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Religious Change as an Influence on Sacred Musical Styles in Tudor England

Susan Hayes Hitchens

Eastern Illinois University

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RELIGIOUS CHANGE AS AN INFLUENCE ON

SACRED MUSICAL STYLES IN TUDOR ENGLAND

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SUSAN HAYES HITCHENS

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PREFACE

The Protestant Reformation in Europe and England had an enormous effect on the music of the sixteenth century. The treasury of musical matter that came into existence as a result of the Protestant Reformation is quite overwhelming. The Reformation had an even greater effect on musical composition in England in that it took fifteen years for Protestantism to take a firm hold, and the alternation of Catholic and Protestant monarchs resulted in a fluctuation of musical ideals in sixteenth century music composition.

As a lifelong member of the Episcopal Church, the author of this study has felt for some time a great interest in the history of music of the Anglican Church. The amount of music that is used to this day in the Episcopal and Anglican Churches that was written and used in the sixteenth century is staggering. In this study, the author hopes to explain the political and religious factors important to this period and to musical composition, and discuss the effects of the English Reformation on the composition of sacred music in sixteenth-century England.

It is important to dwell shortly on the historical, political and religious background of the Tudor period in order to facilitate an understanding of the motivations behind the Reformation in England. The author also feels that a short discussion of the history of sacred music up to the Tudor period is relevant. Included in this study are discussions of the sacred music composed during the reigns of the four Tudor monarchs

and a chapter concerning the lives and works of several composers of this period. The author wishes to apologize for the incompleteness of this last chapter, but much vital information concerning many important Tudor composers has been lost, and a thorough discussion of all the important composers of the time would require an entire book in itself.

CHAPTER I

ROYALTY AND RELIGION IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

When Henry VII, the first Tudor monarch in England, came to the throne in 1485 his main concern was staying on that throne. As the Earl of Richmond and the leader of the Lancastrians he defeated and killed Richard III at Bosworth in 1485 and was declared King. This was by no means a unanimous declaration, and for a time it seemed as though the Wars of the Roses were about to break out all over again. The Yorkists did not regard their defeat as final and for the first several years of his reign Henry VII was occupied with conflicts with the Yorkist party. As a political move he married Elizabeth of York; although this did help his cause some it wasn't until 1499 that Henry VII was firmly established as the first Tudor King.

Henry VII was not concerned with matters of religion, but more with financial organization and establishing the authority of the royal power through the King's Council. This was the pre-Reformation period and Henry VII was still a Catholic King. He set the stage however, for his son's conflict and subsequent break with the Catholic Church by marriage negotiations with a European ruling family. In the treaty of Medina del Campo of 1489 it was agreed that Henry's eldest son, Prince Arthur, should eventually marry Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of the King of Spain. This marriage did not take place until 1501, and it lasted only a few months, for Arthur died the following year. Henry did not want

to lose Catherine's dowry and Ferdinand wanted to keep the English alliance which the marriage symbolized, so negotiations were opened for a second marriage between Catherine and Henry's second son, Prince Henry. A papal dispensation was needed to set aside the Church law that a man may not marry his brother's widow, and there were other difficulties to overcome. By the time the marriage actually took place, Henry VII was dead.

As an institution, there was very little that was new concerning the reign of Henry VII. The real change took place in the English society. The destruction of medieval political and economic ideals brought about unified states under centralized governments. There were elements of despotism in Henry's government and the significance of his reign in the history of Tudor Britain is that he preserved so much of the past in a changing society.¹

The struggle between rival houses for the throne was effectively closed with Henry VIII's succession to the throne. He was the heir of the Lancasters through his father and of the Yorks through his mother.

Throughout the first part of his reign, Henry VIII was content to leave administration and formulation of policy to Cardinal Wolsey. Henry came to the throne in 1509, but it wasn't until 1520 that he emerged as a controlling figure in English politics.

Henry VIII relied on his father's councillors for the first few years of his reign, but before long Thomas Wolsey gained the King's confidence and enjoyed a monopoly on royal favor that was to last twenty years.

¹Roger Lockyer, Tudor and Stuart Britain, (London: Longmans Green and Co., LTD, 1964), p. 32.

Wolsey had the power to intervene in every diocese and override the authority of archbishops as well as bishops. He had insisted on this power on the grounds that he wished to reform the Church, which at this time certainly needed reforming. However, a less likely reformer could not be found. In an age when the laxity of clerical morals was under heavy attack, Wolsey had an illegitimate son to whom was given many Church offices, and an illegitimate daughter who was placed in a nunnery.

In 1515 William Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury was persuaded to resign the Great Seal to Wolsey. The Chancellor was traditionally the greatest man in England under the King, and this was true of Wolsey. He had all the power of a Prime Minister, and was not subject to Parliament or public opinion. As long as he was in the King's favor, nothing could displace him.

By 1525 Henry had lost all hope of a male heir with Catherine of Aragon as his wife and sought to have the marriage declared invalid. Pope Julius II had issued the original dispensation for the marriage; Clement VII was asked to declare that his predecessor had not had the authority to set aside Church law in this case. Henry did not expect difficulties, for Popes were usually sympathetic to princely petitioners, and Henry had always been a supporter of the papacy. He had been awarded the title Defender of the Faith for his book in defense of the Catholic Church against the attacks of Luther.²

The first stage of the divorce case centered on the attempt to receive a favorable papal decision. At this time there was no question

²Lockyer, Tudor and Stuart Britain, p. 46.

of a break with Rome, as it appeared the Pope would do as Henry asked. Wolsey and his fellow legate, Cardinal Campeggio, were sent to Clement to help judge the divorce case. The Pope was in a delicate position, for Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, was Catherine of Aragon's nephew and was defending the Catholic Church against Lutherans at home and Turks abroad.³ He also wished to oblige Henry, Defender of the Faith, and Henry had insisted that the two legates have the authority to pass final judgment in the case. The Pope gave Wolsey and Campeggio a papal bull in which he promised to accept the legate's decision, but privately ordered Campeggio not to pronounce judgment. When Henry realized that no decision would be forthcoming, he decided that he had no further use for Wolsey, and had an Act of Attainder⁴ passed against him, and Wolsey's palaces and colleges passed to the crown.

By 1529 Denmark, Sweden and most of Northern Germany had denied Papal supremacy. Henry still had no intention of breaking with Rome, although the possibility had not been ruled out. He still hoped to force the Pope into a satisfactory agreement. For this reason he gave Parliament much freedom, and the Commons passed a number of Bills limiting the fees to be charged for probate and mortuary, restricting abuses of

³Lockyer, Tudor and Stuart Britain, p. 51.

⁴Acts of Attainder were used as a species of extra judicial procedure, as a punishment for political offenses. Dispensing with the ordinary judicial forms and precedents, they took away whatever advantages the offender might have gained in courts of law. The only evidence admitted was that which would secure conviction; in many cases Acts were passed without any evidence at all.

sanctuary and forbidding pluralities and non-residence.⁵

Negotiations with Rome continued, but no solution was in sight. In 1531 the Pope formally warned Henry to set Anne aside and restore Catherine to conjugal rights, pending the papal decision. Henry now had either to advance to an extreme position, or retreat noticeably. Henry's pride and personal concern in this case persuaded him to move forward.

In 1532 Henry appointed Thomas Cranmer, a man with Lutheran sympathies as Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer was formally consecrated and took the traditional oaths of allegiance to the Pope, but he declared that his duty to the King came first. Two months later he pronounced judgment that Henry's marriage to Catherine had never been valid and Anne Boleyn was crowned Queen in 1533. A few months later Elizabeth was born.

To prevent an appeal by Catherine against Cranmer's verdict Thomas Cromwell brought forward an Act of Appeals in March, 1533. This Act asserts that England

is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and King having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and owe to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience.⁶

Cranmer's verdict was overridden by the Pope in July, 1533, and

⁵Lockyer, Tudor and Stuart Britain, p. 54. Plurality is the holding of two or more offices or Benefices by one person. In ecclesiastical law, residence is the continuance of a spiritual person upon his benefice. A bishop of the diocese who does not reside within his parish is guilty of non-residence.

⁶Elton, G. R., ed., The Tudor Constitution, (London: The Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 344.

Cranmer was excommunicated. Henry had two months to take back Catherine on pain of excommunication. Cromwell set forth a campaign to deny papal supremacy, and further legislation was needed to replace the Pope with the King as the head of the Church in England. In March, 1534, Clement VII ruled in favor of Catherine, and Parliament passed an Act of Supremacy, declaring "the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and oweth to be the supreme head of the Church of England."⁷ Further Acts were later passed to insure the supremacy of the King.

The King subsequently married four more times--to Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr. The closing years of his reign were marked by the struggle between the Protestant and Catholic factions for control of the Council. Henry's Catholic sympathies held him on the side of the conservatives, but he was too practical a man to endorse a reactionary program. In 1540 he ordered that there should be no more persecution under the Statute of Six Articles and the last purge took place in 1543. Although there was a conservative trend in the last years of his reign, Henry set aside his own religious feelings in appointing a regency council for his son and gave the Protestants control of it. He died in 1547 with his dynasty and throne securely established.

Edward VI was nine years old when he succeeded Henry VIII as King of England. Henry had made no provision for a protectorate, and even before he was dead, the Earl of Hertford, Edward's uncle, was planning

⁷Elton, The Tudor Constitution, p. 355.

to have himself appointed "Protector of all the realm...of the King's Majesty that now is, and...governor of his most royal person."⁸ Hertford was then created the Duke of Somerset.

Edward felt that innovations in religion were as much a threat to his authority as innovations in politics, and insisted on a single form of worship. This permitted form of worship was Protestant, but the seeming Protestant unity was compromised by disagreement between the moderates and the extremists. The former wanted to move gradually towards the establishment of a truly reformed Church, persuading the people as they went along. The latter, however, wanted to use all the powers of government immediately to set up and impose a purified and strictly Protestant Church. Both groups agreed on the need for reform, but they differed on how to bring it about. Two of the most important men in England at this time, Somerset and Cranmer, were of the moderate persuasion, and the change was gradual.

By the middle of 1548 Cranmer was working on a new definition of the doctrines of the English Church. He was becoming more extreme in his dogma, and was anxious to produce a precept that was acceptable to the Continental reformers and that would provide a basis for the unification of Protestant Churches.

The first Prayer-Book of Edward VI's reign was authorized by Parliament in January, 1549 for use from the following Whit Sunday. This Book, written entirely in English, gave the Church of England for the first time one form of worship, and one form only. The Act of Uniformity which authorized the Book also provided penalties for clergymen who refused to

⁸Lockyer, Tudor and Stuart Britain, p. 108.

use it or who used any other services.

Edward's rigidly Protestant upbringing inclined him towards the radicals, and he was in full favor of removing all traces of "popery" from the English Church. A new Prayer-Book in 1552 was enforced by the second Act of Uniformity and demanded that everyone attend church on Sunday, and prescribed punishment for those found at a service other than that given in the Prayer-Book. The policy of gradualism was abandoned and Protestantism was imposed by force.

Warwick, Somerset's successor, was declared the Duke of Northumberland in 1551. He ruled in the name of Edward VI, but by 1553 it was apparent that the King did not have long to live. Northumberland was aware that if Edward died he would be succeeded by his half-sister, Mary, who had refused to take up Protestantism. It was probable that when she ascended the throne she would remove the Protestant ministers and restore England to the Church of Rome. In order to avoid this, Northumberland persuaded Edward to bequeath the crown by will and demand the nomination of a Protestant heir.

Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VII was chosen as Edward's heir. Elizabeth, the nearest Protestant heir, was ruled out on the grounds that she might marry a Catholic prince. Lady Jane Grey was forced to marry Northumberland's son, Lord Guilford Dudley to insure the Protestant succession.

Edward died on July 6, 1553, but the news was kept secret for three days while messages were sent to the Lords-Lieutenant, who controlled the counties. Lady Jane Grey was then proclaimed Queen.

Mary was not about to be cast aside when her claim to the throne was much stronger than the new Queen's. She raised her flag at Framlingham

and called on the supporters of the Tudor dynasty. Northumberland had few followers among the people and many were suspicious of the marriage between his son and the new Queen. By the end of July, Northumberland was a prisoner in the Tower of London and on August 3, Mary entered London.

