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“Singing by Course” and the Politics of Worship in the Church of England, c1560–1640

By

James Campbell Nelson Apgar

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Davitt Moroney, Chair
Professor James Davies
Professor Diego Pirillo

Spring 2018

Abstract

“Singing by Course” and the Politics of Worship in the Church of England, c1560–1640

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“Singing by course” was both a product of and a rhetorical tool within the religious discourses of post-Reformation England. Attached to a variety of ostensibly distinct practices, from choirs singing *alternatim* to congregations praying responsively, it was used to advance a variety of partisan agendas regarding performance and sound within the services of the English Church.

This dissertation examines discourses of public worship that were conducted around and through “singing by course,” treating it as a linguistic and conceptual node within broader networks of contemporary religious debate. I thus attend less to the history of the vocal practices to which “by course” and similar descriptions were applied than to the polemical dynamics of these applications. Discussions of these terms and practices slipped both horizontally, to other matters of ritual practice, and vertically, to larger topics or frameworks such as the nature of the Christian Church, the production of piety, and the roles of sound and performance in corporate prayer. Through consideration of these issues, “singing by course” emerges as a rhetorical, political, and theological construction, one that circulated according to changing historical conditions and to the interests of various ecclesiastical constituencies.

For my family

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Acknowledgments

It is appropriate that a dissertation focused partly on ideals of collaboration should have been made possible through the support of so many friends and family members (as if the two were separable). From my first days as a graduate student I was welcomed into Berkeley through the kindness of my more experienced colleagues Adeline Mueller, Sean Curran, Emily Frey, Ulrike Petersen, Jen Wang, Chelsea Nicole Spangler, Tiffany Ng, and Anicia Timberlake, with whom I shared many laughs, much food, and a little karaoke. John Kapusta was the best cohort-mate for which one could ask, even if our partnership in musicological crime was cut short by his move to New York. Margaret Jones and Jon Meci allowed me to fall in step with their cleverness and delightful irreverence, as well as to share enough beers and brunches to keep up my spirits. I wish Barbara Dietlinger had been here for ten years instead of one, although she will provide a lifelong incentive to visit Munich. I shared fun and challenging conversations with Alessandra Jones, Jiselle Rouet, and Nour Rayes. Current and former Music Department staff members Melissa Hacker, Lisa Robinson, Jim Coates, and Mark Mueller are among the most dedicated and capable people I have ever encountered, and Music Librarian John Shepard honored every request with enthusiasm. Professor Mary Ann Smart supervised me in several capacities with a staggering intellect and a steady hand. From afar Kerry McCarthy nurtured my interest in William Byrd not only with her commanding scholarship but also with her care and responsiveness. Above all, it was a pleasure to spend these years, difficult though they often were, discussing early modern culture with my advisor Davitt Moroney. He read every word I ever sent him—even those long-deleted paragraphs on trinitarian theology in the fourth century—with exceptional curiosity and an eye for detail. I will never forget the steadfast empathy he offered in some of my darkest hours.

I am fortunate to have developed wonderful friendships in the world of professional singing. Celeste Winant has a beautiful soul; I have treasured our mutual openness and honesty, and have chuckled at the way she towered over me as we held down many an alto section. Tonia D'Amelio is a consummate artist and gives great hugs. It has been a special privilege to sing with the men of Clerestory during the last years of my degree. Having given up other performance opportunities to make room for the completion of this document and a deeper dive into church music leadership, I am especially grateful for their combination of flexibility, professionalism, and skill.

The two Berkeley churches I have served have offered diversion (in the best sense), cheer, and fulfillment. The people of St. John's Presbyterian, notably music director Todd Jolly, stuck with me as I adapted to a tracker organ, and expressed deep appreciation for my compositions, arrangements, hymn harmonizations, and conducting. Working with the staff and congregation there could not have been more pleasant. All Souls Episcopal Parish took a chance on me in the first stage of what could prove to be a complete career transition. Directing the music program at a place that seeks to cultivate such a full sense of community has been exhilarating and occasionally frustrating. In passing the musical reins to me, Christopher Putnam shared his wisdom early, often, and with good humor. Joy Ng retired as I was still discovering the full measure of her collegiality, but there has been no lack of joy in working with Nettie Pinell. Both full-time clergy members, the Rev. Phil Brochard and the Rev. Liz Tichenor, are unflappable, not to mention destined for higher ecclesiastical things. Liz in particular has buoyed my spirits at the times I have felt most overwhelmed. Emily Hansen Curran is little less than a superhero. The musicians are a remarkable bunch. Tripp Hudgins was already a friend, but I've had the fortune to plumb further the depths of his musicality and

sensitivity. Ed Hofmann has quietly made everything work, and not so quietly sung and strummed his heart out at exactly the right moments. Sarita Cannon has nailed everything I have handed her. The volunteer singers—Emily, Erica, Judith, Jenn, Jocelyn, Caroline, Carol, Rebecca, Deirdre, Joe, Ross, Matt, Kyle, Richard, John, and others—have been delightful and intrepid.

My mother, father, sister Sarah, and brother Clayton have been there from my first forays into cynicism and argument. They have since listened patiently to, and on occasion simply stomached, the new dimensions of critique to which Berkeley opened my eyes, all the while modeling many good ways of living for the youngest in the family, even though I have often failed to follow.

Three other people deserve special mention. Estelí Gomez and I do not talk often enough, but when we do I am reminded of why she will always be one of my dearest friends. I hope that as she travels the world singing we will often find ourselves in the same town, whether for mere minutes or for many years. Nell Cloutier is simply a love. Her fierce intellect, courage, and grace leave me in awe, while her infectious energy and compassion have lifted me up on many sad days. I miss her often. Finally, the most important—as well as tiniest—person in my life is my wife Melanie. She is my whole world. I have never known a more creative thinker. Her abilities as a scholar and her passion for teaching are surpassed only by a boundless generosity of spirit. She has read my prose and discussed my ideas innumerable times. Working, cooking, eating, walking, driving, and relaxing with her have been my daily sustenance and happiness. Taking me as I am, she does not swim for shore when I tread waters of self-doubt, but rather floats faithfully beside me. Many clichés apply, especially my inability to express enough love and gratitude.

January 1, 2018

Abbreviations

CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–.
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–.
CUP	Cambridge University Press
Folger	Hooker, Richard. *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Book V*. Edited by W. Speed Hill. Vol. 2 of *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker*, edited by W. Speed Hill. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1977.
GB	*The bible and holy scriptures conteyned in the olde and newe testament.* Geneva, 1560; STC 2093 [the "Geneva Bible"].
KJ	*The holy bible, conteyning the old testament, and the new: newly tr. out of the originall tongues: & […] revised, by his maiesties speciall co[m]mandement. Appointed to be read in churches*. London, 1611; STC 2216 [the "King James Bible" or "Authorized Version"].
LEP	Hooker, Richard. *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. The fift Booke.* London, 1597; STC 13712.5.
ODNB	Matthew, H.C.G., and Brian Harrison, eds. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*. 60 vols. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
MECL	McKinnon, James, ed. *Music in Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1987.
OUP	Oxford University Press
PL	Migne, J.P., ed. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus [...] Series Latina*. Paris, 1844–1864.
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed abroad, 1475–1640*. 3 vols. First compiled by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave; second edition, revised and enlarged by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991.
TAMO	*The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online.* Sheffield, UK: HRI Online Publications, 2011. Available from http://www.johnfoxe.org.
Wing	*Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700.* Compiled by Donald Wing. New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1972–1998.

Editorial Procedures

Original spellings and other orthographical details from early modern sources are maintained as far as possible, with the following exceptions: "m" and "n" are enclosed by brackets when implied (hence "supersticiō" becomes "supersticio[n]"); *solidus* marks (/) are rendered as commas; the ligature "ß" is rendered as "ss."

Quotations from Hooker's *Lawes* are taken from the 1597 print (LEP), with an additional citation of the corresponding page in the Folger Edition (Folger) given in each footnote.

Citations given in the notes and the bibliography of titles of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books printed in England or in English are rendered as in the revised *Short-Title Catalogue* (STC).

Latin translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Preface

I first fell in love with William Byrd's *Great Service* (likely composed c1597) in high school.[1] This setting of texts from the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer* is longer and calls for more independent voice parts (up to ten, arrayed in two semi-choirs of five parts each) than all other such "services" from the late Tudor and early Stuart eras. My interest in studying this work as a part, if not the focal point, of my Ph.D. dissertation led to an initial proposal outlining my aim to situate the genesis and later reception of the piece in relation to notions of "greatness," to explore the cultural conditions in which such an outsize composition would accrue meaning in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and twentieth centuries.[2]

One of the chapters I proposed was to address issues of liturgical style. The plan was to consider relationships between musical structures and other elements of early modern worship, to describe the different aesthetics according to which materials and practices from vestments to gesture were structured, and to theorize how these elements combined to create the religious effects of ritual. I began with a common performance condition and a musical practice associated with it: the division of choirs into two sides that often sang in alternation. The potentially grand spatial dimensions of this quotidian exercise, I thought, might have participated in performing cultural distinctions along the lines of the elaborate gowns worn by Queen Elizabeth I.

I quickly discovered, however, that while modern scholars and knowledgeable fans alike view the practice of choral alternation as a distinctive feature of post-Reformation English church music, apparently no one had ever thought to ask what it might have meant to contemporary performers or listeners. I first sought answers in Book V of Richard Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1597). Published around the time when Byrd probably composed the largest of his vernacular sacred works, this defense of the Elizabethan Church's corporate worship not only contains a chapter praising "Musique with Psalmes" but in the popular imagination expresses the "High Church" ethos to which I sought to connect contemporary music-making.[3]

On a cursory glance, the chapter of the *Lawes* that follows its general praise of music appeared to address directly the alternating practice in which I was interested, even giving it a name about one page in: "singing by course." Yet, as I explored more deeply, investigating the immediate polemical purposes of Hooker's argument, as well as the surprisingly complex histories of the observations made therein, my certainty regarding what he was actually doing in these pages crumbled. It slowly became clear that my single chapter would become an entire dissertation, one that in the end would not mainly be about the musical practice that had first pointed me down this path. Hooker's

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[1] This dating was established by Andrew Johnstone in idem, "New Findings on the Chronology of Byrd's Great Service and Late Full Anthems," paper presented at the International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, University of Bangor, 24–27 July 2008; I thank Professor Johnstone for sharing the typescript with me. A scholarly edition of the work, as well as information on the musical sources in which it survives, is published in Craig Monson, ed., *The English Services II, The Great Service*, vol. 10b of *The Byrd Edition*, ed. Philip Brett (London: Stainer & Bell, 1980). More recent information on the Durham sources may be found in Brian Crosby, "The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350–c.1650" (PhD diss., Durham University, 1993).

[2] The parts had lain unknown to modern scholars until being rediscovered in 1919 by Edmund H. Fellowes.

[3] I say "in the popular imagination" because the binary of High and Low Church, not to mention other binaries that flow therefrom, are now considered anachronistic for discussing the period under consideration. The High-Low divide itself is a largely nineteenth-century idea that misrepresents many of the theological, stylistic, and political divisions within the Church of England during the Tudor and Stuart eras. Literature relevant to this topic may be found below, 27n63, 29n70–1.

theoretical ideas and historical citations, as well as the rhetorical moves he used these to make, enabled connections between different vocal practices of corporate worship, and represented a series of larger ideological commitments. The more interesting story, I determined, was in the conceptual slippages by which his narrative aspired to cohere, and in the polemical projects for which other English divines exploited or problematized this coherence. I felt I needed to describe the origins of Hooker's discursive materials, the past and present debates to which they were contributing (explicitly or implicitly), the intellectual logics according to which they were being mobilized, and their afterlives under the Stuart monarchs. While the practice of choral alternation, clearly an example of "singing by course," would remain in the background, the dissertation would focus primarily on the religious issues that intersected with this and similar descriptions.

A subsequent dive down a veritable plethora of rabbit holes in the history of religion revealed two gaps in existing research that such a project might begin to fill. First, in the case of late Tudor and early Stuart church music, musicology remains surprisingly dependent on scholarship that in some cases predated fifty years' worth of critical revision to the historiography of the post-Reformation era; here, as so often, our discipline seems a little late to the party. In order to understand the ideological work in which Hooker and others were engaged, I have aimed to use more up-to-date maps of Tudor and Stuart religious politics. Second, ritual practice has often been an area of secondary interest for historians of religion. This is especially true for the sonic dimensions of liturgy. The interconnections and disconnections between speaking, singing, and ritual performance to which early modern authors attended thus constitute a fruitful area for research. This dissertation hopes to contribute in this area with chapters on how "singing by course" related to narratives of liturgical history, definitions of liturgical order, and expressions of liturgical theology.

Chapter One

Introduction: A Category and a Network

In 1640, the English clergyman John Ball published a work "touching the Lawfulnesse of a stinted Liturgie and set form of Prayer."[1] Debate over the *Book of Common Prayer* was nothing new. Having structured the worship of the Church of England without interruption since 1559, the prayer book had never been without detractors, some of whom hoped it would eventually be replaced by a more reformed alternative.[2] But Ball's publication came at a time when the conversation was gaining urgency, due to wider religious and political tensions that would soon erupt into civil war. In this latest round of debate, critics were becoming more openly hostile toward the very principle of praying off a script, however godly the script might seem. Some alleged that fixed forms of worship promoted "lip labor"—the empty, mechanical devotion of a disengaged mind and heart—and stifled the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[3] Ball had a history of religious non-conformity, and so was expected to endorse these critiques in his new publication. Instead he chose to defend the legitimacy of set forms, surprising and frustrating his former ideological allies.[4]

A realization about singing had helped Ball to arrive at this position. Many of those who argued that "stinted" liturgies were spiritually restrictive also endorsed the use of congregational psalmody; Ball found a glaring contradiction in this pairing of stances, noting that the singing of an existing text to an existing tune was doubly prescript.[5] Yet, while he argued that resolving the contradiction meant allowing "stinted" practices, Ball did not tolerate what some high-ranking

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[1] John Ball, *A friendly triall of the grounds tending to separation* (Cambridge, 1640; STC 1313), title page.

[2] Critics connected the prayer book to a range of religious and political ills, treating it as a symbol of ecclesiastical and royal authority. But as the book was also a manual for corporate religious observance, critics also focused directly on form and content. The Elizabethan and Jacobean years had already seen exchanges over many of the fundamental issues that remained of central concern to Caroline protestants. For general considerations of these periods, see Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), and Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1998). On the Jacobean years in particular, see Sharon L. Arnoult, "Prayer Book, Polemic, and Performance," in *Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book*, ed. Pete Langman (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 45–56. See also Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988). Timothy Rosendale offers some brilliant but often a-historical analyses of the prayer book in idem, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2007).

[3] This particular burst of printed materials in and after 1640 is summarized in Christopher Durston, "By the Book or with the Spirit: the Debate over Liturgical Prayer during the English Revolution," *Historical Research* 79 (February 2006), 50–73. See also Judith Maltby, "'Extravagencies and Impertinencies': Set Forms, Conceived and Extempore Prayer in Revolutionary England," in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 221–43. See also Ramie Targoff, "Performing Prayer in Hooker's *Lawes*: The Efficacy of Set Forms," in *Richard Hooker and the Construction of Christian Community* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), 275–82. For references to "lip labor" see below, 47, 78.

[4] John Sutton, "Ball, John (1585–1640)," ODNB, vol. 3, 561–2.

[5] Highlighting this contradiction meant countering an affinity for improvised forms held by some advanced protestants. The one-time separatist Henoch Clapham (see below, 9n31) had even praised the composition of psalm texts "by the immediate instinct of the Spirite"; idem, *A briefe of the Bible, drawne first into English poësy, and then illustrated by apte annotations: with some appendicies* (Edinburgh, 1596; STC 5332). In expressing skepticism of such radical views Ball found himself in agreement with, for example, Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI. sermons*, ed. William Laud and John Buckeridge (London, 1629; STC 606), 2:25, and John Browning, *Concerning publike-prayer, and the fasts of the church* (London, 1636; STC 3919), 84. On Andrewes see below, 81–2.

church officials had been asserting with increasing vigor in the years leading up to 1640: that the Church of England could require the use of one particular form.[6] Situating himself between these extremes, Ball declared that set forms were permissible but not "necessary." He sought precedent for this view in ancient history, using music as a tool for debating the larger issue of set forms. The Church, wrote Ball, had in its first few centuries accommodated no fewer than four ways of singing "according to the custome of severall nations." These were

> sometimes by one, the rest hearing; sometimes by course or quire-wise, as the women answered the men, Exod. 15. (See *Iun. Exod.* 15.) and sometimes by the whole multitude, and sometimes it was but like fair long reading, with modulation of the voyce.[7]

This dissertation recounts the developments in the eighty years prior to Ball's publication that led English authors to distinguish "singing by course"—the second of these four categories—from other types of liturgical vocality, and to ascribe particular meanings to it. I thus seek to account for the challenges faced in attempting to decipher how Ball's organizational scheme maps onto contemporary practices. The distinction he presents suggests that singing "by course" is different from the other three manners: it is neither solitary ("by one, the rest hearing") nor straightforwardly collective ("by the whole multitude"), nor does it seem to straddle singing and speech ("like fair long reading, with modulation of the voyce"). But such definition-by-negation is of little further aid. The struggle to understand what it meant to sing "by course" begins to crystallize in the observation that it is the only mode explained here with reference to a well-known, yet contested, verse from scripture: Exodus 15:21.[8] Ball's decision to gesture to this biblical episode might represent tacit acknowledgment that the description "by course" is not entirely clear on its own. He also puts several spins on the nature, effects, or meaning of the idea. The initial characterization of singing "by course" as "quire-wise," that is, somehow related to the ways of "quires," was more than an illustration, as invocations of "quires" and their associations with the established church carried ideological weight in debates over public worship. The parenthetical "See *Iun. Exod. 15*" directs the reader to a specific Latin translation of the Bible, where both the translation itself and accompanying paratextual notes bring further nuances to the table.[9] Finally, in a lengthy footnote labeled "Of

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[6] See below, 36–7.

[7] Ball, *Friendly triall*, 60. On the parenthetical reference to "*Iun. Exod. 15*" see below, 2n9.

[8] Exodus 15:1–21 recounts what the Israelites sang at the drowning of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, with the last of the verses stating that Miriam led the women in singing. There was considerable disagreement among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century commentators over what manner of performance had been involved. Calvin stated that details regarding musical practice are not what matter here; rather, he concluded, Miriam's performance—in particular the use of instruments—exemplified the musical aspects of the old ceremonial law that Christ had abolished; Christian music, Calvin recommended, ought instead to be marked by "simplicité." Idem, *Commentaires de M. Iean Calvin, sur les cinq livres de Moyse. Genesis est mis à part, les autres quatre livres sont disposez en forme d'harmonie* (Geneva, 1564), 96–7. In 1608, Andrew Willet described several competing interpretations that he considered current; see his *Hexapla in Exodum [...] Divided into two parts* (London, 1608; STC 25686), 211. Willet was adamant that he did not believe Miriam and the women simply sang a "burden," as indicated in, for example, Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations upon the second book of Moses, called Exodus* ([Amsterdam], 1617; STC 212), sig. L3v. On the term "burden" see below, 83n79.

[9] The "Iun." refers to Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), who had collaborated with Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1580) on a Latin translation of the Old Testament that was published at Frankfurt (1579) and twice at London (1581 and 1585). After the death of his colleague, Junius reworked the translation and expanded the accompanying notes for publication at

singing by course," Ball lists nine other ancient sources that he presumably considered to reference or to describe instances of the practice. That footnote specifically includes the words "inter duos" ("between two") from a widely cited second-century comment by Tertullian (one of the so-called Fathers of the Church) about worshipping through song.

Much as Exodus 15:21 had provoked a range of interpretations from early modern exegetes, all such fragments provide a subtly distinct perspective on "singing by course," hinting at exactly which types of vocal performance it might subsume or at the religious and social meanings of these practices. At the same time, the co-existence of so many clues to what Ball treats as a distinct category—the product of an author whose ideological affiliations were shifting in an increasingly tense moment—reflects not only the discursive histories but also the religious and political conditions that shaped the formation of that category. Since the fluidities and interconnections in which I am interested begin with language, it will be useful first to address some of the key terms Ball himself used as well as some of the conceptual issues these terms register.

I. "BY COURSE"

To contemplate the idea of "singing by course" in more detail we may begin with the lengthy entry for "To do by Course" in John Rider's *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, a bilingual dictionary first issued in 1589.[10] The shades of meaning juxtaposed in the entry, through both English and Latin constructions, suggest that the description "by course" was semantically flexible. One group of meanings given by Rider centers around the idea that a "course" is a (pre-determined or fixed) path, as in "*A course, or race*," "*The course of the heaven, sun, moone, starres, and planets*," or "*A course, or order*." Another group introduces senses of change, progression, and periodicity, which might be understood as particular ways of interpreting movement along such a path; hence "*A changing by course.* Vicissitudo," "*The continuing of a course begunne.* Progressus," and "*That goeth, or commeth by courses* Periodicus." Finally we come the more particular notions of alternation and reciprocation, in several Latin guises: "*That is done by course.* Alternus," and "*By course.* Vicissim, alternatim, alterne subalternatim, invicem, gradatim, adu. alternis, abl. alternis vicibus." This verbal network demonstrates that the phrase "by course" could operate at varying levels of specificity, and carry several different nuances of meaning. One could conceptualize going and coming, alternation, or reciprocation as occurring within a linear "course" (that is, a path)—perhaps merely the course of time, or perhaps a course of human devising, such as a ritual. This variety is similarly reflected in the seven Latin synonyms given by Rider for the phrase "by course," from *alternatim* ("alternately") to *gradatim* ("by degrees").

Geneva (1590) and London (1593). According to Bruce Gordon, this bible was popular among "a diverse collection of educated British churchmen that included Puritans, Laudians, and Scots Presbyterians"; the poet John Milton "greatly esteemed the translation and its accompanying annotations." Bruce Gordon, "Creating a Reformed Book of Knowledge: Immanuel Tremellius, Franciscus Junius and their Latin Bible, 1580–1590," in *Calvin and the Book: The Evolution of the Printed Word in Reformed Protestantism*, ed. Karen Spierling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 95. See also Bruce Gordon and Euan Cameron, "Latin Bibles in the Early Modern Period," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Euan Cameron (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2016), 209–10, and Bruce Gordon, "The Authority of Antiquity: England and the Protestant Latin Bible," in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain,* ed. Patrick Collinson and Polly Ha (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 1–22.

[10] John Rider, *Bibliotheca scholastica. A double dictionarie* (Oxford, 1589; STC 21031.5). It was "corrected" and "enlarged" by Francis Holyoake for publication in 1606 (STC 21032) and reprinted several more times before 1640.

Although the description "by course" evidently had a range of meanings, interpretations of it were still shaped and limited by the contexts in which it was used. An early occurrence of the phrase can be found in the English rendering of 1 Corinthians 14:27 by William Tyndale, whose landmark translation of the New Testament (1526, revised 1534) laid the foundation for future English bibles.[11] This section of the epistle, which is considered at greater length in chapter three of this dissertation, focuses closely on the relationship between liturgical speech and "edification." Immediately after issuing the all-important exhortation "Let all things be done unto edifying," Paul suggests a way of managing a practice that, if mishandled, could thwart the pursuit of edification: "If any man speak with tongues, let it be two at once or at the most three at once and that by course."[12] Although the phrase "by course," which is preserved in most English bibles of the period, had several contemporary meanings of greater and lesser specificity, this prescription for organizing worship is not entirely unclear.[13] Here, even if the phrase were understood to refer only to arrangement along a path, the speakers for whom it accounts would necessarily speak one after another. In this instance, the nature of what the phrase is used to describe helps to eliminate some of its potential ambiguity.

Yet even consensus on what a phrase describes hardly fixes other types of meanings with which it is ultimately laden, to say nothing of the stories or arguments in service of which it is used. First, as already suggested in the case of John Ball, meanings are lost, or, more precisely, subtly changed, in translation, and even variations within a language can both represent and induce corresponding interpretive variations. In the case of 1 Corinthians 14:27, Tyndale's "by course" emphasizes slightly different aspects of Paul's idealized performance (and its socio-religious meanings) from, say, Franciscus Junius's "*sigillatim*" (an alternative form of *singillatim*), meaning "singly."[14] More significantly, the phrase "by course," like all semantic units, was understood in political, intellectual, and material contexts that influenced the ways in which it was interpreted. Chapter two of this dissertation will show how, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century references to one widely cited ancient description of Christian worship, translations of the word *invicem*—which we have just seen included in Rider's list of synonyms—evolved in response to developments in both religious politics and humanist scholarship. Chapter three will demonstrate the ideological range of "order," an even more hotly contested term, in contemporary religious discourse. If Rider's entry for "to do by course" gives an impression of semantic flexibility, historicizing that flexibility shows it in action.

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[11] I will cite a modern-spelling edition of the 1534 version because Tyndale's original spellings can make the language difficult for non-specialists to comprehend: David Daniell, ed., *Tyndale's New Testament* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For an edition of the 1526 version in original spellings, see W.R. Cooper, ed., *The New Testament translated by William Tyndale* (London: The British Library, 2000).

[12] Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, 257.

[13] The phrase "by course" is preserved at this place in the Great Bible (1539; STC 2068), GB, the Bishops' Bible (1568; STC 2099), and KJ; Coverdale (1535; STC 2063) has "one after another," while the Douay-Rheims New Testament (1582; STC 2884) gives "in course." The Latin Vulgate has "per partes." Erasmus's Greek and Latin New Testament (1516) has "*ἀνὰ μέρος*" (meaning "one after the other, in succession"), and "*uicissim*," the latter also found in Ryder's list; Erasmus, ed., *Novum Instrumentum omne*, (Basel, 1516), 51 [the pagination restarts at Paul's epistles]. See the entry for *ἀνὰ μέρος* in Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 633. Erasmus's renderings are mirrored in Theodore Beza's Greek and Latin New Testament: idem, ed., *Iesv Christi D.N. Nouum testamentum, siue Nouum foedus* (Geneva, 1565), 286 [the pagination restarts after the four gospels].

[14] Franciscus Junius, ed., *Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra […] Secunda cura F. Junii* (London, 1593; STC 2061), 133v. See above, 2n9.

Under such circumstances, "singing by course" became a fluid commodity, enabling a range of conceptions and assessments of the same liturgical vocalizations as well as making similarities or differences between practices easier to articulate. My choice of centering the phrase "by course" owes to its status as the most common among a range of contemporary descriptors for the practices of alternation and response from which my analysis begins. But my interest is less in defining "singing by course" as a category than in charting the associations, taxonomies, and other polemical maneuvers that were made through references to these practices, as well as through the religious discourses that surrounded and intersected with them. I will accordingly extend my discussion beyond sources in which the phrase actually appears, treating it as a linguistic and conceptual node within a complex discursive network.

II. "QUIRE-WISE"

Given these potential ambiguities, it is hardly surprising that Ball took immediate recourse to such an extensive and diverse set of illustrative aids. Yet his impressive list of ancient sources, including the in-text reference to Exodus 15, came after the description "quire-wise." Read in relation to what Ball calls the "answering" of Exodus 15, and in conjunction with the knowledge that alternation was one sense in which the phrase "by course" could be used, the term "quire-wise" points to the practice of singing *alternatim*, which involved the alternation of verses between two semi-choirs standing on opposite sides, one verse being sung on one side, the next verse on the other. Musicologists often describe this as a variety of "antiphonal" singing, and use the term *alternatim* in a slightly different way. But the word "antiphonal" has created what one scholar has recently called "endless confusion," due to its etymological relationship to "antiphon," the name for the refrains used with office psalms that were sung in this alternating manner.[15] To avoid this confusion, I have opted in this dissertation for a terminological remedy with no shortage of precedent in medieval and early modern sources: using the word *alternatim* to refer to the performance of liturgical texts in alternation by verse.[16]

Traceable at least as far back as the early seventh century, singing *alternatim* became for choirs across medieval Europe the standard way of performing office psalms and certain other texts.[17] That it endured the religious upheavals of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England—in places where choirs remained, at least—is known from several types of evidence.[18] First are unambiguous, general references to its regular use, examples of which will be cited throughout this dissertation.[19] Second

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[15] Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597–c.1000* (London: Boydell, 2014), 94.

[16] See, for example, Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* [originally *De origine officiorum*], 1.7, ed. Christopher M. Lawson, CCSL, vol. 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 7; and Guillelmus Durandus [Durantis], *Rationale Divinorvm Officiorvm*, 5.2.36, ed. A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau, CCCM, vol. 140a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 29–30.

[17] It was known not only to Isidore but also to his Anglo-Saxon contemporaries, who considered it "the distinctive feature of 'Roman' ecclesiastical music"; for this early history in England, see Billet, *Divine Office*, 93–8. For a brief summary of the practice as it had evolved by the Middle Ages see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 30–2; note that like most musicologists Hughes discusses it as "antiphonal psalmody." On the use of the practice in medieval England specifically see Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge, 1958), 58.

[18] On the survival of choirs see Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites, and Identities* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), chs. 3–4; see also Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2010), 400–3.

[19] See below, 8n27, 22n31, 39n129, and 58n80.

are the rare extant descriptions of specific occasions when the practice was witnessed in use.[20] Third are surviving sets of partbooks that contain compositions arranged by scribes to call for alternation between the two sides of the choir—whether or not such pieces were originally so designed.[21]

Some early modern commentators, like the unknown author of *The Praise of Musicke* (1586), unequivocally equated "singing by course" with "quiers interchangeably singing," the latter a clear reference to *alternatim* practice.[22] Ball might well have counted himself among this group. Others, however, treated "singing by course" as related to, symbolic of, or even co-extensive with a larger spectrum of vocal practices. The constellation of liturgical acts thus formed included, most notably, congregational responses that were singled out as distinctive markers of worship according the *Book of Common Prayer*.[23] There are several threads to be teased apart in explaining how such connections, conflations, and slippages worked.

The first has to do with the very notion of "quires," and can be seen by unpacking comments published in 1612 by the Jacobean preacher Charles Richardson. Explaining a passage from the prophet Habakkuk on the witness that the houses of cruel oppressors will bear against their oppression, Richardson writes:

> Yea euery stone in the wall, and euery beame in the roofe, shall with loud outcries accuse their vnrighteousnesse. Where, by the way, it is worth the obseruing, that hee [the prophet] saith, the stones and the timber shall, as it were, sing of these things by course.

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[20] A 1575 account of a service sung in Elizabeth's household chapel at Windsor (not to be confused with the collegiate Chapel of St. George, also at Windsor) indicates that the Sunday morning service of ante-communion "consisted, first of all, of certain Psalms chanted in English by a double chorus of some thirty singers"; quoted in Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1998), 71.

[21] For a particularly clear example of a piece possibly re-worked by scribes to incorporate alternation, see Jamie Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels: The Seraphim, Ignatius of Antioch, and Protestant Worship in England," in *Music, Myth, and Story in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Katherine Butler and Samantha Bassler (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, forthcoming). Other examples of compositions involving choral alternation include festal psalm settings, as well as what musicologists simply call "services," that is, settings of the major texts (Venite, Te Deum, Jubilate, Creed, Sanctus, Gloria, Magnificat, or Nunc Dimittis) from the three principal services in the *Book of Common Prayer*: Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and the Supper of the Lord. The enabling condition of a split choir must also be mentioned here. Daniel and Le Huray's *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660* lists some dozen sets of extant partbooks dating before 1642 (some of them incomplete) that included books for both sides of the choir, although nearly all of these sets date from after 1620; Ralph T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, eds., *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660*, 2 vols. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1972), 1:1–7. The exception is York MSS M. 13/1–3, which in 2008 was redated to c1598 by Andrew Johnstone (see above, vii, n1). There are also now-lost sets known from contemporary records that, being comprised of eight or ten books, probably provided for both sides of the choir: these include a set bound for Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in 1597/8, a set from Lincoln Cathedral dating from c1571, five sets from the 1560s and 1570s that are mentioned in the records of King's College, Cambridge, and four sets acquired by Trinity College, Cambridge in the 1580s. Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2004), 57; Roger Bowers, "Music and Worship to 1640," in *A History of Lincoln Minster*, ed. Dorothy Owen (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1994), 66; idem, "Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444–1644," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 259–83; Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547–c. 1646* (New York: Garland, 1993), 45, 60.

[22] *The praise of mvsicke* (Oxford, 1586; STC 20184), 100. In a new edition of the text, Hyun-Ah Kim argues at length that the work should be attributed to the composer John Bull; see Hyun-Ah Kim, ed., *The Praise of Musicke, 1586: An Edition with Commentary* (London: Routledge, 2018), 27–49.

[23] See below, 19–20.

> As if hee should say; These mightie men take great delight in Musicke, and they haue their consorts in their houses: But the Lord will raise vp other Song-men, who by course, as they doe in Quires, shall chaunt out their grieuous oppressions, with a lowde and shrill voyce, and shall answere one another in this maner. The one side shall sing, *Woe bee to him that buildeth a Towne with bloud;* and the other shall answere, *And to him that erecteth a Citie by iniquitie*.[24]

Comparing construction materials to singers might seem like a stretch, but it had a formidable pedigree in recent scriptural exegesis. Richardson may have been inspired by a similar passage from Arthur Dent's best-selling *The Plaine Mans Path-Way to Heauen* (1601), or by the source from which Dent himself had copied: Arthur Golding's 1574 translation of John Calvin's sermons on Job.[25] Capping this chain of translation and paraphrase, Richardson changed the function of the image. For his predecessors, singing from either side had enhanced the rhetoric only as an illustrative flourish. Richardson, however, deliberately pauses to stress that the prophet appears to describe not simply singing but singing "by course, as they doe in Quires." The particular mode of performance is key to his telling, for it serves to identify as divine the authority by which "grievous oppressions" are condemned. Here the choral aspect of the manner itself enables the recognition that the stones and timber act as the Lord's own "Song-men," that their reproach of "mightie men" is a righteous one. Richardson makes the detail signal the moral force of his musical metaphor. By trusting that this move will enhance his exegesis, he seems to assume that singing "by course" was a fundamental characteristic of what "they doe in Quires," and to impute this assumption to his readers.

However, we cannot be certain that Richardson would have understood singing "by course, as they doe in Quires" to refer exclusively to singing *alternatim*. This is because the "quire" was not just an ensemble of musical personnel but a space within which services were performed. This observation has two ramifications. First, it was precisely according to the layout of that area that choirs stood in two halves facing one another, singing psalms and other liturgical texts just like Richardson's stones and timber: one side followed by another. I propose that the consistency of this spatial arrangement, even in the absence of alternating practices, further mediated general perceptions of choirs, leading contemporary authors toward the sort of essentialism that Richardson describes: to experience or to imagine a divided choir was also to be reminded of a mode of singing that frequently highlighted the division. Second, acknowledging the "quire" to be a physical space means acknowledging material conditions that aided rhetorical attempts to relate choral singing to other types of liturgical vocality. Even if Richardson, in ascribing singing "by course" to "quires,"

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[24] Charles Richardson, *The repentance of Peter And Judas* (London, 1612; STC 21016), 243. On Richardson see S. Mutchow Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2003), 132.

[25] Arthur Dent, *The plaine mans path-way to heaven. Wherein euery man may clearely see, whether he shall be saved or damned. Set forth dialogue wise* (London, 1601; STC 6626). The work reached its tenth impression within as many years. See Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 375. Dent's version was more compact than Richardson's: the stones and the timber "play the Queristers in that behalfe, so as they shall answere one an other on either side. The one side singeth, behold bloud: the other, behold murder." Dent, *Plaine mans path-way*, 214. Golding's rendering of Calvin's French read: "The walles of the houses which are builded with deceyte & extortion shal cry out loude and shirle [i.e. shrill], and play the quirresters in that behalf (as they terme the[m]:) so as they shall answere one another on either side: the one side singeth, behold blud: the other, behold murther […]" John Calvin, *Sermons […] vpon the booke of Job*, trans. Arthur Golding ([London, 1574]; STC 4445), 610. Golding's translation was reprinted twice more within a decade. The original French may be found in John Calvin, *Sermons de M. Iean Caluin sur le liure de Iob* (Geneva, 1563), 664.

intended the latter to refer to the collective of musical personnel, then the attributes of the eponymous place occupied by that collective, and of any sounds or acts that occurred there, could not have been far out of mind. Thus, singing *alternatim* could be singled out as fundamental to choral singing, but could also fit within larger or more complex understandings of what might count as "singing by course" and indeed of the very nature of what "they doe in Quires."

A second thread to tease apart in understanding how vocal practices were conflated has to do with categories being defined against one another; their significance could consist as much in what they were not as in what they were. On occasion this was explicit, with critics singling out types of vocal performance that fell outside a range of approved practices. When the theologian William Ames wrote in a 1627 treatise that (here given in the 1642 English translation) "*Alternatio precum* enterchanging of prayers by Anthemes [*per antiphona* in the original Latin] […] is not to be approved," his reasoning was that such back-and-forth exchanges counted as neither of two manners that he did consider godly—neither "one goeth before in voyce, and the rest follow in affection, and Faith," nor "all doe joyne their voyces together."[26] Typically, however, such definition-by-opposition effected polemical collapse without direct comment. In the 1641 edition of Lewis Hughes's *Certain Grievances*, a minister is asked who first brought "the reading of Psalmes by course" into the church, but responds, "The *Arians* first devised the singing of Psalms, by *Antiphones*, or singing by course, one side answering another, as they doe in Cathedralls."[27] Quietly sliding from parochial reading into "singing […] as they doe in Cathedrals," the minister indicts the former practice—which he had just mocked—by connecting it to an allegedly similar one that is tainted by its association with a type of church more likely to be regarded with suspicion by readers. Here what might seem like two distinct practices are yoked together as a single target of the author's disdain, as "others" in relation to the worship practices he did sanction.

The failure of Hughes's character to distinguish ostensibly different practices was undoubtedly ideological, but it was not inherently illogical. It is important to acknowledge that such overlaps or slippages were not only based in clear conceptual relationships—in this case the shared "tossing" or performing "by course"—but also facilitated by what was in some cases a relative lack of discursive constraints placed on descriptions of sounds or sonic practices. The presence or absence of such constraints depended on genre, audience, and the ultimate purpose of a text, and may be considered through the etymological link that we have just seen both Ames and Hughes expose: by the seventeenth century the Latin word *antiphona* and its English derivatives "anthem" and "antiphonie" were involved in naming a variety of practices in which individuals or groups performed in sequence.

According to James McKinnon, *antiphona* had originally served in monastic rules to describe simply a psalm with an antiphon.[28] The turning point came in the writings of Isidore of Seville

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[26] William Ames, *The marrow of sacred divinity* (London, 1642; Wing A3000), 284–5; the original Latin version was first published as *Medulla Theologiae* (Amsterdam, 1627). The Latin reads: "Hinc *alternatio* precum per antiphona; partium *distributio* inter ministrum & populum; & *repetitio* verborum a ministro propositorum subsequenti voce populi, non est approbanda." William Ames, *Medulla S.S. theologiæ* (London, 1629; STC 556.5), 307. Ames immediately proceeds to warn against "that broken music which excludes understanding," because "in those prayers which are had with others, such speech must be used which is understood of others. 1. Co. 14." On the significance of Ames's citation of 1 Corinthians 14, see ch. 3 of this dissertation.

[27] Lewis Hughes, *Certaine grievances* (London, 1641; Wing H3314), 8. This work had been first published a year earlier in a non-dialogue form (STC 13917).

[28] James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 73.

(c560–636), whose linguistic interests inspired a new terminological application. Isidore suggested that *antiphona* meant "reciprocal voice," as the Greek *anti-*, when prefixing a compound word, can range in meaning from "opposite" or "against" to "mutually" or "in return," and the Greek *-phone* means "sound" (usually vocal or linguistic sound).[29] But Isidore also drew a distinction between *responsorii* and *antiphonae*: "in *responsoriis* one declaims the verse, but in *antiphonis* the choirs alternate in the verses."[30] One of the earliest witnesses to *alternatim* practice, Isidore treated it as essential to *antiphonae*, taking his cue to do this from the etymology he had identified.

When the English preacher Henoch Clapham invoked Isidore's scheme in analyzing the text of the Song of Songs in a 1602 publication, he initially described "*Antiphona*" and "*Responsories*" as similar but distinct types of songs: if a song "be soong by turnes of two *Chorusses*, it is called *Antiphona*: the Italique *Responsories* being much of like forme."[31] A few sentences later, however, Clapham attended only to what the two shared, determining, "As for the forme [of the Song of Songs], we find sundry parties singing, and the one side answering to the other: for which it may be nominated an *Antiphonie* or *Responsorie*." This progression was not necessarily a product of laziness, although Clapham may have felt that the exegetical purpose of his publication required no such technical precision on his part. Instead, Isidore's distinction between the choral nature of *antiphonae* and the solo nature of *responsorii* may have been less important to Clapham than the "answering" he detected in the text. Perhaps considering this "answering" inherent to both terms, he may have felt they would in this case make a distinction without a difference.

Either way, Clapham shows how the potential uses of such words—though often informed by the (technical) senses historically ascribed to them—were hardly bounded in the hands of those who used musical structures or imagery toward other ends. Under these conditions, as chapter three of this dissertation will show, other kinds of conceptual or polemical categories, in this case "answering," with its collaborative implications, could carry the day. Chapter four will discuss a case in which singing "by *Verses*, and *Antiphonies*, answering one another" comprehended the entire process of several groups singing sequentially and then coming together; this author's aim was not so much to map this process onto any particular practice but to explain the "Harmonies" created through the unfolding of sequenced, communal praise both on earth and in heaven.

The most concrete extension of "singing by course" beyond choral practice—the other vocal phenomenon that most clearly occupied its discursive terrain—was, as Ames and Hughes hint, responsive prayer. The theologian Richard Hooker stated that the practice addressed in his 1597 discussion of "singing by course," which forms the focal point of chapter two of this dissertation, was a congregational, not choral, phenomenon, and that in his discussion "singing or saying" were of a piece.[32] Yet Hooker, I will argue, was not exactly conflating choral and congregational practices so

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[29] Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.04.0057 [accessed 18 April 2018].

[30] "[…] in responsoriis unus versum dicit, in antiphonis autem versibus alternant chori." Isidore of Seville, *Etimologie o Origini*, ed. Angelo Valastro Canale, 2 vols. (Turin: Unione Tipographico-Editrice Torinese, 2004), 1:522.

[31] Henoch Clapham, *The Song of Songs. Penned by Salomon. The first part* ([London], 1602; STC 2771), sig. [A7]r. A separatist during the tumultuous 1590s, Clapham claimed to experience a "conversion from schism" around 1600, thereafter receiving indirect support from John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and aligning himself with the established church in several notable instances (despite intermittent clashes with Richard Bancroft, who had led the campaign against non-conformity during prior decade). See Alexandra Walsham, "Clapham, Henoch (*fl.* 1585–1614)," ODNB, vol. 11, 731–2.

