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# Renaissance Humanism and John Merbecke's *The booke of Common praier noted* (1550)

Hyun-Ah Kim

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Durham University

Department of Music
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2005

16 JAN 2006

# ABSTRACT

Hyun-Ah Kim

## Renaissance Humanism and John Merbecke's *The booke of Common praier noted* (1550)

Renaissance humanism was an intellectual technique which contributed most to the origin and development of the Reformation. While the relation of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation is of considerable interest in the realms of history and theology, it has seldom been examined from a musicological perspective. This study aims to fill that gap by elucidating the way humanist musical thought influenced Reformation attitudes to music, with particular reference to the sixteenth-century reform of plainchant. The focus of the study is on the musical manifestation of the English Reformation, *The booke of Common praier noted* (*BCPN*, 1550) by John Merbecke (c.1505 - c.1585). Drawing upon issues of the interpretation of Renaissance humanism and its relation to the Reformation, the thesis challenges existing understandings of Merbecke and his music.

Chapter one is a biographical study to re-appraise Merbecke's careers and outlooks in the light of Renaissance humanism, especially of Erasmian lines. It serves as a starting point for re-evaluating the significance of *BCPN* in relation to humanist musical thought. Chapter two explores the musical framework of Erasmian humanism which became a major intellectual basis for the renewal of Christian music on the eve of the Reformation. Chapter three reveals the core of Anglican plainchant apologetics underlying *BCPN*, illustrating that the musico-rhetorical and ethical associations of humanism played an integral part in shaping the Anglican criteria of *true* ecclesiastical music. Chapter four argues that two humanist conceptions were integrated into the programme of the reform of plainchant in *BCPN*: 'rhetorical theology' (*theologia rhetorica*) and 'rhetorical music' (*musica rhetorica*). It explores word-tone relations in *BCPN*, thereby demonstrating its characteristics as a humanist plainchant directed towards the 'rhetoricisation of music'; it sheds a new light upon Merbecke's notation and modes in *BCPN*, especially in relation to the 'theory of accented singing' and the doctrine of 'mode ethos'.

No part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree at Durham University or any other university.

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# *Acknowledgements*

I am grateful to staff and colleagues in the Department of Music for their help: Prof. David Greer, my first teacher in Durham; Prof. Jeremy Dibble; Prof. Max Paddison; Drs. Fabrice and Lois Fitch and Dr. Thomas Muir. Most of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Bennett Zon, for his untiring advice, criticism, and support for the past four years.

I am also grateful to the following scholars for their advice and encouragement: Dr. Paul Ayris; Prof. Jeremy Begbie; Dr. Bonnie Blackburn; Revd Prof. Douglas Davies; Prof. Marco Gozzi; Dr. Leofranc Holford-Strevens; Prof. Robin Leaver; Dr. Alistair MacGregor; Dr. Kerry McCarthy; Dr. Noel O'Regan; Dr. Anne Overell; Dr. Thomas Schmidt-Beste and Prof. John Yamamoto-Wilson.

Without the great help of friends, my doctoral study could never have made it to this stage: Drs. Alan and Jennifer Suggate; Revd Jim Sheehy; Revd Dr. Michael Sharratt; Revd Dr. Jeremy Corley; Dr. Melinda Whong-Barr and Dr. Claudio Dalla-Vecchia.

My final thanks go to my parents, my first teachers in the study of music, history and theology, to my husband Chang-Won Park for his support and assistance, and to the trees of the River Wear which gave me rest throughout this study.

***Abbreviations***

| | |
|---|---|
| AIM | American Institute of Musicology |
| *A&M* | *Acts and Monuments* |
| *BCPN* | *The booke of Common praier noted* |
| *CWE* | *Collected Works of Erasmus* |
| *JAMS* | *Journal of the American Musicological Society* |
| *JHI* | *Journal of the History of Ideas* |
| LB | *Desiderii Erasmi Opera omnia* |
| *LW* | *Luther's Works* |
| MSD | Musicological Studies and Documents |
| *MQ* | *The Musical Quarterly* |
| *RQ* | *Renaissance Quarterly* |
| *SCJ* | *Sixteenth Century Journal* |
| *STC* | *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland* |
| *VAI* | *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* |

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‘The true Greek harmony (neither Phrygian nor Ionian nor Lydian) is to be found when there is complete harmony in a virtuous man between his life and language’.

Erasmus, *Adages*, II. v. 93 (*CWE*, 33: 282)

# Introduction: Merbecke Studies past and present

While the relationship of Renaissance humanism to the Reformation is of considerable interest in the realms of history and theology, it has seldom been examined from a musicological perspective. This study aims to fill that gap by elucidating the way humanist musical thought influenced Reformation attitudes to music, with particular reference to the reform of *cantus planus* in the sixteenth century.[1] The focus of the study is one of its principal musical manifestations: John Merbecke's *The booke of Common praier noted* (hereafter *BCPN*), published in 1550. Drawing upon issues of the interpretation of Renaissance humanism and its relation to the Reformation, this thesis challenges existing understandings of Merbecke and his chant music.

The present introduction deals with previous research on *BCPN*, and my approach and aim in this study. It explores historical and more current studies of Merbecke, and proffers an outline of my own interpretation of Merbecke. First, the introduction begins with the nineteenth-century Merbecke revival which is generally regarded as a milestone for the study of *BCPN*. Secondly, it discusses the general characteristic of the twentieth-century studies of *BCPN*, and attempts a critical analysis of the prevailing view of Merbecke and *BCPN* led by Robin Leaver. Thirdly, I propose a new approach to Merbecke studies which undertakes to place *BCPN* in the context of Renaissance humanism; it calls particular attention to the notion of *pronuntiatio*, or delivery, as the rationale for interpreting

[1] For the concept of *cantus planus*, see Chapter III, 180.

liturgical chant music of the Reformation. The final section of this introduction expounds the purposes of the present thesis and the structure of each chapter.

## 1. The Merbecke Revival in the Nineteenth Century

John Merbecke (c.1505-c.1585) was the organist and choirmaster of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and also a copyist, writer, and compiler.[2] In modern scholarship Merbecke is mostly known for his chant music in *BCPN*, which is set to the first Book of Common Prayer (1549). As observed generally, *BCPN* does not appear to have gained a significant degree of popularity in its time. The main reasons for this lie in the introduction of the second Book of Common Prayer (1552) revised under the strong influence of continental Protestantism and the following rehabilitation of Marian Catholicism.[3] In later centuries, however, *BCPN* was regarded as an essential source of authority and inspiration in the tradition of Anglican plainchant. During the Restoration, for example, Edward Lowe, the organist of the Chapel Royal, adopted Merbecke's notation style for the music of the re-introduced Prayer Book service.[4]

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[2] His surname is variously spelt in contemporary documents: Merbecke, Marbek, Marbecke, Marbeck. The present thesis uses 'Merbecke' the version that appears at the end of *BCPN*.

[3] But Merbecke's music in *BCPN* was not forgotten by the next generation of composers; William Byrd and Andrew Kemp used it for the *cantus firmus*. See J. Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 179. For Kemp's use of *BCPN*, see J. Aplin, 'The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early English Te-Deum Settings', *JAMS*, 32 (1979), 265-67.

[4] E. Lowe, *A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service* (Oxford: R. Davis, 1661). For more detail, see R. Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland,*

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that there occurred a more marked popularisation of *BCPN*, in parallel with the choral-service revival within the Anglican Church.[5] Three music organisations of the period are of importance in relation to this: the Musical Antiquarian Society; the Motett Society of London; and the Society for Promoting Church Music. The Musical Antiquarian Society was aimed at publishing 'scarce and valuable works by the early English composers'.[6] It soon became involved in their performance, extending its scope to Latin Church music: ancient plainchant and polyphonic music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially Palestrina.[7] Consequently, the Motett Society of London arose out of it in 1841, and its two key members were William Dyce and Edward Rimbault; both were the first contributors to revive *BCPN*, as we shall see. In line with the purport of these organizations, the Society for Promoting Church Music, established in 1846, with its journal *Parish Choir*, played a key role in disseminating the 'old' church music including *BCPN*.

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*and America 1660-1820.* Oxford Studies in British Church Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[5] For a standard study of the Victorian choral revival, see B. Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). A re-appraisal of the Victorian motivation for, and contribution to the rediscovery of Merbecke's chant was set out in my paper 'A Re-consideration of the Nineteenth-Century Merbecke Revival', given at the 13th Biennial International Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music (University of Durham, U.K., 6 - 9 July, 2004). An expanded version of the paper was submitted for publication in a forthcoming volume of *Nineteenth-Century Music Review.*

[6] R. Turbet, 'The Musical Antiquarian Society, 1840-1848', *Brio*, 29 (1992): 13-20.

[7] For the Palestrina Revival in the nineteenth century, see J. Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

This musical antiquarianism in the 1840s directly related to a contemporary 'ecclesiological' zeal for 'Divine Worship'.[8] At the heart of the theological aesthetics of the post-Tractarian revival of choral service in the Anglican Church lay the Tudor Anglican ideal of music.[9] Among the most frequent quotations are Queen Elizabeth's 49th Injunction of 1559 and Richard Hooker's which articulate 'let ancient custom prevail'.[10] First and foremost, advocates for the choral-service revival reintroduced plainchant into service; it was intended to be sung not by a choir but by the whole congregation, following in the footsteps of ancient

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[8] For a standard study of the Ecclesiological Movement, see J. White, *The Cambridge Movement: the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962). In November, 1849, for instance, *The Ecclesiologist* announced that the Revd. Thomas Helmore, the key figure of plainchant revival, had been elected to membership of the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society (May, 1846 – April, 1856). Dyce was made an honorary member of the ECCS, and in 1850 he was one of the founding members of the musical committee of the ECCS. For more, see D. Adelmann, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-62*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

[9] This is best observed in *The Ecclesiologist* and *Parish Choir*. The *Parish Choir* (2/37, Jan. 1849), 127; 3/49 (Jan. 1850), 59-62 cited a long line of writers, including Merbecke, since the Reformation which 'afford distinct proof that the Choral Service was sanctioned by all lawful authorities' from Edward VI to George III. Many of the same writers were also quoted or referred to by *The Ecclesiologist*, 10/75 (Nov. 1849), 209; 10/76 (Feb. 1850), 342-4; 12/83 (Apr. 1854), 117-9.

[10] Adelmann, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-62*, 147. In his *Ecclesiastical Polity* Hooker notes that 'In church music, curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton or light or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave, in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do than add either beauty or furtherance unto it.' Cited in Ibid., 161-62. For Queen Elizabeth's 49th Injunction of 1559, see Chapter III, 196-97.

usage of chanting.[11] It was in this context that *BCPN* was viewed as a good means for the realisation of a *via media* in Christian antiquity, especially for two reasons: the English liturgical texts were set to a form of plainchant in it; and it was framed by ancient ecclesiastical practices. A catalyst for the rediscovery of *BCPN* is Dyce's *The Order of Daily Service* (1843).[12] In it, *BCPN* was edited in an adaptation to the 1662 Prayer Book, 'not as an antiquarian curiosity but as a book for present use'.[13] Within the following years, two facsimiles of *BCPN* were published by William Pickering and Edward Rimbault respectively.[14]

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[11] Here 'choral service' means 'mode of celebrating the public service by both priest and people, in which they sing all portions allotted to each respectively, so as to make it one continued psalm of praise, confession, and intercession from beginning to end'. *Parish Choir*, 1 (1846), 26.

[12] W. Dyce, *The Order of Daily Service, the Litany, and Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion, with Plain-Tune, According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland*, (London: Burns, 1843-4). Dyce (1806-64) was a painter, musical amateur, and professor of fine art at King's College, London. See also J. Jebb, *Choral Responses and Litanies of the United Church of England and Ireland*, 2 vols. (London: G. Bell, 1857). The second volume of this book includes Merbecke's setting.

[13] Dyce, *The Order of Daily Service*, a. [in his pagination]

[14] Pickering's edition was printed in two colours like the original, whilst Rimbault's was in black and in a more modified form of notes than Pickering's. W. Pickering, ed. *The Book of Common Prayer Noted, by J. Merbecke, 1550* (London: W. Pickering, 1844); E. F. Rimbault, ed. *The Book of Common Prayer with Musical Notes, As Used in the Chapel Royal of Edward VI. Compiled by John Marbeck* (London: Novello, 1845). In the later edition of *BCPN*, Rimbault corrects several mistakes in the first edition: *The book of common prayer with musical notes: the first office book of the Reformation / compiled by John Merbecke*, rev. 2nd ed., and corrected (London: Novello, 1871).

This effort for re-establishing the tradition of Anglican plainchant is based on the belief that, for the reformers, plainchant was not the object of *abolition* but of *innovation*.[15] Dyce argues, for instance, in the 1843 publication:

> It is still a vulgar error to suppose that the "popish music of which," as Mr. Mason (*Essay on English Church Music*, 1795) says, "our reformers disapproved," was plain-song. The case was precisely the reverse. Every existing document proves that the music they wished to abolish was the figured music of their time; and so far from disallowing plain-song, it is a fact, that up to the present day the only authorised music of the English service (if we except the two anthems at Morning and Evening Prayer) is plain-song. The Genevan and Anglican reformers were at one in wishing the abolition of the intricate figured music of the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, and the substitution of *a plain-song*: but they differed in this, that the former wished *a new kind of plain-song*, i.e. metrical psalmody; the latter sought only to re-establish the ancient rule of the Council of Cloveshow, "*simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem ecclesiae sectentur*."[16]

Under this conviction, Dyce perceived the ritual authority of *BCPN* 'in the restoration of ancient simplicity and accuracy'.[17]

[15] For the nineteenth-century Anglican plainchant revival, see B. Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival*. Oxford Studies in British Church Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), part 2. For Anglican plainchant apologetics from 1820s to 1860s, esp. see 303-46. For the nineteenth-century Merbecke editions, see 275-80.

[16] Dyce, *The Order of Daily Service*, a.

[17] Dyce, *The Order of Daily Service*, c. This advocacy of plainchant was still regarded as 'popish' from the standpoint of the evangelical side of the Church, which is clearly presented in the Revd. Francis Close's sermon for Guy Fawkes' Day 1844, *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery*: 'to show that as Romanism is taught Analytically at Oxford, it is taught Artistically at Cambridge – that is inculcated theoretically, in tracts, at one University, and it is sculptured, painted, and graven at the other… in a word, that the '*Ecclesiologist*' of

Four years later, in promoting *true* Anglican choral service rooted in the ancient rules of plainchant, the *Parish Choir* (September, 1847) provides Merbecke's communion service in full, with a harmonised accompaniment by Spencer who emphasises it was set in 'the ancient Gamuts'.[18] Since then, *BCPN* has been widely used not only by the Anglican Church but also by various Protestant denominations. Even the Roman Catholic Church used it for the English rites after the Second Vatican Council (1962-65).[19] This extensive dissemination of *BCPN* is evidenced by its numerous editions issued over the last two centuries (see Appendix). One of the most popular editions is John Stainer's, which sets bar lines and four-part harmony for it.[20]

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Cambridge is identical in doctrine with the Oxford *Tracts for the Times*'. Quoted in White, *The Cambridge Movement: the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*, 142.

[18] In his letter to Woodard, dated 8 January, 1846, Spencer notes that 'I perceive by the tenor of your letter that you intend to have the ancient Church Music and that the Canticles etc. will be chanted. . . I should feel much happiness if no other than unison singing by the whole assembly were used on this solemn occasion, for then you and the rest of the clergymen present would be able to judge of the real character of the ancient 'Cantus Planus'. . . With respect to the Communion Office, I can furnish you with MS part copies of Merbecke's music harmonised by myself in the ancient Gamuts, if you feel disposed to pay for the copying'. Quoted in Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*, 238.

[19] J. D. Bergsagel et al, ed. *Mass* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[20] J. Stainer & W. Russell, eds. *The Cathedral Prayer Book Being the Book of Common Prayer with the Music Necessary for the Use of Choirs* (London: Novello, 1891). For more on the late nineteenth-century editions of Merbecke, see B. Zon, 'Plainchant in Nineteenth-Century England', *Plainchant and Medieval Music*, 6. no. 1 (1997): 53-74.

## 2. Merbecke Studies in the Twentieth Century

The historical, theological, and liturgical importance of *BCPN* has been well recognised since early musicological studies in the eighteenth century. For instance, John Hawkins remarks that 'this book [*BCPN*] may truly be considered as the foundation of the solemn musical service of the Church of England'.[21] In the same vein, an exponent of Victorian Anglican plainchant scholarship, Thomas Helmore, refers to Merbecke as 'the memorable first arranger of plainsong to our English Liturgy'.[22] From a technical viewpoint of music, however, later studies have tended to disregard *BCPN*. In his *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889* (1908), Bumpus notes that 'Merbecke's book was not, as many appear to suppose, a new composition, but merely an adaptation to the English liturgy of that notation which had been in use in the English Church from time immemorial'.[23]

A decade later, Terry deals with issues of Merbecke's biography as well as both his musical and literary works.[24] There, Terry gives wrong information on Merbecke's birth date.[25] With regard to 'what Merbecke's directions [in his preface to *BCPN*] actually were', Terry notes that 'Merbecke further emphasises

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[21] J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776). 2 vols. (London: Novello, 1875), 1: 539.

[22] T. Helmore, *Plainsong* (London: Novello, 1878), 58.

[23] J. S. Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889*. The cathedral series. 2 vols. (London: T. W. Laurie, 1908), 1: 5.

[24] R. R. Terry, 'John Merbecke (1523(?) – 1585)', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 45 (1918-19): 75-96; rpt. in Idem, *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929): 57-83.

[25] See Chapter I, footnote 3.

the fact that his music is not Plainsong, but mensurable, by his constant use of dotted notes'.[26] Nowhere, however, does Merbecke mention that his music is not plainchant, though it is true that the preface to *BCPN* indicates mensural values of given note forms. 'The fact' that Merbecke's music is not plainchant is what Terry believed, in the sense that 'Plainsong' is essentially monophonic music measured in equal time unit. Despite the awareness that *BCPN* is 'a first essay in accommodating the prose rhythms of the language to a free musical rhythm', Colles (1928) also regards it as 'merely a practical guide probably produced hurriedly to meet an emergency'.[27]

In 1939, the first photographic facsimile edition of *BCPN* was published by Hunt, whose study was at the time the fullest account of Merbecke and his work.[28] Through this publication, Hunt intended to consolidate the importance of *BCPN* which, to some extent, was undervalued by scholars. Apart from such disagreement over the value of *BCPN*, its music was widely disseminated during the following several decades. Consequently, Merbecke became one of the best-known Tudor composers, yet his remarkable reputation was not shared by contemporary musicologists generally. Perhaps, amongst them, Byard gives the worst estimation of *BCPN* in his 'Farewell to Merbecke?' (1973): 'at best it is a hurriedly composed hybrid, possessing the true characteristics of neither

[26] Terry, 'John Merbecke (1523(?) – 1585)', 65. As in Rimbault's first facsimile edition, the third note 'a pycke' is mis-spelled 'a prycke' ('a dot' in modern notation) in Terry's reproduction of the preface to *BCPN*.

[27] H. C. Colles, *Voice and Verse: A Study in English Song* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), 31.

[28] J. E. Hunt, ed. *Cranmer's First Litany 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted 1550* (London: SPCK, 1939).

plainsong nor mensural music of the 16th century'.[29] In his study of the tradition of plainchant within Anglican music (1979), Aplin goes further to undermine the authority of *BCPN* as the first setting of the English liturgy, through a comparative analysis of Merbecke's *Te deum* and BL Add. MSS 34191:

> Hunt's elevation of Merbecke to "a position of really great importance in the history of Church music" has not been seriously challenged, but compared with what had already been achieved by 1550 - even if we consider only the paraphrasing of plainsong - Merbecke was tentative and at best imitative.[30]

As will be proved by the present study, however, the above descriptions are modern rather than sixteenth-century notions; Merbecke's task was not as effortless as what has been observed by most scholars – merely a simple adaptation of the Sarum chant.

Since the nineteenth-century rediscovery of Merbecke, as has been seen, research on Merbecke has been limited largely to *BCPN*. Scholars have tended to treat it within the context of music only, dismissing its relations with other intellectual areas of the time.[31] In the late 1970s, Robin Leaver, a leading scholar of Reformation music history, suggested the need for a more fundamental revision of perspective in studying Merbecke, with considerable emphasis on Merbecke's literary work. In his introduction to *The Work of John Marbeck* (1978) Leaver

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[29] H. Byard, 'Farewell to Merbecke?,' *Musical Times*, 114 (1973): 300-3.

[30] J. Aplin, 'The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early English Te-Deum Settings', *JAMS*, 32 (1979): 247-75, at 259.

[31] For example, R. R. Terry, 'John Merbecke (1523 (?) – 1585)', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 45 (1819-9): 75-96, rpt., in his *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929): 57-83; R. Stevenson, 'John Marbeck's "Noted Booke" of 1550', *MQ*, 37 (1951): 220-30.

argues that Merbecke has been invariably misunderstood by scholars in the fields of history, liturgy, and music.[32] This argument becomes clearer in his 1980 publication, a facsimile edition of *BCPN*:[33]

> Marbeck has suffered from writers approaching him for a particular preconceived reason as a preserver of medieval plainsong, or as an aid to revive liturgical music, or just pragmatically to find music for a choir. At a more scholarly level he has suffered at the hands of those who are specialists in only one discipline. He has been studied by musicians who know little about the Reformation or about the origins of the Prayer Book. He has studies by liturgists who are not too well up in either music or the Reformation. But to get a true perspective on Marbeck one needs to know the English Reformation and its links with and influences from the continent, the early history of the Prayer Book, sixteenth century music and what went before it, and to have studied Marbeck's life and work as a whole, including his non-musical writing. In this book and its earlier companion volume I have attempted to bring together these varying disciplines: *BCPN* was the first attempt to produce an appropriate musical setting for the then new, reformed English Prayer Book and it is therefore of considerable historical, liturgical and musical interest.[34]

Criticising the partiality of existing studies, Leaver seeks to evaluate Merbecke's significance 'within the disciplines of theology and music'.[35] Furthermore, he

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[32] R. A Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck.* The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 9 (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978), 9-12. This book contains basic information on Merbecke's literary work.

[33] Leaver's facsimile is a complete two-coloured facsimile; before it, another facsimile was issued by Nottingham Court Press in association with Magdalene College, Cambridge, with introduction by John Stevens. See Appendix I.

[34] R. A. Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted.* Courtenay Facsimile 3 (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1980). 12-3.

[35] Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 6.

attributes the origin of the 'misrepresentation' or 'distortion' of Merbecke to the Victorian revival of *BCPN*. According to Leaver, the fundamental reason behind this misrepresentation lies in the fact that Victorians (the Anglo-Catholics) who found *BCPN* useful were of an entirely different theological view from the composer.[36]

Throughout his books, as in the above quotation, Leaver refers to *BCPN* as a 'musical setting' (or 'monodic chant' in his facsimile), differentiating it from 'plainsong'.[37] With great emphasis on Merbecke's theological conviction in 'the Reformation principle', Leaver draws a parallel between *BCPN* and Luther's *Deudsche Messe* (1526). The central focus is here on the linguistic aspect of the vernacular chants, featured by the syllabic nature of both the German and English liturgical texts. Leaver's view of Merbecke and *BCPN* as practised in Lutheran ideas, mediated through Cranmer's notion of 'for every syllable, a note', has generally been accepted in current scholarship.[38]

In the context of such a discourse, however, moderate religious reform on the tradition of the 'Erasmian' lines of the 1530s and 1540s is seldom taken into

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[36] Ibid., 12.

[37] R. A. Leaver, 'Lutheran Reformation', in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the Sixteenth Century*. ed. I. Fenlon (London, 1986), 273-74; Idem, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 25. From a technical viewpoint of music, Leaver's facsimile of *BCPN* often fails to give a correct pitch on the stave of the traditional plainchant notation. This neglect of a rudimentary yet essential element in producing a music facsimile remains a serious defect causing great disturbance to researchers.

[38] Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 58-9; Idem, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 28. Leaver's view is reaffirmed by K. Carleton, in *The Church and the Arts: Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. ed. D. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 255-65, esp. 264-65.

account; neither are the developments of humanist studies under royal patronage generally. The sphere of Leaver's interpretative contextualisation of *BCPN* thus concerns exclusively a link of Lutheran-Anglican church music.[39] This narrow viewpoint of Merbecke and his music impedes exploring the place which *BCPN* occupies within the broader liturgical and intellectual framework of the reform of monophonic church music in the sixteenth century. An illustration of this point is Leaver's complete omission of the revision of Gregorian chant - the rhythmical differentiation for plainchant in the Catholic Reformation and its parallel with *BCPN*.[40]

Furthermore, as we shall see, the theological implications of the Anglican plainchant reform which underlies *BCPN* are different from its Lutheran counterpart in several respects. Leaver seeks to present an all-round picture of Merbecke in the context of his time, not just confined to Merbecke's musical career, as reviewed by Blezzard.[41] However, Leaver's study of Merbecke and *BCPN* is based on an *exclusively* theological approach to the Reformation. This will become evident in detecting the interpretation of Renaissance humanism and its relation to the Reformation which underlies Leaver's study.[42]

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[39] Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 22-3.

[40] Cf. E. Cochrane, 'Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation? Italy in the Age of Carlo Borromeo'. in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*. ed. J. Headley & J. Tomaro (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988): 31-46; K. Randell, *The Catholic & Counter Reformations* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2nd ed., 2000).

[41] J. Blezzard, *Early Music*, 7 (1979), 257-58.

[42] For more, see Chapter II, 110-11. For an introductory understanding of Renaissance humanism, see J. Kraye, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). In this thesis, the term 'Reformation' is

In many ways, thus, Leaver's interpretation of *BCPN* can be regarded as a 'Protestant evangelical' counter-action to the Victorian revival. His intention was to regenerate a convinced Protestant Merbecke, through the two publications of Merbecke issued in the series of the English Reformation literature.[43] As Shepherd suggests, however, Leaver's own work does not actually provide any analytical appreciation of Merbecke's theology, and it merely sets out selected quotations from Merbecke's commonplace book.[44]

One can also readily see that Leaver's view of the Victorian advocates of plainchant is in line with that of the evangelical circles within the contemporary Anglican Church.[45] Leaver argues that the original rhythmic feature of Merbecke's chant was lost in later editions. But this claim is correct only in part; most authoritative Victorian editions of *BCPN*, even harmonised versions like Stainer's, keep Merbecke's notation form and text placement. The harmonisation of *BCPN* and the accompaniment to it were criticised by the first generation of the revival in the 1840s; it has been a general characteristic of the Merbecke editions issued for a practical purpose in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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generally used to refer to the mainstream Protestant Reformation (the 'Lutheran Reformation', the 'Reformed Church') and the 'Catholic Reformation', excluding the 'radical Reformation' (often referred to as 'Anabaptism'). For more on the concept of 'Reformation', see A. E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 3rd ed., 1999), 5-11. See also, C. Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

[43] For an important study from a Catholic perspective on *BCPN* which is not considered in Leaver's study, see Sister B. J. Donahue, O.S.B., 'From Latin to English: Plainsong in Tudor England', Ph.D. diss. (The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1966).

[44] J. H. Shepherd, 'The Changing Theological Concept of Sacrifice, and Its Implications for the Music of the English Church, c. 1500-1640', Ph.D. diss. (University of Cambridge, 1984), 71.

[45] See Introduction, footnote 17.

## 3. A New Approach to Merbecke Studies

In 'Music History and Its Relation to the History of Ideas (1946),' Edward Lowinsky remarks that there is 'a self-evident but sadly neglected principle of analysis': 'understanding of the whole must precede analysis of the parts'.[46] Lowinsky calls attention to this principle, warning about what often happened in research centring on one single composer: general stylistic phenomena in a musical genre current among an entire group were claimed to be characteristic of the composer alone. Leaver's approach to *BCPN* is a case in point. As will be seen, the musical character of *BCPN* and its affinity with Luther's *Deudsche Messe* are not just limited to the two liturgical contexts; they illustrate characteristic insights of the humanist reform of plainchant of the day.[47]

The above-noted principle is premised on the thesis that 'all technical and stylistic changes in the history of music reflect the changing of outlook of man and the changing human society'.[48] As Lowinsky discusses, the thesis is true of a great deal of polyphonic music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, written for specific social functions. One can go further to argue that music as a 'functional art', whether the main body to control the functions is church or court, is not only to reflect its outlook, but *intensify* it. An excellent example of these dual functions of music can be found in Reformation musical history. During the

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[46] E. E. Lowinsky, 'Music History and Its Relation to the History of Ideas', *The Music Journal*, 4 (1946): 27, 53-4, rpt., in *Music in the Culture of Renaissance and Other Essays*, 2 vols. ed. B. J. Blackburn (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), 1: 3-5, at 4.

[47] For a comparison between *BCPN* and the *Deutsche Messe*, see Chapter IV, 254-56.

[48] Lowinsky, 'Music History and Its Relation to the History of Ideas', 4.

Reformation, music served an ideological and pedagogical purpose – the proclamation and intelligibility of the 'Word of God'. In Germany, for instance, songs were a significant means of 'spreading' Reformation ideas to the illiterate, up to 90 per cent of the population.[49]

Like language, indeed, music became a vehicle of thought in Reformation Europe. What most preoccupied composers committed to music of the Reformation was matters of *pronuntiatio*, or delivery, that is, the relevance of delivery to musical composition and performance.[50] Two questions may be raised in terms of stylistic and technical issues of music with which those composers were well acquainted: firstly, what was meant by *pronuntiatio* at that time?; and secondly, in what manner was the relevance of delivery to the text and context of music embodied by the composers? To answer the questions, it is essential to draw attention to humanist rhetoric – the key literary method of Reformation ideas.

Rhetoric, 'the art of persuasive communication', had played a key role in shaping the identity and goals of Renaissance humanism.[51] The core of humanist rhetoric lies in the notion of *pronuntiatio*, or delivery. According to ancient texts

[49] R. W. Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

[50] For further discussion of the relevance of *pronuntiatio* to composition, see D. Harrán, 'Toward a Rhetorical Code of Early Music Performance', *The Journal of Musicology*, 15 (1997): 19-42.

[51] Here I borrow B. Vickers' definition of rhetoric, see his *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 1. For more on the role of rhetoric in the Renaissance, see P.O. Kristeller, 'Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture', in *Renaissance Eloquence*, ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California, 1983): 1-19, rpt., in his *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 228-46; P. Mack, 'Humanist Rhetoric and Dialectic', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, 82-99.

on rhetoric which provided the basis for humanist rhetoric, delivery is the most important in oratory.[52] Marcus Fabius Quintilian (c.35-c.100 CE) offers an anecdote to support this point: when asked to rank elements of oratory in importance, Demosthenes says that delivery is the most, the second, and third important.[53] In this view, Quintilian remarks that 'even a mediocre speech, made

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[52] The earliest extant text on rhetoric is Aristotle's *The Art of Rhetoric* (c. 335 BCE), trans. & ed. H. C. Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin Books, 1991). The major medieval texts on rhetoric were Cicero's own *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In 1416 the full text of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* was discovered, and in 1422 Cicero's *De oratore*. Of classical texts on rhetoric, these two were most widely disseminated in the first half of the sixteenth century: Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, first printed in Rome in 1470, had at least 18 editions by 1500, and at least 130 more by 1600. Cicero's *De oratore* was first printed in 1465, and 46 commentaries on Cicero's rhetorical works were published in 1541 alone. Cf. B. Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/ Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica*, 2 (1984), 4.

[53] This thesis uses the most recent edition of M. F. Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, ed. & tr., D. A. Russell, *Quintilian: The Orator's Education*, 5 vols., The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). Translations of the quotations from Quintilian are Russell's; I revise some key words and phrases when the translations are not clear for a musicological context and the discourse of this thesis. For example, on *vox & sonus*, see Chapter II, 137 (esp. footnote 69).

On delivery, see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii. 1-184 (Russell, 5: 85-183). 'Si quidem et Demosthenes, quid esset in toto dicendi opera primum interrogatus, pronuntiationi palmam dedit, eidemque secundum ac tertium locum'. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book XI. iii. 6. Quintilian notes that Cicero too thinks that delivery has a unique dominance in oratory ('M. Cicero unam in dicendo actionem dominari putat'), Ibid., XI. iii. 7-8. Cf. Cicero, *De oratore*, III. lv. 213: 'Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum, huic secundas, huic tertias'.

attractive by the power of delivery, will carry more weight than the best speech deprived of this help'.[54]

In classical rhetoric, *pronuntiatio*, or delivery is divided into two: 'voice' (*vox*) and 'motion' (*motus*).[55] In Quintilian terms, these two elements of delivery are overlapped with two parts of music.[56] Quintilian discusses four features of *pronuntiatio*,[57] that is, accuracy, clarity, elegance, and compatibility: by accuracy, the condition of the voice, faultless pronunciation, and breathing; by clarity, proper enunciation and punctuation; by elegance, the natural inflexion and modulation of the voice; and by compatibility, the appropriate expression of ideas and emotions.[58] For Quintilian, the 'appropriateness' in delivery - *decorum* - is the most essential virtue of elocution (*elocutio*).[59] To achieve these four attributes of delivery is indispensable for rhetoric, especially as a teaching method. Most humanists were engaged in education as masters or tutors. For them, it was a pre-requisite to obtain the skills of *pronuntiatio*, whatever the content of ideas they presented was.

Humanists established a new theological framework ('rhetorical theology') based on the rules of classical rhetoric on the eve of the Reformation. Most

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[54] 'Equidem vel mediocrem orationem commendatam viribus actionis adfirmarim plus habituram esse momenti quam optimam eadem illa destitutam', Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI. iii. 5.

[55] Like Cicero (*De oratore*, III. 222) Quintilian (XI.iii.1) uses both terms *pronuntiatio* and *actio* interchangeably. Quintilian assumes that the former is acquired from its voice-element, the latter from its element of gesture. Cicero calls *actio* a 'sort of language', and in another passage 'a kind of eloquence of the body' (*eloquentiam quandam corporis*). Russell, 5: 84-7.

[56] See Chapter II, footnote 68.

[57] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI. iii. 29-65 (Russell, 5: 99-119).

[58] Harrán, 'Toward a Rhetorical Code of Early Music Performance', 25, 28-37.

[59] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI. i. For more, see Chapter II, 131.

reformers were either humanists or theologians heavily influenced by humanist scholarship. The sermon, the sacred oratory enhanced by the power of *pronuntiatio*, was indeed a critical factor of the success of the Reformation; *pronuntiatio* concerns the way God's Word is proclaimed, conveyed, and instructed. It was thus the key principle for reforming existing liturgical performance in which the innate function of language to deliver and communicate ideas had been phased out.

Recovering the lost function of the 'divine language' was essential to the revival of 'authentic' Christianity (*Christianismus renascens*) in the time of the Reformation. For this, it was necessary to reorganise the substructure of the traditional liturgy and ceremonies in form and content. The textual part of liturgical performance - reading, preaching, chanting, and singing - lay at the core of the reforming programme of the traditional liturgy. In such a context, the four attributes of *pronuntiatio* were applied not only to the art of preaching and reading but also to that of musical composition and performance needed for the reformed liturgy. In framing regulations for delivery through music, ecclesial composers under the Reformation oscillated between technical and semantic considerations. Their efforts in doing so made a practical contribution to the reinforcement of the basis of music practice of cathedral and collegiate churches, especially plainchant.

