



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Singing the Reformation: Celebrating Thomas Wode and his Partbooks 1562-92

Citation for published version:

Dawson, J & O'Regan, N 2011, Singing the Reformation: Celebrating Thomas Wode and his Partbooks 1562-92. Wode Psalter Project Team.

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publisher Rights Statement:

© Dawson, J., & O'Regan, N. (2011). Singing the Reformation: Celebrating Thomas Wode and his Partbooks 1562-92. Wode Psalter Project Team.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.





SINGING THE REFORMATION

Edinburgh 2011

Wode Psalter Project Team

*Thou little church, to whom Christ hath restored
The cleare lost light of his evangel pure:
Thy God doth with all diligence procure,
That with his worde, thou maist be stil decorde. [decorated]*

*Thogh you have long his wholesome trueth abhorred
Yet his great mercies did thy blindness cure
Submitting thee, unto the careful cure,
Of suche pastours, as truly teache his worde.*

*Out of whose hands (with great thanks) now receive,
All Davids Psalmes, set foorth in pleasant verse:
A greater gift of them thou couldst not crave.
Whose endles frute, my pen can not rehearse:
For here thou hast, for everie accident,
That may occure, a doctrine pertinent.*

Sonnet introducing the first Scottish Psalm Book (1565)
(Exhibit 6)



SINGING THE REFORMATION

**Celebrating Thomas Wode and his Partbooks
1562–92**

**Main Library, University of Edinburgh
6 August – 28 October 2011**

**Edinburgh 2011
Wode Psalter Project Team**

LIST OF EXHIBITS

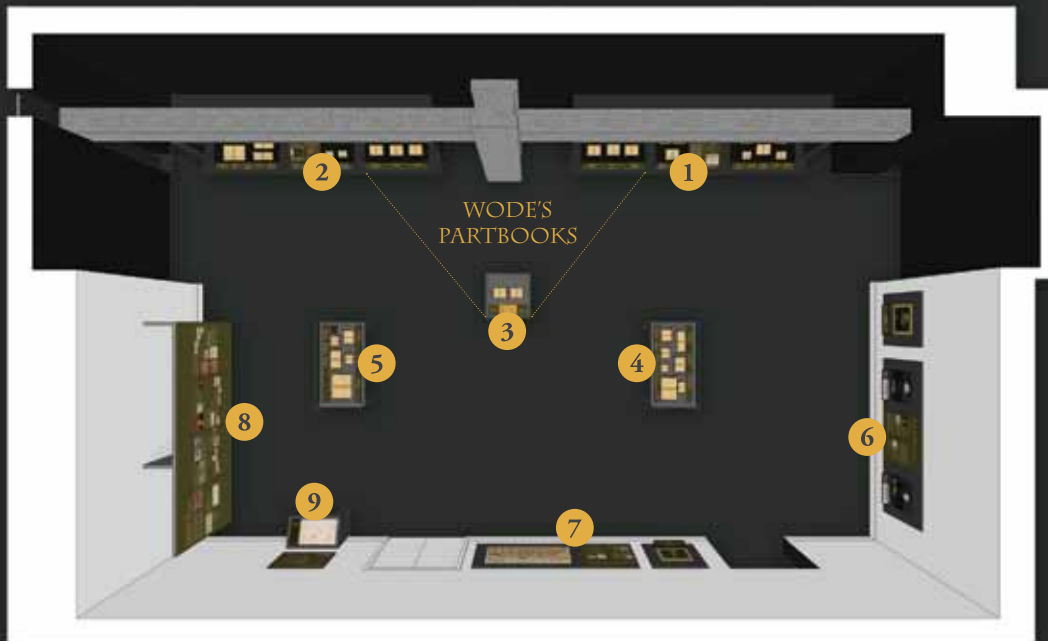
This exhibition may be navigated in a number of ways. As well as the list of exhibits below, this booklet provides additional background and context and its sections cover the four main themes on display: Music; the Stewart court; At home; Thomas Wode and the Reformation.

All David's Psalmes

Rebec, modern reproduction, EUCHMI (Exhibit 1)
Sackbut or trombone, Nuremberg 1594, EUCHMI 2695 (Exhibit 2)
Wode Partbook, Altus (Set 1) British Library MS 33933 (Exhibit 3)
Wode Partbook, Bassus (Set 2) EUL Special Collections Dk.5.15 (Exhibit 4)
Wode Partbook, Cantus (Set 2) EUL Special Collections Dk.5.14 (Exhibit 5)
First Scottish Psalm Book (*Forme of Prayers*) Edinburgh, 1565, National Library of Scotland H.29.d.5c (Exhibit 6)
Scottish Psalm Book (*Forme of Prayers*) Middleburg, 1602 ed., New College Library tUR 77 1602 (Exhibit 7)
Scottish Psalm Book (*Forme of Prayers*) Edinburgh, 1635 ed., New College Library tUR 77 1635 (Exhibit 8)
James VI *His majesties poeticall exercises* Edinburgh, 1591, EUL Special Collections De.3.115 (Exhibit 9)
Jean Servin *Psalmi Davidi a G Buchanano* (Lyons imprint) Geneva, 1579, National Library of Scotland Cwn.536 (Exhibit 10)
Alexander Hume *Hymnes and spirituall songs* Edinburgh, 1599, EUL Special Collections De.3.103 (Exhibit 11)
Robert Rollock *An exposition upon some select Psalmes of David* Edinburgh, 1600, EUL Special Collections Dd.8.68 (Exhibit 12)
William Morray (Murray) *Nyne Songs* Edinburgh, 1634, EUL Special Collections Dd. 9.41/5 (Exhibit 13)