[32] LEP, 76–9 / Folger, 154–9.

much as placing the latter in what he regarded as a set of wider, yet essential, theoretical and historical contexts. This involved using the *potential* relevance to his overall argument of vague, ancient accounts that had been previously situated within the history of *alternatim* singing to lend congregational response some historical authority, without committing himself to polemically favorable but intellectually uncertain interpretations of those accounts. This makes for useful contrast with Ball, who would later include in his extensive footnote on the matter many of the same accounts, which in his telling were clues to the origins of what Ball called singing "quire-wise." As we will see, any coherence that "singing by course" could claim as a type of ritual performance was due in part to the manipulation of such historical narratives. On this count "singing by course" was only one area in which English divines pressed history into the service of religious ideology. But such seeming opportunism, as chapter three will show, still involved articulating specific logics by which to align responsive prayer with *alternatim* singing: "singing by course" became for its proponents about order and collaboration, for its opponents about chaos and vain competition.

In the end, while Ball himself may well have treated singing "by course," or singing "quire-wise," as coextensive with *alternatim* practice, he had also reproduced a pattern that afforded many interpretive possibilities, supplying one or more additional characterizations of whichever manner (or manners) of performance was (or were) at issue. In the primary sources this dissertation engages, it is frequently unclear whether such additional descriptions *clarify* or *augment* the phrase "by course." The description "quire-wise" exemplifies this very ambiguity, for taken literally—"in the way of a choir"—or considered with an eye towards its polemical associations, it could cover a vast range of phenomena and signal a host of issues. Again, such murkiness is not an obstacle to but rather the object of my analysis.

III. SCHOLARSHIP ON MUSIC AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

Two of Ball's four types of singing have been subjects of extensive musicological inquiry. One, "singing by the whole multitude," as he described it, was what had originally led him into his remarks on early Christian singing, and referred to a ubiquitous practice that found approval across most of the protestant ideological spectrum: the congregational singing of metrical psalms. "Singing by course" does not appear to have been connected to this phenomenon. Debates over the former were to some extent microcosms of debates over the *Book of Common Prayer* in general, since "singing by course" came to encompass the responses viewed by some as foundational to prayer-book worship. Congregational psalmody, by contrast, had begun as a paraliturgical insertion into prayer-book rites, sparing it criticisms typically directed at the enforcement particular forms of worship. For these reasons, "singing by course" was constructed in explicit opposition to metrical psalmody, as a fundamentally more intricate type of vocal act; this study will not focus on it.[33]

There was, however, a clear association between "singing by course" and choirs. English choral music of the late Tudor and early Stuart periods has been under-researched due to notorious difficulties with editing the contemporary musical sources, as well as implicit preferences for other

[33] The literature on the subject is extensive, but recent work includes Nicholas Temperley, "'All Skillful Praises Sing': How Congregations Sang the Psalms in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Studies* 29 (September 2015), 531–53; Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c. 1547–1640* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014); Beth Quitslund, "Singing the Psalms for Fun and Profit," in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 237–58; and Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008). For overviews see also Willis, *Church Music*, 121–31, 155–9, and Marsh, *Music and Society*, 405–34.

vocal genres of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that have been considered aesthetically or technically superior.[34] Yet, more surprising than this general neglect is how little musicologists working on sacred vernacular repertoires aside from metrical psalmody have drawn on concurrent research into the religious history of early modern England in the fifty years since Peter Le Huray's landmark *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*.[35] Dana T. Marsh displayed command of Reformation scholarship in a 2007 dissertation but was focused on the reign of Henry VIII, while others have continued to pursue traditionally musicological concerns such as philology, borrowing, and contrafacta.[36] Roger Bowers engages religious history in his invaluable studies of individual choral foundations, but the temporal scope of his essays effectively weights them toward periods before that covered by this dissertation.[37] A clear exception on which I will draw is a 2001 dissertation by Peter Jonathan Webster, a project focused primarily on the 1620s and 1630s.[38] The overall disconnect would again seem to be a disciplinary one, attributable to a greater interest among musicologists in issues and materials that relate more to musical works than to politico-religious discourses of music.

The resulting lacuna in our knowledge of the polemical contexts for Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline choral music has been filled by historians like Jonathan Willis, Peter McCullough, and Matthew Milner, who have supplemented, refined, re-framed, and corrected those aspects of the existing musicological narratives that did not rely on musical analysis.[39] Although music scholars have long been familiar with basic contemporary tropes regarding particular types of music—for example that puritan polemicists decried organs and choirs as popish—these more recent contributions aim, as I do, to give fuller accounts of the rationales that certain individuals and groups gave for espousing these attitudes, and of the ways in which such views mapped onto the

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[34] Typical manifestations of this attitude are described in Craig Monson, ed., *The English Services*, vol. 10a of *The Byrd Edition*, ed. Philip Brett (London: Stainer & Bell, 1980), v–vi. Contrast this with Byrd's Latin-texted music, which has long been revered for the affective forwardness and compositional quality that vernacular service settings have often been deemed to lack, and as a result has been subject to more extensive analysis and contextualization over the last two decades; see, for example, Jeremy Smith, "'Unlawful song': Byrd, the Babington plot and the Paget choir," *Early Music* 38 (November 2010), 497–508; Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and Craig Monson, "Byrd, the Catholics and the Motet: The Hearing Reopened," in *Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: OUP, 1997), 348–374.

[35] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (New York: OUP, 1967).

[36] Dana T. Marsh, "Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2007); Kerry McCarthy, "'Brought to Speake English with the Rest': Byrd's Motet Contrafacta," *The Musical Times* 148 (Autumn 2007), 51–60; John Morehen, "The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117 (1992), 62–85; Craig Monson, "'Throughout All Generations': Intimations of Influence in the Short Service Styles of Tallis, Byrd and Morley," in *Byrd Studies*, ed. Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1992), 83–111; Craig Monson, "Authenticity and Chronology in Byrd's Church Anthems," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (Summer 1982), 280–305; idem, "The Preces, Psalms and Litanies of Byrd and Tallis: Another 'Virtuous Contention in Love'," *The Music Review* 40 (1979), 257–71.

[37] Bowers, "Chapel and Choir"; idem, "The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c.1075–1642," in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 408–50; Bowers, "Music and Worship to 1640."

[38] Peter Jonathan Webster, "The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603–c.1640" (PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 2001).

[39] Willis, "Protestant Worship and the Discourse of Music in Reformation England," in Mears and Ryrie, *Worship and the Parish Church*, 131–50; Willis, *Church Music*; Peter McCullough, "Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?" in Mears and Ryrie, *Worship and the Parish Church*, 109–29; Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011); see also Marsh, *Music and Society*, ch. 8.

religious divisions of the English Church. I ultimately share an aim articulated most forcefully in the introductions to Willis's book and Webster's dissertation: to read post-Reformation discourses of music through updated scholarly understandings of early modern religion.[40]

Such an update is necessary because the half-century since the publication of Le Huray's monograph has witnessed several major shifts in the historiography of early modern religion. Using local studies and looking more closely at the habits and attitudes of rural or non-elite groups, scholars such as Christopher Haigh and more recently Eamon Duffy demonstrated the entrenchment and indeed vibrancy of "traditional religion" (Duffy's widely accepted term) on the eve of the Reformation.[41] The resulting emphasis on continuity was countered by the systematic dismantling of the assumption that a stable Anglicanism can provide a valid historiographical framework for the late Tudor and early Stuart Church. The initial target was the classic Anglican-Puritan dichotomy. Patrick Collinson, Peter Lake, Nicholas Tyacke, and others completely reformulated traditional understandings of political and theological affiliations within contemporary Protestantism; as part of a movement begun within, rather than outside, the established church, English puritans were in surprisingly close alignment on many core issues with much of the Elizabethan and Jacobean clergy.[42] More broadly, Calvinism of various kinds is now understood to have permeated the institution to a previously unacknowledged degree, an insight that has since been qualified but that served a corrective purpose at the time.[43]

Scholarship on English puritanism, Calvinism, and anti-Calvinism thus helped to spur re-evaluation of what Diarmaid MacCulloch in 1991 called the "myth of the English Reformation": the notion that the Elizabethan Settlement in particular and the post-Reformation English Church in general charted a *via media*, or middle course, in doctrine and discipline between Roman Catholicism and the Reformed Christianity symbolized by Geneva.[44] This re-evaluation has also profited from new approaches to identifying contemporary religious factions and to describing the relationships between them. Since the 1990s historians like Lake, Alexandra Walsham, and Anthony Milton have increasingly analyzed patterns in English protestant thought as products of the

[40] Willis, *Church Music*, 1–6; Webster, "Religious Thought," 1–11.

[41] Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (New York: OUP, 1993); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1987); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The English Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984); Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (London: CUP, 1975).

[42] Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism c.1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1982); Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); idem, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967).

[43] Tyacke's notion of a "Calvinist consensus" in the contemporary Church of England has been critiqued in several ways; these have to do with the number of issues at play (theological, ecclesiological, doctrinal, ceremonial, and pastoral), the sometimes excessive historiographical weight attached to the doctrine of predestination, and lastly the differing historical and historiographical definitions of "Calvinism" reflected in scholarly invocations of the term. See, for example, Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Sixteenth-Century English Protestantism and the Continent," in *Sister Reformations: The Reformation in Germany and in England*, ed. Dorothea Wendebourg (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 8–14, and Seán F. Hughes, "'The Problem of "Calvinism"': English Theologies of Predestination *c.* 1580–1630," in *Belief and Practice in Reformation England*, ed. Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 229–49.

[44] Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Myth of the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 30 (January 1991), 1–19.

polemical frameworks and rhetorical modes within which contemporary divinity was conducted.[45] In addition, the concurrent work of Tessa Watt, as well as Walsham, Lake, Peter Marshall, and others has situated religious phenomena within wider political, cultural, and material histories that help not simply to contextualize narratives of early modern religion but to locate some of their analytical limitations.[46]

Despite this wealth of research, contemporary understandings of the religious functions of vocal performance in corporate worship for performers themselves—that is, the socio-spiritual work that speaking and singing, not in distinction from but in relation to one another, were thought to accomplish for speakers and singers—have been accorded relatively little scholarly attention. This historical and historiographical gap has several causes, chiefly the fact that matters of ceremony were secondary to theology and doctrine within early modern religious debate itself, except as such matters directly pertained to specific theological, doctrinal, or ecclesiological points. This discursive subordination and its attendant caveat have translated into modern scholarship. Debates over theology and doctrine, while of utmost concern for early modern writers, have been almost over-researched by modern scholars, with one notorious excess being that in the years around 1990 the fortunes of the doctrine of predestination in the hands of Tudor and Stuart divines had come surprisingly close to defining some scholarly narratives of post-Reformation ecclesiastical history. Lack of scholarly attention to ritual practice has also been exacerbated by the degree to which the musical dimensions of liturgy have worked to confine the study of liturgical history to the discipline of musicology. A related consequence of these conditions has been that when historians do engage ritual, they frequently do so to address the theologies, doctrines, or ecclesiologies it enacts. Both historically and historiographically, the primary example of this comes in the all-important area of eucharistic doctrine—confessional differences on which were among the most divisive of the early modern period—as well as in approaches to the larger category of sacraments. Bryan Spinks's *Sacraments, Ceremonies, and the Stuart Divines* (2002), for instance, treats mostly of the views of individual divines on these particular issues without focusing on contemporary discourses of ritual gesture or speech.[47] The clear exception is literary historian Ramie Targoff, whose *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (2001) illuminated the work of the publicness of common prayer, that is, the reflexive effects of the presence of others on the religious states of individual worshippers.[48] What Targoff did not explore in much depth was how the *corporateness* of common prayer—the interrelated and reciprocal effects of its interactions, whether positive or negative—was articulated. This topic will be addressed throughout this dissertation.

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[45] Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy,' 'Heterodoxy,' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Peter Lake and Michael Questier, eds., *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2000); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1995); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 1993).

[46] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: OUP, 2002); Peter Lake, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists, and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 1999); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1991).

[47] Brian D. Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies, and the Stuart Divines: Sacramental Theology and Liturgy in England and Scotland, 1603–1662* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002).

[48] Targoff, *Common Prayer*.

IV. PROJECT ORGANIZATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

The dissertation is arranged into three principal chapters, each of which analyzes a particular discourse that collected around or was conducted through "singing by course." Chapter two offers a history of history, showing how citations of more and less vague ancient sources became a primary means for constructing "singing by course" and consequently for advancing particular conceptions of the Church and its ritual life. The stories Ball mentioned both in his main text and in his thorough footnote had been told and re-told for more than 1,000 years in some cases, and their reception histories involved different levels of dissension regarding what musical forms or acts each story was claimed to describe, as well as (consequently) what relevance each had to other matters. These patterns of engagement speak to the varied outlooks of the interpreters, and as such to the contexts in which they operated. The writing of history, in other words, was also an expression of contemporary concerns. Ball's own moves to carve out space for this category and to delineate it as shown above thus reflect his own practical and political circumstances, and those of post-reformation England more generally, as much as the supposed diversity of singing in the early Church. Used to construct liturgical pasts that advanced specific partisan ecclesiologies, the history of "singing by course" became a matter of confessional significance. At the same time, the ways in which stories were told cannot be reduced to authorial agendas; the chapter tracks retellings of one ancient story to show how improved understanding of classical languages provided religious conformists with new weaponry.

Chapter three focuses on debates over liturgical order, devoting special attention to contemporary engagement with 1 Corinthians 14, the chapter of scripture that was widely understood to set the standard in this area. The messy relationships between music, sound, and order in early modern culture were refracted with exceptional polemical force through citations of this passage, especially when sequences of vocal acts or sounds within practices of alternation or response were at issue. According to different value systems and policy agendas, "singing by course" could be construed as choreographing collaboration or creating chaos, and it thus served to draw the polarities of protestant polemic into sharper focus.

Chapter four shows that theologies of worship were used much like histories of worship. In particular, the chapter examines assertions that performance practices used in prayer book services were derived from, and thus helped mortals aspire toward, the example of angels. A summary of key medieval and early modern beliefs about the presence and significance of angels during worship is followed by a discussion of the attitudes these beliefs might signal in late Tudor and early Stuart England. The focus then narrows to sources that connected specific kinds of vocal performance to heavenly models, and subsequently to musical evidence that reveals the impact on choral practice of the ideas disseminated through these sources. The chapter concludes by examining the collision of "singing by course," theology, devotion, and religious politics in a little-studied 1616 publication, offering a glimpse of new possibilities for the mobilization of ostensibly traditional beliefs about the ritual function of music.

These analyses contribute to four perspectives on post-reformation England and its church music developed in recent scholarship. First, the whole dissertation affirms a suggestion made throughout the work of Jonathan Willis, namely that historians have not fully recognized the role of music in providing discursive weaponry for discussions of larger religious issues. Critiques of the established Church—of all that it was and all that it stood for—were frequently invigorated by, and in some cases expressed as, metaphorical or literal claims about sonic experience in its worship

services. Conversely, music had long been embedded in discourses of sonic order and performative collaboration that religious conformists drew on to rebut such claims. Taking a long view of history, it might even be speculated that the viability of these conflicting strategies reflects a musical culture in flux, as early modern emphasis on the "practical," and growing empirical scrutiny of material phenomena, collided with conceptions of music inherited from the ancient world that maintained rhetorical currency.

Second, the pervasiveness of negative contemporary sentiment toward church music has been prone to overstatement. The Elizabethan period has often been viewed as one of decline for non-congregational music: the liturgy was pared down, reducing opportunities for choral contributions; organs disappeared; and funding for professional musicians and music copying dwindled. These material conditions have often appeared to confirm the invective against "organes and curious singing" that flowed from the presses. Recently, however, both Willis and McCullough have encouraged a reexamination of this view.[49] The volume of diatribes against organs and choral music causes them to drown out others who maintained a fondness for these practices, in particular by casting organs and choirs as relics of traditional religion that did not belong in a protestant Church. Judith Maltby has already shown this problem of polemical volume to have skewed our perception of the laity's affinity for the prayer book, which, she has demonstrated, was viewed fondly by a substantial number of English protestants.[50]

Third, chapter two continues the scholarly project of historicizing the famous *via media* identity of the Church of England. Many core aspects of the English Church's self-image—in particular how it supposedly charts a middle path between Rome and Geneva—were fashioned unevenly, over a long period of time, by specific groups with specific goals, and were then read back onto the Church's early history. They were not simply inscribed in the so-called Elizabethan Settlement, nor did they remain unchanged for 450 years since. Characterizations of music and worship, I suggest, have not been immune to this phenomenon; indeed, the evolution of "singing by course" in writings by prominent churchmen of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reflects liturgical and ecclesiastical identities under construction.

Fourth and finally, mischaracterizations of the late Tudor and early Stuart periods have come both from narratives of rupture or "protestantisation," on the one hand, and from narratives of continuity, on the other. As argued by Watt, Walsham, Lake, and others, post-Reformation English religious cultures are best understood as re-organizing pre-Reformation materials into new patterns of practice and belief.[51] The apparent survival of traditional elements can prove superficial. Lake has recently observed that in many instances an attitude appearing to have held over from the pre-Reformation period is best seen as "neither merely conservative nor a case of simple continuity with the Catholic past, but rather a creative response" to peculiar historical conditions.[52] "Singing by course" makes for an especially clear case study: by constructing it through stories and religious ideals that medieval clerics had used to illuminate singing *alternatim*, Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline divines refashioned traditional understandings of music and worship for a post-Reformation world.

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[49] Willis, "Protestant Worship," passim; McCullough, "Music Reconciled to Preaching," 110–1.
[50] Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*.
[51] See above, 13n46.
[52] Peter Lake, "'Puritans' and 'Anglicans' in the History of the Post-Reformation English Church," in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism,* vol. 1, *Reformation and Identity c.1520–1662*, ed. Anthony Milton (New York: OUP, 2017), 368.

Chapter Two

"Not certainely knowne": "Singing by Course" and Histories of Worship

Richard Hooker waxed Platonic with the best of them. In Book V of the *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1597), he extolled "Musique with Psalmes" for, among other things, a "natiue puissance and efficacie," which was "able both to moue and to moderate all affections."[1] These statements were boilerplate by Renaissance standards. Nevertheless, framed within a rhetoric of ceremony that set Hooker apart from many of his predecessors, they struck a contrast to Elizabethan invective against organs and choirs, and roughly coincided with changing compositional styles and spending increases at choral foundations. Accordingly, scholars have habitually cited Book V of the *Lawes* as marking a crucial juncture in the history of English church music.[2]

Variations on musical Platonism comprised only part of Hooker's extended argument for singing in church, however. Given polemical conventions, it is not surprising that he had more to say; the 1597 volume was packaged as a direct reply to criticisms from the 1570s that had specifically targeted "the singing of psalmes by course, and syde after syde."[3] As the historian Jean-Louis Quantin has noted, in these kinds of debates "it did not do to leave any argument of an opponent unanswered, and the safest course was to answer it more than once."[4] The famously verbose Hooker took that safest course and then some, devoting nearly three pages—fully one more than he had spent on "Musique with Psalmes"—to the topic "Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of common prayer, wherein the people and Minister answere one another by course."[5]

In the present chapter I will place this section of the *Lawes* at the heart of an investigation into the ways early modern divines used historical narrative to define, to debate, and to exploit "singing by course." At the outset, it must be noted that terminology has helped to cloud the nature of Hooker's discussion. In a 2009 essay, W.J. Torrance Kirby identified the topic of these pages as "antiphonal chant."[6] Perhaps unattuned to musicological tendencies, Kirby was using a phrase more often applied to choirs to address what Hooker claims is done by "the people and Minister." In highlighting this disciplinary dimension, Kirby does not technically mis-use the terms: "antiphonal" and "chant" are words for sounds and actions, not actors.[7] But the formulation he adopts does beg the question of whose performance—and, by paradoxical implication, what type of singing—Hooker aimed to address. The Elizabethan divine's description of this singing as "by course" is a

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[1] LEP, 75 / Folger, 152.

[2] Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 167; Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud, and Honor: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2006), 157–8; Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 59; Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1979), 1:50; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 45.

[3] Thomas Cartwright, *A replye to An answere made of M. doctor Whitgifte. Agaynste the Admonition* ([Hemel Hempstead?], 1573; STC 4712), 203. A shorter version (STC 4711) was also published, but Hooker cited from the longer one.

[4] Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 61.

[5] LEP, 76 / Folger, 154.

[6] W.J. Torrance Kirby, "*Of Musique with Psalms:* the Hermeneutics of Richard Hooker's Defence of the 'sensible excellencie' of Public Worship," in *Lutheran and Anglican: Essays in honour of Egil Grislis,* ed. John Stafford (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2009), 132.

[7] That said, other scholars have stretched the meaning of "antiphonal" in other ways; see, for example, Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (New York: OUP, 2011), lxvi.

primary cause of this difficulty. As suggested in chapter one, this phrase accommodated conceptual connections between multiple modes of performance, indexing the similarities between what parishioners did with their minister and what professional choirs did amongst themselves.[8]

While Hooker never explicated this connection, he did lay the groundwork for it. Yet that groundwork consisted as much in the nature of the sources he cited as in flexible terminology. After praising "Musique with Psalmes" through a series of theoretical assertions, Hooker advocated for "singing by course" through a wide-ranging historical survey, diving into a pool of ancient stories where his opponents from the 1570s had only waded. This whirlwind tour through ecclesiastical histories, patristic correspondence, and scripture was meant to demonstrate not simply how old the practice was but how many benefits it had brought the Church over such a long span. What Hooker failed to mention is that the accounts he adduced had been associated with choirs singing *alternatim* rather than with "the people and Minister," his stated concern. Tracing citations of these accounts from the Middle Ages to the middle of the seventeenth century, I explore not just the importance of historical argumentation to Hooker and other English divines but also the surprising variety of ways in which such ancient sources were read to suit contemporary interests.

I begin by addressing medieval precedents for Hooker's discussion, as synthesized in one influential source, and subsequently turn to the ways in which those materials were re-purposed during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Choral singing was often identified as a remnant of popery in the Elizabethan Church, but worship according to the *Book of Common Prayer* changed the primary context within which post-Reformation divines interpreted the contemporary relevance of ancient stories. While citations of the past reflected contemporary interests, these authors' historical maneuvering is not reducible to their religious or political motivations; I track the evolution of conformist interpretations of a description of Christian worship practice written around the year 100 by Pliny the Younger, showing that these interpretations were supported by the latest in humanist philology and lexicography. Rather, English divines of many stripes implemented their agendas using a variety of interpretive and scholarly approaches, mining the documents of Christian antiquity to support a range of beliefs. I conclude by explaining how Laudian divines adapted materials from the *Lawes* both to develop and to grant authority to their own ritual ideology, which united cathedral and parish services under the banner of performance "by course."

I. A CHORAL PAST, A CONGREGATIONAL PRESENT

Although the history of Christian worship was researched and exploited to an unprecedented degree during the early modern period, the topic itself was hardly new. Several of Hooker's anecdotes had featured in a medieval tradition of liturgical exegesis that was synthesized in the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, compiled by the French bishop Durandus at the end of the thirteenth century.[9] Widely disseminated throughout the late medieval and early modern periods, the *Rationale* would eventually come to be associated with medieval orthodoxy, but would not simply be dismissed as a repository of popery. Rather, it contained a wealth of material and would be consulted with surprising regularity in Elizabethan debates over the conduct of divine service.[10]

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[8] See above, 2–10.

[9] Durandus, *Rationale*, CCCM, vols. 140–140a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995–1998). Further on this text see Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

[10] Some polemicists, especially in anti-papal works, made a point of interpreting Durandus's remarks as supporting their own positions—or, at least, as contradicting official Roman policy—on issues like "carnall" singing, the sufficiency of

The origin story was one of the main tools through which medieval exegetes sought to explain the practice of singing *alternatim*. Book I of the *Rationale* thus states that "Flavianus and Theodorus established [the manner of] singing *alternatim*, having learned from Ignatius, who had learned it from heaven."[11] This claim elided two distinct vignettes first reported by two different church historians: the story of Ignatius, which I have discussed elsewhere, and which we will revisit briefly in chapter four, had originated with Socrates of Constantinople, while the story of Flavianus and Theodorus had first been told by Theodoret of Cyrrhus.[12] Book V of the *Rationale* recounts another major event: "Damasus decreed that choirs divided into two parts sing the psalms *alternatim*."[13] Possibly meant to record the establishment of the practice at Rome, or in the western church more broadly, this reference—unlike those to Ignatius, Flavianus, and Theodorus—is not found in the treatises on which the *Rationale* was based. Instead, it probably represents a historically contingent interpretation. The likely source is a passage from the *Liber Pontificalis*, a standard reference for papal biography, where Pope Damasus is said to have decreed only that psalms be "sung day and night in all churches."[14] Because this daily discipline had become an *alternatim* one by the thirteenth century, it might be surmised that Durandus's reading of the decree reflects the liturgical experience of his era, when singing psalms day and night indeed meant singing them *alternatim*. Whatever temporal liberties Durandus took by juxtaposing these three stories, their collective narrative function was partly to constitute an ecclesiastical lineage worthy of such a foundational practice.[15]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, liturgical pasts were invoked to similar ends, and with increasing urgency. Before examining contemporary interest in the history of public worship, however, it will be helpful to recall some of the changes to ritual practice that shaped those discussions. Throughout the period examined by this dissertation, the services of the Church of

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scripture, and the use of images. See Andrew Willet, *Synopsis papismi, that is, a generall viewe of papistry: deuided into three hundreds of popish errors* (London, 1592; STC 25696), 349, and Anthony Wotton, *A trial of the romish clergies title to the chvrch* (London, 1608; STC 26009), 17; on singing specifically, see John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est [...] A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing, vaine plays or enterluds are reproued* (London, 1577; STC 18670), 84. See also John Merbecke, *A booke of notes and common places* (London, 1581; STC 17299), 1019. Durandus's comments on ministerial garments were contested during the vestments controversy of the 1560s and its later reverberations: Robert Crowley, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparell of the popishe church* ([Emden, Germany], 1566; STC 6079), sig. B[7]v; [Matthew Parker?], *A briefe examination for the tyme, of a certaine declaration, lately put in print in the name of certaine ministers in London, refusyng to weare the apparell. In the ende is reported, the judgement of M. Bucer, and M. Martir* (London, [1566]; STC 10387), sig. 5*[4]r; and Thomas Cartwright, *The rest of the second replie agaynst Master Vuhitgifts second ansvuer* ([Basel], 1577; STC 4715), 179. In addition, Durandus's description of eucharistic practice in the early Church was cited by John Foxe, Thomas Bilson, and others and as proof that the people communicated daily: TAMO 1563, 5.2, 965 [885]; Thomas Bilson, *The true difference betweene christian subiection and vnchristian rebellion* (Oxford, 1585; STC 3071), 678.

[11] "[...] Flavianus et Theodorus alternatim psallere constituerunt, edocti ab Ignatio qui super hoc fuit diuinitus edoctus." Durandus, *Rationale*, 1.1.18, CCCM, vol. 140, 18; translation from Durandus, *The Rationale*, 17.

[12] On the former see Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels," and below, 31, 39, 86; on Socrates more generally see Theresa Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople: Historian of Church and State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997). A translation of Theodoret's account can be found in McKinnon, MECL, #224 [p.104]; see also Theresa Urbainczyk, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus: The Bishop and the Holy Man* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). The elision was understandable insofar as both stories attributed the establishment of the practice to figures associated with Antioch.

[13] "[...] Damasus instituit ut chori, in duas partes diuisi, psalmos canerent alternatim." Durandus, *Rationale*, 5.2.36, CCCM, vol. 140a, 29.

[14] "[...] die noctuque canerentur per omnes ecclesias." L. Duchesne, ed., *Liber Pontificalis*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886–1892), 1:213.

[15] On the other narrative function of the story of Ignatius in particular see Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

England were guided by the *Book of Common Prayer*. The prayer book translated and re-worked many texts of the Latin liturgy, collapsing the pillars of the medieval Office—Matins and Lauds for the morning, Vespers and Compline for the evening—into services of morning prayer (often still called matins) and evening prayer (or evensong), and converting the Mass into a vernacular communion rite that could be observed with or without distribution. Those who attended church on Sundays and holidays, as required by law, typically experienced a morning progression of matins, litany, and communion, followed by evensong in the afternoon.[16]

These vernacular rites involved a substantial number of responses to the celebrant's words, in which the parish clerk usually led the congregation.[17] Beyond "Amen," there were versicles for morning and evening prayer, as well as the Litany and Decalogue. Recognized not just as a habit but as an important custom, this particular form of vocal engagement garnered lay attachment. Judith Maltby has described a demonstrative case from 1604, when parishioners at Manchester addressed fifteen articles against their curate to the Bishop of Chester. The longest of these complained that recently the curate had been interrupting their routine: "Whereas divers of the parishe, who have been used to helpe the parishe clarke, to readd verse for verse [i.e. to make the responses] with the Curate for fourtye yeares laste past and more […] The sayde Ralph Kirke hath of late tymes not permitted them so to doe."[18] They recalled joining in responsive worship as long as Elizabeth had reigned. But familiarity had also bred affection; the grievance gives the impression of a fundamental and even beloved custom being frustratingly proscribed. As with Maltby's larger argument about contemporary attitudes toward the prayer book, such feelings cannot have been especially rare. The role of responsive structures in the image and reception of prayer book services also lay at the heart of the drama surrounding Richard Cox, who characterized "answering alowde" as not simply a native habit but one that performed an English ecclesiastical identity in a foreign context.[19] Taken together, such episodes depict a Tudor conformity that viewed vocal interchanges as distinctive markers of prayer-book worship.

While this pattern of response is familiar to scholars, its application to liturgical psalmody is less so. The prayer book instructed that "The Psalter shall be read through once every Month," dividing the 150 psalms into sixty groups distributed across the morning and evening rites of a

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[16] For more detail see Sharon L. Arnoult, "'Spiritual and Sacred Publique Actions': The *Book of Common Prayer* and the Understanding of Worship in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England," in *Religion and the English People 1500–1640,* ed. Eric Josef Carlson (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), 26–9.

[17] This is not to say that the late-medieval liturgy was devoid of vocal contributions by the laity, or that the rubrics of the prayer book could guarantee participation by every attendee. Christopher Marsh has attempted to take stock of opportunities for and realities of congregational participation, and to compare these to pre-Reformation conditions, in idem, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding their Peace* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998), 31–55.

[18] Quoted in Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 42.

[19] Cox was reportedly dispatched in 1555 from Strasbourg to the English congregation at Frankfurt, which had been using a streamlined liturgy that lacked the responses. During a service there, he reportedly "began to break that order whiche was agreed vppon, firste in answeringe alowde after the minister." Having been subsequently admonished by the local elders, Cox retorted "that they woulde do as they had donne in Englande, and that they would haue the face off an English churche." [William Whittingham?], *A brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off off [sic] common prayer* ([Heidelberg], 1574; STC 25442), 38. See Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2014), ch. 5; Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature*, 125–6, and Sharon L. Arnoult, "'The Face of an English Church': The *Book of Common Prayer* and English Religious Identity, 1549–1662" (PhD diss., University of Texas, 1997), 189–227.

thirty-day cycle.[20] It gave little direction regarding the performance of these liturgical psalms, but contemporary commentary indicates with some consistency that successive verses were usually declaimed alternately by the minister and the clerk, the latter again joined by the people (as with other responses). For an exceptionally clear description of what this entailed, we may look to the debate over set forms of prayer that erupted in 1640.[21] In that year the Welsh puritan Lewis Hughes gleefully ridiculed prayer book services for the constant "interrupting of the Minister by the Clarke, and the whole Congregation." But Hughes explained that the litany and the versicles of matins and evensong were not the only places in which this "foule errour" was committed. Parishioners also interjected "when [the Minister] readeth the Psalmes, by taking every other verse out of his mouth, to reade it for him with a loud, hackering and confused noise […]" Hughes further drew out the potential for social conflict in the resulting vocal exchanges:

> When they reade the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth verses of the fiftie Psalme, they are likened by some to women scoulding and accusing one another. The Clarke and people doe beginne to scould with, and to accuse the Minister, saying, *When thou sawest a theefe, thou consentedst unto him, and hast been partaker with adulterers;* then the Priest accuseth the Clarke, saying, *Thou hast let thy tongue speake wickednesse, and with thy tongue thou hast set forth deceit*; then the Clarke and people doe set upon the Minister againe, and doe accuse him, saying, *Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother, yea, thou hast slaundered thine owne Mothers sonne.*[22]

Finally, it must be noted that parish congregants were not the only worshippers to employ alternation in performing liturgical psalms. With this monthly cycle of psalms in the prayer book having simply replaced the weekly one of the medieval Office, the choirs that survived into the reign of Elizabeth evidently continued to sing *alternatim.*[23] Much as traditional chant formulae were themselves retained, singing fewer psalms, and doing so in the vernacular, seems to have provided little impetus to abandon an established convention that conveniently divided the musical labor. What did change drastically was the proportion of the Church's ritual life that choirs occupied. With congregational worship newly central to that life, the prototypical parish service became a focal point of Elizabethan debate. Yet, while these new circumstances offered a different lens through which to view accounts of early Christian practice, like those Durandus had invoked centuries earlier in the *Rationale*, they hardly diminished the importance of having antiquity on one's side.

II. CHOIRS, CONGREGATIONS, AND HISTORICAL POLEMIC

Early modern reformers conceived of their enterprise in fundamentally historical terms. As Alexandra Walsham has put it, "They envisaged themselves as engaged in an act of recuperation, an effort to recapture a lost era of apostolic purity, and a quest to reinstate the Christian faith in its pristine and

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[20] Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 217; this edition includes only the 1662 version of this "Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read".

[21] See above, 1–2.

[22] He characterized the priest and clerk's interactions in the service for the churching of women as similarly theatrical and therefore ludicrous. Lewis Hughes, *Certaine greevances, […] Set forth by way of dialogue, betweene a countrey gentleman, and a minister of Gods word* ([London], 1640; STC 13917.5), 7–8. This dialogue version was published in the same year as STC 13917, its monologic counterpart. See above, 8.

[23] See above, 5–6.

primitive simplicity."[24] In keeping with this attitude, the first centuries of Christianity were routinely held up as exceptionally religious; Hooker would explain in Book V of the *Lawes* that the Church Fathers had lived during "the purest times," a period when "the whole Church of God […] most flourished in zeale and pietie."[25] Recapturing such a spirit, however, was also a problem of ecclesiastical continuity. Seeking to invert orthodox charges of religious innovation, such as the famous taunt "Where was your Church before Luther?," protestant authors endeavored to align themselves with "the primitive church" that had so thrived during this early, golden age. Thus, in a struggle that turned as much on claims to the title "true church" as on specific points of theology or doctrine—themselves also matters of ecclesiastical continuity—connections to early Christianity were usually at a premium.[26]

Stressing ties with the early church embodied a model of ecclesiastical history that emphasized the accumulation of institutional flaws over time. Tracking this accretion meant it could be peeled back to reveal the church in its initially pure form, and indeed became one of the most popular modes of post-Reformation anti-popery.[27] The papacy was particularly critical to this narrative: its dealings had been well documented, and it served as a synecdoche for the whole Roman religion. The errors and self-contradictions that critics purported to find in papal activities were means of demonstrating the near-universal belief among English protestants that the Pope was the Antichrist.[28] With evangelical arguments so often predicated on such interpretations of the past, the case against "popery" was as historical as it was theological. Indeed, if the distinction between history and theology is to be analytically useful, it must take account of how congruent these two domains were in religious polemic. It must nevertheless be emphasized that polemical uses of history are not reducible to polemical intent; beyond simply seeking authority for their religious and political groups, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors interpreted accounts of worship in the early church according to complex combinations of intellectual and narrative frameworks.[29]

Combined with liturgical change, these dynamics help to explain how stories like those mentioned in the medieval *Rationale* were received following the re-establishment in 1559 of a protestant English church. An especially predictable fate befell Pope Damasus's fourth-century decree on psalmody, which became a tool of early Elizabethan historians engaged in the larger

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[24] Alexandra Walsham, "History, Memory, and the English Reformation," *The Historical Journal 55* (December 2012), 902.

[25] LEP, 20, 162 / Folger, 50, 311.

[26] John Spurr, "'A special kindness for dead bishops': The Church, History, and Testimony in Seventeenth-Century Protestantism," in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2006), 308. It is possible that such links became so important partly because they were easily grasped; Milton suggests that lay persons were likely to conceive of the conflict between the Roman and Protestant faiths less in terms of contested doctrines than in terms of "the more tangible and straightforward questions of historical fact surrounding the separation of the Protestants from the Church of Rome." Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 270. On the role of patristics in early modern debates over history, theology, and doctrine, see Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); and Quantin, *Christian Antiquity*.

[27] For a nuanced discussion of English protestant views on the related problem of Roman error and the distinction between "fundamentals" and "additions," see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 176–87.

[28] Korey D. Maas, *The Reformation and Robert Barnes: History, Theology, and Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2010), ch. 3; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 93–122; Peter Lake, "The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (April 1980), 161–78.

[29] Backus, *Historical Method*; Quantin, *Christian Antiquity*. See also Maas, *Robert Barnes*, and Calvin Lane, *The Laudians and the Elizabethan Church: History, Conformity, and Religious Identity in Post-Reformation England* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013).

protestant project of anti-papal polemic. Such authors found in liturgical history an exceptionally rich store of instances in which popery had purportedly grafted vain structures onto the purity of the early Church. The *Book of Common Prayer* itself was justified with a prefatory lament that "these many yeares passed this Godly and decent ordre of the auncient fathers, hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertein stories, Legendes, Respondes, Verses, vaine repeticions, Commemoracions, and Synodalles."[30] This led to catalogs of when and by whom specific items and customs had been instituted, and *alternatim* practice was not spared mention. From its first edition in 1563, John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* listed several examples of "heaping rite vpon rite and ceremony vpon ceremony, til all religion was turned wel nigh to supersticio[n]," including "That the psalmes shoulde be song on sides, the one hide [sic] of the quere singing one verse the other an other [...]"[31] Thomas Becon and John Barthlet each named pope Damasus—the last of the three references from Durandus's *Rationale*—as the man behind this addition in their pointedly titled *Relikes of Rome* (1560) and *The Pedegrewe of Heretiques* (1566), respectively.[32] While often citing Durandus in this connection, sixteenth-century authors did not consider him the primary source of the information; that honor belonged to the fifteenth-century papal biographer Bartolomeo Platina.[33] Nevertheless, the information compiled by figures like Durandus played a crucial role in the historical methodology of anti-Catholic polemicists. Far from dismissing them as mendacious representatives of Catholic orthodoxy, authors like Foxe, Becon, and Barthlet relied heavily on the data that such authors supplied. Accordingly, the decree of Damasus was not dismissed as a figment of the Roman imagination but instead polemically reversed: rather than authorizing a venerable tradition, Damasus would be recast as an agent of Roman idolatry.

While these references from the first years of Elizabeth's reign clearly addressed a practice of "the quere," advocates of further reform to the Church of England voiced broader displeasure about its entire system of public worship as laid out in the *Book of Common Prayer*. These frustrations found full expression in *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572). This text and the ensuing "Admonition Controversy" will be discussed further in chapter three, but exploring it here will show how prayer-book worship and the contours of protestant debate had come to complicate the status of these ancient tales. Just as importantly, it was this controversy to which Book V of Hooker's *Lawes* would provide a belated polemical response.

The authors of the *Admonition*, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, urged "abandoning al popish remnants both in ceremonies and regiment" and "bringing in and placing in Gods church those things only, which the Lord himself in his word commandeth."[34] They enumerated many of these "popish remnants" in an appendix entitled "A view of Popishe abuses yet remaining in the Englishe Church." The paragraph of this appendix that ridiculed the actions and sounds of services conducted

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[30] Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 4.

[31] TAMO 1563, 5.2, 968 [(888)].

[32] Thomas Becon, *The relikes of Rome, concernynge church ware and matters of religion* (London, 1560; STC 1754), sig. D[5]r. John Barthlet, *The pedegrewe of heretiques. Wherein is set out, the first roote of heretiques since the time of the gospell* (London, 1566; STC 1534), 79v.

[33] Bartolomeo Platina, *Liber de vita Christi ac pontificum omnium* (Venice, 1479), sig. E3v. Tudor authors considered this work a standard source for papal biography.

[34] John Field and Thomas Wilcox, *An admonition to the parliament* ([Hemel Hempstead?], 1572; STC 10847); W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas, eds., *Puritan Manifestoes* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1907), 8. On the authors see Patrick Collinson, "John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism," in idem, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon, 1983), 335–70, and idem, *Puritan Movement*, ch. 3.

according to the *Book of Common Prayer* began with psalmody: "In all their order of service there is no edification, according to the rule of the Apostle, but confusion, they tosse the Psalmes in most places like tennice balles."[35] Even assuming that this last simile targeted some type of alternation, our knowledge that worship in the Church of England had come to include both a choral and a congregational form of alternating psalmody makes this a tricky description to decipher.[36] How are we to know whether the tennis players, as it were, are choristers or lay congregants?[37] The context of the statement offers several clues. The "tennis" quip headlines a detailed critique of what "the minister" and "the people" do "in most places," presumably lampooning a prototypical parish. Only in the last two sentences of the lengthy paragraph do the authors address the matter of "organes and curious singing," those "superstitions" that are "proper to popishe dennes" like "Cathedrall churches" and "The queenes chappell." While failing to accommodate the complexities of contemporary practice, this binary of parish and cathedral was a key rhetorical tool in exactly this kind of polemical context.[38] Therefore, it is entirely possible, and even likely, that the critique of psalmodic "Tennice balles" was directed at congregational practice.[39]

The charge of "confusion" might seem to signal an ostensible disinterest in historical detail; by citing the ever-popular 1 Corinthians 14, the authors situate their criticism in relation to Pauline liturgical principles.[40] Yet this reference underscores the historical dimension of scripture, an easily missed element of the broader significance of history to protestant thought. While biblical citations were mechanisms of theological debate, they also made temporal comparisons between the period that scripture depicts and the ages during which it was being referenced.[41] The authors of the *Admonition* repeatedly compared what was wrong with the corrupt present to what was right in "the primitive church," an era they variously called "then," "those dayes," and "the olde time." In this way, the invocation of 1 Corinthians 14 functioned as a historical reference. The implication is that the conditions of the present ("confusion") are not living up to standards set by the apostolic past—a distinct period of time during which real people really worshipped. The *Admonition* may not have made particularly elaborate use of historical argumentation, but its critique still proceeded from the basic conception of ecclesiastical time that had underwritten previous anti-papal polemic.

Although advised by confederates not to engage, John Whitgift, then the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, responded to the *Admonition* later in 1572, on behalf of the religious establishment.[42] Considered the prototype of religious conformity in the early Elizabethan period,

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[35] Frere and Douglas, *Puritan Manifestoes*, 29.

[36] There is a chance that "tennice" had nothing to do with alternation—a possibility proposed by John Whitgift in his response to the *Admonition*—but this possibility quickly fell away. On references to vocal "tossing," see below, 56–63.

[37] Jonathan Willis and Beth Quitslund each note that there were multiple ways of performing psalms in alternation; Willis, *Church Music*, 65; Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 261n82. Other scholars have understandably begged the question, if unconsciously, by referring only to the alternation principle; see Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 39 ("antiphonal recitation of the Psalms"), and Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 3 ("antiphonal singing of the psalms").

[38] Webster, "Religious Thought," 21–2; Claire Cross, "'Dens of loitering lubbers': Protestant Protest against Cathedral Foundations, 1540–1640," *Studies in Church History* 9 (1972), 231–7.