An example of this can be illustrated by Merbecke, a key musician and music educator of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. From the late fifteenth century humanist music theorists and composers applied classical linguistic precepts to the

traditional chant, deriding its medieval Latin as 'the monk Latin'.[60] Merbecke's chant must have been a more complicated task than the humanist-reformed chant in Latin, given the three dimensions to be considered: the traditional chant practice, the rhetorical and prosodic rules of classical Latin, and attributes of the vernacular language. This context is reflected in Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's letter to Henry VIII, dated on the 7 of October, 1544. There, Cranmer explains his experiment with the vernacular Litany - 'a proof, to see how English would do in song'.[61] At the end of the letter, he petitions Henry VIII to let someone more excellent than him in English versification and music undertake such experiments, in order for the whole musical section of the vernacular liturgy to be sung 'distinctly' and 'devoutly'.[62] Merbecke was the one who was committed to this task as a part of Cranmer's gradual and careful liturgical reform in the recognition of the need for the continuity of ceremonies.

[60] E. E. Lowinsky, 'Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9. *Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Summer, 1978*. ed. F. Tirro (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1982): 87-220, rpt., in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. Blackburn, 1: 154-218, at 154; P. O. Kristeller, 'Music and Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 1 (1947): 255-74, esp. see 266-68, rpt., in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956): 451-69; rpt., in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 142-62, at 155.

[61] J. E. Cox, ed. *The Works of Thomas Cranmer: Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*. The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 412. See also S. Brook, *The Language of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: A. Deutsch, 1965), 122-23.

[62] See also Chapter III, 39-40.

Although Merbecke is well known as 'a pioneer in setting English prose to music',[63] previous studies have failed to discern the contemporary intellectual and literary techniques which were pivotal in Merbecke's strategy for *BCPN*. The main task of the present thesis is to elucidate what these techniques are and their relevance to *BCPN*. Such a reconsideration of the cultural milieu to which certain music belongs is indispensable for a revision of the existing interpretation of the music. It is from this viewpoint that the thesis has drawn attention to the dominant cultural and educational trend in Tudor England - Renaissance humanism - that has not been considered by previous research on Merbecke and *BCPN*.[64]

Renaissance humanism was an international movement and phenomenon; hence, Tudor humanism cannot be properly studied in isolation from the development of humanist learning in continental Europe as a whole.[65] The last

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[63] H. C. Colles, *Essays and Lectures: With A Memoir of the Author* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), 125.

[64] Although early studies did not define Merbecke's antiquarian tendency as related to Renaissance humanism, they were aware of classical features of *BCPN*. See, Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1: 450; C. Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* 4 vols. (1776-89), ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols. (London: Foulis, 1935; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 1: 803-7. Hawkins (1: 541) remarks that Merbecke's monophonic music 'was framed according to the model of the Greek and Latin churches, and agreeable to that tonal melody, which the ancient fathers of the church have celebrated as completely adequate to all the ends of prayer, praise, thanksgiving, and every other mode of religious worship'. Grounded in this observation, the Victorian advocates of *BCPN* extensively used it. Leaver dismisses what was observed by these early studies as merely antiquarian. Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 12-3.

[65] As McGrath notes, Tudor humanism was, 'to all intents and purposes, a foreign import'. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 51. The English word 'humanist' which first appears in 1589 has the sense of a literary scholar, especially someone versed in Latin studies. John Florio in

point of the introduction therefore concerns the general feature of Renaissance humanism as an intellectual technique which is often discussed in its comparison with scholasticism.

In reassessing humanist-scholastic conflicts within the context of northern Europe, Nauert demonstrates that humanism as an intellectual method challenged traditional academic tradition.[66] His key points may be summarised as follows: 1) humanist rhetoric undermined the value of the dialectic of scholasticism in seeking 'absolute truth'; 2) humanist philology and textual criticism in treating questions of 'textual authenticity' eventually posed a fundamental challenge not only in the liberal arts but in the three higher faculties. An example of this is the humanist antipathy to the old academic climate in theology, evident in the biblical and patristic scholarship of two greatest figures of northern European humanism, Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples and Desiderius Erasmus.[67]

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his Italian-English dictionary *A world of words* (1598) translates *umanista* as 'a humanist or professor of humanity'. Fore more, see M. Pincombe, 'Some sixteenth-century Records of the Words Humanist and Humanitian', *The Review of English Studies*, 44 (1993): 1-15.

[66] C. G. Nauert, Jr., 'The Clash of Humanists and Scholastics: An Approach to Pre-Reformation Controversies', *SCJ*, 4 (1973): 1-18; Idem, 'Humanist Infiltration into the Academic World: Some Studies of Northern Humanism', *RQ*, 43 (1990): 799-812; Idem, 'Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics, *SCJ*, 29 (1998): 427-38. Unlike Nauert, Overfield has seen the humanist-scholastic conflicts as just 'isolated quarrels' in the late medieval intellectual world. J. H. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). See also P. O. Kristeller, 'Humanism and Scholasticism in the Renaissance', *Byzantion*, 17 (1944-5): 346-74, rpt., in his *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956): 553-83, and in his *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains*, 92-119, 153-66. E. Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[67] Nauert, 'Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics', 427-38.

Intriguingly, the humanist-scholastic conflict in theological method directly related to contemporary church music practice, especially plainchant practice. Most of all, the humanist-scholastic debate on plainchant illustrates two different approaches to music: one approach based on the rhetorical notion of music; the other based on the mathematical notion of music. In other words, the humanist-scholastic conflict in the context of plainchant signifies 'the battle of music and words in the Renaissance'.[68] Furthermore, it is important to be aware that the humanist reform of plainchant based on the precepts of classical rhetoric anticipated the liturgical monophonic music of the Reformation.

The humanist theological approach paved the way for the Reformation in inspiration and programme. Arguably, the methodology of 'humanist theology', in parallel with contemporary musical humanism, is of fundamental importance in relation to the stylistic characteristics of Reformation liturgical music. It is my intention to explore Merbecke's chant, through an understanding of the relation of humanist musical ideas and Reformation attitudes towards music. In view of such theological, historical, and aesthetical backdrops to liturgical chant of the Reformation as a whole, the present thesis will uncover Merbecke's humanist scholarly tendency, thereby providing an intellectual and religio-cultural context for his chant music for the reformed liturgy. In terms of a conjunction of rhetoric and music grounded in humanist music aesthetics, the thesis seeks to reinterpret Merbecke's musical style and language in *BCPN* which became a paradigm for Anglican plainchant tradition.

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[68] Cf. D. Harrán, *In Defense of Music: The Case for Music as Argued by a Singer and Scholar of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 67-77.

## 4. The Purpose and Structure of the Thesis

### a. Purpose

1. *Merbecke Studies*

In the light of the history of Merbecke studies, the first purpose of this thesis is to revise the existing interpretations of Merbecke and his music in *BCPN*. For Merbecke and his century, religion, literature, education, and music were aspects of one culture. The thesis intends to contextualize the study of Merbecke and *BCPN* into an interdisciplinary discourse of the Renaissance and the Reformation – the musical, intellectual and ecclesiastical history of sixteenth-century England. By extending the scope of the existing discourse of Merbecke studies, it aims to offer a rounded yet focused picture of Merbecke's professional life with new insights into his biography and music, and to illuminate the relation of *BCPN* and contemporary intellectual and literary methods.

2. *Reformation Theology of Music*

Although Merbecke and *BCPN* are the focus of this study, it is not restricted to them alone. Many humanist scholars, reformers and music theorists in both continental Europe and England are considered, to the extent that the ideas they present are relevant to the argument of this thesis. Renaissance humanism was an international movement in sixteenth-century Europe. Especially in relation to the

Reformation, the ideal of northern European humanism directed towards the corporate revival of the Christian church is of prime significance. The second aim of the thesis is to observe the musical outlook of Erasmus, an exponent of northern European humanism, thereby seeking to establish a Reformation theology of music as well as exploring the origin and development of Anglican apologetics for plainchant. Erasmus was not the sole inspiration for the English humanists and reformers, but his views on the way to reform church music, directly connected with the moral reformation of the church, are echoed in the Edwardian legislation.

3. *Musical Humanism in Tudor England*

In general, musical humanism in England has been omitted in standard studies of the relation of humanism and music in Renaissance Europe.[69] Ryding, a literary historian, partially fills this gap.[70] The chronological scope of his study, however, is restricted to the Elizabethan poetico-musical discourse; it fails to recognise the extent to which humanist musical thought was a key factor in the reform of church music practice during the Edwardian reign, prior to the influence it subsequently exerted on vocal music genres of the Elizabethan period, such as the madrigal.[71]

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[69] Lowinsky, 'Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance', in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 1: 154-218. For further bibliographical information on humanist musical thought, see footnote 76.

[70] E. Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism, Thomas Campion, and the Two Daniels* (Kirksville, MS: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993).

[71] Caldwell remarks that 'humanism came to English music through the medium of English verse, when composers began to show a new attention to the rhythms and the sense of the

On the other hand, Doughtie gives a brief discussion of the humanist element of Tudor church music in his *English Renaissance Song*.[72] There, he argues that humanist influences on music in England came first and foremost via the Reformation, discussing Calvin and Zwingli's humanist approach to music and its influence on the Edwardian liturgical reform. But his account of the revisions of liturgical chants is limited to the metrical translations of Psalms.[73] By revealing the humanist framework of *BCPN*, therefore, this thesis aims to illuminate the relation of Renaissance humanism to church music practice of the mid-Tudor period, particularly to the reform of plainchant in the late 1540s.

4. *Rhetoric and Music*

Rhetoric is one of the essential foundations of the European intellectual tradition, fading away from the modern educational system since the second half of the eighteenth century. It is generally agreed that an understanding of rhetoric and its relation to music is a pre-requisite to understand baroque music theory and aesthetics.[74] Although a refined application of rhetoric to musical composition

poetry'. He refers to the Passion carols of Cornysh and Browne, as an example of the early humanist musical work in England, noting that 'there are no equivalents in English music of Ockeghem's *Intemerata Dei mater* or of Josquin's *Huc me sydereo descendere iussit Olymp*'. J. Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music: From the Beginning to c.1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 178.

[72] E. Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), 23-45.

[73] Ibid., 28, 30.

[74] For bibliographical information on the relation of music and rhetoric which covers the key primary and secondary sources issued by early 1970s, see G. J. Buelow, 'Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography', *Notes: Journal of the Music Library Association*, 30 (1973): 250-59; Idem, 'Rhetoric and Music', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 16:

first appears in Joachim Burmeister's *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae* (1599), the link between music and oratory was the cornerstone of humanist music discourse from the fifteenth century onwards.[75] Indeed, the bonds of rhetoric and

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793-803; G. J. Buelow et al, 'Rhetoric and Music', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2nd ed., 2001), 21: 260-75; H. Krones, 'Musik und Rhetorik', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik.* ed. L. Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2nd ed., 1994 - ), Sachteil, 6 ( 1997): 814-52. For further major researches on this subject in English speaking scholarship, see C. V. Palisca, 'Beginnings of Baroque Music, Its Roots in the Sixteenth-Century Theory and Polemics', Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1953); H. Lenneberg, 'Johannes Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music', *Journal of Music Theory,* 2 (1958): 47-84, 193-236; M. Joiner, 'Music and Rhetoric in English Drama of the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries'. Ph.D. diss. (University of Cambridge, 1967); C. V. Palisca, '*Ut Oratoria Musica*: The Rhetorical Basis of Musical Mannerism', in *The Meaning of Mannerism,* eds. F. W. Robinson & S. G. Nichols, Jr. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1972): 37-65; G. LeCoat, *The Rhetoric of The Arts, 1550-1650* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1975); W. Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach', *JAMS,* 32 (1979): 1-44; U. Kirkendale, 'The Source for Bach's *Musical Offering*: The *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian', *JAMS,* 33 (1980): 88-141; J. Derkson, '*De imitatione*: The Function of Rhetoric in German Musical Theory and Practice (1560-1610)'. Ph.D. diss. (University of Toronto, 1982); B. Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/ Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica,* 2 (1984): 1-44; W. Kirkendale, '*Circulatio*-Tradition, *Maria Lactans,* and Josquin as Musical Orator', *Acta Musicologica,* 56 (1984): 69-92; D. Harrán, 'Elegance as a Concept in Sixteenth-Century Music Criticism', *RQ,* 41 (1988): 413-38; M. Fromson, 'A Conjunction of Rhetoric and Music: Structural Modelling in the Italian Counter-Reformation Motet', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* 117, no. 2 (1992): 208-46; B. M. Wilson, "*Ut oratoria musica* in the Writings of Renaissance Music Theorists", in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow.* ed. T. J. Mathiesen & B. V. Rivera (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995), 341-68; D. Harrán, 'Toward a Rhetorical Code of Early Music Performance', *The Journal of Musicology,* 15 (1997): 19-42; P. Macey, 'Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: *Miserere mei,* Deus and Other Motets', in *The Josquin Companion,* ed. R. Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 495-530.

[75] J. Burmeister (ca. 1564-1629), *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae* (Rostock: S. Myliander, 1599); Idem, *Musica poetica* (Rostock: S. Myliander, 1606), Facs. ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter,

music in the Renaissance have been the core of the studies of the relation between humanism and music for the last decades.[76] The discussion of the musico-rhetorical association in Renaissance liturgical music tradition is mainly concerned with polyphony; but there are aspects of contemporary chant which have not been detected as directly or indirectly related to rhetoric and oratory. This thesis will observe those aspects, thereby defining the relevance of rhetoric - the relevance of *pronuntiatio* or delivery - to the chant practice; more specifically, a re-interpretation of *BCPN* in the thesis will be a case study to show the inextricable union of music with principles of classical and humanist rhetoric in ecclesiastical monophonic music.

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1955). For a new English translation of it: *Musical Poetics*, trans. by B. V. Rivera (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[76] For key studies of the relation of humanism and music, see D. P. Walker, 'Musical Humanism in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,' *Music Review,* 2 (1941): 1-13, 111-21, 220-27, 288-308; III (1942): 55-71; P. O. Kristeller, 'Musical Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 1 (1947): 255-74; H. Albrecht, 'Humanismus und Musik', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 6 (1957), cols. 895-918; E. E. Lowinsky, 'Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance'; N. Pirrotta, 'Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy', *JAMS,* 19 (1966): 127-61; W. Elders, 'Humanism and Early Renaissance Music', *Tijdschrift van de verenigung voor nederlandse muziekgeschidenis*, 27 (1977): 65-101; W. Elders et al, 'Humanism and Music in the Early Renaissance', in 'Humanism and Music', in *Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977.* eds. D. Hearts & B. Wade (London: The American Musicological Society, 1981): 870-93; C. V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); D. Harrán, *Word-Tone relations in Musical Thought from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century.* MSD 40 (Hänssler-Verlag: AIM, 1986); Idem, *In Search of Harmony: Hebrew and Humanist Elements in Sixteenth-Century Musical Thought.* MSD 42 (Hänssler-Verlag: AIM, 1988); R. Strohm, 'Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a 'Rebirth' of the Arts', in *The New Oxford History of Music III. i: Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*. eds. R. Strohm & B. J. Blackburn (London: Oxford University Press, 2001): 346-405.

**b. Structure**

Chapter one attempts to re-appraise Merbecke's religious and intellectual outlooks in the light of Renaissance humanism. This biographical study of Merbecke serves as a starting point for re-evaluating the significance of *BCPN* in relation to humanist musico-rhetorical tradition. First, a brief biographical outline of Merbecke is given. Secondly, the chapter draws attention to religious aspects of Renaissance humanism by observing characteristic insights of Christian humanism, especially on Erasmian lines, and its wide dissemination in Tudor England. With emphasis on Merbecke's literary and pedagogical activity, thirdly, the chapter reveals the humanist nature of his outlooks, as developed in the Protestant-humanist tradition in which the Erasmian enthusiasm of Tudor England is most evident.

Chapter two investigates the musical framework of Erasmus' Christian humanism, thereby exploring the impact of humanist musical thought upon Reformation attitude to music as a whole. The first section expounds the humanist root of the Reformation understanding of music in a general way, treating basic approaches of the key Protestant reformers to music. The second section examines the classical, biblical, and patristic foundations of Erasmus' musical outlook in terms of the relevance of music to rhetoric and moral philosophy. From this examination, it will become clear that in parallel with contemporary musical humanism, Erasmian musical thought became a major frame of reference for the renewal of church music on the eve of the Reformation. On the basis of the understanding of the historical and theological schemes of Erasmian musical

thought, the last section discusses the core of Erasmus' criticism of music performance practices within the contemporary church.

Chapter three reveals the gist of Anglican plainchant apologetics underlying *BCPN*, in its parallel with Erasmian musical thought. First, the chapter examines the reception of Erasmian musical thought in Tudor England, observing the influence of humanist moralism on the Edwardian reform of church musical practices. Second, it analyses Protestant humanist writings including Merbecke's and contemporary Episcopal articles that deals intensively with music and musicians. Through this analysis, it is argued that the musico-rhetorical and ethical associations of humanism played an integral part in shaping the Anglican criteria of *authentic* ecclesiastical music. In view of the theological and philosophical backdrops to early Anglican plainchant, finally, the chapter accounts for the emergence of vernacular liturgy under the Edwardian reign and the subsequent chant experiments of the vernacular liturgical texts which culminated in Merbecke's *BCPN*.

Chapter four explores word-tone relations in *BCPN*, thereby demonstrating its characteristics as a humanist plainchant directed towards the 'rhetoricisation of music'. In the first section, I argue that two humanist conceptions were integrated into the programme of the reform of plainchant: rhetorical theology (*theologia rhetorica*) and rhetorical music (*musica rhetorica*). Based on this argument of the theoretical foundations of the humanist reform of plainchant, the second section deals with the matters of textual placement in *BCPN*; it focuses principally on

Merbecke's notation, with particular reference to the 'Biblical humanism' of Erasmus and Reuchlin in its parallel with contemporary musical humanism in terms of accentuation. The last section investigates modes in *BCPN* which have seldom received the attention they merit in existing studies. It elucidates Merbecke's 'rhetorical use of mode' in *BCPN*, especially in relation to the doctrine of 'mode ethos' which was one of the most important principles for humanist music composition. By doing so it illustrates the way that, through his chants, Merbecke practises Erasmus' and Glarean's attitude to mode ethos and the choice of particular modes in a given music composition.

# CHAPTER I

# A Humanist John Merbecke

'Your Lordship's most humble and daily Orator, J. M.'.[1]

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[1] J. Merbecke, *The Lives of holy Saints...* (1574), A. iij. verso.

# 1. A Biographical Outline

## c. 1505 - 1547

John Merbecke was a clerk of St George's Chapel, Windsor, during the reigns of four Tudors. The basic biographical information on Merbecke relies on extant records of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor.[2] Unfortunately, however, the records of Merbecke in these documents are so fragmentary that it is impossible to derive full information about his life. The date of Merbecke's birth is unknown. A nineteenth-century editor of *BCPN*, Rimbault suggested 1523, but without any reliable evidence for it.[3] In the first half of the last century Fellowes presumed that Merbecke was born at least as early as 1510, on the basis of his son Roger's birth date.[4] Current scholarship has generally accepted Bergsagel's speculation that Merbecke was born around 1505, from the inclusion of his mass in the early sixteenth century Forrest-Heyther partbooks.[5]

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[2] A series of studies relating to St George's Chapel, Windsor, has appeared under the title Historical Monographs. Cf. Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 229-31.

[3] E. F. Rimbault, ed. *The Book of Common Prayer with Musical Notes, As Used in the Chapel Royal of Edward VI. Compiled by John Marbeck* (London: Novello, 1845), iii. Terry notes that Charles Burney gave 1523 as the birth year of Merbecke. This was corrected in R. M. Stevenson, *Patterns of Protestant Church Music* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1953), 30. See Terry, 'John Merbecke (1523 ? – 1585)', 76.

[4] E. H. Fellowes, *The Office of the Holy Communion As Set by John Merbecke* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 7. Roger Merbecke (1535-1605) was a provost of Oriel College, Oxford (1564-66) and a chief physician to Elizabeth I.

[5] J. D. Bergsagel, 'The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses', *Music and Letters* 44 (1963), 247; R. A. Leaver, 'Marbeck', in *The New Grove*

There is no solid evidence of Merbecke's birthplace and his family background.[6] The only clue to suggest Merbecke's early period is found in the preface to his *Concordance,* published in 1550.[7] From his statement in the preface, it seems that Merbecke had been educated as one of the choristers at St George's Chapel, Windsor: 'altogether brought-up in your highness' College at Windsor, in the study of Music and playing on Organs...'[8] The earliest record of Merbecke appears in a Windsor inventory of 1 May, 1531: amongst the items listed in the custody of the Treasurer to the minor canons is 'one sylver spone wrytyn theron John Merbecke'.[9] The extant earliest reference to him as a clerk of St George's Chapel and an organist is found in the accounts for 1541-1542. According to the documents, Skylhorne, one of the vicars, was supervisor of the

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*Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2nd ed., 2001), 15: 805-6. See also my article, 'Marbeck', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik.* ed. L. Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2nd ed., 1994 - ), Personenteil, 11 (2004): 1032-34.

[6] It has been suggested that Merbecke was probably born in Beverley, Yorkshire, and may have trained as a chorister of the minster there. During the period of 1531-2 the chapter paid Merbecke a gratuity of 4s in return for his donating musical compositions, which suggests his earlier connections with the church before moving to St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. For more, see D. Mateer, 'John Marbeck', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with The British Academy from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000.* eds. B. Harrison & H. C. G. Matthew. 61 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 36: 596-97.

[7] For the full title of this *Concordance*, see Bibliography.

[8] J. Merbecke, *A Concordance*, Fol. a.ij. recto.

[9] J. N. Dalton, ed. *The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel.* Historical Monographs 11 (Windsor: Oxley, 1957), 68-9. Rimbault notes that Merbecke became a chorister of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1531, from a MS. in the college at Winchester. But Rimbault does not give any concrete information on the manuscript source. Rimbault, ed. *The Book of Common Prayer with Musical Notes*, iii.

choristers; John Hake was master of the choristers, and Merbecke was paid for playing the organ.[10]

One of the most dramatic events in Merbecke's life is recorded in the preface of the *Concordance* and also John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (hereafter, *A&M*).[11] Under the Six Articles of 1539, Merbecke was arrested along with three others for heresy on 16 March in 1543. The Six Articles, unofficially referred by contemporary Protestants as 'the bloody whip with six strings', was passed in 1539 to protect traditional Catholic practices: the doctrine of transubstantiation, communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, monastic vows, private Masses and auricular confession.[12] Merbecke was accused of a document against the Mass, a copy of Calvin's letter, *De fugiendis impiorum illicitis sacris, et puritate Christianae religionis observanda.*[13] In addition to this copy of the letter, a

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[10] Dalton, ed. *The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel*, 3. It is not certain when Merbecke was appointed an organist; but he must have been one of the 'singing men' before holding the post, in accordance with contemporary custom. On the position of singing-men during early sixteenth century, Woodley notes that singing-men were essentially regarded as professionals not requiring instruction from the master of the choristers in the same way as the boys. R. Woodley, *John Tucke, A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 23.

[11] This book is more famous as *Acts and Monuments of the English Martyrs* (1563). For its most famous modern edition, see J. Pratt, ed. *The Actes and Monuments of John Foxe* (London: Seeley, 1853-70).

[12] The Act that was highly unpopular with those of Protestant sympathies remained in force until Henry VIII's death in 1547. For further see G. Bray, ed. *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: J. Clarke, 1994), 222-32.

[13] This letter was published in 1537 in Basle. According to *A&M* (1570: 1394), around 1538 when copying out the *Matthew Bible*, Merbecke also copied John Calvin's letter for a priest named Marshall, and Merbecke asked for it to be returned for studying: 'That the holy mass when the priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, from the which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee.

manuscript concordance of the English Bible which he had compiled and three notebooks to show his enthusiasm for 'new learning' were confiscated and destroyed during the trial.[14]

The trial of the Windsor heretics under the Six Articles of 1539 is generally regarded as one of the most serious heresy hunts under Henry VIII.[15] It led to the burning of Testwood, Filmer, and Peerson, and the narrow escape of Merbecke. In the first edition of *A&M* of 1559 in Latin (and its English version of 1563), Foxe gives wrong information that Merbecke died in the flames, alongside three other men. The account of the Windsor trial was to a great degree extended and corrected in the revised edition of *A&M* (1570). In this revised edition, Foxe states that it was 'received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive, both a present witness, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testify to the truth thereof'.[16] The *A&M* of 1570 and the preface of the

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And the elevation of the Sacrament is the similitude of the setting up of Images of the calves in the temple builded by Jeroboam: and that it is more abomination than the Sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is that Christ himself is made in this Mass, men's laughing stock'. Quoted in Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 31 [Foxe, *A&M* (1570), 1396].

[14] Generally, 'the new learning' in England is regarded as the flowering of humanism at Cambridge and elsewhere. It is also suggested that this term was used in the 1530s to refer to the ideas of early Protestantism. For further, see McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*, 50.

[15] It occurred after the appointment of Dr. London as a canon of Windsor on the recommendation of the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, the leader of the Conservatives. J. F. Davis, *Heresy and Reformation in the South-East of England, 1520-1559* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983); G. E. Duffield, 'Religion at Windsor', in *The Booke of Common Praier Noted.* Courtenay Facsimile 3. ed. R. A. Leaver (Oxford: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1980): 217-25.

[16] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), 1399.

*Concordance* state that Merbecke narrowly escaped death by a royal pardon whilst the rest were burnt at the stake for their Protestant beliefs. After the pardon on 4 October 1543, Merbecke returned to his position as organist at St George's Chapel in Windsor.

**1547 - 1553**

During the last years of Henry VIII, the leadership of the English church had been divided into two: the 'conservatives' led by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the 'reformers' by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. When Henry VIII died in 1547, the Church of England still remained conservative in doctrine and practice. With the accession of Edward VI in 1547, a series of religious reforms had been carried out under Edward Seymour's Protectorate. The Six Articles of 1539, which created a crisis for the English Protestants under the reign of Henry VIII, were repealed in the first Parliament of the Edwardian reign in 1547. In the same year, the Acts for Dissolving the chantries were also passed in parliament. This brought the suppression of approximately 2300 chantries; there were several exceptions granted under the Act, and amongst these were the chantries of St George's Chapel, Windsor.[17]

Most of all, Seymour (later Duke of Somerset) allowed an unprecedented degree of tolerance in freedom of speech and publication. Consequently, the accession of Edward VI was followed immediately by an explosion of literary

[17] For further, see P. Williams, *The Late Tudors, 1547-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

activity. It is in this context that in the year 1550 Merbecke's two pioneering works were issued by Richard Grafton, one of the royal printers: *The Booke of Common Praier Noted* (*BCPN*), a musical setting of the English liturgy; and the first concordance of the whole English Bible, dedicated to Edward VI. [18] Merbecke's reputation primarily relies on *BCPN*; his *Concordance* is of importance in relation to the history of Tudor vernacular literature. Particularly, the *Concordance* is noteworthy in terms of Merbecke's religious and intellectual concern and development during 1530s and 1540s. As shall be seen, Merbecke's outlooks reflected in these two publications of 1550 were in line with the Protestant humanists such as John Check who played a key role in Edwardian Reformation.

It had once been assumed that a doctoral degree in music was awarded to Merbecke in 1550 at the University of Oxford.[19] According to a late seventeenth-century document, Merbecke supplicated for a degree in 1549 at the University of Oxford.[20] A recent study of music at the University has however suggested that

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[18] Richard Grafton was appointed printer to the King in 1547. Henry VIII had granted the first patent monopoly to Grafton and Whitchchurch for the printing of service books. For further see D. Loades, *Politics, Censorship, The English Reformation* (London: Pinter, 1991), esp. Ch. 10. 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558'.

[19] See J. Caldwell, 'Music in the Faculty of Arts', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3: *The Collegiate University*. ed. J. McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 207.

[20] 'John Merbecke, or Marbeck, Organist of St George's Chapel at Windsor, did supplicate for the degree of Bachelor of Music, but whether he was admitted it appears not, because the admissions in all faculties are for several years omitted.' A. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses. An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford...*, ed. P. Bliss. 2 vols. (London: T. Bennet, 1691-2), 1: col. 130.

there is no positive evidence to support the awarding of Merbecke's doctoral degree of music in the surviving registers of the university archives.[21]

A series of Edwardian liturgical reforms and subsequent policies concerning the musical practice of the traditional Catholic ceremonies led to a reduction of the number of choristers and musicians. During this period, organ music was banned at cathedral and collegiate churches including St George's Chapel, Windsor.[22] But Merbecke and his co-organist George Thaxton were still paid for their posts; one of the 1550 royal injunctions for St George's Chapel, dated 26 October, directs that

> Whereas we understand that John Merbecke and George Thaxton hath of your grant fees appointed them severally for playing upon organs, we take order, that the said John and George shall enjoy their several fees during their lives if they continue in that College in as large and ample a manner as if organ playing had still continued in the church.[23]

In a petition of 1547 presented to Edward VI's commissioners by the minor canons and clerks, Merbecke's name heads the list of 14 clerks and his co-organist Thaxton is in the third place, and Hake is in the fifth. It indicates that at that period Merbecke was the master of choristers and senior organist, a dual role which was customary at contemporary cathedral and collegiate churches.[24] This appointment appears to have continued throughout the Edwardian reign and

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[21] S. Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[22] W. H. Frere & W. M. Kennedy, eds. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*. Alcuin Club Collections 14-16. 3 vols. (London: Longmans, 1910), 2: 200, 225. Hereafter, this book is noted *VAI*.

[23] *VAI*, 2: 258.

[24] Dalton, ed. *The Manuscripts of St George's Chapel*, 3. Cf. *VAI*, 2: 96, 320.

occasionally thereafter. If so, Merbecke must have lived within the Castle wall from 1551. A royal injunction of 1550 issued for St George's Chapel directs that

> . . . in the beginning of next March the Dean and Chapter shall cause partitions to be made in the petit-canons' common hall, parlour, buttery, kitchen, etc., and one lodging to be made at the College's charge, in one end for the schoolmaster of grammar, and in the other end at the College's charge another lodging for the schoolmaster of music: so as all the room may be by the discretion of the Dean and Chapter parted betwixt and said two schoolmasters.[25]

In addition to this, in 1552 Merbecke gained extra benefits: the presentation of the benefice of Tintagel was reverted to him.[26] As will be discussed further in the final section of this chapter, it was in the Edwardian reign that Merbecke's life could enter into a better phase generally. Most important of all, his outlooks and ideals were embodied in perfect accordance with the Edwardian reformation; he was indeed 'a man newly revived in spirit'.[27]

## 1553 - 1558

The first Parliament of the Marian regime (1553-1558) passed the First Statute of Repeal to restore Roman Catholicism. A statute enacted from 20 December 1553 directs that 'no other kind nor order of divine service nor administration of the sacraments [than the Catholic liturgy of the last year of Henry VIII's reign]

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[25] *VAI*, 2: 261.

[26] Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 36.

[27] Merbecke, *A Concordance*, fol. a. iij. recto.

be...used or ministered in any manner, form, or degree'.[28] Under this retroversion to the old religion, St George's Chapel, Windsor, set out to restore the traditional practices and ceremonies. One of the most urgent tasks in the restoration of the traditional music practice was reconstructing the organ. Of extant relevant archives, the account of the precentor during the period of 1553-54 states that payment was made 'to the maker of the organs' as well as to the repairer of both the main organ and 'the lesser organs called portatives'.[29]

In the records of 'ornaments purchased' for the restoration during the period from 1555 to 1558 Merbecke's name appears twice. According to the records, Merbecke was paid for his labours in repairing choir books and in making a book of collects used for the pre-Reformation liturgy:

> Et in denariis solutis Johanni Marbeke clerico per decretum decani et capituli pro emendacione librorum in choro pro festis Sancti Thome Martiris, visitacione beati Marie virginis, transfiguracionis Domini, et festo nominis Jeshu et alius ut patet per billam suam pro diuersis laboribus hereriis [sic] de capis. . . [30]
>
> Et solutum magistro Marbecke pro confectione libri collectarii ex iussu magistro Sommer. . . [31]

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[28] Mary, *Statute* 2, c. 2.

[29] Leaver, *The Work of John Marbeck*, 37.

[30] 'And in pence paid to John Marbeck clerk by order of the Dean and Chapter for correcting the choir books for the feasts of Saint Thomas the Martyr, the visitation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the transfiguration of the Lord, and the feast of the name of Jesus and for other things as appears by his bill for various (?). . .' This is included in the record of purchases during 1555-56. M. F. Bond, ed.& trans. *The Inventories of St George's Chapel Windsor Castle 1384-1667*. Historical Monographs 7 (Windsor: Oxley, 1947), 230-31.

[31] 'And paid to master Marbecke for making the Collect book by order of master Sommer . . .' Ibid., 234-35. This is included in the record of purchases during 1557-58.

These records are evidence of Merbecke's involvement as a leading musician of the Royal Free Chapel in this restoration process of the traditional ceremonies. Also, they provide an important clue to Merbecke's career as a copyist which has seldom been considered in existing studies, which we shall discuss in the last section of this chapter.

It remains a mystery in Leaver's study that Merbecke survived during the Marian reign despite his strong Protestant tendency. With regard to this, it is essential to detect the interpretation of the English Reformation underlying Leaver's study. In reconstructing a religious biography of Merbecke, Leaver entirely relies upon Foxe's *A&M* as an evidential document.[32] *A&M* presents the impact of religious revolution upon ordinary people in England during the mid-sixteenth century, using the trials of heretics as evidence for the spread of Protestant belief. This theme of *A&M* is the basis of Dickens' interpretation of the Reformation that had been most influential up to the mid 1980s.[33] Dickens argues that the new religion spread rapidly; through scripture reading, many among the laity converted. Drawing upon this version of the Reformation, Leaver focuses on Merbecke's enthusiasm for biblical study.[34]

[32] On Foxe's *A&M*, see J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London: SPCK, 1940) and V. N.Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (London: University of California Press, 1973). For more recent important argument, see P. Collinson, 'Truth and Legend: the Veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs', in *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands*. eds. A. C. Duke & C. A. Tamse (Zutphen: De Walburg, 1985) and D. Loades, ed. *John Foxe and the English Reformation*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997).

[33] Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 11; A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: Batsford, 1964).

[34] Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 66-67.

In the light of the recent historiography of the English Reformation by revisionists, however, one can consider Merbecke's biography in a different way. Revisionists are agreed that there were heretics in the 1520s and more in the 1530s when the vernacular Bible was legally accessible to the laity; but they simultaneously maintain that those heretics formed a minority just consisting of literate townsmen.[35] A strong degree of continuity in the persistence of traditional belief and the resistance to the new religion has been demonstrated by the revisionist studies over the last two decades. They have argued against the notion of successful Protestantisation during the Henrician and Edwardian reigns, stressing the successful rehabilitation of Marian Catholicism.[36] Such conservative features of the English church are readily observed in terms of the liturgical and musical context of the English Reformation, which will be discussed intensively in chapter III.

According to the revisionist view which has gained wide acceptance in recent scholarship, Leaver's portrayal of Merbecke as a convinced Protestant is typical

[35] For key revisionist studies of the English Reformation, see C. Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', *Historical Journal*, 25 (1982): 995-1007; Idem, 'Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985): 394-406; Idem, *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Idem, 'The English Reformation', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1990): 449-59; Idem, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); A. Pettegree, 'Re-writing the English Reformation', *Nederlands Archief voor Kierkgeschiedenis*, 72 (1992): 37-9; D. MacCulloch, 'New Spotlights on the English Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994): 319-24; S. Wabuda, 'Revising the Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 35 (1996): 257-62.

[36] Haigh, ed. *The English Reformation Revised*, 176-215.

of the so called 'Foxe-Dickens approach'.[37] What is intriguing in relation to the revisionist interpretation is Merbecke's desperate defence to escape death at the 1543 trial and his participation in the restoration of traditional practices.[38] One may take this as indicative of the inconsistency between his 'private faith' and 'public conformity'.[39] That is, Merbecke's case could be regarded as evidence of the religious conflict that faced English Protestants particularly in the 1540s and 1550s, often discussed in relation to the notion of 'Nicodemism'.[40]

The persecution of the Marian reign resulted in strong antipathy to all aspects of traditional Catholic practices and to firm belief in the Pope in the next generation of English Protestants.[41] This is evident in Merbecke's writings published during the Elizabethan reign. In the *Examples drawen out of holy Scripture*, published in 1582, for instance, Merbecke notes that 'wholly soon (after the death of that noble Prince and his godly son) did we cast up our Cards,

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[37] In his introduction, Haigh refers to Dickens' *The English Reformation* as 'a highly sophisticated exposition' of *A&M*. Haigh, ed. *The English Reformation Revised*, 1-2.