The Art of Music

Lute, probably made in Padua, start 17th century, labelled 'Matheus Buchenberg', EUCHMI 3249 (Exhibit 14)
Tenor Recorder, possibly made by Bassano family, Venice or London, 16th century, EUCHMI 3921 (Exhibit 15)
Wode Partbook, Quintus Trinity College Library, Dublin MS 412 (Exhibit 16)
Wode Partbook, Altus (Set 2) Georgetown University, Washington DC MS 10 (Exhibit 17)
Wode Partbook, Bassus (Set 1) EUL Special Collections La.III.483.3 (Exhibit 18)



- 1 All David's Psalmes
- 2 The Art of Music
- 3 Syngis my part
- 4 The Reformatioun
- 5 O Lord
- 6 my Lord James
- 7 Sanctandrous
- 8 Hamely with God
- 9 Audio-visual

John Carswell *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh (Forme of Prayers* or Book of Common Order) Edinburgh, 1567, EUL Special Collections Dd.10.44 (Exhibit 24)

A new Gaelic version of the Psalmes of David Edinburgh, 1801, EUL Special Collections CR.3.56 (Exhibit 25)

The Art of Music Anon., c1580, British Library Add MS 4911 (Exhibit 19)

Robert Edward's Commonplace Book, National Library of Scotland MS 9450 (Exhibit 20)

William Mure of Rowallan's Partbook, EUL Special Collections MS La.III.488 (Exhibit 21)

William Stirling's Music Book, National Library of Scotland MS 5.2.14 (Exhibit 22)

Dowglas-Fischer Partbooks, EUL Special Collections MS 64 (Exhibit 23)

Syngis my part

Wode Partbook, Cantus (Set 1) EUL Special Collections La.III.483.1 (Exhibit 26)

Wode Partbook, Tenor (Set 1) EUL Special Collections La.III.483.2 (Exhibit 27)

my Lord James

Wedding Portrait of Lord James Stewart, Hans Eworth, 1562, private collection. Photograph by Andy Phillipson.

Blackwork stitching copied from Lord James' portrait [height 3.2cm] by Nancy Bailey (Exhibit 28)

Wedding Portrait of Annas Keith, Hans Eworth, 1562, private collection. Photograph by Andy Phillipson.

Blackwork stitching copied from Annas' portrait [height 2cm] by Nancy Bailey (Exhibit 29)

Painting of George Buchanan, Anon., c.1582, EU Fine Art Collection 214 (Exhibit 30)

Sanctandrous

Painting of John Knox, Anon., probably late sixteenth century, EU Fine Art Collection 215 (Exhibit 31)

Map of St Andrews by John Geddy, c.1580, National Library of Scotland MS 20996

The Reformatioun

Aberdeen Breviary (*Breviarii Aberdonensis*) Edinburgh, 1510, EUL Special Collections De.1/1.53-54 (Exhibit 32)

Book of Hours, Use of Sarum, late 15th century, French for Scottish owner, EUL Special Collections MS 43 (Exhibit 33)

Indulgence for shrine of St James at Santiago, Westminster, 1498, EUL Special Collections Inc. 235 (Exhibit 34)

Original manuscript of John Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, c.1566-71, EUL Special Collections La.III.210 (Exhibit 35)

Scots *Confession of Faith*, Edinburgh, 1561, EUL Special Collections JA 3238 (Exhibit 36)

Book of Common Order (*Forme of Prayers*) Edinburgh, 1587 ed., EUL Special Collections Dd.8.37 (Exhibit 37)

John Calvin *Institutio (Institutes of the Christian Religion)* Geneva, 1561 ed., EUL Special Collections Dd.2.20 (Exhibit 38)

O Lord

Book of Hours, late 15th century, Flemish, EUL Special Collections MS 312 (Exhibit 39)

Scottish Psalm Book (*Forme of Prayers*) 1594 ed., New College Library tpUR 77 1594 (Exhibit 40)

Geneva Bible (*The Bible*) Edinburgh, 1599 ed., New College Library rCB 1599/3 (Exhibit 41)

Hamilton's *Catechism*, St Andrews, 1552, EUL Special Collections Dd.7.101 (Exhibit 42)

Zacharie Boyd *Godly Mans Choise* (in *The balme of Gilead*)

Edinburgh, 1629, EUL Special Collections Dd.10.4.4. (Exhibit 43)

Sebastian Fuchs *De historia stirpium comentarii* Basle, 1542, EUL Special Collections Dh.8.34 (Exhibit 44)

Hamely with God

Stitched spot Sampler by Nancy Bailey (Exhibit 45)

Stitched cushion with Wode capital letter by Nancy Bailey (Exhibit 46)

Portrait of Esther Inglis (Mrs Kello), Anon, 1595, Photograph by the National Galleries of Scotland

EUCHMI = Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments

EUL = Edinburgh University Library



THOMAS WODE AND HIS PARTBOOKS

At the centre of this exhibition is the story of an ordinary man, Thomas Wode (or Wood), and his extra-ordinary partbooks. Without Wode, Scotland's treasure store of music would be sadly diminished. Thanks to his efforts, we can enjoy the music that was heard and performed in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Renaissance music was often written in partbooks with a separate book for each singing part or musical instrument. Wode created two sets of four partbooks, Cantus (soprano), Altus, Tenor and Bassus, and added a fifth (Quintus) for settings with additional parts and for extra musical material. Seven named partbooks and a single Quintus have survived, though one Tenor is missing (Exhibits 3–5; 16–18; 26–27). These unique manuscripts, sometimes collectively called the St Andrews' Psalter from their place of origin, are now scattered across the globe and are reunited for the first time in this exhibition. Because they preserve a significant portion of the nation's early music, they constitute one of Scotland's great cultural treasures.

