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Cover Page Footnote

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“That Hart May Sing in Corde”

Defense of Church Music in the Psalm Paraphrases of Matthew Parker

Sonja Wermager

In a 1564 letter to the English statesman William Cecil, Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker proudly reported on his recent reception of a delegation of French ambassadors, describing to Cecil how the visitors “seemed to be glad, that in ministrations of our Common Prayer and Sacraments we use such reverent mediocrity, and that we did not expel music out of our quires, telling them that our music drowned not the principal regard of our prayers.”¹ The celebration of mediocrity might seem surprising to the modern-day reader, but Parker wrote at a time when “mediocrity” meant not averageness, but rather moderation.² There is perhaps no better word than moderation to describe the quest of Parker’s tenure as archbishop of Canterbury, when he sought to steer the course of the nascent Church of England at a particularly volatile time. As one of the chief architects of the Elizabethan Settlement, Parker used the power of his position, sometimes forcefully, to ensure moderation, balance, and harmony in all aspects of ecclesiastical practice, including music in the liturgy. Indeed, Parker’s letter to Cecil demonstrates his pride in crafting a policy that retained music as a prominent part of Anglican liturgy, yet still guarded against elements of excess feared by many Protestants of the time.

As one of the leading figures in Elizabethan England, Parker has received substantial scholarly attention. Yet analyses of his involvement in musical questions tend to focus on his policy rather than theology. This study seeks to explore the

theological impetus underpinning Parker’s musical policy as archbishop. From where did his commitment to music originate? Why did Parker fight for the place of music in the liturgy at a time when many English Protestants called for the simplification, or even prohibition, of music in church services? A close examination of one of Parker’s poetic works suggests that his actions as archbishop concerning musical matters extended from a deeply held conviction regarding music’s capacity, when duly moderated, to move the soul toward devotion to God. In this article I contend that a rich vision of this musical commitment can be found in his poetic psalm paraphrases, published in 1567 as *The whole Psalter translated into English metre*. The art of paraphrasing psalms was simultaneously scholarly and personal. As Rivkah Zim has pointed out, paraphrasing involved balancing the personal voice of the paraphraser with that of the original author. In Zim’s words, “every imitation is a new work: a re-creation or a transposition, but never a reproduction, because every imitator is an individual.”³ By operating in a genre that allowed for a great deal of poetic license, Parker carefully negotiated between strict translation and personal interpretation in order to advance a theological justification for the inclusion of music in liturgy during an era when vocal polyphony and instrumental music in sacred settings fomented the suspicion of many Protestant reformers. Indeed, Parker himself was wary of immoderate music making. Yet rather than dismiss music for its potential spiritual dangers, in this volume he offered

a guide for how to use music responsibly in worship. Themes of moderation, modesty, and self-regulation weave throughout the versifications, offering a guide for using music in a devotional manner in addition to justifying sung praise. Analysis of Parker's paraphrases in comparison with the poetic versifications and Bible translations of his contemporaries highlights Parker's defense of church music as a central mode of worship for the average English Protestant. Furthermore, comparison of the printed 1567 text with Parker's manuscript held at the Inner Temple Library in London reveals that in editing the volume for publication, Parker often chose explicitly musical terms for the printed version. In so doing, the archbishop provided foundational justification for establishing a central role for music in Anglican liturgy, harnessing all the tools of his humanist training and the authority of his position to offer a model for personal and communal devotion that celebrated music's ability to spiritually enrich while simultaneously warning against its misuse.

Reformation Psalms

By the time Parker published his version of the Psalter, metrical psalmody had already become an integral part of English Protestant practice and identity. The psalms had been a pivotal part of Christian worship for centuries, but during the Protestant Reformation they gained central significance in worship and inspired a burgeoning musical genre, complete with a canon of melodically simple, monophonic tunes to be sung in unison by congregations. Adopted from French practice and honed by the Marian exiles during their years in continental Europe, English metrical psalmody evolved into a musical expression of Protestant

values during the reign of Elizabeth I. The genre became popular in part because sixteenth-century reformers and worshippers saw the Psalms as a microcosm of the Bible, a common view encapsulated in Thomas East's assertion, found in the introduction to his 1594 collection of metrical psalmody, that "The Psalmes of Dauid are a Paraphrasis of the Scriptures: they teach vs thankfulnesse, prayer, and all the duties of a Christian whatsoever."⁴ John Calvin similarly praised the Book of Psalms, declaring that it represented "the Anatomy of all parts of the soul."⁵ Critically for Protestants, the Psalms seemingly justified sung performance of the text, due to their association with King David and his harp. Thus, the implied biblical justification of singing psalms, as opposed to simply reciting them, ameliorated fears of musical excess. Singing the simultaneously personal and universal words of the Book of Psalms had great spiritual significance for Protestants in early modern England, bridging the spheres of personal devotion and communal worship and becoming a marker of Protestant identity.⁶

Yet music was nevertheless a fraught issue during the Reformation. Especially in Calvinist thought, music had the potential to lift the soul to God but also to tempt into distraction and sin. Drawing on centuries of anxiety about the appropriate role of music in church worship, the sixteenth-century reformers struggled within and among themselves to find music that would inspire genuine devotion rather than lure into worldly sensuousness. Unison metrical psalmody, sanctioned by Calvin and promoted in England by the returning Marian exiles in the 1560s, emerged as a popular solution because of the genre's scriptural text and musical simplicity. Polyphonic and instrumental styles, in contrast, came under attack not only

because of their association with Catholicism and the fear of music's capacity to lull listeners into sensuousness, but also because dense musical textures meant obfuscation of the sacred Word—a point of critical concern for Protestant reformers.

The anxiety about the pleasures and perils of music that proliferated during the Reformation can perhaps be best understood through the spiritual struggles of Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430 c.e.). One of the most influential of the Church fathers,⁷ Augustine admitted in his *Confessions* that he sometimes wished “to banish all the melodies and sweet chants commonly used for David's Psalter from my ears and from the Church as well.”⁸ However, although he viewed these melodies as a distraction from the sacred text, the recollection of his own conversion experience made him pause before taking such drastic action:

Nevertheless, when I remember the tears which I poured out at the time when I was first recovering my faith, and that now I am moved not by the chant but by the words being sung, when they are sung with a clear voice and entirely appropriate modulation, then again I recognize the great utility of music in worship.⁹

Augustine's admission foreshadowed the profoundly conflicted feelings of many sixteenth-century reformers toward music. On the one hand, Augustine feared the power of sound to distract from sacred words. On the other, he had first-hand experience of music's ability to move the soul toward God. His uneasy compromise relied on textual clarity and “entirely appropriate modulation,” implying moderation and self-control in sung praise—a middle way that Matthew Parker would likewise seek to discern in his psalm versifications.

During the Reformation, theologians continued to struggle with Augustine's grappling with music's simultaneous potential for sensuality and religiosity. Their conclusions formed an extensive spectrum of opinions under the umbrella of Protestantism.¹⁰ Martin Luther embraced a wide range of music making as a God-given gift, leading him to declare, “Next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise.”¹¹ The fact that he coopted secular tunes, retained Latin text in some instances, and supported both polyphonic and instrumental music in sacred music settings speaks to his comparatively permissive stance on the issue. John Calvin also praised music, but, fearing its corruptive potential, settled on psalms as the most scripturally and aesthetically appropriate form of musical praise.¹² While Luther encouraged polyphonic and instrumental music, Calvin considered only unison purpose-composed tunes of a certain “weight and majesty” to be a suitable musical setting for the Psalms.¹³ On the more ascetic side, Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger viewed music, like artwork and ceremonies, as a distraction from the core components of worship.¹⁴

Although the musical views of these key continental reformers significantly influenced the Reformation in England, the English Protestants lacked a clear, unified position on the question of church music. Robin Leaver has explored the possibility that the extensive variety of views on musical matters in the English sphere might be traced to the fact that Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, unlike his counterparts on the continent, did not advocate specific guidelines on musical matters.¹⁵ This position, perhaps strategically ambiguous for the purpose of uniting a variety of English Protestants under the aegis of the

nascent Anglican Church, created space for a plethora of opinions among the English reformers as to the potential benefit or evil of music in communal worship.