The opening years of her reign were marked by leniency. Northumberland and two of his accomplices were executed, but Mary initially intervened when Lady Jane, her husband and Archbishop Cranmer were condemned to death.⁹ During the reign of Edward many reformers came to England, and they were asked to leave. English Protestants who did not want to live under a Catholic monarch were allowed to leave also.

Mary appointed Steven Gardiner, former Bishop of Winchester as her Lord Chancellor and Chief Minister. With his help, Mary planned to restore the Catholic faith to England. In October, 1553, Parliament was summoned to overthrow the work of Edward VI. The first Statute of Repeal erased much of Cranmer's work. The reformed liturgy, the two books of Common Prayer, the administration of the sacrament under both kinds and the existence of married clergy were all declared illegal.

Despite Parliament's reluctance, Mary planned for a marriage with Philip of Spain. Parliament was afraid that England would not only be subjected to a Spanish King, but would also be forced into open conflict between the Hapsburgs and Valois rulers in France. Mary did not listen to their objections, and the terms of marriage were agreed on in 1554. Philip was to be called King and was to help Mary in government, but

⁹Although they did not take part in Wyatt's rebellion of 1554, Lady Jane Grey and her husband were executed at that time. Cranmer was burned for heresy in 1556.

only the Queen could appoint offices in the Church and state, and then only Englishmen.

In November, 1554, Reginald Pole, the Cardinal Legate, arrived in England and accepted the petition read by the Lord Chancellor asking for pardon and reconciliation. The legate then pronounced absolution and England was restored to the Roman Catholic Church.

The second Act of Repeal followed the restoration. This statute repealed all statutes passed against the Roman Church since the fall of Wolsey, but also stated that the holders of what used to be monastic lands would be able to keep them "without impeachment or trouble by pretence (sic) of any General Council, canons, or ecclesiastical laws...".¹⁰ This Statute of Repeal was followed by an Act reviving the heresy laws. Heresy was regarded as a crime against society and it was punishable by death.

Between 1555 and 1558 almost three hundred persons were put to death for heresy. These executions did not advance the Catholic cause. The Protestant writers in England and abroad were quick to protest these cruel executions and Mary gave the Protestant Church its first martyrs.

By autumn of 1558 Mary was very ill. She died on November 17, preceeding Reginald Pole, the Archbishop of Canterbury by only a few hours. The Catholic reaction was at an end.

Elizabeth I succeeded her half-sister to the throne, and was England's Queen for the next forty-five years. She was unmarried at the time, and her ministers urged her throughout her reign to marry and have an heir of her own, or nominate a successor. Elizabeth did not marry

¹⁰Elton, The Tudor Constitution, p. 363.

however, and she did not name her successor, James of Scotland, until she was dying.

Elizabeth's own religious leanings and the fact that the Roman Church regarded her as illegitimate pointed to the need for some sort of Protestant settlement. Elizabeth hoped to preserve England's unity by creating a church that all her subjects could belong to. English Catholics and Protestants had at least their nationality in common, and Elizabeth hoped to unite them in a church that was fairly similar to that of Henry VIII--Catholic ritual with Protestant doctrine, regarding the ruler of England, and not the Pope, as the head of the Church.

Elizabeth was not a religious fanatic, but many of her important subjects were. Over a dozen members of her first Parliament were returned exiles and they took the lead in the religious debates. Elizabeth at first intended merely to restore royal supremacy and presented a Bill that would effect a settlement similar to the 1549 Prayer-Book. The extremists in Parliament objected to this and passed a Bill permitting the use of the 1552 Prayer-Book. Elizabeth did not want to accept this, but eventually did, on the condition that it was altered to make it acceptable to the moderates and the Catholics.

The Elizabethan settlement was legalized by the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity. This first Act restored the royal supremacy over the Church and ordered all office holders to take an oath accepting supremacy. The Act of Uniformity demanded that everyone attend his parish church on Sundays and holy days, and those who did not were to be fined a shilling for each absence.

Elizabeth was the last of the Tudors, and she died without issue. There has been much speculation as to the reason for her remaining

unmarried, but nothing positive can be determined. By March, 1603 it was obvious that she was dying. When some of her officers of state asked her to name her heir, it was said that she approved of James of Scotland. She died March 24, and the Tudor dynasty was ended.

CHAPTER II

PRE-REFORMATION MUSIC IN ENGLAND

The early Christian missionaries to England had spread in that country some knowledge of the liturgical music which had been cultivated among Roman Christian communities for centuries. The Anglo-Saxons had brought some liturgical forms when they conquered Britain, but St. Augustine of Canterbury, cited as the man who achieved a general conversion of Britain to Christianity, is probably the most influential person in bringing Roman liturgical music to England.¹¹ He worked under the direct supervision of Pope Gregory I and had been trained to love the Gregorian chant.

The music of the Roman rite was gradually accepted by the British Christians, and the teachers of plainsong were sent to various parts of the country. St. Augustine adopted elements of the Gallic liturgy when it was suitable. It is doubted, however, that the litany sung before King Ethelbert in 597 was an exact rendition of the music heard in Rome.¹²

Music in day-to-day worship was very important in the centuries that followed. Its place in church affairs was discussed in various synods of the time. The second council of Clovesho (747) issued a proclamation "De Sanctae Psalmodiae Utilitate" which was similar to earlier

¹¹E. D. Mackerness, A Social History of English Music, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 13.

¹²Mackerness, A Social History of English Music, p. 14.

papal proclamations.¹³ As Gregorian settings became more widely known the office of the cantor acquired a great importance, and instructions on the Schola Cantorum principle disseminated a knowledge of liturgical traditions among the novices who intended to enter a religious community.

The Divine Office of the Church was given continual observance in many different locations with the establishment of secure and organized monastic communities that all subscribed to an accepted rule of life. The Mass provided a large field of musical performance, as it consisted of an invariable framework--the Ordinary--to which other parts could be added if the occasion demanded.

Under the rule of St. Benedict, the Office--which held many musical requirements--dominated monastic existence and made sure that musical offerings to God would be made every day of the year. This Rule is very important in the cultural history of Europe since it made the performance of the liturgy a duty over which nothing could take precedence. The Office grew from the desire that the Psalms and other Scriptures be given regular vocal performance.

Only a small portion of the population lived in monastic houses, and not all monasteries were open to public worship. It is difficult to determine the part the laity played in medieval church services, and the fact that the Mass was sung in Latin--when it was sung--did not give the congregation a chance for active participation in its celebration. However, Gregorian idiom was assimilated by many generations of church-goers who did not understand any other form of sacred music. It has been thought that portions of plainsong were combined with some English folk-songs, and many plainsong melodies became disassociated from sacred

¹³Mackerness, A Social History of English Music, p. 14.

expression. It is probable that many minstrels of the pre-Conquest era were young men who had left the monastic existence and became wandering musicians.

There are records of an important musical institution of considerable antiquity--the Chapel Royal--which date as far back as the reign of Henry I (1100-1135). The English Kings were imitating Continental court practice by creating a body of vocalists whose main duty was to sing the Mass in the presence of royalty. The Chapel Royal flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and Frank Harrison writes that the "development of the music of the Royal Household Chapel under the early Lancastrian Kings owed much to the French idea of the manner in which a great Christian ruler should order his daily and festal observances."¹⁴

It was through the medium of drama that the medieval Church exerted its greatest influence on the populace. The liturgical drama which once formed a part of the Catholic worship evolved out of the dialogue tropes, a dramatic part of the Mass.

The dialogue tropes were simply an intoned addition to the Mass and were usually presented on major feast days of the Christian year. These tropes most often took the form of a colloquy accompanied by appropriate actions.

Music played a great part in the liturgical dramas presented throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. There is not much evidence as to how they were presented in England, but it is known that Continental practices made use of Biblical subjects from the Old and New Testaments.

¹⁴Frank Ll Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 223.

Music was obviously essential to these dramas or it would not have been noted down in the texts, but spectacle, costume and gesture were equally important. It is not likely that there was any attempt to impersonate in song, but it is significant that the plays were given inside the churches by actors who were familiar with the musical material of the liturgy.

Processions were an important part of worship in the pre-Reformation era in England, and were held on many occasions throughout the year. They were also an integral part of the earlier forms of liturgical drama. Many books relating to religious institutions describe processional procedures and frequently mention hymns that were written especially for these occasions.

Processions were also an essential part of civic celebrations. They were arranged to be a feature of triumphal entries, state visits and royal progresses. A chronicler reports that when Henry VI approached London on his return from Paris in 1432 "there came the Archbishop of Canterbury...the Dean of St. Paul's with his convent, in procession with their best attire of the Holy Church, and met with him, and did observance...and so brought the King to the high alter, with royal song."¹⁵

Although the English Carol was basically popular in nature, it did have some place in the liturgy. These pieces appear to be native to England, but are not always written in the English language. There are, for example, Carols with completely English texts, some with English stanzas and Latin burden, and also some with English, Latin and French texts.

The form is related to other popular forms found on the Continent

¹⁵Mackerness, A Social History of English Music, p. 33.

in the middle of the fifteenth century, and is basically derived from the medieval dance. The carol structure is also related to the processional hymn. The bestknown authors of English medieval carols were the Fransicans, who made deliberate use of the carol to spread their teachings; five of every six surviving carol texts are religious or moralistic in nature.¹⁶

The biggest share of English sacred music of the Middle Ages is anonymous, but by the fifteenth century composers began to sign their compositions. In general, the personal identity of the composer mattered very little at this time, since music was regarded as a craft dedicated to the glorification of God, and not to the remembrance of the individual composer. Occasionally a composer would be honored by the other composers of the time, as in the case of John Dunstable, but the general feeling throughout the Middle Ages was that the suitability of the music was more important than the inspiration of the individual composer.

¹⁶Gustav Reese, Music in the Renaissance, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1954), p. 776.

CHAPTER III

SACRED MUSIC IN THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD

The entire reign of Henry VII and the larger part of that of Henry VIII witnessed no major changes in the Catholic liturgy. This enabled English composers to build up a strong tradition in form and texture, and also helped to preserve identifiable characteristics of English Polyphony until the end of the sixteenth century. The relatively stable liturgy was itself most important with regard to form, but the texture was more variable and depended on the number and type of singers available.

As stated in Chapter I, the formal break with Rome came in 1534. Many church musicians were among the ecclesiastical subscribers to the Act of Supremacy passed in June, 1535. In 1536 an English Bible was set up for use in all the churches, and the dissolution and plundering of the monasteries took place that year and again in 1539. From this time on through the reigns of Edward VI and Mary to the time when Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558 the composers of church music existed in a state of confusion and uncertainty.

The Six Articles, enacted in 1539, reaffirmed the main points of the Catholic doctrine. Although England no longer had a pope, the country continued to practice a form of Catholicism since Henry was opposed to Lutheranism. In 1539 or 1540 Henry banned a book published by Myles Coverdale--Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songs--containing fifty-one

tunes drawn from Gregorian Chant and German chorales. The psalms in it were probably the first metrical ones in English to be published with music.¹⁷

One of the most important principles of the reform was that the congregation be able to understand the service. In 1542 it was ordered that a chapter of the English Bible of 1536 be read after the Te Deum and the Magnificat. However, English did not become the official language of the church until later. It is often very difficult to determine whether a piece of Tudor church music with a Latin text was written for the Catholic service or the early Anglican service.

In addition to the confusion over the texts to be set to music, the dissolution of the monasteries and abbey churches resulted in the disbanding of the choirs and singing school attached to them, and many trained musicians were left without a post. Between 1535 and 1540 there was a vast re-distribution of musical talent throughout England. Undoubtedly the finest musicians were taken into the evolving framework of the English church, although they might have suffered a temporary loss of prestige.

Probably one of the most disasterous results of the dissolution of the monasteries was the loss of many manuscripts that had accumulated for centuries in monasteries and nunneries throughout England. Over 600 monasteries and nunneries were dissolved, and in many cases parchments were sent abroad to bookbinders, and hundreds of manuscripts were arbitrarily destroyed. The works of many important English composers--Dunstable, Power, Pasche, Cornysh, Fayrfax and others--were lost for all

¹⁷Gustav Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 781.

time.

