Staging Harmony*, 126. This view of private devotional music reflects the Edwardine promotion of metrical psalms as a substitution for "profane" music.

³⁰ GL CLC/L/TC/D/001/MS06152/001, fol. 84v.

³¹ Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community*, 216–19. Kümin's study is based primarily on a sample of ten English parishes chosen for their geographical and demographic breadth (two in London and two in Bristol, plus the parish churches of Ashburton (Devon), Halesowen (Worcester and Shropshire), Peterborough (Northamptonshire, now Cambridgeshire), Prescott (Lancashire), Boxford (Suffolk), and Yatton (Somerset). Kümin unfortunately does not consider (or mention) musical provision as its own category, categorizing all manuscript and print sources of music as "books" (irrespective of their contents), and treating expenditure on parish clerks in the same category as parish clergy. Nevertheless, his calculations are helpful for determining general parish spending patterns over a long durée.

musical provision remained an invaluable aspect of communal worship—most particularly in London, where spending on music was robust, but also in Bristol and even occasionally in Oxford. This trend’s continuation under Elizabeth I, meanwhile, shows that the presence of music in Elizabethan services was dependent on liturgical music’s popularity in the previous decade. Despite the radical changes that took place to parish worship from c. 1540–1560, then, liturgical music remained a point of continuity for those living through this turbulent time.

Yet the performance of polyphonic music during worship was only one of the many circumstances in which religious music shaped and reflected the lay experience of doctrinal change in the mid-Tudor period. Although musicological studies of the monophonic and unnotated repertoires of this era are few, Biblical metrical song, religious carols, and godly ballads were widespread forms of both devotion and entertainment that were designed to aid the laity in practicing piety “correctly”—whether that meant adhering to the tenets of the old religion or making way for the new. In dismissing Christopher Tye’s *The Actes of the Apostles* as an outlier with respect to Edwardine polyphony—rather than recognizing its relationship to the popular metrical psalm and its significance as the largest collection of its kind printed in England before 1575—musicologists have painted a relatively narrow picture of religious musical practice in mid-sixteenth-century England. These musical genres provided laypeople with an opportunity to determine what they chose to believe, and both reformers and conservatives understood the potential this music had to effect religious conversion. These genres were thus not incidental but rather foundational for spiritual life at this time.

Historians of the English reformations have carefully documented many of the changes and continuities to both communal and individual life that occurred in the Edwardine and Marian years, examining church fabric, doctrinal and liturgical concerns, economic developments,

devotional practices, and even the activities of craft associations. Literary scholars have similarly studied reformist and conservative rhetoric, plays and dramatic productions, and changes to genre conventions that occurred at this time. This scholarship has often relied on incorrect assumptions about both specific musical practices and how important religious music was to England's inhabitants under Edward VI and Mary I, and thus has missed a crucial point of continuity in a period of polarizing change. As I have shown in this dissertation, religious music played a vital role in the sacralization of space under both Edward VI and Mary I, and likewise served as a means to confessionalize a broad audience in a variety of contexts. The numerous genres of religious music that were popular at this time each served multiple functions, but all were ultimately designed to teach people to follow (or oppose) state-sanctioned religious orthodoxy at an uncertain time. From the end of the reign of Henry VIII to the first years of the rule of Elizabeth I, religious music thus played a vital role in the dissemination of the doctrinal, liturgical, and devotional reforms that marked mid-sixteenth-century English life.

Appendix

This appendix contains information pertaining to the primary source material consulted for this dissertation that is related to parish and civic practices. Certain records were consulted in modern editions (namely those which are no longer extant or are inaccessible due to their condition); these are listed in the bibliography.

Parish Churchwardens' Accounts & Inventories (Original Sources)

Parish Name	Documents	Catalogue No.	Library/Archive
Bristol			
All Saints	CWAs: 1536–42, 1549–52, 1553–1662	P.AS/ChW/3/a	Bristol Archives
Christ Church	CWAs: 1531, 1534, 1544–7, 1553–1655	P.XCh/ChW/1/a	Bristol Archives
St. Ewen's	CWAs: 1454–1518, 1559–61 1547–1631	P.St E/ChW/1 P.St E/ChW/2	Bristol Archives
St. John the Baptist	CWAs: 1404–1562 (incomplete)	P.St JB/ChW/1/c	Bristol Archives
St. Mary Redcliffe	CWAs: 1548–80	P.St MR/ChW/1/a	Bristol Archives
St. Stephen's	Inventories of Church Goods	P.St S/ChW/2	Bristol Archives
St. Thomas the Martyr	CWAs: 1543/4, 1552/3, 1559/60	P.St T/ChW/1–3	Bristol Archives
St. Werburgh's	CWAs: 1548–1615	P.St W/ChW/3/a	Bristol Archives
Cambridge			
Holy Trinity	CWAs: 1504–1635	P22/5/1	Cambridgeshire Archives
St. Mary the Great	CWAs: 1404–1562 (incomplete)	P30/4/1	Cambridgeshire Archives
Exeter			
Holy Trinity	CWAs: 1542, 1546 1547–52, 1556	1718A/add/PW/3 1718A/add/PW/4	Devon Heritage Centre