The central purpose of Wode's Partbooks was to provide harmonisations for the tunes contained in the new Scottish Psalm Book. This was the task set in 1562 by Lord James Stewart, earl of Moray, and half-brother of Mary, Queen of Scots. Wode produced fair copies of the harmonies of the metrical psalms and added to his Partbooks other Renaissance music from across Europe. Moray's psalter project was part of the drive to establish the new Protestant Kirk firmly within the kingdom. When the earl became Regent of Scotland for the infant James VI in 1567, he used his national authority to push this Reformation agenda.

Thomas Wode lived during a tumultuous period in Scottish history. In 1559–60 the violent arrival of the Protestant Reformation turned his life upside down. He ceased being a Catholic monk and later became a Protestant clergyman. During these uncertain times singing the psalms offered a strong thread of stability and continuity for Scots. In his early years at Lindores Abbey, Wode sang Latin psalms as an integral part of the liturgy. After 1560 he sang the metrical psalms in English and as a Protestant Reader led the congregational psalm-singing in his parish church of St Andrews.

Wode's manuscripts are illustrated with striking drawings and are annotated with comments about his contemporaries. By displaying a wide variety of exhibits that pick up the colourful threads found within Wode's Partbooks, this exhibition is a gateway into the fascinating world of Reformation Scotland.

Wode Partbook,
Tenor (Set 1)
(Exhibit 27)

MUSIC

All David's Psalmes

The Psalms are probably the best-known collection of songs the world has ever known. They occupy a central place within two of the world's major religions (Judaism and Christianity) and have been read, recited, chanted and sung for three thousand years. The psalms were on the lips of St Ninian when he established the first Christian settlement in Scotland and have been part of Scottish life ever since. Having been the core of the daily offices in every medieval monastery and church, at the Scottish Reformation psalm-singing changed. Psalms were sung from 1560 in the language of the people rather than Latin and in poetic metre with rhyming verses replacing the biblical prose. Instead of the trained singers of the choir and clergy, the entire congregation sang the psalms in church.

In 1560 the Protestant Kirk took as its starting-point the unfinished version of the metrical psalms produced by John Knox's congregation in Geneva a few years earlier. With a subsidy from the General Assembly, the Edinburgh printer, Robert Lepreuk, published the first complete Scottish Psalm Book in 1565 (Exhibit 6). This book introduced the printing of music into Scotland and the 'Psalm buik' became a best-seller with many further editions (Exhibits 7, 8 & 40) appearing before the Westminster Directory of Public Worship (1645) mandated a new version. By then, Scots had taken the metrical psalms to their hearts, singing them on the streets and at home as well as in church.

Some tunes and words from that original Psalm Book are regularly sung today. 'All people that on earth do dwell' and its tune, 'Old Hundredth', is probably the most famous survivor. It has become firmly identified with Scotland and was sung at the Opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Now owned by Catholics and Protestants alike, during the summer of 2010 it was sung to celebrate Pope Benedict XVI's visit to Scotland as well as in the session of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland marking the 450th anniversary of the Scottish Reformation.

With some variations, metrical psalms were sung in the Protestant churches of early modern Britain and Ireland and they crossed the Atlantic with the Pilgrim Fathers and settled in America. British sailors, soldiers and settlers sang them across the globe on sea and land, helping establish the metrical psalms within the heritage of the English-speaking world. Vernacular metrical psalms were also sung throughout Protestant Europe, especially by churches in the Reformed tradition, and helped turn Protestantism into a mass movement during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.



Lute from the time
of Wode
(Exhibit 14)

Wode tells us that Lord James Stewart commissioned David Peebles to harmonise the psalms and instructed him to leave aside the 'curiosity' of music. Peebles was to avoid the complex polyphony of pre-Reformation music and instead Lord James wanted the settings to be 'plaine and dulce' (simple and sweet). In imitation of the simple four-part harmonisations sung in Calvin's Geneva, Peebles kept the psalm melody in the tenor and added harmony in the other three parts. These harmonies may initially have been intended for use in the royal household rather than in church, but there is evidence that they were adopted by choirs and by ordinary people. In 1582, for example, it was reported that two thousand citizens of Edinburgh welcomed back their minister John Durie from exile by singing Psalm 124 in harmony as they processed up the High Street. Whether in unison or harmony, metrical psalm-singing developed into an assertion of Protestant identity in Scotland.



Art of Music

While the Reformation saw the end of the traditional training programmes for choirboys, James VI's Act of Timeous Remeid of 1579 (on display) re-established song schools in burghs and colleges at public expense. Teaching materials such as the anonymous Scottish 'Art of Music' (Exhibit 19) were produced to help train boys for the new dispensation. A number of former monks and canons obtained employment in these schools and were encouraged to produce their own harmonisations of the psalms, as well as of hymns, canticles and prayers used in services. David Peebles, a former singing canon of St. Andrews and the foremost composer in the realm in the 1560s and 1570s, provided the bulk of the psalm-settings with two added by John Buchan of Haddington and Glasgow in his own hand. John Angus of Dunfermline arranged the lion's share of the canticles and prayers, aided by Andro Kemp of St. Andrews and Aberdeen. Andro Blackhall, a former canon of the Abbey of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh, became minister in Musselburgh. He was also the favoured court composer during the regencies and the subsequent years of James VI's domicile in Scotland. Wode copied three of Blackhall's anthems, settings of psalms in a more complex five-voice style, commissioned by successive regents.