[39] I am thus inclined to disagree with Christopher Marsh, who suspects that the Admonitioners were focused on "the country's cathedrals" when they mentioned "tennice balles." Marsh, *Music and Society*, 393.

[40] Both the specific scriptural reference and the word "confusion" indicate that the issue was specifically, though not entirely, one of textual intelligibility. See below, 57, and Dana T. Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid': Medieval Exegesis, Ritual Tradition and Henry VIII's Reformation," *Early Music History* 29 (October 2010), 37, 42–52.

[41] I discuss protestant exploitation of the temporality of scripture in Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

[42] Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, 124.

Whitgift focused his defensive energies on the authority of the Church to order *adiaphora*, or "things indifferent." These were matters of religion that, being neither mandated nor prohibited by scripture, were left to the judgment of human authorities, and that might change according to the needs of particular times and places as such authorities deemed fit. Whitgift would thus justify the "ceremonies and regiment" on which Field and Wilcox had set their critical sights as institutions that promoted the successful functioning of the Church.[43] But he also sought to buttress particular practices, as well as the authority by which the queen and her bishops sanctioned them, against Catholic and presbyterian challenges by aligning the Elizabethan Church with patristic precedents.[44] His rebuttal to the "tennice balles" charge thus consisted solely of an appeal to Christian antiquity:

> If by tossing of Psalmes, you meane the singing of them *alternatim*, then doe you disallowe that whiche is both commendable, and of great antiquitie, as it appeareth in an Epistle that Basilius Magnus did write to the ministers in *Neocesaria*, where he sheweth the selfe same order of singing Psalmes to be then vsed in the churche, that we vse at this day.[45]

While suspecting that the Admonitioners' jibe was directed at "the singing of [Psalmes] *alternatim*," Whitgift did not clarify whether he meant to defend (or thought they were attacking) choral or congregational psalmody, or both. The word *alternatim* was often used with particular reference to the practice of choirs, but it need not be construed as a technical term. A common Latin adverb, it could have been applied to any practice that proceeded "alternately."

Whitgift's appeal to antiquity itself is more revealing. The epistle of "Basilius Magnus" that he cited here was a newer addition to the historical arsenal, and highlights the role of humanist scholarship and an ever-expanding print trade in augmenting the resources available to controversialists. A fourth-century bishop, Basil of Caesarea was known both for his extant letters and for a treatise routinely cited by Catholic authors as a basis for the Roman doctrine of tradition.[46] His works became increasingly available after 1532, when they were edited in the original Greek by Erasmus. Subsequent Latin translations by Erasmus's associates Janus Cornarius and Wolfgang

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[43] Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, 16–7, 44–7, 88–90. In this Whitgift was affirming the stance that the Church of England had taken in its Thirty-Nine Articles (1563). Addressing "the traditions of the Church," Article XXXIV had indicated that "they may be changed according to the diversitie of countreys, times, and mens maners, so that nothing be ordained against Gods worde." It is crucial to note that, according to Quantin, this use of the word "traditions" was neither contiguous nor co-extensive with the Catholic doctrine of tradition as set down at the Council of Trent. Following the thought of Martin Chemnitz, Elizabethan divines believed that "ritual traditions had nothing in common with the papists' doctrinal ones but their name"; Quantin, *Christian Antiquity*, 90. Jonathan Willis intriguingly argues that within the Reformed tradition, which accommodated two distinct conceptions of *adiaphora*, music "constituted a third category"; idem, *Church Music*, 62–4.

[44] This strategy was in part a product of anti-Catholic polemic. Quantin gives the example of Laurence Humphrey, biographer of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury. Humphrey was frustrated by Jewel's desire turn Roman appeals to the Fathers back against them, when he simply could have been content with demonstrating that Roman doctrine ran contrary to scripture. In 1581, William Whittaker proposed that Jewel's impetus had been to counter the Catholic argument that the Church of England opposed Christian antiquity. Quantin, *Christian Antiquity*, 56–7.

[45] John Whitgift, *An answere to a certen libel intituled, An admonition* (London, 1572; STC 25427), 205.

[46] Quantin, *Christian Antiquity*, 62. For English recognition of the latter, see, for instance, Francis Trigge, *The true catholiqve, formed according to the truth of the scriptures* (London, 1602; STC 24282), 228–9.

Musculus were collectively reprinted over a dozen times through 1618, when they were supplanted by a more formidable, bilingual edition prepared by the Jesuit scholar Fronton du Duc.[47]

In the letter Whitgift was referencing, Basil describes an instance of Christian psalmody: "At first they divide themselves into two groups and sing psalms in alternation with each other, at once intensifying their carefulness over the sacred texts, and focusing their attention and freeing their hearts from distraction."[48] Observations like the one found in the latter half of this sentence helped reinforce the impression among early modern divines that "the primitive church" was exceptionally pious, providing Whitgift a further impetus to cite Basil. But this modern English translation by James McKinnon captures the polemical flexibility of Basil's description, especially taken out of context. Who, one wonders, are "they," and precisely what was involved when two groups sang "in alternation with each other"? According to McKinnon, the antecedent of "they" is "the people," (*λαός*), which in the context of the entire letter clearly refers to monks, not lay persons.

Early modern authors, however, tended to interpret the passage in accordance with their broader discursive concerns. Whitgift was not the first to cite Basil's letter in regards to a particular feature of protestant music-making. During the so-called Challenge Controversy of the 1560s, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, had adduced the passage to confute the Roman Catholic writer Thomas Harding, who had claimed that "Damasus the Pope first ordeyned, that psalmes shuld be songe in the churche of Rome, *alternatim*, enterchaungeably, or by course, so as now we sing them in the quyere […]"[49] But in response Jewel concerned himself mainly with Harding's final clause, taking it to allege that in the early Church "onely the Priestes, and Clerkes Songe, and the people sate stil." In order to counter this "manifest vntruethe," Jewel pointed to several ancient testimonies that "the whole people then Songue the Psalmes altogeather," of which "none [is] plainer then S.Basil: his woordes be these: The people rise before Daye, and […] standinge vp from their Praiers, they beginne the Psalmodie, and being diuided into twoo partes, they singe togeather, the one parte answearinge to the other."[50] While on firm linguistic footing in translating *λαός* as "the people," Jewel neglected the context suggesting that these "people" are monks.[51] Regardless of his fluency in Greek, this treatment of Basil's letter likely reflects Jewel's documented enthusiasm for congregational singing.[52] Whatever his motivations, Jewel's interpretive focus initiated a post-Reformation pattern of citing Basil's letter as proof of the use of the vernacular, and consequently of lay participation, in Christian worship during the patristic era.[53] On the one hand, the prevalence of this interpretation—in which Basil's letter addresses what "the people" do—could indicate that Whitgift understood his debate with the Admonitioners to concern primarily congregational, not

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[47] For a complete list of early modern publications in which this particular letter appears, see Paul Jonathan Fedwick, ed., *Bibliotheca Basiliana Vniversalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*, vol. 1, *The Letters* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 511–2. Fedwick also provides an exhaustive list of all publications of the letters, including descriptions and inventories of each source, on pp.199–299.
[48] McKinnon, MECL, #139 [p.68].
[49] Thomas Harding, *An answere to maister Juelles chalenge* (Leuven, 1564; STC 12758), 51r.
[50] John Jewel, *A replie vnto M. Hardinges answeare* (London, 1565; STC 14606), 153–4.
[51] Backus observes that "Reformation 'hardliners'" like Matthias Flacius and Simon Goulart were particularly displeased with Basil's monastic interests; Backus, *Historical Method*, 355.
[52] In a famous letter written in 1560 to Peter Martyr Vermigli, Jewel had spoken of the spread of congregational singing, even claiming that one could now regularly witness thousands singing together at Paul's Cross. John Jewel, *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, ed. John Ayre, 4 vols. (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1845–1850), 4:1231.
[53] TAMO 1583, 12.111, 2144 [2121]; Bilson, *True difference*, 648–9; Trigge, *True Catholique*, 606; Richard Bernard, *Rhemes against Rome: or, the remooving of the Gagg of the new gospell* (London, 1626; STC 1960), 156.

choral, alternation. On the other, Whitgift might have been more inclined to consider "tossing of Psalmes" in the context of the choral worship to which he would have been regularly exposed in Cambridge and elsewhere. Or, perhaps Whitgift's use of the traditional word *alternatim* reflected his own acknowledgement of a similarity between these back-and-forth manners.

While Whitgift's penchant for precedent was one of his hallmarks, two could play at the historical game. A reply came in 1573 from Thomas Cartwright, who had recently been deprived of the Lady Margaret Professorship in Divinity at Cambridge.[54] Cartwright met his opponent on the very historical terrain to which the conformist divine had tried to lay claim:

> […] For the singing of psalmes by course, and side after side, although it be very auncient, yet it is not comme[n]dable, and so much the more to be suspected, for that the deuil hath gone about to get it so great authority, partly by deriuing it from Ignatius time, and partly in making the world beleue, that thys came from heauen, and that the angels were heard to sing after thys sorte, whych as it is a mere fable, so is it confuted by hystoriographers, whereof some ascribe the begynning of thys to Damasus, some other vnto Flauianus & Diodorus.[55]

Whether or not Cartwright gave any thought to the relative precision of the description "by course, and side after side," it is not entirely clear what he meant to address. As laid out in chapter one, "by course" was potentially even more flexible than Whitgift's term *alternatim*; judging by dictionaries and instances of usage, the most general meaning was "in order," but in specific situations it could mean "by turns" or "one after another."[56] "Side after side," however, had somewhat clearer choral connotations; we have just seen John Foxe refer to choral psalmody being performed "on sides." In this respect, it could be significant that Cartwright countered Whitgift's citation of Basil with precisely the three tales that Durandus had recounted in the *Rationale*. Elizabethan protestants may not have dismissed this source, but many still considered it to embody popish orthodoxy. Cartwright was here invoking a set of tales that had long been used to narrate the origins of a practice often implicated in that orthodoxy. A reader who made this connection would have been steered toward a feature of the English Church that critics frequently treated as a symbol of its Roman legacy. In this way, the image of psalms sung "side after side," read with choirs and their popish past in mind, could have appealed to the kind of polarizing sentiments that helped unite Elizabethan protestants against their common Roman enemy.[57]

Cartwright may not have gathered the tales from Durandus, as all were available elsewhere.[58] But the narrative approaches of these two figures still make for a useful comparison. For Durandus,

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[54] On Cartwright see Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 79–92.

[55] Cartwright, *Replye*, 203.

[56] We have just seen the Catholic writer Thomas Harding use "by course" to describe choral practice.

[57] See Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, part I; Walsham, *Church Papists*; and Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, especially ch. 4. If it was Cartwright's intent to direct the discussion in this way, that could, by way of contrast, explain the Admonitioners' silence on the three tales. If Field and Wilcox were discussing only responsive, congregational psalmody, as I have already suggested, they might have judged stories about the origin of the choral practice of *alternatim* singing to be irrelevant.

[58] As already noted, Pope Damasus's decree on psalmody had been mentioned in a biography by Platina and was often repeated. On the story of Ignatius, see Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels." Theodoret's ecclesiastical history, containing the story of Flavianus and Theodorus (the latter often styled "Diodorus" by English writers), was published by itself in 1535 and included in a 1573 edition of his collected works (*Beati Theodoreti, Cyrensis Episcopi, Theologi Vetvstissimi,*

the stories had coexisted as multiple snapshots of a single liturgical past. But Cartwright, by insisting that each purported to narrate the origins of one practice, argued that they contradicted, rather than complemented, one another.[59]

As we will see, it was these very statements from Cartwright to which Hooker's own discussion of "singing by course" would ostensibly respond. But there is a further Elizabethan publication predating the *Polity* that merits brief attention here, not for its importance but because it left little ambiguity as to the link between these tales and choral singing. *The Praise of Mvsicke* (1586), perhaps the best-known Tudor or Stuart text on the topic, had the stated aim of declaring "the sober and lawfull vse of the same in the congregation and Church of God."[60] For our purposes, the key feature of the unidentified author's approach is that he recurrently reads ancient descriptions of Christian worship with choirs in mind, which is not surprising given his simple goal and the symbolic status of choirs within the established church. The author thus ties the stories of Ignatius, Flavianus and Diodorus, and Damasus to choral practice specifically, providing, as mentioned in chapter one, the clear definition "singing by course, that is, quiers interchangeably singing."[61] The outlier is Basil's letter, which is treated as relevant to congregational practice, following the pattern inaugurated by Jewel.[62] The author of the *Praise*, it should be noted, confessed to being interested less in these particulars of performance practice than in their contribution to his larger agenda. He frequently qualified such citations, arguing that even if they seemed to contradict each other or confuse certain details, they still proved his larger point that church music was both ancient and good. Nevertheless, he testified to the old link between these stories and *alternatim* singing by choirs around the very moment when Hooker began working on the text that would come to define his posthumous reputation.

III. CONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY OF "SINGING BY COURSE"

The relationship of Richard Hooker and his *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* to the history and thus the identity of the Church of England is a famously thorny issue, one that has undergone significant critical re-evaluation in recent decades. The problem, as Peter Lake has observed, is that the text has been "glossed or appropriated for a number of by no means always compatible purposes."[63] Yet,

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Opervm [Cologne, 1573]); Johannes van Oort, "John Calvin and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 696n63.

[59] On the more immediate—and in some ways more powerful—historiographical reason for Cartwright's rejection of the story of Ignatius as a "mere fable," on other subtexts of his polemical approach, and on the broader role of religious ideology in early modern historical scholarship, see Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

[60] *Praise of mvsicke*, title page. On the authorship of this text, see above, 6n22.

[61] Ibid, 96, 94–5, 109–10, 100.

[62] Ibid, 102–3.

[63] Peter Lake, "Business as Usual? The Immediate Reception of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (July 2001), 456. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Richard Hooker's Reputation," *The English Historical Review* 117 (September 2002), 773–812; Michael Brydon, *The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker: An Examination of Responses, 1600–1714* (New York: OUP, 2006); and Nigel Voak, *Richard Hooker and Reformed Theology: A Study of Reason, Will, and Grace* (New York: OUP, 2003), 1–8. On the relationships between English ecclesiastical history and "Anglican" identity, particularly the famous *via media*, see, in addition to the above, Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Latitude of the Church of England," in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2006), 41–59; D.D. Wallace, "*Via Media*? A Paradigm Shift," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 72 (2003), 2–21; Nicholas Tyacke, "Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism," in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560–1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2000), 5–33; and MacCulloch, "Myth."

whatever ideals the *Lawes* is claimed to embody, Hooker's discussion of "the seuerall publique duties of Christian Religion" in Book V does help to clarify certain aspects of the institutional perspective from which he wrote.[64] Most striking is his rigid adherence to the contours of the Elizabethan Settlement, the package of laws and royal injunctions that in 1559 restored the Church of England to the state in which it had stood prior to the restoration of Catholicism under Mary I. As Diarmaid MacCulloch has noted, "if some ecclesiastical practice or phenomenon survived through the 1559 Settlement, then Hooker defended it, neither more nor less." MacCulloch memorably suggested that "if the parliamentary legislation of 1559 had prescribed that English clergy were to preach standing on their heads, then Hooker would have found a theological reason for justifying it."[65]

This slavish character was partly a result of contemporary polemical conventions. Both text and paratext couched Book V as a point-by-point refutation of Thomas Cartwright's *Replye*, now several decades old. On the one hand, Hooker might be accused of beating a dead horse; other leading conformist authors had turned their polemical attention back toward Rome in the wake of the severe setbacks that presbyterianism experienced in the years around 1590.[66] On the other, he had been preparing the work for years, and appears to have conceived it differently than the typical polemic. Setting his gaze beyond Cartwright's statements to what MacCulloch has described as "the whole mindset which had created Presbyterianism," Hooker made the 1573 text speak for whoever had subscribed—or would subscribe—to the ideas it presented.[67] While not unconventional in polemical works, his repeated use of the word "they" as a collective name for his opponents registers the broader collision of ideologies. In spite of all this, Cartwright's text remained the formal target. Hooker would thus bring an exceptional knowledge of classical and patristic writings directly to a debate over "singing by course" that, in the hands of Whitgift and Cartwright, had already broached the issue of ancient precedents.[68] Given that the presbyterian leader had trumped his adversary's single reference to Basil with three historical citations of his own, it will come as no surprise to find that Hooker armed himself with an even larger arsenal of sources.

This is not to say that Hooker would argue exactly as his patron Whitgift had. As already noted, earlier Elizabethan conformists had defended the practices of the established church chiefly on the grounds of *adiaphora*; in Lake's words, they were "there because they were there."[69] Absent scriptural guidance, such matters could be left to the judgment of the Church and the lawful authority of its Christian magistrate. For Whitgift, legitimacy, augmented by continuity with historical precedents, had been enough of a criterion for endorsing features of worship. His description of *alternatim* singing as "commendable, and of great antiquitie" was subtly characteristic in this regard: given the absence of further commentary, one suspects that the claim of "antiquitie" was as much an explanation of the first adjective as it was an additional thought.

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[64] LEP, 1 / Folger, 15.
[65] MacCulloch, "Richard Hooker's Reputation," 779.
[66] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 48. On these setbacks see below, 59.
[67] MacCulloch, "Richard Hooker's Reputation," 778. Likewise, as Peter Lake notes, Hooker's contemporaries quickly came to recognize that he was "attacking not merely Presbyterianism or nonconformity but a whole style of piety and divinity." Lake, "Business as Usual?," 484.
[68] MacCulloch, "Richard Hooker's Reputation," 774–5; see also A.S. McGrade, "Classical, Patristic, and Medieval Sources," in *A Companion to Richard Hooker*, ed. Torrance Kirby (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 51–87.
[69] Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, 163.

The 1590s saw figures like Hooker increasingly articulate a style of piety for which Peter Lake in a 1991 essay coined the term "avant-garde conformity."[70] This "splendid paradox," as Deborah Shuger has described it, is now preferred as a label for a fluid set of aesthetic, doctrinal, and theological attitudes that scholars had previously collapsed into more problematic categories.[71] While the common thread of Elizabethan "conformity" was the defense of the established church, the innovation of avant-garde conformity consisted in the rationales employed toward that end: where Whitgift had concentrated on the lawfulness of and precedents for established structures and practices, Hooker set out to extol the religious value and devotional efficacy of the same. In his understanding, well-ordered prayer itself could edify; ceremonies could produce, rather than simply express, religious attitudes.[72] Hooker thus argued that

> A great part of the cause, wherefore religious mindes are so inflamed with the loue of publique deuotion, is that vertue, force and efficacie, which by experience they finde that the very forme and reuerend solemnitie of common prayer dulie ordered hath, to help that imbecillitie and weakenes in vs, by meanes whereof we are otherwise of our selues the lesse apt to performe vnto God so heauenly a seruice, with such affection of hart, and disposition in the powers of our soules as is requisite.[73]

As Lake has put it, ceremonies for Hooker enjoyed "a genuinely religious significance and meaning," directing humanity "toward virtue, and through virtue [to] union with God."[74] It must be recognized that Hooker still understood their legitimacy—as opposed to their benefits—to rest on the principle of *adiaphora*, or "things indifferent," although he did seek to expand the reach of this principle.[75] In other words, he did not consider the devotional efficacy of ceremonies to constitute the formal or legal basis on which they were used. Nevertheless, he distinguished himself from authors like Whitgift both by discussing that efficacy in the first place and by doing so with passion.

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[70] See Peter McCullough, "'Avant-Garde Conformity' in the 1590s," in Milton, *Oxford History,* vol. 1, 380–94; Anthony Milton, "'Anglicanism' by Stealth: The Career and Influence of John Overall," in Fincham and Lake, *Religious Politics*, 159–61; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 8–9; and Peter Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge and avant-garde conformity at the court of James I," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court,* ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1991), 113–33.

[71] Deborah Kuller Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 8n25. The term has replaced the anachronistic labels "High Church" and "Laudian." It is also more capacious and flexible, and thus often more accurate, than "Arminian," a word that, while applied to many of the same divines, properly refers to a theological matter, namely the doctrine of grace advanced by the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius; on this last point see Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*. On the advantages of grouping contemporary divines by styles of piety, and the drawbacks to binaries like Arminian-Calvinist or Anglican-Puritan, see Lake and Questier, "Introduction," in eadem, *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, ix–xx.

[72] Sharon L. Arnoult, "Prayer Book, Polemic, and Performance," in *Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book*, ed. Pete Langman (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 45–56.

[73] LEP, 54 / Folger, 113. William Covell, one of Hooker's early champions (see below, 36), similarly explained that ceremonies "stirr vp deuotio[n], a thing apt inough through our vanities to become small, vnlesse some externall helps may be added for to make it greater." William Covell, *A modest and reasonable examination, of some things in use in the church of England, sundrie times heretofore misliked* (London, 1604; STC 5882), 64.

[74] Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, 166.

[75] MacCulloch, "Richard Hooker's Reputation," 778; Hooker used the word "tradition" to describe these human ordinances, but only reluctantly in light of its potential Catholic overtones; see above, 24n43.

This perspective helped Hooker formulate a rhetoric of liturgical collaboration, which explained not just that "singing by course" was good but why it was good. He introduced this reasoning shortly before the section devoted entirely to the topic, implementing his broader argument even before it began. In addressing why the Church reads psalms "otherwise then the rest of the Scripture," Hooker portrayed his discursive opponent(s) as overly irritable, and their critique(s) of psalmody as unreasonable:

> Sometime displeased they are at the artificiall musick which we adde vnto Psalmes of this kinde or of any other nature else; sometime the plainest and the most intelligible rehersall of them yet they sauor not, because it is done by interlocution, and with a mutuall returne of sentences from side to side.[76]

For our purposes, what is most crucial about this initial portrayal of the problem is the subtle first step Hooker takes to reframe the issue he is about to address: he characterizes the "returne of sentences from side to side" as "mutuall." With this word, Hooker signals an intent to defend not just an established custom but one that engenders reciprocity in worship.

Hooker formally begins his discussion by describing the topic in the margin—"Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of common prayer, wherein the people and Minister answere one another by course"—and by reproducing Cartwright's statements on the matter. Through this description itself Hooker announced that he would meet Cartwright's critique of "the singing of psalmes by course and syde after syde" with a discussion of a differently defined set of practices. Indeed, his first comments sketch a theory of vocal interaction in worship, describing the prayer-book service as a space of "loue" and "inuiolable amitie." This atmosphere is produced by the teamwork of the people and the pastor, "betweene whome there dayly and interchangeably passe in the hearing of God himselfe, and in the presence of his holy Angels so many heauenly acclamations, exultations, prouocations, petitions, songs of comfort, Psalmes of prayse and thankesgiuing." Praying responsively, in particular, involves "deuiding betweene them the sentences wherewith they striue which shall most shew his owne, and stirre vp others zeale to the glory of that God whose name they magnifie." Hooker summarizes his understanding of this type of act with a rhetorical question: "these interlocutorie formes of speech what are they else but most effectuall partly testifications and partly inflammations of all pietie?"[77] "Testification" was central to contemporary discourses of the performance of prayer, but Hooker here emphasizes "inflammation," insisting that the capacity of vocal interchanges to produce piety forms an essential theoretical context for "singing by course."[78]

This all functioned as a kind of prelude to what would be expected of any polemic: a direct response to a particular argument by one's opponent. Hooker proceeded to meet Cartwright's historical citations with a wider-ranging survey of Christian antiquity, beginning, "When and how this custome of singing by course came vp in the Church it is not certainely knowne."[79] This sentence signaled an intent to treat "singing by course" as a distinct "custome," and to view the sources he was about to describe as complementary snapshots of its past, rather than as competing

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[76] LEP, 74 / Folger, 149–50.

[77] Quotations throughout this paragraph come from LEP, 76–7 / Folger, 154–5.

[78] Targoff, *Common Prayer*; eadem, "Performing Prayer in Hooker's *Lawes*"; Kirby, "*Of musique with psalms*." See below, 63–9.

[79] LEP, 77 / Folger, 155.

origin myths. Given the polemical framework, Hooker predictably began with the three tales that Cartwright had invoked, noting that his presbyterian opponent had pitted each against the other. Hooker predictably took the opposite approach. After mentioning Ignatius as well as "Flauian, and Diodore," Hooker adroitly treats Bartolomeo Platina's reference to "Damasus Bishop of Rome" as an account not of the invention of the practice but simply of its establishment in the "Latine Church."[80] He also characterizes Basil's description of psalmody as a single glimpse of widespread use of the practice "Amongst the Græcians," but, given his explicit focus on "the people" here, has no need to harp on congregational participation.[81] From this discussion, the validity of the story of Ignatius quickly emerges as the primary issue.[82] With Cartwright having dismissed it as a "mere fable," Hooker indicates that his central purpose is to determine whether "Ignatius or [someone] as auncient as Ignatius may bee probablie thought the first inuentors [of "singing by course"]."[83]

To make this determination, Hooker proceeded in a manner familiar to modern historians—by looking to sources dating from Ignatius's lifetime. The first such source that Hooker invoked merits a digression for two reasons: first, it offers an intricate view of how religious ideology could combine with intellectual developments to inform interpretations of history; second, as we will see, it later became the crux of the Laudian appropriation of the *Lawes* on the topic of "singing by course." Hooker observes that Ignatius had lived during the reign of the Roman emperor Trajan (98–117), to whom Pliny the Younger, in the capacity of "vice-gerent," had written a letter that described early Christian gatherings. This letter, like Basil's, had been made readily accessible through the efforts of sixteenth-century philologists and printers. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan forms the tenth and final book of his collected *Epistulae*, but became well known only after 1500, when its oldest surviving manuscript was discovered in Paris, causing a stir amongst French humanists.[84] In 1508 the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius became the first to publish a complete *Epistulae*.[85] This version, along with one by Giovanni Maria Cattaneo (1518), formed the basis for editions published throughout central and western Europe over the remainder of the century.

By adducing Pliny's letter concerning Christians in the context of a discussion of "singing by course," Hooker was putting (or at least facilitating) a new spin on a recent conformist trend of claiming it as justification for particular aspects of prayer-book worship. Many sixteenth-century authors had understood the Roman official to attest nothing more specific than that by the end of the first century singing had already become "a common vse and custome among the faythful."[86]

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[80] See above, 22.

[81] See above, 24–6.

[82] Hooker referred elsewhere in the *Lawes* to Ignatius's extant letters, though some of these letters have since been discovered as spurious or interpolated; McGrade, "Classical, Patristic, and Medieval Sources," 53.

[83] LEP, 77 / Folger, 156.

[84] A meticulous summary of the philological history of the *Epistulae* may be found in Lucia A. Ciapponi, "Plinius Caecilius Secundus, Gaius," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, ed. Virginia Brown, vol. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 75–96. Scholars generally agree that what was discovered was the fifth-century source that remains the oldest extant manuscript of the letters, and survives in six leaves housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Shortly following the find, Italian printers began publishing chunks of Book X, including the letter concerning Christians.

[85] The music theorist Heinrich Glarean owned a copy of this edition; Iain Fenlon, "Heinrich Glarean's Books," in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (New York: CUP, 1994), 74–102.

[86] "Ex hoc tamen loco simul colligimus, iam tunc canendi morem fuisse usitatu[m] inter fideles: quod etia[m] ex Plinio constat […] Christianos scribit solitos fuisse canere antelucanos hymnos Christo." This was what John Calvin had gathered from Pliny's letter, according to his 1546 Commentary on 1 Corinthians 14:15; John Calvin, *Commentarii in*

According to John Whitgift himself, Pliny "wryteth that their custome was *stato die ante lucem conuenire carmenq[ue] Christo quasi Deo dicere, secum inuicem, &c.* to meete togither early at an appoynted day, and to sing togither a song vnto Christ as vnto God."[87] Even the author of the *Praise of Mvsicke* (1586), despite reading choirs into so many ancient accounts, discerned nothing more precise from the Latin than what Whitgift had gathered.[88]

Others, however, would find in Pliny's account more elaborate correspondences with the exact practices they aimed to vindicate, specifically through the Latin phrase Whitgift had construed as "togither": *secum invicem*. In *A defence of the gouernment established in the church of Englande for ecclesiasticall matters* (1587), John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, took Pliny's words to mean that, *pace* Whitgift, these early believers prayed not just together but according to a prescript form: "their maner was this, that on a day appointed, they vsed to come together beefore the day light, *Carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum inuicem,* and to say among themselues a verse or a prescript prayer vnto Christ as vnto God."[89] If Bridges's translation of *carmen* as "a verse or a prescript prayer" seems bizarrely overwrought when considered in isolation, it is probably informed by connotations of *secum inuicem* that will I detail shortly, even though he renders this particular phrase merely as "among themselues." In 1612 John Gordon, Bridges's successor as Dean, would venture further still in a work aimed at demonstrating what its title page claimed was the "Conformitie of the Ceremonies of the Communion of the Church of England with the Ensamples and Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, and Primitiue Church, established by the Apostles of Christ, and the holy Martyrs, and Bishops, their Successors." Gordon recounted that Pliny had "learned of [the Christians] that they were accustomed, at an appointed day, to meete together before day-light: and to say one after another, a Song or Rhime to Christ as to God […]" Pliny's account, argued Gordon, showed "that the first Christinas [sic] did sing their Songs, one answering to another, which forme is followed in the Seruice-Booke of England."[90] An extreme would be reached by the Caroline controversialist Daniel Featley. Defending "the Minister and people answer[ing] one another by course and turns," Featley argued that "the ancients esteemed it no blemish, but a beautie in their Liturgies […] *These Christians* (saith he [i.e. Plinie]) *before day sing Hymns alternatim, by turns or catches, to one Christ, whom they esteem a God*."[91] Such interpretations would seem to reveal early

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priorem epistolam Pauli ad Corinthos (Strasbourg, 1546), 218v. The translation is from *A commentarie vpon S. Paules epistles to the Corinthians*, tr. Thomas Tymme (London, 1577; STC 4400), 162v. On this text see below, 48–52. The English congregation at Geneva declared in its service book that music's status as a gift from God "is moste manifest by the wordes of Plinius, called the younger," who wrote "touchinge the Christians, that their maners were to singe verses, or psalmes earely in the morninge to Christ their god." *The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments, &c. vsed in the Englishe congregation at Geneua: and approued, by J. Caluyn* (Geneua, 1556; STC 16561), 18.

[87] John Whitgift, *The defense of the aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie* (London, 1574; STC 25430), 502.

[88] *Praise of mvsicke*, 93.

[89] John Bridges, *A defence of the gouernment established in the church of Englande for ecclesiasticall matters* (London, 1587; STC 3734), 602–3. The supposition that "prescript prayer" had been used in the Church for almost its entire existence—particularly in such close temporal proximity to the Apostles themselves—also countered the charge that set forms of worship stifled the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. See above, 1–2, and below, 56–9.

[90] John Gordon, *Εἰρηνοκοινωνία. The peace of the communion of the church of England* (London, 1612; STC 12056), sig. D3v.

[91] Daniel Featley, *Καταβάπτισται κατάπτυστοι. The Dippers dipt* (London, 1645; Wing F585), 126. Featley's historical citations suggest that he was drawing on the work of John Boys (on whom see below, 35–6, 68). On the matter of Pliny's letter, however, one wonders about the possible influence of Peter Heylyn's *History of the Sabbath* (on which see below, 38–40), given Featley's complex relationship to the Laudian establishment. On Featley see Arnold Hunt, "Featley, Daniel (1582–1645)," ODNB, vol. 19, 220–5.

modern precedents for a pattern noticed by James McKinnon, namely that in modern scholarship the phrase *secum invicem* "has occasioned much unguarded reference to the notion of antiphonal psalmody."[92]

This overall trajectory from "togither" to "*alternatim, by turns or catches*" might indicate that re-interpreting *secum invicem* was designed to support more precise and thus more powerful claims about the extent of continuity between early Christian practice and the forms of worship laid out in the *Book of Common Prayer*. But it must be stressed that such a sharpening of meaning did not involve going wildly off the linguistic rails, however many polemical points could be scored. Quite the opposite: the shift in conformist readings of Pliny is paralleled by the evolution of definitions of *invicem* in contemporary dictionaries, which reflected a larger reorientation of Latin study towards classical authors.[93] In the *Medulla Grammatice* (c1480) and the *Ortus Vocabularum* (1500), both of which drew on medieval sources, the word "inuicem" had been glossed merely as "together," precisely how Whitgift, born c1530, and thus finished with Latin schooling by mid-century, translated the phrase.[94] Yet as sixteenth-century lexicographers shifted their attention to ancient Latin, they brought to the fore more precise senses that situate individual roles or positions within networks or collectives, including "mutually," "one another," and "for thy part."[95] The idea of succession seems to have been the latest addition, but it soon began to figure significantly in entries for *invicem*.[96] In England, this development was driven primarily by Thomas Cooper, whose 1548 expansion of Sir Thomas Elyot's Latin-English dictionary introduced several senses of succession.[97] In his subsequent *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565), Cooper shed further light on the matter by naming the ancient authors from which he had drawn these examples of usage, even attributing the meaning "By course one after an other" to Pliny's own father (the Elder).[98] Reportedly admired by the Queen herself, Cooper's *Thesaurus* quickly became the leading reference of its kind and remained popular for well over a century.[99]

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[92] McKinnon, MECL, #41 [p.27].

[93] Gabriele Stein, *Sir Thomas Elyot as Lexicographer* (Oxford: OUP, 2014); Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 1–3; Ronald A. Wells, *Dictionaries and the Authoritarian Tradition: A Study in English Usage and Lexicography* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), 13–5.

[94] Ian Lancashire, ed., *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Library and University of Toronto Press, 2018), leme.library.utoronto.ca [accessed 14 April 2018].

[95] Robert Estienne, *Dictionarivm, seu Latinae linguae Thesaurus* (Paris, 1531), 435r; Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot* (London, 1538; STC 7659), sig. L3v. See also the entries for "One another mutuallye" and "Together" in Richard Huloet, *Abcedarium Anglico Latinum* (London, 1552; STC 13940), sigs. [Z5r] and [II4r].

[96] Robert Estienne gives "L'ung apres l'autre" ("one after another") in *Dictionarium Latinogallicum* (Paris, 1538), 396, and in the *Dictionariolum puerorum* (1542), which was later adapted into English by Jean Véron, under the title *Dictionariolum puerorum, tribus linguis Latina, Anglica & Gallica conscriptum* (London, 1552; STC 10555).

[97] "togither, one the other. also for per uices, one after an other, by course. somtyme for vicissim, or econtrario, agayne on the other syde, agayne for thy parte or my parte." Thomas Cooper, *Bibliotheca Eliotæ Eliotis librarie. This dictionarie now newly imprinted, M.D.XLVIII. is inriched* ([London], 1548; STC 7661), sig. OO1r.

[98] Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanæ & Brittanicæ. Accessit dictionarium historicum et poëticum propria vocabula virorum, mulierum, […] complectens* (London, 1565; STC 5686), sigs. VUU[6]r–v. Cooper had given these meanings of "invicem" in his previous revisions of Elyot, but without their classical sources. The convention of naming the sources was borrowed from the eminent lexicographer Robert Estienne, as were the specific examples used in the entry for *inuicem*; see Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, 2–3.

[99] Brett Usher, *William Cecil and Episcopacy, 1559–1577* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 116; Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, 2–3. Dictionaries that follow Cooper closely in their entries for *invicem* include John Baret, *An alvearie or triple dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin, and French* (London, [1574]; STC 1410), sig. Q2v, letter C, #1383; Thomas

Hooker, who was over two decades younger than Whitgift and is often celebrated for his engagement with classical sources, was probably aware of all this. Yet he advertised circumspection, translating *secum invicem* as "one to another amongst themselues" and making no pronouncement as to whether Pliny's letter proved Ignatius had in fact established the practice.[100] Hooker likewise proceeded to acknowledge similar linguistic uncertainty regarding another vague, first-century account by Philo Judaeus that also described a Christian gathering. He noted Philo's comparison of the worship practiced at that gathering to "the paterne of Moses and Miriam" (Exodus 15:1–21), a biblical episode that, as we have seen, contemporary authors claimed to illustrate various manners of performance, including antiphonal singing by choirs.[101] But by offering Pliny's words to the reader with little further commentary, and by doing so at such a crucial moment of a history of "singing by course," Hooker arguably facilitated the conclusion that some later authors would reach. While neither asserting that Pliny had described a successive performance, nor claiming that the citation proves Ignatius's role, Hooker provided a set of conditions conducive to those very interpretations.

In the end, Hooker declared that he did not need to use Pliny's letter to confirm that someone "as auncient as Ignatius may bee probablie thought the first inuentors." As I have discussed elsewhere, this had largely to do with the greater significance Hooker accorded to the other claim Cartwright had denied: that "singing by course" derived ultimately from angels.[102] But it was also because Hooker felt he had already produced plenty of other evidence that, as Cartwright himself had conceded, the manner at issue was "very auncient."[103] In this light, small details like "whosoeuer were the author, whatsoeuer the time, whencesoeuer the example of beginning this custome in the Church of Christ" mattered little.[104] However, it was not antiquity *per se* in which Hooker was most interested. Rather, this long history of use, stretched over so many accounts, constituted a test. Something "so long reteined," Hooker reasoned, must have been subjected to sustained scrutiny, which would have already exposed "whither it be good or euill."[105] No less an authority than Basil, Hooker noted, had already shown that "it be good" when he had described in his letter how the practice "did both strengthen the meditation of those holie wordes which were vttered in that sort, and serue also to make attentiue, and to rayse vp the hearts of men."[106] In this way, Hooker considered his historical examples most valuable as evidence for his theory of piety. Indeed, he proceeded to slide easily back into more generic praise for psalms, referencing Ephesians 5:19, a Pauline exhortation to use psalms and hymns.

This return of loftier rhetoric led not to a rhapsodic conclusion but to a note of caution, stated in a gargantuan sentence of the sort that Hooker's early critics were quick to lampoon:

Thomas [sic], *Dictionarium linguæ Latinae et Anglicanæ* (Cambridge, [1587]; STC 24008), sig. [HH7]r; Rider, *Bibliotheca scholastica*, col. 361, line 23. It could be alleged that Cooper's dictionaries were colored by his allegiance to the established church, which he would serve as bishop during the 1570s and 1580s, but this seems unlikely in light of how much he had simply borrowed from Continental lexicographers, notably Robert Estienne. See Margaret Bowker, "Cooper, Thomas (*c.*1517–1594)," ODNB, vol. 13, 274–9, and Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, 101–10.

[100] LEP, 78 / Folger, 156.

[101] See above, 2n8, as well as the reference to this passage by Henry Peacham, below, 36.

[102] See Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

[103] Cartwright's concession on this point had been smugly noted by Whitgift in 1574; see Whitgift, *Defense*, 740.

[104] LEP, 78 / Folger, 157.

[105] Ibid.

[106] LEP, 79 / Folger, 158.

> It is not our meaning, that what we attribute vnto the Psalmes should be thought to depend altogether on that only forme of singing or reading them by course as with vs the maner is; but the ende of our speech is to shew that because the Fathers of the Church with whome the selfe-same custome wasso [sic] many ages agoe in vse, haue vttered all these things concerning the fruite which the Church of God did then reape, obseruing that and no other forme, it may be iustly auouched that we ourselues reteyning it and besides it also the other more newly and not vnfruitfully deuised, do neither want that good which the later inuention can affoord, nor loose any thing of that for which the ancient so oft and so highly commend the former. Let noueltie therefore in this giue ouer endlesse contradictions, and let ancient custome preuaile.[107]

Hooker is careful here not to elevate "singing or reading [Psalmes] by course" above "the other more newly and not vnfruitfully deuised" practice, presumably a reference to metrical psalmody. Acknowledging the benefits of each manner, Hooker recommended that the church hedge its bets by using both, seeming to display a reluctance to attack metrical psalmody that Beth Quitslund has discussed.[108] But the apparent delicacy of Hooker's tone can also be attributed to the methodological commitment just outlined. He treated human experience as the forum in which spiritual truths played out; history constituted the evidence of scripture itself.[109] Accordingly, he claimed here that his praise for the devotional force of "singing by course" follows logically from the evidence of "the fruite which the Church of God did then reape, obseruing that and no other forme." The empirical character of this explanation derived from its use of history as a yardstick for measuring religious worth. In other words, Hooker considered his survey of the ancient pedigree of "singing by course" not to complement but rather to prove the theoretical frameworks for music and interactive prayer that he had initially expounded.

IV. CONSTRUCTING CEREMONIAL UNIFORMITY THROUGH "SINGING BY COURSE"

Hooker's importance to later conceptions of the ecclesiastical identity of the Church of England, especially the *via media*, has fueled the impression that he was the most significant English theologian of his day, but the *Lawes* was far from a sensation in its early years. Expanding on the efforts of MacCulloch and Lake, Michael Brydon has charted the gradual fashioning of Hooker into an "Anglican icon" through numerous appropriations over the course of the seventeenth century, the bulk of which came after decades of relative neglect. Brydon attributes a paucity of Jacobean references to Hooker to several factors, including fears that the work's anti-presbyterian polemic veiled an underlying popery.[110] But references do not fully account for Hooker's impact on Jacobean readers. It seems likely that John Boys, whose expositions of the liturgy and lectionary saw more than a dozen editions between 1609 and 1617, knew of the Elizabethan writer's history of "singing by course," and relied on it in composing his own defense of "the peoples answering the Minister aloud in the Church."[111] Notably, however, Boys omitted Pliny and Philo Judaeus (and consequently the latter's reference to Moses and Miriam in Exodus 15), Hooker's two non-Christian sources. Other

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[107] LEP, 79 / Folger, 158–9.
[108] Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, 262.
[109] Egil Grislis, "Scriptural Hermeneutics," in Kirby, *Companion to Richard Hooker*, 274.
[110] Brydon, *Evolving Reputation*, 21–44.
[111] John Boys, *An exposition of al the principall scriptures used in our English liturgie* (London, 1609; STC 3455), 50–1.

Jacobean texts lacking obvious or large-scale links to Hooker's *magnum opus* still suggest its influence, in detecting which Boys's two omissions are crucial: Jacobean authors who may owe a debt to Hooker's history of "singing by course" include not only John Gordon, on account of his 1612 citation of Pliny, but also Henry Peacham, who invoked the connection with Exodus 15 in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). Peacham here defended "*Antiphonie*" or "Answering one another in the Quire" by citing Moses and Miriam as proof that "it is not contrary, but consonant to the word of God, so in singing to answer either."[112] Notably, this interpretation of Exodus 15—in which Peacham was neither alone nor in the contemporary majority—took material that Hooker had regarded as relevant to the actions of the people and the minister and asserted it as a precedent for choirs singing *alternatim*.[113]

Comparing these Jacobean sources to the *Lawes* demonstrates that, even at this relatively early stage, Hooker was being used to say more than he had said. It thus becomes paramount to attempt to identify the subtle contributions of subsequent authors. An early precedent for this was set in William Covell's *A Ivst and Temperate Defence of the Fiue Books of Eccesiastical Policie* (London, 1603), which responded to an early attack on the *Lawes*. Here Covell concentrated on sharpening those views of Hooker's that had been attacked, largely by working his own commentary into liberal extractions from the work he set out to defend.[114] Gordon, for his part, drew a clear conclusion from Pliny's description where Hooker had not. A yet more telling case is Peacham. If he had drawn the example of Moses and Miriam from reading Hooker, he had also smoothed out Hooker's reluctance to claim that it described a precursor to current practice. Just as crucially, though, Peacham invoked Exodus 15 in reference to "*Antiphonie*" or "Answering one another in the Quire," not to the congregational practice that Hooker had claimed was his primary focus.