St. John's	CWAs: 1508–44 1547–52 1553, 1556 1557–1602	DD36769 DD36770 DD36771 DD36772	Devon Heritage Centre
St. Mary Major	Inventories of Church Goods	2945A/add99/PW/1	Devon Heritage Centre
St. Mary Steps	CWAs: 1541/2 1546/7 1551/2 1552/3 1553/4 1554/5 1555/6 1556/7 1557/8 1558/9 1559/60 1560/1	DD70916 DD70917 DD70918 4768A/add99/PW/1 4768A/add99/PW/2 4768A/add99/PW/3 4768A/add99/PW/4 4768A/add99/PW/5 4768A/add99/PW/6 DD70919 DD70920 DD70921 DD70922	Devon Heritage Centre Devon Heritage Centre
St. Petrock's	CWAs: 1523–89	2946A/add99/PW/3	Devon Heritage Centre
London			
All Hallows Staining	CWAs: 1491–1550 1533–1628	P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/001 P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/002	London Metropolitan Archives
Christ Church Newgate St.	CWAs: 1546–8	SBHB/HA/1/1	St. Bartholomew's Hospital
St. Alphage London Wall	CWAs: 1527–53 1553–80	P69/ALP/B/006/MS01432/001 P69/ALP/B/006/MS01432/002	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Andrew Hubbard	CWAs: 1525–61	P69/AND3/B/003/MS01279/002	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Benet Gracechurch	CWAs: 1548–88	P69/BEN2/B/012/MS01568/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Botolph Aldersgate	CWAs: 1547/8 1548/9 1549/50 1550/1 1551/2 1552/3 1553/4 1555/6	P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/054 P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/055 P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/056 P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/057 P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/058 P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/059 P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/060 P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/061	London Metropolitan Archives London Metropolitan Archives London Metropolitan Archives

	1556/7	P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/062	
	1557/8	P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/063	
	1558/9	P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/064	
	1559/60	P69/BOT1/B/013/MS01454/065	
St. Botolph Aldgate	CWAs: 1547–85	P69/BOT2/B/012/MS09235/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Dunstan in the West	CWAs: 1516–1608	P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. James Garlickhithe	CWAs: 1555–1627	P69/JS2/B/005/MS04810/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Lawrence Pountney	CWAs: 1530–51, 1576–1681	P69/LAW2/B/010/MS03907/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Margaret Moses Friday St.	CWAs: 1547–97	P69/MGT2/B/004/MS03476/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Margaret Pattens	CWAs: 1506–1557 1558–1653	P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/001 P69/MGT4/B/004/MS04570/002	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Margaret's, Westminster	CWAs: 1530–50 1550–70	SMW/E/1/3 SMW/E/1/4	Westminster City Archives
St. Martin Outwich	CWAs: 1508–28, 1537–46	P69/MTN3/B/004/MS06842	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Mary at Hill	CWAs: 1527–40, 1547–59 1485–1556 (miscellaneous)	P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/001/003 P69/MRY4/B/005/MS01239/002	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Mary Magdalen Milk St.	CWAs: 1518–1606	P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Mary Woolnoth	CWAs: 1539–99	P69/MRY15/B/006/MS01002/001A	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Matthew Friday Street	CWAs: 1547–1678	P69/MTW/B/005/MS01016/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Michael Cornhill	CWAs: 1547–1608	P69/MIC2/B/006/MS04071/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Michael Le Querne	CWAs: 1514–1604	P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Nicholas Shambles	CWAs: 1526–46	SBHB/HA/1/1	St. Bartholomew's Hospital
St. Olave's, Southwark	CWAs: 1546–1610	Stolave	Southwark Archives
St. Peter Westcheap	CWAs: 1435–1536; 1556–1601	P69/PET4/B/006/MS00645/001	London Metropolitan Archives
St. Stephen Walbrook	CWAs: 1549–1637	P69/STE2/B/008/MS00593/002	London Metropolitan Archives
Oxford			
St. Martin Carfax	CWAs: 1404–1562 (incomplete)	PAR207/4/F1/1	Oxfordshire History Centre
St. Mary the Virgin	CWAs: 1553/4, 1559/60	PAR209/4/F1/1–2	Oxfordshire History Centre
St. Michael's	1404–1562 (incomplete)	PAR211/4/F1/2	Oxfordshire History Centre
St. Peter in the East	1540/1, 1544–6, 1552/3	PAR213/4/F1/1	Oxfordshire History Centre
St. Peter le Bailey	1543–1557 (incomplete)	PAR214/4/F1/1–30	Oxfordshire History Centre