Wode's contribution to our knowledge of musical life in sixteenth-century Scotland is incalculable. Afraid that, in his own words, 'music in this land should perish all utterly', Wode copied into his Partbooks a number of pre-Reformation Latin motets and secular pieces for voices and for instruments by Scottish, English and continental composers so that they would be preserved. These include pieces by the Scots David Peebles, Robert Johnson and John Fethy as well as the English Thomas Tallis and important continental composers such as Orlandus Lassus, Jacques Arcadelt, Sebastiano Festa, Jacob Clemens and Jean Maillard. He even included a non-texted transcription of one of the Hosannas from a Mass by Giovanni P. da Palestrina, dedicated to Pope Julius III in 1554. Since he referred to the work as 'ane Italian Mass,' it seems unlikely that Wode knew who had composed it.

After Wode's death others filled the blank pages in his Partbooks with a variety of vernacular songs, catches and rounds, preserving a sizeable portion of the musical legacy of the Stewart court before its move to London as well as the popular English music which flooded into Scotland thereafter. The music could have been performed by a consort of viols or by a solo singer accompanied on a lute. These additional pieces further increase the Partbooks' significance for British musical history.



Scotlandsimages.com / © National Trust for Scotland

THE STEWART COURT

Music and singing were part of normal life within the Stewart court. The acquisition of basic musical skills was seen as an essential component within royal and noble education and formed part of the culture shared across wide sections of Scottish society. Wode tells us that King James V could sight-read music and had an excellent ear but his singing voice was 'rawky' and harsh; a fact not recorded elsewhere. The King's daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, inherited his musical abilities and descriptions of her fine keyboard playing reportedly made her cousin, Queen Elizabeth of England, jealous.

'my Lord James'



Private collection

A strong interest in music and probably some skill also passed to James V's eldest surviving illegitimate child, Lord James Stewart (b. 1531/2). The King wanted his son to follow a career in the Scottish Church and in 1537 placed young James in St Andrews Priory, one of the richest and most important monasteries in the kingdom. Although only a child, James became Commendator Prior (i.e. a prior not in full religious orders), leaving the Sub-Prior, John Winram, to administer the priory and ensure James received a good education and was introduced to ideas of religious reform. When the Reformation Crisis erupted in May 1559 both the Prior and Sub-Prior joined the Protestant cause and eighteen of the twenty-two Augustinian canons later served in the Kirk. Lord James became a prominent leader of the Protestant army and in 1560 emerged as one of the triumvirate who ruled Scotland and established the new Reformed Kirk. He retained his pivotal position in government when his half-sister, Queen Mary, returned to her native land in 1561.

On 8 February 1562 in St Giles' Cathedral with Knox preaching, Lord James married Annas Keith, the highly intelligent daughter of Earl Marischal. With most of the Scottish nobility attending, the wedding and subsequent celebrations at Holyrood Palace were the social highlight of the year. The wedding portraits (on display) reveal details of the couple's luxurious matching outfits, including the frilled collars and cuffs with their blackwork embroidery (black silk on fine linen tracing intricate geometric designs) that has been specially reproduced for the exhibition (Exhibits 28 & 29). Lord James sports his court bonnet, cloak and gloves and wears a black silk, velvet and fur doublet decorated with pairs of silver buttons. His thick gold chain served both as jewellery and as instant cash or credit. Annas' costume is also of elegant black silk banded with velvet and fur trimmings. She has a striking gold lattice-work pattern on her under-sleeves setting off her gown. As befitted the daughter of the richest peer in the realm, she wears a beautiful jewelled brooch, a heavy gold rope at her neck, rings on her fingers and she carries a delicate pomander.

Wedding portrait of Lord James Stewart by Hans Eworth, 1562 (on display)

Despite a major disagreement with Knox concerning the Queen's private Mass, Moray's political authority provided essential support for the fledgling Kirk. Following Mary's deposition in 1567, Moray accepted the Regency and ruled Scotland on behalf of the 'cradle king', James VI. To remove any doubts over its legality, Moray's first parliament as Regent re-enacted the legislation of the 1560 Reformation Parliament. After his assassination in January 1570, Moray was fondly remembered by Protestants as the 'Good Regent'.

The Regent's murder had been planned and executed by the powerful Hamilton kindred and Moray's supporters demanded vengeance, seizing upon the catchphrase from the first line of the metrical version of Psalm 43, 'Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord' (on display). A bitter blood feud against the Hamiltons remained to sour Scottish political life right through the next decade. In 1578 as a means of reigniting anti-Hamilton hatred, Andro Blackhall was commissioned by Regent Morton to set Psalm 43 in parts for performance in the king's presence. Wode carefully collected and copied the piece into his Partbooks. Moray's death had deeply affected his friend and servitor, George Buchanan, who had composed a Latin elegy and the inscription on the Regent's tomb in St Giles' Cathedral.

George Buchanan

Two decades before Moray's assassination, George Buchanan (Exhibit 30) had written his Latin paraphrases of the psalms and published them with a dedication to Mary, Queen of Scots. They had become celebrated throughout Europe for their literary quality and their mastery of the Latin language and Buchanan was regarded as one of the finest Latin poets and Renaissance scholars of his day. Returning to Scotland from France in 1561, he entered Mary's service and read and discussed Roman history with the Scottish Queen as well as serving on her Council. Thanks to Moray's patronage, he was appointed principal of St Leonard's College in St Andrews and probably became personally acquainted with Wode.

Buchanan turned against Mary following the murder of Darnley, the Queen's second husband, and became her most influential detractor. During the Scottish civil war (1567-73) Buchanan was the chief polemicist for Regent Moray's government and took an active part in political and ecclesiastical affairs, being elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1567. However, his main duty was as chief tutor to the young King and all his life James VI remembered Buchanan's harsh treatment and being forced to learn Latin before he could speak Scots. In his writings against Queen Mary, Buchanan developed a constitutional theory of limited monarchy. His major work



© Adrian Vanson, King James VI, Scottish National Portrait Gallery



Rerum Scotticarum historia, (History of Scotland) published in 1582 the year of his death, asserted that this form of government had been firmly established in Scotland's past when kings had been elected by the people. Buchanan employed John Geddy, the cartographer from St Andrews, as a secretary and had him write a fair copy of drafts of his History for the King. James VI was happy to emulate his tutor in his literary and scholarly pursuits and even followed him in translating the psalms, but completely rejected Buchanan's political ideas.