The first sustained campaign to annex the *Lawes* for a new religious cause was launched by the ecclesiastical regime of William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. The Laudians were generally committed to two related beliefs about the services of the Church. First, much as for earlier avant-garde divines, ceremonies did not simply express the "beauty of holiness" but played a central role in cultivating piety and devotion; the Laudian departure from earlier avant-garde rhetoric was insisting that ceremonies surpassed preaching on this count.[115] Second, belief in

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[112] Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman* (London, 1622; STC 19502), 97.

[113] In 1616 Peter Hay, discussed in ch. 4 below, imagined that Moses's song was "ecchoed with solemne chorall responses" by Miriam, whom Hay further described as a "precentor." Peter Hay, *A vision of Balaams asse. Wherein hee did see the church of Rome* (London, 1616, STC 12972), 216. See above, 2n8 and 34n101.

[114] Brydon, *Evolving Reputation*, 25–32; Lake, "Business as Usual?," 462–81.

[115] Peter Lake, "The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s," in *The Early Stuart Church: 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 161–85. Elizabethan and Jacobean conformists, however, had certainly been willing to criticize "sermon-gadding" or other supposed excesses of preaching-focused piety; see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 121–2, 155–67, and Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, 162–4. And although by 1617 Lancelot Andrews can be found preaching that "God is *serued* in righteous doing, as well, nay better, then in *holy* hearing," he was referring in this place as much to charity or other righteous acts as to public prayer; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 122. Laudian elevation of the status of ceremonies translated into material and performative enrichments of various kinds, changes that proved controversial due to their direct theological implications as well as other polemical associations. While the hottest controversy surrounded the replacement of communion tables with east-facing altars, the 1620s and 1630s also saw increased provision for choral and organ music, which historians have often ascribed to Laudian ceremonialism, citing especially the influence of John Cosin at Durham Cathedral and Peterhouse, Cambridge; see Payne, *Provision and Practice*, chs. 5–6. More recently, however, Peter Jonathan Webster has argued that many expenditures on church music in these decades came from what he calls "non-Laudian" institutions, and that some ostensibly Laudian institutions do not appear to have stepped up their investments.

the edifying value of ceremonies was overlain with what Anthony Milton has described as a "Laudian addiction to the notion of a single, universal liturgical uniformity."[116] Where Elizabethan appeals to the principle of *adiaphora* had been predicated on the leeway it allowed authorities in ordering worship, Jacobean conformists increasingly saw their institution as having chosen the best such order, which might provide a pattern for other Reformed churches.[117] The Laudians advocated and enforced conformity to this pattern with unprecedented zeal. The confluence of these two principles, and the desire to justify them, even led a number of Laudian divines to identify divine mandates for particular ceremonies, often through scriptural citations, capping a political and religious agenda that has come to be seen as a major catalyst of the political crises of the mid-seventeenth century.[118]

The problem facing Laudian writers who wished to appropriate Hooker was their distance from him on the second of these two counts. While finding his defense of prayer-book ceremonies an easy fit for their ritualist tendencies, they differed with him on how bound the Church was to any particular liturgical forms. This required pressing Hooker's clear enthusiasm for the efficacy of public prayer into the service of claims for which the *Lawes* provided little support, a move that astonished Calvinist elements within the Caroline church.[119] Music was not immune from such co-option, and a number of clergymen bent Hooker's statements on the subject to suit their own inclinations. A particularly striking example of this came from Humphrey Sydenham, author of a 1636 sermon on music that was dedicated to Laud and printed during what Milton describes as "a suggestive surge in the publication of visitation sermons in the years 1636–7 which concentrated on vindicating the government's policies and extolling the beauty of holiness."[120] In the *Lawes*, Hooker had rehearsed the Platonic idea that different types of music affect listeners in correspondingly different ways. While "there is [music] that draweth to a maruelous graue and sober mediocritie, there is also [music] that carryeth as it were into exstasies, filling the minde with an heauenly ioy and for the time in a maner seuering it from the body."[121] Sydenham altered this thought in adapting it for his sermon, declaring that

Webster, "Religious Thought," passim. For a thorough treatment of altars and associated issues in this period see Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (New York: OUP, 2007), chs. 5–6.
[116] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 496.
[117] Arnoult, "Prayer Book, Polemic, and Performance," 50. This was merited by the fact that, as Francis Mason put it, "God hath loued the Church of England aboue manie other Churches." Idem, *The authoritie of the church in making canons and constitutions. Delivered in a sermon. And now enlarged* (London, 1607; STC 17595), 29. In 1609 George Carew, English Ambassador to France, claimed that a French "third party" in religion, centered around Isaac Casaubon, "acknowledgeth the reformation of the church of England to approach nearest unto the form of the primitive church, of any that hath hitherto been made"; quoted in W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1997), 128–9. Peter McCullough characterizes this exceptionalist mindset as a logical outgrowth of Elizabethan providentialism; idem, *Sermons at Court*, 122–3. See also Milton's summary of the related issue of Jacobean and Caroline authorities' treatment of stranger churches in London in idem, *Catholic and Reformed*, 512–5.
[118] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 494–8; Peter Lake, "The Laudians and the Argument from Authority," in *Court, Country, and Culture: Essays on Early Modern British History in Honor of Perez Zagorin*, ed. Bonnelyn Young Kunze and Dwight D. Brautigam (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1992), 149–76.
[119] Brydon, *Evolving Reputation*, 50–2. The same astonishment characterized the reactions of anti-Laudian divines to Laudian use of other avant-garde conformists; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 533n9.
[120] Anthony Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: the Career and Writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2007), 53.
[121] LEP, 75 / Folger, 152.

> a sober mediocritie and grave mixture of *Tune* with *Ditty*, rocks the very soule, carries it into extasies, and for a time seemes to cleave and sunder it from the body, elevating the heart inexpressably, and resembling in some proportion those *Halleluiahs* above, the Quire and unitie which is in Heaven.[122]

Perhaps most obviously, Sydenham effaced the earlier divine's distinction between music that elicits "graue and sober mediocritie" and music that inspires "heauenly ioy," attributing effects of the second type to music of the first type. More subtly, he removed the words "as it were" and "in a maner" from the original but embellished the description of heaven, re-shaping what Hooker had couched as a metaphor into a more overtly mystical account of musical experience. This intensification of the Elizabethan divine's argument paralleled a broader Laudian strategy: Calvin Lane has shown that the Laudians took pains to portray themselves as upholding the mantle of the Tudor Church, a tactic Sydenham here pursues through a rhetoric of "sober mediocritie" that had been favored even by early evangelicals like Archbishop Cranmer, not to mention by Elizabethan conformists.[123] Indeed, arguably Sydenham's most protestant gesture was to acknowledge the equal role of the "ditty" with which the "tune" is paired. Arranging the *Lawes* in this way amounted to framing a more intense spirituality and appeal to ceremonies within a rhetoric of musical moderation and a deference to the necessity of comprehensible words meant to have broader appeal among Caroline protestants, not least for its debt to the explicitly moderate rhetorical posture of Tudor conformity. As Lane notes, however, such tactics were used to combat precisely the accusation to which such an editing of Hooker, if caught, might open Laud's supporters: that the regime's attitudes and policies constituted innovations.[124]

In light of such repackaging of Hooker, it will come as no surprise that the Elizabethan divine's discussion of singing "by course" was most thoroughly reworked by Peter Heylyn, who made historical polemic something of a specialty. Heylyn, Laudian apologist *par excellence*, wrote *The History of the Sabbath* (1636) in defense of Charles I's decision to re-release the *Book of Sports* against sabbatarian objections.[125] When he came to discussing "*the* orders *setled by the* Apostles," this political context led Heylyn to produce a narrative of music history that exploited the *Lawes* in order to emphasize the historical continuities of his church, especially in regards to its religious authority.[126]

The doctrinal dimension of sabbatarian controversy hinged on whether the fourth commandment counted as ceremonial law, moral law, or some of each, designations that were significant because the former referred to features of Jewish religion abrogated at the coming of Christ.[127] In response to puritan denials of the ceremonial component, Heylyn canted to the opposite extreme. The abrogation of the ceremonial law, he argued, had left the "*Lords day*" to be

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[122] Humphrey Sydenham, "The wel-tvned cymball. Or, a vindication of the moderate harmony and ornaments in our churches, against the murmurings of their discontented opposers," in idem, *Sermons upon solemne occasions: preached in severall auditories* (London, 1637; STC 23573), 22–3.

[123] Lane, *Laudians*, passim. Relevant citations of Cranmer may be found in Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," 73n130.

[124] I place Sydenham's remarks in a different analytical context in Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

[125] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 53–6.

[126] Peter Heylyn, *The history of the sabbath. In two bookes* (London, 1636; STC 13274), 2:38–41.

[127] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic,* 54; Lake, "Laudian Style," 171–2.

ordered "not by *authoritie divine,* for ought appeares, but by *authoritie of the Church*."[128] Heylyn thus emphasized that even in the Church's infancy it was the Apostles—the first church officials—who had consciously (and rightly in his view) chosen to retain three pillars of Jewish worship for use in early Christian gatherings: public reading of scripture, prayer, and music. Even if these exercises were useful, Heylyn contended, they also required the sanction of the proper ecclesiastical powers.

This argument was designed to evince parallels between present and past, both in the structures of church authority and in the specific observances authorized. Heylyn therefore positioned the story of Ignatius as a pivotal moment in the history of church music, explaining that in apostolic times psalms

> were to be sung together by the whole assemblie: their singing at that time, being little more then a melodious kinde of pronuntiation, such as is commonly now used in singing of the ordinarie psalmes and prayers in Cathedrall Churches. And so it stood, till in the entrance of this *age, Ignatius* Bishop of *Antiochia*, one who was conversant with the *Apostles*, brought in the use of singing *alternatim*, course by course, according as it still continues in our publicke Quires, where one side answers to another: some shew whereof is left in *Parochiall Churches*, in which the Minister and the people answer one another, in their severall turnes. To him doth *Socrates* referre it, and withal affirmes that he first learn't it of the *Angels*, whom in a vision he had heard to sing the praise of God after such a manner […] And where *Theodoret* doth referre it to *Flavianus and Diodorus* Priests of *Antiochia*, during the bustlings of the *Arian* Hereticks; and *Platina* unto *Damasus* Pope of *Rome: Theodoret* is to be interpreted of the restitution of this custome, having beene left off; and *Platina,* of the bringing of it into the Westerne Churches. For that it was in use in *Ignatius* time, (who suffered in the time of *Trajan*) and therefore probablie began by him, as is said by *Socrates*; is evident by that which *Plinie* signified to the selfe same *Trajan*; where he informes him of the *Christians*, *Quod soliti essent stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, tanquam Deo, dicere, secum invicem*, &c […] they did meet together before daylight; and there sing hymmes to *Christ* as unto a God, *one with another* in *their courses*.[129]

It is not just the historical content that betrays Heylyn's reliance on Hooker. He had also lifted the phrase "little more then a melodious kinde of pronuntiation" word-for-word from the section on "Musique with Psalmes" in the *Lawes*.[130] But Heylyn also changed Hooker's rhetorical and ideological thrusts. In addition to following the logic by which Hooker had accounted for Damasus—indicating that this story addressed "the bringing of it into the Westerne Churches"—Heylyn rationalized that Flavianus and Diodorus had restored a worthy custom abandoned since the time of Ignatius. Heylyn's clearest departure from Hooker's linguistic and historical circumspection came in analyzing Pliny's letter. He rested his case on precisely the interpretation about which Hooker had remained silent, affirming that the phrase *secum invicem* meant "one with another in their courses." This then proved that "singing *alternatim*, course by course" was "in use in *Ignatius* time […] and therefore probably began by him."

[128] Heylyn, *History of the sabbath,* 2:39.
[129] Ibid, 2:40–1.
[130] LEP, 76 / Folger, 153.

Through this account Heylyn appears to have connected dots that Hooker had drawn.[131] If stories previously related to choral singing could prove the antiquity of congregational response, then why not unite the two under one banner? By identifying a similarity between choirs "singing *alternatim*, course by course" and people praying "in their severall turnes," Heylyn contends that "publicke Quires" and "*Parochiall Churches*" are concentric liturgical spheres. This particular portrayal reflects both the larger Laudian commitment to ritual uniformity and the rhetorical strategies and rationales used to advance it. Given existing hopes that the entire Reformed community, even the entire Church of Christ, would be brought into concord, it was particularly urgent to emphasize continuity and harmony at home.

This historically articulated ritual coherence was not lost on other defenders of the Church, however aligned with the Laudian camp they might have been on other issues. In 1642 Herbert Thorndike observed that "The Answers of the people represent, in some sort, that most ancient and commendable fashion of Antiphones, and teach them their office [...] to bear their part in the praises of God, not to sit by as Hearers, where they are to be Actours."[132] Yet, if such remarks seem to represent a logical synthesis of the elements that Hooker had put in place, that synthesis was hardly inevitable. Thorndike himself highlighted two crucial issues in post-Reformation debates about music over which such uniformity could allegedly paper: textual intelligibility and congregational participation. "Collegiate and Cathedrall Churches," he indicated, could profitably use music, but only "provided the Congregation may understand and go along in their devotions."[133]

Furthermore, the implementation of Laudian ritualism in places like Durham Cathedral participated in constructing precisely the kinds of distinctions that Heylyn was seeking to efface, and it is possible that resistance to that program from some loyal members of the church also stemmed in part from their sense that the Laudians were overplaying their hand. An example that will be familiar to historians of the early Stuart period is Peter Smart, who felt that the policies of the Laudian regime were foisting liturgical novelties on an institution long and lawfully established. Smart's notorious criticism of ceremonial developments at Durham, including in its musical practice, has often been dismissed as a puritan rant.[134] Yet, throughout his confrontation with Cathedral authorities, Smart consistently argued that the Laudian agenda defied the laws, articles, canons, and injunctions first set down during the Tudor period, couching himself as a defender of the legacy of Elizabeth against the advancement of precisely the (popish) superstition that the Reformation was supposed to have purged.[135] Calvin Lane has noted that people of Smart's religious profile have often fallen victim to the Laudian strategy of painting adversaries as puritans and themselves as upholders

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[131] I thus intend to make a point not dissimilar to that made by Quantin in his analysis of Hooker's treatment of tradition: "It could be argued that [...] Hooker removed the major obstacles to a high doctrine of tradition. But, if he opened the way for it, he did not proceed into such a doctrine." Quantin, *Christian Antiquity*, 94.

[132] Herbert Thorndike, *Of religious assemblies* (Cambridge, 1642; Wing T1054), 401.

[133] Ibid, 402.

[134] See Peter Smart, *A sermon preached in the cathedrall church of Durham* (London, 1628; STC 22640); idem, MS Rawl. D.1364, 8–9v, quoted in Crosby, "Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral," 176; Peter Smart, *A catalogve of superstitious innovations* (London, 1642; Wing S4013).

[135] As Lake has noted, "Even to quite moderate divines raised within what we might term the English reformed tradition, many features of Laudianism appeared at best worrying and at worst frankly popish." Idem, "Laudian Style," 181.

of orthodoxy.[136] But they constituted a faction within the Caroline Church that could have seen Heylyn as forcing a cathedral-shaped peg into a parish-shaped hole.

We can say with more certainty that there would have been significant resistance to Heylyn's particular appropriation of Hooker for this purpose. There was concern in many corners of Caroline Protestantism that the Laudians were misrepresenting him, especially those aspects of his theology that fell squarely within the Reformed tradition.[137] The importance of this recognition is that Heylyn was not realizing a latent sentiment from the *Lawes*, but rather re-working its elements. He sought to further claims to ecclesiastical continuity by promoting an ideal of ceremonial uniformity through all available polemical weaponry.

The fact that "singing by course" could contribute to this effort was testimony to much more than Heylyn's resourcefulness. Investments in historical narratives underwrote much early modern religious discourse, but the increasing breadth of the historical net cast by contemporary divines can be attributed to the collision of polemical exchange and evolving discourses of ecclesiastical identity with the development of new tools for scholarly engagement with the past, in particular the ancient world. Whitgift, Cartwright, and especially Hooker moved to expand both the subject matter and the number of ancient sources that factored into the history of singing "by course," laying a foundation for authors like Heylyn to invest in connections between cathedral and parish, and to use these to begin fashioning new ritual identities for the Church of England. It seems that such connections were also picked up in post-Restoration debates. In a 1662 defense of "Interlocutions, Responsals, and Alternate Reading" John Stileman countered objections to links between cathedral singing and parish speech by arguing that "*singing* and *reading* are not of so different natures, that what may be allowed in one, may not be allowed in the other."[138] He also maintained that, because of this similarity, it "makes no difference" whether alternate singing or alternate reading is discussed; this was an explication of something Hooker had arguably implied through turns of phrase such as "that only forme of singing or reading [psalms] by course as with vs the maner is." While the fate of this issue after the Restoration awaits further study, Stileman gives some indication that "singing by course" was yet another idea through which can be traced what recent scholarship by Quantin, Brydon, and others has described as the formation of an Anglican identity over the full arc of the seventeenth century.

[136] Lane, *Laudians*, ch. 1. Such figures have been variously termed "prayer-book protestants" or "old-style conformists," but Lake and Questier have expressed skepticism of what is gained by merely adding third categories to existing binaries; eadem, "Introduction," xiv–xvi.
[137] Brydon, *Evolving Reputation*, 50–2.
[138] John Stileman, *A peace-offering* (London, 1662; Wing S5554), 149. In his own notes on singing "by course or *Quire-wise*" Stileman borrows from and cites John Ball (see above, 1–3); Stileman, *Peace-offering*, 148.

Chapter Three

"Like tennice balles": "Singing by Course" and Order in Worship

> Let all things be done vnto edifying.
> Let all things be done honestly and by order.
> —1 Corinthians 14: 26, 40[1]

The first letter of Paul to the Corinthians proposes general principles and specific strategies meant to help a community it depicts as plagued with disarray. Not surprisingly, its concise, seemingly self-evident exhortations became essential proof texts in early modern debates over ecclesiastical order, for writers of every religious stripe. Several of the epistle's most widely cited suggestions came from its fourteenth chapter. Summarized in the so-called Geneva Bible (1560) as a treatment "Of decent ordre," 1 Corinthians 14 concentrates on the role of speech in formal religious gatherings, with recommendations to direct activities toward "edifying" and "order" interjected along the way. While existing divisions over ecclesiastical and civil policy were quickly mapped onto these nebulous ideals, the epistle's juxtaposition of such hotly contested standards with remarks on vocal performance also reinforced the sense that what voices did and how voices sounded were deeply intertwined with general perceptions of order and disorder in public worship.

This chapter examines comments about "singing by course" that represented and in turn produced conflicting understandings of such ideals, and that thereby threw the fundamental concerns of contemporary debates over music and liturgical order into exceptionally sharp relief. The texts examined below reveal dimensions to discourses of liturgical sound and speech that have gone largely unexplored by musicologists. I begin by considering the relationship of music and sound to notions of order. While the ancient use of "music" and "harmony" as frameworks for articulating (successful) relationships of various kinds still carried weight within sixteenth- and seventeenth-century culture, contemporary commentators also feared how performance and sound might elude control or test the limits of perception. Such concerns manifested both rhetorically and practically; church authorities took measures to control particular acts and sounds, while religious polemicists exploited the social connotations of the same. I then examine John Calvin's commentary on 1 Corinthians 14, in order to explore the often overlooked sonic dimensions of the concern for textual intelligibility in divine service. Held in high regard by many English writers, Calvin related his concern for intelligibility to broader processes of making sense of sound. I suggest that he effectively considered stripping vocal sounds of semantic content to remove one among several ways in which they could be discerned, making the problem of intelligibility an issue not just of verbal understanding but also of sonic perception. Finally, I examine late Tudor and early Stuart polemics that addressed "singing by course" in relation to order in public worship. Critics of the established church took Calvin's approach by linking "confusion" in its services—on the surface a specific complaint about verbal clarity—to other sonic and social problems. Defenders of the church acknowledged sonic and performative order as the discursive battleground, but argued that the structures of worship in the Church of England produced it, rather than hindered it. On either side of this debate, I show, back-and-forth vocal interactions provided clear examples of the benefits of or the problems with English worship.

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[1] GB.

I. MUSIC, SOUND, AND ORDER IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Early modern culture inherited from the ancient world an ideal of universal order that was articulated in terms of the ratios that govern consonant intervals.[2] In this tradition, notions of *musica* or *harmonia* named abstract forms of order themselves, as much as any material phenomena through which such forms might manifest. Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, English and otherwise, thus reference a "harmony" that bound individuals, societies, nature, and the cosmos, often engaging additional musical concepts or terminology to develop the point.[3] In the Christian version of this kind of thinking, music itself could draw near to the very "essence of God," and the apparent musicality of the universe was attributable to the deity's design.[4] In 1603 Thomas Robinson drew on this rhetorical heritage to insist that "a Musition" must first and foremost be "a diuine" who serves God and reads scripture, "for Musicke is none other then a perfect harmonie, whose diuinitie is seene in the perfectnesse of his [i.e. Musicke's] proportions." Robinson added that a musician must also be "a perfect Arethmatition, for that Musicke consisteth altogether of true number, and proportion […]"[5] Statements like these should not be taken lightly. As Kate Van Orden has observed in relation to contemporary France, the "musico-mathematical framework" from which such assertions derive was "far more than hollow metaphor," for it explained correspondences that were observed between musical sound and other phenomena, especially the movements of earthly and celestial bodies.[6]

These discourses also made musical relationships and structures useful for highlighting negative outcomes wrought by a breakdown of order. Hence "a mysordred quere" in which "euery man syngeth a contrary note" could exemplify "confusion […] where is no charitie, no fidelitie, no bondes of loue, no reuerence neyther of lawes nor yet of rulers, no agrement of opinions."[7] Putting theoretical frameworks for music into practice, moreover, required exposing them to material, social, and cultural uncertainties. Accordingly, notes Erin Minear, contemporary authors "were aware and wary of the way musical experience could undermine the very order that 'music' is supposed to symbolize."[8] Although Minear was referring primarily to the gendered discourse in which music could feminize men, her observation applies equally to all aspects of sonic experience in early

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[2] For a brief summary, see Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 54–6. As she points out, mathematics itself had been "conceptually bound to music," specifically to the use of the monochord as a tool for deriving intervals, meaning that all "proportions were, de facto, musical ones."

[3] This "harmony" was not a static or momentary phenomenon but a dynamic "fitting together"; see below, 85.

[4] Nicholas Yonge, *Musica Transalpina* [book II] (London, 1597; STC 26095), dedication. For the Scottish author Peter Hay, whom we will revisit in ch. 4, "This whole Fabricke of the world is nothing else but a musicall order of Gods works […] All the creatures are but a musicke, euery one hauing in their kindes, their *Supreme* or *Alt*, their Counter *Base*, and their Tenor, to shew it in few examples." Idem, *Vision*, 235. See below, 93–103.

[5] Thomas Robinson, *The schoole of mvsicke: wherein is taught, true fingering of the lute, pandora, orpharion, and viol de gamba* (London, 1603; STC 21128), sig. Br. As Robinson uses masculine pronouns for music, "his proportions" are those of music, not those of the ideal musician.

[6] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, 54.

[7] Wolfgang Capito, *An epitome of the psalmes, or briefe meditacions with diuerse other prayers,* tr. Richard Taverner (London, 1539; STC 2748), [appended prayers], sigs. [E8]r–v [the lettering restarts at the beginning of the appended prayers]. The prayers were gathered by Taverner; this quotation comes from "A prayer vnto the Lorde Iesus for the peax of the church, made by the most excellent clerke Erasmus" (sig. Ev).

[8] Erin Minear, "Music for Helen: The Fitful Changes of *Troilus and Cressida*," in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 159. Minear argues that this problem stemmed from representation: music, she suggests, could only symbolize order through its visual and linguistic expressions, the fixed and unchanging nature of which could not reflect the ephemerality and unpredictability of sound.

modern culture.[9] Gina Bloom has shown that vocal sound was considered subject to many kinds of disruption, both physical and personal.[10] Together, these conditions meant that listening involved locating the easily transgressed boundary between order and disorder. While offering linguistic and intellectual frameworks for order, music also provided a way to grapple with its limits.

This capacity is displayed in a passage from William Baldwin's mid-sixteenth-century satire *Beware the Cat*.[11] The narrator, one Geoffrey Streamer, recounts the experience of suddenly gaining the ability to hear everything within a hundred miles:

> The least moving of the air, whether struck with breath of living creatures which we call voices, or with the moving of dead (as winds, waters, trees, carts, falling of stones, etc.), which are named noises, sounded so shrill in my head by reverberation of my 'fined filmes, that the sound of them altogether was so disordered and monstrous that I could discern no one from other save only the harmony of the moving of the spheres, which noise excelled all other as much both in pleasance and shrill highness of sound [...] For in comparison of the basest of this noise, which is the moving of Saturn by means of his large compass, the highest voices of birds and the straitest whistling of the wind, or any other organ pipes whose sounds I heard confused together, appeared but a low bace. And yet was those an high treble to the voice of beasts, to which as a mean the running of rivers was a tenor; and the boiling of the sea and the cataracts or gulfs thereof a goodly bass; and the rashing, brising, and falling of the clouds a deep diapason.
>
> While I harkened to this broil, laboring to discern bothe voices and noises asunder, I heard such a mixture as I think was never in Chaucer's House of Fame;[12] for there was nothing within an hundred mile of me done on any side [...] but I heard it as well as if I had been by it, and could discern all voices, but by means of noises understand none. Lord what ado women made in their beds—some scolding, some laughing, some weeping, some singing to their sucking children, which made a woeful noise with their continual crying. And one shrewd wife a great way off [...] called her husband "cuckold" so loud and shrilly that I heard that plain; and would fain have heard the rest, but could not by no means for barking of dogs, grunting of hogs, wawling of cats, rambling of rats, gaggling of geese, humming of bees, rousing of bucks, gaggling of ducks, singing of swans, ringing of pans, crowing of cocks, sewing of socks, cackling of hens, scrabbling of pens, peeping of mice, trulling of dice, curling of frogs, and toads in the bogs, chirking of

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[9] On such gendered discourses see also Linda Phyllis Austern, "'For Musicke is the Handmaid of the Lord': Women, Psalms, and Domestic Music-Making in Early Modern England," in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 77–114.

[10] Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

[11] In the judgment of William A. Ringler, Jr., *Beware the Cat* is the "first original work of prose fiction of more than short-story length in English." William Baldwin, *Beware the Cat: the First English Novel*, ed. William A Ringler, Jr. and Michael Flachmann (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1988), ix. The work's ridicule of traditional religion became politically problematic shortly after its composition in 1553, as Mary I acceded to the throne later that year. It was not published until 1570. This passage is discussed in Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 30–1.

[12] See "House of Fame, The," in *The Oxford Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 232–4.

> crickets, shutting of wickets, shriking of owls, flittering of fowls, routing of knaves, snorting of slaves, farting of churls, fizzling of girls, with many things else—as ringing of bells, counting of coins, mounting of groins, whispering of lovers, springling of plovers, groaning and spewing, baking and brewing, scratching and rubbing, watching and shrugging—with such a sort of commixed noyses as would a-deaf any body to haue heard.[13]

For Smith, the passage "points us toward the importance of attending to the totality of sound—human and nonhuman, intentional and random—in finding perceptual order amid the sonic chaos that surrounds us."[14] Music plays a role in this process, but not in the way one might expect from a sixteenth-century source; while the passage certainly describes nature in musical terms, it dispenses with the usual rhetoric of natural concord. Geoffrey seems to succeed in his quest to discern a wide range of sounds, but they still strain his perception. This rendering of nature as a vocal ensemble, rather than simply celebrating natural order, points instead toward the challenges of making sense of the world's complex soundscape. In the second half of the passage, Baldwin's strategy of listing so many "commixed noyses" in such quick succession further heightens the portrayal of an assault on the ear. As Smith observes, the barrage of gerunds owes its rhetorical force to "the lack of a physical context for making sense of it all." Normally, he argues, "it is the rootedness of the listener's body in space and time, in the here and now, that enables him to 'place' what he is hearing." By contrast, this narrator, Smith suggests, is "isolated from the sources of sound," and therefore "has trouble getting his bearings."[15] For Smith, this isolation strengthens the impression of auditory difficulty.

At the same time, however, the very fact that Geoffrey identifies so many specific sounds within this "broil" indicates a degree of success in making sense of it; as he "maps the field," apparently proceeding from outside to inside, and from natural to human sources, Smith's "totality of sound" emerges less as a single, undifferentiated mass than as an aggregate of many specific emissions. Here it must be stressed that language is not the only tool for distinguishing one sound from another: "I herd it as wel as if I had been by it," Geoffrey claims, "and could discern all voyces, but by means of noyses vnderstand none." He heard "scolding," "laughing," "weeping," and "singing," but "heard […] plain" only a wife's cry of "cuckold." In other words, he could identify distinct types of human vocalizations, but could only make out specific words in one case. When Geoffrey says that he could "vnderstand none," then, he is referring to verbal comprehension in particular, but despite this failure to comprehend he nonetheless "could discern all voyces."

We are thus presented with the notion that, although "understanding" might be construed as an intrinsically verbal process, both vocal and non-vocal sounds can still be "discerned" through non-verbal cues. In short, (vocal) sounds are not merely grasped through language; rather, they feature characteristics that are perceptually organized in multiple ways. The discomfort of the passage stems not from a total loss of those characteristics in the "broil," but rather the threat that such a loss might be imminent. Moreover, explicitly musical conceptions—in this case the superimposition of choral labels—represented only one way of accounting for what one hears. Even from a "disordered and monstrous" soundscape, Geoffrey still picked out and gave a degree of perceptual structure to a variety of disparate sounds. Therefore, the richness of the contemporary acoustic world that Smith

[13] Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, 31.13–32.26.
[14] Smith, *Acoustic World*, 31.
[15] Ibid, 31.

uncovers from textual sources was also a rhetorical construction of contemporary authors, who could be driven by motivations to which we will return later. In short, early modern commentators suggested that sounds were tricky. Sonic perception and experience were not just complicated but could vary widely according to individual disposition, ideology, and other factors. This could produce conflicting assessments of the same sonic materials.

Equal parts intellectual framework, sonic material, and social practice, music became an obvious medium for debating "order," as well as other contemporary buzzwords, both within and without the ecclesiastical sphere. As Jonathan Willis has argued, "Seemingly peripheral arguments over music conceal quite significant attempts to define the meaning of fundamental religious concepts such as 'obedience', 'order', 'soberness', 'decency' and 'edifying', which were of critical importance to the ongoing reformation of the Church."[16] The conceptual and linguistic terrain that music occupied enabled its engagement in a rich web of associations, often by implication. Bound up with the larger problem of sound, music was a practical and intellectual nexus for defining and experiencing order, particularly within religious discourse.

II. "SUCH A SOUNDE AS MAY BE DISCERNED"

Peter Marshall has observed that historians of religion, inspired by the work of Smith and others, have in recent decades been coming to recognize the importance of sound.[17] So far, however, historians of church music have been slow to re-examine traditional narrative concerns in light of this recognition. In the present context, the most crucial of these concerns is the ability for a listener to understand spoken or sung texts, which I will refer to as "textual intelligibility." Musicologists have invariably treated this as a defining issue in religious reform and stylistic change during the sixteenth century: from Erasmus to Thomas Cranmer to the Council of Trent, humanist, evangelical, and Counter-Reformation concerns supposedly spurred composers to pare down the extended melismas and elaborate polyphony of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[18] Recent scholarship has helped to deepen, refine, and in some cases adjust this narrative.[19] Yet the usual focus on the relationship between musical style and verbal comprehension has generally meant ignoring the broader discourses of sound that discussions of intelligibility often broached. In this section I consider the sonic dimension of the concern for intelligibility. After describing the broader context of sound in church, I examine Calvin's commentary on 1 Corinthians 14, the scriptural passage in which these issues most famously collide.

Sound in church became an urgent concern because the early reformers placed a special premium on hearing and understanding the word of God.[20] The ultimate goal was "edification," an

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[16] Willis, "Protestant Worship," 135.

[17] Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480–1642*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), xii.

[18] A thorough statement of this view, one that connects English reform to developments on the Continent, is given in Iain Fenlon, "Music and Society," in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 52–8. For a recent take on the relationships between Erasmus, Renaissance humanism, and English church music, see 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, UK: Ashgate, 2008). See, however, the critique of Kim in Dana Marsh, "Text and Musical Context in the English Reformations," *Early Music* 38 (February 2010), 125–9.

[19] See Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'"; idem, "Henry VIII's Reformation," 108–10, 115; and Craig Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (Spring 2002), 1–37.

[20] On this issue see also Laura Feitzinger Brown, "Brawling in Church: Noise and the Rhetoric of Lay Behavior in Early Modern England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (Winter 2003), 955–72, and Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 22–3.

ideal that is named in 1 Corinthians 14 and that we have already seen in Jonathan Willis's list of the contemporary buzzwords to which music was used to lay claim.[21] As contested as any foundational religious concept of the period, "edification" had no universal meaning, and was often defined in accordance with a given author's underlying model of the Church.[22] The common thread was the sense of "building" captured in its etymology, and indeed it was equated with moral, spiritual, or communal formation of various types. Evangelical protestants typically considered such formation subsequent to verbal "understanding," and accordingly condemned the exclusive use of Latin in church ritual. One commentator writing in the earliest years of officially-sanctioned vernacular worship recalled how hearing the liturgy sung in a "foren tonge" meant that "Nother to them nor vs was there edification / For it was all lippe labor song they neuer so cleare."[23] In this account, worship conducted in "a foren tonge" is worship that fails to edify performers and spectators alike. Such a failure further transforms the singing of "foren" words into "lippe labor." This phrase, which would not leave the evangelical lexicon, encapsulated the view that emptying singing of its spiritual purpose in this way effectively reduced it to its physical component.

By this logic the first step toward edification was to conduct worship in the vernacular. As John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury under Elizabeth I, explained:

> First, Paule to the Corinthians sayth: Let all thynges be done to edefying, whyche cannot be, vnlesse common praiers and administration of Sacrame[n]tes, be in a tongue knowen to the people. For where the prayers spoken by the minyster, & the words in the admynystration of the Sacramentes, be not vnderstanded of them that be presente: they cannot therby be edefyed.[24]

Yet the adoption of a vernacular liturgy alone did not ensure the successful comprehension that reformist churchmen considered a prerequisite to edification. Words also needed to be audible. This depended on a number of practical considerations. The *Book of Common Prayer* was peppered with instructions to speak, for example, "distinctely with a loude voice, that the people maye heare."[25] Authorities strove to enforce such instructions through injunctions and visitation articles. But volume and diction were still subject to acoustic conditions, the complex soundscape of early

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[21] See above, 46.

[22] On "edification" in relation to music see Willis, *Church Music*, 63; Marsh, "Henry VIII's Reformation," 111–21, 191–8; and Webster, "Religious Thought," 32–6; for an extended analysis of the concept as articulated both in scripture and by Elizabethan protestants, see John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 27–54. According to Coolidge, Paul's uses of the verb *οἰκοδομέω* and of the noun *οἰκοδομή*, had "no exact precedent." For more on these words see Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 696–7.

[23] Peter Moone, *A short treatyse of certayne thinges abused in the popysh church, longe vsed* ([Ipswich, 1548]; STC 18055), sigs. A2v–3r.

[24] John Jewel, *The seconde tome of homelyes* (London, 1563; STC 13663.7), 151r. This was part of "An Homely, wherein is declared that Common prayer and Sacramentes ought to be ministred in a tongue that is vnderstanded of the hearers." A later Elizabethan writer observed that services were "all done in the vulgar tong, that each one present may heare and understand the same." William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968), 34.

[25] Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 7; similar examples may be found on 8, 12, 29, 102, 105, and 110. This can also be understood as a reaction against the pre-Reformation practice of priests speaking portions of mass *in secreto*; the prayer book needed to instruct and remind them to do the exact opposite of what they had previously been asked to do. I thank Davitt Moroney for pointing this out to me.

modern worship, and intrusions by unwanted noises. In an era before the sonic background became laden with the hum of industry, machines, and electricity, the activities of divine service could be relatively loud.[26] In addition to speaking, singing, and bell-ringing, bodies and objects rustled, scraped, and creaked, and there was no shortage of spurious, unplanned sounds like human chattering or canine barking.[27] Accordingly, specific measures were taken to improve the acoustics of preaching and reading. Priests were enjoined to face the congregation, while pulpits were placed to maximize their acoustic effectiveness, and fitted with sounding boards for better projection. According to the 1571 York injunctions, such measures were taken so that the minister "may be the better heard, and the people better edified."[28] Finally, even clear utterances that survived all these perils and made it to the ear intact could be thwarted by resistant listeners.[29]

Laura Feitzinger Brown has observed that these conditions made noise "a highly charged and extremely effective way to question liturgical practice with which one disagrees"; for some authors, as she has put it, "incorrect worship became noise."[30] Privileging metaphor, however, risks diminishing the extent to which religious writers mobilized noise to engage sound as a material phenomenon. In this sense, Brown's argument can be taken further: invocations of noise were often ideologically driven assessments of actual sounds. A case in point is the allegation, discussed below, from John Field and Thomas Wilcox that the "scraping" of knees on the ground prevented hearing for "a good while after" it occurred. Whatever exaggeration (if any) this represents, the statement does not merely code disapproval for kneeling as noise. Instead, it touches existing fears and ideologies of sound that derived their potency from familiarity. Put another way, early modern authors who discussed sound in general or specific sounds in particular also exploited the ways in which readers already conceived of—or had already engaged with—them.

This context suggests that the contemporary emphasis on intelligibility and its role in edification must be understood in relation to broader concerns about sound and sonic perception. Our understanding of that relationship can be enriched by examining commentary on 1 Corinthians 14, the chapter of scripture invariably cited in arguments about intelligibility. Paul's concern for "understanding" and ostensible obstacles to it was embedded within more general ideas about sound and the ways in which it affected liturgical order. This treatment of the topic was of special importance in a culture of faith organized around the maxim *sola scriptura*. By 1560 concern for the standards of intelligibility suggested in 1 Corinthians 14 was hardly new, having been expressed in commentary on the epistle by earlier writers like Erasmus and John Colet.[31] But we will focus on a more substantial exegesis of the text from John Calvin. Among the greatest authorities in the field of

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[26] Smith, *Acoustic World,* passim.

[27] Milner, *Senses*, 291–301; John Craig, "Psalms, Groans, and Dogwhippers: the Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547–1642," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2005), 104–23.

[28] *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, ed. Walter Howard Frere, vol. 3, *1559–1575* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), 294. See also ibid, 224, 274, 282, and 340.

[29] Bloom, *Voice*, 111–59.

[30] Brown, "Brawling," 972, 957.

[31] The full Latin text and an English translation of Erasmus's infamous diatribe on English church music, which he wrote as part of his *Annotationes* to 1 Corinthians, is available in Rob Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 161–5. Colet's commentary is also available in a modern edition: John Colet, *John Colet's Commentary on First Corinthians: A New Edition of the Latin Text, with Translation, Annotations, and Introduction*, ed. Bernard O'Kelly and Catherine A.L. Jarrot (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985).

English protestant polemic, Calvin provides a backdrop against which we might understand how late Tudor and early Stuart authors structured their discussions of sound in public worship. Calvin's commentary on 1 Corinthians was first published in Latin in 1546, but I will rely primarily on the 1577 English translation by Thomas Tymme, giving the original Latin in footnotes but discussing it in one crucial instance.[32]

Calvin's concern for intelligibility in discussing 1 Corinthians 14 was not limited to interest in whether a listener could understand what was spoken or sung. Following Paul's exhortation to pray "with understanding," Calvin notes that all prayers—even before being heard by another—were sure to be "vayne and vnfruitfull, except the mynde and the voyce be ioyned together."[33] That is, the voice should only express what the mind has conceived, with the presumption that conception is intrinsically linguistic. Or, as one evangelical bishop put it, the "straunge tonge" of the Latin mass was a problem because "wher is no vnderstanding, ther is neither edyfienge, nor conforte: for besydes that they speake in to the ayer, the minde receiueth no profite."[34]

In addition, Calvin articulated a clear logic of the greater purposes that this comprehension served. The whole point of public worship, he explains, is to create a "communion of prayers," which occurs only "when all men with one minde and consent, make their petitions together."[35] The same goes "in thankesgeuing to God for his benefites."[36] But there can be no communion, no unified "minde and consent," unless everyone can understand the language used. "Now sayth Paule," Calvin observes, "if thou vse an vnknowen tongue in publique prayer, which the vnlearned and commo[n] people, among whom thou speakest vnderstand not, euen nowe thy prayer or thankesgeuing ceasseth to be publique."[37] As English writers often noted, this would make speakers "alien" to hearers, thus breaking, rather than soldering, the bonds of Christian community.[38] In turn, as Paul makes clear, public acts of prayer and thanksgiving must be directed toward "edification." While this crucial pursuit of a religious life was universally held to refer to the process of building the spiritual health of individuals and of the community, there was deep disagreement as to which practices helped or hindered it and why these did so. Here Calvin defines activities that "maye edifie" in opposition to "vaine and vnprofitable exercises," stating, "As euery man is endued with any gift, so let hym endeuour hymselfe to vse the same to the profit of al men."[39]

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[32] Calvin, *Commentarii* [Cor.]; idem, *Commentarie* [Cor.]. For full citations see above, 31n86. A French translation was published under the title *Commentaire de M. Iean Calvin, sur la première Epistre aux Corinthiens, traduit de latin en françois* (Geneva, 1547).

[33] "[…] uanas cuiq[ue] nostrum & infructuosae fore suas preces, nisi coniuncta sit mens cum uoce." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 162v; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 218v.

[34] Nicholas Ridley, *Certein godly, learned, and comfortable conferences, betwene N. Rydley and H. Latimer* ([Emden], 1556; STC 21047.3), sigs. [A5]r–v.

[35] "Neq[ue] enim ulla est co[m]municatio precum, nisi dum omnes una mente in eade[m] conueniunt vota." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 162v; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 218v.

[36] "Simile etia[m] est in benedictionibus, q[ui]bus agu[n]tur Deo gratie." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 162v; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 218v.

[37] "Nu[n]c dicit Paulus. Si idioma exoticu[m] in solenni prece usurpas: q[uo]d no[n] intelliga[n]t idiotae et plebeii inter quos loqueris, nulla erit co[m]municatio." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 163r; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 219r.

[38] Cf. 1 Cor 14:11. Remarks on this effect of alienation may be found in, for example, Ridley, *Conferences,* sig. [A5]v, and Jewel, *Seconde tome*, 151r.

[39] "Deinde ne frustra inutilibus exercitiis occupetur Ecclesia: sed quidquid agitur aedificet"; "Vt quisque aliquo dono instructus est: ita studeat illud conferre ad utilitatem omnium." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 166v–7r; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 224r.