Although the dispersion of the cathedral choir schools led to some loss of technical facility in musical performance, English musicians were still much respected on the Continent. An Italian visitor to Henry VIII's court described the performance of the High Mass by the Chapel Royal as "more divine than human" and reported that the basses "probably have not their equal in the whole world."¹⁸

Composers began experimenting with the English liturgical texts in 1535. They began by setting Marshall's English version of the Sarum Horae, and in 1539 Hilsey's Prymer followed Marshall's. Henry VIII's Prymer appeared in 1545 and led the way to the first Book of Common Prayer ratified under Edward in 1549. This Prayer-Book was supervised by Henry and was the inspiration for numerous musical settings by English composers.

In 1544, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, issued a musical setting for the Anglican service. Although it was styled after the traditional Gregorian Chant, the music was altered to allow one tone to each syllable of the text. The Archbishop believed that the arrangement would be easier to sing. The Anglican Chant was given a harmonic accompaniment, and some selections were reminiscent of both the German Chorale and French metrical Psalmody.¹⁹ The musical pattern followed the lection tones of the Gregorian antiphon and psalm very closely-- especially in the singing of the psalms and canticles. The music of the

¹⁸Denis Stevens, Tudor Church Music, (New York: Merlin Press, 1955), p. 17.

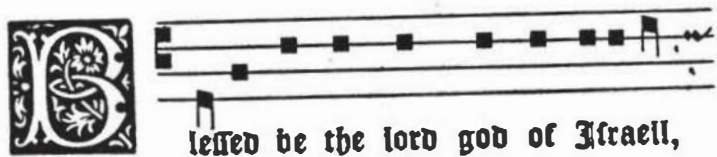
¹⁹Sharon School and Sylvia White, Music in the Culture of Man, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), p. 101.

English church was at this time trying to achieve a practical balance between old and new religious ideology, and basically was successful. Among the examples of Renaissance music that had survived for centuries is Merbecke's Booke of Common Praier Noted, written under Cranmer's supervision which has remained in the continuous use of the Episcopal church.²⁰

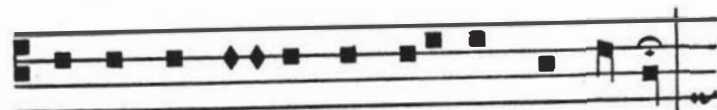
Ex. 1, Benedictus Dominus, from Merbecke's Booke of Common Praier Noted.

After the second lesson one of
these that folow.

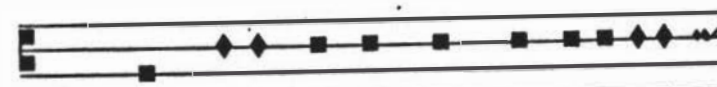
Benedictus dominus.



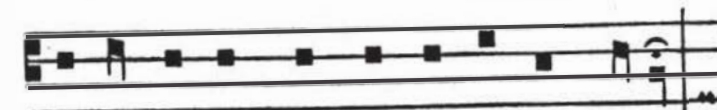
lessed be the lord god of Israell,



for he hath visited and redemed his people.



And hath lifted vp an horne of saluacion



to vs, in the house of his seruaunt dauid.

As

²⁰The Merbecke service in on pp. 635-641 of the Episcopal Hymnal of 1940. The service includes the Responses to the Decalogue, Kyrie Eleison, the Nicene Creed, Sanctus, The Lord's Prayer, Agnus Dei and Gloria in Excelsis.

Although the composers of the English Reformation were not troubled in setting English texts to music, Cranmer created musical problems by confusing the musical and liturgical functions of homophony and polyphony. The sequences of the Sarum rite along with the hymns and special prayers set in the conductus style all followed Cranmer's ideals for the new style of church music. However, the sequences were meant to be sung during a procession, and the music's function was to furnish a steady and dignified rhythmic pulse. Cranmer applied this style to non-processional activities, to which it was not suited. Eventually the procession came to be regarded as superstitious and unnecessary, and the English version of the Latin Processionale all but disappeared.

The extremists in the Reformation movement created another problem for English composers at this time. Many people wished to have no music in the churches at all. In 1536 the Lower House of Convocation included sacred music and organ-playing in their list of the Eighty-four Faults and Abuses of Religion.²¹ A tract entitled The Supplication of the Poor Commons was published in 1546, and it expressed the same feeling.

The opinions of these extremists were not passed into law, and the Six Articles, passed in 1539, defended both music and organ-playing. Although Item seven of the first set of Royal Injunctions (1536) required every parish church to buy a copy of the English Bible, and after 1543 lessons at Matins and Evensong were to be read in English, music had as important a place in worship in the Reformation in Henry's time as it did in the church of Rome.

The three most important collections of sacred music composed

²¹Henry Davey, History of English Music, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 107.

during the reign of Henry VIII are the Caius College choirbook,²² The Forrest-Heyther partbooks,²³ and the two sets of partbooks at Peterhouse.²⁴ The Caius choirbook was probably written for the collegiate church at St. Stephen's, Westminster, and was used there after 1520. This choirbook contains Masses and Magnificats that had been composed in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and are good representatives of the English "florid" style. The Forrest-Heyther partbooks contain festal Masses in six parts, and were probably compiled for Wolsey's new establishment at Cardinal College in Oxford. The partbooks contain three Masses of Taverner who had just moved to Cardinal College from Lincolnshire, as well as works by a number of other composers.

The Peterhouse partbooks are different from these other two manuscripts in several ways. They appear to have been compiled somewhat later than the Caius choirbook and the Forrest-Heyther partbooks--probably between 1540 and 1547. The Peterhouse Manuscript has a larger and more varied repertoire, and contains, along with Masses, votive antiphons, Magnificats, a few ritual pieces, and two compositions of a Continental origin, all compiled in a somewhat arbitrary manner. The notation is unusually ancient for the sixteenth century, and the manuscript contains many copying errors. Apparently these partbooks were not used very often for actual performance. Besides the Continental works of Jaquet of Mantua and one of the Lupus family, the rest of the music consists of compositions by twenty-seven English composers. Of nine of these, there

²²Manuscript at Cambridge as of 1969.

²³Manuscript at Oxford, Bodleian Library as of 1969.

²⁴Peterhouse Manuscript at Cambridge as of 1969.

is no biographical information whatever; we know however that fourteen were probably born before 1500, and four, including Tallis and Tye, were known to have been active musicians by 1530.

One of the most interesting composers of Henry VIII's reign is John Taverner. He left his appointment at Cardinal College in 1530, after barely escaping imprisonment for his association with Lutheran sympathizers at the College. The only historical references to him after that are in Lincolnshire, although it is known that he travelled as Cromwell's agent in the dissolution of the monasteries.²⁵ Half a century later John Foxe made the well known remark that Taverner had "repented him very much that he had made songs to popish ditties in the time of his blindness."²⁶ Although it was assumed from this remark that Taverner wrote no more music after this time, this is not necessarily true. His "repentance" probably did not extend to the entire body of music for the Latin rite, but to the composition of votive antiphons to the Virgin Mary and other saints. Taverner and his compositions will be discussed at greater length in a later chapter.

Composition of the Ordinary of the Mass may well have continued in the modified form advocated by Cranmer up to the death of Henry VIII. However, polyphony for the evening Offices probably underwent a change of repertoire as well as a change of style. Votive antiphons of the Virgin were no longer composed much after 1530, and apparently very few

²⁵Judging from three letters sent from Taverner to Cromwell Taverner occupied a rather important position as Cromwell's agent. These letters date from 1538-1540 and were sent from Boston, in Lincolnshire.

²⁶Paul Doe, "Latin Polyphony under Henry VIII." Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 95 (1968-1969) p. 87.

Magnificats were written after this time.

Since many forms that have been vehicles for polyphony disappeared at the time of the Reformation, other forms came into being. Although the Psalms were a favorite form of composition later in the century, they were set in motet form in Henry's reign. As a general rule, these early Psalms were intended for votive or occasional use, rather than a part of the daily celebration of the Mass or Office. There is a copy of a motet "Deus misereatur" by Robert Johnson in Thomas Wood's partbooks, with a scribe's note that it was written ten or twelve years before the Reformation. It is also possible that Tye's "Miserere mei Deus" was written before 1547.

Another polyphonic form that was used was the hymn. Luther was very fond of the Latin hymns, and his admiration for them might have inspired a revival of their composition in England. It is very likely that over twenty hymn settings by Tallis and Sheppard date from Henry's reign. Their style is somewhat archaic by post-Reformation standards, making use of major prolation and continuous choral writing.

Towards the end of Henry's reign another genre of liturgical music came into use, the Office Responsory. A great number of compositions of this genre written in the last years of Henry's reign survive. There are six by Tallis, over a dozen by Sheppard and two by Taverner. Most of these are for the Great Feasts of Our Lord, but others include one for the Common Apostles, one for the Annunciation and two for the Purification. Henry was apparently very anxious for the observance of these feasts to continue, especially those of St. Luke, St. Mark and St. Mary Magdalen.

The King's highness, considering that the same saints be often

and many times mentioned in the plain and manifest scripture, willeth and commandeth that the said three feasts from henceforth shall be celebrated and kept holy days, as in times past they have been used.²⁷

Despite Cranmer's injunction, composers continued to write the English carols in the melismatic style. Composers were very careful about the text being understandable at the first hearing. The openings were often written in the simple syllabic style, with the texture becoming thicker and more motet-like as the piece progresses.

The first music for the English rite was not composed until the closing years of Henry VIII's reign. This music has a unique character in that it is neither entirely chordal nor contrapuntal in style. It has been maintained that many works composed at this time are timid, unoriginal, and employ an imperfect technique. This, however, is not true. A composer who had no problem writing intricate six-part pieces in the pre-Reformation period would not be daunted at the prospect of writing a simple four-part composition in a note-against-note style. The composition of this type may sound somewhat immature and inexpert in comparison with the sonority of a thicker textured and more contrapuntally intricate motet, yet these compositions have a dignity all their own, externally simple, but with interesting part-writing and careful voicing.

Ex. 2. Example of four-part, syllabic style. Gloria, from Mass for four voices, by Thomas Tallis. (which appears on the following page)

The reign of Henry VIII saw little dramatic change in the function and composition of music in the worship services. Henry was too clever a man to move liturgical reform at too fast a pace, and most actual

²⁷Paul Doe, "Latin Polyphony under Henry VIII," 93.

Ex. 2. Example of four-part, syllabic style. Gloria, from Mass for four voices, by Thomas Tallis.

MEDIUS

CONTRATENOR

TENOR

BASSUS

Et in terra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau -

Et in terra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau -

Et in terra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau -

Et in terra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau -

-da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus te. Glo -

-da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi -

-da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus

-da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus te. Glo -

-ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

-ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

- ri - fi - ca - mus te.

-ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

revisions remained in draft form at the time of his death. However, immediately after his death the Protestant party took the upper hand and many more extreme measures were taken. Edward came to the throne on January 28, 1547, and within six months radical changes having an enormous effect on sacred music had taken place.

CHAPTER IV

SACRED MUSIC DURING THE REIGNS OF EDWARD AND MARY

When Edward came to the throne in 1548 the tide of reform swept on much faster than before. Innovations and reforms were introduced quickly, and within ten weeks of Edward's ascension of the throne, Compline was sung in English in the Chapel Royal. More and more English was introduced into public worship, and various parts of the old services vanished. On March 8th 1548 "The Order of Communion" was put out by Royal Proclamation as a supplement to the Roman Mass. A significant factor in all these innovations is that they were made without approval of Parliament or Convocation.

Edward VI's first "Booke of Common Prayer" came into use on Whitsunday, 1549. This event was really the birth of the modern Anglican Church. The progress of the Reformation was carried out in subsequent revisions of this Prayer Book. Many felt however, that this Book catered too much to the traditionalists, and it did not satisfy the radicals. In 1552 a much more extreme and Protestant revision of the Book appeared which clearly evidenced the influence of the Continental reformers.

The compilation of the first Prayer Book was guided by five basic principles:

1. All public worship must be understood by the people.
2. All services must be simple and straightforward.
3. There must be a uniformity of worship throughout the realm.
4. The Daily Offices must provide for the continuous serialized reading of the entire Bible.