King James VI

During the 1580s James VI strove to establish himself as a leading patron of the arts and demonstrate that his court was the cultural centre of the kingdom. In the portrait painted by Adrian Vanson (on display) he projects an image of a cultured patron. To supply entertainment for his court the King retained the professional musical family of the Hudsons who together formed a consort of viols. In hope of patronage for his composition, Jean Servin travelled to Scotland in 1579. He had composed richly-harmonised settings for forty-one of Buchanan's Latin psalms and had dedicated the publication to James VI (Exhibit 10). Although receiving £200 in gold, Servin did not gain a place at court and returned to Geneva. However, his visit helped stimulate interest in musical matters and coincided with the 1579 Act re-establishing the song schools (on display) and might have been linked to the writing of the 'Art of Music' (Exhibit 19).

As the centre of his Renaissance court, James VI wanted to foster literature and display his own talents. He produced a steady stream of poetry and prose publications in Latin and English. He was particularly interested in theological matters and relished debates with the Kirk's ministers. A number of his early writings have strong religious themes and one long-term project was to versify the psalms, though the edition was not published until eight years after James' death. In its early years the Scottish book market was driven by the demand for religious literature. As well as the publishing success of the Psalm Book itself, a range of books in the 1590s appeared based upon the psalms, such as Alexander Hume's *Hymnes and spirituall songes* and the biblical commentary of Robert Rollock, the first Principal of the University of Edinburgh (Exhibits 11&12). By the 1630s William Murray could aim for a wider market by recycling familiar psalm tunes to introduce new biblical 'Songs' to his audience (Exhibit 13). The psalms provided a significant literary stimulus throughout early modern Britain, forming part of the shared cultural heritage of his three kingdoms when, from 1603, King James ruled England, Wales and Ireland as well as Scotland.



Portrait of Esther Inglis,
Anon., 1595
(on display)

AT HOME

'Hamely with God'

Scots lived their lives within a varied soundscape, and for all levels of society playing music and singing in the home were traditional pastimes. At work or leisure singing came naturally to most people and musical instruments were ubiquitous, ranging from simple drums and whistles to complex and costly stringed or keyboard instruments. Celebrations were invariably accompanied by music and the ability to sing or play well was a highly prized social asset.

During a period when the majority of Scots could not read, singing was also employed as a method of teaching that allowed complete texts to be committed easily to memory. After 1560 the Protestant Kirk faced the daunting challenge of teaching a new set of religious beliefs and practices to the kingdom's predominantly non-literate population. By far the most efficient and effective method of fixing the Protestant essentials in people's memories was through singing and repetition.

Seeing the popularity of metrical psalm-singing in other countries, the Scottish Reformers recognised their potential as a vehicle for general religious instruction. Singing metrical versions helped many Scots learn the three 'basics': the Lord's Prayer (on display & Exhibit 42), the Ten Commandments and the 'Belief' or Creed. Every Scot was expected to be able to say or sing these three texts before getting married, having a child baptised or participating in the Lord's Supper. As well as being a formal requirement, the Kirk's ministers hoped these songs and psalms would become so familiar that they would be available as a devotional resource within each person's memory at any time or place.

'Hamely with God' was the phrase coined by the minister, James Melville (1556–1614), to describe to his parishioners at Anstruther, Fife, how devotion should be woven into their everyday lives. Having learned the metrical psalms by heart as a boy, Melville understood that singing was the best vehicle for drawing into domestic devotion everyone within the household; servant and master, young and old, female and male, non-literate and reader. The home had traditionally been an important location for private worship and devotion. Medieval Books of Hours with their daily prayers, psalms and beautiful illustrations had literally been 'hand-books' designed for personal use, often within a private chamber or closet (Exhibit 39 & 33). After the Reformation, they were replaced by small editions of the Psalm Book (Exhibit 37) and other devotional literature (Exhibit 43). Singing the psalms was an activity in which the whole household could, and was sometimes forced to, participate. It would be accompanied by bible readings (Exhibit 41) from those able to read. The earl and countess

of Moray were renowned for presiding over a 'model' Protestant household with its daily worship. For them devotional chamber music would also have featured strongly and singing the harmonies from Wode's Partbooks would probably have taken pride of place. In more modest homes and households, as Melville knew, singing was the key to devotion and could accompany many of the normal domestic tasks, such as stitching.

Stitching

During this period, Scots lived in a world made by hand, where the necessary skills were learned in youth and practiced throughout life. Young girls would learn to spin and work simple stitches in wools, before graduating to hemming and then to more intricate decorative stitches, perhaps being allowed to use silk thread on linen. Even today, embroidery floss is often called 'silk'. Everyday linen fabrics were relatively loosely woven compared to a modern, machine-made equivalent and averaged around 36 to 40 threads per inch, making counted stitch techniques easier to accomplish. As early as the fifteenth century, canvas embroidery of cushions, for instance, was often referred to as 'tapestry' although it had little in common with the marvellous woven hangings, such as those on view at Stirling Castle.