Calvin further stresses that the use of an unknown tongue, in defeating the purpose of public prayer, constitutes vanity. The implicit logic here is that if an utterance fails to edify, it could only be self-indulgent. By modeling the rejection of such vanity, Calvin continues, Paul had established a principle for all ecclesiastical affairs. Rather than "boast hymselfe of his knowledge in the tongues," the Apostle "willingly abstained, & vayne glory set aside, [and] followed and sought after nothing but edification."[40] He had thus urged "that the Church be not occupyed in vaine and vnprofitable exercises, but that whatsoeuer is done maye edifie."[41] This prompted a distinction between "speaking" (Tymme's translation of Calvin's *loquentes*), which activates the mind and edifies both speaker and listener, and mere "sounding" (Calvin's *resonantes*), which does not: Paul, Calvin writes, warns the Corinthians that they would be scorned by anyone who would "come into their assembly, and heare them sounding, and not speaking."[42] It is deception when "in steede of speache, [men] vtter a vayne sounde, and are occupyed in that vanitie, when as notwithstanding they congregated themselues together to heare the woord of God."[43] Calvin's distinction between "speaking" and "sounding" certainly derives, at least in part, from the problem of language. The latter is undesirable because it represents the failure of the former; "sounding" is vain because only "speaking" can edify.

What musicologists have not considered in this line of thought, however, is how reformers like Calvin, and his many English admirers, might have construed the sonic outcome of the failure to "speak." The category of "sounding" suggests an additional idea about the consequences of what voices do without words; it is more than the failure of speech, and it is a problem for more than the vanity of non-verbal utterances. Rather, stripping away semantic content could have been understood to leave something like what we might call (albeit problematically) vocal sound itself.[44] In addition to requiring non-linguistic forms of perception, this opens up the possibility that the liturgical soundscape could become cluttered by such sounds. "Sounding," the English word that Tymme chose, hinders our awareness of this undercurrent, which is more fully captured in Calvin's original Latin word, *resonantes*, as it was understood in the sixteenth century. Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Brittanicae* (1565), the most widely used Latin dictionary of the late Tudor and early Stuart eras, defines *resonans* as not simply "sounding" but "Ryngyng or sownynge agayn with an Eccho."[45] The word thus contributes to a portrayal of incomprehensible vocalizations as creating sounds that are not just empty but that—perhaps by virtue of this hollowness—seem to proliferate and reverberate, heightening aural disorder.

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[40] "Cum autem Paulus, qui alioqui splendide exultare posset linguis loquendo sponte abstinet, unamq[ue] aedificationem sectatur nulla pompa." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 163v; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 220v.

[41] "[…] deinde ne frustra inutilibus exercitiis occupetur Ecclesia: sed quidquid agitur aedificet." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 166v; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 224r.

[42] "Admonet, ludibrio impiorum aut in doctorum expositos fore, si qui in eorum coetum ingressi, audiant ipsos resonantes non loquentes." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 165r; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 222r.

[43] "Quis enim indoctus non iudicabit desipere homines, qui sermonis loco edent inanem sonitum: atque in illa uanitate occupabuntur congregati ad audiendam Dei doctrinam?" Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 165r; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 222r.

[44] The ideologies of voice that enable this model of the relationship between language and vocal sound are by no means universal, but have not been critiqued or historicized as much by early modernists as by scholars of later periods. An exception is Bloom, *Voice*. However, there is a growing body of such critical literature in the field of "voice studies," representative examples being James Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014); Steven Connor, *Beyond Words: Sobs, Hums, Stutters, and Other Vocalizations* (London: Reaktion, 2014); and Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).

[45] Cooper, *Thesaurus*, sig. QQQQQ2. On Cooper see above, 33–4.

This added dimension comes through more fully in Calvin's comments on a slightly earlier passage from the epistle. In verses 7-10 of the same chapter, Paul introduces the issue of language by analogy to other forms of "signification":

> 7. Moreouer when things without lyfe geue sound, whether it be a Pype or a Harpe: except they make a distinction in the soundes: how shal it be knowen what is Pyped or Harped?
> 8. And also if the Trumpe geue an vncertaine voyce, who shal prepare hym selfe to fyght?
> 9. Euen so lykewyse when ye speake with tongues, except ye speake woordes that haue signification, howe shall it be vnderstoode what is spoken: for ye shal but speake in the ayre.
> 10. Many kindes of voyces are in the world, and none of them are without signification.[46]

In response to these verses, Calvin offers a view of how sonic order works:

> [Paul] bringeth similitudes, first from musicall instruments: and then from the general nature of things: for there is no voyce in the which there is not some temperature meete for distinction. Even those things, sayth he, which haue no lyfe doo teach vs. There are many soundes and cryes rashly made without any measure: but Paule speaketh here of such voyces whereunto is ioyned some art. As if he should say, A man cannot geue lyfe unto a Harpe or Pype: notwithstanding he maketh them yeelde such a sounde as may be discerned. How absurde a thing is it then for me[n] which are endued with reason and vnderstanding, to sound foorth a confused noyse […]
> 10. *And none of them are without signification.* He speaketh now more generally: for now he comprehendeth the naturall voyces of lyuing creatures, all which may be discerned: for the barking of Dogges, dyffereth from the neying of Horses: the roaring of Lyons, from the braying of Asses. Also byrdes of euery Fether, haue theyr certayne forme of singing, chattering, or making a noyse: therefore the whole order of nature which the Lord hath ordayned, inuiteth vs to distinction.[47]

When it comes to sound, Calvin seems to suggest, an Aristotelian definition of "lyfe" in terms of intentionality and meaning does not tell the whole story. For while even an instrument can be given "lyfe" by a human player who intends to use the power of music in a communicative way, any such

[46] Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 160r.

[47] "Similitudines adducit primum a Musicis instrumentis: deinde ab uniuersa rerum natura. Nullam enim esse uocem, cui non insit aliquod temperamentum distinctioni aptum. Ipsa, inquit, etiam inanimanos docent. Eduntur quidem temere multi sonitus aut fragores absq[ue] ulla modulatione. Sed Paulus hic loquitur de uocibus, in quibus inest aliquid artis. Ac si diceret. Non potest homo dare Citharae aut Tibiae animam, uocem tamen affingit ita temperatam ut discerni queat. Quam igitur absurdum est, homines ipsos, intelligentia praeditos, confusum nescio quid sonare? […] *Nihil horum mutum*, Generalius nunc loquitur. Comprehendit enim nunc uoces naturales animalium. Mutum hic accipit pro confuso, quod uoci articulatae opponitur. Nam canum latratus differt ab equorum hinnitu, leonum rugitus a ruditu asinorum. Singulis etiam auium generibus inest sua certa canendi, uel strependi forma. Tota igitur naturae series, quae a Deo est ordinata, nos ad distinctionem inuitat." Calvin, *Commentarie* [Cor.], 160r–v; idem, *Commentarii* [Cor.], 215r–6r.

communication still requires “such a sounde as may be discerned.”[48] The sound cannot be “a confused noyse.” More important, however, is the range of things that Calvin says count as “signification,” the variety of sounds that could be successfully discerned. Sung or spoken words might be primary, but human-directed instruments and even natural sounds are included.[49] Here “such voyces whereunto is ioyned some art” are only part of a broader sonic hierarchy that may be discovered in the natural world. Calvin lists characteristic animal noises, frequently deployed as insults in discussions of ritual sound, as further examples of “the whole order of nature which the Lord hath ordayned.” This order, and human experience of its sonic dimension, functions successfully because it “inuiteth vs to distinction.”

Calvin expresses an awareness of and an interest in something resembling what Smith famously called “mapping the field,” that is, in the importance of discriminating one sound from another, and in analyzing individual sounds within the acoustic fabric of the wider world. His approach makes a text such as Baldwin’s *Beware the Cat* seem like a kind of parody, an exaggeration of real contemporary sensitivity to the more and less tortured processes by which sonic environments could be confronted and grasped. As we shall see, the relatively complex—often specifically back-and-forth—sounds associated with “singing by course” would apply additional pressure to this sensitivity in religious literature, where a door already stood open to the exploitation of acoustic phenomena.

III. CRITIQUES OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

These ways of thinking about sound are reflected in polemics dealing directly with worship, and the impact of Calvin’s commentary on such texts cannot be discounted. To see why, it will be useful to consider at some length the historical circumstances of their production, for while the issue of “singing by course” was initially raised in passing, those who raised it were committed to a broader platform of ecclesiastical and liturgical reform. During the reign of Mary I, when Catholicism was restored, many figures who would later rise to the top of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical ranks took up residence in congregations scattered through Switzerland and the Holy Roman Empire. In these locales, prominent exiled protestants got a taste of simpler ecclesiastical structures and forms of worship than had been achieved by reforms under Edward VI. Many of those who had fled England under Mary returned home following the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 and the legal restoration in 1559 of a protestant church governed by the monarch.[50] Some were pessimistic about the prospects for change in a place where, in the impression of Theodore Beza, “the papacy was never abolished […] but rather transferred to the sovereign.”[51] Others, however, hoped the Elizabethan years would witness an unfinished English reformation brought to its completion.

[48] In early modern culture, “art” (Tymme’s translation of Calvin’s *aliquid artis*) referred to this emphasis on human agency and craft, often in contrast to an unruly natural world. See Linda Austern, “Nature, Culture, Myth, and the Musician in Early Modern England,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (Spring 1998), 1–47.

[49] Later in the century, John Case would similarly use 1 Corinthians 14 to contravene the claim that instruments lack “articulate and distinct voices and significations” (“certas & distinctas voces & significationes”). John Case, *Apologia musices tam vocalis quam instrumentalis et mixtæ* (Oxford, 1588; STC 4755), 40. A translation of this work by Dana F. Sutton is available at www.philological.bham.ac.uk/music (accessed 7 July 2017).

[50] On the so-called Elizabethan Settlement see Norman L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion 1559* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982). See also Roger Bowers, “The Chapel Royal, the First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth’s Settlement of Religion, 1559,” *The Historical Journal* 43 (2000), 317–44.

[51] Quoted in Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, 43.

The conduct of divine service was of utmost concern. The parliamentary legislation and royal injunctions of 1559—commonly called the Elizabethan Settlement—created a national church that was officially protestant in theology and doctrine but that simultaneously retained a significant number of pre-Reformation structures and practices. The church was still governed by a system of bishops, the restored *Book of Common Prayer* was still based on translations and re-workings of parts of the pre-Reformation liturgy, choirs still sang, traditional acts like bowing at the name of Jesus and making the sign of the cross in baptism continued to be observed, and services were still adorned with material accoutrements that some saw as idolatrous. Advanced protestants regularly identified these enduring phenomena as sources of continuity with the popery that they desired to purge. Although Elizabeth personally favored many such "conservative" practices, and directed their use in her private chapel, her episcopate was potentially slated to engineer change, as it was staffed by a number of returning exiles with evangelical leanings.[52] Through their experiences on the Continent these officials had enjoyed glimpses of what the Church of England might become, and they anticipated leading its thorough transformation at home, particularly in the area of ceremonies.[53]

We have already witnessed in chapter two that choirs, having been explicitly protected as part of the Elizabethan Settlement, were among the early targets of the push for this transformation, and that historical narratives had a large role to play in exposing their popish nature. By far the most important of these histories was John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, first published in 1563.[54] The full title of the first edition claimed that the work "comprehended and de[s]cribed the great persecutions [and] horrible troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe prelates, speciallye in this realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, vnto the tyme nowe present." Along the way, Foxe gleefully mocked the Roman liturgy. Thus, in addition to classifying *alternatim* singing by choirs as an example of superstitious liturgical accretion—as we saw in chapter two—Foxe used choral practice to indict the Roman church for liturgical disorder.

One of his vignettes recounted an occasion from the twelfth century on which officials of York Minster quibbled over whether to begin evensong even though the Archbishop-elect had not arrived. Most revealing here are the changes that Foxe made to the story in the much larger second edition of 1570. The 1563 edition reads (with the crucial portion italicized):

> The electe comming at lengthe with the Chaunter into the quier, and seing the euensong begonne, and his grace not taried for, toke no litle indignation thereat, co[m]maunding the quier to staye, and so lykewyse the Chaunter commaunded the same, whose name was hammon. The Deane & the Treasurer co[n]trarywise wylled them to synge on, & to proceade as they had begon. Here betwene these two contrary commaunders, *all the discant of [the] synging me[n] was turned to discords, beyng in great perplexitie with them selues,* whether to syng or to say, or els to stay [my emphasis].[55]

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[52] On Elizabeth's "conservatism" see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 286–91; Susan Doran, "Elizabeth I's Religion: The Evidence of Her Letters," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (October 2000), 699–720; and Bowers, "The Chapel Royal," 319–20.

[53] Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, 65.

[54] STC 11222. Substantially revised editions were published in 1570, 1576, and 1583 (STC 11223, 11224, and 11225).

[55] TAMO 1563, 1.11, 107 [no number].

In this relatively simple telling, the evolution from "discant" to "discord" results from the choristers' indecision regarding whom they ought to obey. The fact that this merely reflected the disagreement between the "Chaunter" and the "Deane" is highlighted by the phrase "here betwene these two contrary commaunders." Here the dual applicability of "discord" to sound and to social relations made choral music as apt for signifying interpersonal conflict as it was for signifying sonic disorder.

Foxe expanded the story for the 1570 edition:

> Thus this Catholicke Eue[n]song with as much deuotion begon, as to Gods high seruice procedyng, was now almost halfe co[m]plete, whe[n] as at length (they beyng in the middest of their myrth) commeth in the new Elect, with his trayne and gardeuyance, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durst be so bold, not waityng for him, to begyn Gods seruice, and so eftsoones commaunded the quiere to stay and hold their peace. The chaunter likewise, by vertue of his office, commau[n]ded the same. But the Deane and Treasurer on [the] other side willed them to procede, & so they song on, and would not stynt. *Thus the one halfe crying agaynst [the] other, the whole quiere was in a roare, their singyng was turned to scoldyng, their chauntyng to chidyng,* and if in stead of the Organes they had had a dru[m]me I doubt, but they would haue solfed by the eares together [my emphasis].[56]

In this latter version, the representation of social conflict through choral singing is no longer accomplished by "discant […] turned to discords." Instead, it now relies on split-choir practice. In addition to the explicit phrasing "the one halfe crying agaynst the other," Foxe notes that two of the officials who are in disagreement—the Dean and the Chaunter—are situated on opposite sides of the quire; many of his readers would have recalled that the groups of singers on these sides were called *decani* and *cantoris* after these very officials, who occupied stalls on those respective sides. Some readers likely made further mental connections to *alternatim* singing. By re-working this story in such a way, Foxe treats double-choir practice, and perhaps, by implication, choral alternation, as providing a logical format for illustrating conflict, using it to heighten the atmosphere of social tension he already sought to portray. More broadly, his rhetoric of noise binds sound to other problems of liturgical order.[57]

Although the criticisms and negative portrayals of choirs and other liturgical elements that came from more advanced protestants can seem primarily aesthetic in nature, the reforms for which such authors called would be stymied by disagreement over models of religious authority. Both issues soon emerged in a struggle over conformity in clerical dress that became the Elizabethan Church's first major controversy. The crown, in its 1559 injunctions, had cited 1 Corinthians 14, in particular the general call for decency and order, as justification for requiring that clergymen "vse and weare suche semely habytes, garmentes, and suche square cappes, as were mooste comenly and orderly receyued in the latter yeare of the raygne of Kynge Edward the.vi."[58] The resulting backlash came to a head at the 1563 Canterbury Convocation, where one group of delegates unsuccessfully proposed that ministers "be not compelled to wear such Gowns and Caps, as the Enemies of Christ's Gospel

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[56] TAMO 1570, 4.14, 316 [316].

[57] These strategies would be mirrored in Lewis Hughes's treatment of the congregational reading of psalms in alternation by verse; see above, 20.

[58] *Iniunctions geuen by the quenes maiestie* (London, 1559; STC 10099.5), sigs. C2r–v.

have chosen to be the special Array of their Priesthood."[59] Several years later church authorities began cracking down on clergymen who refused to wear the prescribed garments. In 1566 several of these non-conformists forfeited their ecclesiastical posts on account of their refusal, deeply alienated by having their Christian liberty taken away, as they understood it.[60] These clashes only exposed existing tensions within Elizabethan Protestantism. Obedience was a key dimension of the religious meaning and ecclesiastical function of what the clergy wore; ministerial garments symbolized both the church's hierarchy and its authority to decide matters of *adiaphora* such as ministerial apparel. In the view of non-conforming clergy, the liberty for humans to decide such matters in the absence of a divine mandate did not justify compelling universal compliance. Thus, a fight ostensibly about clerical dress was a symptom of deeper fissures over several overlapping philosophies, and accordingly the push for further reform quickly came to encompass the entire structure and practice of the English Church. As Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke have remarked, the so-called vestments controversy "can be seen as the seedbed of the English presbyterian movement."[61]

The reformers who came to comprise that movement had their sights set on more than what minsters wore. One outcome of the vestments controversy was to give many zealous protestants the impression that preserving the existing episcopal structure, despite the reformist inclinations of individual bishops, would be an enduring obstacle to further reformation. An obvious alternative to episcopacy was clearly illustrated in the Continental churches where so many influential figures had taken refuge in the prior decade.[62] These were governed by presbyterian polities, meaning that each congregation elected its officers, congregations were largely autonomous, and any overarching power was vested in synods comprised of representatives from each congregation. This system did not vest ultimate ecclesiastical authority in the hands of a civil monarch. Purportedly modeled closely after the apostolic church described in the New Testament, presbyterian structures were held up as an embodiment of what the reformers believed to be a first principle of true religion: *sola scriptura*.

Non-conforming divines soon began publicly clamoring for a move toward presbyterianism. In 1570 Thomas Cartwright, whom we met in chapter two, delivered a set of lectures on the Book of Acts in which he compared the biblical portrayal of apostolic ministry to the present condition of the Church of England. This comparison captured the central presbyterian critique of existing ecclesiastical discipline, namely that it consisted of mortal inventions foisted upon Christ's institution and continually misused. In this view, it was bewildering that the episcopacy had not been purged despite the break with Rome.[63] The continuing corruption of true religion, moreover, allegedly proceeded on multiple fronts, the survival of medieval governing structures colluding with ceremonial abuses: some deemed the *Book of Common Prayer* uncomfortably similar to the Roman liturgy, and found objectionable other traditional customs it had failed to proscribe.

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[59] John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, And other Various Occurrences in the Church of England; During the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (London, 1709), 298. See David J. Crankshaw, "Preparations for the Canterbury Provincial Convocation of 1562–63: a Question of Attribution," in *Belief and Practice in Reformation England*, ed. Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 60–93.

[60] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored,* 41–7; Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 375–7.

[61] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 47. See also Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, ch. 6.

[62] The Admonitioners later suggested that "God hath set these [foreign] examples before your eyes to encourage you to go foreward to a thorow and a speedy reformation." Frere and Douglas, *Puritan Manifestoes,* 19.

[63] Although the royal supremacy is usually tied to episcopacy in this consideration, the Admonitioners took care to present the presbyterian platform as facilitating better obedience to the sovereign.

This presbyterian platform made a bigger splash two years later in *An Admonition to the Parliament*, a text that returns us to issues of liturgical order. As noted in chapter two, the authors, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, exhorted "abandoning al popish remnants both in ceremonies and regiment," contrasting "the primitive church" with the ways in which Christianity had since strayed.[64] Its criticism of ritual practice focused on the services of the *Book of Common Prayer*:

> Then ministers were not tyed to any forme of prayers invented by man, but as the spirit moved them, so they powred forth hartie supplications to the Lorde. Now they are bound of necessitie to a prescript order of service, and booke of common prayer in which a great number of things contrary to Gods word are contained [...] patched (if not all together, yet the greatest peece) out of the Popes portuis.[65]

But the rites themselves, the authors claimed, were also being adorned with various forms of superstition and vanity. While primitive Christians "ministred the Sacrament plainely" and "according to the ancient puritie & simplicitie," Elizabethans did so "pompously, with singing, pypyng [...] mixed with mannes inventions and devises."[66] A subsequent discussion of ecclesiastical discipline complained that the bloated administrative structures of the church were corrupt and enforced laws unfairly and irreligiously. This only reinforced the message that the supposedly modest and pious observances of Christian antiquity had been shot through with mortal pretense.

In the appended "view of Popishe abuses yet remaining in the Englishe Church," Field and Wilcox dispensed with explicit comparisons to early Christianity, focusing instead on offenses "suche as are againste the woord of God."[67] The first of three articles in this appendix dwarfed the other two, as it targeted "the booke commonly called the booke of common prayers for the churche of England." Generally, the authors wrote, "this boke is an unperfecte booke, culled & picked out of that popishe dunghil, the Masse booke full of all abhominations."[68] The twenty-one subsections of this article covered controversial issues like holidays, kneeling at communion, the sign of the cross in baptism, and burial customs, but it is section thirteen that will occupy us here:

> In all their order of service there is no edification, according to the rule of the Apostle, but confusion, they tosse the Psalmes in most places like tennice balles. The some people standing, some walking, some talking, some reading, some praying by themselves, attend not to the minister. He againe posteth it over, as fast as he can gallop. For either he hathe two places to serve, or else there are some games to be playde in the afternoone [...] Nowe the people sit and now they stand up [...] When Jesus is named, then of goth the cappe, and downe goeth the knees, with suche a scraping on the ground, that they cannot heare a good while after, so that the word is hindred, but when any other names of God are mentioned, they make no curtesie at all, as though the names of God were not equall, or as thoughe all reverence oughte to be given to the syllables.[69]

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[64] See above, 22–3.
[65] Frere and Douglas, *Puritan Manifestoes*, 11–2.
[66] Ibid, 14.
[67] Ibid, 21.
[68] Ibid, 21.
[69] Ibid, 29.

The first sentence described the central problem in unambiguous terms. An obvious reference to 1 Corinthians 14—"edification, according to the rule of the Apostle"—is confirmed in a marginal citation. Just as Calvin and other commentators had done, the Admonitioners asserted that Paul's exhortation to "edification" demanded verbal understanding. They reinforced the point by claiming that the service had been overtaken by "confusion," a word frequently used to describe situations in which liturgical speech or song had been rendered incomprehensible.[70] Indeed, the Admonitioners were the sort of critics whom John Case was imagining in 1588 when he listed the following as a standard contemporary complaint about church music: "By the confusion of voices and instruments, the sense of the divine word is either destroyed or obscured."[71]

Two emphases emerge when the passage is examined in full. Perhaps more obvious is the charge of gaming, which was a common theme of puritan polemic throughout the Elizabethan and early Stuart eras. Having already complained elsewhere that the ministry was unlearned and lazy, the Admonitioners here alleged not merely that the typical English cleric did not take his vocation seriously, but that he would quickly abandon it in favor of frivolous or otherwise immoral activities. Yet the authors devoted equal space to depicting gestural and sonic chaos, exploiting on a relatively small scale the rhetorical strategy of listing many actions in quick succession, which we saw Bruce Smith highlight in Baldwin's *Beware the Cat*. The reader is confronted with a range of sound-producing activities but given no geographical or temporal points of orientation. To reinforce the point, the authors suggest that "When Jesus is named, then of goth the cappe, and downe goeth the knees, with suche a scraping on the ground, that they cannot heare a good while after." However much license is being taken here regarding the volume of the "scraping" and the duration of the "good while," such claims carry most weight if sound was a legitimate concern in itself; the hyperbole still indicates that sound in church mattered.

At first, it might seem insignificant that this several-pronged assault was headlined by the particular charge that "they tosse the Psalmes in most places like tennice balles." However, this quip offered a surprisingly pointed way of introducing both of these strands of critique. Tennis had been considered a superior form of total-body exercise by authors like Christopher Langton and Richard Mulcaster.[72] But it also met with disapproval. First, it was associated with cards, dice, and other means of gambling.[73] Second, sports including archery, fencing, running, equitation, wrestling, and

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[70] One frustrated parish clerk griped that the local minister would often make "a confusion in the service, he himselfe pronouncinge one thing and the people another all at one instant…" Quoted in Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 43.

[71] "Vocum & instrumentorum confusione sensus diuini verbi aut tollitur aut obscuratur […]" Case, *Apologia musices,* 58. Peter Smart bemoaned that confusion introduced by singers poisons the entire liturgy: "And though our Leiturgy be not in Latine, yet order is taken, by confusednesse of voices, some squeaking, some blating, some roaring, and thundering with a multitude of melodious instruments that the greatest part of the service, is no better vnderstood, then if it were in Hebrew or Irish." Smart, *Sermon*, 24. See above, 40.

[72] Christopher Langton, *An introduction into phisycke, with an vniuersal dyet* (London, [1545?]; STC 15204), ff. 77r–v; Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherin those primitiue circumstances be examined, necessarie for the training vp of children* (London, 1581; STC 18253), 103–4.

[73] This association with "fortune" may have influenced Thomas Norton's translation of comments on providence in Calvin's *Institutes*, 1.17, since Norton referenced the sport where neither the Latin nor the French version had done so: "[…] somtyme the causes of those thynges that happen are secrete, so that this thought crepeth into our myndes, that mens matters are tourned and whirled about with the blynde sway of fortune, or so that the fleshe stirreth vs to murmure, as if God dydde to make him selfe pastyme to tosse menne like tennise balles." John Calvin, *The institution of christian religion*, tr. Thomas Norton (London, 1561; STC 4415), 61r–v.

swimming were routinely justified on the grounds that they prepared the male body for the physical duties of war, but tennis was more often considered a "light game" that did not enhance military readiness. For these reasons it had been explicitly forbidden by royal proclamation under Henry VIII and remained subject to regulation under Elizabeth I.[74]

Equally important to understanding the significance of the tennis simile, though, are the materialist descriptions of vocal sound found throughout Elizabethan and Jacobean texts. Gina Bloom has shown that early modern medical texts followed Aristotelian physiology by construing vocal utterances as "crafted air," while both scientific writings and plays "consistently describe vocal sound as 'made' of breath."[75] Such characterizations, Bloom explains, stemmed from a contemporary insistence that voice was "prosthetic," not "*em*bodied as much as it is temporarily attached, released, and exchanged *by* bodies."[76] Listeners, for their part, were "represented as either tilled ground ready to be penetrated by voices or aural fortresses prepared to resist sounds."[77] That is, vocal sound constituted matter that could enter a receptive, porous ear, but could also be stopped by the physical barrier of a resistant or perhaps disabled ear. In some cases sound was thought sufficiently weighty as to inflict damage, absent the intervention of a protective barrier.[78] The claim of Field and Wilcox that "they tosse the Psalmes in most places like tennice balles" can be seen as mobilizing these modes of objectifying sound. The resulting threat to listeners could have heightened anxiety about aural overload and about how close alternating psalmody might have been to casting tangible objects across the church. In addition to reinforcing the critique of worship as a game, this cast the ritual acoustic as even more alarmingly complicated, random, and dangerous. Crucially, however, sonic complexity was not the only factor required to create sonic chaos. It rather had to combine with a seeming loss of the cues that, as Calvin had explained, "inviteth to distinction." It was the alleged lack of such cues that could tip the scale from complex soundscape to acoustic disorder. The psalmodic tennis match, as it were, efficiently pointed to the proliferation and "confusion" of sounds that caused that scale to become imbalanced."[79]

Complaints about vocal "tossing" and the liturgical disorder it epitomized resurfaced during the 1580s.[80] The tennis simile proved especially attractive, and was repeated by the separatist divine Robert Browne with a more overt focus on the problem of gaming:

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[74] Robert Steele, ed., *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485–1714*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 1:12, 1:72. See Gregory M. Colón Semenza, *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 15.

[75] Bloom, *Voice,* 5.

[76] Ibid, 16.

[77] Ibid, 18.

[78] Ibid, 74.

[79] A year after the publication of the *Admonition*, Cartwright reiterated the primary thrust of the Admonitioners' initial complaint; after claiming that the alternation of psalm verses kept singers from fully participating "both wyth heart and voice," Cartwright adds, "Therfore besides the incommodity whych commeth thys way, in that being tossed after thys sort, men can not vnderstande what is song, these other two inconuenienices come of thys forme of singing, and therefore is banyshed in all reformed churches." Cartwright, *Replye*, 203.

[80] In 1581 John Nasshe complained of "tossinge of psalmes from syde to syde in the quyer," while a decade later Henry Barrow disparaged cathedral musicians who "seek to bring themselues into credit & estimatio[n]" partly by "versing & canting their psalmes & anthems from one to an other as tennis balls." Albert Peel, ed., *The Seconde Parte of a Register: Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr Williams's Library, London*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1915), 1:151; Henry Barrow, *A brief discouerie of the false church* ([Dort?], 1590 [i.e. 1591?]; STC 1517), 149.

> Their tossing to & fro of psalmes & sente[n]ces, is like tenisse plaie whereto God is called a Judg who can do best & be most gallant in his worship; as bie organs, solfaing, pricksong chauting, bassing & mumling verie roundlie, on diuers handes. Thus thei haue a shewe of religion, but indeed thei turne it to gaming, & plaie mockholidaie with the worship of God. For the minister & people are bridled like horses & euerie thing appointed vnto them like puppies: as to heare, read, ansvuer, knele, sitt, stand, beginn, breake of, & that by number, measure, & course, & onelie after the order of antichrist. The whole seruice is broken, disordered, patched, taken out of the masse book […][81]

Here sounds remained pillars of the critical rhetoric, and as in the *Admonition* were presented in an overwhelmingly quick succession without temporal or geographic markers. Browne was also more explicit than Field and Wilcox that musical activities constitute the sonic traces of frivolous "gaming." What set him apart was his greater focus on physicality, which he critiqued from much the same perspective that we saw previously with sound. Movements and gestures became liturgical disorder first through the use of a set form for worship, about which we have already seen the Admonitioners complain. The way in which the resulting situation became reprehensible makes for fruitful comparison with the previous analysis of Calvin's commentary about verbal understanding. If incomprehensible speech was problematic not simply for failing to edify but also for rendering an utterance vain by removing its edifying purpose and leaving sonic clutter, then set forms could be similarly understood as not just precluding the Holy Spirit from working through ministers but also demanding actions that, rendered unedifying and purposeless precisely for stifling such inspiration, cluttered the landscape of liturgical activity. For authors like Browne, the *Book of Common Prayer* prescribed procedures that were fundamentally mindless; his description of the various actions required bears markers of order, especially the claim that such actions are arranged "by number, measure, & course." Paradoxically, however, this order is disordered, or creates a false and deceptive order, in failing to edify. To strengthen the point, Browne adopts the same rhetorical strategy that we have seen used with sound; he lists eight different actions in immediate succession, diminishing the temporal sequence through which they play out.

In the years around 1590 the tide turned decisively against critics of the ecclesiastical status quo. The deaths of several key figures, combined with what many saw as the rhetorical excesses of antiprelatical tracts by "Martin Marprelate," facilitated a ruthless anti-puritan campaign led by Richard Bancroft that culminated in Parliamentary legislation effectively outlawing puritanism.[82] This new climate increasingly prompted conformist divines to dismiss critiques of tennis-like "tossing" in worship as memorable examples of what they cast as puritan immoderation. The "Ministers of the Church of England" who in 1603 petitioned James I for "Reformation of certaine

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[81] Robert Browne, *A true and short declaration, both of the gathering and ioyning together of certaine persons: and also of the lamentable breach and diuision which fell amongst them* ([The Netherlands?], [1583?]; STC 3910.5), sig. B3v. For an excellent and brief summary of his separatist ideology see Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2013), 29–31.

[82] Collinson felt that 1588 specifically "marked the beginning of a definite decline in the fortunes of the puritan movement," by which he meant "puritanism as an organized force devoted to the achievement of a presbyterian revision of the 'outward face' of the Church." Idem, *Puritan Movement*, 385. On the period see ibid, 385–442, and Collinson, *Richard Bancroft*, chs. 5–7.

Ceremonies, and abuses of the Church" sought to preempt this strategy by adopting a cool tone.[83] Among the hopes they expressed was for "Church-songs, and Musick [to be] moderated to better edification."[84] But the group of Oxford officials who replied in print still claimed to hear echoes of past controversies in this request, yoking together two generations of reformist divines:

> *Church songs and Musicke*, are much beholden to these men now: in as much as they can be content to digest them, so they *bee moderated to better edification*. The time was when wee haue heard them speake in this point, after another sort. *Meretricious Church Musicke, Tossing of tennis bals,* and such like; were there phrases of Gods devine service.[85]

Francis Mason pursued the same strategy in *The avthoritie of the Chvrch in making canons and constitutions concerning things indifferent* (1607), which he dedicated to Bancroft, now Archbishop of Canterbury. Taking as his epigraph 1 Corinthians 14:40, "Let all things be done honestly and by order," Mason not only re-asserted the principle of *adiaphora* but also drew a direct and lengthy parallel between present debates over ceremonies and the earlier Admonition Controversy; one page featured no fewer than twelve citations of "T.C.," for Thomas Cartwright, as Mason sought to construct a lineage of writers ungratefully demeaning the Church:

> Some in their firie zeale, haue called our Church musicke *meretricious:* our reading of the Psalmes, the *tossing of tennis bals:* our briefe and piercing praiers, cuts & shreds: our choice of the Epistles and Gospels, the *cutting and mangling* of the Scripture: the reading of Seruice and Homilies, woorse then a *stage plaie*: yea our vsing of the Letanie, the Nicene Creed, the Hymne of glorie, the Creed of *Athanasius*, the Euangelicall Hymnes, and the Lords praier it selfe hath not escaped their censure.[86]

The conformist tactic was thus to imply that the specter of Elizabethan presbyterianism continued to haunt even temperate calls for reform. Generally, however, this period featured a relative lack of controversy, not least due to Jacobean ecclesiastical policy: concerned more with deference to civil authority than with actual conformity to canonical requirements, the king proved successful in enticing subscription from many moderate puritans.[87]

In consequence, the last set of critiques of prayer-book worship that we will examine came out of the debate over set forms that exploded in 1640. Although some of the arguments and rhetorical tropes employed in this literature remained the same as those of Elizabethan polemic—with some

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[83] No contemporary copy of this so-called Millenary Petition survives, but its text is recorded in Thomas Fuller, *The church-history of Britain* (London, 1655; Wing F2416), sigs. CCCC3r–[4]r. See Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, 448–55.

[84] Fuller, *Church-history*, sig. CCCC3v.

[85] *The answere of the vicechancelour, the doctors, both the proctors, and other the heads of houses in the Universitie of Oxford. To the humble petition of the ministers of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certaine ceremonies and abuses* (Oxford, 1603; STC 19010), 12.

[86] Mason, *Authoritie*, 30; see above, 37n117. Rather than cite the *Admonition* or Cartwright's *Replye* directly, Mason here refers to the places in Whitgift's 1574 *Defense* where these earlier works are quoted and addressed.

[87] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I," *Journal of British Studies* 24 (April 1985), 169–207; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 163–4; MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 388. Another factor in this quieting of controversy was the re-allocation some of the Church's defensive energies from the threat posed by puritanism to that posed by popery; see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, ch. 1.

authors explicitly casting their gaze backward in time—the Caroline debate was ignited by different circumstances and fractured along different ideological fault lines. Previously, many evangelical and godly divines had supported set forms of prayer in principle. When the Admonitioners had complained in 1572 that "Now [ministers] are bound of necessitie to a prescript order of service," they had been lamenting the deficiencies of the *Book of Common Prayer* in particular, elsewhere clarifying their desire that it be replaced by a different set liturgy. In the 1630s, however, the enforcement of Laudian ritual policy increasingly provoked antipathy not only to the prayer book in particular but to the whole notion of set forms. Upon conclusion of the Long Parliament in 1640, puritan sympathizers began campaigning in print for the suppression of a liturgy that some considered so popish as to be past saving.[88]

Those who took to print at this time to criticize prayer-book worship used similar rhetorical strategies to those we have already seen, retaining a concern for both sound and action. But Caroline critics became more intent than their Elizabethan counterparts on comparing the liturgy to a fabric, and on using this metaphor as a framework that could meaningfully unite different kinds of liturgical disorder. In this they drew together two lines of critique that had not been explicitly related by Elizabethan authors. The first was the charge, made by both the Admonitioners and Robert Browne, that the service had been "patched" from the popish mass, where the issue had been the uncomfortable resemblance between the prayer book and its medieval source material.[89] Second, as Thomas Cartwright had written in 1573, one reason that the "fourme" of the prayer book was "to be misliked" was that it had supposedly abandoned the fuller prayers used in the early church—and retained in other Reformed churches—in favor of "diuers short cuts & shreddings, whych may be better called wishes then prayers."[90] Cartwright had proposed that the reason the Book of Acts seems to record short prayers is that Luke had "only set downe the summes of them, and their cheefe poyntes"; apostolic prayers were supposedly never "cut off, and shred into diuers small peeces."[91]

Among Caroline critics, John Bernard was perhaps the most interested in characterizing the existing English liturgy as a tattered textile. In 1641, under the pseudonym Dwalphintramis, Bernard published *The Anatomie of the Service Book*, "wherein is remonstrated [its] unlawfulnesse."[92] His chapter "of the Manner" complained of how "Conformers to the Service-booke" would routinely cite 1 Corinthians 14:40—"Let all things be done according to order and decency"—and yet refuse to "see the grosse disorder of the Service-booke and Ceremonies," which "would have grieved [Paul] exceedingly."[93] More particularly, Bernard continued, "the short cuts and shreds" of the prayer book were "rather *wishes* than *prayers*, (as Master *Cartwright* truly calls them)."[94] He further accused the Jacobean conformist John Boys of hypocrisy for having charged the Roman liturgy "with the selfe-same fault, where he calls them *short shreds, patched up together, to make a wearisome service upon the long last*." It is noteworthy that for Bernard the problem of the "patched" service extended beyond the fact that the prayer book was assembled from pre-Reformation texts,

[88] Durston, "By the Book or with the Spirit," 55; Walsham, "Extravagencies and Impertinencies," 222. See above, 1n3.
[89] The implications of "patched" regarding order and religious integrity do come through somewhat more clearly in comments made by John Field in a 1572 letter: the English Church displayed "a certain kind of religion […] far worse than that of popery […] patched and pieced out of theirs and ours together." Quoted in Collinson, "John Field," 336.
[90] Cartwright, *Replye*, 138.
[91] Ibid, 138.
[92] Dwalphintramis [i.e. John Bernard], *The anatomie of the service book* ([London, 1641]; Wing B1997), title page.
[93] Ibid, 31.
[94] Ibid, 32.

which had been the stated concern of the Admonitioners and Browne. He was just as concerned about the sheer shoddiness, as it were, of the liturgical fabric. Bernard then turned up the volume:

> […] what patched *petitions?* how scatteringly and disorderly divided, to the number of thirty or forty? what interrupting pauses, and posting on againe, with, *Let us pray?* In this they are like unto little Girles, who setting themselves as though they would sew, they cut abundance of cloth into uselesse shreds, doing no good, but hurt […] for the closure of this dismembring of Gods service, we annexe the tossing or driving the *Service* betwene the *Priest* and the *People*; for either the *People* pray with the *Priest*, or they repeat his *prayer*, or they adde some *responses* or *answeres*, all unsuitable to Gods service.[95]

In illustrating these points, the cloth metaphor gave the sonic material of the liturgy a more tangible counterpart. The "tossing or driving" is as much a "dismembring of Gods service" as other short snippets of vocal sound; any such materials rend or inadequately patch the liturgical fabric in equal measure. Moreover, Bernard targets both the sounds and the vocal acts by which they are generated. Upon further examination, his critique makes more pronounced the kinds of sonic perception and description we have seen. Here, sonic disorder—an unnatural and implicitly excessive amalgamation of vocal sounds—is not simply a subtext or an auxiliary concern to textual intelligibility. Rather, it is an issue in its own right, expressed through a metaphor that helped to emphasize the material threat that sound was already considered to pose.[96]

No less a figure than the poet John Milton zeroed in even more clearly on the implications of 1 Corinthians 14, and on the particular discursive concerns that Calvin himself had brought to bear. In doing this Milton combined Cartwright's well-worn "cuts and shreds" rhetoric with an explicit concern for the relationship between sound and speech. Milton's complex religious and political allegiances have been the subject of much scholarly discussion; not only did they shift during his life, but also did he tend to treat religion and politics as associated categories.[97] However, his early parliamentarian sympathies and self-professed Calvinism did lead him to publish several antiprelatical tracts in the early 1640s. One of these defended the group of authors that had styled themselves "Smectymnuus" in their reply to Joseph Hall's *An humble remonstrance to the high covrt of Parliament by a dutifull sonne of the chvrch* (1640).

The Smectymnuans had ridiculed the prayer-book responses as nonsensical and repetitious.[98] Milton defended their position:

> To contend that it [i.e. "the English Liturgy"] is fantasticall, if not senselesse in some places, were a copious argument, especially in the *Responsories*. For such alternations as are there us'd must be by severall persons; but the Minister and the people cannot so sever their interests, as to sustaine severall persons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he presents. And if the people pray he being silent, or they ask one thing &

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[95] Ibid, 32–3.

[96] A list of criticisms that closely parallels Bernard's—including complaints of "disorder," "shreds patched up together," and "tossing or driving the Service between the Priest and the people," may be found in M.T.S.T.R.A.I.S.P.H., *An answer to lame Giles Calfines messe of pottage* (London, 1642; Wing H91), 5.

[97] See Catherine Gimelli Martin, *Milton Among the Puritans: The Case for Historical Revisionism* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010).

[98] Smectymnuus, *An answer to a booke entitvled, An hvmble remonstrance* (London, 1641; Wing M748), 12.

> he another, it either changes the property, making the Priest the people, and the people the Priest by turnes, or else makes two persons and two bodies representative where there should be but one. Which if it be nought else, must needs be a strange quaintnesse in ordinary prayer. The like, or worse may be said of the *Litany,* wherein neither Priest nor people speak any intire sense of themselves throughout the whole I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted stakes, closing up as it were the *schisme* of a slic't prayer, they pray not in vaine, for by this means they keep life betweene them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep downe the sawcinesse of a continuall rebounding nonsense.[99]

Milton's debt to Cartwright, whom he is known to have read, is apparent here.[100] As we have seen, the Elizabethan presbyterian had focused on the senselessness of dividing up what ought to be considered and verbally coherent petitions to God, as well as the added absurdity of seeming to swap or collapse proper roles, "making the Priest the people, and the people the Priest by turnes, or else mak[ing] two persons and two bodies representative where there should be but one." Milton's contribution was to connect the dots between this problem, intelligible speech, and sonic disorder. He located the potential vanity of the litany not in its popish origins but in its fragmented nature. Only by "closing up as it were the *schisme* of a slic't prayer" are such vocalizations delivered from vanity, and even then they make only "gasping sense."[101] Furthermore, Milton makes clear how tenuous and partial a victory the closing of that schism is, indicating that this exercise still tends toward "a continuall rebounding nonsense."