The reformer and Bible translator Miles Coverdale, whose Lutheran-inspired collection of hymns *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* became contraband upon its circulation in the 1540s, believed in music's ability to instruct and inspire when sung by the congregation in a simple, accessible style.¹⁶ Other English reformers, however, shared Augustine's fears of music's potential to distract. The Protestant reformer John Bradford wrote of music's power to pull the mind "from consideration of the thing . . . unto the melody."¹⁷ In a movement like the Protestant Reformation that valued text above all else, this was a particularly troubling prospect. Similar fears were expressed in the 1558 *forme of Prayers*, produced by the Scottish reformer John Knox and his community of exiles in Geneva. In the preface to this volume, biblical scholar and Marian exile William Whittingham called music "a gift of God so precious or excellent," but qualified this praise with a warning:

[Satan] hath most impudently abused this notable gift of singing, chieflie by the papistes, his ministers, in disfiguring it, partly by strange language that can not edifie: and partly by a curious wanton sort, hyering men to tickle the eares and flatter the fantasies, not esteeming it as a gift approued by the word of God, profitable for the church.¹⁸

The issue for Whittingham was not only Latin language and its Catholic associations, but also the nature of the music itself, especially how it could entice and distract the senses when practiced in an unholy manner. Specifically, Whittingham's striking use of

terms signifying transgression—"abused," "disfiguring," "wanton"—exemplifies many of his fellow reformers' fears of uncontrolled or improper music in the context of the worship service.

The type of music to which Whittingham likely referred was polyphony—both vocal and instrumental. Organs, instruments, and elaborate polyphonic vocal music were all associated with Catholic feast days, which kindled the ire of Protestant reformers who opposed such celebrations. Texturally complex musical practices conjured fears about music's potential to lure the mind and soul away from the all-important text. For these reasons, many English reformers became antagonistic toward polyphony and instrumental music in church. Polyphony began to disappear in the majority of parish churches, for practical as much as ideological reasons. Even before the suppression of chantries in 1547, polyphonic performance became difficult to sustain in most churches of moderate means.¹⁹ Yet one of the few church communities to protect its choral foundation until the bitter end was Stoke by Clare, where future Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker served as dean.²⁰

Parker's Musical Policy

When Matthew Parker arrived in Cambridge in 1520, the university town was already reeling from the first waves of the Reformation. Although Parker had received a traditional Catholic education as a young man, evidence suggests that while studying at Cambridge he felt drawn to the religious provocations emerging from Europe. He achieved such success as a preacher and academic that he captured the attention of the evangelical-minded Queen Anne Boleyn, who appointed him one of her

chaplains in 1535.²¹ Although Parker held a number of additional positions before being appointed archbishop of Canterbury, one is particularly notable for the purposes of this article: his role as master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he met and befriended the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer.

In endeavoring to understand the evolution of Parker's musical views, it is perhaps most enlightening to first examine Bucer's. Parker met Bucer in Cambridge, where the latter spent the final years of his life in exile, and it seems that the German reformer had a great influence on Parker's subsequent policies of moderation.²² Indeed, the fact that Bucer named Parker an executor of his will, and that Parker delivered the oration at the older man's funeral service, attests to the close relationship between the two theologians.²³

Before his exile to England, Bucer had encouraged congregational singing and early metrical psalmody led by godly preceptors in his native Strasbourg.²⁴ He had first written on music in his *Grund und ursach auss gotlicher schiff* (1524), explaining that "in the congregation of God we use neither songs nor prayers which are not based on Holy Scripture."²⁵ Furthermore, in interpreting Paul's musically ambiguous exhortation in Ephesians 5:19,²⁶ Bucer advocated for sung praise, concluding from Paul's message:

We should love God with all our might, why should we then not sing to Him also, as did the saints of the Old and New Testaments? As long as such singing is done from the heart, not with the mouth alone, but that it should spring forth and come out of the heart; and this is what the Apostle means when he says: and sing to the Lord from your hearts.²⁷

Bucer's emphasis on the biblical justification for sung praise resonated strongly with Parker's own views. Furthermore, the roots of the archbishop's approval of instrumental music can likewise be found in Bucer's writings. In the introduction to his 1541 hymnbook *Gesangbuch / dariin begriffen sind*, Bucer affirmed the spiritual value of instrumental performance:

Thus music, all singing and playing (which above all things are capable of moving our spirits powerfully and ardently), should be used in no other way except for sacred praise, prayer, teaching and admonition.²⁸

The striking phrase "all singing and playing" suggests Bucer's embrace of a wide variety of musical means, and his praise of music as "capable of moving our spirits powerfully and ardently" speaks to his belief in music's ability to serve as a powerful tool in congregational worship and edification. Considering the close affinity between Parker and Bucer, both personal and theological, it seems likely that the Strasbourg reformer influenced the younger man's thoughts on music in worship.²⁹

When Parker became archbishop of Canterbury in 1559, he implemented a musical policy that emphasized the principle of moderation yet also reserved space for the appreciation of music's spiritual edification that he had inherited from Bucer. Parker's role in shaping the Elizabethan Settlement and regulating its aftermath is well documented, but a focused examination of his actions pertaining to musical matters demonstrates how his policies functioned to enforce a middle way.³⁰ The Settlement, formally instituted with the 1559 Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, fostered flexibility on some issues for the sake of national unity. In

the vein of the German Lutheran reformer Philip Melancthon, the architects of the Elizabethan Settlement largely treated music as an issue of *adiaphora*, or “indifferent things,” although unsurprisingly not everyone agreed with its categorization as “indifferent.”³¹ Nevertheless, the regime’s adiaphorous approach to music could be observed in a series of royal injunctions meant to accompany church examiners during their visits in the summer of 1559:

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 . . . there may be sung a hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised.³²

These intentionally ambiguous criteria allowed for wide variety of practice under the umbrella of English Protestant church music. As Nicholas Temperley has observed, the injunction could be employed to justify the newer practice of metrical psalmody as well as the more traditional practice of chanted liturgy, provided that the text was clearly audible.³³ Although Parker was not yet officially archbishop at the time of this injunction,³⁴ the principle of intentional ambiguity and flexibility set the precedent for his subsequent actions on musical matters.

When Parker became archbishop, this principle of flexibility sometimes manifested itself through inflexible demands. In a 1563 letter to William Cecil, Parker wrote that although Elizabeth criticized him for being “too soft and easy,” he suspected that “divers of my bretheren will rather note me . . . too sharp and too earnest in moderation,

which towards them I have used, and will still do, till mediocrity shall be received amongst us.”³⁵ Moderation then, for Parker, was not toleration but rather an enforced adherence to a middle way. Indeed, Parker’s identification of moderation as an approach “which towards them I have used” provides a prime example of Ethan Shagan’s discussion of moderation in early modern England as a “profoundly coercive tool of social, religious, and political power.”³⁶ Parker had a vested interest, as the head of the internally conflicted Anglican Church, in using the language of moderation as a means of maintaining power and authority. Perhaps the best example of this strategy of coercive moderation can be seen in Parker’s 1559 conflict with the clergy of Exeter Cathedral.