5. The new Prayer Book must exemplify a return to those things "Ordained of a good purpose but which in continuance of time have been corrupted."²⁸

Of these five principles the attempt at achieving simplicity was probably the most important. It was this precept that received the greatest attention and resulted in the most important changes. The process of simplification brought about change in the following areas:

1. A simplified Calendar.
2. simplified services.
3. one book as a replacement for many.

The Medieval Church had introduced into the Church year a number of special days in honor of many different saints, six principal and several lesser feasts of the Virgin Mary, commemorations of the dead, days in honor of martyrs, Confessors, Virgins and Matrons, and votive Masses and Requiems in honor of local personages. The first Prayer Book abolished all saints days other than the commemorations of the Apostles, and the principal Holy Days were divested of their traditional ceremonies and conventions, and were simply noted by a Proper Preface taking place after the Sursum Corda such as the one that follows commemorating the feasts of Purification, Annunciation and Transfiguration:

Because in the Mystery of the Word made flesh, thou hast caused a new light to shine in our hearts, to give knowledge of thy glory in the face of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. (Book of Common Prayer, from the Order for Holy Communion)

The Sanctus follows the Proper Preface.

The simplification of the services took place most drastically in the celebration of the Daily Offices. It had become customary in the

²⁸Long, Kenneth R., The Music of the English Church, (London: Hoder and Stoughton, 1971), p. 22.

pre-Reformation Church to keep eight "Hours of Prayer":

Mattins (or Vigil)	at midnight
Lauds	in the early morning
Prime	at dawn (or at 6:00 a.m.)
Terce	third hour (9:00 a.m.)
Sext	sixth hour (noon)
None	ninth hour (3:00 p.m.)
Evensong (or Vespers)	in the evening
Compline	at bedtime

Of the eight Hours, Mattins and Evensong were the longest. Mattins consisted of the Lord's Prayer, versicles and responses, Venite, a hymn, psalms with their antiphons, three lessons, and on feast days, the Te Deum. Lauds and Vespers included five psalms, and psalm 119 (Beati Immaculati-176 verses) was recited daily, divided between the Hours of Terce, Sext and None.

The first Book of Common Prayer abolished the traditional eight Hours, and the two Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer took their place. Morning Prayer is derived from a combination of the three morning hours--Mattins, Lauds and Prime--and Evening Prayer is made up of a fusion of Vespers and Compline. Lessons were appointed so that the entire Bible was to be read sequentially and the recitation of the psalter was spread out over a month. The psalms were not printed in the Book of Common Prayer, as they were available in the Bible.

In the medieval Church the number of prescribed services required many different books:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. the Missal or Mass book | for use at the alter, containing the full service of the Mass. |
| 2. the Gradual | containing the responds sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. |
| 3. the Breviary | the Priests' book for Daily Offices. |
| 4. the Antiphonary | containing the choir chants for the Offices. |
| 5. the Processional | containing chants for use in Processions--litanies. |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 6. the Manual | for occasional Offices--Baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc. |
| 7. the Pontifical | containing services where a bishop or a prelate officiates. |
| 8. the Primer | containing the Hours of the Virgin Mary, Hours of the Trinity, etc. |
| 9. the Consuetudinary | prescribed details of rites and ceremonies and gave orders of ecclesiastical precedence. |
| 10. the Ordinal
(later called the <u>Pie</u>) | gave the rules governing the precedence of the occurrence and concurrence of movable and immovable feasts. |

The reformers did not hesitate to abolish the greater part of these books, and apart from the Bible, one book was to serve in the place of many. The Book of Common Prayer was the only book other than the Bible to be used in Church services throughout England, and it was to provide everything that was necessary to public worship.

The publication of Edward's First Prayer Book was followed by the publication of a musical edition. John Merbecke was responsible for this first musical edition which was under the supervision of Archbishop Cranmer. Merbecke was the Master of Choristers of St. George's Chapel in Windsor. In 1544 he was condemned to be burned for his writings against Romanism, but escaped through the influence of the Bishop of Winchester.

Merbecke's Boke of Common Praier Noted appeared in 1550 and was the first choral book the Church of England possessed. Not merely a directory for the performance of Mattins and Evensong, it also contained the Office of the Holy Eucharist and the Office of the Burial of the Dead. It was noted throughout for both the priest and congregation. It was primarily intended for use in the Chapel Royal, but it was also used as a model for the whole country, and was eventually adopted as the authentic choral book of the Church.

Merbecke's Book was not a new composition, but simply an adaptation to the English liturgy of the notation of the Roman Church. It contained no harmony; it consisted entirely of Plainsong, and was printed on a four-line staff.

Probably not all the music in the Book of Common Prayer Noted was used, and undoubtedly the entire Book fell into disuse after a couple of years, owing to the growing interest of composers and the populace in polyphony.

In 1547 Thomas Sternhold--Groom of the Chamber in the Court of Henry VII--translated some of the psalms for use in his private devotions. This collection, containing nineteen psalms, was issued at the suggestion of Edward VI, and Sternhold dedicated it to him. In 1549 an enlarged edition appeared containing thirty-seven psalms, and in 1551 another edition was published in which the Reverend John Hopkins appears as a contributor. This edition eventually became the foundation for both the English and Scottish psalter. In his History of the Reformation Burnet says "they were much sung by all those who loved the reformation and in many places sung in Church."²⁹

Sternhold's first psalter was published without music, but in the same year, Robert Crowley published a psalter with music that anticipated the style of the Anglican Chant a hundred years later. All verses were in common meter; the stanzas were in two lines with fourteen (eight + six) syllables to the line. The following tune sufficed for the entire psalter.

²⁹The History of the Reformation, as quoted in Edmund S. Lorenz, Church Music, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1923), p. 271.

Ex. 3. Robert Crowley's Psalter, 1549. Earliest music set to a metrical psalm.

Psalm 22. Deus, Deus meus.

My God, my God, look up-on me: why hast thou for-sak-en me?

and art so far from my health, and from the words of my com-plaint.

The melody was not in the treble but in the tenor. The psalm is divided into two parts by the bar in the middle, which gives the psalm the form of a double chant.³⁰

In 1550, William Hunnis, Master of the Chapter Royal, also published a psalter, but without music. Francis Seagar's psalter of 1553 did contain music. The music of this Book was in four parts and was written in simple motet style. Also in 1553, the last year of Edward's reign, Christopher Tye brought forth his rhymed Acts of the Apostles. Like the Seagar collection, these were in an easy motet style, and brought into

³⁰Lorenz, Church Music, p. 272.

the realm of church music some tendencies that were apparent in the secular part songs of early Tudor composers such as Cornshe and Fayrfax which, when exposed to further modification, resulted in the Characteristic English psalm- and hymn-tunes.³¹

As part of the religious simplification program instituted by Edward, Royal Visitors travelled throughout the country, visiting every cathedral, and examining each detail of routine and organization, and frequently touching on musical matters. At Winchester the Visitors prohibited the singing of sequences, and postulated that chapters of the Old and New Testaments should be read to the choir every day before Mass and Evensong. At Canterbury it was decreed that the Mass should be sung only in the choir, and in order to make room for a Sermon the singing of a Lady Mass on Holy Days would be discontinued. Further, the choir was barred from singing responds, and ordered that all traditional Latin anthems be replaced by English substitutes. At Windsor it was decided that the choir would be required to say Mattins and Evensong together in English before going into the choir to sing.

The Lincoln Cathedral Injunctions--April 14, 1548--dealt in greater detail with musical than other matters. Injunction twenty-five decreed that:

(the choir) shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady of other saints, but only of Our Lord, and them not in Latin; but chosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other.

Injunction 28 implied a severe restriction of music in the worship service as the Lady Mattins and Evensong traditionally used as much music

³¹Young, Percy M. A History of English Music, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1967), p. 98.

as the Lady Mass:

To the intent the service of this Church called the Lady Mattins and Evensong may be used henceforth according to the King's Majesty's proceedings, and to the abolishing of superstition in that behalf, there shall be no more Mattins called the Lady Mattins, Hours nor Evensong, nor ferial dirges said in the choir among or after other Divine Service, but every man to use the same privately at their convenient leisure, according as it is purported and put forth in the King's Primer.³²

Despite all the simplification being enforced throughout the country the Chapel Royal was kept on the same scale as in the previous reign. The household musicians numbered seventy-three besides the children. There were thirty-two Gentlemen of the Chapel, with nine subordinates. All in all they numbered 114 at a total cost of 2,209 pounds per year.³³

Edward died in 1553 and the many liturgical and musical changes that were the result of his reign were abolished when his half-sister Mary came to the throne. Mary had never abandoned Catholicism, and lost no time in instigating a return to Roman practices. She had no desire to conciliate the progressives in her realm, and was moved solely by a sincere desire to restore England to the Church of Rome. Within a few months of her accession to the throne the Prayer Book of 1552 was repealed and Roman forms of worship were restored.

Mary's government was an unpopular one, and little good has been said of it. Over three hundred men women and children were put to death in the five years of her reign. However, she did put an end to the wholesale destruction of religious art, music, literature and architecture.

³²Huray, Peter le, Music and the Reformation in England, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 9.

³³Davey, Henry, History of English Music, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 108.

The anti-papists under Edward's reign had been growing more and more enthusiastic in removing all traces of "popery" from England, and had Edward lived a few more years the capacity of the choral foundations would have been sadly reduced. These foundations, if they were associated with religious colleges or chantries in conjunction with Church supported schools, were to be abolished on the grounds that they propagated "superstition".³⁴ The Collegiate Church of Manchester had its charter of 1421 cancelled by Edward VI, but Mary immediately granted a new charter.

The return to the old worship was welcomed by most Englishmen. Edward had been carrying his suspicion of "popery" to extremes in the last two years of his reign, and Mary's triumphal entrance into London in August of 1553 was marked by "the Lords, surrounded by the shouting multitude, walked in state to St. Paul's, where the choir again sang a Te Deum, and the unused organ rolled out once more its mighty volume of music."³⁵

The Chapel Royal was maintained under Mary much the same as it was under Edward. A lease of crown lands were bestowed to two members of the Chapel, Tallis and Bowyer, soon after her accession. Mary herself is said to have been very musical from her earliest childhood. A Virginal book in the British Museum contains the names and arms of "Marie" and her husband Philip.

The restoration of the Catholic liturgy during the reign of Queen Mary did not pose much of a problem either for the composers or the

³⁴Young, A History of British Music, p. 98.

³⁵Davey, History of English Music, p. 109.

congregation. The English were familiar with both Protestant and Catholic liturgical traditions, and musicians were able without great difficulty to adapt their material to accommodate the return to the Latin liturgy. Certainly the English polyphonic tradition had not suffered the disruption that Continental practices encountered in other reform movements.

Although the newly founded school of English church music suffered a severe check when Mary came to the throne there was plenty of music available for the Catholic use. Several notable composers were writing music for both the Latin and English rite. Mary made possible the maintenance of the English church music tradition and this tradition was upheld by her successor. Although the death of Mary saw the return of many extreme Protestant practices to England, they never achieved the level they might have realized had Edward's reforms been allowed to continue unchecked.

On the occasion of Mary's marriage to Philip II of Spain many Spanish musicians had places in the English court. Antonio de Cabezón was the head of Philip's musicians, and many English composers had the opportunity to learn the techniques and styles of Spanish music. Under de Cabezón's direction some members from the Royal Chapel in Madrid took part in a High Mass celebrated in Winchester Cathedral. Although at this time de Cabezón was at the peak of his powers as a composer and organist, it is improbable that he had any influence on English music and musicians. Most importantly the political atmosphere forbade any real rapport between English and Spanish musicians. Secondly, in the field of virtuosity, the English organists were far superior to de Cabezón, and although he was one of the greatest Continental organists it is doubtful that the English

composers learned from him.

It is probable that the reign of Mary I was more successful in artistic fields than in political fields. Mary had sanctioned a horrible persecution, and the excesses of Edward's reign were soon forgotten when the people of England were faced with the death by burning of over three hundred "heretics" in the space of five years. The Marian government was unpopular in every respect, and the last of the Continental possessions were lost. However, in a musical light Mary could be regarded as almost a savior. At the time of Edward's death the English choral tradition was doomed to oblivion. Mary's reign prevented further destruction of churches and other religious properties, and restored to the worship service some of the beauty and dignity that Edward had abolished. Edward helped establish a new school of English choral music, and Mary saw to it that this new school was not developed to the extremes such as those that took place on the Continent. Had Edward's reforms been allowed to progress to their ultimate goal, Anglican church music might be regarded in the same light as the metrical psalms of the Calvinist movement. Musically speaking, Mary's reign was very important in that it set the development of polyphonic church music back on the course from which it had strayed during Edward's reign.