The little pillow with the letter 'O' based upon one of Wode's capitals was specially commissioned for the exhibition (Exhibit 46). It has been deliberately worked with wool (in tent stitch on 24-count Congress Cloth) to reflect the materials and techniques employed within a household of the 'middling sort'. The modern merino wool thread has been prepared using mordants and natural dyes that would have been available in the sixteenth century. The exhibition commission also included a spot Sampler (Exhibit 45) that was the forerunner of the modern line sampler. In Wode's day spot samplers were often stitched on a full width of cloth, with the selvage edges at the top and bottom and the long sides hemmed. The stitches, using silk threads, included in this Sampler are: straight, back, French knot, double running, padded satin, satin, cross-stitch, long-armed cross-stitch, antique hemstitching and beading. The fabric used is a 36-count 'Edinburgh' Zweigart linen stitched over two threads, giving 18 stitches to the inch. All the exhibited designs are ones found in England, Scotland and France during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, apart from the alphabet, which is a fourteenth-century script adapted slightly to include sixteenth-century Scottish letter forms.



© National Museums Scotland

Esther Inglis

Stitching played a significant part in the life of Esther Inglis (1571–1624), a remarkable needlewoman and calligrapher. As a much younger contemporary of Wode, she provides an interesting female counterpart to him and his work. The daughter of two French Protestant refugees who settled in Edinburgh in 1574, Esther was raised in the Scottish capital. Having been taught calligraphy and female domestic skills by her mother, Esther made a professional living from her dexterity with the pen and the needle. Nearly sixty of her manuscript books survive dated from 1586 to her death and some include verses in praise of two of the Kirk's leading ministers, Andrew Melville and Robert Rollock, whose commentary on the psalms she might have read (Exhibit 12). The psalms were the text most frequently chosen to display Esther's skills in calligraphy and for presentation to royal or noble patrons she produced a number of beautifully illustrated psalters with exquisitely embroidered covers (on display). In her portrait, Esther is wearing a stomacher with flowers and acorns in blackwork that she probably stitched herself. A similar style of decoration can be seen on the Beaton panels from St Andrews' Castle (on display) and in Wode's Partbooks.

Very few examples of household embroidery survive because sixteenth-century housewives were experts at reusing and recycling. Contemporary clothing was routinely remade and embroideries unpicked to satisfy the vagaries of style and taste or it simply wore out from hard wear exacerbated by the methods used for laundering. While they stitched, many women would have been looking at, and possibly copying, the pictures and designs from the decoration that adorned their houses, such as the Beaton panels (on display). Over 100 buildings in Scotland contain examples of decorative painting from this period. The ceiling of the Muses Room in Crathes Castle (on display) gives visual confirmation of the important place of music and singing within domestic life and of the common habit of writing improving texts upon the beams. Many of the painted wooden panels of the period depicted biblical scenes with the psalmist King David being a popular choice (on display). Although the Reformation banished religious art from church interiors, biblical art was welcome within the home. This reflected a broader artistic migration from the church to the chamber in the century following the Reformation.

THOMAS WODE AND THE REFORMATION

Thomas Wode

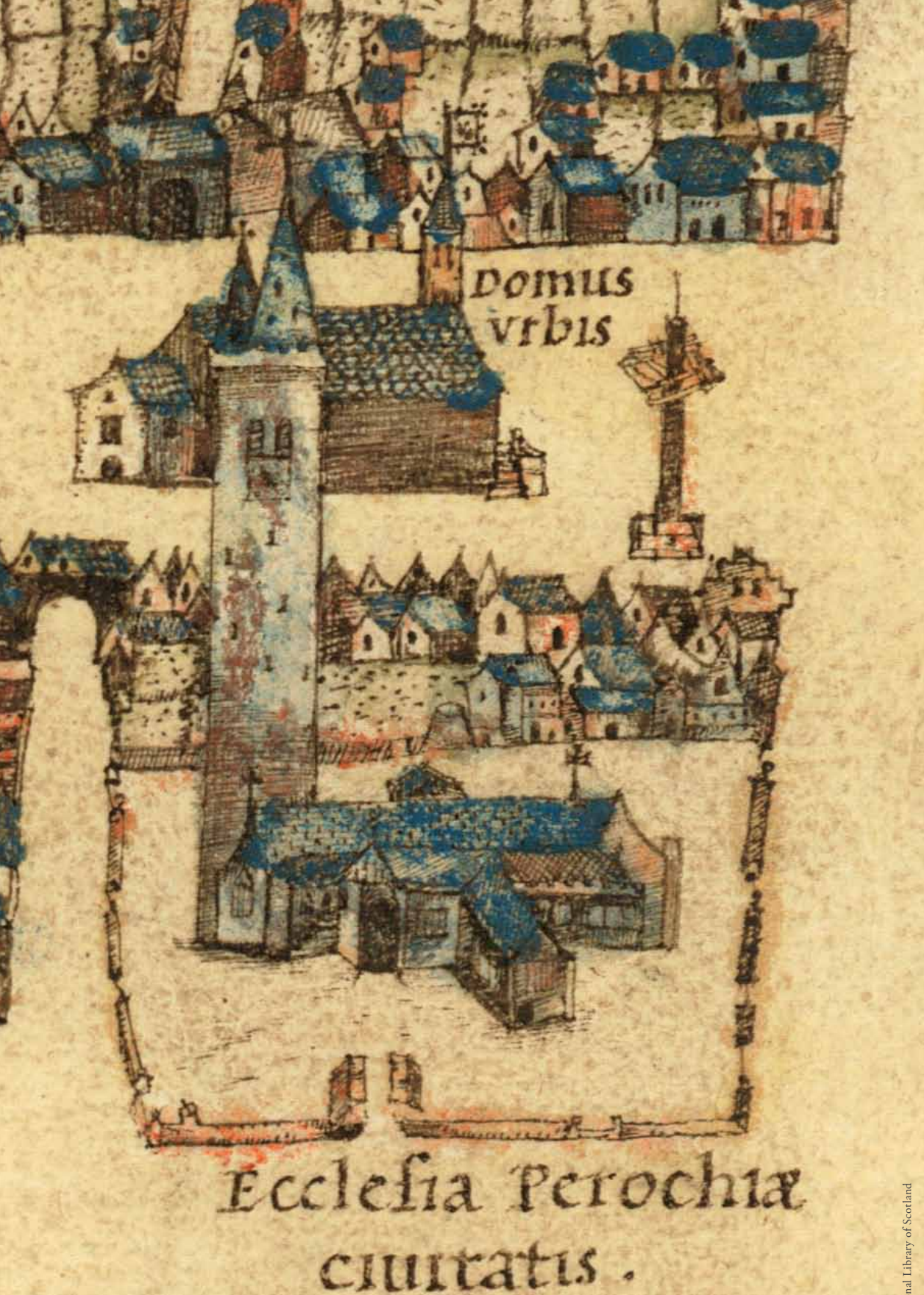
Thomas Wode began his ecclesiastical career as a monk in Lindores Abbey at Newburgh, Fife. Shortly after the St Andrews' 'Reformation Day' on 11 June 1559, a band of armed Protestants led by Lord James marched the dozen miles to Newburgh and 'reformed' the abbey. Abbot John Philips co-operated with the raiders and abandoned his monastic habit and a number of Lindores' monks, including Wode, joined the Protestants and later became clergy in the new Kirk.