When the cathedral clergy at Exeter barred worshippers from the choir because the latter wanted to sing metrical psalms during services, Parker sternly wrote to encourage musical conciliation for the sake of communal peace and worship. He required the clergy to “permit and suffer such congregation of people . . . to sing or say the godly prayers . . . used and permitted in this Church of England, to the laud and praise of his honour and glory, without any of your contradiction to the contrary.”³⁷ In this instance Parker used his authority as archbishop to enforce acceptance of metrical psalmody with the goal of avoiding further confrontations between worshippers and cathedral clergy. Indeed, Parker alluded to his power in order to threaten the cathedral clergy into compliance, warning that “you and every of you will answer to the same at his peril” if they disregarded his demand.³⁸ Evidently, he intended not to please all parties through compromise, but rather to punish extreme action and thereby avoid

flaring of religious tension at a perilous time for the nascent Anglican Church.

In subsequent years, Parker continued to use his power to enforce musically moderate practices. At the 1563 Convocation of Canterbury, seen by many clerics as an opportunity to push for more radical liturgical reform, Parker's chaplains voted against a provision that "all curious singinge and playinge of the organs maye be remoued."³⁹ The fact that Parker's representatives rejected this proposal of musical austerity, presumably at his urging, suggests not only that he sought to maintain a place for polyphonic vocal music and organ accompaniment in Anglican liturgy, but also that he thought the provision pushed regulation of music too far. In other words, by rejecting the provision, Parker by proxy stopped a camp of more radical reformers from swerving the convocational agenda too far toward one extreme. Using the power inherent in his position, Parker thus quashed efforts to destabilize his carefully curated middle way.

The cases of Exeter Cathedral and the 1563 Convocation may seem, at first, somewhat contradictory. In the first instance, Parker pressured the cathedral clergy to allow parishioners to occupy the choir for the singing of metrical psalms during services. In the second, he rejected a proposal to prohibit "curious" – ornate and therefore highly suspect to a Protestant reformer – playing and singing. Yet while these episodes ostensibly show Parker defending first one side of the issue and then the other, taken in combination they demonstrate Parker's adherence to the middle way (and attendant eradication of extreme viewpoints) as a means of keeping control in an ecclesiastical tinderbox. By defending both congregational psalm singing and the potential for choral and organ performance,

Parker laid the groundwork for a wider range of musical practice in Anglican churches, moderated by an avoidance of excess—a principle he advocated in his 1567 volume of psalm paraphrases.

The whole Psalter translated into English metre

As these episodes demonstrate, Parker felt compelled to defend and promote a reform-inspired yet flexible musical model for the Church of England. But what convictions underpinned these actions as archbishop of Canterbury? Where did Parker stand in the turbulent debates about the role of music in Reformation-era worship? Here Parker's collection of psalm paraphrases, *The whole Psalter translated into English metre* (1567), offers significant insight. As Samantha Arten has recently noted, while the typical approach to analyzing Tudor church music policy involves scrutinizing the impact of liturgical reform on musical practice, "the more complete analytical sequence . . . examines how shifts in theological commitment informed those liturgical changes."⁴⁰ The remainder of this article seeks to understand Parker's musical theology as a means of illuminating his actions on musical matters as archbishop of Canterbury. Reading between the lines of Parker's paraphrases in *The whole Psalter*, a rich musical-theological worldview emerges, suggesting that Parker's official actions in enforcing musical moderation extended from a deeply held belief in the ability of sung and played music, duly restrained, to enrich and uplift the Christian worshipper. Analysis of Parker's psalm versifications through a musical lens reveals intriguing ways in which Parker employed the art of paraphrase to express his convictions about the place of music in worship.

Precisely why and when Parker originally wrote his psalm paraphrases remains a mystery,⁴¹ but Beth Quitslund suggests that Parker may have intended his versifications to offer a conciliatory alternative to the “oppositional fervor” of the Marian exiles, which found expression in the hugely influential 1562 *whole booke of Psalmes*.⁴² Indeed, Quitslund writes, Parker’s “publication of a potential alternative to the half-Genevan metrical Psalter looks very much like an expression of discomfort with the ideological tenor of [1562] *The whole booke of Psalmes*.”⁴³ Known colloquially as Sternhold & Hopkins, this amalgamation of psalm versifications compiled largely by exiles during Mary’s reign acquired deep emotional and spiritual significance for English Protestants.⁴⁴ In the words of Timothy Duguid, “these poetic psalms were not merely a link with home; they became expressions of exilic identity.”⁴⁵ As a result, *The whole booke of Psalmes* reflected a vehement, defiant brand of Protestantism built out of the experience of zealous exiles bound together by their common experiences.⁴⁶ The Sternhold & Hopkins versifications became widely known and sung, gaining such unchallenged popularity that by 1640 approximately 400 editions of *The whole booke* had aggregately sold over a million copies in England.⁴⁷ While Sternhold & Hopkins undoubtedly dominated the field of English-language psalmody printing and practice during the early modern period, Quitslund’s intriguing interpretation opens the door to the possibility that Parker intended to offer in his own version of the psalms a subtly different take on matters of music and singing in worship.

The fact that Parker commissioned nine new psalm tunes from court musician and lifelong Catholic Thomas Tallis underscores

not only the musical distinction of his volume from *The whole booke of Psalmes*, but also what I argue was his firm belief in vocal, embodied modes of worship. While the psalm tunes in *The whole booke* are monophonic, implying unison congregational singing in the fashion of the Marian exiles, Tallis’s tunes are cast in four-part homophony. In his chameleonic way, Tallis in these psalm tunes retained richness of harmony without jeopardizing clarity of text, striking a careful balance between the florid polyphony against which reformers railed and the unison congregational style that was becoming increasingly favored in English reform circles. Although there is no paper trail documenting the collaboration between Tallis and Parker, the two men must have interacted closely through their joint proximity to the court of Elizabeth I, where Parker presided as archbishop and Tallis served as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Communication between them must have been close enough to ensure matching of poetic and musical meter, but all such interactions were likely informal since nothing survives in written records. Although we do not know how their collaboration progressed, the fact that the tunes are printed alongside Parker’s versifications certainly confirms that Parker approved of the musical style. Indeed, Tallis’s homophonic tunes exemplify the kind of musical worship that Parker advocated in his versifications. As will be demonstrated, the versifications analyzed below promote sung, played, and even danced praise of God. The Tallis tunes, in their rich harmonic language and four-part texture, simultaneously are justified by and give musical expression to Parker’s widely encompassing view of the role that music can play in both personal and communal worship.



Figure 1: The first tune from *The whole Psalter translated into English metre*, RB 95908, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, sigs. VV.iii.v - XX.i.r.

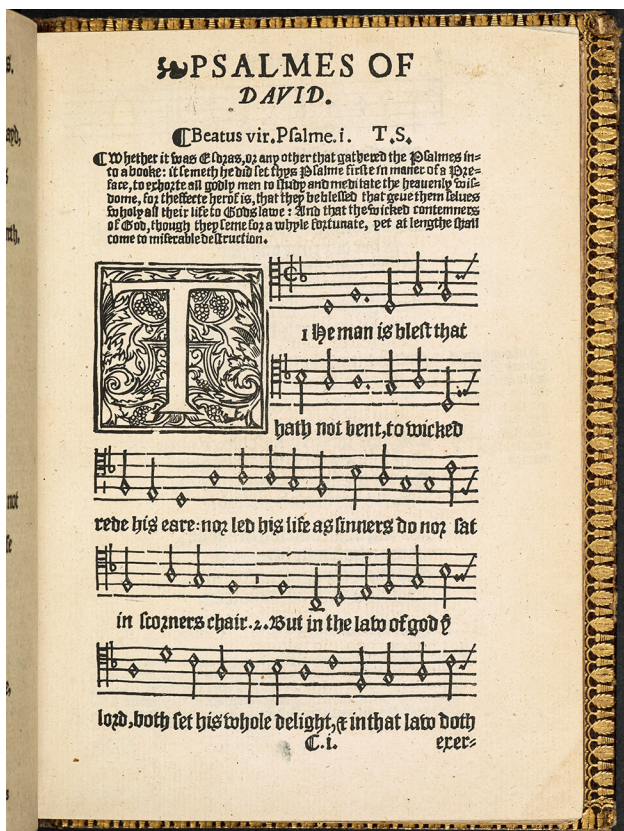


Figure 2: The first psalm from *The whole booke of Psalmes* (c) British Library Board: General Reference Collection C.25.g.3., sig. C.i.r. Image published with permission of the British Library. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