[38] The first English edition of *A&M* (1563) records that 'Peerson, Testwood and Marbeck constantly and stoutly suffered martyrdom in the fire, the 28th day of July, 1543'. For the account of Merbecke in *A&M* (1563 & 1570), see Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 174-226.

[39] S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 5.

[40] The history and nature of *Nicodemism* after Nicodemus (the Pharisee who visited Jesus secretly at night) is a subject of controversy and confusion amongst scholars. Calvin himself was never fully satisfied with the term and stopped using it as an automatic label for religious dissemblers by 1562. Nevertheless, the name *Nicodemite* became widely accepted as a proper epithet for dissemblers and was adopted by historians to describe the phenomenon of religious assimilation in the sixteenth century. C. M. N. Eire, 'Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal', *SCJ*, 10 (1979): 45-69. For *Nicodemism* in England, see A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 86-117.

[41] W. J. Sheils, *The English Reformation 1530-1570* (London: Longman, 1989), 48.

and run to our old slavery of Idol serving under the Antichrist of Rome again'.[42] Judging from the anti-Catholic sentiment in his writings, scholars often refer to Merbecke as a Calvinist. They emphasise that Merbecke had been entirely devoted to theological studies and abandoned music composition after his conversion.[43] As we shall see, however, several points need to be clarified with regard to this.

In considering the popular account of Merbecke, it is essential to be aware of a subtle difference between Calvin and Calvinism. Because the portrayal of the Calvinist Merbecke is grounded in a popular image of Calvin, it is confused with the systematic cast and logical rigour of 'orthodox' Calvinists in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An example of this is Calvin's attitude towards music. As will be seen in the next chapter, Calvin's musical thought is in accordance with those of contemporary humanists whose basic principle lies in the unity of music and word. Yet without a proper examination of Calvin's own musical outlook as well as Merbecke's, it is often noted that Calvin banned the use of music at the service and so did Merbecke.[44]

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[42] J. Merbecke, *Examples drawen out of holy Scripture, with their Applications following. And therewithall a briefe Conference betweene the Pope and his Secretarie* (London: T. East, 1582), fol. 64. verso.

[43] Terry, 'John Merbecke (1523?-1585)', 69-70. Leaver also notes that '*BCPN*, so far as is known, marks the end of Marbeck's activity as a composer. For the following thirty five years he devoted himself principally to acquiring a sound understanding of Reformed theology'. Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 60.

[44] Four polyphonic works by Merbecke survive in several manuscript sources: a mass (Forrest-Heyther partbooks); two motets, *Ave Dei patris filia* (Peterhouse partbooks) and *Domine Jesu Christe* (John Sadler's partbook); and an anthem *A virgin and mother* (John Baldwin's commonplace book). Merbecke's polyphonic works are reprinted in the 10th

As evidence of this assertion, scholars have quoted, without exception, the famous passage in the preface of the 1550 *Concordance*: '. . . in the study of Music and playing on Organs, wherein I consumed vainly the greatest part of my life...'[45] In interpreting this passage, however, the cultural and intellectual milieu of 1540s England is not seriously considered. It is true that Merbecke was heavily influenced by the Reformed theologians including Calvin, which is so characteristic of English Protestantism from the 1540s onwards. As will be discussed in chapter III, the above passage illustrates the Edwardian Protestant humanists' attitudes to music. Their basic approach to music is moral rather than technical, which was however by no means a rejection of music in both church and private life. As will be discussed, throughout his professional life Merbecke had been involved in the musical practice of St George's Chapel in various ways; and some of his extant polyphonic music appears to have been written later than the 1550s.[46]

**1559 – c. 1585**

The religious settlement of the Elizabethan regime, based on Protestant lines, began with the Act of Supremacy and Uniformity which was passed in April, 1559. As a result, a vernacular liturgy based on the 1552 Prayer Book was

volume of *Tudor Church Music*, ed. E. H. Fellowes et al. (London: Oxford University Press, 1923-29).

[45] Merbecke, *A Concordance*, Fol. a.ij. recto.

[46] J. Blezzard, 'Merbecke', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. ed. S. Sadie. 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 12: 168-70.

enforced.[47] It was the Reformed theology that had been the main 'theological' trend of Oxford and Cambridge during the Elizabethan period; yet the general 'liturgical' and 'musical' feature of the cathedral and collegiate churches was still 'popish'. Le Huray points out that although certain 'small changes' were made immediately to services in the Chapel Royal – such as the substitution of an English Litany for the procession, by and large 'the Latin services remained as they had been during the Marian reaction'.[48] As an example, the Latin translation of the Prayer Book, the *Liber Precum Publicarum* (1560) had been used in the universities. It was condemned by some Protestant reformers as 'the Pope's dregs'.[49]

In his social and cultural history of English church music during the reign of Elizabeth I, Monson demonstrates that whilst metrical Psalters had been adopted by many parish churches in London, music performances in the Chapel Royal, St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey and St George's Chapel, Windsor, were conservative in style.[50] Such ritual and musical conservatism in the Elizabethan cathedral and collegiate churches is still present in the early 1570s.[51] According to *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572), a representative writing of Elizabethan

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[47] For the impact of Protestantism on Elizabethan England, see P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I,* Haigh, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1984), esp. 176-94.

[48] P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549 -1660.* Studies in Church Music (London: H. Jenkins, 1967), 31.

[49] H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 146.

[50] C. Monson, 'Elizabethan London', in *Man and Music: Renaissance from the 1470s to the end of the 16th Century.* ed. I. Fenlon (London: Macmillan, 1989), 315-17.

[51] E. H. Fellowes, *Organsts and Masters of the Choristers of St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle.* Historical Monographs 3 (Windsor: Oxley, 1939), 14.

Puritanism against the established Church, England was still far from having a 'Church rightly reformed according to the prescripts of God's word'. This book presents a list of the popish abuses that remained, including the Prayer Book, 'culled and picked out of that popish dunghill, the Mass book'.[52]

In this liturgical and musical context, Merbecke was engaged in the musical practice of St George's Chapel for the first two decades of the Elizabethan reign. The accounts of the years 1558-59 in the Windsor records note that Merbecke had been paid as both clerk and organist. In the following years 1559-60, Merbecke was master of the twelve boys (while he was paid as master of the choristers and Preston as instructor of them, and most of all, new Regals were bought for him to play).[53] The next extant accounts to mention Merbecke's appointment indicate that he was a clerk and organist throughout the 1560s. He acted as organist jointly at various times with George Thaxton, Preston, Richard Farrant and Robert Golder, and in 1565 Farrant replaced Merbecke as master of the choristers.[54]

Merbecke's name heads the list of clerks for the last time in 1571 when conflicts between papists and reformers, moderates and radicals began to be more serious.[55] Wridgway assumes that in company with other members of St George's, Merbecke was involved with the training of the choristers as late as

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[52] Sheils, *The English Reformation*, 66.

[53] N. Wridgway, *The Choristers of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* (Slough: Chas. Luff, 1980), 23-5; S. Campbell & W. L. Sumner, 'The Organs and Organists of St. George's Chapel', *The Organ*, 45 (1966), 155.

[54] Fellowes, *Organists and Masters*, x -23; See also W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 341-43.

[55] *A&M* (1570), 1399.

1576.[56] After his retirement his written works had been issued by various printers.[57] Merbecke's literary work marks his uniqueness in the history of English music. As noted earlier, the anti-Catholic and Calvinistic tendency in his writings has invariably been taken as evidence of his indifference to music after the conversion. Alongside his scholarly discipline, as will be seen in the last section of this chapter, however, Merbecke had devoted himself to his musical duty during most of his career from Henry VIII to the early Elizabethan period. The date of Merbecke's death is unknown; but it is generally estimated that he died around the year 1585 when the Dean and Canons were prompted to make a new appointment, which was given to Nathaniel Giles.[58]

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[56] Wridgway, *The Choristers of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 31.

[57] See Bibliography, 330.

[58] Wridgway, *The Choristers of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 31.

# 2. Christian Humanism

> Please explain to her [Lady Anna van Borssele] how much greater is the glory she can acquire from me, by my literary works, than from the other theologians in her patronage. They merely deliver humdrum sermons; I am writing books that may last forever. Their uneducated nonsense finds an audience in perhaps a couple of churches; my books will be read all over the world, in the Latin west and in the Greek east and by every nation (Erasmus to Jacob Batt, December, 1500).[59]

## Definitions and Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*

Both terms, 'Renaissance' and 'humanism', have given rise to constant controversy and disagreement amongst scholars. Let us consider briefly the term 'Renaissance' first.[60] In *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897) used the French term to designate the literary and artistic

* In this thesis, 'the patristic writers' and 'the church fathers', 'the Scripture' and 'the Bible' ('the scriptural' and 'the biblical') are interchangeable.

[59] *CWE*, 1: 301-2.

[60] This term was coined by J. Michelet in his *Histoire de France* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1855). In a broad sense it is often used for denoting an era of discovery and change, based on the revival of a 'golden age' of the past. The revival of the classics is not the major characteristic of Renaissance humanism alone. A famous medievalist Haskins argued, for instance, that the term Renaissance, in the sense of the emergence of high culture, was an obvious characteristic of the twelfth century which saw enthusiasm for classical Latin literature and this cultural renewal was the direct ancestor of all subsequent European civilization. C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927).

revival in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[61] In terms of the diffusion of the Italian Renaissance to the rest of Europe, the Burckhardtian concept of the Renaissance is valid in current scholarship; but it does not mean that as an international movement, the Renaissance was homogenous.[62]

As to the term 'humanism', in 1808 F. J. Niethammer, a German educator, coined the term humanism (*humanismus*) to designate a pedagogical framework focused particularly on Greek and Latin classics.[63] Contemporary historians such as J. Michelet and G. Voigt applied it to the period of the Renaissance which saw the revival of classical learning.[64] After the 1860 monumental publication of Burckhardt that established the traditional modern interpretation of the

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[61] J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. by S.G.C. Middlemore, with new introduction by P. Burke and note by P. Murray (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

[62] As P. Burke notes, 'the reception of the Italian Renaissance abroad is a proper subject for comparative history, provided the historians attend to differences as well as similarities and discriminates between regions and media'. P. Burke, 'The Use of Italy', in *The Renaissance in National Context*, eds. R. Porter & M.Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9. For the recent historiography of the Renaissance, see B. Thompson, *Humanists and Reformers: A History of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. Eerdmans, 1996), esp. Ch. 2.

[63] It is beyond the scope of this section to discuss the vast and varied range of perspectives related to the terms humanism. In the modern sense, it has been widely and rather vaguely used to indicate any kind of human values, usually conveying anti-religious or atheistic overtones. For instance, A. Hobson & N. Jenkins, *Modern Humanism: Living Without Religion* (London: Adelphi, 2nd ed., 1994).

[64] For general surveys of Renaissance humanist scholarship, see P. Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London: E. Arnold, 1969); D. Kelly, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Texts; The Tradition of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); L. D. Reynolds & N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd ed., 1991).

Renaissance, the study of humanism became a recognized academic enterprise; it was viewed as the new philosophy of the Renaissance; the discovery of human values – individualism, secularism, moral autonomy, and so on.[65]

The Burckhardtian interpretation of the Renaissance as essentially secular in culture and spirit had been suspected since the mid-twentieth century. In his study *Renaissance Thought* (1961), Paul Kristeller (1905-1999) challenged the existing ideological and philosophical interpretation of Renaissance humanism. According to him, although Renaissance humanism had important philosophical implications and consequences, it was not a philosophy but a cultural and educational movement; it pursued the improvement of society by reasserting the value of the *studia humanitatis*, a cluster of five subjects - grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy.[66] In this view, Kristeller stresses the multi-faceted characteristic of the religious, philosophical, and political ideas of the humanists; that is, no single idea dominated the movement:

> Renaissance humanism as a whole can not be identified with a particular set of opinions or convictions, but is rather characterized by a cultural ideal and a range

[65] W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston: H. Mifflin, 1948). For a summary of the representative definitions of the humanism, see D. Weinstein, 'In whose Image and Likeness? Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism', *JHI*, 33 (1972): 165-76; C. G. Nauert, Jr., 'Renaissance Humanism: An Emergent Consensus and Its Critics', *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, 33 (1980): 5-20. Fore a more recent study, see N. Mann, 'The Origins of Humanism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. J. Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 1-19.

[66] P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: the Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961; rpt., 1990), 22. Borrowed from ancient Latin authors such as Cicero, thus, the *studia humanitatis* had came to indicate a specific educational programme by the first half of the fifteenth century. Ibid., 9-10, 20.

of scholarly, literary, and intellectual interests that the individual humanist was able to combine with a variety of professional, philosophical, or theological conviction.[67]

Kristeller endorses the core of Burckhardt's view that 'a number of important cultural developments of the Renaissance originated in Italy and spread to the rest of Europe through Italian influence'.[68] Whilst Burckhardt envisaged the Renaissance as 'a new civilization' based on classical antiquity in discontinuity with medieval period, however, Kristeller does not dismiss the medieval influence on the rise of Renaissance humanism:

> One was the formal rhetoric or *ars dictaminis* which had flourished in medieval Italy as a technique of composing letters, documents, and public orations, and as a training for the class of chancellors and secretaries who composed such letters and documents for popes, emperors, bishops, princes, and city republics. The second medieval influence on Renaissance humanism was the study of Latin grammar as it had been cultivated in the medieval schools, and especially in the French schools, where this study had been combined with the reading of classical Latin poets and prose writers. This influence was felt in Italy towards the very end of the thirteenth century, when the study and imitation of classical Latin authors came to be considered as the prerequisite for the elegant composition of those letters and speeches which the professional rhetorician was supposed to write. . .[69]

The key point of Kristeller's view lies in the emphasis that Renaissance humanism was essentially a rhetorical movement, inspired by classical eloquence. That is,

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[67] P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 40.

[68] Ibid., 3.

[69] Ibid., 4.

the purpose of humanist classical learning, first and foremost, concerned the promotion of eloquence in its various forms. Gray successfully demonstrates the preoccupation with eloquence as the identifying characteristic of Renaissance humanism.[70]

The core of Kristeller's definition, thus, as put succinctly by McGrath, lies in that 'the diversity of ideas which is so characteristic of Renaissance humanism is based upon a general consensus concerning *how to derive and express those ideas*'.[71] A representative example of the humanist stylistic imitation of classical eloquence is Cicero, whose treatises were standard textbooks for humanist learning.[72] Indeed, *ad fontes* - back to the sources - became the slogan of humanistic intellectualism across Europe whose central emphasis was on *bonae litterae* - written and spoken eloquence. The promotion of eloquence did not mean just to be an expert in rhetoric; encyclopedic knowledge, virtue, and wisdom were main factors in pursuing *true* eloquence.[73]

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[70] H. H. Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence', *JHI*, 24 (1963): 497-514, rpt. in *Renaissance Essays from the Journal of the History of Ideas*, eds. Kristeller et al. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968): 199-216. See also J. Monfasani, 'Humanism and Rhetoric', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. A. Rabil, Jr., 3vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 3: 177. Monfasani notes that humanists were more than rhetoricians.

[71] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 44. For further on this issue, see G. M. Logan, 'Substance and Form in Renaissance Humanism', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 7 (1977): 1-34.

[72] G. A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); E. Grassi, *Rhetoric as Philosophy: The Humanist Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980).

[73] Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence', 200-204.

Kristeller's philological approach, though regarded as a narrow definition by some scholars, marked a turning point in the historiography of Renaissance humanism.[74] Kristeller emphasised particularly the need for more research 'on the religious ideas of the humanists and also on their Biblical, patristic, and historical scholarship as it affected the theology of the Reformation period and finally on the humanist background of the sixteenth-century theologians'.[75] Trinkaus' cultural-historical approach to Renaissance humanism contributed to filling this gap, by demonstrating the Italian humanists' concerns for biblical scholarship and various religious matters.[76] As McGrath notes, Renaissance

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[74] P. Burke, 'The Spread of Italian Humanism', in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, eds. A. Goodman & A. MacKay (London: Longman, 1990), 1-2. Although following Kristeller's view that humanism was not a philosophy, Nauert argues that Kristeller defines both philosophy and humanism very narrowly so that he fails to explain why humanism has been so important both to contemporaries and later historians. See C. G. Nauert, Jr., *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 9-12.

[75] P. O. Kristeller, 'Studies on Renaissance Humanism during the Last Twenty Years', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962): 7-30, at 20.

[76] C. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Renaissance Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970). Trinkaus' cultural-historical definition is taken in in the writings of A. Buck, E. Garin, E. Kessler and others. See also M. W. Anderson, 'Biblical Humanism and Roman Catholic Reform (1501-42): Contarini, Pole, and Giberti', *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 39 (1968): 686-707. A key musicologist working on humanist musical thought, Harrán notes: 'where Kristeller distinguished between humanism as a revival of classical studies and philosophy as a controlled exposition of one or more systems of thought, Trinkaus encompassed both of them in his conception of humanism as a general stream of thought – he recognised two kinds of humanists (philologists, philosophers) and the extended impact of their activities'. Harrán's study is based on Trinkaus' definition of the Renaissance humanism, see D. Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*. MSD 40 (Hänssler-Verlag: AIM, 1986), xv- xviii.

humanism concerned the 'renewal rather than the abolition of the Christian church'.[77] Such humanist activities committed to biblical and theological matters and ecclesiastical reform were climaxed in northern European countries. In what follows, we shall focus on one particular current within Renaissance humanism, often labelled 'Christian humanism' (or 'Biblical humanism').[78]

## Erasmus' Christian Humanism[79]

The connection between humanistic learning (*studia humanitatis*) and desire for religious renewal is first identified within early fifteenth-century Italian humanism.[80] The Italian humanists such as Francesco Petrarch (d.1374),

[77] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 39.

[78] Kristeller envisages it as a small sector of Renaissance humanism, Kristeller, 'Studies on Renaissance Humanism During the Last Twenty Years', 20. For important studies of the relation of humanism and Christian thought, see Q. Breen, *Christianity and Humanism.* Studies in the History of Ideas. ed. N. P. Ross (Grand Rapids, MI: W. Eerdmans, 1968); H. A. Oberman & C. Trinkaus, eds. *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); W. J. Bouwsma, 'The Two Faces of Humanism: Stoicism and Augustinianism', *Itinerarium Italicum*: *The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of Its European Transformations*, eds. H. A. Oberman & T. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975): 3-60; P. O. Kristeller, 'Augustine and the Early Renaissance', *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*. 2vols. (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956-85), 1: 355-72; Idem, 'Humanism and Scholasticism in the Renaissance', Ibid., 553-83, rpt., in *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. M. Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979): 85-105.

[79] In this thesis, Erasmian humanism and Erasmus' Christian humanism (or Biblical humanism) are interchangeable.

[80] Kristeller stresses the fact that the form and content of Erasmus's Christian humanism had its counterpart in many of the fifteenth - century Italian humanists. P. O. Kristeller, 'Erasmus

Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), and Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) contrived the union of classical, biblical and patristic scholarship as the intellectual basis for the corporate revival of the Christian church.[81] Most of all, they were assured of the superiority of rhetoric to dialectic as a theological method.[82] Petrarch adopted Ciceronian rhetoric for the re-orientation of a Christian pedagogy and promulgated a rhetorical and poetic theological framework based on Augustine.[83] This humanist theological programme was one step further developed by Valla in his preference of Quintilian to Cicero for the more systematic nature of Quintilian's critical, historical, cultural and linguistic insights.[84]

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from an Italian Perspective', *RQ*, 23 (1970): 1-14. For a pioneering study of 'Christian humanists', see D. Bush, *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939), esp. 54-57. For a traditional interpretation of Christian humanism, see A. Weilier, 'The Christian Humanism of the Renaissance and Scholasticism', *Concilium*, 27 (1967): 29-46. For more recent important study, see J. Olin, ed. *Christian Humanism and the Reformation: Selected Writings of Erasmus* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987).

[81] C. Trinkaus, *The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); B. L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Padua: Antenore, 1963); R. G. Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1983); G. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14 (1951): 137-208.

[82] A. Perreiah, 'Humanistic Critiques of Scholastic Dialectic', *SCJ*, 13 (1982): 3-22.

[83] C. Trinkaus, 'Italian Humanism and Scholastic Theology', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 329-30. See also J. E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism: The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom, Petrarch to Valla* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

[84] Trinkaus remarks that Valla was 'the strictest and fiercest defender of Christianity as it could be established by careful philological analysis of Scripture, and he was the most advanced and skilful literary and linguistic scholar among the humanists prior to Angelo Poliziano'. Trinkaus, 'Italian Humanism and Scholastic Theology', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 337.

The conventional dichotomy which regards Italian humanism as secular and northern European humanism as religious and 'Christian' has been avoided in recent scholarship.[85] It is however generally agreed that northern European humanism influenced the Reformation more directly than Italian humanism.[86] A central figure of northern European humanism, whose scholarship and religious ideas are of prime importance to the Reformation, is Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c.1467-1536).[87]

As discussed above, the form and content of Erasmus' religious and intellectual association in the pursuit of classical antiquity and primitive Christianity is not his own enterprise.[88] It will be clear that Valla's rhetorical

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[85] The diffusion of humanism beyond Italy began as early as the mid-1400s, and various aspects of the Italian impact on northern European humanism have been clear. P. O. Kristeller, 'The Impact of Early Italian Humanism on Thought and Learning', in *Developments in the Early Renaissance*, ed. B. S. Levy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972): 120-57.

[86] C. L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), xii. For the Italian reformers in a northern European context, see M. Taplin, *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church c. 1540-1620*. St Andrew Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

[87] For the standard modern edition of the works of Erasmus, see J. LeClerc (Clericus), ed. *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia* (LB). 10 vols. (Leiden: cura & impensis Petri VanderAa, 1703-6, rpt. London: Gregg Press, 1961-2). For guidance to this edition, see W. K. Ferguson, ed. *Erasmi Opuscula: A Supplement to the Opera Omnia* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1933). For the more recent and complete critical edition, see *Opera Omnia Des. Erasmi Roterdami* (ASD). 13 vols. (Amsterdam: North-Holland pub. co, 1969 - ). The English translation of Erasmus's works has been underway: *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974 - ).

[88] Modern Erasmus scholarship began with the publication of his letters by Allen from 1906 and with Huizinga's biography in 1924. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod, eds. *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. 12 vols. (Oxonii: Clarendon, 1906-58); J.

strategy for humanistic theology, with his application of philological and textual criticism to the Bible and early Christian documents, was essential to the formulating of Erasmus' Christian humanism. But the humanistic theologising based on linguistic and philological methods arrived at its destination in the Biblical and patristic scholarship of Erasmus.[89] As Rabil remarks, 'Erasmus succeeded beyond all others in combining the classical ideal of *humanitas* and the Christian ideal of *pietas*'.[90] More frequently and specifically, the term Christian

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Huizinga, *Erasmus* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1924), trans. by F. Hopmann (London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1924), rpt. *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation.* Harper Torchbooks TB 19 (New York: Harper, 1957). See also J. Huizinga, *Erasmus of Rotterdam.* Arts and letters (London: Phaidon Press, rev. 2nd ed., 1995). For the standard biography of Erasmus, see M. M. Philops, *Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance* (London: English Universities Press, 1949; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, Rev. ed., 1981). R. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (London: Collins, 1970); For more recent important biographical studies in English speaking scholarship, C. Augustijn, trans. by J. C. Grayson, *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); J. K. McConica, *Erasmus* (London: Oxford University Press, 1991); L. Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993). In 1524 Erasmus wrote a short autobiography, the *Compendium vitae* which was not known until its publication by a professor Paul Merula in Leyden in 1607. In 1540 a close friend of Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547) wrote a short biography of Erasmus. It was commissioned by the Froben firm in Basel as a preface to the nine-volume edition of Erasmus's complete works which the famous printing house published in 1538-1540.

[89] L. W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 197-236; Idem, 'Humanism in the Reformation', in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron.* eds. A. Molho & J. A. Tedeschi. (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971): 641-62. R. Peters, 'Erasmus and the Fathers: Their Practical Value', *Church History*, 36 (1967): 254-61. C. A. L. Jarrott, 'Erasmus' Biblical Humanism', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 17 (1970): 119-52. E. F. Rice, 'The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity: Lefèvre d'Étaples and His Circle', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962): 126-60.

[90] A. Rabil, Jr. 'Desiderius Erasmus', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 2: 216-64.

humanism has been used in reference to Erasmus and his 'philosophy of Christ' and to those humanists who were influenced by his humanistic religious thought.

As noted above, Valla had enormously influenced Erasmus from the early stage of his humanist learning in perspective and methods. In 1488 Erasmus published an abridgement of Valla's treatise, *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (*Elegances of the Latin Language*). This work, which arranged the words in alphabetical order for the convenience of readers, was Erasmus' first attempt at guidance for the acquirement of the necessary tools in mastering the classics. Erasmus' enthusiasm for learning, especially for the ancient Latin literature, was already growing while in the monastery. In one of his letters written in 1489, Erasmus says:

> My authorities in poetry are Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Persius, Lucan, Tibullus, and Propertius; in prose, Cicero, Quintilian, Sallust, Terence. Again, in the niceties of style I rely on Lorenzo Valla above all. He has no equal for intelligence and good memory. I must admit it. . . [91]

Concerning Valla's influence on Erasmus' thought in this period, scholars have suggested that both Erasmus' *On the Contempt of the World* composed in 1489 and *Antibarbarians* are directly indebted to Valla's *On Pleasure and Elegances*.[92]

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[91] *CWE*, 1: 31.

[92] For further on the *Antibarbarians*, see this Chapter, footnote 154. For an interpretation of Valla's *On Pleasure*, esp. see M. Lorch, 'Lorenzo Valla', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 1: 332-49. H. H. Gray, 'Valla's Ecnomium of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Humanist Conception of Christian Antiquity', in *Essays in History and Literature Presented by the Fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis*, ed. H. Bluhm (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1965): 37-51.

In his defence of Valla against his colleagues Erasmus accords the highest praise to Valla, 'who bestowed such intense industry, application, and exertion in combating the follies of the barbarians and rescuing literature from extinction when it was all but buried'.[93]

For the development of a rhetorical discourse and synthesis of theology, Erasmus follows Valla's realisation of the better suitability of Quintilian's rhetoric than Cicero's. Most influential on Erasmus was Valla's humanist textual criticism.[94] In 1504 Erasmus discovered Valla's notes on the Greek text of the New Testament. It was published in the next year, entitled *Annotations on the New Testament*.[95] This is a collection of grammatical and philological notes in which the Latin Vulgate text is collated with and corrected by the Greek manuscript. It stimulated Erasmus to emend the New Testament itself.[96]

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[93] *CWE*, 2: 48. Cf. C. Trinkaus, 'Antiquitas versus Modernitas: An Italian Humanist Polemic and Its Resonance', *JHI*, 48 (1987): 11-21.

[94] This method made it possible to identify spurious writings – e.g. the famous *Donation of Constantine* (a document allegedly drawn up by the emperor Constantine giving certain privileges to the western church), and paved the way for the access to Scripture in the original languages.

[95] In 1504 Erasmus discovered this manuscript which had languished in the archives of a local monastery near Louvain. For a modern English version, see C. B. Colman, ed. & trans. *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Renaissance Society of America, 1993). See also C. Celenza, 'Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament: Lorenzo Valla's Annotations to the New Testament', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994): 33-52.

[96] J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). See also A. Hamilton, 'Humanists and the Bible', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. J. Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 100-17.

Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum omne* was published in Basel in 1516, which is the first printed Greek New Testament and one of the most remarkable achievements of humanist biblical scholarship.[97] As a result, for the first time, it became possible to compare the original Greek text of the New Testament with the Vulgate Bible; the publication gave rise to much controversy and criticism.[98] Furthermore, Erasmus devoted himself to the production of reliable editions of patristic writings on the ground of humanist textual-critical methods; particularly, his edition of the works of Jerome is a superb achievement in the history of patristic scholarship.[99]

Like Valla, Erasmus applied two humanist techniques – philology and textual criticism – to patristic writings and the Bible, in order to facilitate his integration of humanist methods into a theological framework.[100] For Erasmus, this approach was imperative for 'the revival of a genuine science of theology' – a

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[97] The New Testament edition was revised and republished in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. Erasmus accompanied it with an emended Latin version.

[98] Especially Martin Dorp's criticism of Erasmus' audacity in altering the Vulgate, Erasmus' apologia, and Thomas More's defence of Erasmus are famous. For Erasmus' letter to Martin Dorp, see Olin, ed. *Christian Humanism and the Reformation*, 67-96.

[99] The medieval theologians had tended to quote very short extracts rather than give full and accurate editions. The humanist textual criticism played a key role in correcting the patristic writings and in detecting spurious patristic writings such as 'pseudo-Augustinian works'. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 55-7.

[100] For the intellectual development and the biblical scholarship, esp. see E. W. Kohls, *Die Theologie des Erasmus*. Theologische Zeitschrift. 2 vols. (Basel: Reinhart, 1966); A. Rabil, Jr., *Erasmus and the New Testament: The Mind of a Christian Humanist* (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press, 1972, rpt. Ann Arbor : U.M.I., 1990); J. D. Tracy, *Erasmus: The Growth of a Mind* (Genève: Droz, 1972); R. Peter, 'Erasmus and The Fathers', *Church History*, 36 (1967): 254-61.

prerequisite for authentic Christianity on the basis of the *philosophia Christi*.[101] In his *Ciceronianus* Erasmus wrote

> This is the purpose of studying the basic disciplines (the arts), of studying moral philosophy and of studying eloquence, to know Christ, to celebrate the glory of Christ, this is the goal of all learning and all eloquence.[102]

The significant contribution of Erasmus to contemporary culture is not just confined to the biblical and patristic studies based on their original languages. He was also a strong defender of the vernacular Bible and the vernacular biblical literature. In the *Paraclesis* (regarded as one of the representative statements of his Biblical humanism), Erasmus advocates translation of the Bible into the vernacular so that all people can read the Holy Scripture.[103] He adds that, for the illiterate, oral reading of the Bible and recitation of biblical stories should be encouraged for their understanding of the Scriptures. The often-quoted passage shows Erasmus' intention for lay reading of the Scripture:

> Would that, as a result, the farmer sing some portion of them at the plow, the weaver hum some parts of them to the movement of his shuttle, the traveller lighten the weriness of the journey with stories of this kind! Let all the

[101] *CWE*, 1: 139.

[102] For an English version of the *Ciceronianus*, see E. Rummel, ed. *The Erasmus Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 123-37. For the quotation, 136 [LB I 1026B].

[103] The *Paraclesis* (Greek, 'Exhortation') is the preface to Erasmus' Greek edition of the New Testament published in 1516. Here it is an exhortation to the Christian to study the Bible. This anonymous translation was first published in Antwerp in 1529 and entitled *An exhortation to the diligent study of scripture*. The *Paraclesis* inspired Tyndale to translate the New Testament (1525). For an English modern edition of Erasmus' *Paraclesis*, see Olin, ed. *Christian Humanism and the Reformation*, 97-108.

> conversations of every Christian be drawn from this source. For in general our daily conversations reveal what we are. . .[104]

The core of Erasmus' religious thought is summarised in his famous term *philosophia Christi*, first used in *Paraclesis*. What is meant by the philosophy of Christ is not an abstract system of philosophy but a form of practical morality in Christian life. That is, 'the restoration of human nature originally well formed' is possible only through the philosophy of Christ, based on 'what Christ taught' in the Scripture.[105] In this view, Erasmus denounces not only speculative scholastic theology, especially its dialectical method which had been disengaged from the valuable questions focused on 'the true Christian life' in neglecting what the Bible actually means, but also monasticism and the images and practices of the traditional church.

The philosophy of Christ is the main theme of *Enchiridion militis Christiani* ('Handbook of the Christian Knight'). This book was one of the most popular humanist works in Europe during the early sixteenth century; since its third printing in 1515 which witnessed the real impact of the work, it went through twenty-three editions in the next six years.[106] In the *Enchiridion* Erasmus argues

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[104] Olin, ed. *Christian Humanism and the Reformation*, 101.

[105] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 52; Olin, ed. *Christian Humanism and the Reformation*, 18.

[106] This book was written in 1501, and first published in 1504. It was published not only in the original Latin but also French, Spanish, Czech, and English. It was the first clear statement of an ideal which underlies everything Erasmus wrote about religion. The word 'enchiridion' literally means 'something held in the hand', and came to have two meanings: a weapon held in the hand or a book held in the hand. Cf. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 53, 306. For modern English editions, see *Enchiridion militis christiani* (New York: Da Capo Press,

that the core of true religion lies in internal spiritual experience, not in external observance of ceremonies, emphatically stressing the importance of daily devotional Christian life. For this, he exhorts the laity to read both the Bible and classics, which is the beginning of the true revival of learning and Christianity. In what follows, we shall specifically observe the reception of this Erasmian ideal in Tudor England.

## The Dissemination of Erasmian Humanism in Tudor England

The Tudor dynasty from Henry VII onwards had favoured the humanist movement.[107] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries England had an increasing number of foreign humanists, the majority of whom were Italian.[108] English scholars such as William Grocyn (c.1446-1519), Thomas Linacre (1460-1524) and John Colet (c.1467-1519) studied in Italy to imbibe the spirit of Italian humanism. During the reign of Henry VIII, Italian-educated humanists such as Richard Cox (1499-1581) and John Checke (1514-1557), who later played an important role in the Edwardian Reformation, were appointed for the education of

1969); A. M. O'Donnell, ed. *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[107] On English humanism, see R. Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 3rd ed., 1967); B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy, eds. *Humanism, Reform, and the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For a more recent study of English humanism, see J. Woolfson, ed. *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

[108] Cf. C. Carroll, 'Humanism and English Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Kraye, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, 246-68.

the royal family.[109] New colleges favourable to humanist studies had been founded at Cambridge and Oxford under royal patronage.[110] As generally agreed, humanism was indeed a dominant cultural and educational movement and an intellectual technique in sixteenth-century England.

As noted by Kristeller, Erasmus' biblical and patristic scholarship was 'an immense contribution to religious scholarship that exercised a great influence on later scholars and theologians both Protestant and Catholic'.[111] Among the European countries which saw numerous admirers of Erasmus, England was 'the land where the influence of Erasmus was paramount at his death'.[112] In his essay 'Erasmus and Tudor England', Thompson concludes that 'Erasmus, the foremost representative of the new enlightenment, counted for a long time in England as an authoritative biblical editor and commentator, a leading literary figure, a symbol

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[109] Richard Cox was an Etonian, and a Protestant humanist educated at Cambridge and later became tutor of Edward VI, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. After exile during Mary's reign he returned to become Bishop of Ely and was to have his famous battle with Queen Elizabeth I over the ceremonies in her chapel. John Checke was Regius professor of Greek in St John College, Cambridge, and Edward VI's tutor. He played a decisive role in promoting the Erasmian pronunciation of Greek (pub. 1528) despite the objection of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, chancellor of the university and the leader of the conservative humanist (Anglo-Catholic faction) at court. Checke remained a charismatic tutor and friend of the zealous young humanists who were drawn not only to Erasmian pronunciation of Greek but also to a more clearly Protestant theology, especially in the reign of Edward VI. Merbecke's commonplace book contains over two hundreds quotations from Checke.

[110] D. R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1: *The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); McConica, ed. *The History of the University of Oxford; The Collegiate University*, 3: 1-68.