CHAPTER V

ELIZABETH AND THE MUSIC OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Elizabeth I came to the throne in 1558, and once more the future of the English Church was thrown into balance. The reaction to the previous reign and Elizabeth's own religious leanings pointed to the need for some sort of Protestant settlement. Elizabeth's first reforms were of the same general mold as those of her father in the last few years of his reign, and it was thought that the Reformation would now continue along moderate lines. Some minor changes were made at the Chapel Royal, however, almost immediately following her accession. The Latin forms of procession were replaced by Cranmer's liturgy, and within a month corresponding changes had been authorized by Royal Proclamation for use throughout the country. Other than these changes the Latin services remained the way they were during the reign of Mary I, and Elizabeth's coronation at Westminster Abbey in January, 1559 followed the traditional service structure with only a few variations.

However, at the end of January the government began taking more radical steps on the course of the Reformation. During the opening session of Parliament the Elizabethan Supremacy Act, which restored "to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual," and the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, which provided for the "uniformity of common prayer and divine service in the Church," were passed.³⁶

³⁶Huray, Music and the Reformation in England, p. 32.

At this time the Elizabethan Prayer Book was issued. This Prayer Book was basically a reprint of the 1552 Prayer Book, with some modifications added to it. These modifications set off the first major controversy of Elizabeth's reign, as it was preparing the way for a return to the Prayer Book of 1549, which allowed certain "popish" practices.

The Queen was however, in favor of a vernacular liturgy. Before Parliament began discussions concerning the restoration of an English Prayer Book, Elizabeth was attending an English Communion in the Chapel Royal. In May, six weeks before the Act of Uniformity was passed, she ordered that all services in the Chapel Royal should follow those outlined in the Book of Common Prayer.

During the summer of 1559 the Queen embarked on a series of Royal Visitations to administer the Oath of Supremacy and to enforce the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Several Injunctions similar to the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547 were the result of these visitations, although over twenty new clauses were added that dealt specifically with current issues. One of the longest of these concerned music:

Item, because in divers Collegiate, and also some parish Churches, heretofore there have been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children, to use singing in the church, by means whereof, the laudable science of music has been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge: the Queen's Majesty, neither meaning in any wise the decay of anything that might conveniently tend to the use and continuation of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the church, that thereby the common prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, willeth and com-mandeth, that first no alteration be made of such assignments of living, as heretofore have been appointed to the use of singing or music in the Church, but that the same so remain. And that there be a modest distinct song, so used in all parts of the common prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing, and yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning, or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of

melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived...³⁷

It appeared at first that the Queen would allow ample freedom in belief and custom within the structure of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and the 1559 Injunctions, and in her own chapels the daily services were celebrated in the manner that she desired. Her tastes were obviously different from those of her Protestant subjects. The Spanish Ambassador, upon witnessing the events that took place in the Chapel Royal wrote that he was confident that another Catholic reaction was at hand. The Queen was very much aware that a Catholic liturgy and "popish" celebration of the Mass had certain benefits to her diplomatic policy, and the French Ambassador and his entourage were quite impressed with what they saw during their visit to England in 1564.

In 1560 William Haddon, a Cambridge reformer, published a Latin translation of the Prayer Book. It was originally intended for use in the Universities, and in the colleges of Winchester and Eton. Since Latin was still allowed as the official language of the services, composers were encouraged to continue using Latin texts in their sacred works. Even a few Protestant composers used Latin texts, and it is very difficult to date compositions of this period by the language or musical style used.

The Reformation in England can be thought of in terms of a gradual change from the Sarum liturgy to the order of service on the Anglican Church.³⁸ This gradual change brought about an overlapping of different musical styles, and the fact that the liturgy was not clearly defined for a long period of time resulted in a slow change of perspective. This

³⁷Huray, Music and the Reformation in England, p. 33.

³⁸Stevens, Tudor Church Music, p. 27.

slow change contributed greatly to the continuity of tradition. As early as 1545 Taverner was underlaying Latin Masses with English texts, and William Byrd was composing new Latin Masses as late as the last years of Elizabeth's reign. Several Elizabethan composers wrote both Latin and English works, and it is not necessarily true that the Latin compositions were written at an earlier date than the English works.

The reign of Elizabeth saw the coming of age of a liturgical tradition which has since served as artistic treasury for the Protestant faith.³⁹ Many new forms were introduced, and other older forms were abandoned; composers were able to draw on the rich polyphonic tradition in English music and merge it with the new trends of the Protestant Church.

William Byrd, an eminent composer of the Elizabethan era and a Catholic, helped to create a masterpiece of Anglican musical form--the Great Service. The Great Service was an elaborate polyphonic setting of the texts of the Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus Dominus Deus, Kyrie, Credo, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. One such Great Service extended to almost one hundred pages. Byrd's Great Service is considered by some to be the "finest unaccompanied setting in the repertory of the English Church."⁴⁰

English composers were especially partial to Venetian styles of writing and used them quite a bit. The original verse anthem, involving a solo voice with instrumental accompaniment was a favorite device of Gabrieli. The technique used in these verse anthems is very similar to

³⁹Scholl and White, Music in the Culture of Man, p. 101.

⁴⁰Buxton, John, Elizabethan Taste, (London: MacMillan and Company LTD, 1963), p. 181.

that employed in nearly all of the Marian motets of the previous reign. The use of instruments in these pieces was a source of much comment, but precise instrumentation was unspecified. An Italian from Treviso wrote: "after the procession High Mass commenced and was performed with great pomp, and with vocal and instrumental music, which lasted until one p.m."⁴¹

There is some confusion involved with the term "motet" which at one time in the history of English music was synonymous with "anthem" (or "antemne" or "antempe"). The definition of "motet" had by the mid-sixteenth century gone so far as to include all polyphonic music vocal music not a part of the Ordinary of the Mass. There is indeed a close relationship in the musical styles of the anthem, hymn and motet. The distinguishing factor is the text; if it is taken from the antiphonaries or the breviaries it is written for a liturgical occasion. If the text is liturgical in character, but not found in any biblical or liturgical writings, the music belongs to some equally devout ceremony, but is not part of the actual liturgy.

Tallis and Byrd together composed and published the first collection of Latin motets ever to be published in England--Cantiones quae ab argumento Sacrae vocantur (1575). This book was dedicated to the Queen, and it is not extraordinary that she accepted it, in view of her support of the Latin Prayer Book, and her approval of the use of Latin in special services on special occasions.

It has been thought that in the music of the Elizabethan Church the Anthem corresponded to the motet and the Service corresponded to the

⁴¹Stevens, Tudor Church Music, p. 30.

Mass. As stated earlier, the motet was a term applied to the music of the choir Office and the Proper of the Mass. The Elizabethan anthem was designed to follow the third collect at Morning and Evening Prayer "in Quires and Places where they sing"⁴² and was not an indispensable part of the liturgy. The motet, however, could not be omitted unless plain-song took its place.

The difference between the Mass and the Service is just as distinct. The Service was a musical setting of a wide variety of liturgical texts, and was a compound of choral music for the Communion, and for Morning and Evening Prayer. It was not derived from the Mass in any way, except for the translation from Latin into English. Most Elizabethan Services included only the Kyrie and Creed as the choral music for the Communion, and the Kyrie was generally a choral version of responses to the Ten Commandments, and not the threefold structure it had been in the late Henrician Masses.

Few figural Masses survive from Elizabethan times. However, among them are settings that are not only outstanding examples of the genre, but actually rank with the finest examples of English music ever composed. As a rule, the Tudor Mass was in four sections--Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. In a few cases the Credo was omitted, but apparently for the sake of time. An important feature of the Mass, though infrequently found, was the use of the alternatim scheme. This style was most common in the Ordinary of the Mass, and was used by Tye, Taverner and others.

Interesting features of the Tudor Masses are the range of texture

⁴²Stevens, Tudor Church Music, p. 89.

and the choice of voice parts. There are no Masses extant for less than three voices or more than ten. A Scottish composer, Robert Carver, is credited with spanning this wide range and wrote Masses for three, four, five, six and ten voices. Most Tudor composers used five voices ranging from soprano to bass, and a few compositions written for special occasions call for a "meane" or a contratenor.

Most Tudor Masses use a cantus-firmus, usually in the tenor part. However, some Tudor Masses, notably those by Byrd and Tallis, employ a method called the Kopf-motiv or head-motive technique. This motive was a polyphonic segment recurring as such at the beginning of each section of the Mass.

Among the various settings of hymns are some of the most beautiful Latin works of the Elizabethan period. Hymns played an important part in the Anglican service, and composers were anxious to prove that the music of the Church could exist in its own right. The hymns of the Morning Canticles can still be found in the Episcopal hymnal and, in most churches, are sung every Sunday.⁴³

The large repertoire of Latin music dating from Elizabethan times does not mean that the majority of the populace had reconciled themselves to a "Roman" form of Protestantism. The Puritans of the Elizabethan era were very much distressed at the "popish" practices of the Chapel Royal, and many attacks were made against elaborate choral music as well as against the use of vestments, kneeling to receive the Sacraments, the sign of the cross in baptism, etc.

Cathedral music was criticized in many pamphlets published by

⁴³Episcopal Hymnal, 1941, pp. 704-721.

Puritan supporters which advocated that:

all cathedral churches be put down where the service of God is grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, ringing, and trolling of psalms from one side of the choir to another, with the squeaking of chanting choristers.⁴⁴

Many people disapproved of all forms of non-congregational music, but nothing drastic could be done without the Queen's approval. In a few isolated incidents the Protestant extremists succeeded; the post of organist at Winchester college was abolished in 1571, and the choir at St. John's college in Oxford was dissolved in 1575, but no attempts were made to alter the larger chapel and cathedral foundations.

Many churchgoers were violently opposed to the performance of polyphonic music in the cathedral service. In 1592 a disturbance was caused during a service in Norwich Cathedral:

three or four lewd boys...came into the church...and as the minister began to read "My soul doth magnify the Lord"...they burst out into singing of (metrical) psalms suddenly and unlooked for; and being commanded by the minister to cease, they continued singing, and he reading.⁴⁵

Many English and Scottish refugees had fled to Geneva during Mary's reign, and had returned when Elizabeth came to the throne. They brought back to England the narrow attitude that prevailed in Geneva, a community which banned all instruments from public worship and confined itself exclusively to the singing of psalms. These refugees also brought back to England the tunes to which the psalms had been sung in Geneva. Among others they introduced were "Old Hundredth" and "St. Michael,"

⁴⁴Smith, Alan, "The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals in the Reign of Elizabeth I," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 94 (1967-1968): 45.

⁴⁵Smith, "The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals in the Reign of Elizabeth I," p. 46.

which have survived to the present day.

The psalm-tunes had an easily distinguishable character. They are syllabic, with no more than one note per syllable.

Ex. 4, ex. of syllabic style in Psalm tunes, Old Hundredth.

Praise God from whom all blessings flow.

The rhythm was plain and simple, and only common time was permitted. There was a radical change of chord with every change of pitch in the melody. The tunes had a strong momentum and a definite progress.

Ex. 5, ex. of chord change in a Psalm tune, St. Michael.

1 The ancient law departs And all its terrors cease;
For Jesus makes with faithful hearts A covenant of peace. Amen

The Psalm tunes, while harmonized homorhythmically, were contrapuntal in the sense that there was much contrary motion in the part writing. The simple structure was well-marked and symmetrical. The cadences were well prepared.

The following Psalm tunes have survived to this day:

William Croft	-	Hanover, St. Anne.
Daye's Psalter	-	Rochester, the Old 137 th .
Este's Psalter	-	Winchester Old, the Old 120 th .
Geneva Psalter	-	Old Hundredth, St. Michael.
Orlando Gibbons	-	Angel's Song.
Ravencroft's Psalter	-	Bristol, St. David.
Scottish Psalter	-	Dundee.
Thomas Tallis	-	Evening Hymn, Tallis' Ordinal.