The presence of four-part harmony in the psalm tunes raises the question of for whom, and for what kind of worship, Parker intended this volume of versifications. Indeed, his intention has immense implications for his beliefs about the role of music in worship. Was his psalter, as he wrote in the introduction, intended for personal and home use? Or did he adapt it during the printing process for incorporation into liturgy and communal worship? The outline of the printed volume offers some clues. While the psalms could certainly be sung or read by an individual or family at home, some sections of the volume are explicitly laid out for church worship.⁴⁸ Some of the more unusually structured versifications allude to antiphonal singing, seemingly making the volume adaptable to such a practice.⁴⁹ Parker's versification for Psalm 107, for instance, departs from the standard model and instead splits the verses of the psalm between three groups, "The Quiere" with a refrain, "The Meane" with the verses, and "The Rectors" with an additional refrain appearing halfway through the psalm.⁵⁰ The fact that this multigroup setting is followed by an alternate version of the psalm in Parker's standard verse suggests that Parker intended the volume to be flexible, adaptable for both home and liturgical use. This is confirmed in Parker's description of the Tallis tunes, where he explains, "The Tenor of these partes be for the people when they will syng alone, the other parts, put for greater qu[i]ers, or suche as will syng or play them priuatlye."⁵¹ As Alec Ryrie, Jessica Martin, and Ramie Targoff have pointed out, the religious reformations of the sixteenth century blurred the lines between public worship and private devotion.⁵² The intention for

the Parker psalter becomes clearer when viewed in this context. It seems that Parker meant the volume to be adaptable for all types of worshippers, settings, abilities, and musical resources.

In writing his psalm versifications, Parker employed a whole range of humanist skills to embed a defense of church music within his devotional version of the Psalms. The preface to the volume presents multiple examples of scriptural justification for musical worship, in accordance with the simultaneously humanist and Protestant principle of returning to original text as the ultimate source of truth. One of the first pages of the printed volume presents five passages from scripture—Ephesians 5, James 5, Psalm 33, Sirach 44, and Sirach 32—each adapted by Parker in metrical form to highlight biblical justification for musical praise. Parker's paraphrase of Ephesians 5:19, the same verse analyzed by Bucer in *Grund und Ursach* to defend congregational singing, reads:

Syng Psalmes and hymnes: and
songes on hye,
To God your selues among:
But sing in hart: make melodye,
To God geue thankes in song.⁵³

It is enlightening to compare Parker's paraphrase to contemporary translations that he certainly would have known and perhaps even consulted. While the differences between contemporary translations and Parker's can be subtle, and while it is critical to note that these comparative examples are translations and not paraphrases, the disparities nevertheless offer insight into Parker's distinctive musical theology. William Tyndale's 1535 New Testament uses the word "speaking" rather than "singing" in translating Ephesians 5:19.⁵⁴ The parallel verse in the Geneva

Bible of 1560 follows suit: Whittingham's translation reads, "Speakyng vnto your selues in Psalmes, and Hymnes, and spiritual songs, singyng, and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts."⁵⁵ While Whittingham does include the word "singyng" in the latter part of the verse, in the former part he chose "speaking" where Parker opted for "syng," an implicit argument on the part of the latter for the inherently musical nature of the Book of Psalms. Furthermore, whereas Whittingham chose the phrase "speakyng vnto your selues," Parker's pivotal choice of the word *among* in "your selues among" implies singing out loud and together, not just within one's heart—an echo of Bucer's conviction that "[Paul's] meaning is not that we should sing without a voice, for then it would be impossible for us to encourage and edify the others."⁵⁶ The fact that "among" and "unto" have the same number of syllables suggests that Parker's choice was theological rather than poetic. Finally, the juxtaposition of Whittingham's "making melodie to the Lord in your hearts" with Parker's "To God geue thanks in songe" hints at a significant difference. While the Geneva Bible verse advocates for an interior spiritual experience rather than audible song, Parker, in a very Bucerian way, implies that outward praise can serve as expression of inner devotion in his interpretation of the same verse.

Elsewhere in the extensive prefatory material, Parker harnesses his humanist training to provide justification for musical performance of the Psalms not only from scripture, but also from classical writers. In his assertion that "Josephus sayth: and Philo wright, / That David Metres made: / Quinquemetres, some treme'tres, / by musikes tract and trade," Parker cited a string of Greek and Roman precedents for

associating the Psalms with music.⁵⁷ In so doing, he tapped into historical authority, alluding to these two classical Jewish scholars as a means of both demonstrating his humanistic credentials and further bolstering his case for linking the poetry of the Psalms with music by means of the biblical figure of David.

Yet Parker's most vehement vindications of music emerge in his arguments for the spiritual value of singing psalms. This is evident in his proclamation that "with tune and tyme aright: / It sinkth more sweete: and deeper goeth, / in harte of mans delight."⁵⁸ The joy of music, he suggests, is not antithetical to the praise of God. Indeed, this verse suggests that musical performance of psalms makes the singer (and listener, perhaps) absorb the sacred text with both greater understanding and greater enjoyment. Elsewhere in the introduction, he praises music as a divine gift, exclaiming, "O wondrous fact: of God I sae, / in his deuse so playne: / Though we be seene: but sing and plaie, / the soule yet winth his gayne."⁵⁹ For Parker, the gift of music making can bring a singer (and even an instrumentalist, intriguingly suggested by his inclusion of "plaie") closer to God. Indeed, in the final stanza of his "To the Reader" section, Parker instructs: "But princepall thing: your lute to tune, / that hart may sing in corde: / Your voice and string: so fine to prune, to loue and serue the Lorde."⁶⁰ Here, not only does instrumental accompaniment go hand in hand with psalm singing, but even more interesting, tuning a musical instrument facilitates cultivation of the soul.

Nevertheless, Parker specifies that music can only serve a positive spiritual function when supporting and subservient to the all-important scriptural text, echoing

the sentiments of many of his fellow Protestant reformers:

Depart ye songes: lasciuious,
from lute, from harpe depart:
Geue place to Psalmes: most virtuous,
and solace there your harte.⁶¹

This sentiment echoes Coverdale, who in the introduction to *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* expressed his hope that readers would “make theyr songs of the Lorde / That they may thrust under the borde / All other balettes of fylthyne.”⁶² Similarly, Parker suggests that worldly music can distract and lead to evil, but that music in praise of God will uplift the soul. His command to “solace there your harte” gently encourages self-discipline and devotion, exhorting the reader to choose songs that are godly and edifying.

While the introductory material provides biblical justification for the singing of psalms, and confirmation of the spiritual value of doing so, it is in the main body of the volume, the psalm versifications themselves, that Parker’s musical theology finds its strongest expression. The following analysis of the versifications will focus on Psalms 9, 33, 57, 92, 108, and 150, notable for their musical themes. While Parker of course did not add musical themes to the psalms, the way that he amplified and modernized them using the freedom of poetic paraphrase demonstrates his commitment to the value of musical performance in private and public devotion in a way that sets Parker’s version apart from the translations of his fellow reform-minded contemporaries.