Dissolution Inventories (all held at The National Archives)

Parish Name	Catalogue No.
<u>London</u>	
All Hallows Bread St.	E 117/4/76
All Hallows the Great	E 117/4/95
All Hallows Lombard St.	E 117/4/53
All Hallows London Wall	E 117/4/81
St. Christopher's	E 117/4/49
St. Dionis Backchurch	E 117/4/70
St. Ethelburga's	E 117/4/42
St. Faith's	E 117/4/5
St. John Zachary	E 117/4/80
St. Katherine Christchurch (Cree)	E 117/4/32
St. Leonard Foster Lane	E 117/4/78
St. Margaret's, Westminster	E 117/11/50
St. Martin Ludgate	E 117/4/38
St. Martin Outwich	E 117/4/27
St Mary le Bow	E 117/4/39
St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish St.	E 117/4/14
St. Olave's, Southwark	E 117/9/9
St. Peter Westcheap	E 117/4/31
St. Peter Cornhill	E 117/4/11
St. Sepulchre without Newgate	E 117/4/89
St. Stephen Coleman St.	E 117/4/33
St. Stephen Walbrook	E 117/4/56

Parish Name	Catalogue No.
<u>Bristol</u>	
All Saints	E 117/2/66
Christ Church	E 117/2/66
St. Augustine's	E 117/2/66
St. Ewen's	E 117/2/66
St. Lawrence's	E 117/2/66
St. Leonard's	E 117/2/66
St. Mary Porte	E 117/2/66
St. Mary Redcliffe	E 117/2/66
St. Michael's	E 117/2/66
St. Nicholas's	E 117/2/66
St. Philip's	E 117/2/66
St. Stephen's	E 117/2/66
St. Werburgh's	E 117/2/66

Livery Company Records (all held at the Guildhall Library)

Company Name	Documents	Catalogue No.
Armourers and Braisers' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1497–1563	CLC/L/AB/D/001/MS12065/001
Bakers' Company	Master and Wardens' Accounts: 1491–1548 1548–86	CLC/L/BA/D/001/MS05174/001 CLC/L/BA/D/001/MS05174/002
Blacksmiths' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1509–1547 1495–99, 1547–65	CLC/L/BD/D/001/MS02883/002 CLC/L/BD/D/001/MS02883/001
Brewers' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1501–8, 1542–7 1547–62	CLC/L/BF/D/001/MS05442/001 CLC/L/BF/D/001/MS05442/003
Butchers' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1543–88	CLC/L/BI/D/003/MS06440/001
Carpenters' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1546–73	CLC/L/CC/D/002/MS04326/002
Coopers' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1529–71	CLC/L/CI/D/001/MS05606/001
Curriers' Company	Master and Wardens' Accounts: 1556–94	CLC/L/CK/D/001/MS14346/001
Founders' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1497–1577	CLC/L/FG/D/001/MS06330/001
Grocers' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1535–55 1555–78	CLC/L/GH/D/001/MS11571/005 CLC/L/GH/D/001/MS11571/006
Ironmongers' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1539–92	CLC/L/IB/D/001/MS16988/002
Merchant Taylors' Company	Master and Wardens' Accounts: 1545–57	CLC/L/MD/D/003/MS34048/004
Pewterers' Company	Master and Wardens' Accounts: 1530–72	CLC/L/PE/D/002/MS07086/002
Tallow Chandlers' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1549–85 Yeomanry Accounts: 1519–49 1550–1627	CLC/L/TC/D/001/MS06152/001 CLC/L/TC/D/008/MS06155/001 CLC/L/TC/D/008/MS06155/002
Vintners' Company	Wardens' Accounts: 1522–82	CLC/L/VA/D/002/MS15333/001
Wax Chandlers' Company	Master and Wardens' Accounts: 1531?–97	CLC/L/WB/D/001/MS09481/001

Ecclesiastical Court Records

Document Name	Catalogue No.	Dates
Consistory Court of London, Office Act Books 2	DL/C/0614; microfilm X019/054	November 1554–June 1555; 1560

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Richard Hill’s Commonplace Book. Oxford, Balliol College Library, MS 354.
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Anglicus, Bartholomaeus. *Batman vppon Bartholome his booke De proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged and amended.* London, 1582.