[111] Kristeller, 'Erasmus from an Italian Perspective', 6.

[112] Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, 279.

of Catholic reform, the principal patristic scholar, the exemplar of humanistic education'.[113]

The Erasmian enthusiasm of Tudor England is most evident in the Protestant sympathies of the regimes of Henry VIII and Edward VI. This is well observed by McConica in his book published in 1965.[114] McConica demonstrates that the English learned clerics and laity at that period were enormously influenced by the Erasmian moderate reform of the Church, lay piety, and Scripture reading. As often pointed out, however, McConica inclines to fit all the characteristics of early sixteenth-century humanism under the title of 'Erasmianism'.[115] Tudor humanism is a multifarious phenomenon, involved with various other political and social forces. It is important to be aware of the different uses of humanism amongst the Tudor intellectuals in terms of their religious tendencies.

For the humanists remaining in the traditional church, humanism became a useful means for the reconstruction and re-establishment of the Catholic faith.[116] A representative example of this is bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner (1483

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[113] C. R. Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', *Rotterdam 27-29 Octobre 1969, Actes Du Congres Erasme* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1971), 67.

[114] J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

[115] G. Elton, 'Humanism in England', in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, eds. A. Goodman & A. MacKay (London: Longman, 1990): 259-78; D. Starkey, 'England', in *The Renaissance in National Context.* eds. R. Porter & M. Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 146-63.

[116] For instance, the flood of Erasmian translations continued throughout the 1530s and was accompanied by a second flood of apologetic tracts defending royal religious policy, the most important of which were Starkey's *An Exhortation to the People* (1536) and a defence of royal control over the church, *De vera obedientia* (1535) by Bishop Stephen Gardiner. Nauert, Jr., *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 186.

-1555), who was the leader of the conservatives at court; his humanist scholarship has recently received attention.[117] Gardiner was the chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and opposed the introducing of the Erasmian pronunciation of Greek into the University. Gardiner's abomination of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* and his objection to its English version reflect contemporary Catholic humanists' resistance to the new religious policies of the Edwardian regime.[118] On the other hand, for many young Protestant scholars inspired by the Erasmian ideal, humanism played an essential role in their programme of religious and social reforms - the diffusion of Protestant doctrines and practices.

From the above discussion, the centrality of the Erasmian legacy in sixteenth-century English culture may seem less convincing than was formerly thought. As we shall see, however, as far as the development of English Protestant humanism is concerned, the crucial contribution of Erasmian humanism to the intellectual, ecclesiastical, and literary histories of Tudor England cannot be underestimated.

Erasmus made seven visits to England throughout his life.[119] The relation of Erasmus and England is reciprocal, as is suggested by his close link with the English humanists such as Colet and More and English patronages.[120] It has been assumed that Erasmus' first visit to England in 1499 at the invitation of his former

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[117] Stephen Gardiner's key humanist writing is edited and translated by P. S. Donaldson, *A Machiavellian Treatise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

[118] Erasmus occupied a curious position in polemics between Anglicans and Roman Catholics during the Elizabethan reign, Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', 57.

[119] October – December 1499; late 1505 – June 1506; summer 1509 – April 1511; August 1511 – July 1514; April – May 1515; July – August 1516; April, 1517. Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', 31.

[120] Erasmus had close relationship with T. More, W. Grocyn, T. Linacre, J. Colet and J. Fisher.

pupil Lord Mountjoy was a decisive momentum in sharpening his 'period of inward ripening'.[121] Since then, Erasmus' humanist scholarship appears to have been gradually directed towards the issues of religious reform. With regard to this, Bainton and Kristeller stress Florentine Platonism's influence on Erasmus through the mediation of his English friends, especially Colet, who lectured on the Epistles of St. Paul at Oxford at that time.[122]

It was during his third visit to England from 1509 to 1514 that Erasmus had prepared four of his major works: *Morae encomium*, a new edition of the *Adagia*, editions of Jerome's letters, and the Greek New Testament. At this period Erasmus was appointed to the lectureship established recently by Lady Margaret Beaufort in divinity at Cambridge, where he acquired a number of disseminators of his ideas.[123] Before the publication of the Greek New Testament and *Colloquia*, Erasmus' reputation had spread widely among the English intellectuals through *Adagia* and *Morae encomium*. Most influential was *Enchiridion* which sets forth Erasmus' ideal of the philosophy of Christ and urges Scripture reading as the key to lay piety.

A major concern of Erasmus' Christian humanism, the vernacular Bible, had been advocated in England despite Henry VIII's reversion to the traditional doctrines during his late years and the strong antipathy of conservatives such as

[121] Huizinga, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 29-30.

[122] Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, Ch. 3. Kristeller particularly dealt with the relation of Erasmus and Neo-Platonism in his 'Erasmus from an Italian Perspective', 1-14.

[123] Erasmus was allowed to lecture on the letters of St Jerome which he was currently editing. At Cambridge, humanism and the reform movement were more flourishing than any other place in early sixteenth-century England. For more see H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), esp. Ch. 2. 'Erasmus in Cambridge', 21-40.

Gardiner to the vernacular Bible.[124] Royal injunctions of 1536 and 1538 illustrate this coexistence of conservative theology and reform:[125] the Mass at the centre of religious life but hostility to saint's days, pilgrimages and monasticism, and above all, the advocacy of the vernacular Bible.[126] Even in its most conservative phase, as argued by McConica, the Henrician position combined orthodox doctrine with changes in other spheres - education and the vernacular Bible and liturgy, which saw the fulfilment of the Erasmian religious ideals.[127]

In 1539, under the patronage of Cromwell, Grafton and Whitchurch printed the Great Bible to transmit the vernacular Bible to the laity.[128] The second

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[124] For the conservative humanists' attack on the vernacular Bible and the vernacular literature, and the Erasmian defence, see J. N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 42-56.

[125] The Ten Articles of 1536 and the Thirteen Articles of 1538 simplified the liturgical year, removing a number of traditional festivals from the calendar and confiscated shrines and relics churches had possessed, but the core of religious life, the Mass, remained unchanged, and the traditional rituals and pieties continued much as before. D. M. Loades, *Revolution in Religion: The English Reformation 1530-1570* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), 27; Bray. ed. *Documents of the English Reformation*, 162-74.

[126] In 1534, the Convocation of Canterbury petitioned Henry VIII to allow an English translation of the Bible. In the following year, Converdale produced a complete translation of it, which incorporated most of Tyndale's work. In 1536, Thomas Cromwell, acting as the King's deputy, issued the First Henrician Injunction directing that all priests should obtain a copy of the Bible in English. In 1538 the second Henrician Injunction directed that a copy of the Bible in English should be placed in every parish church. For details, see Bray, ed. *Documents of the English Reformation*, 175-83.

[127] McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 235.

[128] The *Great Bible* was Coverdale's revision of the Thomas Matthew Bible issued in 1537 (John Rogers, the friend of Tyndale and first martyr under Mary's persecution, produced the so-called Matthew Bible which relied heavily on Tyndale's work, using the pseudonym of Thomas Matthew). These changes in the government's religious policy, however, did not

edition of the Great Bible was issued in the following year. Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer writes in his preface to the edition:

> Here may all manner of persons, men, women, young, old, learned, unlearned, rich, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean men, virgins, wives, widows, lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons of what estate or condition soever they be, may in this book learn all things what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves and all other. Briefly, to the reading of the Scripture none can be enemy, but that either be so sick, that they love not to hear of any medicine; or else that be so ignorant, that they know not Scripture to be the most healthful medicine.[129]

In the last year of Henry VIII's reign, the 1538 injunction had been reissued for free access to all to the English Bible.[130] More decisively, under the reign of Edward VI, the royal injunctions issued in July, 1547 stipulate that all parish churches should provide not only a copy of *the Great Bible* (1539) but also the

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change the attitude of conservative clergy towards the general availability of the Bible. Bray, ed. *Documents of the English Reformation*, 175-83; J. W. Martin, *Religious Radicals in Tudor England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), Chs. 4 & 5. Richard Grafton, John Mayler and Edward Whitchurch were all substantial merchants drawn into printing by Cromwell's patronage, and particularly by his project for a translation of the Bible, which finally bore fruit in 1538. Henry VIII had granted the first patent monopoly to Grafton and Whitchurch for the printing of service books. For more detail see Loades, *Politics, Censorship, The English Reformation*, 99, 113.

[129] G. E. Duffield, ed. *The Work of Thomas Cranmer*. Courtenay library Reformation classics 2 (Appleford, Eng: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964), 37.

[130] In the statute of 1543 Henry VIII restricted it readership to the landed and merchant classes because of the growing interest in the vernacular Bible among the laity. Martin, *Religious Radicals in Tudor England*, 4. esp. see Chs. 4 & 5.

*Paraphrases* of Erasmus.[131] Many Episcopal visitation articles issued from 1547 to 1552 inquire if churches have the *Paraphrases.*[132] During the Edwardian Protestantisation the impact of Erasmus' biblical scholarship was tremendous especially at the royal court and the university towns where Erasmus' *Paraphrases* was fully supported.[133]

Furthermore, in the 1530s under the patronage of Cromwell a large number of Erasmus' religious books appeared in English translation, including Tyndale's version of *Enchiridion.*[134] In the process of the 'politicising of humanism of Cromwell', which eventually accelerated the popularisation of humanism in Tudor England, Erasmus became an effective means, as evidenced by a series of publications of Thomas Elyot (c.1490-1546) - the main channel for Erasmian

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[131] *VAL*, 2: 136. See also R. H. Bainton, 'The Paraphrases of Erasmus', *Archiv Für Reformationsgeschichte*, 57 (1966): 67-75; E. J. Devereux, 'The Publication of the English Paraphrases of Erasmus', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 51 (1969): 348-67.

[132] Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', 137.

[133] The translations were already in progress and appeared in two volumes early in the reign of Edward VI. That includes Princess Mary's translation of Erasmus' *Paraphrase* on St John. For further, see McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 8, 231-32, 241-42. A Swiss traveller who visited Oxford in 1551 records that the English Bible and the *Paraphrases* in English are the main sources of church services there. See, Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', 54; W. D. Robson-Scott, *German Travellers in England 1400-1800* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1953), 25-6.

[134] For general information on the sixteenth-century English versions of Erasmus's, see E. J. Devereux, *Renaissance English Translations of Erasmus: A Bibliography to 1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983). According to Devereux, editions of English translations of Erasmus had already been published in the 1520s. One of the first of these translations was an anonymous version of *Paraclesis*, published in 1529. As for the first translation of *Enchridion* to be printed in England, 1533, see J. F. Mozley, 'The English Enchiridion of Erasmus, 1533', *Review of English Studies*, 20 (1944): 97-107. In the 1540s, a compressed version of *Enchiridion* by Coverdale was ever-popular. McConica gives a useful list of English version of Erasmus, see appendices of his 1965 book.

ideas in England.[135] In addition, among many capable young humanists gathered around Cromwell at that period, William Marshall translated Valla's famous work *On the Donation of Constantine* as well as Erasmus' tract on the Apostles' Creed.[136] It was Richard Taverner (c.1505-1575), the eldest son of the composer John Taverner, who was the most prolific populariser of Erasmus in England. His first translation of Erasmus' writings is *Encomium Matrimonic* published in 1532.[137] Particularly Taverner's six translations of Erasmus published in 1539 and 1540 contributed to the making of the moderate phase of religious change in the late 1530s.[138] Both McConica and Yost emphasise that Erasmus became an

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[135] R. J. Scheck, 'Humanism in England', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 2: 5-54, esp. 27-8. Thomas Elyot: an enthusiastic Erasmian, lawyer. Elton notes that 'the only true Erasmian among English humanists was Thomas Elyot who shared both the master's belief in the power of learned instruction and his total ineffectualness in practice'. Elton, 'Humanism in England', 277.

[136] William Marshall (fl. 1535), the agent of Thomas Cromwell, a Protestant humanist. Leaver regards him as the Marshall who asked Merbecke to copy a letter of Calvin. See Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 225 (footnote 45).

[137] Richard Taverner started his university study in the later 1520s at Cambridge, and in 1527 he was among the seventeen promising young scholars drafted from Cambridge for the foundation of the Cardinal's College, Oxford. He gained B.A. in 1529 at Oxford, and the next year he shifted for his M.A. to Cambridge where he soon became a teacher of Greek. He appears to have played the organ at St. Frideswide's. Besides, in 1539 he edited an English translation of the Bible and had the kings' license to preach throughout the kingdom in 1552. For further, see J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Member of the University of Oxford 1500-1714* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1968), 1458; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 557-58.

[138] In the order of their publication, *The Garden of Wysdom, The second booke of the Garden of wysedome, Proverbes or adagies, Mimi publiani, Flores aliquot sententiarum, and Catonis disticha moralia*. J. K. Yost, 'Taverner's Use of Erasmus and the Protestantization of English Humanism', *RQ*, 23 (1970), 269.

advocate of Protestant moderation in Taverner's translation of Erasmus' collections of classical precepts and wisdom.[139]

During Henry's late years and Edward's reign the Italian-educated humanists such as Latimer[140] as well as the foreign Protestant humanists such as Martin Bucer[141] and Peter Martyr[142] played a key role in the dissemination of both the humanist learning and Protestant theology. A new generation of humanists had been increasingly attracted to Protestant doctrines and practices, especially to the Swiss Reformed theology. Yet for them, Erasmus was a constant source of inspiration and authority. Edwardian Protestant humanists extensively use Erasmus' works for their pedagogical, literary and religious purposes, regarding

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[139] McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics*, 116-8, 184-5, 192, 195; Yost, 'Taverner's Use of Erasmus and the Protestantization of English Humanism', 269. On the contribution of Taverner to Tudor humanism, esp. see C. R. Baskervill, 'Taverner's Garden of Wisdom and the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus', *Studies in Philology*, 29 (1932): 149-59; E. J. Devereux, 'Richard Taverner's Translations of Erasmus', *The Library*, 19 (1964): 212-23.

[140] William Latimer (1460-1545) was educated at Oxford and at Ferrara and the tutor of Reginald Pole, Henry VIII's cousin. Under the patronage of Pole he influenced a young generation of English humanists who clustered about Pole at Padua in the 1520s and 1530s.

[141] Martin Bucer (1491-1551): Strasburg reformer. He was enormously influenced by Erasmus. Bucer was Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge (1549-1551), and he wrote a review of the first prayer book at the request of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. *Censura Martini Buceri super libro sacrorum* (1550-1).

[142] Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499-1562), better known as Peter Martyr. He was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford (1547-1549), and became a canon of Christ Church. In his youth Martyr was a member of the 'Valdesian circle' which centred on Naples. Juan de Valdes (d. 1541) has been variously interpreted as an early Protestant, a vague Spanish mystic, and an Erasmian. For further, see G. E. Duffield & J. C. Mclelland, eds. *Peter Martyr*. The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 5 (Oxford: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1989), esp. 11-14.

him as comparable to the church fathers. Nicholas Udall, for example, names Erasmus alongside the fathers in his preface to the translations of *Paraphrases*.[143]

This strong Erasmian tendency in Tudor Protestant circles continued during the Elizabethan reign. In Foxe's *A&M* Erasmus appears as a standard for antipapal Elizabethan Protestantism and for the interpretation of the New Testament. A key Anglican apologist John Jewel refers to Erasmus as 'a man of great judgment', and appeals to Erasmus in his defence of doctrines on the basis of antiquity and Scripture - *Apologia pro ecclesia Anglicana* (1562) and the *Defence of the Apology* (1570).[144] Alongside Chrysostom and Lactantius, Erasmus was praised by the Elizabethan church leaders as 'best learned in the tongues among Christian writers'.[145]

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[143] For further, see McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 8, 231-32, 241-42.

[144] For the best account of J. Jewel, see J. E. Booty, *John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England* (London: SPCK, 1963).

[145] S. Carr, ed. *Early Writings of John Hooper*. The Parker Society 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843), 342. Whitgift, the most powerful prelate in the Elizabethan Church, writes of Erasmus, as 'a man of so singular knowledge and judgment'. Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', 57-63.

# 3. Humanism and John Merbecke

## Merbecke's Religious and Intellectual Development in the 1530s and 1540s

Merbecke spent most of his professional life at St George's Chapel, Windsor. The earliest extant record concerning Merbecke's involvement in St George's Chapel dates from the early 1530s. His name appears in various documents recorded from the 1540s onwards, which reports that Merbecke had been appointed organist and master of the choristers at St George's. However, it has not been greatly considered in existing studies that Merbecke was equally active as a copyist, writer and compiler of the vernacular Christian literature. The preface of the 1550 *Concordance* indicates that he started to compile his *Concordance* as well as commonplace book from the 1530s. Merbecke's painstaking task of compiling the *Concordance* had continued throughout the next decades.

For the biographical study of Merbecke, the years 1530s and 1540s are of particular importance in relation to change in his outlook. Merbecke's views and concerns are by no means isolated from the contemporary intellectual and religious context of St George's Chapel, Windsor. As observed in the first section, in the 1530s and 1540s England had witnessed the moderate religious reform of the Erasmian tradition as well as the development of humanist studies under royal patronage. During those periods, St George's Chapel was under the *direct* impact of the humanist movement and Reformation because of its royal connection.

This is evidenced by royal injunctions issued for the Chapel. For example, a royal injunction of 1547 required St George's Chapel to make a library in some convenient place within the church which provides the work of Augustine, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theophylact, Erasmus, and other good writers' works, with a view to promoting more effective and accessible study of the patristic writers.[146] This document suggests the new regime's enthusiasm for humanist patristic scholarship. Furthermore, it is noticeable in this injunction that Erasmus is the only modern writer named alongside the church fathers, as is often seen in contemporary documents.[147]

In detecting such an intellectual and religious milieu of St George's in the 1530s and 40s, it would be helpful to consider that of Eton College which was closely linked with St George's from 1463 when a Bull joined Eton with it.[148] In 1528 Cox became headmaster of Eton College and introduced educational reforms based on humanist learning into Eton, along with the reformation zeal. This association of humanist education and religious reform was strengthened by his successor Udall, an enthusiastic Erasmian.[149] As a result, the ideal of Erasmus' Christian humanism had been embodied in the formation of the Protestant

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[146] *VAL*, 2: 136, 164. The same injunctions were issued for cathedrals and collegiate churches in 1547.

[147] Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', 53.

[148] Duffield, 'Religion at Windsor', 217-35.

[149] For further, see McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 8.

humanist tradition at Eton which produced a number of future Protestant reformers.[150]

Cox and Udall acted as the key figures of Edwardian Reformation. They were also canons of the Chapter of St George's Chapel during the reign of Edward VI, with Richard Turner and Simon Heynes who were the most convinced Protestant reformers and capable humanists in the Chapter.[151] The Erasmian union of learning and piety for 'the glory of God and the increase of virtue and learning', which was the educational ideal of Eton College, had been pursued at St George's College.[152] Decisive evidence of this lies in the great change in the policies and programmes of the chorister education of St George's during the first half of the sixteenth century.[153]

In addition, St George's Chapel had seen dramatically increasing interest in Protestant doctrines and practices at a more personal level in the 1530s and 40s. It is proved by the case of Anthony Peerson's circle in which Merbecke was involved. This circle, 'the Windsor group', became a main target of heresy hunting under the Six Articles of 1539. Foxe's *A&M* and Merbecke's preface of the 1550 *Concordance* bear witness to the Windsor heresy trials and more importantly, Merbecke's own religious and scholarly concerns at this period, as will be seen later.

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[150] Duffield stresses that almost all Kings' men of Cambridge listed as Protestant exiles and martyrs are from Eton: Richard Cox, Nicholas Udall, John Huller, Lawrence Saunders, Robert Glover, John Frith, etc. Duffield, 'Religion at Windsor', 219.

[151] Among the lists of the Chapter during the reign of Edward VI are Richard Turner (1551-53); Simon Heynes (1535-52); Nicholas Udall (1551-54); Richard Cox (1548-53). See, Bond, ed. *The Inventories of St George's Chapel Windsor Castle 1384-1667*, 189.

[152] 8, Feb. 1550, 16. *VAL*, 2: 220.

[153] See Chapter III, 176-77.

In his *The Work of John Marbeck*, Leaver uses *A&M* extensively to reconstruct a religious biography of Merbecke, focusing on his conversion to Protestantism. Interestingly, however, in *A&M* one can see Merbecke's desperate defence for escaping martyrdom rather than his theological conviction over Protestantism.[154] In his defence, Merbecke merely emphasises his intellectual concerns and yearnings especially in the vernacular Bible and a decisive momentum behind the compilation of the concordance which was ascribed to his friend, Richard Turner.[155]

What attracted the interrogators during the trial were manuscripts of Merbecke's concordance and three notebooks rather than his copy of Calvin's letter (which was the real cause for Merbecke's arrest). It is in his *Concordance* that Merbecke's religious inclination in the 1530s and 40s is first clearly manifested. In his dedicatory preface to Edward VI, Merbecke writes:

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[154] In *The Antibarbarians* (1520), a satiric dialogue, Erasmus stresses the value of learning to the Christians through Batt's speech which begins in defence of the 'new learning'. In defending the study of the ancients, Erasmus recommends the Platonists above other ancient philosophers because they are the nearest in style and content to the Bible. For Erasmus, learning had a more important role to play in Christian life than monasticism or pilgrimages. In the book, he argues that a man who is learned as well as good is superior to one who is ignorant and good, and that the doctors were more useful to the Church than the martyrs. *CWE*, 23: 41-59. Martindale, *English Humanism*, 157-64; E. Rummel, *The Erasmus Reader* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1990), 52-64.

[155] Richard Turner (d.1565?): fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. He was elected to a perpetual chantry in the College at Windsor 1535 and was a chaplain to Cranmer, and became a canon of Windsor in 1551. In 1553 he fled to Basle on the accession of Queen Mary. He was a humanist and the most convinced Protestant reformer in the Chapter. Merbecke states Turner stimulated him to compile the concordance after witnessing his copying of the Thomas Matthew Bible issued in 1537. Foxe, *A&M* (1570), 1393. In his *A Booke of Notes and Common Places*, Merbecke gives plenty of places for Turner's writings.

> Better, nor a more blessed thing cannot happen to any Christian realm than a Governer endued with the knowledge of God's most Sacred and holy word, which seeketh to rule all things accordingly, and to order nothing, which ought to be ordered by the same word, but only thereby as that which is the very touchstone, to try holiness from hypocrisy, and Papistical leaven, from sincere and pure doctrine. The almighty Lord hath sent your most excellent Majesty to be our only head and supreme governor, endued with no less fervency and zeal of his glory, than was the Godly King Josiah, who restored the Law of the Lord to the Israelites, and manfully by his most Godly proceedings (as manifestly in the holy scripture appeareth) prosecuted and defended the same, destroying their Images, and pulling down their Hill Altars: And also, for that most evidently your highness' Godly proceedings, are agreable with the same Josiah's, as in restoring unto us, not only God's most holy word, but also true and sincere Preachers and teachers thereof, publishing and declaring also by many and sundry treatises (as your highness' most Godly Homilies and others) which are put forth, by the protection and defence of your Majesty's name, for the explaining and true declaration, of the same his most holy word, and in making a Godly and just reformation, in the notable abuses of Christ's religion: calling these well to remembrance, where a while, as one both afeared and amazed, pondering with myself what I was, one of your highness' most poor Subjects, destitute of learning and eloquence, yea, and such a one as in a manner never tasted the sweetness of learned letters, but 'altogether brought-up in your highness' College at Windsor, in the study of Music and playing on Organs. . .[156]

This preface reflects best Merbecke's sympathy with Edwardian Reformation zeal embodied in humanist teachings. In depicting his intellectual background Merbecke uses two humanist key words: learning and eloquence.[157] His recall of musical study at the royal college of Windsor implies that as a member of the

[156] Merbecke, *A Concordance*, preface, a. ij. recto.

[157] According to Kristeller's interpretation of Renaissance humanism which has gained the widest acceptance in Renaissance scholarship, humanism was a cultural and educational movement, primarily concerned with the promotion of eloquence.

college he could have easily encountered the learning which the Tudor aristocrats enjoyed.

According to Merbecke's statement, a manuscript concordance of the English Bible he had almost finished compiling and three notebooks showing his enthusiasm for new learning were confiscated and destroyed during the trial in 1543.[158] After his release by a royal pardon, however, he had compiled the concordance anew. It appears that this concordance could have been issued under the patronage of Catherine Parr, the last queen of Henry VIII, who sponsored a complete translation of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*.[159] It was not until 1550 that Merbecke's concordance was finally issued by Grafton; Merbecke had to produce a third abridged version due to its great length and cost (which, nevertheless, consists of nearly 1000 pages).[160] This *Concordance* is evidence for moderate Protestantism and Erasmian pietism flourishing at the Tudor court during the late 1540s; remarkably, no other person than a layman alone accomplished the first concordance of the whole English Bible. McConica

[158] Generally, 'the new learning' in England is regarded as the flowering of humanism at Cambridge and elsewhere. It is also suggested that this term was used in the 1530s to refer to the ideas of early Protestantism. For further, see McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 50.

[159] Merbecke, *A Concordance*, preface, a. iij. recto. Merbecke praises Catherine Parr as 'most virtuous and Godly'. King and McConica stress that Catherine Parr's decision to sponsor a complete translation of the Paraphrases of Erasmus is the most appropriate symbol of the link which she forged with the religious settlement of the early years in the reign of Edward VI. King, *English Reformation Literature*, 23-24; McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 234.

[160] In 1550 another concordance translated from that of Bullinger, Jud, and Pellican, was dedicated to the Duchess of Somerset by Walter Lynnes. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 251-52.

remarks that Merbecke's *Concordance* was 'a natural development of the emphasis on the vernacular Bible and a complement of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*'.[161]

In addition to this huge task, Merbecke had devoted himself to producing his own literary works which were all aimed at lay education, especially for the youth. The diverse phases of Merbecke's scholarly discipline are easily traceable in those publications. Amongst them, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places* (1581), dedicated to the third Earl of Huntington, Henry Hastings, is of particular importance in relation to his outlook and concerns. In what follows, we shall specifically deal with Merbecke's commonplace book that is his most exhaustive work in its scope and depth.[162]

## *A Booke of Notes and Common Places* (1581)

Merbecke's written works, except his *Concordance*, had been published during the Elizabethan reign. *A&M* suggests early sources of these publications; Merbecke had gathered numerous quotations in his three notebooks whose comprehensive scope and massive quantity overwhelmed his interrogators.[163] Concerning his three notebooks Merbecke answers to the interrogators at the 1543

[161] Ibid.

[162] Henry Hastings (1535-1595), a cousin of Reginald Pole, would seem to provide a pension for Merbecke. Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 49. McConica assumes that Henry Hastings was brought up in his childhood with Edward VI. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 217-18. For a full biography of Henry Hastings, see C. Cross, *The Puritan Earl* (Macmillan: St Martin Press, 1966).

[163] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), 1393.

trial: they were 'his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago'.[164] As to his motivation and purpose for the notebooks, Merbecke says

> For no other purpose but to see every man's mind. . . for none other cause my Lord, quoth he, but to come by knowledge. For I being unlearned and desirous to understand some part of scripture, thought by reading of learned men's works, to come the sooner thereby; and whereas I found any place of scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work.[165]

The range of Merbecke's scholarly interests until the early 1540s seems already very wide as indicated by the statement of one of the interrogators, the bishop of Ely: 'thou hast read of all sorts of books both good and bad, as seemeth by the notes'.[166] Like his first manuscript of the *Concordance*, these three notebooks were confiscated during the trial. Thus, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places*, a huge anthology (a quarto volume of 1194 pages), must be the outcome of his second painstaking task after the pardon in 1543. Before the discussion of Merbecke's commonplace book, it is useful to note briefly what the commonplace book is.

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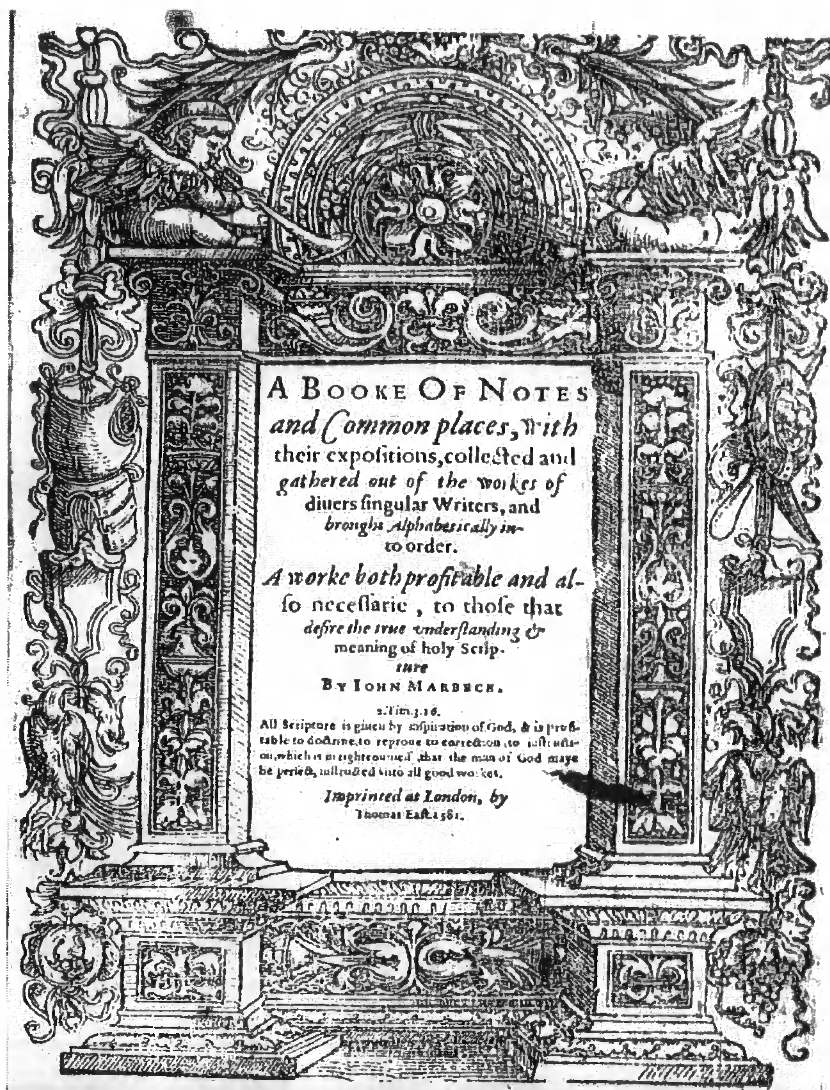
[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.



A BOOKE OF NOTES *and Common places, with* their expoſitions, collected and *gathered out of the workes of* diuers ſingular Writers, and *brought Alphabetically into order.*

*A worke both profitable and alſo* neceſſarie, to thoſe that *deſire the true understanding &* meaning of holy Scripture

BY IOHN MARBECK.

2.Tim.3.16.
All Scripture is giuen by inſpiration of God, & is profitable to doctrine, to reproue to correction, to inſtruction, which is in righteouſneſſ, that the man of God maye be perfect, inſtructed vnto all good workes.

*Imprinted at London, by* Thomas Eaſt. 1581.

Fig. 1. Front page, Merbecke's *A Booke of Notes and Common Places* (1581)

¶TO THE RIGHT HONO-
RABLE, AND HIS ESPECIALL
*good Lord, the Earle of Hun-*
tington, Knight of the moſt noble
order of the Garter, &c.
*John Marbeck wiſheth*
*a moſt happie and proſ-*
perous eſtate, with
increaſe of vertue
*in the feare of*
GOD.

S THE CHIL-
dren of *Iſrael* had ineſ-
timable cauſe to praiſe
the great goodneſſe of
almightie God, and to
render condign thanks
vnto him for his moſt
mercifull deliueraunce
out of their vile capti-
uity & bondage, which
they ſo long had ſuſtei-
ned vnder that proude
reſiſter of Gods omni-
potent power, king *Pharao*; Euen ſo (Right honourable) are
we no leſſe bound, to honour, laude, and praiſe the ſame
God with immortall thanks, which now of his entire loue,
pitie and compaſſion (in this our laſt age of the world) hath
broken the yoke of our miſerable ſeruitude, vnder that proud
exalter of himſelfe, the Romiſh Antichriſt, and of the bond-
men and ſlaues of that tyrant, hath made vs free men in his
ſonne Ieſus Christ, through the true knowledge of his eter-
nal and euerlaſting word. For as the people that dwel in the
A.iii. coun-

Fig. 2. Merbecke's dedicatory epistle, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places* [A. iii. recto]

*Loci communes*, common places, is a basic art of ancient rhetoric.[167] In the collection of common places, the commonplace book, the selected quotations were gathered together under topics (*loci*).[168] Classical commonplace books were intended for speech style, forming a discourse in which one demonstrates subjects or declaims both for and against any given issues. Most of all, as Ann Moss puts it, commonplace books became 'the principal supporting system of humanist pedagogy' in the Renaissance.[169]

Within a humanist educational context, compiling a commonplace book thus served as a basic means of synthesising or reorganising the existing ideas in one's own scheme under topics (*loci*). Not only did masters make commonplace books but also students were required to compile their own commonplace books from their readings. Erasmus adapted this classical rhetorical art into a theological framework; that is, for the purpose of arranging a comprehensive system of theological *loci*. Afterwards, the Protestant reformers frequently used this method for their theological studies or teachings.[170]

These collections of *loci* are divided into two types. One is composed of simply topical indexes of verses of the Scripture collected together under

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[167] G. A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

[168] For the standard discussion of classical rhetorical terminology related to Renaissance commonplaces, see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953; German original, Berne, 1948).

[169] A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[170] For example, Thomas Becon, *The Common places of holy Scripture: continuing certayne articles of Christian religion* (London, 1562); Peter Martyr, *Loci communes* (London, 1576); Martin Bucer, *Common places* (London, 1548); Wolfgang Musculus, *Commonplaces of christian religion* (Bern, 1563).

appropriate headings. The other is edited from the writings and commentaries of a particular author. Regardless of the type, the commonplace book is arranged under the similar pattern of theological topics. For example, Thomas Becon's thirteen *loci* are as follows: God, Christ, Election, Holy Scripture, Church, Traditions, Man, Free Will, Justification and so on.[171]

Instead of this structure, Merbecke's commonplace book takes an alphabetical order of *loci* from Aaron to Zeal which contains over a thousand topics - the way Erasmus preferred for his books. In Merbecke's commonplace book, an enormous repertory of quotations is grouped under a great number of headings (*loci*), often followed by subtitles. It was Erasmus who suggested the possibility of finding numerous *loci* in the Bible: 'you can find in the Bible two hundred and even three hundred such concepts. Each one of these must be supported by biblical passages. *Loci* are little nests in which you place the fruit of your reading'.[172] This shows how a commonplace book can be an important means for biblical study.

That Merbecke was versed in the Erasmian notion of sacred rhetoric is clear from the first *locus*, Aaron. This heading consists of four subtitles as follows: 'how long Aaron has before Christ' (Lanquet); 'how Aaron is a figure of Christ' (T.M. -Nu. 16 q. ver. 48); 'a comparison between Aaron and Christ' (Deering); and finally, 'what Aarons Bels signified' (Exo. 28. f. ver. 33) J. Veron/ Lupset. What draws particular attention in relation to sacred rhetoric is the fourth one, for which Merbecke quotes from Lupset, a close friend of Erasmus. Lupset's

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[171] Leaver, ed. *The Work of Marbeck*, 78.