Parker’s Psalm 9 paraphrase opens with an explicitly musical song of praise and gratitude. The published versification begins, “Due thanks with song I wyl ful long / in hart geue Lord to thee.”⁶³ A look at the manuscript draft reveals that

Parker’s first attempt at the versification did not include any mention of song. The draft version opens, “Due thanks express I now address,” with the alternate “Due thanks with song I wyl prolong” scribbled in above.⁶⁴ The draft demonstrates that, out of two options that he penned, Parker chose the more explicitly musical. Comparison with well-known translations of the time confirms the singularity of Parker’s musical choice. Miles Coverdale’s 1535 English translation of the Bible begins the psalm with “I wil geue thakes vnto the (o LORDE) with my whole herte, I wil speake of all thy maruelous workes.”⁶⁵ The Geneva Bible is strikingly similar: “I will praise the Lorde with my whole heart: I will speake of all thy marueilous workes.”⁶⁶ The emphasis on “speake” in these two influential translations puts Parker’s “due thanks with song” into striking relief, highlighting the distinctly musical tone of Parker’s paraphrase.

The Psalm 33:2 versification likewise features resplendently musical language. Although Parker’s first verse enjoins the reader only to “reioyce,” the second and third verses launch into a list of musical means of praise:

Prayse ye the Lord: wyth melodies,
Wyth harpe and lute wyth
simphonies,
Syng Psalmes to hym in Psalteries.
Forget not this.

3 Syng Carols new wyth iubilie,
To God the Lord in maiestie,
Hys laudes, hys prayse, sing hartely.
Well use ye this.⁶⁷

In verse 2, the injunction to praise God with melody blossoms into a list of instruments, including harps, lutes, “simphonies” (likely referring to unspecified individual instruments, rather than an ensemble as

we might now expect),⁶⁸ and psalteries. The wide variety of instruments advocated here by Parker becomes even more notable when compared to the translation in the 1539 Great Bible,⁶⁹ which states, “Prayse the LORDE with harpe: synge psalmes vnto him with the lute and instrument of ten strynges.”⁷⁰ Although these translations certainly affirm the type of singing and playing reminiscent of David in the Bible, the Parker paraphrase expands greatly on the musical theme, combining biblical and contemporary musical language (lutes and the unspecified “simphonies,” for example) to suggest that a wide range of musical technologies are suitable for worship and praise. Furthermore, his encouragement to “sing hartely” and with “iubilie” contrasts with the Great Bible’s simpler, more subdued “sing.” While the fundamental message of both the Parker versification and the Great Bible translation here is the same, nevertheless the comparison represents a moment where Parker’s exuberance for singing shines through his verse, liberated by the flexibility inherent in poetic paraphrase. Yet even in such a jubilant versification, as though to restrain himself from excess enthusiasm, the final lines of each stanza encourage caution. The commands “forget not this” and “well use ye this” remind readers that while music is a divine gift, it is a gift that requires careful and measured use. One can sense here the very Protestant tension between celebrating music’s potential and fearing its misuse. Despite Parker’s enthusiasm for music in worship, he exhorts his readers to carefully self-regulate.

Psalm 57 presents another point of comparison. In Parker’s paraphrase, the speaker persists in praising God with music despite sufferings:

7 And sing I will my griefs betwixt
In psalmes with musike playd.⁷¹

The Inner Temple draft reveals that Parker replaced the manuscript phrase “pray I wyl” with “sing I will” for final publication, demonstrating another instance in which he opted for explicitly musical language.⁷² A similar switch is found in verse 8. In the manuscript draft, Parker writes, “Awake my Sowle, my Ioye awake,” while in the published version “Sowle” has turned into “tonge,” seemingly sanctifying physical, sung praise.⁷³ Again, comparison with a contemporary translation highlights the musical orientation of Parker’s versification. The parallel verse in the Geneva Bible reads, “Mine heart is prepared: I wil sing and giue prayse.”⁷⁴ While this translation certainly supports the idea of individual, monophonic singing, Parker’s “with musike played” introduces the possibility of instrumental accompaniment alongside voices.

Parker’s paraphrase of Psalm 92 begins with an exhortation to praise God with song:

1 A Joyfull thyng (to man) it is: the
Lord to celebrate.
To thy good name: O God so hye:
due laudes to modulate.⁷⁵

The word “modulate” has specifically musical resonance, stemming from the Latin *modulus*, meaning “to make music” or “to set to music.”⁷⁶ Interestingly, in the sixteenth century, “modulate” also meant “to give (a note) its proper measure or duration,” which along with the word “due” adds to Parker’s insistence that musical worship be conducted with appropriate self-regulation and devotion.⁷⁷ In both senses of the word, Parker’s choice of “modulate” implies an affirmative attitude toward music, especially when compared to the Sternhold & Hopkins versification of the same

psalm. Comparing Parker to Sternhold & Hopkins is particularly interesting in that both are paraphrases, as opposed to the translations used in previous comparisons. While it is important to acknowledge that the Sternhold & Hopkins paraphrases were penned by a variety of writers, nevertheless the volume, like Parker's, can thus be read for poetic interpretation or elaboration by virtue of the genre. In the Sternhold & Hopkins Psalm 92 versification, written by John Hopkins,⁷⁸ the comparable line is paraphrased: "And to thine name O thou most hye, to sing in one accorde."⁷⁹ While Hopkins's versification perhaps suggests monophonic vocal music ("in one accorde"), Parker's use of the word "modulate" leaves open the possibility of a wider range of music making, perhaps even instrumental or polyphonic music (recalling "with musike played" from his Psalm 57). This idea continues later in the psalm. A comparison of the two versions is helpful:

melody-carrying instruments, as opposed to the decachord, lute, and harp, which were meant primarily for vocal accompaniment. By deviating from explicitly biblical instruments and celebrating the musical beauty of melody-carrying instruments like the shawm and flute, he implicitly allows and even encourages worshippers to use a range of modern musical instruments, and by extension musical styles, in their devotional lives.

Parker's Psalm 108 versification likewise reveals a full endorsement of music making for worship. Verse 1 ends, "For sing I will: and Psalmes recorde, / With glory due: in tong and worde."⁸³ Parker's pairing of "tong" and "worde" indicates his willingness to allow for musical expression that will communicate and glorify the text, an ostensible reassurance to those who might share Augustine's fear that the beauty of singing distracts the soul from sacred scripture.⁸⁴ Although the parallel Sternhold & Hopkins versification, written either by

<i>Parker, Psalm 92</i>	<i>Sternhold & Hopkins, Psalm 92</i>
3: Upon (the psalme) the decachord: Upon the pleasant lute: On sounding good: sweete instruments: <u>With</u> shaumes, <u>with</u> harpe, <u>with</u> flute. ⁸⁰	3: Upon ten strynged instrument, on lute and harpe so swete: With all the mirth you can inuent, On instruments most meete. ⁸¹

In Hopkins's versification, although he mentions the lute and harp, he specifies that "instruments most meete," or proper, should be used.⁸² The comparable verses in the Great Bible and Geneva Bible translations likewise mention only ten-stringed instruments, lutes, and harps. Parker, on the other hand, includes contemporary sixteenth-century instruments, notably praising their sound quality. His inclusion of shawms and flutes is particularly interesting in that both are

Hopkins or by Thomas Norton, links song and praise like Parker's, the two versions feature a notable difference near the end of the second verse (*see top of page 15*).

Both versifications make prominent mention of instruments as a mean of praise (with Parker here adopting the "meete" specification, a reminder to his readers to utilize music appropriately). However, the final two lines feature a notable difference in that Parker continues the musical motif while the Sternhold & Hopkins paraphraser

<i>Parker, Psalm 108</i>	<i>Sternhold & Hopkins, Psalm 108</i>
2: Lyft up thy self: thou Psaltrye sweete, Thou harpe even so: with tunes most meete, For I my selfe: will early ryse, Newe songs to sing: I wyll devise. ⁸⁵	2: Awake, my viol and my harp, Sweet melody to make; And in the morning I myself Right early will awake. ⁸⁶

eschews it. In Parker’s version, unlike Sternhold & Hopkins, the Great Bible, or the Geneva Bible, the morning is associated with singing (the Great Bible states “I my selfe wyll awake ryght early,” and the Geneva Bible merely reads “I will awake early”⁸⁷). Finally, and perhaps most important, Parker’s line “Newe songs to sing: I wyll devise” strikingly introduces the idea of original music. Indeed, the fact that Parker wrote his own versifications and commissioned Tallis to compose original tunes for the published volume gives biographical salience to the emphasis on creative agency in this particular verse of Psalm 108.