By 1562 Wode had moved to St Andrews and become involved in Lord James' harmonisation project. His assignment was to produce fair copies of the musical settings of the metrical psalms but his equally important role was to dragoon the composers, especially David Peebles, into finishing their compositions. Wode's annotations in his Partbooks provide much of what is known about his life and contain two possible self-portraits (Exhibit 27 and on display).

At some point after 1562 Wode became a Reader in the parish church of Holy Trinity and in 1575 he was presented to the vicarage of St Andrews, a post that secured his financial future. During his later years Wode encountered a number of difficulties. He had to appeal to the Scottish Privy Council to secure admission to the vicarage of St Andrews and was later accused of adding unauthorised material to the church services he conducted as a Reader. Rather than a random mugging, the attack upon him in 1592 might have been linked to the feud then raging between the Welwoods and the Arthurs that drew in members of the university, church and town council. Life in St Andrews was not quite the picture-postcard view that the map of the city (on display) so skilfully portrays.

Sanctandrous

Wode wrote his Partbooks in St Andrews and thanks to John Geddy's map (on display), it is possible to see how the burgh looked when Wode was living there. This bird's eye view shows the medieval street layout with each home and building illustrated in intimate detail and even the clocks on Holy Trinity, St Salvator's and St Rule's towers have been synchronised at 4.55. Wode had asked Geddy to paint the royal arms into the front of one of the Partbooks but, much to Wode's annoyance, the cartographer procrastinated and never fulfilled the request. Geddy was a mathematician and scholar who gained access to the royal court and service to the crown through working as George Buchanan's secretary. Although it was not printed, Geddy's very fine map of St Andrews might have been intended for publication in the volumes begun in 1572 of maps of the major European cities



Detail of Holy Trinity Church from Map of St Andrews by John Geddy, c1580 (on display)

produced by Braun and Hogenberg in Cologne. St Andrews was the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland with the largest cathedral in the kingdom and the Archbishop of St Andrews' palace and castle situated next door. Wode might have visited the castle and seen the fine wooden panels (on display) commissioned by Cardinal Beaton that lined the interior chambers. Beaton's successor as Archbishop of St Andrews, John Hamilton, had attempted to reform the Scottish Church during the 1550s and had produced a *Catechism* in Scots (Exhibit 42) to teach the rudiments of the faith. At the start of the Reformation crisis, Hamilton tried to prevent Protestant preaching in his city and Knox recounted in his *History* how the Archbishop had threatened to shoot off his head if he went into the pulpit at Holy Trinity. Nothing daunted, Knox chose as his text Christ's cleansing of the Temple and his words provoked a violent attack upon Holy Trinity's altars and statues of the saints (Exhibit 35). This iconoclastic purge spread to the other churches within the burgh and on that 'Reformation Day' St Andrews switched its allegiance to the Protestant cause.

Ministers in St Andrews

Wode was personally acquainted with Knox, the famous Scottish reformer (Exhibit 31), and his annotations reveal hitherto unknown details about Knox's brief spell as minister in St Andrews in 1559. Rather than settling in the burgh, Knox accompanied the Protestant army who were fighting the French troops of the Regent, Mary of Guise. In one annotation Wode insisted this made one of Knox's best friends, Christopher Goodman, the first settled minister of St Andrews. Probably based on personal experience and friendship with Goodman, Wode added, he was 'mervells weill lykkit of this congregation bayth in land and burgh'. Goodman had requested the Master of the St Andrews' Song School, Andro Kemp, to set for him a series of sonnets based on Psalm 51. Wode copied the piece into his books, commenting that it was 'verray hard' to sing and needed plenty of practice beforehand.



'Reformatioun' and sacred music

During Wode's lifetime sacred music underwent a dramatic transformation because the theory and practice of church worship changed. In addition to affecting every Protestant church in Europe this trend was experienced in a milder form within the Roman Catholic Church. Protestants believed the Word of God had to be heard and understood by everyone and church music should be subordinated to this fundamental goal. In his *Institutes* (Exhibit 38) John Calvin defended singing in church as an apostolic practice and insisted music should carry biblical words that were comprehensible to all, so vernacular metrical psalms best suited this purpose. When sung

in a domestic context, the Genevan Church was happy to authorise intricate settings of Latin psalms such as Servin's edition of Buchanan's paraphrases (Exhibit 10).