[172] Quoted in W. Pauck, ed. *Melanchthon and Bucer*. Library of Christian Classics 19 (London: SCM Press, 1969), 12.

rhetorical viewpoint was in accordance with Erasmus who regarded Aaron as the Scriptural archetype of the 'Christian orator'. Here, Lupset, following Erasmus, uses an allegorical correspondence between Aaron's ceremonial vestments and the orator's virtues.[173]

In his study of Erasmus' theological rhetoric, Hoffmann stresses that Erasmus' collation of *loci* remained in close connection with his homiletics and scriptural exposition, excluding an abstract systematic theology.[174] This feature of Erasmus' theological *loci* does reflect the core of his religious thought - *philosophia Christi.* The philosophy of Christ centres on Christ's teaching in the Scripture, with emphasis on the importance of daily devotional Christian life. In this view, Erasmus advocates both the vernacular Bible and vernacular biblical literature.

Inspired by this, as observed earlier, Merbecke, a layman, accomplished the first concordance of the whole vernacular English Bible on his own. Furthermore, aiming to help those who 'desire the true understanding and meaning of holy Scripture', Merbecke had compiled a commonplace book in English. The ultimate goal of these painstaking tasks for lay education lies in the pursuit of 'the only true, sincere, and perfect religion of Jesus Christ'.[175]

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[173] J. Weiss, '*Ecclesiastes* and Erasmus, the Mirror and the Image', *Archive für Reformationsgeschichte*, 65 (1974): 83-108, at 87. See also R. G. Kleinhans, '*Ecclesiastes sive de Ratione Concionandi*', in *Essays on the Works of Erasmus*, ed. R. L. DeMolen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978): 253-66.

[174] M. Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutic of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 581.

[175] Merbecke, *A Dialogue betweene youth and olde age* ..., A. iii. recto.

For his commonplace book Merbecke uses three basic resources: Scripture, classics (principally, church fathers) and writings of humanists and the Protestant reformers. The main sources of biblical texts quoted in the commonplace book are The Geneva Bible, The Bishop's Bible, the Matthew Bible, John Checke's New Testament, and Tomson's revision of the Geneva New Testament with Beza's notes.[176] Here, Erasmus appears as a standard for the interpretation of the New Testament, as indicated by the exposition of each gospel quoted from Erasmus' *Paraphrases.* Merbecke then quotes directly from the exegeses of church fathers or the writings of ancient 'learned men'. More frequently, he borrows those classical excerpts from the works of contemporary humanists and reformers or quotes their own commentaries relevant to the given topics. For example, under the heading of Christ Merbecke provides:[177]

> How Christ was first promised to Adam (Gen. 3) – Lanquet.
>
> How Christ grew in age and wisdome (Luke, 2. 52; Ma. 22. 45) – Hemming
>
> How Christ called David's sonne (Ma. 22. 45) – Sir. J. Cheeke
>
> ------
>
> Of Christ's humanitie: vigilius – cyrillus – Gregorie – Augustine – Peter – Cyrille
>
> Of Christ's descending into hell, three opinions (opinion 2 – Jerome; opinion 3 – Erasmus), R. Turner

[176] For an index for the frequency of quotation see Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 227.

[177] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places*, 179-203.

As in this section, chronology in Merbecke's commonplace book rests on Thomas Lanquet's *Chronicles*, which was completed by Crowley and Cooper, and published in 1569. Merbecke also provides etymological exposition in detail – the main feature of contemporary humanistic account. All quotations from those biblical texts are systematised by Merbecke's own topics and numerous subtitles.

It is noticeable that doctrinal issues are to a great extent marginalised in Merbecke's work, in contrast to commonplace books of the Protestant reformers.[178] Instead, Merbecke's commonplace book chiefly treats biblical figures, church practices, moral issues, comprehensive historical knowledge and even geographical and scientific issues, embracing a considerable reference to ancient pagan writers. It is important to note that in *The Antibarbarians* Erasmus justifies the study of pagan philosophers and writers, which is a defence of humanistic studies as the essential part of spiritual renewal. That is, Erasmus concentrates on both pagan and Christian antiquity as a source of inspiration and authority for the corporal revival of the Church. As Hoffmann observes, for Erasmus, the scope of theological language thus includes the arenas of discourse concerning nature, human beings, society, history, morality and so on.[179]

This extension of the theological horizon does show Merbecke's commonplace book as guidance for a learned and virtuous Christian living on a daily basis. From the above discussion, it is obvious that Merbecke's moderate, undogmatic, and laicist piety had fundamentally been in line with Erasmian ideas.

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[178] Interestingly, under 'Justification', 'Election', Merbecke quotes neither Luther nor Calvin. Merbecke's commonplace book contains a specific section for the heresies, unlike other commonplace books which usually treat them under the particular doctrine concerned.

[179] Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutic of Erasmus*.

Merbecke's commonplace book, alongside the *Concordance*, is one of the most fruitful results of Erasmian laicist pietism, whose emphasis is on the recognition of the Christian vocation of the laity through reading the Bible and classics – the key to the revival of the church.[180]

## Merbecke as the 'Orator'

This final section of the chapter focuses on Merbecke's careers as a master of the choristers and a copyist – the careers which are seldom considered in previous studies. An appraisal of those careers in the light of sixteenth-century intellectual history is crucial for illuminating the humanist nature of Merbecke's religious and scholarly development inextricably linked with his musical world. Our discussion begins by observing Merbecke's office as a clerk at St George's Chapel, Windsor.[181]

[180] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 53. After examining Merbecke's manuscript of concordance, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, notes that 'this man hath been better occupied, than a great sort of our Priests'. Foxe, *A&M* (1570), 1393.

[181] St George's Chapel, Windsor, was founded by Edward III on 6 August 1348, and its constitution as a College of secular canons was promulgated on 30 November 1352. The College of St George, which was one of the small group of medieval Colleges known as 'Royal Free Chapels', consisted of thirteen canons, thirteen vicars, four clerks and six choristers, 26 bedesmen (the 'poor knights'), and a verger. By 1482 St George's College had been enlarged: it comprised 13 clerks, 13 choristers and (probably) 16 minor canons. For more on St George's Chapel, Windsor, see S. Bond, ed. *The Chapter Acts of the Dean and Canons of Windsor 1430, 1523-1672*. Historical Monographs 13 (Windsor, 1966), vii-liii.

In the Middle Ages, three main duties of the clerk were to sing, to read the Mass lesson or epistle, and to teach.[182] The ability to sing was a pre-requisite to the clerk's qualifications - to sing psalms at the Office with the priest and to recite with him. Then he is to read the epistle or the lesson and is to be of sufficient education for the parish school. Of those duties of the clerk, the ability to read the epistle and the lesson is evidence that good education was required of those undertaking the office of the clerk.[183]

In this tradition, the 1352 Windsor Statute established a choir of men and boys, indicating that the duty of master of the choristers was to teach boy choristers in both singing and grammar.[184] St George's chorister education was in alignment more with the wider curriculum of the grammar school, as shown by the statutes which place particular emphasis on 'Grammar': one of the vicars 'more learned than the rest in teaching grammar and singing' was to be appointed as grammar master to teach the boys at all times when neither he nor the boys were needed for ceremonies.[185] Some capable choristers could be promoted to the initial orders of the ministry or to their further education at a grammar school or university.[186]

As observed earlier, humanism was the major intellectual force at St George's in the sixteenth century. The moral and scholarly qualifications of the clerks had

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[182] For more on role of the clerks of cathedral and collegiate churches, see J. W. Legg, ed. *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1903), xvii-xix.

[183] Ibid., xxi.

[184] Articles 11 and 16 (1352 Statutes). Cf. R. Bowers, 'The Music and Musical Establishment of St George's Chapel in the Fifteenth Century', in *St George's Chapel, Windsor in the Middle Ages*, eds. E. Scarff & C. Richmond (Dean and Canons of Windsor, 2001): 171-214.

[185] Wridgway, *The Choristers of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 1-2

[186] See, Injunction 16 (23 Nov., 1547) and Injunction 24 (8 Feb., 1550).

been increasingly strengthened under the policies of the humanist education.[187] The royal injunction issued in 1550 for St George's Chapel illustrates this point: thus, the moral and academic standard was the most significant factor in the appointment of the clerks (the gentlemen of the choir), and one of them was appointed the master of the choristers.[188] This was continued until around the mid-seventeenth century.[189] A recent study of the provision of choral music at St George's during the Restoration demonstrates that at least before 1660 the master of the choristers was required to teach other areas - grammar and morals in addition to music.[190]

It was in such circumstances that Merbecke had been appointed a clerk. He replaced Hake as the master of the choristers in 1547.[191] In an extant draft of accounts for the year 1558-59 Merbecke's name heads the list of clerks, designating him as master of the choristers. This appointment appears to continue

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[187] Legg, ed. *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, xxv. The teaching office of the clerk seems looser during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than it had been before.

[188] See Chapter III, 176-77.

[189] See, R. Gair, 'The conditions of appointment for masters of choristers at Paul's (1553-1613)', *Notes and Querie*, 225 (1980): 116 -24.

[190] K. J. Dexter, 'The Provision of Choral Music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c. 1640-1733'. Ph.D. diss. (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2000), 79-81. Dexter demonstrates that William Wenceslowe was required to instruct the choristers in music and grammar as well as morals.

[191] Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 26. From 1415 to 1418 Laurence Dreweryn was paid both as organist and master of the boys, and it is the first recorded instance of one man holding both positions. Wridgway, *The Choristers of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 4, 8.

until Farrant replaced him in 1564. Wridgway assumes that after 1564 Merbecke was still involved with the chorister education and affairs.[192]

In observing Merbecke's office as a master of the choristers, it is necessary to consider a general characteristic of chorister education in his time. The main focus of chorister education was liturgy as ever before; in addition to the musical skills needed for liturgy, chorister education had been particularly focused on morals and speech in the first half of the sixteenth century.[193] Masters of the choristers taught morals and grammar, whose main source was proverbs and classical and Christian *sententiae*. They incorporated these proverbs and *sententiae* into songs that reinforce grammatical and moral lessons.[194] This reflects the strong influence of humanist moralism on chorister education, as will be observed in some detail in chapter III.

From the above discussion, Merbecke's literary work is of particular importance in relation to his office of choirmaster and instructor for the choristers. For Renaissance humanists, the lives of famous ancients in the classics and the Bible became moral models to be imitated. They gathered quotations and sentences, proverbs or historical anecdotes from those classical sources in a commonplace book and produced a large number of biographies of such figures.[195] It is in this humanist fashion that Merbecke compiled a commonplace

[192] Wridgway, *The Choristers of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 24-5. Richard Farrant had been a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. For further information, see 27.

[193] J. Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers during the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice 1400-1650*. ed. J. Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180.

[194] Ibid., 190.

[195] P. O. Kristeller, 'Humanism and Moral Philosophy', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 272.

book and a biographical dictionary of sacred figures for Christian moral teaching. Such a humanist literary tendency is also found in his copyist activity.

As has been seen, because of the royal connection St George's College was rather early exposed to the humanism the Tudors had favoured. Its chorister education illustrates the early phase of the humanist cultural climate. In relation to handwriting, for instance, the will of Christopher Urswick (who was a canon of Windsor from 1492) indicates that the boys were to be encouraged to copy and to write in the two humanist scripts, Roman and Italic, introduced by the reform of handwriting by the humanist scribes of the fifteenth century.[196] Through this training Merbecke would gradually have developed his career as a copyist, which played an indispensable role in both his musical and literary activities.[197]

The earliest surviving document written by Merbecke is the will of William Tate, a canon of St George's, dated 9 September 1540 (see Fig. 3). Foxe's *A&M* also gives evidence of Merbecke as a copyist: according to it, Merbecke was copying the Thomas Mathew Bible in the late 1530s before compiling his

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[196] For the will, see Wridgway, *The Choristers of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 16-7. P. O. Kristeller, 'The Cultural Heritage of Humanism: An Overview', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 515-28. Kristeller discusses various professional or social careers of the humanists, pointing out that humanist study and education also served as an essential background for many other careers - librarians, theologians, jurists, physicians, artists and musicians. Furthermore, he stresses the important contributions of the humanists to the production and diffusion of books and to a reform of handwriting - the use of Roman and Italic.

[197] In addition to teaching, the career of chancellor or secretary was a common activity for many humanists; as copyists, editors, compilers and writers, the humanists worked for both the institutions to which they belonged and their own scholarly and pedagogical purposes. Kristeller, 'The Cultural Heritage of Humanism', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 519.

concordance; he was asked by a canon, Marshall (who may be identifiable with the humanist William Marshall, a canon of St George) to copy rapidly Calvin's letter which nearly took him to the stake in 1543.[198]

There are no extant musical manuscript sources identified as Merbecke's work; but he must have been a key music copyist at St George's Chapel, Windsor. This is supported by extant relevant archival documents during the reign of Mary: in 1553-54 and 1555-56, Merbecke was paid for repairing choir books used for the traditional Catholic liturgy; in 1557-58, for restoring a *Collectarium*, an old Latin liturgical book which was replaced by the 1549 Prayer Book.[199]

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[198] Foxe, *A&M* (1970), 1393-94.

[199] Bond, ed. *The Inventories of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 230-31, 234-35. See this Chapter, 41. In examining Merbecke's career as a music copyist, I have drawn particular attention to the Gyffard partbooks (British Library, Add. MS 17802-5) that are generally regarded as the most important source of Tudor church music of the mid-sixteenth century. On the basis of the chronological evidence of the papers used in this anthology and some biographical information on White and John Mundy whose music is in it, Mateer suggests that the Gyffard partbooks were compiled not in the 1550s but in the second decade of Elizabeth's reign. Mateer identified the first owner of the Gyffard partbooks, Dr. Roger Gifford, who was President of the Royal College of Physicians (1581-4) and one of Queen Elizabeth's ordinary physicians from 1587. Roger Gifford was a lifelong associate of Merbecke's son, Roger Merbecke, who was a royal physician. Mateer's assumption is that through his father, Roger Merbecke could have supplied Dr. Gifford with pieces from the Windsor repertory. On the basis of several important clues that have not been considered by Mateer, I have assumed that John Merbecke was one of the unidentified three scribes of the Gyffard partbooks suggested by Mateer, and, presumably, the first scribe; it is beyond the scope of this thesis to go further with this, and will be left for discussion. For more on the Gyffard partbooks, see R. Bray, 'British Museum Add. MSS 17802-5 (the Gyffard Partbooks): an Index and Commentary', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 7 (1969): 31-50; D. Mateer, 'The Compilation of the Gyffard Partbooks', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 26 (1993), 19-43; Idem. 'The 'Gyffard' Partbooks:

Fig. 3. Handwriting of John Merbecke: Will of William Tate, Canon of Windsor.[200]

Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 28 (1995), 21-49. For more on Roger Merbecke, see 102.

[200] This will is reproduced from E. H. Fellowes et al. eds. *Tudor Church Music*, 10: v.

Undoubtedly, Merbecke's career of copyist served as a literary training which enabled him to compile the bulky volumes such as the *Concordance* within such a limited time; his nearly finished manuscript of the *Concordance* was destroyed during the 1543 trial. The second manuscript (which must have been done before the death of Katherine Parr in 1547) could not be issued due to its great length and cost, so that he had to produce a third, abridged version. It is also observed that, as a copyist and compiler, he was familiar with the contemporary humanist literary fashion as a whole. Most of all, the humanist feature of Merbecke's writings is clear in the literary form and style he adopts - biography, poetry, history, dialogue, and commonplace book.

Merbecke's *The lyues of holy Sainctes, Prophetes, Patriarches, and others contained in holye Scripture* (1574), dedicated to a Christian humanist William Cecil (1520-98) later Lord Burghley, is a sort of biographical dictionary of sacred and biblical figures (see Fig. 4).[201] In the prefatory letter of the book Merbecke urges 'the Christian Reader' 'not only to increase thy knowledge, and so be made more learned: but also to increase thy virtuous life, and so become the better Man'. The humanist concept Merbecke uses - learning makes one a 'better Man' - is the key to Erasmus' programme of religious reform and humanist scholarship, as demonstrated by Rabil.[202] The *history of David* (1579) is a quantitative versification in the vernacular, prevalent in the humanist circles. The *Examples*

[201] For more on William Cecil, see B. Usher, *William Cecil and Episcopacy, 1559-1577.* St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate. 2004).

[202] A. Rabil, Jr. 'Desiderius Erasmus', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 2: 222.

*from Scripture* (1582) and *A Dialogue between youth and old age* (1584?) were written in the form of dialogue, a favourite humanist literary form.

Fig. 4. An Illustration from *The lyues of holy Sainctes, Prophetes, Patriarches, and others, contained in holye Scripture*... (1574)

As has been seen, throughout his career Merbecke was involved in Renaissance humanism which was essentially a literary-pedagogical movement. Is it possible to regard Merbecke as one of those men of the Renaissance who are now called humanists? With regard to this question, two ways of describing humanists may apply to Merbecke: one is 'master' (*magister* or *maestro*) and the other is 'orator'. Kohl argues that the title 'master' was the one most commonly given to those who are now regarded as humanists, noting that it usually denoted both some university training (perhaps up to the degree of master of arts), and the position of schoolmaster, tutor, or lecturer in the liberal arts.[203] Indeed, teaching was a main activity for many humanists, like the career of chancellor or secretary which was sometimes combined with teaching duties. For institutions to which they belonged, or for their own scholarly and pedagogical purposes, humanists were concerned with a wide variety of literary activities. This is also applicable to the case of Merbecke in his teachings and writings under the influence of humanist education.[204]

In fact, there was a Renaissance term *humanista*, which was first used for designating teachers and students of the *studia humanitatis* in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[205] Gray demonstrates that before the term humanist

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[203] B. G. Kohl, 'Humanism and Education', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 5-22.

[204] See Bond, ed. *The Inventories of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 235.

[205] Kristeller makes it clear that the modern usage of humanism was derived from the Renaissance term 'humanist'. He notes that the Italian word '*umanista* (*humanista* in Latin) was coined in the late fifteenth century, on the analogy of such words as *legista* and *canonista*, to designate the teacher of the *studia humanitatis*. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classics, Scholastics, and Humanistic Strains*, Ch. 1. See also A. Campana, 'The Origin of the Word 'Humanist'', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 9 (1946): 60-73. On

gained general currency, it is most frequent that the humanists enjoyed calling themselves 'orators' in the pursuit of 'true eloquence'.[206] The title 'orator' did not just concern rhetorical skills – just one part of true eloquence. Those who know only the art of rhetoric should be called rhetoricians or 'artificial speakers' rather than orators; the difference is similar to that between versifier and poet.[207] The 'orator' was the man of good character and wide learning, skilled in speaking; the term was thus used for those who wished to be known as 'men of true eloquence'. [208]

Producing the *orator* was the core of the English humanist pedagogy, as revealed in Elyot's *The Booke of the Governor* (1531), an epitome of Tudor humanist education. In Book I, Chapter 11, entitled 'The most commodious and necessary studies succeeding ordinately the lesson of poets', Elyot maps out the curriculum for educating the orator, providing required readings: for rhetoric, Cicero and Quintilian; for philosophy, Aristotle's *Ethica*, Cicero's *De officiis*, Plato's works, and 'the proverbs of Solomon with the books of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus'.[209] Of these, Plato and Cicero are best prized for 'gravity with delectation', 'excellent wisdom with divine eloquence', and 'absolute virtue with pleasure incredible'.[210] The only modern writer's in the list is Erasmus' *The*

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the English term 'humanist', see M. Pincombe, 'Some Sixteenth-Century Records of the Words Humanist and Humanitian', *The Review of English Studies*, 44 (1993): 1-15.

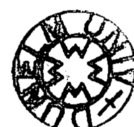
[206] Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence', 202.

[207] Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance*, 284.

[208] Ibid., 290. See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XII. i (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*, 'the good man skilled in speaking').

[209] Lehmberg, ed. *The Book named The Governor*, 34-40.

[210] Ibid., 39.



*Institution of a Christian Prince.*[211] As will be seen, the notion of the sacred orator in Tudor Protestant humanist circles was grounded in this educational scheme for the orator. For Merbecke, as for other humanists, Cicero, 'the father of eloquence', is a synonym for a righteous man.[212] According to the humanist fashion, in the prefatory letters of his books, Merbecke refers to himself as 'Orator'.[213]

It is often that scholars refer to Merbecke as a theologian. This description, however, is a modern rather than sixteenth-century notion. It is observed that

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[211] Elyot notes this book 'would be as familiar always with gentlemen at all times and in every age as was Homer with the great King Alexander, or Xenophon with Scipio; for as all men may judge that have read that work of Erasmus, that there was never book written in Latin that in so little a portion contained of sentence, eloquence, and virtuous exhortation, a more compendious abundance'. Ibid., 40.

[212] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common places*, 568. For an important study of the impact of Cicero on Tudor society generally, see Howard Jones, *Master Tully: Cicero in Tudor England*, Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica 58 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998).

[213] In his *The Lives of Saints* (1574), 'Your Lordship' most humble and daily Orator'; in his *Examples from Scripture* (1582), 'his bound & daily Orator, J. Merbecke wisheth the increase of faith, with all godly knowledge in Jesus Christ'. Similarly, Thomas Becon refers to himself as 'Your grace's most humble and faithful orator' in his *Jewel of Joy*. See J. Ayre, ed. *The Catechism of Thomas Becon: With other pieces written by him in the reign of King Edward the sixth.* The Parker Society 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), 417; also, in his *The Pathway unto Prayer* (1564), Becon calls himself 'the most humble & daily orator'. Ibid., 133-34. Cf. Merbecke's son Roger Merbecke (1536-1606), a royal physician, was one of the most excellent orators in Latin – *deliciae Latinarum literarum* – in his time. Roger Merbecke was appointed canon of Christ Church in 1565, and early in 1566 when the queen paid a visit to Oxford, he delivered a speech in Latin. The queen was pleased with his oration, and said to him: 'we have heard of you before, but now we know you'. The queen visited Oxford again in the same year on 6 September, and Roger Merbecke again delivered the customary Latin oration. For more biographical information on Roger, see W. A. Greenhill, 'Roger Marbeck', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with The British Academy from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000.* eds. Harrison & Matthew, 36: 598.

many Renaissance humanists were no more than grammarians and rhetoricians – those who had just mastered the seven liberal arts. For this reason, humanist scholarship was often despised as deficient and unqualified by contemporary doctoral scholars. Even patristic and biblical studies of the key humanists such as Erasmus were regarded as the work of 'mere grammarians' by the scholastic theologians.[214]

On the other hand, Merbecke's overall intellectual capability including his knowledge of Latin is liable to be underestimated. The worst example is a seventeenth-century historian Burnet's reference to Merbecke as 'an illiterate man'.[215] As observed earlier, however, decent academic status was a prerequisite for the master of the choristers of the cathedral and collegiate churches in Merbecke's time. Bond assumes that during the Edwardian regime the knowledge of Latin was more important than their musical ability in the appointment of clerks at St George's Chapel.[216] This assumption is convincing, given the humanist primary interest in classical Latin. The fact that there is no publication of Merbecke's writings in Latin must not thus be taken as evidence of his ignorance of Latin.

With respect to this point, finally, it is important to note two kinds of humanism in sixteenth-century Europe: 'exoteric' and 'esoteric'. The former is centred on Latin and is international in its outlook; Erasmus is a key example of

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[214] Nauert, 'Humanism as Method', 433-38.

[215] G. Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (London, 1679, 1: 326), ed. N. Pocock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865), 515.

[216] Bond, ed. *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel,* 17. Fellowes assumes that Merbecke was 'a considerable Latin scholar'. *The Office of the Holy Communion as set by John Merbecke*, 7-8.

exoteric humanism.[217] The latter is centred on the vernacular and looks inward to the national culture. A representative of esoteric humanism is Glarean (whom Erasmus calls the 'Champion of Swiss humanism'), devoted to defending Swiss national identity and culture. Esoteric humanism flourished after the Reformation; but improving the vernacular culture was sought through the education and assimilation of the classical tradition into the vernacular.[218] An excellent example of this is the humanist effort for vernacular quantitative versifying and its musical outcomes, which was popular in the Tudor humanist circles too. As will be seen in the final chapter, Merbecke's humanist literary and musical work in the vernacular are instances.

In the Renaissance, humanist study and education served not only as a professional training for teachers or secretaries, but also as an important background for many other professional or practical careers.[219] Despite all the evidence suggested so far, however, Renaissance humanism has never been appreciated as a paramount intellectual force which contributed to Merbecke's literary activity. As a result, misunderstanding or distortion was inevitable. In

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[217] C. Thompson, 'Erasmus as Internationalist and Cosmopolitan', *Archiv für Reformationsgeshichte*, 46 (1955): 167-95. In his essay 'Erasmus and Tudor England' (39), Thompson remarks that 'we shall hope that the future author of a comprehensive study of Erasmus and sixteenth-century England will furnish ample evidence of how humanistic training of the Erasmian type coexisted and 'meshed' with the strong traditions of vernacular culture in England'.

[218] O. B. Hardison, Jr. *Prosody and Purpose in the English Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 93-4. See also W. Boutcher, 'Vernacular humanism in the Sixteenth Century', *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*. ed. J. Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 189-202.

[219] Kristeller, 'The Cultural Heritage of Humanism: An Overview', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 515-28.

the following chapters, it will be demonstrated that Merbecke's musical outlook was developed within the rhetorical framework of Renaissance humanism, especially on Erasmian lines. In this discussion, Merbecke's primary musical work *BCPN* will be explored as a remarkable humanist union of *elegantia* and *pietas* in mid-Tudor England.[220]

[220] For a standard study of the rhetoric of the sixteenth-century England, see L. A. Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968). Cf. Harrán, 'Elegance as a Concept in Sixteenth-Century Music Criticism', 413-38.

# CHAPTER II

# Erasmian Humanism and the Reform of Christian Music

'Divina res est Musica'.[1]

[1] LB I: 1222 C.

# 1. The Humanist Root of Reformation Attitudes to Music

## Humanism and the Reformation

Since the famous controversy between Dilthey and Troeltsch, the relationship of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation has received considerable attention: whilst the former regards the Reformation as the religious manifestation of Renaissance humanism, the latter emphasises the heterogeneity between the two movements.[2] It is generally agreed in current scholarship that Renaissance humanism played an indispensable role in the origin and development of the Reformation. In his *Reformation Thought*, a standard textbook of Reformation studies for the last two decades, McGrath remarks that 'of the many tributaries

[2] W. Dilthey, 'Auffassung und Analyse des Menschen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in his *Gesammelte Schriften*: *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1914), 2: 1-89, esp. 39-42, 53-63; E. Troeltsch, 'Renaissance und Reformation (first pub. 1913)', in his *Gesammelte Schriften: Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte und Religionssoziologie.* ed. H. Baron (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1925, rpt., 1966), 4: 261-96. Nevertheless, the fundamental incompatibility of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation has still been argued among Reformation scholars. This view is more manifest in the ideological and philosophical interpretation of humanism. For a survey and analysis of the various interpretations of it attempted, see J. Tracy, 'Humanism and the Reformation', in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research.* ed. S. Ozment (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982): 33-57. Cf. W. S. Maltby, *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research: II* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1992).

which contributed to the flow of the Reformation, by far the most important was Renaissance humanism'.[3]

The relation of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation has been examined from various standpoints – historical, theological, literary, and so on. However, from a musicological perspective, the relation has been relatively less considered. It is especially true of English church music scholarship. In Le Huray's *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660,* which has been regarded as most authoritative on the subject, the decisive role of humanist pedagogy in the programme of the Reformation and the sphere of humanist influence on the reform of church music are largely overlooked.[4] This trend is still dominant in many studies of English church music practice of the time. For instance, a recent study of its chorister education in the sixteenth century does not consider the spread of humanist education with which the provision of the policy and curriculum of the chorister schools had been in line.[5]

Such neglect of the consideration of the relations which existed between the two movements from a musicological viewpoint may be more fundamentally argued by raising the question of the interpretation of Renaissance humanism. As

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[3] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 39. For further on the relation of Renaissance humanism to the Reformation, see 39-65. See also J. F. D'Amico, 'Humanism and Pre-Reformation Theology', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 349-79. See also A. Levy, *Renaissance and Reformation* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[4] P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549 -1660* (London: H. Jenkins, 1967). Humanism has been generally regarded as one of three major religious and intellectual elements behind the English Reformation, alongside Lollardy and Lutheranism. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 50.

[5] See, Chapter III, 172-79.

discussed in the preceding chapter, by the mid-twentieth century it was customary to view that humanism as a new philosophy of the Renaissance, characterised by the human dignity, individualism, secularism, and moral autonomy that were identified by Burckhardt. In this view, humanism is in essence contradictory to the Reformation based on a realisation of the depravity and weakness of human beings and the pivotal role of providence in the procession of history. As typical evidence of it, scholars suggest the famous debate on 'free-will' between Erasmus and Luther.[6]

Any discussion of the relation of Renaissance humanism to the Reformation, as perceived by McGrath, is dependent upon the definition of humanism employed.[7] Kristeller's view of Renaissance humanism as an educational and cultural movement provided an interpretative foundation for understanding the relation of humanism and the Reformation as reciprocal rather than conflicting. Kristeller emphasised the need for more research on the religious ideas of the humanists. And subsequent researches have exhaustively shown that humanists' patristic, biblical and historical scholarship and their rhetorical methods were integral to the formation and development of the religious ideas of the Reformation. As Moeller argues in his seminal study of the Reformation, indeed, there was no Reformation without Renaissance humanism.[8]

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[6] S. Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 290-302.

[7] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 44.

[8] B. Moeller, 'The German Humanists and the Beginnings of the Reformation', in *Imperial Cities and the Reformation*, eds. & trans. H. C. E. Midelfort & M. U. Edwards, Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 36. For its original German text, see 'Die deutschen

The major contribution of humanism to the success of the Reformation is clear in the revision of the curriculum under humanists and reformers such as Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560).[9] Eventually, the humanist ideal of reforming society by means of an educational reform was embodied through the Reformation. That is, the reformers pursued the accomplishment of the *ecclesia reformanda* through a series of educational processes.[10] In their programmes, the *studia humanitatis* and rhetorical techniques such as the *loci commune* became the essential means to the end of the dissemination of the Reformation ideas.

Although Kristeller's definition has been the 'emergent consensus' in Renaissance scholarship, however, the existing ideological approach has still been prevalent amongst Reformation scholars.[11] Most studies of Reformation music are implicitly based on this approach, emphasising the incompatibility between the two movements, and tend to dismiss or fail to grasp the humanist features of Reformation music history. Leaver's study is a case in point; he has paid little attention to humanism, although, together with Platonism, it was a major

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Humanisten und die Anfänge der Reformation', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vierte Folge, 8 (1959): 46-61.

[9] B. G. Kohl, 'Humanism and Education', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 5-22.

[10] J. Kittelson, 'Learning and Education: Two Phases of the Reformation', in *Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund*, eds. L. Grane & K. Horby (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990): 149-63. Cf. R. Porter, B. Scribner, & M. Teich, eds. *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[11] Nauert, Jr., 'Renaissance Humanism: An Emergent Consensus and Its Critics', 5-20.

intellectual current of the Renaissance that was influential on music, especially on the musical reform of the contemporary church.[12]

Given the lasting effect of the ideological interpretation, it is thus not surprising that the relation of humanism to music has mainly been discussed in relation to the genre of secular music, such as the madrigal.[13] However, an observation of the humanist study and education which promoted the Reformation leads us to consider the relation of Renaissance humanism to Reformation theology of music and its musical consequences. One can here raise a fundamental question: on what basis and in what manner was the humanist approach to music related to the reform of ecclesiastical music in the sixteenth century? Perhaps this question can be best answered by discussing Christian humanists' attitude towards church music practices of the day.[14] As will be observed, the origin of Reformation theology of music, especially of the early Reformed theologians, is indebted to humanist efforts for the restoration of ancient Christian worship.[15]

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[12] For more on the impact of humanism and Platonism on Renaissance music, see P. O. Kristeller 'Music and Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 1 (1947): 255-74; rpt., in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

[13] On the effect of humanism on madrigal composition, see G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1954, rev. ed., 1959), esp. see 839, 877. Albrecht extended the scope of the investigation of humanism in relation to 16th century music. See his article 'Humanismus und Musik', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. F. Blume, 14 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), 6: 895-918.

[14] For further, see K. G. Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', *MQ*, 39 (1953), 582-86.

[15] See H. Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 263-69.

Although the Reformation witnessed different views on the use of music, all the reformers appealed to much the same literary sources as the basis for their reforming programmes of church music: the scriptures, patristic writings, and the classics. This approach was anticipated by a group of Renaissance humanists - those who were committed to reconstructing the ancient and genuine theology of the first Christian centuries (*vetus ac vera theologia*) by means of philology and textual criticism. They saw existing church music as having seriously deviated from the original pattern of Christian worship. Petrarch criticises florid singing in the services, on the basis of Athanasius' guidance which was confirmed by Augustine in his *Confession* (Books 9-10).[16] As will be discussed in the final chapter, it is this humanist rediscovery of the patristic theology of music which underlies the stylistic reform of ecclesiastical chant.[17]

A representative example of this humanist reform of church music in a direct relation to the Reformation is found in Erasmus. Like his biblical and patristic scholarship, Erasmus' musical view was very influential on both the Catholic and Protestant reformers.[18] There is no solid evidence to suggest any involvement of

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[16] This is quoted by Merbecke in his *A Booke of Notes and Common Places*, 1016. A key Florentine humanist Poliziano translated a substantial part of Athanasius' *Epistola ad Marcellinum*, a work which stressed the Psalms as a source for Christian prayer and inspiration, and published it in 1492 with the title *Opusculum in psalmos*. C. L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), 225.

[17] See, Chapter IV, 271-74.

[18] Erasmus' impact on the reformation of music by the Council is generally acknowledged by modern writers: H. Leichtentritt, 'The Reform of Trent and its Effect on Music', *MQ*, 30 (1944), 319; G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London: Dent, 1959), 448.

Erasmus in musical activities, but he bears crucial witness to music performance practices of the contemporary church in terms of his own criteria of *true* church music.[19]

Heavily influenced by Valla's rhetorical scheme for 'humanistic' theology, as discussed earlier, Erasmus adopted classical rhetoric for the re-orientation of Christian pedagogy. Its main focus was on the presentation of theological concepts in eloquence, aiming at persuading its listeners or readers as successfully as possible.[20] Within this framework of theological discourse, music was viewed as an important rhetorical means for a true religious and spiritual expression. It is for this reason that for Erasmus and his successors, the obscurity of texts in musical performance within the contemporary church had been a subject of severe criticism.

In English-speaking scholarship the contribution of Erasmus' musical view to the Reformation theology of music has seldom received the attention it merits.[21] The only relevant study is Miller's essay published in 1966.[22] Erasmus' enthusiasm for musical antiquity is well appreciated by Miller; but there remains a

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[19] A Swiss humanist and musical theorist Glarean notes in his *Dodecachordon* that Erasmus was a choir boy under the direction of Jacob Obrecht at Utrecht cathedral.

[20] Trinkaus, 'Italian Humanism and Scholastic Theology', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 329-30.

[21] For a standard monograph for Erasmus on music see J. D. Margolin, *Erasme et la musique* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1965). For more recent studies see H. Fleinghaus, *Die Musikanschauung des Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 135 (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1984). F. Passadore, '"Divina res est musica": la musica nel pensiero di Erasmo', *Erasmo e le utopie del Cinquencento: l'influenza della morìa e dell'enchridion*. eds. A. Olivieri & G. Venzoni (Milan: Unicopli, 1996): 166-83.

[22] C. A. Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', *MQ*, 52 (1966): 332-49.

fundamental shortcoming in his study. Miller does not consider the crucial impact of patristic writers on Erasmus' view of music as it had been so evidently in other matters, which will be discussed in some detail in the following two sections.[23]

Erasmus' ideas and programmes of religious reform in the pursuit of both the revival of learning and that of Christianity had officially been rejected by the Roman Catholic Church, within which Erasmus remained as an ordained priest throughout his life.[24] His name appears on several lists of forbidden books; for example, the first Roman Index of Forbidden Books (1559). Erasmus' works had indeed stimulated many readers to leave traditional Catholic practices, and many brilliant humanists who admired Erasmus such as Zwingli and Bucer developed into key figures of the Protestant Reformation.[25] In what follows, we shall observe the humanist character of the major Protestant reformers' attitudes towards music, which is, as will be seen, what Erasmus contemplated.