Perhaps the most famously sonic of all the psalms, Psalm 150 is unsurprisingly the most richly musical of all of Parker’s versifications. Parker’s affirmation of a wide range of instruments, discussed previously in reference to the Psalm 33 and 92 paraphrases, appears here in full force. The paraphrase encourages worshippers to praise God with “trompets sound” and “lute and harpe: melodious.”⁸⁸ Perhaps most interesting, however, is his sixteenth-century-specific reading of the fourth verse, particularly in comparison to the parallel Sternhold & Hopkins versification, penned by Norton.

The nuanced contrast between Parker’s and Norton’s versifications reveals a great deal about the musical worldview of each. It is perhaps surprising to see mention of “orgaines and virginalles” coming from Norton, a Geneva-admiring Protestant who translated Calvin’s *Institutes* into English.⁹¹ However, in her analysis of musical theology in Sternhold & Hopkins, Samantha Arten suggests that these versifications fall on the “pro-organ side of the English debate,” and notes that this particular paraphrase communicates a wide affirmation of instrumental music.⁹² Norton’s elimination of any mention of dance, however, is more in keeping with the values of the godly Genevan community.⁹³ Indeed, the Geneva Bible translation excludes any allusions to dance.⁹⁴ Parker’s inclusion of the dance motif, on the other hand, uncovers some intriguing implications about his musical views.

The phrase “daunce in quiere” is wrapped in layers of meaning. As with organs, choirs and choral polyphony became targets of Protestant reformers’ zeal. In John Bale’s 1547 *The Image of Both Churches*, for instance, the author tied “fresh descant, pricksong, counterpoint and faburden” with “abominable whoredom by the wantonness

<i>Parker, Psalm 150:4</i>	<i>Sternhold & Hopkins, Psalm 150:4</i>
O prayse ye hym: all sapyent, In Tymbrell sweete: wyth daunce in quiere And prayse ye hym: so prouident In fydle strung: in recordere: With harty chere. ⁸⁹	Praise him with timbrell and with flute, orgaines and virginalles, With sounding cimbals praise ye him, Praise him with loud cymballs. ⁹⁰

of idolatry in that kind.”⁹⁵ The vehement suspicion of choral music exemplified by this colorful example continued to gain influence in the increasingly prevalent Puritan factions over the course of the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ Given this antagonistic position toward choral singing, Parker’s mention of “quiere” again places him on the more permissive side of the church music debates. To add the dancing allusion (underscored by “Tymbrell,” a percussion instrument useful for keeping the beat in dancing) implies an even further degree of freedom.⁹⁷ Yet Parker seems here to evoke dancing not as it had been feared in godly communities and commentaries, but rather as it had been celebrated in 2 Samuel 6:14, when “David danced before the Lord with all his might” in gratitude for the return of the Ark of the Covenant.⁹⁸ Parker’s peculiar phrase thus becomes a bold expression of opposition to antimusical rhetoric, justifying both singing and dancing to the glory of God as biblically based celebration. The absence of any regulatory undertone is notable here—Parker’s versification expresses unrestrained joy.

The final verse of the Psalm 150 versification returns to the topic of vocal praise:

<i>Parker, Psalm 150:6</i>	<i>Sternhold & Hopkins, Psalm 150:5</i>
Let all with breath: or lyfe endued, Or what with sound: is fortiefied: Prayse out the Lord: in state renewed, For grace and power (to all) applied. To none denyed. ⁹⁹	Whatever hath the benefit of breathing, praise the Lord: To praise his great and holy Name agree with one accord. ¹⁰⁰

Whereas Norton’s versification exhorts “whatever hath the benefit of breathing” to “praise the Lord,” Parker again implicitly refers to the possibility of instrumental music, in addition to vocal praise, with his phrase “Or what with sound: is fortiefied.”¹⁰¹

Parker’s final verse, in addition to being distinctly sonic, is also strikingly inclusive. As opposed to Norton’s “agree with one accord,” suggesting not only monophonic vocal performance but also theological unity and conformity, Parker’s “For grace and power (to all) applied. / To none denyed” emphasizes not conformity, but rather the all-encompassing nature of God’s grace. Indeed, participation in singing seems to be a vehicle for grace.¹⁰² Given the prevalence of the Reformed doctrine of predestination in English circles at this time, this statement comes as something of a surprise. None of the other aforementioned translations include any similar statement. While not necessarily musical, this example is nevertheless notable in that it demonstrates another instance of Parker using the flexible art of paraphrase, in this case to express a doctrinally unorthodox hope for religious conciliation during a time of immense division.

Following Psalm 150 is the “Collecte,” or prayer, which functions both to end the psalm and to conclude the volume. The Collecte closes Parker’s musical defense, cementing his affirmation of music as a central facet both of the Book of Psalms and of Christian life:

Most laudable and mercifull God, being the swete Tenor of all our harmony, which doost here exercise our hartes otherwhiles with songes of teares and lamentations, and otherwhiles songes of ioy and gladness. Graunte we beseche thee that after wee have songe vp our

temporall songes in praying of thy name, wee may at last bee associated to that heauenly quire aboue, to behold thy glorious maiestye with the saintes, thorough & c. FINIS.¹⁰³

A particularly striking phrase here is Parker's description of God as "the swete Tenor of all our harmony." Given that the tenor part in the tunes that Tallis wrote for the volume (and indeed in the historical cantus firmus tradition) is the central melody around which harmonies build, this phrase presents theological complexities in vivid musical language.¹⁰⁴ Parker frames human life in terms of song, either songs of "teares and lamentations" or "ioy and gladness," grounded by God. Parker's musical metaphor applies not only to earthly life but to his visions of the afterlife as well, as evidenced by his prayer that "wee may at last bee associated to that heauenly quire aboue." Musical language inspires and unites this closing prayer, offering a vivid encapsulation of Parker's musically inflected theology.

The whole Psalter translated into English metre offers profound insight into Parker's views on the place of music in the fledgling Anglican Church. As archbishop of Canterbury, Parker enforced a middle way on musical matters. His tenure features numerous examples of how he treated music as an issue of *adiaphora* for the sake

of maintaining order, and furthermore demonstrates that he was willing to use his authority for the enforcement of this musical flexibility. His letters reveal a musical aesthetic based on the appreciation of music's ability to lift the soul, balanced with a firm belief in the primacy of text, the necessity of inward devotion as the basis for musical praise, and the avoidance of misuse of music to sinful ends or excesses. These convictions come to vivid poetic life in Parker's psalm versifications, which not only endorse sung praise but suggest the possibility of instrumental accompaniment as well. Especially when compared with the Sternhold & Hopkins versifications, the 1539 Great Bible, and the 1560 Geneva Bible, the paraphrases in *The whole Psalter* reveal an open attitude toward music, eschewing many, though not all, of the fears of Parker's contemporaries regarding polyphonic and instrumental music in worship. Drawing on his scholarly humanist training, Parker expressed support for the suitability of a wide range of musical expression in Elizabethan communal worship and private devotion. Examination of his musical theology expressed in these psalm paraphrases highlights the subtleties of his search for musical moderation that can easily go unnoticed in a narrative that too often polarizes Catholic extravagance and Puritan austerity.