Hanover and St. Anne both date from the early 1700's.⁴⁶ Daye's first Psalter was published in 1563--a harmonized edition in four part-books. This Psalter also included several anthems and canticles. Day also printed another Psalter in 1567 for Archbishop Parker, but it was never published, and is only known by a few presentation copies. Thomas Este's Whole Book of Psalms was published in 1592 and the two Psalms mentioned are in the Episcopal Hymnal of 1940. The music in the Geneva Psalter was written by Louis Bourgeois, and it appeared in England in 1560. Orlando Gibbons' Angel's Song was written in 1623 and was the thirty-fourth song in a series. The Angel's Song is also in the 1940 Episcopal Hymnal. Ravencroft's Psalter was published in 1621. Dundee is from the Scottish Psalter of 1615. Thomas Tallis' Evening Hymn and Tallis' Ordinal were written in 1567.

The Cathedral music of this time was, without a doubt, on the decline. The Master of Choristers was responsible for the musical education of the children in his charge, and in many cases there were reports that the boys were not suitably instructed in the art of music. The musicians in most cathedrals received an inadequate stipend to cope with the cost of living, and many were forced to take extra jobs. Discipline in

⁴⁶ Although these two Psalm-tunes were composed outside the Tudor period, they are included here to demonstrate the longevity of Psalm writing.

the cathedrals was very poor, and the number of absentees from the required daily attendance of Morning Prayer was high. Many clergymen held Puritan views and were antagonistic towards the singers. They were opposed to the performance of polyphony, and consequently, frequently criticized the choirs and the music they sang. In such an atmosphere, many singers lost all confidence in their performances, and left their livings. Having no incentive to perform their best, their level of performance and standards of conduct, professional and sometimes personal, were very low.

The latter problem was verified by the records of the Dean and Chapter of Wells:

- 1591: Roger Rugge, a vicar choral, was found to be keeping an alehouse in the cathedral close and was ordered to close it.
- 1597: After an unofficial absence of more than six months, Richard Mewe, one of the vicar chorals, was summarily dismissed.
- 1600: William Tawswell, one of the vicars choral, was accused of "Incontinence" with the wife of one of his colleagues.
- 1601: Tawswell was suspended for a month after an all-night gambling session with "Anthony Harrison and others."⁴⁷

Although these problems were widespread, not every cathedral was afflicted with them. Many of the more important and larger cathedrals kept a body of excellent musicians, and some of the greatest musical talent in England was situated at the Chapel Royal. Among the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were Christopher Tye and Thomas Tallis. None of them appeared to have been bothered by the religious problem of the time. Each received sevenpence-halfpenny a day. Besides their musical duties, they often performed in court amusements. The Master of the Children was expected to supervise pageants and revels.

⁴⁷Huray, Music and the Reformation in England, p. 43.

With the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 the Protestants hoped for more favorable legislation. However, in the sixty years of Elizabeth's reign music had become a firmly established part of the Anglican service. Elizabeth's reign witnessed some of the most important innovations in the field of music, and some of the most outstanding compositions of the entire English musical repertoire were written in this period. The age of Elizabeth reached a pinnacle of musical excellence that was not achieved again until the twentieth century.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMPOSERS OF THE TUDOR PERIOD

Many important composers of the Tudor period have long been forgotten, their music either lost or ignored in some museum or college library. The unstable times and the dissolution of the religious houses is largely to blame for this. In many cases the only record available of notable Tudor composers and their music are the records of the Chapel Royal. Undoubtedly the most important and talented musicians in the country were members of this institution, but it is more than likely that the works of other composers of the Tudor period are lost for all time.

Gilbert Banaster (ca.1445-1487) was a member of Henry VII's Chapel Royal. He was appointed Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1478. Outstanding among his compositions is the Latin anthem "O Maria et Elizabeth," written for the wedding of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York in 1486. Banaster's works are preserved in the Pepys Collection⁴⁸ in the Magdalene College Library at Cambridge. These compositions include a three-part motet--"Vos secli justi iudices"--and a two-part "Alleluia

⁴⁸Davey dates this manuscript as 1480-1500. It includes over twenty pieces by William Corbronde, Gilbert Banaster, John Tuder, Sir William Hawt, Nesbet, Fowler, Frye and Garnesey.

Laudate." The Fayrfax Manuscript⁴⁹ contains a three-part secular song--
"My feerfull dreme."

The first mention made of David Burton (ca.1475-1542?)--as well as Davey, Avery, Avere and Aubree--was made in 1494 when Henry VII paid Burton twenty shillings for "making a Mass."⁵⁰ Burton was made a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1509. He was among the entourage that crossed the Channel with Henry VII to Tournai, and the Chapel Royal sang and "Anthem of Our Lady and another of St. George."⁵¹ Davey was apparently in Henry VIII's good favor, as he was granted a lease of monastic lands following the dissolution of the monasteries.

William Cornyshe (ca.1468-1523) was famous not only as a musician and composer, but also as an actor and dramatist. Cornyshe was the first Master of Choristers at Westminster Abbey, and was appointed to the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in 1492. He became Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1509. He was an important composer of Church music and secular vocal music. The Fayrfax Manuscript contains thirteen works composed by Cornyshe--twelve vocal and one instrumental. The Harleian

⁴⁹The Fayrfax Manuscript belonged to and was probably written by Dr. Robert Fayrfax in or before 1504. The Manuscript contains several songs for three or four voices by Fayrfax, William Newark, Sherynham, Hamshere, R. Davy, Turges, Tutor (probably the "Tuder" of the Pepys Collection), Sir John Phelyppis, Browne, Cornyshe and Banaster. There are forty-nine pieces in all; seventeen are anonymous.

⁵⁰Flood William F. G., Early Tudor Composers, (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 17.

⁵¹Flood, Early Tudor Composers, p. 19.

Manuscripts⁵² contain Cornyshe's "salve Regina" for five voices; The Eton Manuscript⁵³ contains a "Stabat Mater" and an "Ave Maria" is at the Royal College of Music.

William Newark (ca.1450-1487) preceeded Cornyshe as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. He had served under five Kings--from Edward IV to Henry VIII. Most of his compositions are secular in nature. The Fayrfax Manuscript contains many of his works, including a two-part song "O my deire what aileth thee," and three three-part songs--"But why am I so abused," "Your counterfeiting with double dealing" and "Thus musing in my mind."

Hugh Aston (ca.1480-1522)--also Ashton and Assheton--is most famous for his "Hornpype" for spinet or virginal. This composition, along with several others for a keyboard instrument is in a Manuscript in the British Museum. Despite his secular and keyboard interests, however, he did write several sacred compositions including two Masses in the Oxford Music School Collection, a Te Deum in the Bodleian Library and several motets at Cambridge, Peterhouse, University College and St. John's College.

Probably one of the most important composers of the early Tudor court was Robert Fayrfax, who was both a member of the Chapel Royal and

⁵²The Harleian Manuscript is unfortunately only a medius part-book. The set contains twenty-six motets including those by Fayrfax, Davy, Cornyshe, Ludford, Ashwell, Pygott and T. Hyllary. There are sixteen anonymous works.

⁵³The Eton Manuscript is the most important manuscript to come out of Henry VIII's reign. It originally contained ninety-five works by twenty-six composers; ninety pages are missing, but 149 remain with fifty-eight works. The Manuscript originally comprised sixty-six motets and twenty-eight Magnificats; there are now forty-three complete motets and four complete Magnificats, five incomplete motets and four imperfect Magnificats. Davy dates it between 1490 and 1504.

organist of St. Albans Abbey. Fayrfax became a Bachelor of Music from Oxford in 1501, and received a Doctorate from the same University in 1504. His exercise for this degree was a five-part Mass "O quam glorifica." His extant music also includes six Masses, two Magnificats, several motets, nine part-songs and two instrumental pieces. The majority of his sacred music is in five parts, most often used in groupings of two and three parts, with the full number being used infrequently. Fayrfax's Masses make use of a plainsong tenor with the exception of a parody Mass, based on his motet "O bone Jesu."

John Taverner (ca.1490-1558?) has been historically recorded as one of the most important Catholic composers of the Tudor period although he held strong Protestant convictions. He became the Master of the Children in Wolsey's Cardinal College, in Oxford, a post which he held from 1526 to 1530. Wolsey sent a commission to Oxford in 1528, and as a result Taverner, by this time an ardent Lutheran, was accused of heresy and imprisoned. He was later released through Wolsey's excusing of his crimes on the grounds that he was "but a musician."⁵⁴ Although Taverner eventually regretted that he had made "songes to Popish Ditties" these "songes" represented a high point of English music. His surviving works include eight Masses, three setting of the Christe Eleison, a separate Kyrie entitled the "Leroy" Kyrie, three Magnificats, a Te Deum and twenty-eight motets, as well as three secular pieces. The most famous of Taverner's Masses is the Westron Wynde Mass, in which the cantus firmus is a folk melody that was also used in a similar manner by John Sheppard and

⁵⁴Young, A History of British Music, p. 93.

Christopher Tye. Taverner's Mass is in four movements--Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei--of exactly equal lengths, though there is some difference in the lengths of the texts. This medieval idea of mathematic perfection can be found in other English Masses of the period.

Eventually Taverner was so influenced by the spirit of the Reformation that he resigned his career as a musician to become an agent of Thomas Cromwell, and from 1538 to 1540 he took part in the suppression of four friaries. Taverner wrote to Cromwell in 1538:

"accordyng to yor lordshippes cammaundement the Roode was burned the vii day of this monethe beyng also the market daye and A sermone of the Blake ffreyre at the burnyng of hym, who dyd expresse the cause of his burnyng and the ydolatri comytted by hym whiche sermone hathe done moche good and hathe turned many mennes hartes ffrome yt."⁵⁵

Thomas Ashwell (ca.1470-1518?) was one of the first composers to write a setting of the "Stabat Mater." It is thought that he composed a royal anthem "God save King Henry" (not to be confused with the later anthem "God save the Queen) for Henry VII on the occasion of his marriage. Ashwell became Master of the Choristers at Lincoln Cathedral in 1508. The Harleian Manuscript contains a setting of the "Stabat Mater" and a motet "Te matrem Dei laudamus." The Bodleian Music School Library has possession of two Masses--"Mass 'Ave Maria'" and "Mass 'Jesu Christe.'" The British Museum contains a fragment of his "Mass of St. Cuthbert" and the motet "Sancta Maria."

William Pasche (ca.1450-1525) is one of the "Practitioners of Musicke"

⁵⁵Buck, P. C., gen. ed., Tudor Church Music, 10 vols. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1963), vol. 1: John Taverner, iii. Letter to Thomas Cromwell from John Taverner dated September 11, 1538, from Boston, Lincolnshire.

listed in Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke of 1597. He belonged to the Chapel of the Duchess of Exeter, the sister of Edward IV and Richard III, and was also known as a "Master of Musicke." Several examples of his music are available at the Cambridge Library and the British Museum. His greatest and only complete extant work is his Mass "Christus Resurgens" in the Caius College Manuscript.⁵⁶ Fragments of a motet "Sanct Mater"⁵⁷ and a Magnificat are at Peterhouse in Cambridge.

Thomas Appleby (1498-1562) was a native of Lincoln and a chorister at the Cathedral. He supplicated a Bachelor of Arts in 1510 and was licensed for a Master of Arts in 1515 at Balliol College. He became acting-organist at Lincoln Cathedral in 1536, and in 1538 was confirmed in the joint offices of organist and Master of the Choristers of Lincoln Cathedral. Although he was a Catholic, he remained at this post throughout the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I. Many of his compositions are lost, but the Peterhouse Manuscript contains a Mass and a Magnificat by him, and the British Museum also has a Mass. He did not compose anything for the English Service, and his productive period appears to have been prior to the reign of Elizabeth I.

Richard Edwards (1522-1566) received a Bachelor of Arts from Corpus Christi College in 1544 and a Master of Arts from Christ Church College in 1547. He was appointed to the Chapel Royal in 1552, and was named Deputy Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1560. He composed

⁵⁶The Caius College Manuscript is a full choir-book written and presented to some Cathedral or college by Edward Higgons, one of the Caius College Canons. It contains ten Masses by Fayrfax and Ludford and Pasche, and five Magnificats by Cornyshe, Fayrfax, Turges, Trentes and Ludford.

⁵⁷According to Henry Davey. Flood calls this motet "Sancta Maris."

a Mass and some Latin motets in Queen Mary's reign, and the manuscripts are at Peterhouse. He wrote several musical plays presented by the boys of the Chapel Royal. He also contributed a setting of the metrical version of the Lord's Prayer to Date's Psalter in 1563. His madrigal "In going to my naked bed" is quite famous, and mentioned in several literary works of the period.