The force of this phrase will now be evident, as "rebounding nonsense" was precisely the sort of consequence of which Calvin had expressed fear in his commentary on 1 Corinthians 14. The senselessness of dividing speech into snippets, and of confusing logical performative roles, risked stripping the features necessary for sonic discernment. In Milton's account, "nonsense" indicates a vocal sound, perhaps a pseudo-verbal utterance, that constitutes "sawcinesse"; the sonic result of this vanity is a "rebounding" noise, the persistent echoing of which plunges the service back into positively Corinthian disorder. Thus, in his telling, the "alternations" used in prayer-book worship preserve a liturgical order that is fragile at best.

IV. DEFENSES OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

In response to such critiques, defenders of the Church of England not only defined order in particular ways but also articulated what they believed to be its processes. Chapter four will constitute something of an extended consideration of one aspect of this issue, focusing on how the order of heaven was claimed to translate into religious observance on earth. The present chapter, however, closes with a more basic exploration of the ecclesiastical structures and practices from which conformist churchmen considered order to derive, as well as the mechanisms for this derivation.

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[99] John Milton, *An apology against a pamphlet call'd A modest confutation* (London, 1642; Wing M2090), 48.

[100] Martin, *Milton*, 56.

[101] The word "schism" also signals an underlying theme that often provided the subtext for these discussions, and in which Calvin had also been interested: that liturgical sound, as an aspect of corporate worship, can participate in constructing or destructing Christian community.

The first point to be made concerns the nature and workings of the English Church. The 1549 Act of Uniformity stressed that "uniform" observance following the *Book of Common Prayer* was the key to "order" and "quiet" in the realm. There is much to be said for Timothy Rosendale's suggestion that the prayer book was "the sole textual and formal point of contact, in many cases, between the common people and the institutional Church," and that ideally it would constitute "a textual interface which controlled the individual experience of communal order."[102] Furthermore, as we have already seen, virtually every aspect of the Church as set forth in canons, articles, and injunctions was at one time or another enforced and defended on the grounds of promoting "order," usually with explicit recourse to 1 Corinthians 14.[103] This was the basis for the principle of *adiaphora*; for earlier Elizabethan conformists especially, the existence or production of order was reflective of, or indeed constituted by, the proper functioning of ecclesiastical and religious authority. Order would be generated by existing structures and practices precisely because these had been established through legal means.

In chapter two we saw the kinds of arguments that these conditions led authors like John Whitgift to make; his original defense of *alternatim* singing involved little more than extolling its "great antiquitie," as demonstrated in Basil's famous epistle. We also had an initial encounter with the new direction in which some English protestant divines began to move toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, whereby they ascribed prayer-book worship itself the capacity to inflame piety. It is tempting to view this shift as a turn away from the sonic concerns voiced by critics of the church: if sound in church really was so problematic, as contemporary authors made clear, then it would have been shrewd indeed to look elsewhere, to the coordination of vocal acts themselves, which might subordinate concern over the challenges of sound to belief in the controlling force of performance. Hooker came perhaps the closest to suggesting this possibility when he stated that the "skilfull eares" of Cartwright and his presbyterian brethren had perceived "certaine harsh and vnpleasant discords in the sound of our common prayer, such as the rules of diuine harmonie, such as the lawes of God cannot beare."[104] In the end, the ways in which conformist polemic and theories of piety developed are probably too complicated to sustain such a neat, over-arching view. But it does remain the case that for authors like Hooker, performance—and ceremonies performed—became a primary means for producing order, for provoking zeal and implanting faith.

The rationales English churchmen deployed in support of vocal performance "by course" were effectively adaptations of existing ideals of public worship. I am particularly interested in what I will call "devotional teamwork," a process in which two key factors can be identified: individual

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[102] Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature*, 45–6. Rosendale notes that from 9 June 1549, any church-goer could theoretically have appreciated that his countrymen were simultaneously participating in the same services, suggesting that the *Book of Common Prayer* "is arguably the first book in English to perform the functions that [Benedict] Anderson finds so ideologically significant in the [modern] newspaper" (p.37). Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

[103] As we have already seen with John Bernard, William Fulke mocked the extreme manifestations of this tendency, arguing that over-zealous devotion to Paul's call for decency and order might come at the expense of the Apostle's more urgent exhortation to edification: "And therefore we haue great maruell that some are so precise in vrging ceremonies, as many thinke much hindering edification, but as moste men confesse, nothing profiting to edifycation, hauing alwayes in their mouth, that sentence of Saint Paule. 1. Corinth. 14.40 *Let all thinges bee done decently, and according to an order.*" William Fulke, *A briefe and plaine declaration, concerning the desires of all those faithfull ministers, that seeke reformation of the church of Englande* (London, 1584; STC 10395), 71; the work was actually written in 1572. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 220; Collinson, "John Field," 353.

[104] LEP, 58 / Folger, 121.

engagement and mutual encouragement.[105] The first might seem an obvious point of emphasis for any protestant writer; lay accessibility to and involvement in divine service was an urgent priority for reformist divines, especially in contradistinction to the image of an elite, hierarchical, and intercessory priesthood. However, it was not the case that the more radical the protestant, the more he thought the laity should speak or sing during services. Some believed an ideal congregation was one that primarily marked and affirmed the preaching and prayer of learned, inspired ministers. In the words of Cartwright,

> For God hath ordained the minister to thys ende, that as in publike meetings, he only is the mouthe of the Lorde from hym to the people, euen so he ought to be only the mouthe of the people from them vnto the Lorde, and that all the people shoulde attende to that whych is sayde by the minister, and in the ende bothe declare their consent to that whych is sayde, and there hope that it shall so be and come to pass whych is prayed, by the worde (Amen) as S. Paule declareth in the Epistle to the Corinthians [marginal note: "1.Cor.14.16"].[106]

Making the minister "the mouthe of the people" was intended to eliminate the wasted time that came by textual repetitions, as well as the allegedly "confused" sounds of collective speech. But this approach drew opposition even beyond the issues of priestly intercession or lay exclusion, and conformist critique soon yielded its own model of individual engagement. In *The True Difference betweene Christian Subiection and Unchristian Rebellion* (1585), Thomas Bilson, soon-to-be Bishop of Winchester, wrote that "Christes church […] taking her direction from S. Pauls doctrine in this place," had originally

> framed her publike prayers in such order that the Pastour and people both ioyntlie and interchangeably blessed and praied eche with other and either for other: not houlding it enough for the simple to say Amen they knewe not to what, but requiring and appointing their deuoute, distinct and intelligent answeres, confessions, blessinges and thankesgiuinges as well in the ministration of the Lordes supper, as in other partes of their publike seruice.[107]

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[105] The phrases "devotional teamwork," "individual engagement," and "mutual encouragement" are my own, and to my knowledge are not used in any primary or secondary sources.
[106] Cartwright, *Replye*, 139. 1 Corinthians 14:16 was the same verse the Admonitioners had cited when referencing "edification, according to the rule of the Apostle." The verse was a favorite of proponents of vernacular worship like Thomas Cranmer for the bewilderment it expresses at the notion of responding "amen" to words one cannot understand; see Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 26–8. In a sense, Cartwright's system of understanding and assent represents the simplest way of solving the problem; even without adding other instances of congregational participation, "amen" could serve as a mindful affirmation, an indication of what he terms "consent." However, the capacity of the medieval liturgy to communicate to lay observers, even those who knew no Latin, should not be underestimated. Key words or phrases recurred often and were in some cases similar enough to vernacular cognates as to be potentially comprehensible on repeated exposure. Gestural and visual cues were signs in their own right. Finally, vernacular materials outside the liturgy participated in, and helped inform the laity about, the same overarching network of ideas and symbols that the liturgy itself was supposed to impart. See, for example, Laura Sangha, *Angels and Belief in England, 1480–1700* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 16.
[107] Bilson, *True difference*, 635.

For Bilson the use of the vernacular does more than reduce the number of vain utterances in public prayer; it elicits "deuoute, distinct and intelligent answeres, confessions, blessinges and thankesgiuinges" that demand and in turn signify greater intellectual and spiritual engagement than a mere "Amen." Here we can see conceptual precedent within conformist thought for Hooker's own elaboration of this idea a decade later.[108] Thus, while Bilson is remembered primarily as a proponent for episcopacy *iure divino*, his response to the polemical imperative to defend prayer-book worship—another pillar of the ecclesiastical *status quo*—marks an earlier point on a trajectory that Hooker would further.

These ideas were repeated and developed by no shortage of early Stuart divines. The Laudian John Browning was particularly explicit about the importance of ritual structure itself in provoking the sorts of benefits that authors like Bilson and Hooker had described, quoting Chrysostom's suggestion that Christ and Paul had commanded prayers to be made "thick and short, with little spaces and distances betwixt." In Browning's estimation, this would ensure "That by their often responds, the mind of the people might be kept from wandring. That their devotion (thus) might be the more excited and stirred up. That their attention (thus) might be kept waking, by their often responds, which were expected from them."[109] According to some authors, promoting this kind of spiritual attention afforded other related advantages. In 1642 Herbert Thorndike observed that "the Order of answers of the people, in all places of the Service" not simply "refreshes their attention" but consequently "teacheth them their part at Publick Prayers, not to stand by and censure how well the Minister playes the mouth of the Congregation," the last clause directly refuting the position taken by authors like Cartwright.[110] Thorndike explained that this would further produce a stronger sense of fulfilling a religious duty, and implicitly of being fuller members of the body of Christ. According to such logic, the active nature of responsive prayer cemented the unity of the Church.

This ideal of individual engagement forthrightly upended existing critiques of set forms of prayer. Critics of set forms had alleged that predetermined words required little effort to utter, encouraging laziness of mind and heart as well as hindering the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Again, emptying worship of its proper purposes in this way, the argument ran, would cause vanity and hence disorder. For defenders of the prayer book, however, it was precisely the planned, coordinated nature of responsive prayer that turned it into a mental and spiritual exercise, a set of intricately choreographed vocal exchanges causing devotional muscles not to atrophy but to sharpen. Such forms could thereby serve as the very mechanisms of order, requiring complete engagement of the intellect and a commitment to pious concentration. The coexistence of such opposing applications of similar principles serves as one of the clearest possible reflections of the polemical nature of these discourses. As with "edification" and other contemporary buzzwords, *everyone* pursued better "order," "devotion," or "piety," yet this pursuit was always contingent, as English divines of all stripes developed and sustained rhetorical frameworks in support of the structures and practices they favored.[111]

The second key factor in "devotional teamwork" was mutual encouragement, a process to which we have already seen Bilson gesture, and on which Hooker spoke more passionately and at greater length. While Hooker's thought has already been examined in chapter two, it may now be

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[108] See above, 30.
[109] Browning, *Concerning publike-prayer*, 90–1.
[110] Thorndike, *Religious assemblies*, 406.
[111] Willis, *Church Music*, passim; see also the analysis of Andrew Willet in Webster, "Religious Thought," 40–2.

added that one of his chief contributions was to emphasize and thereby to elevate the mutuality of "interlocutorie formes of speech." For Hooker these did more than demand and sharpen the spiritual attention of each individual; they afforded a sort of constructive competition, a friendly contest that would lead to the reciprocal escalation of religious fervor. Again, this can be seen as adapting more generalized theories of corporate prayer: as one clergyman preached at Paul's Cross in 1615, public worship is "sweeter and better" than private prayer because it provokes "an vnite suscitation of deuotion from euerie one to other."[112] The frequent use of the word "inflammation" in discussions of this issue points to the particular recurrence of fire as a metaphor for piety and the mutual processes by which it is engendered, both across Christian writing in general and in glosses of interactive worship in particular. Daniel Featley seized on this imagery to offer a stirring account of the effects of congregational answering:

> But according to the *Rubrick*, and practice of the church in most congregations in reading the *Psalmes*, and other parts of the Service, the Minister and people answer one another by course and turns; sometimes he darts out a short ejaculation, as *sursum corda, lift up your hearts;* they answer him with, *habemus ad Dominum, we lift them up unto the Lord;* when he singeth one verse in a *Psalme*, they chant out another; when he prayeth for them, *the Lord be with you*, they requite him with a like prayer*, and with thy Spirit.* And what hurt or incongruitie is in this? it is a religious seconding one the other in their devotion, and stirring up the intention of the people. It is as it were laying gloing coals one upon another, which presently kindle one the other, and make the flame the greater.[113]

One piece of evidence for the cultural resonances of such rhetoric comes from outside the confines of religious debate. There was a significant literary trope that linguistically and conceptually paralleled the way in which Hooker, Featley, and others defended responsive prayer as devotional teamwork, and that was explicitly connected to them in at least one instance. The only religious writer I have found to make this connection was Joseph Mede (1586-1638), in a passage that sought to trace the roots of "the ancient manner of answering."[114] Although Mede was not certain exactly what this manner consisted of, he assured his readers that even "the *Iews* in their Divine Lauds were wont to praise God after this manner, in *Antiphones*, or Responsories." Following a brief survey of the historical and scriptural evidence, which began with the seraphim of Isaiah 6:3, Mede concluded,

> Hence was derived the manner of *praying* and *praising* God in the *Christian* service, *alternis vicibus*, in a musicall way, and, as it were, by way of *prophecying* and versifying; even though we do but speak it onely; as you know the Poet says, *Amant alterna Camœnæ.*[115]

"The Poet" was Vergil. The phrase Mede was referencing, "amant alterna Camœnæ," appears in the third of Vergil's eclogues. Used to teach Latin in grammar schools, these poems defined the

[112] John Whalley, *Gods plentie, feeding true pietie. In a sermon preached at Pauls crosse* (London, 1616; STC 25294), 25.
[113] Featley, *Καταβάπτισται κατάπτυστοι*, 125–6. See above, 32.
[114] Joseph Mede, *Diatribae*. *Discovrses* (London, 1642; Wing M1596), 256.
[115] Ibid, 257.

conventions of sixteenth-century pastoral writing.[116] A common feature of this pastoral mode was the singing match between two shepherds, who in English translations of Vergil were often described as singing "by course."[117] In one episode from Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590), both the characters involved and the author's comments about the contest draw attention to the competitive work that their alternation performs: "Their last sport was one of them to prouoke another to a more large expressing of his passions: which *Lalus* […] began first with his Pipe, and then with his voice, thus to chalenge *Dorus*."[118] Shortly into their back-and-forth battle, Lalus and Dorus note what the contest does to their affections. Lalus invites, "I challenge thee by shew of her perfection, / Which of vs two deserveth most compassion." Not backing down, Dorus replies, "Thy challenge great, but greater my protection: / Sing then, and see (for now thou hast inflamed me) / Thy health too meane a match for my infection."[119] It was common in these matches for the new material put forth by each character in his turn to build on material just introduced by his opponent, with the form of singing "by course" providing the structure through which these advancements were generated. I do not mean to suggest that such scenes directly shaped the kinds of ideas that Hooker and others put forth; rather, they show how readily such interactions were understood as structures for a kind of productive competition, and reveal more fully the extent of the polemical advantage these theoretical frameworks afforded religious conformists.

Not surprisingly, the notion that vocal interactions in worship could amount to constructive devotional contests also fit comfortably within the near-ubiquitous emphasis on public prayer as a fundamentally communal act. As we have seen, Hooker coupled his insistence on the mutual production of piety with a larger rhetoric of interpersonal harmony, treating "singing by course" as a tool for soldering the bonds of Christian community. Close behind him on this count was John Boys, who in 1609 cited Durandus's *Rationale* (encountered in chapter two of this dissertation) to suggest, "These mutuall salutations insinuate sweete agreement and loue betweene the Pastor and parishioners: it is the Ministers office to begin, and the peoples dutie to correspond in good affection and kindnes: for loue is the adamant of loue."[120] Boys further stressed the point through a contrast with the view it was meant to refute, closing with a jab at the "scornefull spirits" who "vnmannerly terme this custome, *Tossing of seruice*" and citing Cartwright's *Replye* of 1573.[121] Boys was suggesting not only that the *Book of Common Prayer* fostered social and ecclesiastical order—here manifesting as love—but also that those who slandered it must have been enemies of order.

Boys's juxtaposition of this presbyterian critique with his own exposition of what he called "mutuall responsories" hints at the conceptual bases for the competing logics I have outlined, as well as their relationships to larger notions of order. When two individuals or groups interact, the

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[116] Vergil, *Pub. Virgilii Maronis opera.* (London, 1570; STC 24788), 13. The eclogues were published by themselves in Latin by Wynkyn de Worde in 1512, 1514, and 1522, and in half a dozen English editions between 1575 and 1634. Virgil's complete works (the *opera*) were frequently printed in Latin.

[117] The typical scene involved two shepherds meeting in an idyllic setting and exchanging lines, amicably or inimically, before an umpire chosen from passers-by; a prize for the winner was usually pre-determined, but some contests concluded in a draw. See Evangelos Karakasis, *Song Exchange in Roman Pastoral* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 51–3. For an example of the use of "by course" in an English translation of the eclogues, see Virgil, *The Bvcoliks […] Together with his Georgiks*, trans. A.F. (London, 1589; STC 24817), 20. The related term *carmen amæbæum* appears in connection with "singing by course" in Stileman, *Peace-offering*, 148.

[118] Philip Sidney, *The countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1590; STC 22539), 86v.

[119] Ibid, 87r.

[120] Boys, *Exposition*, 49.

[121] Ibid, 51.

interaction is easily construed in polarized ways, as destructive or constructive, inimical or friendly. In the story of the divided choir at York Minster, Foxe pitted the two sides against one another, in order to reinforce the sense of conflict between their respective cathedral officials. For Robert Browne, the notion of competition in worship was necessarily destructive, as it would inevitably amount to vanity. Such critics made a point of using sound—which was acknowledged as a difficult material to control and therefore as an urgent concern—to advance and to cement their criticisms. Bilson, Hooker, Boys, Thorndike, Featley, and others moved to recast any seeming competition as healthy, making it a tool for producing piety. Sequenced vocal interactions could then function as essential sources of liturgical order, commanding spiritual attention, helping to increase religious fervor, and strengthening the Christian community that public prayer itself was supposed to foster. Highlighting the polarities of protestant polemic, "singing by course" participated in discourses of sound and performance that were of high stakes. Yet, while this category could be said to foster the unity of the visible church on earth, it was sometimes ascribed a function of even greater religious significance to which we now turn: the approximation of heaven.

Chapter Four

"Gods *earthly Angels*": "Singing by Course" and Theologies of Worship

With historians of early modern religion often focusing on reform and resistance, relatively little scholarly energy has been devoted to studying the evolution of elements of traditional religion that never sparked major controversy and could thus span religious divides. Such shared beliefs, attitudes, or habits were not merely grist for irenic movements; they also constituted a common foundation for cultural production and interpretation. The conception of heaven as a musical domain enjoyed precisely this kind of broad currency, being repeatedly reinforced through representations of heaven in art and literature.[1] In paintings, singing could be depicted by pairing open mouths with musical notation or through the beating of the *tactus* on a neighbor; literary sources described heaven as filled with musical groups ("choir," "consort"), acts ("singing," "chaunting," and even "antheming"), and genres ("psalm," "hymn," "song").[2] Such materials figured the spiritual realm in forms that were accessible to the human senses and intellect. But this was particularly urgent with regard to angels, whose corporeality, or lack thereof, continued to affect their status in official theology and devotional practice. Foremost among heavenly choristers, angels were generally held up as models of virtue, but nowhere more so than in the area of divine praise, which was widely understood to be their principal duty. Christian theology was generally founded on parallels between heaven and earth, but worship came to be understood as a site of especially close contact between the two realms, and as a context in which angelic actions could inform mortal experience.

This chapter examines the relationship between "singing by course" and theologies of worship, focusing on connections between performance practices said to be used in heaven and those used on earth. I begin by discussing the status of angels in early modern religious cultures, especially their role in prevailing conceptions of worship and devotion. Rather than abandon these beings, protestant confessions restructured their roles and relevance, but I argue that apparent continuities with past beliefs must also be understood in terms of their post-Reformation contexts. Next I narrow my focus to sources that drew more precise links between heavenly and earthly music-making. Descriptions of heaven often highlighted its sonic intricacy, using the rhetoric of musical coordination to depict a realm of perfectly sequenced interactions. This created favorable conditions for the circulation of two ancient stories that were used to demonstrate the angelic origins of alternating or responsive performance. I conclude by drawing together these strains in an exploration of a single moment in English protestant worship: the singing of "holy, holy, holy" during the Te Deum. Analyses of Elizabethan and Jacobean choral settings of this textual moment, as well as its pre-Reformation equivalent, will highlight a long association first with *alternatim* singing and later with less strict, yet still alternating, structures. I juxtapose these analyses with contemporary writings that suggest the meanings such moments afforded. The two authors I examine in this final section ascribed spiritual functions to "singing by course" that shed new light on the rhetorical space made within English protestant cultures for ostensibly traditional beliefs about music, ritual, and devotion, as well as on the political circumstances that gave rise to such accommodations.

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[1] Daniele V. Filipi notes the medieval precedents, as well as the literary and artistic developments that helped establish these precedents, in a forthcoming essay; I thank him for sharing a typescript with me.

[2] See, for example, Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Adoration of the Magi* (1488); Raphael, *Madonna del Baldacchino* (c1507); and Guido Reni*, The Coronation of the Virgin* (1626).

I. "AN UNISONE WITH THE ANGELS"

Angels had been pondered by Christian writers long before the early modern period. While scattered comments from Augustine would factor into later discussions, the early theoretical development that would define medieval angelology came around the year 500, when a Syrian monk writing under the name Dionysius described a hierarchy of nine types of angels arranged in three orders.[3] Each type had particular functions relative to God, to the cosmos, and to humanity: the uppermost "seraphim," (sometimes rendered as "seraphin") for example, were situated next to God and led the heavenly host in its praises, while the lowermost "angels" intervened in earthly affairs. Disseminated through a ninth-century Latin translation, this celestial hierarchy provided the foundation for increasingly specialized inquiries into the nature, knowledge, and physics of angels from the likes of Peter Lombard, Bonaventure, and especially Thomas Aquinas.[4]

In late medieval Christianity, however, angels were much more than topics of scholastic debate, and were understood to fulfill two specific functions for the faithful.[5] One was to offer protection, succor, and guidance, both throughout life and at its end, as complementary figures to saints within a flourishing culture of intercessory piety.[6] The other was to model virtues for the faithful to imitate.[7] Angels were thought to set their greatest such example in the area of divine praise, mainly through ritual practice: according to a wide variety of sources, liturgy enabled mortals to join forces with their celestial counterparts, the two cohorts glorifying God in parallel. This notion of concelebration was expressed in the words that prefaced the Sanctus ("Holy, holy, holy" in English) in the medieval Mass:

> Angels praise thy majesty, dominions adore, powers tremble, the heavens, and the heavenly hosts, and the blessed Seraphin unite in one glad voice in extolling thee. Together with whom, we pray thee, that thou wouldest command that our voices should have entrance, humbly confessing thee.[8]

Medieval theologians marveled at the exceptionally close contact into which this particular liturgical moment brought heaven and earth.[9] But worshippers were more or less constantly reminded of angelic presence by the paintings and sculptures that adorned church interiors.[10] Through such aids concelebration became a foremost participant in what Matthew Milner has called the "lively

[3] It is difficult to posit "standard" early modern English names for all nine types; the fluidity with which they are treated may well reflect protestant critiques of the very idea of a hierarchy. That said, the following list will suffice here: seraphim, cherubim, and thrones; dominions, virtues, authorities (or powers); and principalities, archangels, and angels.

[4] Joad Raymond, *Milton's Angels: The Early Modern Imagination* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 19–32.

[5] The following two paragraphs rely on Sangha, *Angels and Belief,* 13–40, as well as Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham, "Migrations of Angels in the Early Modern World," in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (New York: CUP, 2006), 1–40.

[6] See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

[7] David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 115–28. This had long been a hallmark of monastic communities in particular; see John Chrysostom's rhetoric of "angelic vigils" as quoted in James McKinnon, "Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth-Century Psalmodic Movement," *Music & Letters* 75 (November 1994), 509.

[8] Frederick E. Warren, trans., *The Sarum Missal in English*, 2 vols. (London: De La More Press, 1911), 1:40.

[9] Keck, *Angels and Angelology*, 37.

[10] Alexandra Walsham, "Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation," in Marshall and Walsham, *Angels in the Early Modern World*, 134–67.

theophany" of pre-reformation ritual, the sensory complex used "to display the sacred to churchgoers" and "to affect them sensibly towards godliness."[11] Indeed, the belief that humans and angels praised God in concert became one of the two preeminent models—alongside the conception of liturgy as penance—for understanding the spiritual work of ritual in the late medieval Church.[12]

An essential tool of the concelebratory ideal was the liturgical application of a type of scriptural interpretation called "anagogy," which Dana Marsh has revealed to be a central undercurrent of pro-music arguments throughout the Middle Ages.[13] Durandus's *Rationale*, which (as explained in chapter two) synthesized the medieval tradition of ritual exegesis, offers the following definition:

> Anagogy comes from *ana*, which is 'upward', and *goge*, which is 'lead', as if to say, 'lead upward'. Hence that which is called the anagogical sense leads us from visible to invisible things […] Anagogy is therefore a sense of speech that leads to higher things or things above the heavens, namely, the Trinity and the orders of angels, or the future reward and future life in heaven, discussed plainly or in mystical words.[14]

Marsh demonstrates that this logic was invoked by medieval churchmen to sanction vocal music of many kinds, and that it was still being employed in the sixteenth century to advance the idea that singing signified, and thus led the faithful to contemplate, the joys of heaven; by that time, such rhetoric served as a conservative response to evangelical emphasis on understanding sung words.

Reforming such beliefs in the sixteenth century did not mean jettisoning angels. Guided above all by the principle of *sola scriptura*, protestant theologians were well aware of how frequently these beings appeared throughout the Old and New Testaments, populating heaven as well as communicating and executing divine commands. But as Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham have observed, angels had been "badly compromised by their collaboration with many of the worst excesses of the late medieval devotional regime," and reformers sought to purge associated ideas and customs they did not feel were sufficiently spelled out in scripture.[15] This was not an insurmountable task, since praying *to* angels was different from praying *for their assistance*.[16] It was simple enough for authorities like Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger, two major influences on English protestant theology, to denounce the former while allowing the latter, in accordance with the belief that, as the *Book of Common Prayer* would put it, Christ was "our onely mediatour and advocate."[17]

Forming what Laura Sangha has called "the core of official Protestant angelology," this rejection of intercession and an emphasis on angels as tools of God's providence were accompanied by skepticism of and even outright contempt for medieval theories, most notably the celestial hierarchy.[18] Calvin and Bullinger each accepted that there were different types of angels—

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[11] Milner, *Senses*, 126.

[12] See Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," 62n87, and the literature cited there.

[13] Ibid, passim.

[14] Durandus, *The Rationale*, 6–7.

[15] Marshall and Walsham, "Migrations of Angels," 13.

[16] Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, 46.

[17] Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, 30, 130.

[18] Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, 95. Marshall and Walsham note that the most famous parody of medieval scholastics—their concern to determine "whether a million angels might not sit upon a needle's point"—can be traced back no further than William Chillingworth's *The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation* (Oxford, 1638; STC 5138). Diarmaid MacCulloch's proposal that the early modern angel might be seen as a replacement for the medieval saint cannot

corresponding to the different names recorded in scripture—but considered further elaborations to imperil what Calvin called "the simplicity of the faith."[19] To pursue what God had not stated explicitly, such authorities suggested, was to indulge in the very delusional pride that had overtaken pseudo-Dionysius, whom Calvin mocked for carrying on as if he had seen the hierarchy with his own eyes.[20] Sangha finds that early modern texts bear the imprint of these views, observing that references to angels "became more general as allusions to names, roles and responsibilities now disappeared from religious cultures."[21]

Protestant writers also continued to look to angels as models of good conduct, particularly when it came to praising God. Significantly, the place where Calvin himself had harped on this was his commentary on Isaiah 6:3, the scriptural source of the Sanctus (his remarks are given here in the 1609 English translation):

> Now when we heare that the Angels are continually busied in sounding forth Gods glorie, let vs know that their example is set before vs for our imitation. For it is the highest seruice we can do vnto him to be occupied in celebrating his praises. In as much then as he herein makes vs companions with his Angels, it is to the end that whilst we wander here below, we should notwithstanding be conioyned and made like to the heauenly inhabita[n]ts.[22]

While many contemporary protestants considered this sort of emphasis on an "example […] set before vs for our imitation" to have a mainly metaphorical thrust, those who favored music could interpret commentary like Calvin's more literally, treating singing as a concrete way in which angels might be imitated. For example, contributors to Leighton's *Teares or Lamentations* (1614) wrote of how "These dulcid layes which here thy Muse doth sing / Sound most melodious to the heauenly King: / Thy zealous Emulation here aspires, / To parallell thy selfe in Angels quires," or of how humans are "heauenly fauorde, when (as Angels)" they sing of "High Mysteries in lowly tunes beneath."[23]

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technically be true, Sangha points out, given how adamant the reformers were that none other than Christ could receive prayer and intercede on behalf of humanity. However, MacCulloch's point would seem more practical than technical, insofar as a human desire for protection and comfort could only have strengthened the appeal of spiritual beings still fully authorized to dispense such benefits.

[19] English divines used the word "curious" to disparage those who theorized about angels beyond what was expressly stated in scripture; see, for example, Willet, *Synopsis papismi*, 292, and Robert Rollock, *Lectures upon the epistle of Paul to the Colossians* (London, 1603; STC 21282), 208–17. This same word was also used to criticize choral singing, and in the same spirit: "curiositie" was polemically framed as leading away from the humble worship of God and leading toward the vain glorification of human ingenuity.

[20] This perspective infused the noticeably gleeful tone in which commentators like Rollock derided the whole concept of an angelic hierarchy. Edward Leigh took Calvin's mockery of pseudo-Dionysius a step further when he contemptuously remarked, "That ancient and high soaring (though counterfeit) *Dionysius* describes the Hierarchy of Angels, as exactly as if hee had dwelt amongst them." Edward Leigh, *A treatise of divinity* (London, 1646; Wing L1011), 93.

[21] Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, 55.

[22] John Calvin, *A commentary upon the prophecie of Isaiah,* trans. C.C[otton]. (London, 1609; STC 4396), 65. The translator evidently worked from the French version (1552, revised 1572), which had been dedicated to King Edward VI, but this passage also appears in the 1559 Latin edition, which David Steinmetz considers Calvin's final word on Isaiah. David Steinmetz, *Calvin in Context* (New York: OUP, 2010), 96.

[23] William Leighton, *The teares or lamentations of a sorrowfull soule composed with musicall ayres* (London, 1614; STC 15434), sigs. Ar, [A2]r.

Taking these basic principles and trends into account, it might be suggested that both the idea of concelebration and anagogical understandings of music were positioned to endure the changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Visions of angels praising God comprised some of their most memorable appearances in scripture, including several passages that revealed which liturgical texts had originally been "authored by angels," as early modern commentators sometimes put it. The Gloria ("Glory to God in the highest") is taken from Luke 2:13–14, where it serves as the joyous response of the heavenly host to the announcement of Christ's birth. The Sanctus, as already noted, comes from Isaiah 6:2–3, where it is proclaimed by the seraphim who attend God's throne. Furthermore, the notion of uniting with angels in divine praise was less obviously complicit in the perceived abuses of medieval devotion than the rival model of liturgy as penance, and could be defended against charges of promoting idolatry on the grounds that worshipping angels was different from worshipping *with* angels.[24]

Anagogy, for its part, was likewise guilty largely by association, having been used to justify types of music that participated in other supposed abuses of medieval religion. This can be seen through a comparison between the appeal to anagogical interpretation made by Richard Sampson, the conservative Dean of Henry VIII's Chapel Royal, in the Lambeth manuscript of *A Book of Ceremonies to be Used in the Church of England* (c1540), and the alterations to this text made by the less conservative editors of its British Library manuscript. As Dana Marsh has discussed, the latter source reflects the deletion of a reference to sung words "not understanded" as well as textual insertions that expressed three further evangelical priorities: that singing be "sober," that ritual texts be drawn from scripture, and finally that devotion be directed toward God (and by implication away from saints or the Virgin Mary).[25] Sampson's anagogical rhetoric, however, was left alone, suggesting that the conservatism of his musical theology lay less in invoking anagogy than in doing so to defend traditional musical forms that pressed these other evangelical buttons.[26] As we shall see, the notion that music could help focus the spiritual faculties on heavenly rewards for a godly life can be seen to lend itself to the general protestant interest in identifying music that promoted piety.[27]

These traditional approaches to ritual music were reconfigured in a number of ways during the sixteenth century. Concelebration received an initial boost at a pivotal stage of English religious reform: the creation of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Adopting much of the structure and content of the pre-Reformation liturgy, the prayer book included vernacular versions of many Latin texts and passages; among those that found their way from the Mass to "the Supper of the Lord" were the Sanctus and its traditional preface, which underwent only minor editing in future versions. Throughout the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods, then, attending a service at which communion was distributed meant hearing: "Therefore with Aungelles, and Archangelles, and wyth all the company of heaven, we laude and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying: Holy, holy, holy […]"[28] This can be seen as more than a reminder of the old idea: while statements of theology and doctrine uttered through forms for worship were "official" in a different sense than those set forth through ecclesiastical canons or royal injunctions, the repeated

[24] Against the former, see Willet, *Synopsis papismi,* 299–302, and Rollock, *Lectures*, 209–17.
[25] Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," 73.
[26] I thus consider Marsh to have overstated slightly the extent of reformist abhorrence for "the very notion of leading the unlearned from visible to invisible things." Ibid, 73.
[27] On this interest see Temperley, "All Skillful Praises Sing," 531–2, and Quitslund, "Singing the Psalms," 237–58.
[28] Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, 136. On the infrequency of distribution and the change in status of the Sanctus, particularly with respect to the Te Deum, see below, 87–8.

performances prescribed by the prayer book played a greater role than these other documents in instilling belief in the clergy and laity at large.

Joining voices with angels—often through words they had "authored"—also remained a trope in devotional works, a genre in which Catholic literature continued to wield a surprising degree of influence.[29] A notable example is the *Meditationes, Soliloquia*, and *Manuale*, a medieval compilation marketed as the work of Augustine that in the sixteenth century achieved new circulation through print.[30] Fueled by that author's cross-confessional appeal, this trio was published in various piecemeal forms as early as 1558, and in a complete English version by Thomas Rogers—advertised as "translated, corrected, and adorned"—that saw a dozen editions between 1581 and 1640.[31] One passage that Rogers neither "corrected" nor "adorned" exhorted union with angels, and indicated that such union was facilitated by "holy, holy, holy":

> Praise we the Lord, whom Angels praise, dominions adore, powers doe reuerence; to whom the Cherubims, and Seraphims continualie do crie, Holie, Holie, Holie. Ioine we therefore our voices to the voices of the holie Angels; and according to our abilitie, let vs praise the GOD which we both haue.[32]

The inclusion of this passage in Thomas Bentley's *Monvment of Matrones* (1582), published a year after Rogers's work first appeared, gives further indication of its contemporary currency.[33]

The idea of joining voices with angels easily combined with, and often flowed into, anagogical views of divine praise. Richard Baker described "hallowing" in such terms in a 1636 publication on the Lord's Prayer, the first installment in his popular series of *Meditations and Disquisitions* on sacred texts. Remarking on three pairs of petitions and praises found in the prayer, Baker suggested that "we seeme to sing, not only in the first, an unisone with the Angels: but in all the Three, the same Ditty with the Saints in Heaven [...] that having sung the Song of Saints and Angels here on Earth, we may be admitted, into the Quire of Saints and Angels in Heaven."[34] During the late Tudor and

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[29] Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 91–5.

[30] Doubts about its authorship preceded it even during the early modern period. See Julia D. Staykova, "Pseudo-Augustine and Religious Controversy in Early Modern England," in *Augustine Beyond the Book: Intermediality, Transmediality, and Reception*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Meredith J. Gill (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 147–65. The Latin version was not printed in England but was evidently accessible there by the early Elizabethan years, providing the text for a motet published in 1575 by William Byrd; Kerry McCarthy, "Byrd, Augustine, and *Tribue Domine*," *Early Music* 32 (November 2004), 569–76.

[31] Rogers's confusing assignment of titles warrants explanation. *A pretious booke of heauenlie meditations* (STC 944) was a translation not of the *Meditationes* but of the *Soliloquia*; his translation of the *Meditationes* was instead entitled *A right christian treatise* (STC 950). Less perplexingly, *S. Augustines manuel* was indeed a translation of the *Manuale*.

[32] Thomas Rogers, ed., *A right christian treatise, entituled S. Augustines praiers: purged from diuers superstitious points; and adorned with places of the scripture* (London, 1581; STC 950), 107. The fact that some of this wording is borrowed from the Te Deum, and not the Sanctus, will be addressed below. The original Latin read: "Laudemus deum quem laudant angeli: adorant dominationes tremunt potestates. cui cherubin & seraphin incessabili voce proclamant. Sanctus sanctus: sanctus. Jungamus voces nostras vocibus angelorum sanctorum & communem dominum laudemus pro modulo nostro." *Aurelii Augustini Opuscula plurima quedam no[n] plus imp[re]ssa* (Venice, 1491), 8r.

[33] Thomas Bentley, *The monument of matrones: conteining seuen seuerall lamps of virginitie, or distinct treatises; whereof the first fiue concerne praier and meditation: the two last, precepts and examples* (London, 1582; STC 1892), 436–7.

[34] Richard Baker, *Meditations and disquisitions upon the Lords prayer* (London, 1636; STC 1223), 212.

early Stuart eras, this promise of gaining membership in the heavenly choir featured regularly in the imagery surrounding death, and was used by or in connection with figures spanning much of the Christian spectrum, such as Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker, the historian John Foxe, the Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion, and the poet John Donne.[35] Regardless of authors' or subjects' religious affiliations, descriptions of these paradisiacal ensembles often specifically mentioned the angels called seraphim—the leaders of the heavenly host, per pseudo-Dionysius—as well as their cry of "holy, holy, holy."

The language of anagogy also flourished outside of primarily religious contexts, bolstered by related ideas from the ancient world that still gripped early modern discourse. In 1588 John Case quoted Boethius's *De Musica*, still a mainstay of the university curriculum, on the notion that music leads the senses and affections "from earth to heaven […] from the empty noise of mortals to the glorious chorus of celestial spirits."[36] According to a number of medieval and early modern commentators, music was unique among the liberal arts for its capacity to fly up to heaven, where, in the words of the sixteenth-century writer Andreas Ornithoparcus (given here in the 1609 translation by John Dowland), "the Angels and Archangels doe incessantly sing Hymnes to God, where the Cherubins, and Seraphins, cry with a continuall voyce, *Holy, holy, holy.*"[37]

New life was breathed into this imagery in the paratexts of some Jacobean and Caroline music prints, which described the user as lifted by music to the choirs of saints and angels.[38] The stand-out among these depictions of music's transcendent power is Thomas Ravenscroft's essay "Of the Praise, Vertue, and Efficacie of the Psalmes," which introduced his landmark 1621 edition of the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalter. Following a conventional list of which psalms best remedied various

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[35] Matthew Parker, *The whole psalter translated into English metre* (London, 1567; STC 2729), 424; TAMO 1570, 12.38, 2280 [2240]; John Donne, *An anatomy of the world. Wherein, by occasion of the untimely death of mistris Elizabeth Drury the frailty and the decay of this whole world is represented* (London, 1611; STC 7022), sig. A3v; Thomas Alfield, *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion jesuite [and others]* (London, 1582; STC 4537), 1 before sig. F. Peter Marshall has made the related observation that the traditional idea of a posthumous fight for salvation—as well as the role played by angels—remained a "tremulous subtext" of protestant writing, despite official commitments to justification and predestination; idem, "Angels Around the Deathbed: Variations on a Theme in the English Art of Dying," in Marshall and Walsham, *Angels in the Early Modern World*, 95.

[36] "[…] a terra ad cælum […] ab inani strepitu mortalium ad gloriosum chorum celestium spirituum." John Case, *Sphæra civitatis* (Oxford, 1588; STC 4761), 712. Margaret Jones cautions that the rhetorical currency of Boethius's *De Musica* did not mean that the work was of as much significance for practical music education as its presence within the university curriculum has led historians to assume; Margaret Jones, "'Buy, Reade, Regard': Learning to Sing and Play through the Printed Page in Early Modern England" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, in progress).

[37] Andreas Ornithoparcus, *Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus, or introduction: containing the art of singing*, trans. John Dowland (London, 1609; STC 18853), 39. "Que et sola: relictis terries: volat ante tribunal summi iudicus…ubi angeli et archangeli hymnun deo infatigabiliter decantant: ubi Cherubin et Seraphin: sanctus: incessabili voce proclamant"; Andreas Ornithoparcus, *Musice Active Micrologus*, 2.1 (Leipzig, 1519), sig. E3v. The last clause of Ornithoparcus's Latin quotes the Te Deum, which Dowland translates according to the sense of the Latin rather than the standard version found in the *Book of Common Prayer*; this is notably contrary to the revealing turn of translation made by Thomas Rogers, on which see below, 87. Ornithoparcus had apparently borrowed from the medieval writer Amerus; see Amerus, *Practica artis musice*, ed. Cesarino Ruini (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1977), 19–20.

[38] See, for example, Francis Pilkington, *The first set of madrigals and pastorals of 3. 4. and 5. parts* (London, 1613/14; STC 19923), [dedicatory epistle]; George Whither, *The hymnes and songs of the chvrch. Divided into two parts* (London, 1623; STC 25910a), sig. P3v; and Francis Rous, *The Psalms of David in English meter set forth by Francis Rous* (London, 1643; Wing B2396), preface [the page is erroneously numbered "A2"]. This last source was the psalter ultimately adopted by the Westminster Assembly in 1643. On Rous see J. Sears McGee, "A 'Carkass' of 'Mere Dead Paper': The Polemical Career of Francis Rous, Puritan MP," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 72 (September 2009), 347–71.

spiritual afflictions, Ravenscroft crescendoed,

> In a word, he that would giue these heauenly Hymnes their due, had need to compose a Psalme in praise of the Psalmes, that so the deuout and ioyfull soule might with looking vp vnto God, reflect vpon its owne worke, and transport it selfe vnto the quire of Angels and Saints, whose perpetuall taske is to sing their concording parts without pause, redoubling and descanting; *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.*[39]

Here music—together with the specific text "holy, holy, holy"—is imagined not only as a tool of transcendence but also as a key feature of the soundscape of heaven. In addition, that soundscape, and by implication the performances that produce it, is depicted not as a single, undifferentiated, and overwhelming bulk but as abundantly complex ("redoubling and descanting"), a feature of contemporary imagery that will be discussed further below.

Since these passages appeared in texts that could be used outside of corporate worship, it is not surprising that they related angelic praise to human activity without privileging divine service as the proper space for musically connecting with heaven. At the same time, this degree of independence from liturgy reflects how the religious function of such rhetoric had evolved since the Middle Ages. The extra-liturgical relevance of these ideas, as well as their ideological reach into the thought of godly or "puritan" writers, are demonstrated in Lewis Bayly's *The Practise of Piety* (1612), which reached its fifth edition within just eight years.[40] This best-selling manual gave advice in a variety of areas; on music, it included instructions for incorporating psalmody into domestic devotion, and proposed a pious way to engage with musical stimuli. "When thou hearest a sweet Consort of *Musicke*," it recommended, "meditate how happy thou shalt be, when (vvith the Quire of heauenly *Angels* and *Saints*) thou shalt sing a part in that spirituall *Alleluiah* […]"[41] This explicit focus on listening to "a sweet Consort," whether meant to exclude experiences of church music or not, served the larger protestant project of ensuring pious interactions with music across social and cultural spheres.[42] Bayly suggested that aural experience be treated as an opportunity to meditate on the "musical" bliss of heaven—an immaterial realm free from any risk of sin. This involved embracing the logic behind anagogy but applying it outside worship.