NOTES

1 Matthew Parker, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. Comprising letters written by and to him, from A.D. 1535 to his death A.D. 1575*, ed. John Bruce and Rev. Thomas Thomason Perowne (Cambridge: Printed at the University press, 1853), 215.

2 “Mediocre” comes originally from the Latin *mediocris*, meaning “of middle degree.” See “mediocre, adj. and n.,” OED Online, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/115738?redirectedFrom=mediocre>.

3 Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535–1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15.

4 *The whole booke of Psalmes with their wonted tunes, as they are sung in churches, composed into foure parts: being so placed, that foure may sing each one a seueral part in this booke* (London: Thomas East, the assigne of William Byrd, 1594), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 2488, sig. A.ii.r.

5 Quoted in Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 67.

6 See “Militant in Song” in Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 40–75.

7 Almost all figureheads of the various confessional groups claimed Augustine as their intellectual and theological foundation. See Arnoud S. Q. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe 1500–1620* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

8 Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 208.

9 Ibid.

10 And indeed Catholicism. During the Council of Trent, some dignitaries proposed the abolition of polyphonic music. Although the story is perhaps apocryphal, this threat to polyphonic music reportedly prompted Palestrina to compose his famed *Pope Marcellus* Mass. See Craig Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002): 1–37.

11 Martin Luther, “Preface to *Symphoniae jucundae* [1538],” trans. Ulrich S. Leupold, in *Luther’s Works*, vol. 53 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 321–24.

12 Charles Garside, “Calvin’s Preface to the Psalter: A Re-appraisal,” *Musical Quarterly* 37/4 (1951): 568–71.

13 See *ibid.*, 568.

14 Howard L. Rice and James C. Huffstutler, *Reformed Worship* (Louisville, KY: Geneva Press, 2001), 100.

15 See Robin Leaver, *The Liturgy and Music: A Study of the Use of the Hymn in Two Liturgical Traditions* (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1976), 3–13; and Samantha Arten, “Singing as English Protestants: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*’ Theology of Music,” *Yale Journal of Music and Religion* 5/1 (2019): 1.

16 Miles Coverdale, “Order that the church and congregacion of Chryst in Denmark, and in many places, countres and cities of Germany doth use,” in *Writings and Translations of Myles Coverdale* (Cambridge: Printed at the University press, 1844), 471.

17 John Bradford, “Godly meditations on the Lord’s Prayer, Belief, and the Commandments,” in *Writings of John Bradford*, ed. A. Townsend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1845), 160.

18 *The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacramentes, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua and approued, by the famous and godly learned man, John Caluin* (Geneva: by Iames Poullain and Antonie Rebul, 1558), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 16561a, sig. A.viii.r–v.

19 Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 13.

20 Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 13.

21 David J. Crankshaw and Alexandra Gillespie describe Parker’s theological orientation by the end of the 1520s as “evangelism” – emphasizing the primacy of faith, scripture, and preaching – and note that Parker not only was present at the execution of the early English reformer Thomas Bilney in 1531, but that he also preserved and donated the latter’s letters to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. See David J. Crankshaw and Alexandra Gillespie, “Parker, Matthew (1504–1575),” Jan. 3, 2008, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/21327>.

22 For the correspondence of the two, see Parker, *Correspondence*, 41–42.

23 Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 133.

24 Robin Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes: English and Dutch Metrical Psalmes from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 30.

25 “So gebrauchen wir uns in der gemein gots keins gesangs noch gepets, das nit auß götlicher schriftt gezogen sey.” See Martin Bucer, *Martin Bucer’s Deutsche Schriften*, Band I: *Friühschriften 1520–1524*, ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verslagshaus G. Mohn, 1960), 275; trans. Ottomar Cypris, “Basic Principles: Translation and Commentary of Martin Bucers Grund und Ursach, 1524,” Th.D. thesis (Union Theological Seminary, 1971), 208.

26 “As you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs among yourselves, singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts.” See Ephesians 5:19 in NSRV.

27 “Von allen krefften sollen wir je gott lieben, warumb solten wir im dann nit auch singen, wie alle heyligen des alten und newen testaments thon haben, allein das solich gesang im hertzen gescheh nit allein mit dem mund, sonder das es auß dem hertzen quille und herkome. Das der Apostel damit meinet, da er spricht: *und singt dem herrn in ewern hertzen.*” See Bucer, *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, 1: 276; Cypris, “Basic Principles,” 210.

28 “So solte die Music, alles gesang und seitenspil (welche vor anderen dingen das gemüt zu bewegen, hefftig und hitzig zu machen, mechtig sind) nirgend anders, dann zu götlichem lob, gebet, lehre und ermanung gebraucht werden.” See Martin Bucer, *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, Band VII: *Schriften der Jahre 1538–1539*, ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verslagshaus G. Mohn, 1960), 578; trans. C. Garside, “The Origins of Calvin’s Theology of Music, 1536–1543,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 4 (1969): 30.

29 Indeed, Bucer likely influenced many aspects of Parker’s career as archbishop. One can see strong parallels between Bucer’s emphasis on conciliation between the various Protestant camps and Parker’s eventual policy of “middle way” church settlement. See Alexandra Kess, *Johann Sleidan and the Protestant Vision of History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 39.

30 See John F. Hurst, “The Elizabethan Settlement of the Church of England,” *American Journal of Theology* 3/4 (1899): 679–94.

31 As to the complexity of music as an adia phorous issue, see Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 62: “The varying degrees of equivocity exhibited by Reformers from [Thomas] Becon to Parker demonstrate the fact that music was on the very edge of the boundary between true and false *adiaphora*. As a result of the uncertain and double-edged nature of musical discourse, and unprecedented developments in compositional practice, music was if

not more controversial then at least more complex a matter than most other ecclesiastical ceremonies.”

32 Quoted in Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 39.

33 *Ibid.*, 40.

34 Although Parker was elected to the archbishopship on Aug. 1, 1559, due to confessional tensions stemming from the transfer of power back to the Protestants, he was not officially confirmed until Dec. 9, 1559. As Crankshaw and Gillespie explain, “Parker’s elevation to Canterbury proved a tortuous affair.” See Crankshaw and Gillespie, “Parker, Matthew (1504–1575).”

35 “CXXVII – Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil, 14 April 1563,” Parker, *Correspondence*, 173. Again, “mediocrity” at this time meant “moderation.”

36 See Ethan Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 7–10.

37 “LXXV – Archbishop Parker and others to the president and Chapter of Exeter, 3 December 1559,” in Parker, *Correspondence*, 107.

38 *Ibid.*

39 See Louise Elizabeth Campbell, “Matthew Parker and the English Reformation, 1520–1575,” Ph.D. diss. (University of Birmingham, 2005), 205.

40 Arten, “Singing as English Protestants,” 3.

41 It appears that Parker wrote the versifications sometime during the years of Mary’s reign, when he hid from attention in Cambridge to avoid retribution from the Catholic queen and her allies. In terms of motivation, Parker seems to have begun the versifications as a personal devotional exercise, only to later seek publication at the behest of friends. See Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 60–61.

42 Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins, and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 225.

43 *Ibid.*, 252.

44 For more on the publication and content of *The whole booke of Psalmes*, see Arten, “Singing as English Protestants,” 1–19.

45 Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English “Singing Psalms” and Scottish “Psalm Buiks,” c. 1547–1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 13.

46 Rivkah Zim, “Sternhold, Thomas (d. 1549),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26414>.

47 Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 509.

48 Diane Kelsey McColley comes to a similar conclusion, writing, “Parker clearly meant his psalter for use in church; for ‘The Song of the Three Children’ (the Benedicite) the choir sings the Argument, the ‘Rectors’ sing the verses, and the choir sings the refrain.” See Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 127.