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Bonner, Edmund. *A profitable and necessary doctrine, with certayne homely adioyned therunto set forth by the reuerend father in God, Edmund Byshop of London for the*

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Beard, Richard. *A Godly Psalme, of Marye Queene, which brought vs comfort al, Through God, whom we of dewtye prayse, that giues her foes a fal.* By Rychard Beearde. Anno domini 1553. London: William Griffith, 1553.

Certayne sermons, or homelies appoynted by the kynges Maiestie, to be declared and redde, by all persones, vicars, or curates, euery Sondaye in their churches, where they haue cure. London, 1547.

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———. *The Psalter of Dauid newly translated into Englysh metre in such sort that it maye the more decently, and wyth more delyte of the mynde, be reade and songe of al men. Wherunto is added a note of four partes, wyth other thynges, as shall appeare in the Epistle to the Readar. Translated and Imprinted by Robert Crowley in the yere of our Lorde. M. D. xlix. the xx. daye of September. And are to be solde in Eley rentes in Holburne. Cum Priuilegio ad Imprimendum solum.* London: Robert Crowley, 1549.

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Hunnis, William. *CERTAYNE Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid, and drawen furth into Englysh me=ter by William Hunnis seruant to the ryght honorable syr Wyllyam Harberde knight Newly collected & imprinted. London: John Harrington, 1550.*

Joye, George. *Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule: or the englisshe primers (the which a certaine prince lately corrupted/&made false to the grete sclaunder of thauthorr greter desayte of as many as boughte and red ther) newe corrected and augmented. Antwerp, 1530.*

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THE PRI=MER, IN ENGLISHE and Latyn, set foorth by the Kyniges maiestie and his Clergie to be taught learned, and read: and none other be vsed throughout all his dommions. IMPRINTED AT London vwithin the precinct of the late dissolued house of the Gray friers by Richard Grafton Printer to the Princes grace, the. vi. daye of Septembre, the yeare of our lorde. M.D.XLV. Cum priuilegio ad im=primendum solum. [The King's Primer]. London: Richard Grafton, 1545.

This prymer of Salysbery vse/both in Englyshe and in Laten is set out a longe without any serchyng. And dyuerse expedient holsome exortatyons of crysten luyng The matyns . Pryme and houres\the.vij\salmes the lateny the salmys of the passion with the salme Beati immacu=lati\and saynt Ieroms sauter\ And a confession general Also here vnto Anne=xed a fruyt ful werck called(the paradyse of the soull)with dyuerce de=uote meditations and prayers therin\whiche hath not ben.vsyal sayd nor redde a fore & al in englyshe. Also with Ihesus matyns with pryme\and houres and euynsonge & cetera. Cum gratia et priuelegio Regali. God saue our most noble kynge the.viiij.Henry with his gracious quene Anne and all theyr progeny. Iohn Gowghe the prynter. London: John Gough, 1536.

The Psalter or Psalmes of Dauid, corrected and poynted, as thei shalbe song in Churches after the translacion of the greate Bible. Hereunto is added, diuerse thyn=ges as maie appere on the next side, where is expressed the contentes of this boke. Ao Domini. M.D.XLIX. Mense Augustij. London: Richard Grafton, 1549.

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Electronic Resources

The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM). <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/>.

Database containing images of polyphonic music manuscripts, inventory lists, and bibliographies with a focus on sources in the U.K., currently based at the University of Oxford.

Early English Books Online (EEBO), <https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>.

Database containing images of books printed in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, British North America, and other works in English from 1473–1700.

English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA), <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>.

Database containing images, transcriptions, recordings, and source information for English-texted broadside ballads printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

directed by Patricia Fumerton in the Department of English at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

The Book of Common Prayer – 1549,
http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1549/BCP_1549.htm.

Online edition of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, including editorial notes, a full transcription, a facsimile, and links to originals reproduced online.

The Sarum Rite, <http://hmcwordpress.mcmaster.ca/renwick/>.

Online performing and scholarly edition of the surviving liturgy and music of the Sarum rite, published by the Gregorian Institute of Canada.