Godly authors spoke of the act of singing in similar terms. In 1615 Edward Elton stressed that in singing the heart must be "possessed with heavenly joy," and that "singing may come from the inward affection of thine heart, as the chief instrument of that heauenly musicke."[43] Three decades later Nathaniel Homes would adopt the language of anagogy in a more pronounced fashion, while leveling severe criticisms against cathedral choirs. In his *Gospel Musick* (1644), Homes explains that

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[39] Thomas Ravenscroft, *The whole booke of psalmes: with the hymnes evangelicall. Composed into 4. parts* (London, 1621; STC 2575), sig. A4v.

[40] The first edition (1612) is lost. The volume saw a total of 164 editions in 11 different languages. Anthony Milton, "Attitudes towards the Protestant and Catholic Churches," in idem, *Oxford History*, vol. 1, 334; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 348–51.

[41] Lewis Bayly, *The practise of pietie: directing a christian how to walke*, 3rd edn. (London, 1613; STC 1602), 198; see Quitslund, "Singing the Psalms," 247.

[42] As noted previously, contemporary fears of the disorder and immorality that music could cause were rooted in the problem of translating the beautiful order of an abstract *musica* into the messy realities of a social and material practice. See above, 43-4.

[43] Edward Elton, *An exposition of the epistle to the Colossians, in sundry sermons* (London, 1615; STC 7612), 1070, 1072.

"By singing we present unto our sences and minds the lively type of heavenly joyes […]"[44] He further names domestic devotion as a context in which anagogical principles might apply: "And every well minded family by singing can make themselves a little Church. And everie Church make themselves a little Heaven."[45] Such comments show that English protestants of many stripes embraced surprisingly similar notions of where music should direct the spiritual faculties; this held true even as they debated which kinds of music could be thus used, and in which contexts, and even as they articulated different amounts of revulsion at the thought of musical impiety.[46]

Despite apparent similarities to the medieval precedents we have encountered, the words and images summoned by Bayly, Elton, and Homes should not be taken to indicate any simplistic underlying continuity with traditional religion. Bayly was a proponent of double predestination and a sabbatarian, and his advice on listening sat comfortably alongside anti-papal polemic.[47] Elton did not hesitate to rail against musical immorality and Roman abuses of music, invoking the charge of "lip labor" in no fewer than three places.[48] Rather, these were utterly protestant gestures, ways of accommodating entrenched, widespread views about music with clear roots in traditional religion to the contours of English protestant cultures.

Printed books were not the only medium that ensured the pervasiveness of these ideas and associations. The images of angels that had filled late-medieval churches were often spared by sixteenth-century iconoclasts, and were even augmented by occasional new installations.[49] At least three of the household chapels in which English monarchs and their courtiers worshipped had ceilings adorned with representations of what the court preacher Lancelot Andrewes, to whom we will soon return, cleverly called "this great vaulted worke, of heauen ouer our heades."[50] These material environments could continue to remind protestant worshippers of the theological and devotional tropes so far examined, and help to evoke experiences of the spiritual world by engaging multiple senses.

II. "LET VS THEREFORE BE FOLLOWERS OF THE HOLY ANGELS IN PRAISING GOD"

Despite these conditions, English protestant authors who discussed the worship of God were not uniformly eager to engage ideals of concelebration and anagogy that otherwise seem to have been quite widespread. To achieve a more precise understanding of the nature of this inconsistency, we can look to a discussion of angelic ministry by William Perkins. Perhaps the most influential English theologian of his day, Perkins was deeply indebted to Calvin and the Swiss Reformed tradition and had been formed in the Cambridge puritanism of divines like Thomas Cartwright, but unlike Cartwright did not oppose the government or worship of the national Church.[51] As W.B. Patterson

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[44] Nathaniel Homes, *Gospel musick* (London, 1644; Wing H2567), 11.

[45] Ibid, 12–3.

[46] This insight lends further weight to Sangha's conclusion that English divines agreed more on issues relating to angels than on other contemporary topics; eadem, *Angels and Belief*, 92.

[47] For more on Bayly's religious views see J. Gwynfor Jones and Vivienne Larminie, "Bayly, Lewis (*c.*1575–1631)," ODNB, vol. 4, 462–3.

[48] Elton, *Exposition*, 1070, 1072. On "lip labor" see above, 47.

[49] Felicity Heal, "Art and Iconoclasm," in Milton, *Oxford History,* vol. 1, 187–209; Walsham, "Angels and Idols."

[50] Quoted in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 40; see ibid, 40–2. For more on Andrewes, see below, 81–2.

[51] W.B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 1–5. By the time he died in 1602, Perkins was outselling Calvin in England; R.T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: OUP, 1979), 52–3. On the voracious English appetite for the works of Calvin and his Genevan successor Beza, see Andrew Pettegree, "The Spread of Calvin's Thought," in *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. Donald K.

has observed, Perkins sought through his writings, lectures, and tutorials to equip "clergy and parishioners throughout the English Church to understand biblical and theological concepts in order to be able to make decisions consistent with their faith and to work out ways to live an ethical and moral life."[52] He was, in short, ultimately concerned with what is often called "practical divinity."[53]

In 1595 Perkins published *An exposition of the Symbole or Creed of the Apostles*, which contained an eight-page digression on angels prompted by the words "maker of all things visible and invisible," one of the lines from that creed.[54] In initial paragraphs on theoretical matters of the sort that had interested medieval scholastics, Perkins declared multiple times that a lack of scriptural information would require some questions being left unanswered.[55] As we have seen, this was broadly typical of a significant strain of contemporary protestantism, but so, too, was his identification of the Dionysian hierarchy as particularly worthy of such agnosticism. Perkins acknowledged it was "very likely" that "there be certaine distinctions and diuersities of angels," on account of the handful of different names for angels that do appear in scripture, but maintained that "what be the distinct degrees and orders of angels, and whether they are to be distinguished by their natures, gifts, or offices, no man by Scripture can determine."[56]

With this out of the way, the final two thirds of the discussion would explain what angels do and how humans should behave accordingly, issues that Perkins evidently considered more significant, not to mention more discernably addressed in the pages of scripture:

> The ministerie of angels to which the Lord hath set them apart is three-fold, and it respecteth either God himself, or his Church, or his enemies. The ministery which they performe to God, is first of all to adore, praise, and glorifie him continually. Thus the Cherubims [sic] in Esaies vision cry one to another, *Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts: the world is full of his glorie*. And when they were to publish the birth of the Messias, they begin on this manner, *Glorie to God in the highest heauens, peace on earth.* And Iohn in his vision heard the angels about the throne, crying with a loud voyce, *Worthie is the Lambe, &c. to receiue power, riches, and strength, wisedome, and honour, and glorie, and praise.* And indeed the highest ende of the ministerie of angels is the glorie of God. The second, is to stand in Gods presence, euermore readie to do his commandements […] And here is a good lesson for vs. We pray daily, that we may doe the will of God as the *A*ngels in heauen doe it: let vs therefore be followers of the holy angels in praising God and in doing his commandements as they doe.[57]

McKim (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2004), 210–1. It is also worth noting that Perkins expressed a positive view of metrical psalmody; Quitslund, "Singing the Psalms," 245.

[52] Patterson, *William Perkins*, 5.

[53] On this concept see Lake, "'Puritans' and 'Anglicans'," 363–6.

[54] William Perkins, *An exposition of the symbole or creed of the apostles* ([Cambridge], 1595; STC 19703). Elsewhere he indicated that he considered the Apostles' Creed a complete statement of Christian doctrine: William Perkins, *A cloud of faithfull witnesses, leading to the heavenly Canaan: or a commentarie upon the 11. chapter to the Hebrewes* ([Cambridge], 1607; STC 19677.5), 1.

[55] Thus angelic bodies, on which both Augustine and Aquinas had commented, were a point on which "indeed we can define nothing certenly." Perkins, *Exposition*, 74. Despite this, he cited several dozen biblical verses to support more than a few definitive claims, drawing just one citation from beyond the covers of the Bible (from Augustine's *De Trinitate*).

[56] Perkins, *Exposition*, 75.

[57] Perkins, *Exposition*, 75–6.

Summoning several of the best-known visions of angelic praise—Isaiah 6:2–3, Luke 2:13–14, and Revelation 5:11–12—Perkins confuses the seraphim with their neighbors in the traditional celestial hierarchy, the cherubim. This common contemporary mix-up may well reflect Calvinist skepticism of, or at least indifference toward, the details of traditional angelology, as keeping such labels straight ranked low on any list of godly theological priorities. Overall, though, Perkins's description of angelic ministry would have met few critics. The insistence that angels are dedicated first and foremost to divine praise resurfaced time and again in contemporary writings, as did the particular set of liturgically-associated snapshots of scripture he used to prove the point.[58]

More practical concerns were close at hand, however. In terms resembling those we have seen Calvin use, Perkins punctuates the passage by characterizing angelic praise and obedience to God as "a good lesson for vs," and by exhorting faithful readers to "be followers of the holy angels in praising God and in doing his commandements as they doe."[59] It therefore comes as no surprise that, after proceeding to describe angelic ministries for the Church and for God's enemies, Perkins returns to "the vse which we are to make in regard of their creation," that is, what human beings should do with this scripturally founded knowledge of the spiritual world. The four specific recommendations he offered show just how instructive Perkins thought angelic examples could be.[60]

Perkins's insistence on practical consequences—on the need for knowledge of angels to provoke imitation of them—coupled with his firm belief that they exist primarily to praise God, highlights the absence of any rhetoric of concelebration or anagogy. The omission is even more conspicuous given his scriptural citations, especially the "holy, holy, holy" of Isaiah 6:3, episodes that, again, were deeply connected to both the Latin and vernacular liturgies. Yet the example of Perkins does not, as some sources we have seen, merely suggest new applications for these principles. Instead it seems to present the possibility that, on the one hand, these were considered legitimate as models for understanding worship, but on the other, provoked varying levels of enthusiasm. While they were perhaps valid within the English Reformed tradition, nothing required they be privileged. Put another way, even if certain ideas were accepted or rejected with some consistency, the degrees to which they were emphasized could still differ widely, as could the amount of passion a writer might display in the process of articulating them.[61]

Nevertheless, even discussions like Perkins's could reinscribe one or more rhetorical pillars of traditional theology and its attendant verbal and visual representations. Furthermore, since the

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[58] For an author who adopted Perkins's particular turns of phrase in writing on this matter, see Thomas Adams, *The happines of the church. Considered in contemplations upon Hebrewes [xii.]* (London, 1618; STC 120), 42.

[59] See above, 73.

[60] First, individuals must quit their sin, lest God send "armies of angels […] to execute Gods heauie judgements vpon them that liue thus"; second, "mockers and scorners" must "take heede whome they mock," lest angels "take iust reuenge by smiting them with plagues and punishments for their offences"; third, being in the presence of angels means we must "doe whatsoeuer we doe in reuerent and seemely manner"; fourth, we must learn "modestie, and humility" from angels who "abase themselues to become guardiens and keepers vnto sinneful men." Perkins concludes by stressing the "consolations" that may be derived from this "protection & safegard of [God's] Church and people," but considers these just as much a stimulus to righteous conduct as they are a source of comfort. The security that angels ensure, he declares, "must mooue men to loue and imbrace the true religio[n], & to co[n]forme the[m]selues in all good conscience to the rule of Gods word." Perkins, *Exposition*, 78–80.

[61] Perhaps unsurprisingly, this pattern had previously characterized Calvin's own treatment of music and angels in his preface to the 1542 Geneva Psalter. While defining ecclesiastical music as "the Psalms which are sung in the Church in the presence of God and His angels," Calvin reminded readers that the goal of singing was not for heaven and earth to praise God in parallel but for humans to achieve "edification." Quoted in Kim, *Humanism*, 72.

prescriptions of theological writing mapped messily onto belief and experience, his emphasis on the angels' duty to glorify God through "holy, holy, holy," and on the need for humans to become "followers" of this example, still fostered the circulation of key aspects of concelebratory and anagogical imagery.

Perkins's description of angelic ministry also points to the other side of Sangha's observation that English divines disagreed comparatively little on issues relating to angels. For it was perhaps precisely because of this relative consensus, she observes, that angels became "an important ideological resource […] their legitimacy and scriptural credentials often proving the basis of their appeal and providing a means to promote a particular agenda." [62] Viewing variances among contemporary authors in terms of emphasis may or may not explain Perkins's own silence on concelebration and anagogy. But a focus on variations in emphasis could reveal something about those authors who explicitly invoked the notion that worship was the primary venue for joining mortal praise with its angelic counterpart.

Many English divines who mobilized this view did so within an avant-garde conformist outlook. As discussed in chapter two, this style of divinity—which was first named by Peter Lake in a 1991 essay on the Jacobean divines Lancelot Andrewes and John Buckeridge—involved an exalted view of ceremonies, according them unprecedented (and, in some cases, unmatched) spiritual efficacy. Those who held such attitudes seized on the ideological utility of angels to advance specific stances on a range of worship-related matters, often by gesturing to the presence of angels in divine service. Richard Hooker made several such gestures in Book V of the *Lawes*, explaining that in corporate prayer "we stand, we pray, we sound forth hymnes vnto God, hauing his Angels intermingled as our associates." [63] Both Hooker and the clergyman Robert Shelford cited 1 Corinthians 11:10, which recommends gender-specific head-covering, in urging that, as Shelford put it, "if you respect God and his holy place, have a speciall care to maintain good orders and manners in it, lest God and his holy angels be offended at us."[64]

Other avant-garde conformists treated singing as a specific mechanism of concelebration, framing this view with expressly anagogical wording. The most formidable such divine was Lancelot Andrewes himself, who as Lord High Almoner and then Dean of the Chapel Royal under James I preached at court on the most important days in the Jacobean calendar.[65] As Peter McCullough has recently discussed, Andrewes devoted his Christmas Day sermons of 1610, 1618, and 1619 to music, in each case taking as his text some portion of Luke 2:10–14, where the news of Christ's birth culminates with the heavenly host singing the Gloria.[66] Not surprisingly it was the 1619 sermon on Luke 2:14, which features the text of the Gloria itself, that most zealously developed ideas about

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[62] Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, 127.

[63] LEP, 54–5 / Folger, 114. See above, 29n70–1. Earlier in the volume Hooker had asked "For what is the assembling of the Church to learne, but the receiuing of Angels descended from aboue? What to pray, but the sending of Angels vpward?" He had also opined that prayer is where "Angels haue their continuall intercourse" between God and the Church, and is "a worke common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a worke common vnto men with Angels." LEP, 52–3 / Folger, 110–1.

[64] Robert Shelford, *Five pious and learned discourses* (Cambridge, 1635; STC 22400), 16. Cf. LEP, 54–5 / Folger, 114. Gestures to the presence of angels, of course, could also be made in the course of advancing substantially different viewpoints, as Calvin did in his preface to the Geneva Psalter; see above, 80n61.

[65] See McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 147–55.

[66] McCullough, "Music Reconciled to Preaching."

musical parallels between angels and mortals.[67] Describing this verse of scripture as "The *Antheme* of the *Queere* of *Heauen* for this day," Andrewes notes that "it is not of any mans setting […] the Dittie [the text] and it [presumably the "music"] are both *Angelicall*; from the *Angells* both."[68] He declares that "we praise GOD with the *tongue* of *Angells*, whensoever we praise Him with this, with *Gloria in excelsis*." In singing it, "*Heaven* and *Earth*, and *men* are to joine in one consort […]" Moreover, singing allowed mortals not just to join angels but to imitate them: "But, if by *men*, of very congruitie, an *Angells* song would be, by men, when in some degree they drew something neer to the *Angells* estate. At least, when neerer then at other times."[69] Andrewes concludes with a reminder that heaven, where this music-making will be more fully shared, should never be far from a musician's mind, for men will be lifted "from *earth* to the *glorie* of *heaven:* There, with the *blessed Angells*, to sing this *glorious Hymne* eternally."[70]

Although this description was unusually robust, Andrewes, as we shall see, was not the only Jacobean or Caroline writer to give such an account of the relationship between religious experience and the singing of "angelic" texts. In this view, praising God "in one consort" with angels also involved achieving a measure of "congruitie" with them through music, and further prompted contemplation of joining them in the afterlife.[71] Moreover, Andrewes situated this process in relation to worship; McCullough observed that this sermon was literally preached to the choir of the Chapel Royal, of which Andrewes had been appointed Dean a year earlier, and that it referred directly to the pairing of the sermon with an anthem sung by the Gentlemen.[72]

While bearing a resemblance to medieval belief, this synthesis of contemporary ideas about angels must again be understood in its post-Reformation context. Where medieval churchmen had argued that heavenly joy can be signified precisely when singing exceeds language, Andrewes described a link between angels and men constituted primarily through the "Dittie" being sung.[73] Moreover, advancing this theology of music through a sermon on Luke 2:14 can be seen as implicitly stressing the legitimacy it derived from its scriptural foundation. Still, the comparison between Perkins and Andrewes makes clear that if following the example of angels was a near-universal goal, it was one that afforded metaphorical as well as literal interpretations, but that differences on this issue could sometimes map onto differences in emphasis or style, rather than divisions in theology or doctrine.[74]

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[67] Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons*, 119–28.
[68] Ibid, 119.
[69] Ibid, 128.
[70] Ibid, 128.
[71] Several of these writers will be analyzed at greater length below. The preacher Thomas Adams would condense Andrewes's ideas into a paragraph of his substantial 1633 commentary on 2 Peter: Thomas Adams, *A commentary or, exposition upon the second epistle by St. Peter*, 2 vols. (London, 1633; STC 108), 2:1594.
[72] McCullough, "Music Reconciled to Preaching," 116. Andrewes was not alone in making a connection to common prayer: in 1615 John Whalley preached at Paul's Cross that "thankesgiuings and prayses offered to God, are our *Eucharist*, our daily Sacrifice, our *Canticum cæleste* […] Yea, in singing these songs, wee are of the same Quire, and Consort, which the holy Angels and all blessed spirits aboue: which sing, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoasts*." Whalley, *Gods plentie,* 27.
[73] It will be recalled that Humphrey Sydenham had similarly stressed the essential role of the "ditty" in the process of musically connecting with heaven. See above, 37–8.
[74] On the aesthetic dimension of avant-garde conformity see McCullough, "'Avant-Garde Conformity'," 392.

III. "THE SAME ORDER OF SINGING IS OBSERUED, EUEN IN *HEAUEN*"

While Andrewes appears to have endorsed a relatively literal approach to imitating angels, the only means of imitation we saw him describe was singing an "angelic" text. But there were a variety of sources that made more specific connections between mortal practices and angelic precedents, an observation that at last returns us to "singing by course." It should first be stated that articulating such connections was not without pitfalls, and not simply because doing so might serve a partisan agenda. Andrewes's term "congruitie" highlighted the fact that the corporeal and spiritual realms were widely understood as parallel but disjunct. This disjuncture impinged on any notion of celestial or heavenly "music," for if heaven was not a material domain, then its "music" could not involve the material phenomena of singing and sound. In religious literature, one of the most common expressions of this discrepancy derived from 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we se through a glasse darkely: but then *shal we se* face to face. Now I knowe in parte: but then shal I knowe euen as I am knowen."[75] This mediating "glasse" was a recurring theme in discussions of angelic praise. Even in the pseudo-Augustinian meditation considered above, the idea of joining voices with the angels was immediately followed by an explanation of one reason why such unions mattered: "For they, whose eies euermore bee fixed vpon the Lord, whom they behold not through a glasse darklie but face vnto face; they doe most purelie and without ceasing praise the Lord."[76] Linking the issue of mediation with the need to mimic the heavenly host, the author of the 1586 *Praise of Musicke* asked, "And surely in the praising of God, whome should the Church militant follow, rather than the Church triumphant? And whome shoulde the Sainctes on earth imitate rather than the Sainctes in heauen? who behould the Lord face to face, and knowe euen as they are knowen."[77]

In some contexts, emphasizing discrepancies between the corporeal and the spiritual was a way of performing protestant orthodoxy. Such was the case with none other than Peter Heylyn, a divine encountered in chapter two of this dissertation who, like most Laudian clerics, faced regular accusations of sympathy for Roman Catholicism. In his ten court sermons on the Parable of the Tares, Heylyn aimed to demonstrate his "Orthodoxie in Religion and averseness from Popery, as might declare me for a true son of the Church of England," offering what Anthony Milton has described as "a traditional brand of Elizabethan or Jacobean anti-popery."[78] The sermon dated 12 March 1634 cited "humane frailty" as the reason why we are not worthy "to sing in quire and consort with those blessed spirits," but only to "bear the burden of those heavenly ditties which are chanted there […]"[79] The fact that Heylyn took a different view of this issue under other circumstances, as we have seen, would seem to underscore the potency of the protestant preoccupations to which this particular publication strained to defer.[80]

Yet, even in the face of anxieties regarding the limits of corporeal experience, some protestant authors remained willing to establish relatively concrete links between particular practices and

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[75] GB.

[76] Rogers, *Right christian treatise*, 107. See above, 75.

[77] *Praise of Musicke*, 135.

[78] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 89. According to Milton, this traditionalism represented for Heylyn a complete "*volte-face* on issues of anti-popery" from his previous work.

[79] Peter Heylyn, *The parable of the tares* (London, 1659; Wing H1729), 310. In this period "burden" often referred to "a deepe Base," although Cotgrave's French-English dictionary (1611) defines it as "A Drone … also, the drone of a Bagpipe"; Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500–1740* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1995), 39. Either way, the sense that a "burden" acts as a kind of foundation for higher parts is clear.

[80] See above, 38–41.

heavenly models.[81] One common venue for making such connections was in representations of the music and music-making of heaven itself: authors who gave anything more than minimal detail usually wound up depicting the spiritual soundscape as exceedingly complex in the best possible sense, an intricate symphony of praise performed by throngs of angels and saints. This approach often involved representing the perfection of paradise in terms of "harmony," a word with crucial semantic subtexts that can be revealed through its historical context. An especially elaborate example of this mode of description came from Martin Fotherby, Bishop of Salisbury and erstwhile chaplain to James I, who devoted a chapter to music in his *Atheomastix* (published posthumously in 1622). The chapter included a passage indicating that at least one kind of earthly practice had a heavenly model. The passage was based on Revelation 19:1, 4-6, which recounts:

> 1 And after these things I heard a great voyce of much people in heauen, saying, Alleluia: salvation, and glorie, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God:
> 4 And the foure and twentie Elders, and the foure beasts fell downe, and worshipped God that sate on the throne, saying, Amen, Alleluia.
> 5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God all ye his servants, and ye that feare him, both small and great.
> 6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mightie thundrings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.[82]

These "sounds" come mostly from anonymous, disembodied "voices" (to continue the material metaphors). Furthermore, little here except the linear nature of prose as a medium suggests clear "temporal" or "spatial" relationships between them, although this lack of situatedness is less severe than that of the veritable gerund storms encountered in chapter three of this dissertation.[83]

The sensory dislocation of this imagery from Revelation, however subtle, becomes sharper when contrasted with Fotherby's adaptation of the biblical passage:

> Yea, and *Homer* hath made a set Booke of *Hymnes*, wherein he setteth out the prayses of all their Gods. Which kinde of *Hymnes*, (as *Macrobius* recordeth) were vsually sung, in the Temples of the *Heathen*, per *Stropham, & Antistropham*; for the stronger eleuation of their mindes toward Heauen. As our holy *Hymnes* are, in the Churches of *Christians*, by *Verses*, and *Antiphonies*, answering one another […] And the same order of singing is obserued, euen in *Heauen*. Where *Saints*, and *Angells*, be the *Choristers;* and God himselfe, the *Χορυφαῖος*;[84] who beareth also his part, in this Diuine and Heauenly *Harmonie*. As euidently appeareth, in the Booke of the *Apocalyps* [i.e. Revelation]. Where, a Multitude of *Saints*, singing vnto Gods praise, and beginning their *Allelu-iah,* by way of *Stropha*, they were answered againe, by the *Elders,* and *foure Beasts,* with another *Allelu-iah*, by the way of *Antistropha*. And againe, *they both* were answered, with

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[81] This also had to do with the hierarchies of religious authority discussed in Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."
[82] KJ.
[83] See above, 44–5, 56, 59.
[84] Usually spelled *Κορῠφαῖος*, this word was used in Greek drama to refer to the leader of the chorus; Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*.

> *a voice from the Throne,* with another *Allelu-iah,* rebounding, and ecchoing from another place of *Heauen*. And, when they all had thus sung, their seuerall *Allelu-iah*, by themselues, asunder; then they ioyned in one, and sung it altogether. Here is an adumbration of the *Quire* of Heauen: and the forme of the singing of *Saints,* and *Angells* therein. Whereby it appeareth, that God hath not onely appointed, that Men should heere praise him, with holy Harmonies, in this present life; but also, with Heauenly Harmonies, in the life to come.[85]

Fotherby lays a structure over the scriptural portrayal: now we find three clearly defined groups—saints, elders and beasts, and "a voice"—singing in succession and subsequently joining together. This scaffolding emphasizes relationality: deliberate "answering" transforms scripture's smattering of "voices" into a coordinated process of praise.

Fotherby's use of the term "harmony," moreover, sheds significant light on this image of how the musical pieces of the heavenly choir fit together. Here it is crucial to consider the semantic history of this word stretching back to its classical origins, for Fotherby evidently had not just Latin but also Greek under his linguistic belt. In ancient Greek, *harmonia* had less to do with subsuming parts into a blended whole than with successful relationships between parts; "harmony" did not make one out of many so much as it made many to coexist.[86] It was not a simultaneous phenomenon but rather described the ratios by which successive tones were related. Sean Curran has recently discussed the identical connotations of the Latin word *armonia*, which in the Middle Ages had a "primary and pedigreed meaning" of "fitting together." Curran's analysis shows that it was extensively used with this sense by thirteenth-century theorists in defining the musical procedure of hocket, and that in these treatises the word could describe musical relationships that manifested in a single voice through time.[87] Similar usages can be found in the writings of theorists from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries.[88] A particularly revealing example of this temporal meaning can be found in a piece of marital advice given to James I's daughter Elizabeth: "The man and wife should be as when two parts are sung in one, so should they accord, as a melodious harmonie together."[89] The phrase "two parts sung in one" refers to the musical procedure of canon, when one voice sings the same line of music as another at a temporal delay. In this clever metaphor, the successfully "canonic" marriage consists in the sustained management of its gendered power differential; the quality of "melodious harmonie" is ideally produced and reproduced over the course of a lifetime. Accordingly, I take Fotherby's phrase "Diuine and Heauenly *Harmonie*" to describe the *process* of vocal coordination in heaven. What becomes most significant about the particular expression of constructively interactive performance he offers is the sequencing of vocal contributions that it stages. These acts are harmonious *in their unfolding*, or, put another way, precisely for proceeding "by course," however loosely this phrase is construed.

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[85] Martin Fotherby, *Atheomastix: clearing foure truthes, against atheists and infidels* (London, 1622; STC 11205), 344–5.
[86] John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500–1700* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970), 26–31.
[87] Sean Curran, "Hockets Broken and Integrated in Early Mensural Theory and an Early Motet," *Early Music History* 36 (2017), 46–64.
[88] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (2001), s.v. "harmony."
[89] Andrew Willet, *A treatise of Salomons mariage or, a congratulation for the happie mariage betweene Frederike the V. And the princesse, the ladie Elizabeth* (London, 1613; STC 25705), 5.

Fotherby shows that contemporary authors were willing to conceive the "vocal" practices of heaven in terms more specific than "singing" by "choirs," and were further open to enlisting those details in establishing a parallel between heaven and earth. He depicts an anagogical "congruitie" effected through an aspect of performance practice, rather than an "angelic" text (as had been the case for Andrewes): Christians work for "the stronger eleuation of their mindes toward Heauen" when singing "by *Verses*, and *Antiphonies*, answering one another" in their churches, precisely because "the same order of singing is obserued, euen in *Heauen*." Significantly, though, these heavenly "antiphonies" are produced by no fewer than three groups. Indeed, Fotherby was not interested in *alternatim* singing specifically but in the qualitatively different category of "answering," reflecting the conformist arguments for devotional teamwork and communal praise more generally that we saw in chapter three.[90] This interest flowed from what Peter Marshall has identified as a contemporary trend of treating congregational worship, rather than private devotion, as "the dominant model for activity in heaven."[91] Fotherby's take on the imagery of Revelation involved explicitly choreographing how individuals interact and then subsequently unite, not just declaring their eventual unity: "when they all had thus sung, their seuerall *Allelu-iah*, by themselues, asunder; then they ioyned in one, and sung it altogether." Often couched in terms of "harmonie," this way of emphasizing the sequences and processes of heavenly music fostered notions that specific kinds of vocal interaction in worship were rooted in the practice of angels.

Such notions would not have circulated so widely were it not for the discursive vitality of two ancient stories that I have discussed elsewhere and so will address only briefly here.[92] The first "story" consists in a tradition—already a thousand years old by the early Stuart period—of interpreting Isaiah 6:3 to mean that the seraphim sing in alternation. The second, that of Ignatius of Antioch, has already been considered in chapter two for its historical significance: as we saw Peter Heylyn tell it, Ignatius established "singing *alternatim*, course by course" after witnessing angels "sing the praise of God after such a manner." Enshrined in ecclesiastical discourse by the Middle Ages, these accounts were used to explain the angelic origins of vocal practices in public worship until a mix of religious, political, and intellectual factors caused their reception to diverge sharply in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A number of significant English writers subsequently tip-toed toward one or away from the other, but each continued to be cited by Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline divines with reference to what one preacher described as the transformation of public worship into "*a heaven on earth*" by "Gods *earthly Angels*."[93]

This notion that capturing a specific detail of angelic performance aided the process of populating divine service with "*earthly Angels*" was supported by the wider religious and cultural patterns examined throughout this chapter. The basic ideals that descriptions of heavenly singing were used to exemplify may have been exploited to advance what Peter Lake has called the "extreme" Laudian view, which purported to find precedents for specific ceremonial practices in descriptions of heaven, but the ideals themselves held currency with substantial numbers of English protestants.[94]

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[90] See above, 63–9.

[91] Peter Marshall, "The Company of Heaven: Identity and Sociability in the English Protestant Afterlife c. 1560–1630," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 26 (Summer 2000), 321.

[92] For a discussion of the religious, political, and intellectual circumstances affecting the circulation of these stories from the seventh through seventeenth centuries, see Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

[93] Samuel Hoard, *The churches authority asserted: in a sermon preached at the metropoliticall visitation of William [Laud]* (London, 1637; STC 13533), 30.

[94] Lake, "Laudian Style," 183.

On top of significant strains of theological and devotional rhetoric, the spiritual realm was often represented as sonically and performatively abundant and intricate, as "harmonious" in the classical sense of "fitting together" through time. Hence what Fotherby described as praising God "by *Verses*, and *Antiphonies*, answering one another" was merely one identifiable way in which heavenly "harmonie" could translate into earthly observance. But our journey through these discourses, which illuminated given forms of liturgical speech and song, has also set the stage for a more radical possibility. We now turn to evidence suggesting that connections between angelic performance and vocal alternation in worship had the capacity not just to explain but to shape vocal practice.

IV. "ACCORDYNGE TO THE AUNGELS, YE SYNGE QUYER TO QUYER"

As might be expected, this sort of evidence typically collected around the moments of worship that featured texts "authored" by angels. We have already seen that the communion service of the *Book of Common Prayer* retained two such texts—Sanctus and Gloria—from the Latin Mass. However, the section of the vernacular communion rite that featured these items was observed less often than the offices of Morning and Evening Prayer.[95] This circumstance is reflected across post-Reformation musical sources. Polyphonic settings of Sanctus and Gloria in English are rarer than those of the major office texts (Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, and Jubilate for the morning, and Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis for the evening).[96] Beginning with Sternhold and Hopkins's quasi-official *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562), metrical psalters likewise included these office texts in paraphrase, but neither Sanctus nor Gloria.[97]

Given these circumstances, it might seem odd that the words of the seraphim as recorded in Isaiah 6:3—"holy, holy, holy…"—remained such a constant presence in contemporary angelic imagery. This continuing prominence, however, can be attributed to the other liturgical text in which these words appeared: Te Deum. In fact, we have already encountered a piece of this fourth-century hymn in Thomas Rogers's 1581 translation of a medieval devotion that exhorted the faithful to join voices with angels. His phrasing "to whom the Cherubims, and Seraphims continualie do crie, Holie, Holie, Holie," as well as the Latin he was translating in this place, used wording peculiar to the standard, or authorized, rendering of the Te Deum in each language.[98] This hymn was deeply rooted in early modern English culture. While its placement in the morning service of the *Book of Common Prayer* mirrored its position in the office of Matins within the Latin liturgy, the hymn continued to enjoy a cultural and political significance that extended far beyond its liturgical role. A fixture of civic joy in the Tudor imagination, it had long been sung in celebration of coronations,

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[95] In rubrics at the end of the order for communion, the Elizabethan prayer book directed that distribution occur only when "there be a good number to Communicate wyth the Priest, accordinge to his dyscretion." When numbers were not sufficient, the service proceeded from the end of the homily to conclude with a prayer and a collect, skipping a chunk of material that included both Sanctus and Gloria. Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 140. This abbreviation of the communion rite seems to have been routine, as monthly, quarterly, or tri-annual distribution was the norm in many parish churches; Bryan D. Spinks, "Liturgy and Worship," in Milton, *Oxford History*, vol. 1, 159.

[96] See the related discussion of extant polyphonic settings of texts for the Communion service in Webster, "Religious Thought," 162–4.

[97] In psalters that included all 150 psalms, the Venite (psalm 95) and Jubilate (psalm 100) were present by default; the other items usually appeared before the psalms themselves. In addition to Ravenscroft, *Whole booke*, see publications by Matthew Parker (1567; STC 2729), William Daman (1579; STC 6219), William Damon (1591; STC 6220), and Richard Alison (1599; STC 2497).

[98] See above, 75. Rather than literally translate the Latin phrase "incessabili voce proclamant" as "proclaim with unceasing voice," Rogers simply repeated the wording of the Te Deum as given in the prayer book: "continualie do crie."

episcopal investitures, royal births, and military triumphs.[99] Queen Elizabeth's 1564 visit to King's College, Cambridge, was reportedly marked by the Chapel Choir performing Te Deum in English.[100] The vernacular version was securely enshrined within the ritual life of the late Tudor and early Stuart Church by the restoration of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1559. Bearing the implicit sanction of the crown and the church hierarchy by virtue of its position in the prayer book, the hymn benefitted from the logics of religious conformity described in chapters two and three.

Tracing the movement of the Te Deum from Latin to vernacular rites reveals one specific way in which discourses of angelic performance may have shaped (rather than simply given meaning to) musical practice. The focus here is the seraphic hymn embedded within the text, particularly the words "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus" (in Latin) or "holy, holy, holy" (in English). The Sarum psalter, which laid out office chants for the principal English variant of the medieval liturgy, divides the text of the Te Deum into verses consisting of at least a few words each, except at "Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus.," where each word is treated as a complete, distinct verse.[101] At this point of the text, then, observing the usual custom of singing *alternatim*—one verse on one side of the choir, the next on the other—produced a pace of alternation that was more rapid than at any other point. While it cannot be known precisely how this structural irregularity originated, at least one medieval witness deliberately connected it to the seraphim, following an exegetical tradition that was already many centuries old.[102] That witness was the still-unknown author of a fifteenth-century liturgical commentary prepared for a newly founded Brigittine monastery at Syon in Middlesex, in what is now greater London.[103] With the stated purpose of elucidating the liturgy for nuns who could read and sing but could not understand the liturgy's meaning, the author used scripture to explain this moment of Matins:

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[99] The most frequently recalled was Henry V's victory at Agincourt: Edward Hall, *The vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre & Yorke* (London, 1548; STC 12721), 50v; Raphael Holinshed, *The firste volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London, 1577; STC 13568), [1182, incorrectly numbered 1180]; John Stow, *The chronicles of England, from Brute vnto this present yeare 1580* (London, [1580]; STC 23333), 597; William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, 4.8.121, ed. Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 258. This association with public celebration held on the Continent as well; see Alex Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: OUP, 2014), 62–3, 169–70, 271. However, the religious and political charge of the hymn increased in the confessional age, when the act of singing it in procession became a polarizing symbol of Catholic kingship and allegiance to Rome; see van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, 157–61, and Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 273–5. As a result, some English writers envisioned the pope and his clergy singing Te Deum in celebration of violence against protestants, folding recollections of the St. Bartholemew's Day Massacre (1572) and the Gunpowder Plot (1605) into broader constructions of the hymn as an emblem of popish evil and superstition. See Francis Hastings, *An apologie or defence of the Watch-word, against the Ward-word* (London, 1600; STC 12928), 11, and William Barlow, *An answer to a catholike English-man* (London, 1609; STC 1446), 12. One of Thomas Bell's many lists of popish practices consisted of surplice-wearing, martyr-remembrance, organ-playing, and Te Deum-singing: idem, *The catholique triumph: conteyning, a reply to the Answere of B.C. against the Tryall of the new religion* (London, 1610; STC 1815), 219.

[100] Bowers, "Chapel and Choir," 273.

[101] William Renwick, ed., *The Sarum Rite: Breviarium Sarisburiense cum nota* (Hamilton, Ontario: Gregorian Institute of Canada, 2006), 45.

[102] On this tradition see Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."

[103] For more on this text and its authorship, see Ann Hutchison, "*The Myroure of oure Layde*: A Medieval Guide for Contemplatives," in *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order,* ed. James Hogg, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 35.19 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1993), 2:215–27, as well as Susan Powell, "Evidence for the Licensing of Books from Arundel to Cromwell," in *Middle English Texts in Transition*, ed. Simon Horobin and Linne Mooney (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval Press, 2014), 139–40.

> Thys aungels songe is taken of the prophete Isaye. that se in spyrytuall vysyon oure lorde god sytte on an hygh sete. and Cherubyn and Seraphyn syngynge lowde eyther to other. *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus deus sabaoth,* And therfore accordynge to the aungels, ye synge quyer to quyer, one Sanctus on the tone syde, and another on the tother syde. and so fourthe of other verses.[104]

The author acknowledges that all instances of singing *alternatim* ("and so fourthe of other verses," in his wording) can be imagined to proceed "accordynge to the aungels." But it seems significant that he waited to introduce this idea until this juncture of his line-by-line explication of the lengthy text. The author's account of Isaiah's "spyrytuall vysyon," together with his description of its relationship to this textual moment, suggest that singing "*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*" in alternation effectively reenacted what the prophet had glimpsed. The collision of text and act afforded the chance to construe this moment as an unusually precise depiction of angelic praise.

To judge from mid-sixteenth-century sources that lack musical notation, this irregularity in the lengths of the verses of the Te Deum was a casualty of religious and musical change. In prayer books, psalters, and primers printed between 1544 and 1558—precisely the period of greatest flux in worship practice—visual cues like periods, line breaks, indentation, and capital letters indicate a gradual but decisive transition away from treating each iteration of "holy" as a complete verse.[105] The

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[104] J.H. Blunt, ed., *The Myroure of oure Ladye* (London, 1873), 119. A century after its composition the work was published as *Here after folowith the boke callyd the Myrroure of oure lady* (London, 1530; STC 17542).

[105] The shift appears to have begun with the royal printer Edward Whitchurch. The first three editions of Henry VIII's English primer—printed in 1544 and 1545 by Thomas Petyt, Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch—had all adhered to the earlier convention of setting periods after each "holy," marking each as a separate verse: [*The primer in English and Latin*] (London, [1544]; STC 16033), after sig. D; *The primer, in Englishe and Latyn, set foorth by the kynges maiestie [etc.]* (London, 1545; STC 16040), sig. B1r; *The primer, set foorth by the kynges maiestie and his clergie, to be taught lerned, & read: and none other to be vsed throughout all his dominions* (London, 1545; STC 16037), sig. B3r. Yet where Grafton's next two editions, printed in 1546 (STC 16044, sig. B2v) and 1547 (STC 16048, before sig. C1), as well as his 1548 print of Miles Coverdale's *Psalter* (STC 2375, 183–4), preserved this punctuation, Whitchurch's editions of 1546 (STC 16045, before sig. B) and 1548 (STC 16049, before sig. B1) read: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lorde God Sabaoth […]" This was not the only notable textual idiosyncrasy in Whitchurch's prints: to my knowledge it has never been noted that the short-lived version of the next half-verse, "heaven and earth are replenished with" (as opposed to the post-Reformation standard "heaven and earth are full of"), was unique not just to the 1549 version of the *Book of Common Prayer* but specifically to the copies printed by Whitchurch. See, however, Stefan A. Scot's caution against speaking of a single "1549 text," wherein he alludes to Adrian John's larger critique of (the lack of) "fixity" in early modern print: Stefan A. Scot, "Service music by Parsons and Sheppard" *Early Music* 24 (August 1996), 512; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). In any case, Grafton had come around to using commas by March 1549, when he and Whitchurch pressed the very first copies of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Other editions of the prayer book, including the 1549 print by John Oswen (STC 16276, 2r) and the version published in 1551 in Dublin by Humphrey Powell (STC 16277, 2r), also show commas, not periods, between each "Holy," while Whitchurch's 1549 printing of the psalter (STC 2376.5) represents a curious exception, showing periods. The periods lingered in vernacular primers printed by S. Mierdman (STC 16050.3, before sig. B1) and John Mychell (STC 16052, sig. D1r)—but seem to have disappeared by 1550. Past that date, they remained in books either designated as Catholic or made for Catholic use: *This prymer of Salisbury vse is se tout* [sic] *along with houtonyser chyng* [sic] (Rouen, 1551; STC 16055), after sig. D4; *Here after foloweth the prymer in Englysshe and in latin* (Rouen, 1555; STC 16070), 20r; *An vniforme and catholyke prymer in Latin and Englishe, […] to be only vsed of al the kyng and quenes maiesties louinge subiectes* (London, 1555; STC 16060), sig. B4r; *Psalterium Dauidicum, ad vsum ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (London, [1555]; STC 16265), Q4v; *The primer in Englishe and Latine* (London, 1557; STC 16081), sig. A5v. Had Mary I not died so soon, the tide might have turned even in Sarum books, as the bilingual primer printed in 1557 by John Wayland shows commas in both Latin and English: *The prymer in Englishe and Latine* (London, 1557; STC 16080), before sig. E1.

nascent fashion for metrical psalters, which were unable to accommodate irregularity in line lengths, probably fostered the transition.[106] A new convention appears to have stabilized by 1559, when the Elizabethan version of the prayer book came back into force. Subsequent textual sources uniformly convey that "holy, holy, holy" comprised half of one verse at most.