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[23] The original Latin texts of Erasmus' writings on music quoted in this thesis, which are omitted in Miller's article, are given in footnotes. For this, I have used two modern editions of Erasmus': J. LeClerc, ed. *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia* (LB); *Opera omnia Des. Erasmi Roterdami* (ASD). Some part of the English translations by Miller and *CWE* are slightly amended in this thesis.

[24] Cf. B. Hall, *Humanists and Protestants 1500-1900* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), Ch. 2. 'Erasmus: Biblical Scholar and Catholic Reformer', 52-85.

[25] Erasmus was very popular amongst young Spanish humanists in the 1520s; he had an especially powerful impact in Germany, Switzerland, and England: the Protestant humanists and reformers such as Tyndale in England, Melanchthon at Wittenberg, Zwingli in Zurich, Bucer at Strasbourg and Pelikan in Basel were influenced heavily by Erasmus.

## Humanist Impact on Musical Views of the Protestant Reformers

By the middle part of the twentieth century a conventional dichotomy was customary in the study of musical views of the mainstream reformers: Martin Luther (1483-1546) was regarded as a representative of philo-music sentiment whilst the Reformed theologians such as John Calvin (1509-1564) were thought to be against music.[26] This is confirmed in Buszin's article on Luther's view of music, where Buszin mentions 'Calvin's indifference or rather hostility to music'.[27] In the 1950s, two studies based on a literary analysis of Calvin's own writings relating to music challenged this received claim.[28] Garside's study is

[26] As Old notes, the policy of the Church of Zurich under Zwingli should not be regarded as typical of the early Reformed churches, and Bucer, Calvin, Zwick, and even the reformers of St Gallen disagreed with the practice of Zurich. Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship*, 263. See also, H. Reimann, *Die Einführung des Kirchengesanges in der Zürcher Kirche nach der Reformation* (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1959); G. De Jong, *Liturgy and Music in Reformed Worship: Grand Rapids 1979* (Grand Rapids, MI: Committee of the Conference on Liturgy and Music in Reformed Worship, 1979); G. Aeschbacher, 'Zwingli und die Musik im Gottesdienst', in *Reformiertes Erbe: Festschrift für Gottfried W. Locher zu seinem 80. Geburstag*. ed. H. A. Oberman. 2 vols. (Zürich: TVZ, 1992-93), 1: 1-11.

[27] W. E. Buszin, 'Luther on Music'. *MQ*, 32 (1946): 81-97. For an English version of Luther's works, see H. T. Lehmann, ed. *Luther's Works*, 55 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press). The 53rd volume of the series (1965), edited by U. S. Leupold, concerns liturgy and liturgical music.

[28] C. Garside, Jr., 'Calvin's Preface to the Psalter: A Re-Appraisal', *MQ*, 37 (1951): 566-77; H. P. Clive, 'The Calvinist Attitude to Music, and Its Literary Aspects and Sources'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 19 (1957): 294-319; 20 (1958): 29-107. Cf. J. Macmillan, 'The Calvinistic Psalmody of Claude LeJeune'. Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1966); M. Bisgrove, 'Sacred Choral Music in the Calvinistic Tradition of the Protestant Reformation in Switzerland and France from 1541 to 1600'. Ph.D. diss. (New York

particularly noteworthy in that it reveals the humanist nature of Calvin's musical outlook by examining his preface to the Geneva Psalter. Garside goes further to examine Zwingli's views to explore the Reformed theology of music.[29]

In his re-appraisal of Calvin's preface to the Geneva Psalter, Garside demonstrates that Calvin's musical view is entirely in accord with northern European humanists such as Celtus in matters of the relation of music to text.[30] This view is elaborated in Garside's later study to explore the roots of Calvin's theological outlook on music. In the *The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music*, Garside discusses in much detail the Strasbourg reformer Bucer's influence on the development of Calvin's ideas of worship and music.[31]

Although stressing the Bucerian feature of Calvin's theology of music (especially through the content of the passages on psalmody in the *Articles* of

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University, 1969); R. Leslie, 'Music and the Arts in Calvin's Geneva'. Ph.D. diss. (McGill University, 1969).

[29] C. Garside, Jr., *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 1-75. Zwingli's is generally regarded as the most radical example of such an anti-music sentiment.

[30] B. Hall, *John Calvin: Humanist and Theologian* (London: Historical Association, 1967). See also Q. Breen, *John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism* (Archon Books: Grand Rapids, 2nd ed., 1968).

[31] C. Garside, Jr., *The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1979), 10-14. Cf. S. J. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmbereijmingen van de Souterliedekens tot Datheen, met hun voorgangers in Duitsland en Frankrijk* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1959), esp. 158-69. According to Garside, Lenselink's evidence of Bucer's influence on Calvin's musical view is drawn from Calvin's *Epistre au Lecteur* which prefaces the Genevan Church Order of 1542 and the addition to it of 1543. But Garside maintains that three of the most important Bucerian ideas which Lenselink adduces, 1) the identification of song with prayer, 2) the fact that both must come from the heart, and 3) the reliance on the authority of church history, are to be found in Calvin prior to 1542 – in the *Articles* of 1537.

1537), Garside does not go further to consider that Bucer was an enthusiastic Erasmian humanist, like Zwingli. Bucer, famous for his moderate line, follows Erasmus' outlook in the matter of liturgical music which is not intending 'a breakaway movement' in the medieval church (though it looked so to the Catholic opponent of the Reformation); Zwingli took a radical stance on it, removing music entirely from services.[32] The humanist feature of Calvin's musical view and Bucer's impact on developing a theological framework of music indicates the affinity between Erasmus and Calvin in their approach to ecclesiastical music.

Calvin's fundamental re-consideration of the notion of service music is grounded in a serious recognition of the ethical and emotional force of music. This was imbued with the ancient concept of music, especially the Platonic tradition: 'there is scarcely anything in the world which is more capable of turning or moving this way and that the morals of men, as Plato prudently considered it [music]. And in fact we experience that it has a secret and almost incredible power to arouse hearts in one way or another'.[33] Calvin repeats what Erasmus was thus apprehensive of, following the triadic pattern, historical, scriptural, and patristic: in its appeal first to the practice of the ancient church, then to the witness

[32] For Erasmus, Luther, Bucer, and Calvin, the medieval church was a Christian church: 'to reform a church is to presuppose that a church already exists'. McGrath, *Reformation Thought,* 204. For the Reformation notion of catholicity in seeking a historical and institutional continuity with the apostolic church, see 215-18.

[33] Quoted in Garside, *The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music*, 22.

of Paul, and finally to the *Confessions* of Augustine.[34] In his preface to the Geneva Psalter in 1542, Calvin wrote[35]

> As for public prayer, there are two kinds. The one with the word alone: the others with singing. And this is not something invented a little time ago. For from the first origin of the Church, this has been so, as appears from the histories. And even St. Paul speaks not only of praying by mouth: but also of singing. And in truth we know by experience that singing has great force and vigor to move and inflame the hearts of men to invoke and praise God with a more vehement and ardent zeal. Care must always be taken that the song be neither light nor frivolous: but that it have weight and majesty (as St Augustine says), and also, there is a great difference between the music which one makes to entertain men at table and in their houses, and the Psalms which are sung in the Church in the presence of God and His angels. But when anyone wishes to judge correctly of the form which is here presented, we hope that it will be found holy and pure, seeing that it is simply directed to the edification of which we have spoken.

First, Calvin discusses two kinds of public prayer; one is delivered by the word only; the other is delivered by music. His identifying singing with praying, that is, singing as prayer, is grounded in humanist rhetorical emphasis on the unity of music and word.[36] For Calvin, music without text - instrumental music - is not appropriate for divine worship. This opinion, as will be discussed intensively, was earlier stressed by Erasmus and later by the Anglican apologists such as

[34] Garside, *The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music*, 20.

[35] Quoted in Garside, 'Calvin's Preface to the Psalter', 568.

[36] Recent studies have shown the influence of French Legal humanism on Calvin's theological rhetoric. J. Brook & P. Ford, eds. *Poetry and Music in the French Renaissance, Proceedings of the Sixth Cambridge French Renaissance Colloquium, 5-7 July 1999* (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 2001).

Jewel. Furthermore, Calvin makes a clear distinction between 'divine' music and 'worldly' music.[37] Such a distinction, as will be discussed, is the basis of the Quintilian - Erasmian concept of music. In typical humanist fashion, Calvin's main concern in music lies in its role as a part of education. He brings music into line with ideals of literary refinement, emphatically stressing the intelligibility of a text in a musical performance as well as the quality of moderation and *decorum* in music.[38]

Compared with the Reformed theologians, the humanist impact on Luther himself is relatively limited.[39] Luther's programme of religious reform, however, can be seen as humanist in many ways. It was greatly supported by humanist editors and educators and relied on the methods and programmes of the Biblical humanism cultivated by Erasmus and Reuchlin.[40] More importantly, Luther's preference for a syllabic style of music, as shown in his *Deudsche Messe* of 1526, is in common with contemporary German humanist composition for the classical

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[37] Garside, *The Origin of Calvin's Theology of Music*, 18-19. According to McKinnon, patristic writers referred to psalmody as a distinct kind of music, and the term 'musica' was very rarely used with reference to Christian song; 'psalms' and 'hymns' were the normal terms. J. McKinnon, 'The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments', *Current Musicology*, 1 (1965): 69-82, at 79. Cf. McKinnon's unpublished Ph.D. diss., 'The Church Fathers and Musical Instruments' (Columbia University, 1965).

[38] Garside, *The origin of Calvin's theology of Music*, 21-9.

[39] On Luther and Humanism, see A. McGrath, *Intellectual Origins*, 59-68. More recently, T. P. Dost, *Renaissance Humanism in Support of the Gospel in Luther's Early Correspondence: Taking all things captive* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

[40] For more on Reuchlin, see Chapter IV, 'Christian Hebraism and the Reform of Plainchant'.

odes.[41] In the preface to the book, Luther even stresses the importance for the youth of learning classical languages through the services:

> For I in no wise desire that the Latin language be dropped entirely from our services of worship; I say this in the interest of our youth. If it were possible for me to do so, and if the Greek and Hebrew languages were used as commonly among us as is the Latin language and were also used in as much fine music as is Latin, I would urge that we change off [sic] and conduct Mass and sing and read from the Scriptures in all four languages, one Sunday in German, the next in Latin, the third in Greek, the fourth in Hebrew.[42]

Both Calvin and Luther agree that music is 'a beautiful and glorious gift of God'.[43] Their emphasis on the divine property of music is premised on the powerful emotional and ethical force and therapeutic effect of music. The difference is that Luther places more emphasis on the positive aspect of music than its negative one that alarmed Erasmus and his successors.[44]

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[41] For further, see Chapter IV, 252-56.

[42] Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 94. In the matter of the use of vernacular languages at service, the position of Bucer and Calvin is more radical than Luther's. Calvin argues in the *Institution* of 1536 that 'public prayers must be couched not in Greek among the Latins, nor in Latin among the French or English (as has heretofore been the custom) but in the language of the people, which can be generally understood by the whole assembly. For this ought to be done for the edification of the whole church, which receives no benefit whatever from a sound not understood'. Quoted in Garside, *The Origin of Calvin's Theology of Music*, 27. J. Calvin, *Institution of Christian Religion* (Basel, 1536), trans. & annotated by F. L. Battles (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), 101.

[43] Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 85, 88-92; Garside, *The Origin of Calvin's Theology of Music*, 22.

[44] Cf. R. A. Leaver, 'Lutheran Reformation', in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the end of the Sixteenth century*. ed. I. Fenlon (Basingstoke: McMillian, 1986), 265.

As will be discussed in some detail in the next chapter in relation to Peter Martyr, Erasmus and the Reformed theologians take Augustine's stance: Augustine warns against the appeal of musical sound - 'the measures and chords of music' to the senses in the church and introduces the chant practice advocated by Athanasius. In his attack on music as 'harmony' which is most exhaustively presented by Vincenzo Galilei, Erasmus and the Reformed theologians share the Florentine Platonist view of music.[45] Galilei denounces counterpoint as aiming at meaningless 'harmony' directed to the senses rather than the intellect, through his 'scientific experiment' to re-consider the relation of consonances and the Pythagorean-Platonic ratios.[46]

Unlike Erasmus, Luther is not entirely in agreement with the Augustinian view, as shown by his comment on the same passage in the *Confession* that 'if he were living today, he would hold with us...'[47] This is also clear in annotating 1 Cor. 14: whilst Luther notes that the use of music was encouraged by Paul, Erasmus envisages here that there was no song but only speech in Paul's time,

[45] For a study of the indebtedness of Erasmus' religious ideas to Florentine Platonism through an analysis of the Platonist elements in his key works, *Enchiridion* and the *Praise of Folly*, see Kristeller, 'Erasmus from an Italian Perspective', 9-14. D. T. Mace, 'Musical Humanism, the Doctrine of Rhythmus, and the Saint Cecilia Odes of Dryden', *JNL Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 27 (1964), 253-58. For the most recent study of Galilei's *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, see *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, translated, with introduction and notes by C. V. Palisca (Hew Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[46] Mace, 'Musical Humanism, the Doctrine of Rhythmus, and the Saint Cecilia Odes of Dryden', 256. See also C. V. Palisca, 'Scientific Empiricism in Musical Thought', in *Seventeenth Century Science and the Arts*, ed. H. H. Rhys (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 127.

[47] Cited in Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 89.

with emphasis on the speech-like singing.[48] In his preface to the 1538 collection of part-songs, Luther praises the effect of music as 'beyond the reach of the greatest eloquence of the greatest orators' (*superat omnium eloquentissimorum eloquentissimam eloquentiam*).[49] It does not mean however that Luther was unconditionally fond of music. Luther does not seem to enjoy counterpoint much: on the music written in canonic style (*plenas fugarum*) of the composer Edemberger, Luther remarks that 'he has enough of art and skill, but is lacking in warmth' (*Artis sat habet, sed caret suavitate*).[50]

In short, the common ground of the Reformation theology of music lies in the reformers' great emphasis on the ethical and rhetorical attributes of music.[51] As admirers of classical learning, they were heavily influenced by the Platonist tradition spread out from Florence which emphasised the relation of morality and music. The Reformed theologians were more radical than their Lutheran counterparts in this regard. Such a strong Platonic tendency is indeed the main feature of the Reformation theology of music. It must not be understood as the whole picture of its humanist foundation, however, as in Garside's study.[52] As emphasized in the previous chapter, Renaissance humanism was not a movement homogeneous in terms of philosophical, religious, and political ideas. Many

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[48] Ibid., 88; Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 339.

[49] Cited in Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 81. For more on the comparison between Erasmus and Luther, see Fleinghaus, *Die Musikanschauung des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, 177-202.

[50] Cited in Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 89-90.

[51] F. W. Sternfeld, 'Music in the Schools of the Reformation', *Musica Disciplina*, 2 (1948): 99-122.

[52] Garside, *The Origin of Calvin's Theology of Music*, 22-3, 29.

humanists favoured Platonism, for example; a strong persistence of Aristotelianism among other humanists is also found.[53]

The Protestant Reformation witnessed a divergence in doctrines and practices. Yet its religious ideas and programmes invariably relied on humanist studies and pedagogy. In this context, music - an imitation and elaboration of words - became an excellent means to propagate the Reformation ideal. Reformers employed humanist musicians and music educators - the 'poet-composers', excellent in both letters and music. In the Wittenberg Reformation, Luther was desperately looking for poets able 'to prepare pious and spiritual songs which deserve being used in the church of God'.[54] Bucer and Calvin appointed the school choirs to teach various metrical psalms to the congregation, and for that purpose claimed an hour of music study four days a week.[55] Like humanist scholars and educators, indeed, the poet-composers played an indispensable role in the embodiment of the spirit of the Reformation.

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[53] Humanism had often been described as a philosophical reaction to medieval scholasticism. In this view, it was argued that the former was dominated by Platonism whereas the latter was based on Aristotelianism. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 42-3. Cf. J. K. McConica, 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', *English Historical Review*, 94, no. 371 (1979): 291-317.

[54] Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 87, 94. For a recent study which stresses the role of music in the German Reformation, see Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation.*

[55] B. R. Butler, 'Hymns', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. ed. H. Hillerbrand. 4 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), 2: 296.

# 2. The Erasmian Ideal of Ecclesiastical Music

## Music and Rhetoric

The essence of Erasmus' Christian humanism lies in the establishment of a new framework of theological discourse, on the basis of the rules of classical rhetoric. Erasmus translated the Greek word *logos* at the beginning of John's Gospel by *sermo*, speech, conversation, rather than the traditional *verbum* of the Vulgate, in order to emphasise the rhetorical role of the Son.[56] Erasmian musical thought, in parallel with contemporary musical humanism, takes root in the same principles of eloquence and persuasiveness from rhetoric. That is, for Erasmus and his successors, like rhetoric, music concerns 'the effective deployment of its means to communicate ideas to the consciousness and sensibilities of the listener'.[57] This understanding of music is based on the notion of the alliance of music and rhetoric proposed in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (*The Orator's Education*).[58]

In Book I, Chapter 10 of his *Institutio oratoria*, Quintilian presents a strong defence for music in its association with orators. His discussion of music begins

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[56] J. Martindale, ed. *English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley*. World and Word Series (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 22.

[57] D. Harrán, *In Search of Harmony: Hebrew and Humanist Elements in Sixteenth-Century Musical Thought*. MSD 42 (Hänssler-Verlag: AIM, 1988), 173.

[58] On music: Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I. x. 9-33 (ed. & tr. Russell, 1: 217-29). Erasmus sees himself as a follower of Quintilian. For Quintilian's huge influence on Erasmus, see *CWE*, vols. 24-5.

with high regard for it: 'in ancient times music was not only the subject of intense study but of veneration'.[59] Quintilian confirms that 'music is one of the oldest arts related to literature' through 'the testimony of the greatest poets, in whom the praises of heroes and gods were sung to the accompaniment of the kithara at royal banquets'.[60] According to him, music once belonged to orators' study but was abandoned by them and taken over by philosophers. Advocating the necessity of music education for the orator, Quintilian asserts that 'eloquence cannot be perfect without the knowledge of music (*sine omnium talium scientia non potest esse perfecta eloquentia*)'.[61]

It is essential to define what music Quintilian means in his discussion. On the basis of ancient authorities, Quintilian stresses the divine property of music and musicians: 'music is also connected with the knowledge of things divine' (*musicen cum divinarum etiam rerum cognitione esse coniunctam*);[62] 'Orpheus and Linus were regarded both as musicians (*musici*) and as prophets or poets (*vātes*) and philosophers (*sapientes*)'.[63] Furthermore, Quintilian discusses the importance of music education in ancient Greek and the function of music to

[59] For the Latin text, see footnote 63.

[60] '. . . est omnium in litteris studiorum antiquissimam musicen extitisse, et testimonio sunt clarissimi poetae, apud quos inter regalia convivia laudes heroum ac deorum ad citharam canebantur'. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.x.10.

[61] Ibid., I.x.11.

[62] Ibid., I.x.11.

[63] Ibid., I.x.9. 'Nam quis ignorat musicen (ut de hac primum loquar) tantum iam illis antiquis temporibus non studii modo verum etiam venerationis habuisse, ut iidem musici et vates et sapientes iudicarentur (mittam alios) Orpheus et Linus...' From Vergil onwards, *vātes* (a prophet, soothsayer) means a singer, or bard, or poet. For further, see D. P. Simpson, *Cassell's Latin-Enlgish / English-Latin Dictionary* (London: Macmillan, 5th ed., 1968), 631.

lighten the strain of mental and physical labours - regardless of the quality of work and music - 'but even the weariness of the solitary workers finds comfort in uncultivated song'.[64]

Emphasising the unity of the art of music and that of *grammaticē* ('the study of correct speech and the interpretation of the poets')[65] in ancient times, Quintilian quotes a famous proverb: 'The uneducated are far away from the Muses and the Graces'.[66] In praises of music as 'the noblest art', Quintilian discusses the relevance of music to rhetoric, developing a notion of the affinity between music and oratory. The music which Quintilian approves of is thus vocal music; he makes a clear distinction between 'the music to which the praises of brave men were sung, and which brave men themselves used to sing' and 'the music of the effeminate and lewd theatre of his day which degenerates courageous strength'.[67] Although advising the orator to know the principles that possess the power to arouse or sedate the emotions by instrumental music, Quintilian expresses a very negative opinion of the instruments - the psaltery and the spadix: 'respectable girls should not even handle them', which is echoed by Jerome and Erasmus.[68]

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[64] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.x.13-16. The quotation marked sentence: 'sed etiam singulorum fatigatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur' (16).

[65] See Russell's introduction of Book I, *Institutio oratoria* (tr. Russell, 1: 47).

[66] Ibid., 17-21.

[67] This sentence comes after Quintilian mentions Chiron and Achilles. Russell (1: 226-27) offers the relevant passage from Plutarch, *On music* 40: 'We learn that Heracles made use of music, and Achilles, and many others, whose teacher is said to have been the wise Chiron, instructor in music and righteousness and medicine'.

[68] See the following section, 149.

With emphasis on the ethical and educational forces of music, Quintilian discusses the advantages the orator can derive from music. First of all, he envisages music as having two parts, in the 'voice' (*vox*) and in the 'body' (*corpus*); 'both need some kind of control'.[69] A system of voice is divided into rhythm (*rhythmos*) and melody (*melos*); the former comprising 'modulation' (*modulatio*), and the latter 'song' (*canor*) and 'sound' (*sonus*).[70] To the orator, all these are essential, argues Quintilian: they are firstly concerned with gesture; secondly with the arrangement of words; thirdly with the inflexions of the voice, many of which are also related to speech.[71] He goes on to say that as with poetry or the sung parts of plays, some kind of structure and euphonious combination of sounds is necessary in pleading, and oratory does employ various kinds of composition and sounds according to the needs of the subject just as music does.[72]

From such a rhetorico-musical viewpoint, Erasmus elaborates the discussion of the art of oratory in relation to music in his *De recta latini graecique sermonis*

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[69] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.x.22. 'Numeros musice duplices habet, in vocibus et in corpore: utriusque enim rei aptus quidam modus desideratur'. Here and 24 ('Namque et voce et modulatione'), Russell translates *vox* into 'sound', which causes some conceptual confusion with *sonus* -'sound'. The music Quintlian approves and considers in its affinity with oratory is vocal music, hence, the two words are not always interchangeable; in his discourse, especially in the above two sentences, *vox* means 'voice'.

[70] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.x.22. 'Aristoxenus musicus dividit in ρυθμόν et μέλος, quorum alterum modulatione, alterum canore ac sonis constat'.

[71] Ibid. I. x. 22-23. 'Num igitur non haec omnia oratori necessaria? Quorum unum ad gestum, alterum ad conlocationem verborum, tertium ad flexus vocis, qui sunt in agendo quoque plurimi, pertinet'.

[72] Ibid. I.x.23.

*pronunciatione*, published in Basel in 1528.[73] Here, Erasmus stresses that the first thing to be learned in education is correct pronunciation.[74] Central to the obtaining of the correct pronunciation are matters of accent and quantity. In the explanation of the difference between accent and quantity, Erasmus writes

> Why should we be so crude and unmusical when we talk, making every syllable that is accented high long and all the others short? . . . Since vowels are the main vehicles of sound, a diphthong is particularly audible. For it consists of two vowels as well as forming a long syllable. . . The accentuation and lengthening of some syllables can of course only be perceived in relation to others. . . The same happens in music.[75]

In discussing the question of accentuation his main focus is on proportion between long and short syllables. With regard to this, Erasmus suggests 1:2 as a proper ratio between them, according to the ancient grammarians, for whom this was a most basic and universally known fact of prosody. Then Erasmus goes on to say that

> But in ordinary speech there is no need to keep the ratio so exactly as there would be in choral singing or in dancing, say, to a guitar. It is enough if the shorts are sensibly distinct from the longs. In fact it can happen that a single long syllable is

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[73] *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronunciatione dialogus* (Basel, 1528), For a standard modern edition see, LB I, esp. 930 A, 943 B&D, 944 A, 947 E, 957 A. For its English translation see *CWE*, 26: 358-436.

[74] *CWE*, 26: 387.

[75] Ibid., 423-24 [LB I 941B-942A] [ASD I-4: 62-3]. 'Nonne frequenter imam chordam pulsans producis sonos, et summam tangens brevibus insonas, aut contra?. . . Quoniam autem vocales principes sunt sonorum, diphthongum audibiliorem faciunt duae res, gemina vocalis et productio morae. . . Iam intensio vocis et productio percipi non potest, nisi ex aliarum comparatione. . . Fit idem a musicis'.

equivalent to two shorts, or to more than two shorts, or even to only a short and a half. . .[76]

After dealing with the measurement of the duration of syllables, Erasmus discusses its relationship to musical notes as an instruction.[77]

The matter of vocal delivery and voice production is treated as an important factor in the art of oratory as in that of singing. With respect to pitch changes in speech, notes Erasmus, 'there is no need to keep an absolute consistency in the modulation of pitch or to sound every high, low, and circumflex on precisely the same note', if 'the changes are to be perceptible in a relative way by comparison with their immediate neighbours'. The intervals are sometimes 'a semitone or a whole tone, or two tones, a fourth, or a fifth'.[78] Some go even higher, a whole octave or more, says Erasmus, which is 'ungraceful' and 'even border on insanity'. For the proper delivery, thus, Erasmus confines the tonal span within a

[76] *CWE*, 26: 424 [LB I 942A] [ASD I-4: 63]. 'Quae ratio est brevis ad longam? Dupla, ut aiunt grammatici; verum in dicendo non est necesse tam exacte rationem obseruare, veluti fit in concentu musico, aut veluti si quis saltet ad citharam. Sat est, si longa sensibili mora distinguatur a brevi. Nam fieri potest ut una longa respondeat duabus brevibus, aut amplius; rursus ut respondeat uni brevi et dimidio...'

[77] See Chapter IV, 250.

[78] *CWE*, 26: 428 [LB I 944A] [ASD I-4: 66] '. . . ita in modulandis tonis non est eadem ac perpetua ratio, ut omnes acutas sones iisdem chordis seu graves aut circumflexas. . . Interdum enim ad semitonium, interdum ad tonum, nonnunquam ad ditonum.'

heptachord.[79] The following four words, *legeramus*, *abominanda*, *horrenda*, *non referenda*, are given as examples of the pitch changes.[80]

Erasmus applies these rhetorical precepts to the practice of contemporary church music, especially to chant performance practice, as will be discussed. This application is premised on the functional affinity of music and oratory:

> Music indeed employs 'voice' and 'modulation', to express sublime thoughts loftily, pleasing thoughts with sweetness, and ordinary thoughts with easy grace; it uses all its skill to accord with the emotions required by the words it accompanies. Yet in oratory too, raising, lowering, or inflecting the voice is a means of affecting the hearer's feelings; we use one 'modulation' (if I may use the same term) of phrasing and of voice to arouse the judge's indignation and a different one for arousing pity; why, we even feel that mental attitudes are affected in various ways by instruments which are incapable of articulate speech. . .[81]

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[79] *CWE*, 26: 428 [LB I 944A] [ASD I-4: 66] Ibid. '. . . sed iam indecore, nec citra speciem insaniae, quae hoc est euidentior quo id faciunt crebrius, maixme quum sensus nullam vocis mutationem postulet. Tota haec modulandi ratio intra heptachordi modos consistit'.

[80] *CWE*, 26: 428 [LB I 944A] [ASD I-4: 66] 'Rursus in depressione vocis eadem est ratio, nec anxie seruandum est ut omnes, quemadmodum dixi, syllabae eodem tenore, velut eadem sonentur chorda, praetor eam quae acuitur. Quod genus si dicas *legeramus*, *abominanda*, *horrenda*, *non referenda*, . . .' For an editorial transcription of them, see, *CWE*, 26: 611.

[81] 'Namque et voce et modulatione grandia elate, iucunda dulciter, moderata leniter canit totaque arte consentit cum eorum quae dicuntur adfectibus. Atque in orando quoque intentio vocis, remissio, flexus pertinet ad movendos audientium adfectus, aliaque et conlocationis et vocis, ut eodem utar verbo, modulatione concitationem iudicis, alia misericordiam petimus, cum etiam organis, quibus sermo exprimi non potest, adfici animos in diversum habitum sentiamus'. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I. x. 24-25.

The expression of ideas and the way it affects listeners depend on 'appropriateness' or propriety in delivery (*decorum*).[82] The appropriateness in delivery is the most essential virtue of elocution (*elocutio*).[83] As will be discussed, the core of Erasmian musical thought lies in the embodiment of *decorum* in delivery. In a musical performance or an oration, the *decorum* in delivery is where rhetoric is inseparable from moral philosophy. Erasmian musical thought is in line with contemporary musical humanism in this regard. The best example of it is illustrated by Franchinus Gaffurius, 'one of the outstanding representatives of musical humanism'.[84] Gaffurius' basic concept of music is grounded in Quintilian rhetoric.[85] In Book III, Chapter 15, of his *Practica musicae* first published in Milan in 1496, Gaffurius treats 'rules of *decorum* in singing'.[86] After instructing singers to control voices in tone and volume so as to be balanced with other voices, Gaffurius says:

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[82] See Introduction of this thesis, 11-2. The term *decorum* (*τὸ πρέπον*) is almost untranslatable. The best general ancient discussions of it are Cicero's, especially *De officiis*, I. 93-99. For Quintilian's discussion of the concept of *decorum*, see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI. i.

[83] Ibid., XI.i.1. Cicero demonstrates 'appropriateness' as the fourth virtue of Elocution; Quintilian regards it as the most essential. '... proxima est cura ut dicamus apte, quam virtutem quartam elocutionis Cicero demonstrat, quaeque est meo quidem iudicio maxime necessaria'.

[84] Kristeller, 'Music and Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance', in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 155. It is assumed that Gaffurius was one of the first music theorists to write in the style of classical Latin according to contemporary humanist trends, criticising the monk's Latin of the medieval musicians. See Lowinsky, 'Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance', 154.

[85] See Chapter IV, 235-37.

[86] F. Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (Milan, 1496; 4th ed., Venice: A. Zanni, 1512); trans. C. A. Miller, MSD 20 (Dallas, Tex.: AIM, 1968), 148-50.

> Further, exaggerated and unbecoming movements of the head and hands proclaim a foolish singer, for the head and hands do not form a pleasing sound, but a well modulated voice. Through their imprudent manner many singers are displeasing to those whom they thought they would please. This was the principal reason why Guido, having forsaken florid and mensural music, devoted himself to ecclesiastical song. For he said about them (as I reluctantly repeat): 'of all men in our times it is the singers who are most fatuous'.[87]

This humanist attack on singers' moral status in the light of the notion of *decorum* is the main characteristic of Erasmian musical thought. It had been echoed in numerous documents of the Reformation, especially in England.[88]

As stressed earlier, Quintilian's rhetorical notion of music is based on the unity of music and poetry in ancient Greek.[89] Erasmus intensifies this organic tie of music, poetry, and rhetoric, not only in the study of the classics but that of the Bible. Thus, Erasmus, an arbitrator of pagan and Christian learning, stresses the union of eloquence and wisdom in the biblical tradition, which is well presented in a poem, through Jerome, the model of a 'learned Christian': 'See how Proverbs runs the gamut of the grandiloquent Muses, how Wisdom, Job, and the Canticle of the Bride play with poetical lines, and how David renders his songs in metrical rhythm, resounding to the harp'.[90]

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[87] Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (tr. Miller), 149.

[88] See Chapter III, 'Humanism and the Musical Reform of the English Church'.

[89] Quintilian says that 'but do poets exist without music?' Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* I.x.28-29.

[90] 'Ecce per altiloquas currunt Proverbia Musas, Versibus alludunt Sapiens, Iob, Cantica sponsae, Concrepat et metricis David sua carmina plectris'. *CWE*, 87: 364-65.

## Music and Moral Philosophy

The tenet of the ethical nature of music is based on the Pythagorean concept of a symbolical and metaphysical relationship in the harmony of the universe, music, and the soul of man.[91] In the *Republic*, Plato judges music from an ethical viewpoint: good music is necessary to promote a well-disposed soul whilst bad music is destructive of public morality and cannot be tolerated. The ethos of modes is of key importance to the criteria of the judgement; according to Plato, the Ionian and Lydian modes should be banished from the state, since they were soft, relaxed, indolent harmonies, whilst the Dorian and Phrygian should be retained, since they were austere and martial.[92] This function of music affecting the development of character and moral virtues is resonated in Aristotle's *Politics*. Later, the ethical nature of music was affirmed by Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists and became the philosophical ground of the patristic polemic against music.

This belief in the ethical character of music was well known to medieval scholars, especially through Boethius' *De Musica*; but in the Renaissance, it became 'the real driving force behind the theory and practice of the more enthusiastic class of humanist'.[93] Treatises of two key music theorists in early

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[91] For the ancient Greek view that music is decisive in moulding character, see J. Mountford, 'Music and the Romans', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 47 (1964), 198-211.

[92] Plato, *Republic*, cited in O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*. ed. L. Treitler (New York: W. W. Norton, rev ed., 1998), 10, 13.

[93] D. P. Walker, 'Musical Humanism in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries,' *Music Review*, 2 (1941), 9.

Renaissance, Johannes Tinctoris and Franchinus Gaffurius, illustrate it. In the *Complexus effectuum musices* (c.1475) Tinctoris draws an analogy between the emotional states awakened by Christian virtues and those by music in the tradition of the church fathers, discussing twenty effects of music on moral developments.[94] From the same viewpoint, Gaffurius gives a definite idea of music in the *Practica musicae.* In Quintilian terms, Gaffurius stresses that music is not only 'the most ancient of all studies relating to literature' but also to morality:

> When I speak about music I do not mean theatrical and effeminate music which corrupts rather than molds public morals, but the former moderate and virile music in praise of ancient heroes. . . although music has been truly an important incentive to virtuous studies, it has even a higher significance, since it is also admitted to the heavens. According to the testimony of celebrated writers it interprets 'the labours of the sun, the wandering moon, and the constellations'. As if not content with deservedly filling up all areas of the earth, it has penetrated the heavens and has been joined to divine mysteries.[95]

Gaffurius' framework of the restoration of music to its ancient dignity continued to be an authority in humanist musical treatises in the sixteenth century and beyond. For those musical humanists, as Harrán remarks, 'the effect of music

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[94] Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 93-4. For more on Tinctoris, see R. Strohm, 'Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a 'Rebirth' of the Arts', in *The New Oxford History of Music III. i: Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. R. Strohm & B. J. Blackburn (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), 360-68.

[95] Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (tr. Miller), 15-6, see also 21. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.x,10 & 31.

depends on the combination of its sounds with words of a specific moral content'.[96]

It was Florentine Platonists who had been most keen on the ethical and therapeutic values of music in close link with a textual content of it. In the *De rationibus musicae*, published in 1484, the key figure of the Florentine Platonism, Marsilio Ficino, deals intensively with the relation of music and the spirit – the power of music for good or evil.[97] In common with most humanists, Erasmus shares this concern with music as the essential part of education. In this regard, it is important to know the influence of Florentine Platonism on Erasmus, especially through the mediation of John Colet, an English humanist.[98] In the *Christiani matrimonii institutio* (1526) Erasmus says

> Antiquity considered music to belong to the liberal disciplines. Since musical sounds have great power to affect the soul of man, . . . the ancients carefully distinguished musical modes, preferring the Dorian to others. They believed this matter to be so important that laws were enacted so that music would not be permitted in the state if it corrupted the minds of citizens.[99]

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[96] A representative example is Franchinus Gaffurius, an early outstanding musical humanist. He was the first music theorist who wrote in classical Latin, and annotated Ficino's translation of Plato. Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 95.