John Merbecke (c.1510-1585)--also Marbeck--was born in Windsor and spent his life there, and held several appointments including organist of St. George's Chapel. His earliest compositions were for the Roman rite, and apparently he was on good terms with Cranmer and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. He later became sympathetic with the principles of the Reformation, and eventually was won over entirely to the Calvinist cause. When Henry VIII set up his "Great" Bible for use in the English churches, Merbecke began work on the first English Concordance. This occupied him for several years, and was eventually confiscated and destroyed when Merbecke and two of his colleagues were arrested for copying and distributing Calvin's denunciation of the "Six Articles." His two colleagues were sent to the stake, but one of his accusers, Bishop Gardiner, intervened in his case and he was granted a full pardon, and even reinstated in his post at St. George's. Other than his Booke of Common Praier Noted, Merbecke appears to have written very little music; only a Mass, two motets and a carol have survived.

Christopher Tye (c.1500-1573) served in the choir of King's College at Cambridge until 1541 when he was appointed Master of the Choristers at Ely Cathedral. Soon after this he was given another appointment at Ely Cathedral, and also became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. In 1560 Tye took orders in the Reformed Church and was inducted into the living

of Doddington-cum-March in the Isle of Ely. He resigned his musical appointments at the cathedral in 1561. Later on he added other benefices to that of Doddington, where he died in 1573.

Tye graduated with Bachelor of Music from King's College at Cambridge in 1536, and in 1545 he received a Doctor's of Music. Tye was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from Henry VIII's reign to Elizabeth's reign, and is thought to have been Edward VI's music master. In Rowley's chronical play on the life of Henry VIII, Edward addresses the character of Dr. Tye:

Doctor, I thank you and commend your cunning
I oft have heard my father merrily speake
In your hye praise and thus his highnesse sayth,
England one God, one Truth, one Doctor hath
For Musicks Art and that is Doctor Tye.⁵⁸

Tye's Latin church music is made up of two Masses and about twenty motets. His Missa Euge bone in six parts is notable for the block chords on the repeated words Sanctus. Tye also wrote a Western Wynde Mass in which the melody is treated in a set of choral variations.

The most interesting of his motets are the two five-part Psalms Miserere mei Deus and the Omnes gentes plaudite, also in five parts. This motet makes interesting use of cross-relations and shows the influence of Continental composers.

Among Tye's English works is a setting of Nunc Dimittis in an English translation taken from the Marshall Primer of about 1535. Since

⁵⁸Hawkins, Sir John, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), p. 453.

this work appears in the Wanley Part-Books⁵⁹ of c. 1549 it is apparently one of his earlier works and contains an elaborate melismatic underlay of the parts in which single syllables can carry a large number of notes.

Tye's English anthems are fairly simple and functional in character as were the majority of anthems at this time. "Blessed are all they" and "Save me, O God" both have four parts and are in chordal style. Other anthems in four-part imitative style are "From depth I called," "Give alms" and "O God be merciful." "Deliver us, good Lord" and "I have loved" are more elaborate and make use of some pictorial techniques. "I lift my heart" and "My trust, O Lord" are both in five parts and very expressive, and "Christ rising" is a beautiful six-part anthem.

One of the most interesting of Tye's works is a metrical version of the Acts of the Apostles which he wrote and then set to music. This work was not intended for liturgical use, but rather "to synge and also to play upon the Lute, very necessarye for studentes after theyre studye, to fyle theyre wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge, to read the good and Godlye storyes of the lyves of Christ hys Apostles"⁶⁰ The setting is of fourteen chapters only, with music set to the opening verses of each chapter. It is for this reason that this collection has been called incomplete; however, in his article "Tye's 'Actes of the Apostles': A reassessment" Robert Weidner states that the placement and specific

⁵⁹Manuscript in Bodleian Library as of 1969. The Wanley Part-Books contain ten settings of the entire Mass in English, five settings of Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, three settings of Te Deum and Benedictus, three settings of the Lord's Prayer and two settings of the Litany with a large number of anthems. Davey dates it 1549.

⁶⁰Long, The Music of the English Church, p. 69.

character of two of the fourteen chapters suggest a deliberate and complete musical design.⁶¹ Tye's doggerel verses have been condemned as "laughably bald" by Henry Davey and "deplorably bad" by Kenneth Long, but some sources admit the music to be of excellent quality and well worth preserving.

Thomas Tallis (ca.1505-1585) is first heard of in 1531 as the joculator organum of Dover Priory. He became the conduct of the choir in the London church St. Mary-at-Hill in 1537, and left there a year later, apparently to go to the Waltham Abbey. He remained there until 1540 when Waltham became the last monastery dissolved under Henry VIII. He was elected a member of the Chapel Royal a few years later, and kept his appointment until he died. Apparently the Tudor monarchs had great regard for Tallis. Mary I granted him a lease of Minister manor in the Isle of Thanet in 1557, and in 1575 Elizabeth I gave both Tallis and William Byrd a monopoly to print music and ruled music paper.

Other than Byrd, Tallis is probably the most important Elizabethan composer. He was brought up to the Latin faith, and by the time the Anglican Church was firmly established he was already in his forties. Nevertheless, he composed for the Church of England and was one of the most significant composers to supply the English Church with English settings in the Cathedral tradition.

Tallis' extant Latin works include three Masses, a four-part Magnificat, a five-part Magnificat with paired Nunc Dimittis, two sets of Lamentations, over thirty motets, and several Office hymns. His Missa Salve intemerata virgo is a parody Mass based on an antiphon of the same name. Another of his Masses is a four-part "short" Mass, having no

⁶¹Weidner, Robert W., "Tye's 'Actes of the Apostles': A Reassessment;" The Musical Quarterly, LVIII, n. 2 (April, 1972): 255.

title associating it with a particular feast. This Mass is syllabic in style, and the various movements open with the same theme and harmonic progressions. Only the Gloria and fragments of a Sanctus of a seven-part Mass have survived. This Mass was probably written for Christmas Day, 1554 when Philip of Spain was still in London, and would have been sung by the combined English and Spanish Chapels. Missa Puer natus est nobis is a cantus firmus Mass based on the first four phrases of a plainsong of the same name. This Mass is one of Tallis' best works and it is a shame that the Credo and Agnus Dei were lost.

Tallis' Magnificats follow the general "alternim" style of the time in that the even-numbered are polyphonic and the odd-numbered verses were sung to plainchant. The paired Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis are interesting in that they are Latin, and the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis would never have appeared in the same service in the Latin rite. The two canticles were brought together in the Prayer Book of 1549, but of course, in English. However, when William Haddon translated the Prayer Book into Latin in 1559 Tallis set the two evening canticles to music. The words are treated syllabically, and the openings of the two canticles are the same.

It was fashionable both on the Continent and in England to write polyphonic settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Settings of these include those by Palestrina, Victoria, de Lasso, Parsley, White, Ferrabosco and Mundy. All of these are similar in structure and include an elaborate setting of the Hebrew initials which open each section--Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, Heth, etc. Tallis' two settings of the Lamentations are in five parts and scored for men's voices without boys. They were probably never intended for any ritual Office, and might have been composed for private use.

Since the Lamentations are not liturgical, they are classed as motets. Tallis lived through the transition of early to late Renaissance, and his several motets use various techniques. The Latin works written before Elizabeth's reign are generally freer in character, and are more melismatic and wider ranging than those written after Elizabeth came to the throne. The Elizabethan motets are as a rule more syllabic and severe in style, and show an interesting use of word-painting.

Tallis and John Sheppard were the only English composers to write polyphonic settings of the Responds. The plainsong melody appears as a cantus firmus in all six Tallis settings; it is usually in the tenor, but is once in the treble and one in the contra-tenor.

Tallis and Sheppard were also the only composers of their time to compose several settings of Latin hymns. Tallis' eight hymns are all for five voices with the plainsong in the highest voice. The even-numbered verses are polyphonic and the odd-numbered verses are sung to plainchant. Except for the Deus tuorum the first verse of two is in triple meter, and the rest of the verses are in duple meter.

Only one of Tallis' English Services settings survives--the "short" Service in the Dorian mode. Tallis' Dorian Service is one of the few of these early services to include settings of the Sanctus and Gloria, as it was customary in the reformed Holy Communion Service for the choir to leave after the Creed. This Service is in simple note-against-note style, but apparently there was a more elaborate five-part service, of which only the bass part survives.

An incomplete five-part setting of the Te Deum was reconstructed by Fellowes. A four-part Benedictus and the two anthems "Hear the voice and prayer" and "If ye love me" were all written for men's voices. These

works are among the earliest of Tallis' English settings, and all were written before the first Prayer Book was issued. The remaining English anthems appear to have been written before or around 1549. These are in various styles; "Remember not, O Lord God" is in simple four-part chordal style, while "Christ rising" is an extraordinarily elaborate five-part polyphonic composition. Several anthems exist in an incomplete form, and it is hard to tell what they were like or when they were written.

Tallis was very important as a composer of hymn tunes. Tallis composed several tunes for various Psalters which can be found in modern hymnbooks. These include the famous "Canon" and Tallis' Ordinal.

In his will, William Byrd expressed the desire to "live and die a true and perfect member of God's holy Catholic Church."⁶² It seems surprising therefore, that he continuously held positions in the Anglican Church. On the one hand, it can be asked why he was retained during the Anglican reigns, and on the other why he was willing to compose Anglican music as a devout Catholic.

The exact date of Byrd's birth is unknown, although it is thought that he was born in 1543. It is known that he was eighty years old when his will was executed in 1622. His birthplace is not known, and his family history is uncertain. It is probable that he was one of the Children of the Chapel Royal, although some sources state that he was a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral.

Byrd worked in close association with Thomas Tallis while at the Chapel Royal although Tallis was nearly forty years older than Byrd. It is possible that Byrd was Tallis' student at one time.

⁶² Fellowes, Edmund H., William Byrd, (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 36.

Along with Shakespeare, Byrd is probably one of the most important figures of the English Renaissance. He excelled in all forms of compositions, and explored several fields whereas most composers of the time occupied themselves with one branch of composition.

Byrd wrote three Masses for the Latin rite--one three-part, one four-part and one five-part. All the part-books were issued without a title page. Although it is known that Thomas East was the printer, it was uncertain when they were written or published. It is now known however, that the four-part Mass was issued in 1592-93, the three-part Mass in 1593-1594, and the five-part Mass probably in 1595.

All three Masses make use of certain techniques that were unusual at this time:

- 1.) a settings of the Kyrie is provided in each.
- 2.) Byrd uses the Head-motive in all three Masses.
- 3.) Byrd does not use a cantus firmus in any Mass.

The Kyrie of the three-part Mass is in a simple style, beginning in F and ending in A. The Gloria is broken into many smaller phrases and there is some attempt at word-painting in the Credo. The Sanctus builds up to a tremendous climax, the Benedictus is simple like the Kyrie, and the Agnus Dei has a quiet and contemplative mood.⁶³

The four-part Mass is longer and more involved. All movements except the Sanctus open with a duet between the treble and alto voices, and the Kyrie is the longest of the three. Most of the Gloria was written for varying groups of three voices and the Credo uses some interesting melismas. The bass does not enter in the Sanctus until the final "Hosannas"; the Benedictus is also melismatic in style. The Agnus Dei is

⁶³Long, The Music of the English Church, p. 114.

possibly the most beautiful movement of the entire Mass.

The five-part Mass is the most impressive of the three Masses, and could be classified as Byrd's most important composition. It is the longest of the three Masses and makes a greater use of modality. Except for the Sanctus and the Benedictus, the movements open in the same manner, and Byrd uses the five voices in three and four part groupings.

The remainder of Byrd's Latin works are called motets, and comprise several antiphons, festal Psalms, hymns, sequences, Propers of the Mass and other liturgical movements. The motets offer a good guide to the composers musical development as they span thirty-two years. They are published in five printed collections--1575, 1589, 1591, 1605 and 1607. The first collection was the Cantiones quae ab argumento Sacrae volantur published jointly with Tallis, mentioned in the previous chapter. Two subsequent publications of Cantiones Sacrae were the next two collections issued, and the last two collections published were two volumes of Gradualia. The first collection contains seventeen motets, the second has sixteen compositions and the third comprises twenty-one works. The first volume of Gradualia is in three parts. The first part contains thirty-two five-part motets, the second part has twenty four-part works and the third part has eleven three-part compositions. Volume two also is in three parts scored consecutively for four, five and six voices.