Within the Scottish Church liturgical change was introduced at the start of the sixteenth century by Bishop William Elphinstone whose Aberdeen Breviary (Exhibit 32) included many more Scottish saints into the liturgical calendar. Saints' days and festivals were occasions for elaborate musical settings of the Mass that were sung in the cathedrals, great burgh churches and collegiate church foundations throughout Scotland. The Mass 'Cantate Domino' (Exhibit 23) for six voices was probably composed by the great Scottish composer Robert Carver who used as many as nineteen parts for his magnificent motet 'O bone Iesu'. Such complex soaring music was likened to the incense that rose heavenwards and understood as offering a glimpse on earth of the sounds of the heavenly choirs of angels. Pre-Reformation worship strove to praise God through every human sense and to provide a bridge between heaven and earth.

In 1560 a very different understanding of worship was introduced into Scotland with the adoption of the Scots *Confession of Faith* (Exhibit 36) and the *Forme of Prayers* or Book of Common Order (Exhibit 37). Protestants believed that the clear proclamation of the Word was the most important aspect of church worship and they wanted the laity to become more active participants. Church music was simplified to enable the words to take precedence and allow those who could not read to join the singing. Worship in the Kirk strove to bring understanding of the words and thereby receiving of the Word, the bridge between heaven and earth. An Act of Parliament in 1560 had banned the celebration of the Mass and Roman Catholic worship was subsequently driven underground. The cathedrals, collegiate churches and monasteries ceased to be places of worship and their trained personnel found themselves without a job. At a stroke the Catholic Church that had been the major patron, subject and location for music in Scotland was removed. Despite his firm adherence to the new Protestant view of worship, Thomas Wode realised that pre-Reformation music would be lost and so he preserved what he could in his Partbooks.

Spreading Protestantism to all the parishes of Scotland

Wode and the other Readers working for the Kirk can be seen as the unsung heroes of the Scottish Reformation who brought the Protestant message to the parishes. Initially, there were not enough trained ministers and Readers formed the bulk of the Protestant clergy. Although not permitted to preach sermons or administer the sacraments, they conducted Sunday and weekday services reading

prayers and passages from the Geneva Bible (Exhibit 41) and leading the congregational singing from the Psalm Book (Exhibits 6–8, 40). The Readers were the workhorses who turned Scotland into a Protestant country.

Since Protestant worship was conducted in the language of the people, after 1560 a Gaelic translation was needed for all the major religious texts: the Bible, the Psalm Book and the Book of Common Order. In this period half of Scotland spoke Gaelic and George Buchanan had been raised in Killearn, Stirlingshire, as a native Gaelic speaker, although he did not use the language in later life. John Carswell, the Superintendent of Argyll and Bishop of the Isles wished his fellow Gaels to have access to the key Protestant texts. In 1567 he published *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* (Exhibit 24) and this Gaelic version of the *Forme of Prayers* or Book of Common Order was the first book to be printed in any of the Gaelic languages. Carswell added items of his own composition including his Lord's Prayer in Gaelic verse (on display) and a Blessing for a Ship, both probably sung or chanted. These pieces underline the overriding importance of oral culture as the predominant method for transmitting ideas. Singing played a central part in the daily life of people in the Highlands and Islands, as it still does today.

Thomas Wode and John Carswell were direct contemporaries who in their different ways made major contributions to Scottish culture and religious life. As former Catholic clerics, they had been trained to appreciate the significance of worship and sacred music. After 1560 they were equally committed to spreading the Protestant message to people in every region of Scotland. They realised the potential of music and language to implant the new religious ideas into the hearts and minds of Scots. They sought to ensure that psalms and prayers were sung in church, on the street and in the home. These songs became part of everyday life in Scottish parishes. Singing the Reformation changed Wode's Scotland and has helped to create the country we know today.



THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

Acknowledgements

This exhibition has been mounted by a team based in the University of Edinburgh as part of the project, 'The world of Reformation Britain as seen and heard in the Wode Psalter' (2009–11), funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. Our project partners at the British Library, London, Trinity College, Dublin and Georgetown University Library, Washington DC have loaned their copies of the Wode Partbooks enabling all eight surviving copies to be seen and exhibited together for the first time.

Many of the exhibits are drawn from the Special Collections at the University of Edinburgh, and special thanks to the Digital Imaging Unit for producing all the images. New College Library and the National Library of Scotland have generously loaned items from their collections of manuscripts and early printed books and the paintings and musical instruments have kindly been loaned by Edinburgh University Fine Art Collection and Collection of Historic Musical Instruments. Nancy Bailey designed and stitched the cushion, sampler and the two pieces of blackwork. Thanks are extended to Carol Hanson of Dragonbear (www.dragonbear.com), Drea Leeds on behalf of Lorraine Behrens (www.elizabethancostume.net) and Nancy Spies of Arelate Studio (www.weavershand.com/ArelateStudio.html) for permission to reproduce patterns for the sampler; also to Eilidh Young, a graduate of the Royal School of Needlework, for providing an extra pair of stitching hands. Pearsall's range of Filoselle filament silk and Au Ver à Soie's Soie d'Alger was used for the blackwork and sampler. The pillow was stitched using Renaissance Dyeing's hand-dyed merino wools, with a majority of the colours coming from their Elizabethan range.

We would like to thank Shakir Ali, Paul Anderson and Mark Blackadder for their development of the exhibition's iPhone App and Richard Saville-Smith for handling the publicity. We are extremely grateful for the support, encouragement and expertise provided by the Wode Psalter network who are, unfortunately, too numerous to name individually.



Design by Studio SP

III out of his throne **O**ur **L**ord **I**esus christ
III **S**onne
III thy cleare **S**onne