49 Such a practice was anathema to the proto-Puritan opposition to elaborate church music, evidenced in their derision of antiphonal singing: “Their tossing to and fro of psalms & sentences, is like tennis play whereto God is called a Judge who can do best & be most gallant in his worship: as by organs, solfaing, pricksong, chanting, bussing & mumbling very roundly, on divers hands.” See Robert Browne, “A True and Short Declaration, Both of the Gathering and Joining Together of Certain Persons; and also of the Lamentable Breach which Fell Amongst Them,” in *Protestant Nonconformist Texts: 1550 to 1700*, ed. Robert Tudor Jones, Kenneth Dix, and Alan Ruston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 60.

50 Matthew Parker, *The whole Psalter translated into English metre* (London: By Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, beneath S. Martyns. Cum gratia et priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, per decennium, 1567), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 2729, sigs. CC.iii.v–DD.ii.r.

51 Ibid., sig. VV.iiii.r.

52 See Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, “Private and Domestic Devotion,” in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 3; Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 4.

53 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. A.ii.v.

54 See Ephesians 5:19 in *The newe Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale: and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God A.M.D. and. Xxxv* (Antwerp: H. Peetersen van Middelburch?, 1535), sig. e.v; *The Byble in Englishe that is to saye the conte[n]t of al the holy scripture, both of ye olde, and newe testame[n]t, with a prologe therinto, made by thereuerende father in God, Thomas archbyssshop of Cantorbury. This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches*, trans. Thomas Cranmer (London, 1549), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 2828a., Fol. lxxxviiiir.

55 See Ephesians 5:19 in *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations indiuers langueses. With moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the epistle to the reader* (Geneva: Printed by Rouland Hall,

1560), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 2093, sig. ZZ.iii.r.

56 “Dann sein meinung nit ist, on sym zu singen, wie künten sust die andern ermanet und bessert werden oder wir mit einander reden, das er zun Ephesiern schreibt?” See Bucer, *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, Band I: *Friühschriften 1520–1524*, 276; Cypris, “Basic Principles,” 210.

57 *The whole Psalter*, sig. B.i.r.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. A.ii.r.

61 Ibid., sig. B.ii.r.

62 Miles Coverdale, *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes* (London: Imprynted in the shop of J. Rastell, 1535), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 5892, sig. i.r.

63 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. I.ii.v.

64 Permission granted by the The Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple. Matthew Parker, Psalms 1–53, MSS 36, Inner Temple Library, 15.

65 See Psalm 9:1 in *Biblia the Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe*, trans. Miles Coverdale (Cologne: Printed by E. Cervicornus and J. Soter?, 1535), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 2063, sig. Cc.i.r.

66 Psalm 9:1 in *The Bible and Holy Scriptures*, sig. Nn.iiii.v.

67 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. Q.iiii.v.

68 While a modern reader might assume the word “symphony” refers to “instrumental harmony, voices in concert,” in the sixteenth century this word could double as “a name for different musical instruments.” It is likely here that Parker is using the word to refer to a single instrument, perhaps the equivalent of Cranmer’s “instrument of ten strings.” See “symphony, n.” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/196292?redirectedFrom=symphonie>.

69 The Great Bible of 1539, the first authorized edition of the Bible in English, was largely based on the translations of William Tyndale but revised and completed by his associate Miles Coverdale. The project was supervised by Thomas Cromwell, who sought to put a vernacular Bible in every English parish church. See David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 198–209.

70 See Psalm 33:2 in *The Byble in Englyshe that is to saye the content of all the holy scripture, both of ye olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent*

learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges, (Paris: Prynnted by [Francis Regnault, and in London by] Rycharde Grafton [and] Edward Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1539), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 2068, sig. AA.vii.r.

71 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. Ff.i.r. Underlined letters indicate where Parker used an abbreviation in his manuscript that I have filled in for my transcription.

72 MSS 36, 135–36.

73 Ibid.

74 Psalm 57:7 in *The Bible and Holy Scriptures*, sig. Qq.ii.v.

75 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. Tt.i.v.

76 The Oxford English Dictionary gives the definition as “*trans.* To sing, intone (a song, etc.) correctly, according to certain rules of melody; to give (a note) its proper measure or duration. Also: to play (a note) correctly on an instrument. Obs.” See “modulate, v,” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/120682?result=2&rskey=IXIzyu&>.

77 Ibid.

78 Rivkah Zim notes that John Hopkins contributed the greatest number of psalm paraphrases of any single author to the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*—61 out of 150. See Rivkah Zim, “Hopkins, John (1520/21–1570),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sept. 23, 2004, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/13748>.

79 *The whole booke of Psalmes collected into Englysh metre by T. Starnhold, I. Hopkins, & others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt notes to syng the[m] with al; faithfully perused and allowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes Maiesties iniunctions; vere mete to be used of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort, laying apart all vngodly songes and ballades, which tende only to the norishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth* (London: By John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, 1562), *Early English Books Online*, STC (2nd ed.) / 2430, sig. R.iiii.r.

80 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. Tt.i.v.

81 *The whole booke of Psalmes*, sig. R.iiii.r.

82 In this context, the word “meete” meant “suitable, fit, proper for some occasion or purpose.” See “meet, adj.,” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press.

83 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. DD.iii.v.

84 See Augustine, *Confessions*, 208.

85 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. Tt.i.v.

86 *The whole booke of Psalmes*, sig. R.iiii.r.

87 See Psalm 108:2 in *The Byble in English*, Fol. xxiiiiv–xxiiiir; *The Bible and Holy Scriptures*, sig. Tt.iii.r.

88 Parker, *The Whole Psalter*, sig. RR.iiii.r.

89 Ibid.

90 *The whole booke of Psalmes*, sig. Cc.iiii.r.

91 See Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice*, 62.

92 Arten, “Singing as English Protestants,” 4. Arten (p. 17) notes that this version of Psalm 150 lists eight instruments, some of them contemporary Elizabethan instruments, and that among the other versifications in *The whole booke of Psalmes*, there are an additional four instruments woven into the poetic verse.

93 In Geneva, one could be called in front of the Consistory for dancing. See Jeannine E. Olson, “Calvin and Social-ethical Issues,” in Donald K. McKim, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 161.

94 “Prayse ye him with timbrell and flute: praise ye him with virginals and organs.” See Psalm 150: 4 in *The Bible and Holy Scriptures*, sig. Xx.iii.r. Interestingly, the Great Bible keeps dance in the translation, stating, “Prayse hym in the cymbals and daunse, prayse him upon the strynges and pype.” See *The Byble in English*, sig. Dd.iii.v.

95 Quoted in Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 52.

96 Years later, during the start of the Civil War, the young Puritan parliamentarian Nehemiah Wharton called the Hereford Cathedral clerics “Baallists” when “the pipes played, and the puppets sang so sweetely.” Evidently, then, deep suspicion of choral singers and organ playing marked the Puritan mindset toward liturgical music. See Stuart Peachey, *The Edgehill Campaign and the Letters of Nehemiah Wharton* (Leigh-on-Sea: Partizan, 1989), 26.

97 Of course, Norton also includes “timbrel” in his versification, but I would like to suggest that the addition of “tymbrell” to Parker’s bolsters the dance motif, something absent in Norton’s paraphrase.

98 2 Samuel 6:14.

99 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. RR.iiii.v.

100 *The whole booke of Psalmes*, sig. C.iiii.r.

101 Given that the word “fortified” stems from the Latin *fortis*, meaning “strong,” Parker’s phrase furthermore implies a sort of inherent spiritual strength in singing. See “fortify, v.” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/73713>.

102 In addition, the phrase “state renewed” has intriguing possible political resonances, especially for a man famous for helping to design the policy and positions of the new national church.

103 Parker, *The whole Psalter*, sig. RR.iiii.v.

104 M. Jennifer Bloxam, “Cantus firmus,” *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04795>.