Other composers of the day composed Latin Masses and motets that are on the same scale as the works of Byrd, but none composed examples of Anglican Church music as did Byrd. Although he was true to the traditions of the Catholic church, Byrd apparently felt no controversy in composing for the Church of England. In his book on William Byrd, Edmund H. Fellowes says:

For him the beauty of Christian worship, as adorned with music, knew no limitations as defined by this or that phase of doctrine. It is for this reason that Byrd's Church music, both Latin and English, so nobly achieved its purpose.⁶⁴

Byrd's English liturgical music comprises a full set of Preces and Responses, two other versions of the Preces, a complete four-part setting of the Litany with the plainsong in the tenor, some festal Psalms, two complete Services, two Evening Services, fragments of Morning Canticles and some anthems. The Short Service is made up of seven movements--Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Kyrie, Creed, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. The Short Service is mainly in four-parts, but the Creed has sections in five and six parts. It is basically in a syllabic style; the phrases follow the words carefully and sung antiphonally.¹

The Great Service can stand on its own with the five-part Mass. It is one of Byrd's largest works, and is probably one of the best Services ever written for Anglican use. It follows the plan of the Short Service, except it has only one Kyrie. It is written for two choirs of five parts each, and is a very long work, using elaborate polyphony an interesting rhythmic freedom and intricacy. It is primarily in syllabic style, although Byrd sometimes repeats phrases and single words. A "motto theme" appears at the beginning of the Venite that is heard again not only at the beginning of the Benedictus, Creed, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis, but is heard within the framework of the individual movements.

Although Byrd wrote nearly seventy anthem-like works, most were consort songs and sacred madrigals, and are only found in secular publications. He wrote very few liturgical anthems, and some can be found in

⁶⁴Fellowes, William Byrd, p. 40.

both liturgical and secular collections. It is known that there were probably another twelve verse anthems that were intended for liturgical use, but were never published. There are only nine full liturgical anthems. Also, several anthems were adapted from early motets or consort songs.

Byrd's reputation apparently went abroad without his having travelled. John Baldwin, a chorister at St. George's Chapel, Windsor wrote a versified conspectus of music that includes Byrd among the several Italian composers of the time:

Luca Merensio with others manie moe
 As Philipp Demonte the Emperours man also;
 And Orlando by name and eeke Crequillion,
 Cipriano Rore: and also Andreon.
 All famous in their arte, there is of that no doute:
 There works no less declare in everie place aboute,
 Yet let not straigners bragg, nor these soe commend,
 For they may now geve place and sett themselves behynde.
 An Englishman, by name, William Birde for his skill.
 Which I should heve sett first, for soe it was my will,
 Whose greater skill & knowledge doth excelle all at this tyme
 And far to strnage countries abroad his skill doth shyne;
 Famous men be abroad and skillful in the arte
 I do confesse the same and not not from it starte;
 But in Ewroppe is none like to our Englishe man,⁶⁵
 Which dothe so farre exceede as trulie I it scan.

John Bull (1562-1628) is most important as a keyboard composer, but there is one composition that is attributed to him that should be discussed at this time. Dr. Bull was in great favor with Queen Elizabeth, who made heavy creative demands on him. England was faced with several political and military crises during the time of Bull's greatest musical activity, and some of his vocal compositions express highly patriotic feelings. The Spanish Armada was a very real threat to every Englishman

⁶⁵Howes, Frank, William Byrd, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, LTD, 1928), p. 225.

at this time, and John Bull's "Alarme" and "Battaile" expressed the national call to arms and the excitement that followed.

According to the accounts of the time, Elizabeth followed the events of the sea battle between the English fleet and the Spanish Armada very closely. She anticipated nothing, but knew that victory was in sight. She ordered her Chapel to prepare for special victory Services, and John Bull was to write a new anthem for the occasion. Legend has it that he was writing up to the last minute, hoping to create something truly magnificent and fitting the occasion. The members of the Chapel complained they had not been assembled in time and resented having to sing music at sight. As the Queen walked to her place for the victory Service John Bull was at the organ playing the prelude, and as Elizabeth reached her seat the choristers commenced the singing of an anthem still sung in England--"God save the Queen."

It has been disputed that this anthem was written by Dr. John Bull, organist of the Chapel Royal as John Bull is the name familiarly applied to all Englishmen. However, it is generally thought that the anthem was written at this time, and by the Queen's organist.

There were of course, many more composers of the Tudor period that played an important part in the history of Anglican music, but to name them all here would be a monumental task. Suffice it to say that the Tudor period had no lack for talented musicians; indeed, this period has gone down in history as producing some of the most beautiful music in the history of English music.

CHAPTER VII

THE EFFECT OF THE REFORMATION

ON MUSIC IN TUDOR ENGLAND

The decline of England's ruling Plantagenet family witnessed along with it, the decline of the stature of English polyphony. One of the most important composers in medieval England, Leonel Power, died in 1445, and eight years later John Dunstable's death dealt the art of polyphony in England a blow from which it was a long time recovering. Although musical composition continued uninterrupted in England, English music no longer held a leading position on the Continent. Twenty years later, the Flemish composer and theorist, Johannes Tinctoris acknowledged that the English no longer occupied the dominant situation as inventors of new musical techniques, and that composers in England did no more than "continue to use one and the same style of composition, which shows a lamentable lack of invention."⁶⁶

This "lamentable" situation continued through the reign of Henry VII and up to the last years of that of Henry VIII. A few compositions during this period show Continental influences, but as a general rule most English composers were content to write in the style that had been, and apparently, would always be. The Reformation on the Continent had no noticeable effect in England, and therefore no noticeable effect on English

⁶⁶Stevens, Tudor Church Music, p. 6.

music, since Henry VIII was a staunch Catholic and tolerated no manifestation of Lutheranism in his realm.

However, Henry's divorce and the events following it brought about many changes in English religious doctrine and practices. The most important change was in doctrine, and the celebration of the Mass continued in the newly formed Church of England basically along the same lines as the Roman Church. However, what was originally intended as a simple transfer of power eventually felt the effects of Reformation movements on the Continent, and many changes with regard to liturgical practice were made that ultimately had an effect on musical composition.

Although the Reformation during Henry's time followed moderate lines, many of his advisors continually urged Henry to take more drastic steps. When Edward came to the throne plans had already been made that enforced the radical measures advocated by Edward's advisors. English composers felt these innovations immediately, since not only were the Gospel and Epistle to be read in English, but many standard musical forms were banned from liturgical use. The English style of musical composition was forced to undergo several changes. Many Lutheran and Calvinist reformers came to England at this time and English composers were subjected to the forms and styles of Continental composers. The individual musical forms of these two reform movements, along with Cranmer's opinions on the subject of musical composition, had an enormous effect on English styles of composition.

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

As concerning the Salve festa dies, the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough; wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin notes unto the same. Nevertheless, they that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in song.⁶⁷

Edward became more and more fanatically Protestant, and his restrictions against "popishness" became more and more thorough. Chapels, Churches and Cathedrals were stripped of Crucifixes, works of art, and other symbols of "popery". Music was strongly effected, and compositions employing Crammers' simple "note-against-note" style were written, replacing the larger, more gradiose liturgical compositions. Composers made use of the altered Gregorian chant, and wrote three- and four-part harmonizations of these chants. If the deaths of Power and Dunstable called an effective halt to the progress of polyphonic composition in England, the reign of Edward was all the more effective in forcing the composers to change their style of composition. Whether this change was for the better or worse is a matter of opinion. Although the compositions of the Edwardian period were simple and unpretentious in comparison with those of the previous period, it can be said that Edward's injunctions regarding the art of music compelled the composers to alter their method of writing. English composers became aware of the Continental trends towards simplification of style, and the influence of Lutheran Chorale writing, and to some extent, Calvinist metrical Psalmody began to show itself in Edwardian compositions.

If Edward had not died at such an early age, Mary might never have come to the throne, and the history of English music probably would have

⁶⁷Hurray, Music and the Reformation in England, p. 7.

been much different from what it is. However, Mary did come to the throne in 1553, and England was restored to the Catholic Church. Composers had to return to the Latin liturgy and Roman musical forms. This did not pose too much of a problem, since most of the composers who had been active during Edward's reign had also practiced their art during that of Henry VIII, and were familiar with the Catholic tradition.

The restoration of the Catholic tradition, added to the influence of foreign musicians at the court of Mary and Philip, paved the way for the return of musical styles as they had been prior to the reign of Henry VIII. This return was, however, tempered by the effects of Edward's reign, and composers began using styles and forms that show definite departures from the styles of Henry's reign. If the Edwardian period was important in that composers were forced to make changes that resulted in innovations in musical styles, the Marian period was just as important in that it brought about a cessation of the more extreme practices of Edward's reign that might have caused an effective halt to the progress of English polyphony.

While Elizabeth's policy of gradualism and moderation with regard to liturgical reformation was a great disappointment to the Puritans and other reformers in her realm, the art of music benefited from the tolerant attitude of Elizabeth's reign. Elizabeth's Protestantism was Catholic in practice, and she did not discourage composers from using standard Latin forms, but since English was used in the services of the Anglican Church new forms suitable for English liturgical use could be developed. Elizabeth's reign resulted in an amalgamation of musical styles--the tradition of English polyphony that had stagnated during the time of

Henry VII and Henry VIII, the styles of Edward's period that strayed from this tradition and perhaps even regressed from it, and the mode of composition during Mary's reign that had effected a return to the musical styles and forms of the Henrician period but still felt the influences of the changes caused by Edward's reign--that eventually became a great tradition in itself. Many authorities agree in ranking the sacred music of Elizabeth's reign with the finest in England's musical history, and some compositions of this time can be included with the most renowned masterpieces in the history of liturgical music.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to assert that the Reformation in England had its greatest effect in the field of music, that effect was indeed strong enough to reverse the tide of musical development as it had been up to the time of the Reformation. The musical styles of Henry VIII's reign were much the same as they had been since the mid-fifteenth century. Although the Conductus style still used by English composers at this time complied with Cranmer's ideal of musical perfection, the elaborate Fauxbourdon style of Dunstable and Dufay was a popular compositional technique. Edward's reign carried music in a new direction and was musically most effective in calling a halt to some of the worst musical abuses of the time, such as the elaborate motet style that often completely obscured the meaning of the text from the listener. Edward and Cranmer brought about a simplification of these styles, but at the same time advocated a style that could have eventually obstructed further development in the field of choral polyphony. Cranmer's fondness for the syllabic note-against-note style was not shared by many composers of this period who felt constrained by this manner of composition, and

continued to write more elaborate works.

Before Edward's reforming zeal resulted in the destruction of the English tradition of choral polyphony, Mary came to the throne and restored to the worship service the use of intricate and ornate musical forms and styles using imitative and contrapuntal techniques that had been prevalent in Henry's reign. The new course of musical styles lay midway between the Edwardian and Henrician extremes and composers made no attempt to return to the styles of the Henrician years.

It was with the reign of Elizabeth however, that the Reformation in England reached its final stage, and liturgical music reaches its greatest heights. The sacred music of the Tudor period had been, up to this time, in a state of constant flux, and when a religious settlement was finally reached, the composition of liturgical polyphonic music was able to stabilize into certain styles and forms, while allowing for further musical development. Forms such as the Great Service often made use of elaborate polyphony and a wide range in parts, while the harmonizations of the hymns and canticles for Morning and Evening Prayer were often in the simple syllabic and homorhythmic style that Cranmer so admired.

This does not intend to say that the Reformation in England had only beneficial effects on the development of music in England. The dissolution of the monasteries and Cathedral choir-schools resulted in a tragic loss of manuscripts and a decline in the performance standards of English musicians. It is probable that some of the most important compositions of prominent medieval and early renaissance composers were lost for all time when many of the manuscripts found in the monasteries were destroyed. The decline of performance standards had, of course, a more

temporary effect on the development of music in England. While no attempt is being made to minimize the bad effects of the Reformation on the history of music in England, it is important to realize that, for the most part, the Reformation provided the single most effective impetus toward transforming English ecclesiastical music from Tinctoris' "lamentable" condition of stagnation after the death of Dunstable in the middle of the fifteenth century into one of the most important sacred choral traditions in the entire history of music.

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