The situation in notated sources was more complex. Some reflect the shift just described. In his *Booke of Common Praier Noted* (1550), John Merbecke supplied several graphic aids to clarify where verses begin and end, including vertical lines spanning the staff, fermatas, and a special note called a "close" that "is only vsed at [the] end of a verse."[107] These three types of markings all indicate that the three iterations of "holy" in the Te Deum were here being regarded as merely part of one verse, rather than as three separate verses (see Figures 1–2):

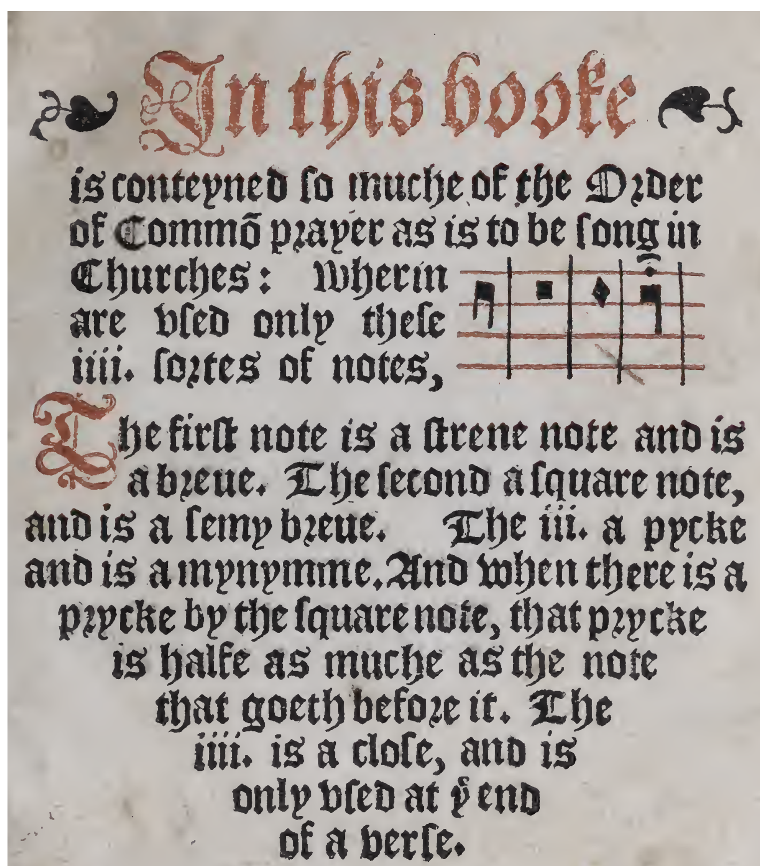
In this booke
is conteyned ſo muche of the Order of Commõ prayer as is to be ſong in Churches: Wherin are vſed only theſe iiii. ſortes of notes,
The firſt note is a ſtrene note and is a breue. The ſecond a ſquare note, and is a ſemy breue. The iii. a pycke and is a mynymme. And when there is a prycke by the ſquare note, that prycke is halfe as muche as the note that goeth before it. The iiii. is a cloſe, and is only vſed at ẏ end of a verſe.

Figure 1: John Merbecke, *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, sig. A2r.
(Courtesy of Boston Public Library/Rare Books; shelfmark Benton 1.3)

[106] Robert Crowley's 1549 psalter, the earliest publication of its kind to include the Te Deum, indeed uses commas between each iteration of "holy" (STC 2725, sig. UU1v), as does Sternhold and Hopkins's landmark *Whole Booke* (1562).
[107] John Merbecke, *The booke of common praier noted* (London, 1550; STC 16441), sig. A2r.

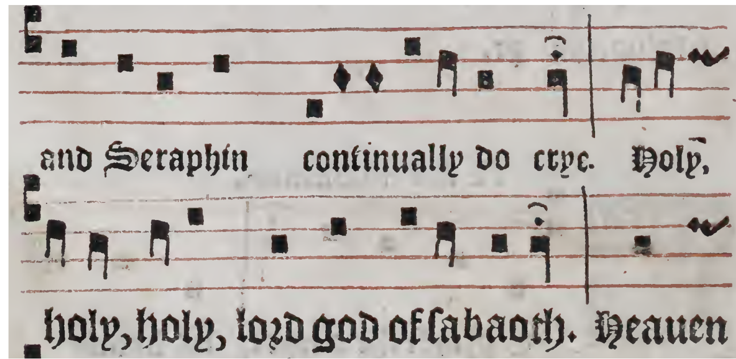

Figure 2: John Merbecke, *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, sig. [B]2v.
(Courtesy of Boston Public Library/Rare Books; shelfmark Benton 1.3)

Choral polyphony could betray underlying verse divisions of a text through the convention of alternation at a regular interval (by verse or by half-verse): paralleling the more regularized structure of Elizabethan and Jacobean printed books would thus mean forgoing the relatively rapid choral alternation at the threefold "sanctus" that had characterized pre-Reformation practice. Several contemporary compositions do appear to follow this "new" scheme. In the Te Deum settings from the *Short* services by William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons, for instance, the pace of alternation does not speed up appreciably at "holy, holy, holy."[108]

Other polyphonic settings of the Te Deum in English, however, do show a clear increase in antiphonal activity at "holy, holy, holy." A telling example comes from Thomas Morley's *First Service*, which dates roughly from 1600, the midpoint of the present study.[109] It is a "verse" service, in which independent instrumental accompaniments and solo vocal passages are added to the textural mix of the two half-choirs: lines are assigned to the full choir, to either side, or to soloists or small groups of soloists accompanied by an independent organ part. The words of the first section are apportioned as indicated in Table 1:

Full choir (or [mixed] verse)	*Cantoris*	*Decani*
We praise thee, O God (tenor)		
We knowledge thee...(mixed)		
All the earth doth worship...		
		To thee all Angels...
	To thee Cherubin...	
	Holy, Holy, Holy	
		Holy, Holy, Holy
	Lord God of Sabaoth	
Lord God of Sabaoth		

[108] Monson, *English Services*, 70; P.C. Buck et al., *Tudor Church Music* (London: OUP, 1923–1929), 4:36.
[109] John Morehen, ed., *Thomas Morley II: Services*, vol. 41 of *Early English Church Music*, ed. Magnus Williamson (London: Stainer & Bell, 1963–), 15.

		Heaven and earth...
	The glorious company...	
		The goodly fellowship...
	The noble army...	
The holy church...		
The father of an infinite...		
Thine honorable true...		
Also the holy Ghost...(a6)		
Thou art the King...(a6)		

Table 1: Thomas Morley, *First Service*, opening section

In this opening section, each whole verse is allotted entirely to one side of the choir, or to the full choir, with two exceptions. One is the opening line, "We praise thee, O God, we knowledge thee to be the Lord," set as an accompanied tenor solo. The second exception to this strict allotment of whole verses is "holy, holy, holy." Here the pace of alternation appears to increase to the half-verse. Unlike the opening of the piece, however, this half-verse is then repeated, with similar but not identical music, by the opposite side of the choir. It seems significant that this kind of immediate antiphonal repetition appears nowhere else in this Te Deum. This kind of analysis produces similar results for the Te Deum from Thomas Tomkins's *Fifth Service*: the only antiphonal repetition in the entire setting occurs at "holy, holy, holy," and no other portions of the opening section are isolated to one side of the choir.[110]

There are several reasons for which patterns like these should not be attributed too readily to the influence of contemporary discourses of angels on contemporary composers and scribes. First, antiphonal activity is plainly ubiquitous in this repertoire. Second, even if it were not, any supposed representational intent of composers or scribes cannot be deduced from a score, especially those edited from such notoriously problematic sources.[111] Third, even if choral alternation reflected compositional or scribal intent, its sudden appearance or increase at the words "holy, holy, holy" easily could have served purposes other than representing angels, whether musical, rhetorical, or otherwise.

Thus, rather than asking how or why composers and scribes collectively arrived at these sorts of structures, we might consider what sorts of interpretations these moments afforded listeners in England in the decades around 1600, as well as what political purposes such interpretations could serve. The remaining questions, then, are whether it could be theologically plausible, rhetorically useful, or spiritually appealing to construe antiphonal singing at "holy, holy, holy" in the Te Deum as an angelic performance that enabled or strengthened any sort of anagogical contemplation within worship, and, if so, under what conditions. This shift in perspective from composers to listeners further invites historians to read a wide array of musical gestures and arrangements against the historical background provided by contemporary conceptions of the music and music-making of

[110] Buck et al., *Tudor Church Music*, 8:214.
[111] See Craig Monson's remarks about the extraordinary difficulties of editing the vernacular church music of William Byrd in Monson, *English Services*, v.

heaven. We might speculate that listeners who subscribed to the notion of a sonically abundant heaven could experience sonic shifts, contrasts, or complexities at "holy, holy, holy"—taking the forms of increased polyphonic activity, textural changes, and even rhythmic differences between parts—as expressions of "heavenly harmonie." Protestant worshippers who were armed with the flexible conception of heavenly music that we saw Fotherby sketch would have been more likely to hear a variety of musical combinations as representing angelic singing, especially when encouraged by angelic texts. This raises the possibility that *alternatim* singing was only one clearly defined element of a larger network of sonic effects and relationships—which the notion of "singing by course" helped to construct and hold together—that came closest to staging heaven at the liturgical moments featuring the angels' own words.

V. THE POLITICS OF TRANSCENDENCE

All the strands of thought developed in this chapter collide in a remarkable passage from Peter Hay's *A Vision of Balaams Asse. Wherein hee did perfectly see the present estate of the Church of Rome* (1616).[112] Hay, who described himself as a "*Gentleman* of North-Britaine [i.e. Scotland]" and a "reformed Catholic," purportedly wrote the work "for the reformation of his Countrymen. Specially of that trvly Noble and Sincere Lord, Francis Earle of Errol," a relative of the author who had been a leading Catholic antagonist of the Scottish government since the 1580s.[113] But Hay's *Vision*, while evidently contributing to a long tradition of English anti-papal literature, did far more than encourage his kinsman to turn away from popery. It also promoted the Jacobean campaign to make the Scottish Kirk look more like its English counterpart, including an entire chapter urging that the music of the latter be received into the former. In this chapter Hay claimed to experience heaven through the representation of "interchangeable chaunting in the Seraphins" when he heard the words "holy, holy, holy" sung during the Te Deum in English cathedrals—a striking assertion given the work's Calvinist contexts, which I will describe below. The *Vision* thus offers a glimpse of the contemporary possibilities and motivations for invoking anagogical or concelebratory rhetoric in a description of liturgical experience that purported to exhort a religious conversion but that also reflected the intersection of several threads within British religious politics. In order to understand the political climate in which Hay was writing, as well as the ideological positioning of his rhetoric, a substantial digression is required.

We begin with the issues of ecclesiastical polity and ritual practice that faced the contemporary Scottish Kirk, matters in which Hay appears to have maintained a near-lifelong interest.[114] For our purposes, the roots of these issues can be traced to the ecclesiastical ambitions of the sitting monarch.

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[112] Further biographical information for Hay may be found in James Campbell, *Balermino and its Abbey: A Parochial History* (Edinburgh, 1867), 268–77.

[113] Francis had supported Spanish military campaigns in the late 1580s and early 1590s and had refused to comply with subsequent demands that he disavow his Roman faith, prompting Parliament to declare him a traitor and to force him into exile. A rapprochement was begun in 1597 but crumbled with his excommunication from the Scottish Kirk in 1608 and subsequent periods of imprisonment, although he did continue to attend parliament. See Concepcion Saenz, "Hay, Francis, ninth earl of Erroll (*bap.* 1564, *d.* 1631)," ODNB, vol. 25, 992–4.

[114] It was Hay who brought about the 1634 imprisonment of John Elphinstone, Lord Balermino, an opponent of the ecclesiastical agenda of Charles I. Hay convinced a guest to show him a copy of Balermino's petition stating grievances at measures recently imposed by the king, and forwarded the petition to John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews. See William Poole, "Peter Goldman: A Dundee Poet and Physician in the Republic of Letters," in *Neo-Latin Literature and Literary Culture in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Steven J. Reid and David McOmish (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 115.

When James VI of Scotland was crowned James I of England in 1603, his desire to foster good relations between Christian communities across the world faced a slew of foreign as well as domestic challenges, not least from English and Scottish Churches that had charted substantially disparate courses for half a century.[115] While the Elizabethan presbyterians discussed previously in this dissertation never saw their hopes for structural reformation realized, their northern counterparts enjoyed relative success in introducing presbyterianism to the Scottish Kirk. The new system, however, did not fully replace but rather existed alongside remnants of the pre-Reformation dioceses, setting up ecclesiological tension that has long defined narratives of Scottish religious affairs in the period.[116]

The changes to church discipline by which the crown sought to bring the two institutions together were unidirectional: the structures and practices of the Scottish Kirk were to be brought into alignment with those of the English Church. While this design was a somewhat predictable result of the king's own ecclesiological views, to which we will return shortly, it must also be understood in terms of a major trend within contemporary English conformist thought, one mentioned in chapter two of this dissertation: Jacobean divines were increasingly willing to emphasize the incomparable success and perfection of the Reformation in England, where, it was supposed, purity of doctrine was combined with the maintenance of an episcopal polity that, according to some commentators, was ordained *jure divino*.[117] If England had the best reformed Church, as these divines claimed, it was obvious that the Scottish Kirk should be patterned after it. In the area of church government this meant strengthening episcopacy, which the king sought to accomplish through a variety of means.[118] In 1610 the consecration of three Scottish prelates by the bishops of Ely, London, Worcester, and Rochester, marked the culmination of James's move toward what Alan R. MacDonald has called a "new autocracy," and further dramatized what some saw as the English Church's normative, or perhaps superlative, position relative to its northern counterpart.[119]

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[115] See W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 1997). Patterson draws special attention to the global scale of James's irenicism, which manifested in the king's appeals to Rome for an ecumenical council, his hospitality to and support for scholars, students, and refugees from many corners of Europe, and his roles in the Synods of Tonneins (1614) and (more famously) Dort (1618).

[116] It is difficult to summarize the development of Scottish ecclesiastical polity in the late sixteenth century without making mis-leading statements; for an in-depth account of this extraordinarily complex history see Alan R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567–1625: Sovereignty, Polity, and Liturgy* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998). While Andrew Melville is often claimed the leader of contemporary Scottish presbyterianism, often in the search for a successor to John Knox, MacDonald cautions against this interpretation, noting that in the late sixteenth century "nobody had the role which had been accorded to Knox by the Kirk of the 1560s." Ibid, 3n9.

[117] See above, 37n117. Translated literally as "by divine law," the phrase *jure divino* could assume different meanings depending on who used it and in what context, and stances taken on the issue mapped onto the partisan divisions of the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras in surprising ways. On Jacobean views of the matter see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 454–61; on their Elizabethan precedents see Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, 88–97, 101–2, 114–9, and 220–5.

[118] MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk,* 143–50, 180–2; Spinks, *Sacraments*, xiii, 56–62. See also Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485–1603* (London: Routledge, 2017), 240–4; John McCafferty, "Ireland and Scotland, 1534–1663," in Milton, *Oxford History*, vol. 1, 253–4; Patterson, *King James*, 7–13; Charles W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: the Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603–1625* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2005), ch. 6; and Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, 367–80.

[119] The event was doubly significant because once the Scottish bishops returned home to consecrate their countrymen, "for the first time, there was a non-Roman episcopate claiming apostolic succession extant across the three kingdoms"; McCafferty, "Ireland and Scotland," 254.

It must be recognized that these were not just religious matters. James's original attraction to episcopacy was rooted in fears about the political implications of the competing presbyterian model, on which he had written even before acceding to the English throne.[120] The king harbored broad concern over issues of authority that only increased in the decade leading up to the 1616 publication of the *Vision*, particularly in response to the extended polemical conflict with Rome that followed from the Oath of Allegiance controversy.[121] The event that perhaps best captures the royal anxiety with which Hay had to contend was one that created strain between James and Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot—the respective addressees of Hay's two prefatory notes—and did so in 1616, the very year in which the *Vision* was published. The king reportedly ordered the burning of a new publication on church polity by Richard Mocket, Abbot's chaplain, out of anger at "passages derogatory to the kings prerogative," and even commanded that the archbishop preside over the ceremonial pyre.[122] Apparently the author had offended the crown not only by asserting that archiepiscopal consent was required to confirm episcopal elections but also by commenting publicly on the issue without prior royal dispensation.[123]

As already suggested, government was not the only area of ecclesiastical discipline in which James sought to introduce into the Scottish Kirk features of the religion already established within the Church of England. 1615 saw the creation of "Articles required for the service of the Church of Scotland," which John McCafferty has described as "a blueprint for convergence" with England.[124] Included were a set liturgy, a confession of faith that agreed 'so neir as can be' with that of the English Church, and forms for communion, ordination, marriage, and baptism. These matters were no less fraught than episcopacy, and the tension building around them at the time Hay published his *Vision* can be seen from their escalation over the next few years. In 1616 the king agreed to withhold the so-called Five Articles of Perth—those regarding episcopal confirmation, private baptism, private communion, observance of holidays, and kneeling to receive communion—until he could visit Scotland the following year. But the delay did not suppress controversy, especially when it came to kneeling at communion, an act often regarded as idolatrous by protestants who viewed Christ's presence in the eucharist as spiritual or symbolic. The articles accordingly met with resistance that was immediate and substantial enough to lead to their initial rejection in a General Assembly in 1617. In the wake of their reluctant adoption by the same body at Perth a year later, thousands of Christians around Edinburgh refused to attend divine service.[125]

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[120] On this political ideology see Patterson, *King James*, 21–8.

[121] The controversy exposed tensions in contemporary treatments of the interrelationships between church and state. When the king and his supporters were forced to accommodate his religiously tinged absolutism to the polemical conditions of exchanges with Roman controversialists, their arguments came to sustain contradictory notions of the relationship between the ecclesiastical and civil spheres. On the one hand, in both royal theory and in practice, these did not function exclusively of one another; as Charles W.A. Prior has remarked, "the two realms were so closely linked that there is little value in attempting to conceive of them as separate entities." On the other, Jacobean critiques of Catholic views on papal authority were often framed as objections to what Hay himself would call "spiritualising the grounds of State, and temporalising the condition of Religion." Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 205; Hay, *Vision*, sig. ¶[4]r. See also Patterson, *King James*, ch. 3, and Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 56–7.

[122] BL Add. MS 72275, 5r, quoted in Kenneth Fincham, "Abbot, George (1562–1633)," ODNB, vol. 1, 21.

[123] Fuller, *Church-history*, 10.71–2, IIII[4]r–v.

[124] McCafferty, "Ireland and Scotland," 254; MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 156.

[125] Laura A.M. Stewart, "The Political Repercussions of the Five Articles of Perth: A Reassessment of James VI and I's Religious Policies in Scotland," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 38 (Winter 2007), 1024; MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 156–70. On the theological aspects of the Scottish controversy over kneeling, see Spinks, *Sacraments*, 58–62.

Published on the eve of this conflict by one Scot purportedly aiming to entice another to the protestant faith, the *Vision* shows that Hay was attuned to James's religious agenda and political sensitivities, something to be expected given his references to a personal acquaintance with the monarch.[126] Hay predicted that God would lead Britain "vnto the ioyfull Iubile of these conioyned Kingdomes, making this Isle great and fortunate in his [i.e. the king's] royall person."[127] Hay connected this hope to the sentiment that England was not just a member of a wider family of Reformed churches in Europe but the international posterchild for religious reform. His characterization of the Reformation also drew on the sort of tactically moderate rhetoric that Anthony Milton has detected in much Jacobean polemic on matters dealing with the Church of Rome, not least in the king's own works.[128] With conformists of both Calvinist and avant-garde hues characterizing the separation from Rome in increasingly restrained terms, Hay brandished an increasingly typical English exceptionalism, explaining the events of the previous century as nothing more than a careful shedding of only those aspects of popery that had departed from true religion:[129]

> But of all these Reformations which haue been lately in the Catholike Church: that of England, hath beene most vpright, perfect, and agreeable to the Architype of Ierusalem […] Princes and Prelates […] did reforme both themselues and the people, retaining alwayes in their Church the Primitiue Ecclesiasticke gouernement, with so many of their religious Rites and Ceremonies, as were agreeable with Catholike Antiquitie, and not contrary to Gods word, resolued to part no further from Rome, then she hath parted from the veritie […][130]

Elsewhere Hay emphasized the political importance of unity in the Church, remarking that religion "doth concerne vs who be subiects of Noth-britanne [sic], not onely for the hope of Catholike or vniuersall reformation […] but it concernes vs more neerly for intestine vnity, and coniunction with our *half-arch* the Church of England." The latter institution's "blessed" and "most perfect" reformation, Hay continued, had to be embraced, "seeing our opposition thereto is not onely to bee against Gods glory by maintaining distraction within the Church, but it is apparantly a schismatike alienation from the state, for Religion is the soule of the ciuill state."[131]

Hay's ideological alignment with the crown also comes through in his gestures toward another dominant theme of Jacobean polemic. The Elizabethan consensus that popery posed a greater threat to the Church of England than puritanism—an anti-papal posture through which conformists had allied with moderate puritans—began to break down under James, and the risks from the two threats

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[126] Hay spoke of "hearing his Maiesties learned discourses sometimes at his Maiesties Table." He also recalled learning on a visit to court that since he had been "brought vp in my infancie in the simple profession of Gods word at home," his "whooring after strange Gods beyonde the seas […] And returning homeward to much a Cassandrist halting betwixt two" had left James "perceauing me thus to wander in matters of religion […]" Hay, *Vision*, 119–20.
[127] Hay, *Vision,* sig. A2r.
[128] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, part 1.
[129] Ibid, 325–7. This also supported the notion, promoted by the king himself, that Rome had forced the Church of England out through its religious errors. It was on this issue that James coined the formulation "non fugimus, sed fugamur," which was adopted by a number of contemporary divines.
[130] Hay, *Vision*, 145.
[131] Ibid, 156.

came to be seriously compared.[132] Anxieties about the destructive potential of these factions typically stemmed from the consequences that their ascendance was feared to have on existing structures of authority. In 1622 the king would write to the universities that while divinity students should read "the Schoolemen" in addition to scripture and the Fathers, that category should exclude "those neotericks, both Jesuits and Puritans, who are knowne to be medlers in matters of State and monarchy."[133] Hay described these twin menaces similarly in his dedicatory epistle to Abbot: one, in "pretending to maintaine the Catholike antiquitie of the Church, doth spoyle all primitiue simplicitie to establish that most absurd and impious tyrannie of the Pope," while the other, "vnder colour of phantasticke and Ideal puritie, striueth to supplant the auncient and approued policie of the Church to the destruction and danger of the whole State."[134]

This redistribution of partisan fear reflected English circumstances that shaped Hay's publication almost as much as any developments in Scotland. These circumstances arose from the continuing prominence of anti-papal writing within the Jacobean Church, particularly among divines connected to Archbishop Abbot, the dedicatee of the *Vision*, whom Milton has described as guided by "an intense, even pathological, fear of popery."[135] We have just seen that the functions and emphases of anti-popery were shifting in this period, but the practice of writing against Rome received a new form of official support in the 1610 foundation of Chelsea College. This institution was to serve as what one scholar has characterized as "an early modern think tank" dedicated to the production of anti-papal polemic, where fellows free from educational or pastoral responsibilities could focus their energies on responding to any charge leveled in print by Roman spokesmen against the Church of England.[136] From the start, the college was populated by a number of Calvinist conformists who maintained connections with Abbot following his elevation to Canterbury in 1611. In 1616, when James reportedly asked Abbot to forward to bishops throughout the realm a royal solicitation for financial support for the institution, the archbishop appended his own personal request "that all devout, and well affected persons should by your self, and the Preachers in your Diocesse, as well publickly as otherwise, be excited to contribute in some measure to so holy an intendment now well begun."[137] Hay's *Vision* was entered into the Stationers' Register on 12

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[132] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, ch. 1.

[133] Quoted in ibid, 292. A "neotericke" is "one of late time," according to Robert Cawdry's *A table alphabeticall* (1604); Lancashire, *Lexicons of Early Modern English*. James elsewhere explained that he refrained from "ioyning unto the Church of Rome" partly because it favored "deposing Kings, and giving away their kingdomes by Papall power." Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 222. Milton notes that when circumstances required, as in the Oath of Allegiance controversy, the political dimensions of the controversy with Rome were emphasized over the many other religious issues that occupied anti-papal polemicists.

[134] Hay, *Vision*, sig. ¶¶v.

[135] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 34.

[136] Jesse M. Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2006), 55, 202; for a brief summary see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 32–4.

[137] Fuller, *The church-history of Britain*, 10.53, sig. GGGG3r. The college's fortunes, however, took a decisive turn for the worse over the next decade; during the 1630s and 1640s the building was supposedly repurposed as a pest-house (for plague victims), a brothel, a horse stable, and a prison; D.E. Kennedy, "King James I's College of Controversial Divinity at Chelsea," in *Grounds of Controversy: Three Studies in Late 16th and Early 17th Century English Polemics*, ed. D.E. Kennedy (Parkville, Australia: University of Melbourne History Department, 1989), 115. The college's declining financial situation was compounded by a public relations disaster when Benjamin Carier, one of its original fellows, defected to the Roman Church; see Michael Questier, "Crypto-Catholicism, Anti-Calvinism and Conversion at the Jacobean Court: the Enigma of Benjamin Carier," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (January 1996), 45–64.

February of the same year.[138] These communications thus help to distill the archbishop's continuing support for works that, like Hay's, mounted sustained attacks on Rome, even as anti-popery was undergoing subtle changes in relation to the wider field of protestant polemic.

Also significant to understanding the ideological context for the *Vision* is another connection to Abbot, this one forged through the "Master Doctor Goad" under whose hand the work was entered into the Sationers' Register. This was probably Abbot's chaplain Thomas Goade (1576–1638), a complex figure whose then-budding career would be deeply shaped by the theological leanings of his employer. To borrow Kenneth Fincham's phrase, Abbot had promulgated high Calvinism as one of the evangelical "preaching pastors" within the Jacobean episcopate.[139] Goade himself would articulate a Calvinist view on election as Joseph Hall's replacement at the Synod of Dort and would license a number of anti-Arminian publications during the 1620s, but would subsequently soften these stances and make small concessions to Archbishop Laud's policy on church decoration.[140] Goade's role in Hay's appeal to Abbot gives further perspective on the positions from and for which Hay was writing. He had gained or was seeking the approval of Calvinist episcopalians for a work devoted both to the exercise of attacking Rome and to the promotion of the royal agenda for Scotland.

Hay responded to all these conditions by combining anti-popery with expressions of support for the forms of discipline that the crown was seeking to implement in the Kirk. The opening chapters recount his travels in France, where he remained blinded by the "exteriour splendor and shew of Religion"[141] of the Roman faith, and Italy, where he began to detect what he described as the foul stench of popery and to discover the full measure of Roman heresy, superstition, and abuse.[142] Another chapter tells of his being happily reclaimed from that faith by God, including a pivotal "conference" with the scholar Isaac Casaubon on the return trip from Italy as well as visits with King James. Several more focus on civil and ecclesiastical polity, defending monarchy and episcopacy.

Judging from this combination of topics and the ways in which they are treated, Hay cared more about appealing to Scottish protestants and especially currying favor with English conformists than about securing the conversion of Francis or any other papists.[143] An apologia for monarchy might have been addressed to a Catholic audience, in accordance with the battle lines drawn in previous controversies between Roman and protestant polemicists over the papal power to depose kings. However, Hay's discourses on episcopacy and especially church music and vestments addressed intra-protestant disputes, and his references to Casaubon as well as his praise for James's knowledge of scripture contributed to his performance of a sort of learned, theologically moderate, explicitly political protestantism. Furthermore, Hay showed little moderation in his anti-popery, being content in one instance to invoke the Elizabethan consensus regarding the Roman Antichrist, which by 1616 no longer commanded the kind of assent from English divines that had prevailed

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[138] Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1650 A.D.*, 5 vols. (London, 1875–1894), 3:268b.

[139] Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 253–76.

[140] Elizabeth Allen, "Goade [Goad], Thomas (1576–1638)," ODNB, vol. 22, 535–6; Patterson, *King James*, 266.

[141] Hay, *Vision*, 49.

[142] Hay, *Vision*, chs. 2–4.

[143] Hay also may have supposed that Francis's record of commitment to the Roman faith did not augur well for a conversion at this point: in a 1628 will Francis maintained that he lived and died sincere in his devotion to Catholicism and expressed hope that relatives and strangers alike would also come to embrace it. James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904–1914), 3:576.

under Elizabeth I.[144] This suggests a certain continuity with traditional patterns of anti-popery, a form of polemic that had long provided a way for protestant divines not to evangelize to Roman Catholics but to display allegiance to the Church of England, and under James to perform rejection of the political implications of papal authority.[145] Thus, the *Vision*, which was printed in London, may have been intended not so much to induce Francis's conversion, or even to persuade resistant Scots and their English counterparts to tolerate James's ecclesiastical agenda, but to ingratiate the author to the English king and archbishop to whom the work's prefatory notes were addressed, and perhaps to hasten Hay's ascension in the estimation of the wider English conformist ranks.[146]

It has been necessary to describe these particulars of the context of the work in order to understand the nature and ideological positioning of Hay's appeal to the notion that experiences of angelic presence in worship might be heightened through music. The chapter following his defense of episcopacy launched a lengthy explanation of "the reasons why wee should receiue againe into the Church Organs and Music […] together with the like discourse for reception of the clerical garments which be in the same Church."[147] Again, this came at a time when ceremonial reform to the Kirk was clearly on the royal mind. Particularly striking is Hay's framing of the issue as one of "receiving again," as the restoration of customs that were purged at the Reformation, perhaps over-zealously so in his estimation. This framing worked to strengthen the claims of the Church of England to being a true church by emphasizing its visible continuity with the medieval institution.[148]

Music took the lead. Hay couched his comments about music within a larger rhetoric of the mechanisms by which worship both provokes religious zeal and constructs a channel from earth to heaven. Classifying music as one of the "externall helps" toward these ends, he explained that in public prayer "our inward zeale and deuotion is the more enflamed and increased euen towards God, and illustrated and imparted mutually by one to another by the outward additaments and helps of gesture, tunes, acclamations, [and] melodious harmonie of voice and instrument […]" These aids facilitate "those apprehensions which otherwise it could not without difficultie and laborious intention be framed vnto." Crucially, these apprehensions are not piously abstract but framed with the customary spatial dimensions of heavenly imagery, for it is by "the loftinesse whereof" that "the soule getteth winges to mount the swifter and soare the higher."[149] While the "shrilnesse or sweetnesse of these sounds" does not "really pierce the heauens," Hay admits, "this externall and vocall adoration" is "commodiously seconded and strongly redoubled by those instigations and transportations which are suggested by Musique."[150] Hence

> doth the heauenly vigor of stately and maiestike Musique both of voice and instruments, set forth it selfe as vpon a fit stage of action, when the vniuersall Church presenteth to

[144] Hay might have taken a different approach just a year or two later; from 1617, proponents of "a less than full-blooded form of anti-popery," and of more irenicism towards Rome, began gaining ground due to intensifying negotiations for the Spanish Match and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 58.
[145] See Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, ch. 4, and Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, ch. 1.
[146] The significance of the work being printed in London is made clearer through a contrast with Hay's other known printed work, which was also addressed to a Scottish audience but actually printed in Scotland: *An advertisement to the subjects of Scotland, of the fearfull dangers threatned by Spayne. Also, other treatises* (Aberdeen, 1627; STC 12971).
[147] Hay, *Vision*, sig. A[4]v (the page is mistakenly marked "A").
[148] On the issue of visibility see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 128–34, 270–321.
[149] Hay, *Vision*, 210.
[150] Ibid, 211.

> God hir reuerent and awfull adoration of his heauenly Maiestie, when the tongues of Angells and of all other creatures are represented by the tongues of men [...][151]

However, Hay considered his "intended discourse," that is, his principal rhetorical aim in this chapter, to be the "prosecution" of the case that in history, as reported in scripture, "we finde very frequent and diuerse motiues for the approbation and recommendation of the vse of Musicke in the seruice of God."[152] This evidence, he notes, "may be raunged according to these seuerall times, into which by the ordinance of the Creator, all time, and euen all succeeding eternitie is diuided: namely the ages before the law, vnder the law, the current season of the Gospel, and the boundlesse eternity of future glory."[153] Predictably it was in discussing the last of these, "boundlesse eternity," that Hay's arguments for the religious potential of music reached their apogee:

> As the Church militant in the three forenamd estates and seuerall times, so and much more the Church triumphant in eternity, doth out of the Scriptures supplie vs with proofe of the conueniency of setting foorth the praise of God with mellodious harmony. For when in reading the Scriptures I view that little (yet sufficient for our knowlepge [sic]) which God hath reuealed concerning the state of the blessed Angels & Saints in heauen, mee thinkes it must needes bee great rashnesse, to condemne that as superstitious or superfluous, if imitated heere on earth, which the spirit of God testifieth to bee the endlesse imployment of those that see God face to face in heauen.[154]

Hay here implies that in the early seventeenth century it was possible to critique as superstitious the tendency to construe "setting foorth the praise of God with mellodious harmony" as an imitation of angels. We might thus surmise that the positive emphasis on metaphor we saw from Calvin and Perkins also had a negative side: some early Stuart authors, Hay appears to suggest, placed limits on how literally one should interpret an exhortation to imitate angels, and consequently bristled at the invocation of angelic precedents for specific musical practices.[155]

Having dismissed the "rashnesse" of critiquing links between mortal and angelic singing, Hay proceeded to defend the pursuit of angelic bases for the worship of God:

> Is it not that which wee hope and grone for in the vale of this flesh to become once ἰσάγγελος[156] like to the Angells? Is it not that which we daily pray for, that Gods will may be done on earth as it is in heauen? why then may wee not, why ought we not euen now to imitate the worke of the Angells in their adoring the most High, and as farre as we can performe that in our Churches (the type of the euerlasting Temple) which we shall, when we are hereafter cloathed with immortalitie, intend in heauen perpetually?[157]

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[151] Ibid, 211.
[152] Ibid, 214.
[153] Ibid, 214.
[154] Ibid, 223–4.
[155] See the discussion of Richard Culmer and puritan suspicion of performance in Apgar, "How to Sing Like Angels."
[156] "Like an angel," cf. Luke 20:36; Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 480. While Hay gives slightly different diacritical markings, I have reproduced those given in Danker.
[157] Hay, *Vision*, 224.

The words "as farre as we can" hinted at the possibility of a more literal approach to using angels as guides to pious conduct. Pressing this point further, Hay contended that scripture contains all we need to know to imitate angels. If we simply open the Bible, "wee shall there see & heare the blessed Seraphins thus blessing and adoring him *that sitteth on an high throne, crying to one another & saying, Holy, holy, holy Lord of hosts. The whole world is full of his glory.*"[158] Shortly thereafter he described the spiritual work this text accomplishes in a ritual context:

> Loe here we haue plainly represented vnto vs not only singing and that by repetition againe & againe, but interchangeable chaunting in the Seraphins in that they are sayd to *cry one to another holy, holy, holy,* which three sacred words the embleme of the euer-blessed Trinitie, when I heare in the *Te Deum* in the vulgar tongue with a point of maiesticall correspondence grauely and reuerently sung in the Cathedrall Churches of England, how others are affected I know not, but for my selfe me thinks the very Celestiall Temple of God is brought downe among vs, or we in these bodies rapt vp among the Seraphims, and bearing parts in the Quyre of heauenly souldiers.[159]

Contemporary accounts that provide such detail about ritual conditions are extraordinarily rare. There are several reasons to suppose that this is a description of choral singing, although the information is omitted. First, as we have seen, congregational psalmody hardly required a chapter-length defense in 1616. Second, Hay claims to "heare" these words sung, but not to sing them himself. Third, the reference to cathedral churches may mobilize the binary of parish and cathedral that for half a century had been used to decry the allegedly bloated hierarchies and popish rituals of the latter: Hay was holding up precisely those aspects of religious ceremony that found their fullest expression in cathedrals, and choirs were a key element of the stereotype.[160]

More remarkable is Hay's apparent insistence that representations of "interchangeable chaunting" provoke the transcendence he describes. He had already shown an interest in the fine points of seraphic performance in the first pages of the *Vision*, making multiple references to the notion that the two Testaments behave "in manner of these Seraphins seene by *Isai*, which by alternatiue voices did continually sing, *holie, holie*."[161] In the present passage, however, Hay explicitly subordinates repetition beneath "interchangeable chaunting […] in that they are sayd to *cry one to another holy, holy, holy*." Furthermore, it is not simply singing these words but singing them "with a point of maiesticall correspondence" through which Hay is made to feel that he and his fellow worshippers are "rapt vp among the Seraphims, and bearing parts in the Quyre of heauenly souldiers." While leaving it impossible to determine whether this vague "point of maiesticall correspondence" is supposed to be effected through *alternatim* practice, some more flexible commodity like "singing by course," or anything else, Hay offers a disarmingly detailed description of a process by which "interchangeable chaunting" could simulate the seraphim, giving the listener the impression of their spiritual presence and a foretaste of eventual participation in the everlasting

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[158] Just a bit more exploration, Hay writes, leads us to further evidence of heavenly beings using similar words in God's praise. In Revelation 4:8 we read of "the foure beasts full of eyes, encompassing the throne & without ceasing day and night singing the like Antiphone *Holy, holy, Lord God Almighty which was, and which is, and which is to come*." Ibid, 224.
[159] Hay, *Vision,* 224–5.
[160] See above, 23n38.
[161] Hay, *Vision*, 6.

song. Again, "interchangeable chaunting" might have meant something different to different individuals, allowing the experience to cut across compositions or sonic structures. In this view, a range of combinations of sounds could suggest the idea of heaven conveyed by Martin Fotherby—a realm of unparalleled musical richness that owed as much to coordinated complexity as it did to any kind of sonic splendor.

Another publication embroiled within these contemporary conflicts over ecclesiastical relations with Scotland merits mention in connection with Hay's *Vision*. A Scottish presbyterian petition made to the king in July 1617 received a hasty response from James Maxwell, a prolific theological writer who had renounced "puritanisme and Geneuisme" in 1607 and had hoped for years to gain an appointment to Chelsea College.[162] Maxwell hoped the crown's project of religious unity would lead to an apocalyptic global empire, one that would mark the final age preceding Christ's return. His "probations" of the Church of England's superiority over all "Geneuian" churches included several sections explaining why "the Church of England is more heauen-like than the Geneuian," including one on "heauenly *harmonie*."[163] It is not surprising that as his standard in this area Maxwell took Revelation, where "those holy and vnspotted Priests are painted out in seauen or eight places […] *singing new songs* vnto God in most melodious manner […]" But he also gave a teaser of an impassioned defense of singing *alternatim* that was to comprise part of an expanded discourse on "mysticall musicke" in his *Dies Domini*, which was never published or even finished:

> And there I shal prooue both by Scriptures and Fathers authoritie, and by irrefragable reasons euidencie, the lawfulnesse and commendablenesse of the musicall consent of voyces and instruments in the seruice of God, and that the alternatiue Church singing of the *Quire*, diuided into two parts, is conformable vnto the manner of the heauenly Churches musicke, as may be gathered out of the prophecie of *Isay*, who in his vision of the maiestie of God and his glorious *Seraphims*, saith *that one cryed to another and said, holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hostes, the whole world is full of his glory*. And truely the Doctours of the Church, and other ecclesiasticall writers doe witnesse in expresse words, as shall be shewed in our said worke, that the first Christians were wont to sitte one for against another, as wee see they doe now adaies in the *Quire*, and to inuite or cohort alternatiuely or by turnes, one another to the praising of God, by singing of Psalmes.[164]

Considered in tandem with Hay's own appeal to Isaiah 6:3, these remarks demonstrate the attractiveness of this link between heavenly and earthly worship to authors who were promoting a particular vision for Scotland's ecclesiastical future. As we have seen, the use of such vivid imagery in connection with liturgical music had extensive roots within the exegetical and devotional literature of the late Tudor and early Stuart period, and manifested in ways that push against stereotypes of an English Calvinist austerity toward music.[165] Putting together common ideas and images, the late Tudor and early Stuart authors we have examined did not flout Reformed theology so much as

[162] Arthur H. Williamson, "Maxwell, James (*b*. 1581?, *d*. in or after 1635)," ODNB, vol. 37, 503.
[163] James Maxwell, *A new eight-fold probation of the church of Englands divine constitvtion* (London, 1617; STC 17704), sig. B3v; ibid, p. 46.
[164] Ibid, 46–7.
[165] Recent research on puritan piety has already begun qualifying such stereotypes. See especially Glenda Goodman, "'The Tears I Shed at the Songs of Thy Church': Seventeenth-Century Musical Piety in the English Atlantic World," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65 (Fall 2012), 691–725.

survey devotional terrain outside the conventional emphases of Reformed piety. Maxwell may have claimed a departure from the tradition symbolized by Geneva, but the firm Calvinism of the parties who sanctioned Hay's *Vision*—Goad and perhaps Abbot by extension—need not have led them to feel unnerved by the implication that spiritual experience could be enhanced through recognition of a scripturally deduced similarity between angelic and mortal practices. Gestures toward angelic models were perhaps more closely associated with the avant-garde conformity embodied by a figure like Lancelot Andrewes but not necessarily repugnant to other forms of contemporary divinity.[166] It is tempting to situate such gestures within any of the middle grounds that have been described by historians of the post-Reformation English Church, but even without embracing these models it can be said with confidence that rhetorics of angelic-cum-human music appealed to many contemporary protestants.

Furthermore, these writings by Perkins, Andrewes, Hay, Maxwell, and others underscore the complex positions of both angels and music within Jacobean discourse. The former were flexible entities with unassailable scriptural credentials that could fortify a variety of religious viewpoints, while approbation of the latter fractured largely in its particulars—which types could be used and in what kinds of ritual contexts. Against a background of widespread contemporary agreement that the right kind of music, once determined, justly trained the spiritual faculties on "higher things," Hay is set apart by the suggestion that spiritual experience could be directly enhanced through the articulation of specific relationships between the performance practices that angels supposedly employed and those used on earth. While the utility of so much angelic imagery derived from its flexibility, "singing by course" was a case where ecclesiastical tradition and early modern culture more broadly provided especially potent tools for arguing not only that worship joined earth to heaven but that certain practices were especially effective in achieving this end.

Finally, in using choral alternation to connect the present to the past, and each to eternity, Maxwell's treatment of "the alternatiue Church singing of the *Quire*, diuided into two parts," parallels the sources examined throughout this dissertation by molding the meanings of vocal practices, even their very definitions, according to a larger polemical framework. Chapter two showed how English divines amassed evidence for the coherence of vocal practice across cathedral and parish. Chapter three showed other writers developing theories of constructive vocal interaction in corporate prayer, partly in response to critics who had decried vocal "tossing" for contributing to chaos, sonic and otherwise. In such cases, the conformist ideologies that worked through and indeed produced the notion of "singing by course" ultimately held the Church of England, the faith it sustained, and the practices through which that faith was lived to be true to God.

[166] As noted in chapter two of this dissertation, it is additionally crucial to distinguish angelic rhetoric used to assert that particular ritual forms were *valuable* from those used to claim such forms were *necessary*; see above, 36–7.

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