[97] D. P. Walker, 'Ficino's *Spiritus* and Music', *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953): 131-50. Ficino is the founder of Florentine Academy and the initiator of Florentine Platonism.

[98] Cf. *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963). In his essay 'Moral Thought of Humanism' Kristeller notes that 'Plato's influence on the moral thought of the Renaissance is much more limited than Aristotle's, in spite of the well-known role played generally by Platonism in Renaissance philosophy'. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thoughts and the Arts*, 34.

[99] Miller, Erasmus on Music', 348 [LB V 718 AB]. Prisci judicarunt Musicam ad liberales disciplinas pertinere. Sed quoniam numerosi illi soni magnam vim habent ad assicendos hominum animos, in tantum ut quidam hinc collegerint, ipsam animam esse harmoniam, aut

On the basis of this ancient concept of musico-ethical association, first of all, Erasmus criticises the obscenity of texts in contemporary music:

> It is customary now among some nations to compose every year new songs which young girls study assiduously. The subject matter of the songs is usually the following: a husband deceived by his wife, or a daughter guarded in vain by her parents, or a clandestine affair of lovers. These things are presented as if they were wholesome deeds, and a successful act of profligacy is applauded. Added to pernicious subject matter are such obscene innuendoes, expressed in metaphors and allegories, that no manner of depravity could be depicted more vilely. . . . Many earn a livelihood in this occupation, especially among the Flemish. If laws were enforced, composers of such common ditties would be flogged for singing these doleful songs to the licentious. Men who publicly corrupt youth are making a living from crime, yet parents are found who think it a mark of good breeding if their daughters know such songs.[100]

Comparing with an ancient performance only by pantomime in the following passages, Erasmus denounces contemporary musical performance in which 'even if the text is not sung the foulness of the subject can be understood from the nature

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certe habere harmoniam, nam simile simili delectari, studiose distinxerunt Musicae genus, Doricum caeteris praeferentes. Et hanc rem tanti momenti judicant, ut censeant oportere legibus caveri, ne recipiatur in civitatem Musica, quae corrumpat animos civium.

[100] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 347-48 [LB V 717F-718A]. 'Jam apud quasdam Nationes etiam solenne est, quotannis edere novas cantines, quas ediscunt puellae. Quarum argumentum fere tale est: Delusus ab uxore maritus, aut puella frustra servata a parentibus, aut furtivus cum amatore concubitus. Atque haec ita reseruntur quasi bene gesta, adplauditurque felici nequitiae. Pestilentibus argumentis additur tanta sermonis obscœnitas, per metaphoras & allegorias, ut ipsa turpitudo non possit loqui turpius. . . . Et hic quaestus alit multos, praesertim apud Flandros. Si leges vigilarent, talium naeniarum artifices deberent caesi flagris sub carnifecem pro lascivis lugubres canere cantilenas. Et hi qui publice corrumpunt juventutem, ex scelere vivunt. Et inveniuntur parentes, qui putent esse civilitatis partem, filiam non ignorare talia carmina'. [I have substituted 's' for the longs. ]

of the music'. He goes on to say that 'then add to this the sound of frenetic pipes and noisy drums combining with a frenzy of movements. To such music young girls dance, to this they are accustomed, and yet we think there is no danger to their morals'.[101]

The above-quoted passages are worth observing especially in relation to the patristic discourse of the relation of instrumental music and morals. As will be discussed later in more detail, the patristic feature of the Erasmian musical thought is most evident in the matter of the use of music instruments in the church. Like the fathers, Erasmus is very wary about instrumental music even in private life. It would be wrong, however, to take this as antipathy to music itself. Neither is his criticism of music in the contemporary Church a fundamental rejection of music. As has been seen, Erasmus' interest in music is essentially rhetorical, pedagogical, and ethical. He had a firm belief, like Quintilian, that 'music is something divine' (*divina res est musica*) and the art of music in *decorum* contributes to the promotion of the good of society.[102] It is this belief

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[101] *Christiani matrimonii institutio* [LB V 718BC]. 'In nostra vero Musica, ut omittamus verborum & argumentorum obscoenitatem, quantum est levitatis, quantum etiam insaniae? Erat olim actionis genus, qua sine verbis sola corporis gesticulatione, repraesentabant quid volebant. Itidem in huijusmodi cantilenis, etiam si verba sileantur, tamen ex ipsa musices ratione deprehendas argumenti spurcitiem. Adde hic tibias Corybanticas, ac tympanorum strepitus, in rabiem agentium. Ad hanc Musicam saltant virgines, huic assuescunt, nec putamus ullum esse periculum moribus'.

[102] *CWE*, 85: 77 [LB I: 1222 C]. In Erasmus' *Ioanni Okego musico summo epitaphium* (*An epitaph for the superlative musician Jan Ockeghem*, c February 1497/ 8 January 1507). Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.x.10. 'Iopas vero ille Vergili nonne 'canit errantem lunam solisque labores' et cetera? Quibus certe palam confirmat auctor eminentissimus musicen cum divinarum etiam rerum cognitione esse coniunctam' (Does not Vergil's Iopas 'sing of the

and concern with music on the basis of which Erasmus advocates a reform of church music in its style and content: 'let the Muse elevate your style, let Scripture provide your meaning'.[103]

## The Revival of Ancient Church Music

The Erasmian ideal of a *Christianismus renascens* lies in the union of classical antiquity and primitive Christianity. This characteristic of Erasmus' Christian humanism is obvious in his pursuit of authentic ecclesiastical music. Erasmus was well aware of the rhetorical and ethical attributes of music which were appreciated by the ancients - both pagan scholars and church fathers. As will be seen, the two attributes of music are of fundamental importance in relation to his criteria of true church music.

Erasmus' censure of contemporary church music cannot be understood in isolation from his whole programme of ecclesiastical reform. It is significant to note his basic idea of medieval Christianity, shared by other humanists and reformers. Erasmus believed that 'the history of Christianity is the history of its degeneration'- the process of the fall of the Church for a millennium after the

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wandering moon and the sun's labours' and so on? This is open confirmation by a very great writer that music is connected also with the knowledge of things divine).

[103] 'Musam non damno, sed tantum sobrietatis Te satis admoneo ne dogmata sacra refutes. Si quae gesta legis veterum ratione solute, Haec vis in numeris pedibusque ligare disertis, Ingenium veneror et dulci carmine laetor. Historias imitare sacras quum scribere tentas; Ornet Musa stilum, scriptura paret tibi sensum'. *CWE*, 85: 366-67.

legitimising of Christianity by Constantine the Great.[104] Erasmus asserts that true religion lies not in external observance of ceremonies but in internal spiritual experience. The main focus is on the revival of the true spirit and meanings of rituals. In this view, Erasmus treats church music practices as matters directly associated with religious, ethical, and intellectual dimensions of life.

It is *sacrae litterae* – the Scripture and the patristic writings – to which Erasmus appeals for the renewal of church music. Erasmus draws attention to the historical development of Christian music:

> In early times the entire congregation sang and responded Amen to the priest. The consequent thunderous noise and ridiculous confusion of voices produced a spectacle unworthy of divine worship. In our day those who are appointed sing fittingly and the rest sing to the Lord in their hearts. The emerging Church. . . allowed a kind of music closer to modulated recitation than to song, first among the Greeks, then among the Latins, an example of which one can still see in the Lord's Prayer. [105]

Here, Erasmus focuses on two key elements of ancient Christian music: congregational singing in the primitive Church; and the manner of singing in the

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[104] Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, 35.

[105] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 334. *Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami Libri XXXI. Et P. Melancthonis libri IV. Quibus adjiciuntur Th. Mori & Lud. Vivis Epistolae* (London, 1642), 2064B: 'Olim totus populus canebat, & sacerdoti respondebat, Amen. Ibi strepitus tonitruo non absimilis, & ridicula vocum confusion spectaculum exhibebat indignum cultu divino; nunc designatie sunt qui canant decenter, caeteri psallunt in cordibus suis Domino. Recens Ecclesia nullam speciem Musices recipiebat, nec sine reclamatione recepta est, sed modulatae recitationi similior quam cantui, primum apud Graecos, deinde apud Lations, cujus specimen adhuc rederelicet in Precatione Dominca. . .'

emerging Christianity – 'modulated recitation' (*modulata recitatio*).[106] This emphasis on the participation of the whole congregation is the core of the patristic theology of music. The church fathers put it metaphorically: 'from one mouth' or 'with one voice'.[107] As will be seen, Erasmus and his admirers had regarded modulated recitation as the most appropriate style of singing for divine worship.[108]

In following the manner and authority of the primitive church, thus, Erasmus' reform of church music concentrates on three issues: 1) the divine origin of the text; 2) the intelligibility of the text in a musical performance; and 3) the quality of moderation and decorum in music. From this standpoint, the existing way of performing the Mass was seen as a departure from the dignity of the original Christian rites. Erasmus bears witness to this decadence of Christian worship:

> In many churches water is blessed publicly and a responsory is sung instead of the Introit of the Mass. The psalm which is usually sung in its entirety is abbreviated. Before the gospel unlearned prosas are sometimes sung and the

[106] For a succinct and excellent account of the origins of Christian music, see E. Foley, *Foundations of Christian Music: The Music of Pre-Constantinian Christianity*. Alcuin/Goorw Liturgical Study (Grove books limited, 1992, rpt., Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1996). There is no evidence of Erasmus' advocacy of congregational singing in the vernacular; he must have taken into account the participation of the whole church in singing which was advocated by nearly all the church fathers. Foley has argued that the 'amen' was an essential sign of the congregation's involvement in the worship as a key response in both emerging Christian community and the synagogues of the time. Foley, *Foundations of Christian Music* (1996), 77.

[107] Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 279.

[108] *Ecclesiaste Sive De Ratione Concionandi* [LB V 959 DE]. See also J. Jewel, *Of Prayer in a strange tongue* (1564), in J. Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*. The Parker Society. 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1845), 1: 264-68.

> creed is moved forward. An extended preface is sung before the canon of the mass, and the sanctus is sung during the consecration. At the elevation a song imploring the help of the blessed virgin or saint Roch is heard, and the Lord's Prayer is suppressed.[109]

As indicated in this quotation, the main subject of Erasmus' criticism is the excessive use of music in contemporary churches which leads to the deletion or reduction of essential parts of the worship. Another major problem is the introduction of music of non-scriptural texts into divine worship; for example, festal music – songs for peace or against pestilence or for a successful harvest were performed after the consecration of the body and blood of Christ. This music, Erasmus claims, 'can be omitted without detriment to religious devotion'.[110]

The philosophy of Christ which is taught through the Bible is central to Erasmus' reform of church music. One of the most serious concerns is that priests were more interested in maintaining such rituals than Christ's teachings.[111]

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[109] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 337. Evangelium Cap. 2. Secundum Lucam. Cap. 2. [LB VI 233F]: 'In multis Ecclesiis publice consecratur aqua, & canitur responsorium, pro Missae introitu. Psalmus qui totus cani solet abbreviatus est. Ante Evangelium canuntur Prosae nonnunquam indoctae, & praemittitur Symbolum fidei. Ante canonem Missae canitur praefatio aucta, sub consecrationem canitur Sanctus: quum ostenduntur mysteria, canitur cantio implorans opem beatae Virginis, aut S. Rochi, & supprimitur precatio Dominica'.

[110] *Amabili Ecclesiae Concordia, LIBER. Enartio Psalmi 133.* [LB V 502F]: 'Similiter & cantionem quam nunc in nonnullis templis canunt, post consecratum corpus & sanquinem Dominicum, pro pace aut cantra pestilentiam, aut pro felici adventu frugum, sine religionis detrimento liceret omittere'.

[111] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 339 [LB VI 731C]. '... id est, erudiam: quo verbo libenter utitur Paulus, & item Lucas. Id proprie est viva voce instituere ac docere: unde dicti & Catechumeni, quibus fidei nostrae mysteria non scripto, sed vocis ministerio credebantur'.

In what follows, we shall observe the gist of Erasmus' criticism of contemporary church music performance in more detail.

See *In epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios priorem annotationes des. Erasmi Roterodami*, I cap. 14 (1519), in A. Reeve & M. A. Screech, eds. *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: Acts – Romans – I and II Corinthians; facsimile of the final Latin text published by Froben in Basel, 1535, with all earlier variants.* Studies in the History of Christian Thought 42 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 507.

# 3. Erasmus' Criticism of Contemporary Church Music

## Instrumental Music

The polemic of the Reformed theologians against instrumental music used in the church is well known. Their polemic can be traced back to Christian humanists' antagonism to instrumental music. But the Bible - the norm for the 'humanistic theologising' – has no indication of this antagonism. I Chronicles 16: 4-6; 16: 37-42; 28: 19 in the Old Testament describe temple worship accompanied by instrumental music, which are the most frequently quoted biblical passages in modern apologetics for the use of music instruments in Christian worship.[112] The New Testament has no direct statement against instrumental music; it is generally assumed that primitive Christianity did not admit the use of musical instruments.[113] As McKinnon demonstrates, most vehement criticism on instrumental music is found in patristic writings, and the church fathers were indeed one in this respect.[114]

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[112] For Calvin's commentary on the use of music instruments in the temple worship, see Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places*, 754-55.

[113] For a succinct comparison of Temple worship and Synagogue in Judaism and the latter's relation with early Christian worship and relevant bibliography, see Foley, *Foundations of Christian Music*, 22-3.

[114] J. McKinnon, ed. *Music in Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (London: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Idem. 'The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments', *Current Musicology*, 1 (1965): 69-82. This

From the enormous patristic impact on Christian humanists, thus, it would be reasonable to note that humanists' hostility to musical instruments results from the warnings of the fathers rather than a biblical origin. As mentioned earlier, the patristic feature of the Erasmian musical thought is most evident in relation to music instruments. In order to clarify this, it is therefore necessary to observe the main discussion of the church fathers on music instruments.

The church fathers allowed only vocal music for liturgy. They believed that 'the rational pertains to the human voice' as it is directly connected with the mind, whilst 'the irrational to musical instruments'. [115] A common allegorical interpretation of the human body as an instrument appears throughout the patristic writings. For instance, Clement of Alexandria notes that 'a beautiful breathing instrument of music the Lord made a human being, after his own image'.[116]

The imagery of the body as the instrument of the soul was frequently used in the Neo-Pythagorean metaphysics.[117] As observed by Ferguson, the Pythagorean

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article is based on his unpublished PhD diss., 'The Church Fathers and Musical Instruments' (Columbia University, 1965).

[115] Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 269. See also his 'The Active and Contemplative Lives: The Patristic Interpretation of Some Musical Terms', ed. E. A. Livingstone, *Studia Patristica* (1985), 16: 15-23.

[116] Chrysostom takes up the refrain: 'The soul is an excellent musician, an artist; the body is an instrument, holding the place of the kithara, aulos, and lyre...' Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 269.

[117] Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 276. Cf. R. A. Skeris, *Chroma Theou: On the Origins and Theological Interpretation of the Musical Imagery Used by the Ecclesiastical Writers of the First Three Centuries, With Special Reference to the Image of Orpheus*. Musicae sacrae melethmata 1 (Altötting: A. Coppenrath, 1976), 131, 135.

and Platonic parallel amongst music, the cosmos, and human nature lies behind the patristic theology of music. This is well reflected in Origen's writing:

> We sing praise to God and his only Son, as do also the sun, moon, and stars, and all the heavenly host. For all these form a divine choir and with just human beings sing praise to the God over all and his only Son.[118]

It is thus typical in the patristic writings that the human body is compared to a 'spiritual and rational kithara that is more pleasing to God than a lifeless one'.[119] Ambrose says, for instance, that the human body becomes 'a kithara when it receives the sevenfold Spirit in the sacrament of baptism... so that we may sing even when we are not singing and proclaim the Lord in a symphony of good works'.[120] It is in their very sense that music - singing hymns and psalms - can be 'a way of involving the whole self in praising to God', which itself is a spiritual sacrifice, as Chrysostom stresses in his commentary of Psalm 150.[121]

Furthermore, the earlier philosophers' emphasis on the ethical value of music is combined into a Christian pedagogical scheme of music by the fathers - singing hymns and psalms - directed towards the solidification of Christian virtues and doctrines. Clement of Alexandria claims that 'music is then to be employed for the sake of the ordering and adornment of character'. He distinguishes music

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[118] Quoted in Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 271.

[119] Ibid., 269.

[120] Ibid., 271.

[121] Ibid., 269. Chrysostom says that 'as the Jews are commanded to praise God with all musical instruments, so we are commanded to praise him with all our members – the eye, the tongue, the ear, the hand'. Cf. G. C. Stead, 'St. Athanasius on the Psalms', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 39 (1985): 65-78.

which 'nourishes and instructs the soul' from music 'which enfeebles souls and leads to changefulness – now mournful, and then licentious and luxurious, and then frenzied and manic'.[122] Like the earlier Christian humanists such as Petrarch, Erasmus followed in the steps of the church fathers in the union of classical antiquity and Christian piety through music.[123]

In awareness of the connection between the spirit and music, the church fathers regarded the meaning of what is sung as a paramount factor in Christian music. This is well described by Athanasius as follows:

> Those who do not sing with the understanding but give pleasure to themselves are blameworthy.... Those who do sing...so that the melody of the words is offered from the rhythm of the soul and from harmony with the spirit sing with the tongue and with the mind, and profit greatly not only themselves but also those who want to hear them.[124]

The 'logocentric' characteristic of patristic attitudes toward music reaches a climax in humanist musical thought, as has been seen. McKinnon is right in his remark that 'any re-evaluation of the Renaissance a cappella question would have to take into account the revival of the church fathers by Christian humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries'.[125]

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[122] Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 270.

[123] Such patristic impact on the making of the Renaissance interpretation of music is also identified in the writing of a contemporary key music theorist Tinctoris, *Complexus effectuum musices*. Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 91.

[124] Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 277.

[125] McKinnon, 'The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments', 78.

The humanist polemic against the traditional ceremonies bears crucial witness to the late medieval performance practice. This is well perceived by an illuminating article on instrumental music used at the Mass during the late medieval period.[126] On the basis of new evidence from the polemic writings, Korrick challenges the widely accepted assumption: the exclusive use of the organ in the early sixteenth-century Mass. Of those writings Korrick quotes Erasmus' as decisive evidence for the participation of other musical instruments in addition to the organ in the Mass: 'I call booming the almost warlike din of organs, straight trumpets, curved trumpets, horns and also bombards [of the shawm family], since these too are admitted in divine worship'.[127] In his annotation of I Corintian 14, Erasmus gives a similar list of the instruments in excoriating the introduction of them into Christian worship:

> . . . we have brought into sacred edifices a certain elaborate and theatrical music, a confused interplay of diverse sounds, such as I do not believe was ever heard in Greek or Roman theatres. Straight trumpets, curved trumpets, pipes and sambucas resound everywhere, and vie with human voices. Amorous and

[126] L. Korrick, 'Instrumental Music in the Early Sixteenth-Century Mass: New Evidence', *Early Music*, 18 (1990): 359-70.

[127] Korrick, 'Instrumental Music in the Early Sixteenth-Century Mass', 360; See also D. Fallows, 'The Performing Ensembles in Josquin's Sacred Music', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 35 (1985), 35. Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 340. Erasmus, *Declarationes ad censuras lutetiae vulgatas sub nominae facultatis theologiae parisiensis* (1532) [LB IX 899B]: 'Bombos appello sonitum pene bellicum, organorum, tubarum, cornuum, libuorum, atque etiam bombardarum, quando hae quoque receptae sunt ad cultum divinum'.

> shameful songs are heard, the kind to which harlots and mimes dance. People flock to church as to a theatre for aural delight. [128]

These passages bear witness to the participation of various kinds of music instruments at ceremonies and practices as well as to frequent theatrical performances including dance within the Church.[129] The same point is made in contemporary ecclesiastical documents such as that issued by the Council of *Sens* of 1528: 'we prohibit actors or mimes to enter the church for playing on the tympanum, lyre, or any other musical instrument; let them play their instruments neither in nor near the church'.[130]

As noted earlier, Erasmus' comments on instrumental music directly relate to the question of morals. Erasmus is in agreement with the patristic view that musical instruments are in nature vulgar and theatrical. It is important to note that patristic antagonism to musical instruments results from their abomination of the instruments' association with pagan rites, the obscenities of the theatre, and

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[128] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 339 [LB VI 731F]. 'Nechis contenti, operosam quamdam ac theatricam musicam in sacras aedes induximus, tumultuosum diversarum vocum garritum, qualem non opinor in Graecorum aut Romanorum theatris unquam auditum fuisse. Omnia tubis, lituis, sistulis, ac sambucis perstrepunt, cumque his certant hominum voces. Audiuntur amatoriae foedaeque cantilenae, ad quas scorta mimique saltitant. In sacram aedem velut in theatrum concurritur ad deliniendas aures'.

[129] For an excellent recent account of instrumental music during the medieval period, see H. M. Brown & K. Polk, 'Instrumental Music c. 1300-c.1520', in *Music as Concept and Practice in the late Middle Ages*, 97-161. On dances and dance music in the medieval period and instrumental music see 162-190; esp. dance in and around churches, see 166-73.

[130] Quoted in McKinnon, 'The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments', 80. Here McKinnon argues that even if they had not penetrated the choir screen and entered the sanctuary where the actual liturgical singing took place, the jongleurs were evidently doing some playing in church by this time.

most of all, sexual immorality. The instruments, from the standpoint of the fathers, are in nature not suitable for the main aim of Christian music: praising God and Christ and expressing the activity of the Holy Spirit.

The church fathers' polemic against musical instruments is essentially concerned with morality rather than liturgy.[131] For all the fathers, as Ferguson asserts assuredly, music was not primarily a matter of aesthetics but that of ethics.[132] Jerome notes, for example, that 'a well-educated Christian girl should be deaf to musical instruments and not even know for what purpose the flute, the lyre and the harp are made'.[133] Following his favourite father, as in relation to other matters, Erasmus makes the same point in the *Christiani matrimonii institutio*, discussing the matter of morals in relation to the frenetic and noisy musical sound to which young girls dance.[134]

Erasmus thus places such instrumental music under the category of music which just appeals to the senses rather than to the intellect. In a letter dated 1526 sent to Nicolas Varius (president of the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain), notes Erasmus, music 'produced by blowing and beating is only pleasing to some if it is much more powerful than that a war trumpet'. As to the whole ensemble of such musical instruments - 'a sound like the clapping of thunder', he goes on saying, 'to none is this more pleasing than to some German princes'.[135] According to

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[131] McKinnon, 'The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments', 74-5.

[132] Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 275.

[133] Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship*, 266.

[134] [LB V 718BC]. See this Chapter, footnote 101.

[135] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 340. Allen et al., eds. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, VI, 420: 'Iam hoc musicae genus quod simul et flatile est et pulsatile, in templis

Erasmus, even trumpets were often used for accompaniment to 'songs and prayers of psalmody'.[136] If these instruments would simply have doubled the voice lines, as assumed by Follows, the humanists' antipathy against them is unsurprising, given his very great emphasis on the audibility of the text in a music performance.[137]

This criticism of those music instruments also applies to the organ, the major instrument used at the Mass and the Daily Hours. Erasmus censures the '*alternatim* performance' between the organ and choir - closely linked with the various techniques of improvised harmony such as *descant* and *faburden*. In the *alternatim* performance, the organ appears to have been used widely for pieces of the Ordinary, proses and sequences, the *Te Deum*, and certain psalms, canticles, hymns and responsoria.[138] Erasmus does not openly ban the use of the organ and polyphonic music; but he says that they 'can be omitted without loss of piety', as not being acceptable in church.[139] This view is reflected in the report of the *Synodus Coloniensis*, issued in 1536: 'the music of organs should be used in

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solenne, quibusdam non placet nisi bellicam tubam loge superet; et immanis ille sonitus auditur a sacris virginibus, dum res divina peragitur. Nec id satis; sacrificus vocem ad tonitrui fragorem effingit, nec alii magis placent aliquot Germaniae principibus'.

[136] Cited in Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 341 [LB VIII 309D]: Erasmus, *Divi Joannis Chrysostom archepiepiscopi constantinopolitani enarratio in epistolam ad Galatas* (1527).

[137] D. Fallows, 'The Performing Ensembles in Josquin's Sacred Music', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 35 (1985), 38.

[138] M. Berry (Sister Thomas More), 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century (1965-6)', 124-26.

[139] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 336 [LB V 503B]. 'Si non placet in templis illud modulatae musicae genus, & organorum cantus, possunt citra pietatis jacturam omitti: si placet, curandum est ut illa quoque musica sit digna templo Dei.'

churches in such a manner that it should not arouse more titillation than devotion; nor should it produce any sound or representation other than divine hymns or spiritual chants'.[140]

## Vocal Music

Erasmus' polemic against instrumental music is mainly concerned with its volume and timbre in terms of moderation and the intelligibility of the texts in music. On the same criteria, Erasmus censures vocal music performance in contemporary churches. First of all, he contrasts a great weight of singing at the service with the deficiency and poor quality of sermons: 'in some countries the whole day is now spent in endless singing, yet one worthwhile sermon exciting true piety is

[140] Quoted in Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', 578. The same point is made in *Synodus Coloniensis* (1550): 'Organs should produce no lascivious or secular sound, but, as even ordinary people know, should be religious and pious. It is better for the whole pattern to be sung than for part to be left to the organ, as is customarily done in certain places, with great abuse'. Quoted in Ibid. See also, L. Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo*. Studi Di Musica Veneta 2 (Wien: Universal Edition, 1970). For music and the Council of Trent, see 74-79.

hardly heard in six months . . .'[141] A more serious problem was both the singers' and listeners' incomprehension of what was sung.[142]

What Erasmus saw in contemporary church music was 'murmuring, clamours, and boomings'. In his *Declarationes ad censuras lutetiae vulgatas sub nominae facultatis theologiae parisiensis* (1532) Erasmus distinguishes 'ecclesiastical song' from 'alluring songs which the whims of naive women or simple men have added to religious services'. He calls ecclesial singers clamourers, since 'in many churches and monasteries, by thundering forth in a raucous bellowing, they so fill up the church that all sounds are obscured and nothing can be understood'. What is worse, these were accompanied with the boom of various kinds of musical instruments.[143]

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[141] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 338 [LB VI 731C]. 'At nunc in nonnullis regionibus totos dies psallitur spiritu, nec modus, nec finis cantionum: quum vix intra sex menses audiatur concio salubris adhortans ad veram pietatem...'

[142] [LB VI 731C] '. . . ut ne liceat quidem ullam vocem liquido percipere. Nec iis qui cantillant otium est attendendi quid canant'.

[143] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 340 [LB IX 899AB]. 'Christi Philosophiam prositentur, sic abhorreant ab hac superstitione, ut precum puram & illibatam victimam Christoque gratam offerant. Nam cantiuncularum, clamorum, murmurum, ac bomborum ubique plus satis est, si quid ista superos delectant & c. . . Quanquam ib non tam laquor de cantu quovis Ecclesiastico, quam de cantu indecoro, & de cantiunculis, quas mulierculanum aut simplicium hominum affectus adjecit solenni cultui. Clamorum vocabulo notantur, qui nunc in plerisque templis, atque etiam Monasteriis, rauco boatu detonantes, & templum implent, & sic voces obscurant omnium, ut nulla possit intelligi. Murmur appello preces praecipitanter ac sine mente dictas, hoc enim est murmurare verius quam orare. Bombos appello sonitum pene bellicum, organorum, tubarum, cornuum, lituorum, atque etiam bombardarum, quando hae quoque receptae sunt ad cultum divinum.' See also C. V. Palisca, 'Bernardino Cirillo's Critique of Polyphonic Church Music of 1549: Its Background and Resonance', in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts; Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood.* Detroit Monographs in

This criticism is repeated in his other writings. In the *Ecclesiastes* (1535), for instance, Erasmus raises the inveterate problems in church music performance: 'scarcely anything is heard other than the incessant clamour of diverse sounds and a style of music so elaborate and ornamental that pagan theatres had nothing comparable'.[144] Similar criticism in Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium* (Cologne, 1532) offers a satirical account of contemporary polyphony performance:

> Today music has such great license in churches that even along with the canon of the mass certain obscene little ditties sometimes have equal share; and even the divine offices themselves and the sacred prayers and petitions are performed by lascivious musicians hired at great price, not to make the hearers understand or for the elevation of the spirit, but to incite wanton prurience, not with human voices but with the cries of beasts: boys whinny the descant, some bellow the tenor, others bark the counterpoint, others gnash the alto, others moo the bass; the result is that a multitude of sounds is heard, but of the words and prayers not a syllable is understood; the authority of judgment is withdrawn from ears and mind alike.[145]

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Musicology/Studies in Music 18. eds. J. A. Owens & A. M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997): 281-92.

[144] Ibid., 341 [LB V 941F]. *Ecclesiastes Sive De Ratione Concionandi* (Basel: J. Froben, 1535), is a treatise on preaching, Erasmus' last major work and his longest. It was written at the pressing request of his friends including John Fisher, the bishop of Rochester. Cf. J. W. O'Malley, 'Erasmus and the History of Sacred Rhetoric: The Ecclesiastes of 1535', *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, 5 (1985): 1-29.

[145] Quoted in Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', 585. A similar witness is in music theorist Hermann Finck's *Practica musica* (Wittenberg: G. R. Erben, 1556. Facs. Bologna: A. Forni, 1969), S ii – S iii: '...fine compositions were monstrously distorted and deformed, with mouths twisted and wide open, heads thrown back and shaking, and wild vociferations, the singers suffering from the delusion that shouting is the same thing as

However, whilst Erasmus' attitude towards instrumental music is fundamentally negative, he certainly admits singing in the church, performed in moderation (*Habeant sane templa solennes cantus, sed moderatos*).[146] The emphasis on moderation and simplicity in music - the precept of the Erasmian musical view - was a prerequisite for the intelligibility of the text in music. The gist of Erasmus' criticism on contemporary sacred vocal music thus lies in the manner of delivery. In polyphony or monophony, most essential is how accurately, lucidly, elegantly, and appropriately the Word of God is delivered through music. In this sense, Erasmus seems to allow polyphony written and performed within the rules of moderation and *decorum*.[147] Neither the polyphonic nor the monophonic music in contemporary churches was however proper from the stand of the humanist.

With respect to ecclesiastical chant performance, whilst being aware of its historical, aesthetical, and pedagogical values, Erasmus criticises its various aspects – performance duration, texts, text underlay, and so on. According to his witness, 'almost an hour is consumed with the prosa, . . . and no less time is spent

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singing. The basses make a rumbling noise like a hornet trapped in a boot, or else expel their breath like a solar eruption', trans. by F. E. Kirby, 'Hermann Finck on Methods of Performance', *Music and Letters*, 42 (1961), 213.

[146] [LB IX 1155D].

[147] Erasmus, *Declarationes ad censuras lutetiae vulgatas sub nominae facultatis theologiae parisiensis*. [LB IX 899C]: 'Ab his vero, qui damnant decentem Ecclesiae cantum, plurimum dissidet mea sententia. De musica operosa nunc non disputo, tametsi *Albertus Pius* eam ingenue damnat, me refragante, si modeste & modice adhibeatur.'

on melismas which are tediously drawn out on individual verses'.[148] Another serious problem is the frequent introduction of unlearned and legendary materials not only in Hours of the Office but also in the Mass.[149]

As discussed in the previous chapter, Erasmus' programme of religious reform was aimed at daily devotional Christian life, with strong hostility to pilgrimages, monasticism, and feasts days for the Saints whose number kept increasing during the medieval period. His rejection of those feast days of the traditional Church includes sequences used for them. According to Heinrich Glarean, Erasmus allows *Sancti spiritus adsit* and *Clare sanctorum* (whose texts reflect apostolic tradition).[150] But Erasmus' basic opinion of sequence is negative; because of the excessive amount of performance time, the principal parts of worship - the Creed and the Lord's Prayer - are omitted or curtailed.[151] Erasmus writes in *Ecclesiastae*

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[148] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 336 [LB V 503B]. *Amabili Ecclesiae Concordia, LIBER. Enartio Psalmi 133*: 'Hora prope consumitur in prosa, acdecurtatur symbolum fidei, & omittitur precatio Dominica. Nec minimum temporis absumunt illae vocum caudae, ad singulos versus in longum productae'. Berry claims that plainchant was sung in a 'relentlessly slow tempo' in the *alternatim* performance. See her article 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century (1965-6)', 126.

[149] 'At Mass and Hours of the Office, where only sacred Scripture and writings of truly proven men should be heard, there are now intermingled certain sequences and hymns, rhymed versicles which are trivial and inept...' Cited in Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 336. [LB VI 233F].

[150] H. Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: H. Petri, 1547), trans. & ed. C. A. Miller, MSD 6, 2 vols. (Rome: AIM, 1965), 196.

[151] R. Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo', *JAMS*, 5 (1952), 155; A. Hughes, 'The Text-Omissions in the Creed', in *Missa 'O quam suavis'*. Plainsong and Medieval Music Society 9. ed. H. B. Collins (Burnham: Nashdom Abbey, 1927), 33-36. The criticism of the omission of Credo and Lord's Prayer is found in the twelve articles in the

> I grant that among sequences there are certainly some which are learned and pious, but many more are inept and unworthy of use in divine worship. Although the Roman [Italian] Church does not accept this species, it has been granted to the Germans and French, who are fond of sequences; they are so enamored of such accessories that the principal matters are neglected for their sake. The Creed is shortened, the Lord's Prayer is not heard, and the singing of the prosa detains the congregation a full half hour. Added to this song are melismas [caudae vocum] which are just as long or even longer. [152]

Erasmus contrasts this excessive use of music in the contemporary Church with ancient Christian worship having neither instrumental music nor polyphony but only a type of chant like modulated recitation. In his annotation on I Corinthians 14, Erasmus writes:

> What else is heard in monasteries, colleges, and almost all churches, besides the clamour of voices? Yet, in St. Paul's time there was no song, only speech. Later song was accepted by posterity, but it was nothing else than *a distinct and modulated speech,* which the congregation understood and to which it responded. But what more does it hear now than meaningless sounds? [my emphasis][153]

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'Canonical Rule of the Council of Basel' of 1435 (*Ex sacro basiliensi concilio Canonica regula*). See D. Harrán, *In Defense of Music: The Case for Music as Argued by a Singer and Scholar of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 112-23.

[152] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 336 [LB V 859BC]. 'Accessit huc prosa, quam appellant *sequentiam*. Quo quidem in genere, fateor, esse quasdam eruditas ac pias, sed multo plures ineptas, ac Divino indignas cultu. Quamquam hanc partem non recipit Ecclesia Romana, Germanis & Gallis canendi studiosis concessit. Quibus adeo placent haec accessoria, ut horum gratia praetermitantur praecipua. Symbolum decurtatur, precatio Dominica non auditur, & prosae cantio nulli intellecta totam semihoram moratur populum. Adduntur caudae vocum ipsi cantioni pares aut longiores.'

[153] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 338-39 [LB VI 731C]. 'Quid aliud auditur in Monasteriis, in Collegiis, in Templis serme omnibus, quam vocum strepitus? Atqui aetate Pauli non cantus

As indicated by this passage, Erasmus accepts plainchant which is 'sung in a distinct, holy, and temperate manner, so that it can be understood both by those singing and those listening'.[154] The proper delivery in liturgical music performance was indeed of prime significance for Erasmus, and also lay at the heart of the Reformation musical thought in both Catholic and Protestant.

Erasmus viewed ecclesiastical music as a rhetorical means for true religious and spiritual expression of the whole congregation. This is well reflected in his writings on rhetoric. In both oratory and singing, for Erasmus, the most basic important thing is correct and distinct pronunciation. In *De Pronuntiatione*, his discussion of the observance of the quantity of syllables in verse as well as in prose reaches its climax in criticizing the abuse of accentuation in chant performance:

> . . . church choirs do not differentiate even between long and short when singing psalms and canticles, and indeed pay scant attention to differences of accent, but

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erat, sed pronunciatio duntaxat. Vix a posterioribus receptus est cantus, sed talis ut nihil aliud esset, quam *distincta modulataque pronunciatio*, cujusmodi superest etiamnum apud nos, qua sonamus in canone sacro Precationem Dominicam: & linguam, qua haec canebantur, vulgus adhuc promiscuum intelligebat, respondens Amen. Nunc vulgus quid aliud audit quam voces nihil significantes?' [my emphasis]. See also Reeve & Screech, eds. *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: Acts – Romans – I and II Corinthians*, 507.

[154] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 338 [LB IX 368C]. 'Cultum institutum ab Ecclesia nusquam improbo, sed admoneo cantionum, quae in Templis aguntur, ac precum, quas *horarias* vocant,. . ., cupio distincta sanctaque ac sobria modulatione sonari, sic ut & qui sonant intelligant, & qui audiunt possint intelligere'.

> speak together in equal time units so that there is no getting out of step with each other or unseemly confusion introduced by varying vowel lengths.[155]

Erasmus believed that the observance of measurement of syllables was a basic rule of the ancient manner of singing during divine worship 'until the spread of illiteracy and the resulting chaos of vowel pronunciation'.[156] In the final chapter, we will discuss the manner in which contemporary music theorists and composers shared this observation in general and Merbecke practised it in *BCPN* in particular.

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[155] *CWE*, 26: 427 [LB I 943D] [ASD I-4: 65]. '. . . quod chorus ecclesiasticus nec in psalmis recitandis nec in canticis solennibus ullum habet brevium aut longarum delectum, ne tonorum quidem admodum magnam rationem, sed omnes pari temporis mora sonant, ne dum alius aliud sonat, inaequalitas vocum pariat indecoram cofusionem'. Erasmus makes the same point in *Ecclesiastes* and *Institutio christiani matrimonii*. *Ecclesiastes* [LB V 942]; and *Institutio christiani matrimonii* [LB V 718C]. After the passages Erasmus goes on to say that a stricter order (such as the Carthusians) does not admit this style of chanting, and they chant everything in spondees.

[156] *CWE*, 26: 430 [LB I 943D]. See Chapter IV, footnote 126.

# CHAPTER III

# Anglican Plainchant in the Making

'Rome is not the mother of all these things (the psalmody and other ecclesiastical music, and the singing of *Gloria Patri* at the end of every psalm)'.[1]

[1] J. Jewel, *Of Prayer in a strange tongue* – the third article (1564), in J. Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*. The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1845), 1: 266.

# 1. Humanism and the Musical Reform of the English Church

## Erasmian Musical Views in Early English Protestantism

The Erasmian enthusiasm of Tudor England is most evident in the Protestant humanist circles of the regimes of Henry VIII and Edward VI, as observed in the first chapter. The Tudor Protestant humanists regarded Erasmus as an authority comparable to the church fathers, which is also identified in Merbecke's commonplace book. For those humanists, indeed, Erasmus was 'the greatest learned man' of their time.[2] As we shall see, such a strong Erasmian tendency does characterise the Tudor Protestant humanists' attitude toward music and musicians. Before going further to discuss it, we shall consider Erasmus' own criticism of the English church music of his day as a whole.

Erasmus criticised the music practices and performances of the English church more than any other he encountered throughout his visits to the royal courts and chapels across Europe. In the annotation of I Corinthians 14, for example, his censure of contemporary church music reaches its peak when referring specifically to the music practices of the English church.[3] On the basis

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[2] See Chapter I, 'The Dissemination of Erasmian Humanism in Tudor England'.

[3] *In epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios priorem annotationes des. Erasmi Roterodami*, I cap. 14 (1519). See A. Reeve & M. A. Screech, eds. *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: Acts – Romans – I and II Corinthians; facsimile of the final Latin text published by Froben in Basel, 1535, with all earlier variants*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought 42 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), esp. 507-8.

of this, it appears that the musical abuses of contemporary ecclesiastical institutions which Erasmus detested had been more flourishing in early sixteenth-century England than in any other European country. In the above annotation Erasmus says

> . . . People flock to church as to a theatre for aural delight. To this end organists are maintained at large salaries, and crowds of children spend every summer in practicing such warblings, meanwhile studying nothing of value. The dregs of humanity, the vile and unreliable (as a great many are drunken revelers), are kept on salary, and because of this pernicious custom the church is burdened with heavy expenses. I ask you to consider, how many paupers, dying in want, could be supported on the salaries of singers? . . . These activities are so pleasing to monks, especially the English, that they perform nothing else. . . . In this custom also in Benedictine Colleges in Britain young boys, adolescents, and professional singers are supported, who sing the morning service to the Virgin mother with a very melodious interweaving of voices and organs.[4]

Erasmus' criticism of music practice of the English church is thus mainly concerned with its economic and educational grounds especially in relation to matters of morality.[5] For Erasmus and his English successors, reorganising these

[4] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 339 [LB VI 732C]. 'In sacram aedem velut in theatrum concurritur ad deliniendas aures. Et in hunc usum magnis salariis aluntur organorum opisices, puerorum greges, quorum omnis aetas in perdiscendis hujusmodi gannitibus consumitur, nihil interim bonae rei discentium. Alitur fordidorum ac levium, ut plerique sunt Dionysiaci, hominum calluvies, ac tantis sumptibus oneratur Ecclesia ob rem pestiferam etiam. Quaeso te ut rationem ineas, quot pauperes de vita periclitantes poterant ali cantorum salariis? . . . Haec adeo placent, ut Monachi nihil aliud agant, praesertim apud Britannos . . . In hunc usum etiam in Benedictinorum Collegiis apud Britannos aluntur ephebi puerique & vocum artifices, qui mane Virgini matri modulatissimo vocum garritu ac musicis organis sacrum decantant'.

[5] Le Huray just points out its economic and religious grounds. See his *Music and the Reformation in England 1549 -1660*, 11.

institutional foundations was of fundamental importance to the reform of church music practice. They denounce the enormous expenses for the salaries of a large number of musicians employed by the church for its elaborate and theatrical music performances as well as its singing schools in England.

As shown by the annotation of I Corinthians 14, Erasmus' criticism of musicians is focused on their moral and intellectual status. In the *Adages*, Erasmus discusses it with particular reference to the proverb 'Tibicinis vitam vivis' (you live the life of a flute-player):

> You live the life of a flute-player, was a taunt levelled at a man who lived in great comfort, but at other people's expense. Aristotle was thinking of men of this class when he enquired in his *Problems* why it is that as a rule those connected with the stage are hardly ever respectable. He gives three reasons: either their professional skills absorb a great part of their lives and they have no time to spare for the principles of philosophy, or they live a life of unbroken luxury and self-indulgence, or their poverty by itself drives them to vice.[6]

On the other hand, whilst Erasmus condemns musicians' immorality and poor scholarly ability, Luther highly estimates the erudition and ability of musicians:

> Those who have mastered this art [music] are made of good stuff, they are fit for any task. It is necessary indeed that music be taught in the schools. A teacher

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[6] *CWE*, 33: 147-48 [LB II 494F]. *Αὐλητοῦ βίον ζῇς* 'Tibicinis vitam vivis'. In eum jaciebatur, qui laute quidem, sed alieno viveret sumptu. Tibicines enim, quoniam in sacris olim adhibebantur, adesse solent & in coenis illis pontificalibus, idque immunes. De hoc hominum genere ni fallor sentit Aristoteles quaerens in problematic quamobrem i.e. *artifices Bacchanales*, vix unquam bonae frugis esse consueverint. Reddit autem triplicem rationem. Sive quod necessaries artibus magnam vitae partem occupati, non dant operam philosophiae, sopiae praeceptis. Sive quod assidue in deliciis ac voluptatibus vitam agunt sive quod egestas etiam ipsa ad vitia propellit'.

must be able to sing; otherwise I will not as much as look at him. Also, we should not ordain young men into the ministry unless they have become well acquainted with music in the schools.[7]

As will become clear, early Anglicans' attitude towards musicians is typically Erasmian; they deplore that musicians spend a great part of their life in acquiring musical techniques in the absence of learning and virtue.

Not all the musicians were the object of this sort of condemnation, however. As is well known, Erasmus had a high regard for Ockeghem among contemporary musicians. In a poem entitled 'Ioanni Okego musico summo epitaphium (an epitaph for the superlative musician Jan Ockeghem)', Erasmus refers to Ockeghem as the 'sacred Phoenix of Apollo's art'.[8] He gives a eulogy on 'the golden voice of Ockeghem – the voice that could move even stones, the voice that so often resounded in the vaulted nave with fluid and subtly modulated melodies, soothing the ears of the saints in heaven and likewise piercing the hearts of earthborn men'.[9] By contrast, however, he usually calls contemporary ecclesial singers the '*Dionysiaci*' in contempt, and complains that even during worship 'they converse together in the impudent manner of singers'.[10]

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[7] Quoted in Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 85; see also 91; Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 344.

[8] *CWE*, 85: 76-7.

[9] Ibid. 'Aurea vox Okegi, Vel saxa flectere efficax, Quae toties liquidis Et arte flexilibus modis Per sacra tecta sonans Demulsit aures caelitum Terrigenumque simul Penitusque movit pectora'.

[10] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 344 [LB V 732C]. In 1482 a contract for singers at the church of San Giovanni in Florence included a statement that they must not 'make a scandal or noise either by speaking or by laughing, under the penalty of two *soldi* for each offense, and for every time'. Quoted from F. A. D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the Fifteenth Century', *JAMS*, 14 (1961), 333. As for contemporary choir (musicians),

What Erasmus was particularly worried about in terms of such characteristics of the singers was chorister education: 'the best years of adolescents are ruined when they are educated among the *Dionysiaci*, for on reaching maturity they are good for nothing but singing and drinking'.[11] As suggested by the annotation of I Corinthians 14, the singers and choristers of the English churches are the very case in point. Erasmus calls the singers 'clamourers', who do not contemplate what they are singing. The clamour of voices characterises the singing of the choristers too. Gardiner, a humanist and the leader of the conservatives at the Henrician and Edwardian courts, bears witness to this:

> A servant of mine, in my hearing, played at the organs at Magnificat, when the boys in the choir sang Magnificat in Latin, as loud as they could cry, each one uttering his own breast to the loudest, without regard to how he agreed with his fellows. I doubt not but God understood them, but of the number that sang I dare say a great many understood not what they sang; and we could much less mark their words, other than [when they] began the verse and ended it.[12]

Those singers - the *Dionysiaci* - had been a subject of severe criticism among the English reformers, as will be seen. The 'drunken musicians' were still problematic during the Elizabethan reign, as indicated by contemporary documents. In the *Anatomie of Abuses* published in 1583, for example, Philip Stubbes criticises the 'devilish pastimes' of clerks: 'the clerks' ale' which was

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Gaffurius also notes: 'Those who are in the choir should maintain the gravity required by the place and the office. They should not talk together or converse with others, nor should they read letters or other writings. Nobody ought to stand in for one of them, reciting his hours in his book or breviary. . .' Gaffurius, *Musica practicae*, tr. Miller, 108.

[11] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 344 [LB IX 902C].

[12] J. A. Muller, ed. *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), 488.

traditionally held at Easter was celebrated even on Sunday with other various recreations.[13]

Another major matter Erasmus often raises in relation to English church music performance is improvisational music: 'Among the English, in which many sing together, but none of the singers produce those sounds which the notes on the page indicate'.[14] It was faux-bourdon which the Dutch humanist abhorred – the music in which 'the whims of the foolish are indulged and their baser appetites are satisfied'. Erasmus regards it as 'a distorted kind of music' which 'neither gives forth the pre-existing melody nor observes the harmonies of the art'. For him, this technique of improvised harmony was merely 'tremendous tonal clamour' far from 'temperate music' delivering clearly the meaning of words to the listeners.[15]

Towards the English singers, thus, Erasmus exclaims that 'Their song should be mourned; they think God is pleased with ornamental neighings and agile throats'.[16] In this passage and others, Erasmus' admonition on vocal music

[13] Philip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583, edited for the New Shakespeare Society, 1877-79), 137-150). 'Some spend the Sabbaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting . . . May-games, Church-ales, feasts, and wakenesses: . . . In foot-ball playing, and such other deuilish pastimes'. For further, see Legg, ed. *The Clerk's book of 1549*, lvii-lviii.

[14] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 341 [LB I 930A].

[15] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 339 [LB VI 732 C]. '. . . non putant satisfieri festo diei, nisi depravatum quoddam cantus genus adhibeant, quod illi Fauburdum appellant. Id nec thema praescriptum reddit, nec artis harmonias observat. Ad haec quum in hoc recepta sit in Ecclesiam musica sobria, quo verborum sensus efficacius influant in animos auditorum: quibusdam hoc quoque pulchrum videtur, si unus aut alter caeteris admixtus ingenti boatu vocis efficiat, ne verbum ullum percipiatur. In hoc indulgetur stultorum affectibus, & ventri consulitur'.

[16] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 339 [LB VI 732C]. 'Quorum cantus debuit esse luctus, hi lascivis hinnitibus & mobile gutture Deum placari credunt'. See Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places*, 1016.

performance in the church is grounded in Jerome's commentary on Ephesians 5. 19: 'Let us sing vocally, but let us sing as Christians; let us sing sparingly, but let us sing more in our hearts' (*Psallamus spiritu, sed psallamus Christiane: psallamus parce, magis autem psallamus mente*).[17] It will be obvious that this admonition was the tenet of the early Anglican programme of reforming church music.[18]

Early English Protestant humanists' criticisms of church music had echoed those of Erasmus. For instance, in his *The Obedience of a Christen man* published in 1528, Tyndale censures the music of the 'long ceremonies, long matins, long masses, and long evensongs' of the church. He compares scholastic theologians' allegorical exegesis of the Scripture to descant upon plainchant.[19] Like Erasmus, furthermore, the Tudor Protestant humanists caution against the excessive use of music even in private life. Perhaps, the best example of this can be illustrated by Elyot.

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[17] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 339 [LB VI 732C]. Jerome says that we ought to sing 'more with spirit than the voice', 'not with the voice but with the heart', 'so that not the voice of the singer but the words that are read give pleasure'. McKinnon, ed. *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 145. According to McKinnon, patristic writers referred to psalmody as a distinct kind of music, and the term 'musica' was very rarely used with reference to Christian song; 'psalms' and 'hymns' were the normal terms. McKinnon, 'The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments', 79.

[18] For example, see Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common Places*, 756, 1016.

[19] Leaver is aware of the Erasmian feature of early English reformers' criticism of church music, though his observation is very limited in its scope and depth. See Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 52; H. Walter, ed. *William Tyndale: Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1848), 234, 30. For a succinct and excellent sketch on English Reformers, see C. Cross, *Church and People: England 1450-1660* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2nd ed., 1997).

In his *The Booke of Governor*, Elyot includes a chapter on music, entitled 'In what wise music may be to a nobleman necessary and what modesty ought to be therein'.[20] Here, the nature and effect of music is treated in relation to 'temperance', one of the cardinal virtues in ancient Greek philosophy. Music, for Elyot, is that which is 'not only tolerable but also commendable'. Elyot appreciates that the practical function of music is that it 'serveth for recreation after tedious or laborious affairs'. Furthermore, the necessity of a theoretical study of music is emphasized in Aristotelian terms: 'music in the old time was numbered among sciences, for as much as nature seeketh not only how to be in business well occupied but also how in quietness to be commendably disposed'.[21]

Influenced by the Greek philosophers, Elyot thus envisages music as something 'made of an order of estates and degrees, and by reason thereof containeth in it a perfect harmony'.[22] It is only in this sense of music that 'a wise and circumspect tutor adapts the pleasant science of music to a necessary and laudable purpose'.[23] Most important of all, Elyot conceived of music as 'necessary for the better attaining the knowledge of a public weal'. Despite such commendation of music, however, Elyot warns against excessive delectation in music which often leads noblemen to neglect their necessary duty. As good examples of this, he gives two anecdotes about the Great Alexander and the Emperor Nero:

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[20] S. E. Lehmberg, ed. *The Book named 'The Governor'* (London: Dent, 1962).

[21] Ibid., 22.

[22] Ibid., 22-23.

[23] Ibid.

> King Philip, when he heard that his son Alexander did sing sweetly and properly, he rebuked him gently, saying, 'But, Alexander, be ye not ashamed that ye can sing so well and cunningly?'
>
> Sextus Nero the emperor, lying on his death-bed, greatly lamented that he was so excellent in the science of music, wishing that he had spent that time in good letters and virtuous exercises, whereby he might have been made the more able justly and truly to govern his realm.[24]

Elyot places greater emphasis on excellence in learning and virtue than on in studying music. The similar tone of regret in Nero's recalling his commitment to musical study is echoed in Merbecke's preface to the *Concordance.*[25]

Although Elyot admits playing musical instruments as pleasant learning and exercise, he emphasizes that it should be done 'without diminution of honour', 'without wanton countenance and dissolute gesture'.[26] For Elyot, the value of moderation and decorum was thus of prime importance to musical life. As will be argued, in line with the spread of the humanist education in England in which Elyot played a key role, musical reform of the English church had kept abreast with its moral reform during the reign of Edward VI. To illustrate this reform of church music practices indoctrinated by the humanist moralism, we shall consider Thomas Becon's view on music and musicians.

Thomas Becon (1512-1567), better known as 'Theodore Basil' to his contemporaries, was one of the most popular preachers at Paul's Cross over the

[24] Ibid. 22.

[25] Merbecke, *A Concordance*, A. ij. recto.

[26] Lehmberg, ed. *The Book named 'The Governor'*, 20-23.

period of the 1540s and 1550s.[27] His career as a preacher and writer was at its height during Edward's reign. In 1547 he was selected by Cranmer as one of the six preachers attached to Canterbury cathedral. Becon was also appointed a private chaplain to Cranmer and a chaplain to the Protector Edward Seymour.

Becon's notion of Christian worship is manifested in *Newes out of heaven* (1541, 2nd ed., 1542) and *Davids harpe ful of armony* (1542). His ideas in these writings are in accordance with the Reformed theologians', and this parallel exists in his view on church music too. Like the Reformed theologians, hence, Becon has been regarded as the specimen of anti-musical sentiment among the English reformers.[28] However, Becon's comments on music must not be taken as a rejection of music – a frequent misunderstanding.[29] Based on the humanist moralistic approach to music, Becon does not forbid the use of music in the church. Rather, he suggests a new way of singing, as we shall see.

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[27] T. Becon (1512-67) was ordained in 1538, and began his ministry in the living of Brenzett, in Kent.

[28] For biographical information on him, see J. Ayre, ed. *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, The Parker Society 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843), vii-xix. He was an admirer of Latimer, chaplain to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, Prebendary of Canterbury.

[29] For example, in treating attitudes of the Reformed theologians (Calvin, Becon, Merbecke, etc) to music, Shepherd fails to grasp the classical and humanist concept of music underlying their attitude, and argues that they forbade the use of music in the liturgy, following the judgements of the church fathers – Jerome, Athanasius, Gregory that 'the use of music in liturgical worship must be entirely forbidden'. See his unpublished Ph.D. diss. 'The Changing Theological Concept of Sacrifice, and Its Implications for the Music of the English Church c. 1500-1640', 85, 103. This argument needs to be corrected in several points. For the church fathers' view on music, see Chapter II, esp. 'Instrumental Music'. Also, the Zwinglian radical position of completely forbidding music in the liturgy was not shared with other lines of the Reformed church.

In the *Jewel of Joy* of 1553, dedicated to the Princess Elizabeth, Becon remarks that 'wine and minstrels rejoice the heart'. He does not condemn music nor wine if 'the use of them be moderate and exceedeth not measure'. For Becon, however, as for the Christian humanists and the Swiss reformers, most important is 'the love of wisdom', that is, 'a fervent desire to know the will of God' through study of the Bible. It is this love of wisdom which 'advanceth that above both wine and music', according to him.[30] In this view, Becon deplores that

> Many delight in music, but few in the love of wisdom: many covet to excel in singing, playing, and dancing, but in the knowledge of God's word, very few. Many can abide to spend whole days and whole nights in musical exercises, but in hearing or reading the holy scriptures. . .[31]

Becon regards music as 'a more vain and trifling science' rather than a systematic study.[32] He was however fully aware of the way music was used by ancient people especially for kings and philosophers, as a remedy against the tediousness of their labours. In typical humanist tones, thus, Becon focuses on the therapeutic function of music and the good effects which music exercise on the development of character: 'Vain and transitory it is indeed; notwithstanding, music may be used, so it be not abused. If it be soberly exercised and reputed as

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[30] J. Ayre, ed. *The Catechism of Thomas Becon: With other pieces written by him in the reign of King Edward the sixth.* The Parker Society 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), 429.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

an handmaid unto virtue, it is tolerable; otherwise it is execrable and to be abhorred of all good men'.[33]

To emphasise moderation in the use of music, Becon quotes the two classical anecdotes, the Great Alexander and the Emperor Nero, which Elyot uses in his famous book. Becon goes on to stress that kings, princes, and rulers have to hear the Word of God and give ear to the lamentable voices and humble supplications of their poor afflicted and oppressed subjects rather than to enjoy 'the filthy and trifling songs of drunken musicians, which rather provoke unto fleshly fantasies than unto virtuous exercises'.[34] As observed earlier, Erasmus makes the same criticism of contemporary musicians in his writings; thus, they had been denounced as much as their music performances, especially in relation to morals. The most vehement criticism against the musicians is presented in the following statement by Becon:

> There have been (would God there were not now!) which have not spared to spend much riches in nourishing many idle singing-men to bleat in their chapels, thinking so to do God an high sacrifice, and to pipe down their meat and their drink, and to whistle them asleep; But they have not spent any part of their substance to find a learned man in their houses, to preach the word of God, to haste them to virtue, and to dissuade them from vice. Therefore swarmed their houses with pride, ambition, vain-glory, covetousness, whoredom, swearing, stealing, polling, picking, envy, malice, fighting, flattery, superstition, hypocrisy, papistry, idolatry, and all kind of abomination.[35]

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

For Becon, thus, the moral and intellectual status of musicians was the most fundamental factor in reforming existing church music practice. As we shall see, this point became the central focus of the Edwardian injunctions concerning church music practice. In what follows, we shall observe this ethical and musical association of the Anglican reform, with particular reference to its chorister education.

## The Link between Moral and Musical Reform

In his studies of Reformation music history Leaver has argued for the major impact of the Lutheran Reformation on Anglican liturgical and musical reform in the 1540s.[36] Undoubtedly, the Lutheran Reformation was one of the tributaries which contributed to the Anglican reform, yet some differences between them may be argued as follows. The decisive difference is that, unlike the Lutheran Reformation, the Anglican reform centres on the uniformity of the liturgy across the country. Luther did not accept the suggestion of Nicholas Hausmann for the formation of a council to establish liturgical uniformity in the concern about the confusion caused by the multiplicity of vernacular versions of the traditional Mass. Rather, Luther insisted that each centre of the evangelical church should

[36] This is clear in Leaver's studies of Merbecke. See also R. A. Leaver, *"Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes": English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

have freedom to create its own liturgy without the pressure of a forced uniformity - borrow from others, or maintain the Latin Mass, at least partly.[37]

Another major difference concerns the provisions of the choral foundations. In 1541 Luther wrote to the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, on the need for more financial support for the good quality of music performance within the church:

> We have to this day great need for a capable musician [in Wittenberg]. However, since no funds were available, we have disdained to trouble Your Electoral Grace with many petitions. Now that it has been decided to expend the funds supplied by Licentiate Blanken, it seems to me to be a good idea to use some of these to engage a first-rate musician. For there was a time when we, like others, were supplied with such as could sing by the papacy. Now that the day has come in which we must train our own singers, we are not in a position to do so [i.e., because no expert is on hand to do this work].[38]

Luther wished to increase the number of professional musicians, with emphasis on excellence in music. Walter's witness of 1565, recorded in Michael Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum*, indicates that Luther enjoyed the chorale as well as figurate music [i.e, solo or unison music as well as part music].[39] In marked contrast, however, the Anglican reformers of the same period advocate the reduction of choral foundations, with great emphasis on the improvement of the moral and scholarly status of musicians. This strong moralist ethos of the Anglican musical

[37] Moss, 'The Musical Reforms of Martin Luther', 4; see also *LW*, 53: 53.

[38] Quoted in Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 93.

[39] Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 95-6. 'Figural musik', denotes the highly florid polyphonic style of the early Flemish composers, such as Ockeghem and Obrecht, as distinguished from the less complex style of Josquin and his successors. For more, see W. Apel, ed. *Havard Music Dictionary* (London: Heinemann Educational, 2nd ed., 1970), 312.

reform is clear in the policy and principles of its chorister education, as will be discussed later.

The Anglican liturgical and musical reform is closer to the Swiss Reformation than to the Lutheran in its theological grounds.[40] Luther's ideas were popular among the English intellectuals by the 1520s, especially at Cambridge; but they had been increasingly attracted to the ideas and practices of the Reformed church, having a strong tie with the Swiss humanist and reforming circles. Unlike in contemporary Germany, humanism was the only intellectual force in Switzerland, and the Swiss Reformation was dominated by the humanist ideas and programmes.[41] Its central focus was on a holistic reform of the life, morals, and worship of the church, according to a more biblical pattern rather than its doctrine. The same is true of Edwardian reformation.[42]

One of the major characteristics of English humanism in the first half of the sixteenth century is 'a gradual shift from clerical to lay humanism'.[43] During this

[40] Harrison makes the same point in his essay, but without discussing the intellectual backdrops to the liturgico-musical reforms in Germany, Switzerland, and England during the Reformation. F. L. Harrison, 'Church Music in England', in *The New Oxford History of Music: The Age of Humanism 1540-1630*. ed. G. Abraham. 11 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 4: 465-519, esp. 465-67.

[41] Scholasticism was a significant intellectual force in early sixteenth-century Germany, but not in Switzerland. See McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 83. For more the relation of humanism and the Swiss Reformation, see Ibid., 57-9.

[42] The Edwardian reformers moved from the Lutheran view to the Zwinglian on the Eucharist. In terms of the basic philosophical and theological understanding of music, the English Protestants, like other Reformed theologians, shared with Zwingli and his successor Bullinger; but in terms of the actual use of music at the service, the Anglican view was more moderate than Zwingli and closer to Calvin and Peter Martyr.

[43] R. J. Schoeck, 'Humanism in England', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 29-30.

period humanist studies had been disseminated through the extension of lay-education in a very diverse form. With regard to this spread of humanist education in Tudor England, Erasmus' concept of a Christian education based on *bonae litterae* is of prime significance: for example, Colet's outlook for re-establishing St Paul school in London (which became a model for the humanist scheme in the curriculum provision of grammar schools) is in accordance with Erasmus; that is, learning directed towards the promotion of a Christian way of living in daily life.[44]

The new pedagogical climate created by the humanist framework permeated contemporary chorister schools as well.[45] Although the 'song school' in the Middle Ages was not an elementary school in the modern sense, it usually provided a basic education for other students, not just for choristers, in reading, writing, singing, arithmetic and so on. The situations of the song schools were

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[44] J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 80. For the chorister education, see 36, 179, 185-87, 258, 280. Erasmus was deeply involved in the reform of St Paul's school in London. Cf. M. Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), esp. Ch. 4. 'The New Learning in the Schools'. For the relationship of Erasmus and Colet, see P. L. Duhamel, 'The Oxford Lectures of John Colet: An Essay in Defining the English Renaissance', *JHI*, 14 (1953): 493-510; L. Miles, *John Colet and the Platonic Tradition* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962); C. A. L. Jarrot, 'Erasmus' Annotations and Colet's Commentaries on Paul: A Comparison of Some Theological Themes', in *Essays on the Works of Erasmus*, ed. R. L. Demolen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978): 125-44; P. I. Kaufman, 'John Colet and Erasmus' *Enchiridion*', *Church History*, 46 (1977): 296-312.

[45] Adamson claims that the chorister school 'fluctuated throughout its history between the standing of a school of music and a grammar or preparatory school. It was never an elementary school in the modern sense, a type of different origin'. J. W. Adamson, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*. ed. C. G. Crump & E. F. Jacob (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 256.

rather different according to their establishments.[46] But the main focus of the chorister education was liturgy, the first stage of which was to instruct the choristers in singing plainchant and reading lessons in Latin.[47] In parallel with the spread of humanist education in the first half of the sixteenth century, chorister education was aimed not only at the liturgy but at moral training directed toward a virtuous Christian life.

This emphasis on moral training reached its peak under the Edwardian reign. The introduction of the simplified liturgy in the vernacular, to a great extent, made it unnecessary to teach the choristers the musical skills required for the traditional ceremonies. Royal injunctions for St George's Chapel issued from 1547 to 1550 reflect this, for instance: they order the reduction of the number of choristers and discontinuance of the use of the organ.[48]

Also, various diocesan injunctions issued at that period indicate the requirements of the clerks of the diocese as well as the criteria of musical composition. Throughout those documents, most significant to the eligibility and appointment of clerks are scholarly ability and facility with Latin, and moral excellence. This is well observed in the injunction for St George's Chapel, Windsor, dated 8 February 1550:

> Also, whereas heretofor, when descant, prick-song, and organs were too much used and had in price in the church, great search was made for cunning men in that faculty, among whom there many that had joined with such cunning evil

[46] D. Harris, 'Musical Education in Tudor Times', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 65 (1938-9): 109-39.

[47] The first stage of the elementary education during the medieval period was to instruct students in reading and plainchant.

[48] *VAL*, 2: 200, 225, 258.

> conditions, as pride, contention, railing, drunkenness, contempt of their superiors, or such-like vice, we now intending to have Almighty God praised with gentle and sober quiet minds and with honest hearts, and also the Commonwealth served with convenient ministers, do enjoin that from henceforth that when room of any of the clerks shall be void, the Dean and prepandaries of this church shall make search for quiet and honest men, learned in the Latin tongue, which have competent voices and can sing, apt to study and willing to increase in learning: so that they may be first deacons and afterwards admitted priests; having always more regard to their virtue and learning than to excellency in music.[49]

Regardless of the subjects, moral excellence was the essential quality of teacher or tutor in humanist education.[50] This norm of the qualification of the teachers of music or other areas appears to have been prevalent under Mary I. In his articles for the diocese of London of 1554, for example, Bishop Bonner notes

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[49] *VAL*, 2: 225. Good character and scholarly capability were a prerequisite for the appointment of minor canons and clerks at St George's from its early stage. In contrast with the 1550 injunction, however, the Windsor statutes of 1352 (Article 13) place more emphasis on their musical ability; no one was to be admitted to either office unless he was musically skilled even if he was well learned and virtuous. And the choir of St George's Chapel had been enlarged by the late fifteenth century. Cf. Dexter, 'The Provision of Choral Music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle', 108. The general condition of choirs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was that there were many learned grammarians but just a few musicians in the choirs. Relevant contemporary documents report that much confusion and mistakes in performance resulted from this condition. See M. Berry (Sister Thomas More), 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century', *The Royal Musical Association Proceedings*, 92 (1965-66), 121-22.

[50] W. Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance 1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), Ch. 13, 'The Renaissance and Education in England', 268-94. Richard Farrant died on 30 November 1580, and for the following five years no one was appointed master of the choristers before Nathaniel Giles because they were 'destitute of an expert and cunning man to teach, inform and instruct the choristers'. See Wridgway, *The Choristers of St Goerge's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 24-5. On Farrant, see 27.

> Whether they that take upon themselves to teach children, whether it be English or Latin, to play or sing or such-like, be themselves sober and discreet, of honest and virtuous living, conversation, and behaviour, with other good and commendable qualities so that they may edify and profit scholars as well by their living, conversation, and good manners, as by their teaching. . .[51]

During the reign of Elizabeth I masters of the choristers were still responsible for the moral training of the boys, for which they gathered quotations, proverbs and the like.[52] As to the Tudor chorister education before about 1565 Flynn concludes that the 'chorister's music, grammar, non-liturgical songs, and plays - the various components of their education - all had the liturgy and moral education as their focus'.[53] Despite this important observation, however, Flynn overlooks the fact that the great emphasis on moral training resulted from the impact of contemporary humanist ideas in which morals was the essential part of the education of the young.[54]

As has been seen, the musical reformation of the English church was inextricably linked with its moral reformation. Central to the promotion of learning and virtue was biblical knowledge and teaching. For example, Archbishop of York Robert Holgate's injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of

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[51] Quoted in Harris, 'Musical Education in Tudor Times', 134; *VAL*, 2: 106.

[52] For instance, Andrew Melville, master of the song school at Aberdeen between 1636 and 1640, compiled a commonplace book for this purpose. During the Elizabethan reign the chorister education had gradually focused on more specialised musical technique concerned with 'how to *write* music' for the liturgy rather than with complex skills of improvising for the performance of liturgy. Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers during the Sixteenth Century', 194-97.

[53] Ibid., 194.

[54] For humanists' moral education, see Kristeller, 'Humanism and Moral Philosophy', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 271-309.

York Minister in 1552, oblige 'the vicars-choral' under the age of forty to memorize a chapter of one of Paul's Epistles in Latin every week.[55] This trend continued in the Elizabethan period, as illustrated by Bishop Robert Horne's injunctions for Winchester Cathedral of 1571: 'Petit Canons, Singing-men, Vergers, Sextons and Almsmen shall resort to the said divinity lecture and diligently hear and note the same . . . shall be monthly examined . . . how they have marked and remembered such points of doctrine. . .' [56]

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[55] *VAL*, 2: 317.

[56] *VAL*, 3: 321.

# 2. Anglican Apologetics for Plainchant*

## *Cantus planus* in the Reformation[57]

From the late fifteenth century onwards there had been a strong need to revise existing chant performance practice. One major concern of the revision was the great discordance in chanting amongst the religious Orders: for example, Bishop Redman, the visitor to the English Premonstratensians, made constant appeals for uniformity in the late fifteenth century.[58] Although viewed as degenerate, on the other hand chant practice was of major importance for the humanist revival of ancient Christian music on the eve of the Reformation. While polyphonic and instrumental music in the church was subjected to severe and fundamental disapproval within the humanist and reforming circles, plainchant was expected to be *innovated* according to 'the manner and authority of the primitive church'.[59]

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* This section is restricted to the Protestant reform of plainchant. For the discussion of the revision of Gregorian chant during the Catholic Reformation, see the next Chapter.

[57] The original meaning of *cantus planus* was a melody in a relatively low range, as opposed to *cantus acutus*. The term *cantus planus* itself is indicative of the evolutionary process of the Gregorian chant during the late Middle Ages. It was not used until the thirteenth century (before it, *cantus choralis*, *cantilena Romana*, etc.); the word *planus* (even, level) is thought to suggest that plainchant began to be interpreted in uniform values of rather long duration, having lost the original tradition of Gregorian rhythm. For more, see W. Apel, ed. *Havard Music Dictionary* (London: Heinemann Educational, 2nd ed., 1970), 132.

[58] Berry, 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century' (article), 122-23.

[59] Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*, 1: 267.

Despite this, the discussion of the musical aspect of the Reformation is largely limited to the emergence of a new type of service music - congregational songs.[60] In such a discourse, the Reformation attitudes toward the traditional chant practice are liable to be either dismissed or misunderstood.[61] Except for the radical factions of the Protestant Reformation such as the Zwinglian line, plainchant had been retained within the practice of the reformed liturgies in various forms.[62] It is important to note here that none of the mainstream reformers intended to break with the historical continuity of the medieval church, which was a Christian church to them, though corrupted or disfigured.[63] This is well observed in their use of plainchant for the new service music, metrical

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[60] For example, see B. R. Butler, 'Hymns', in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Reformation.* ed. H. Hillerbrand. 4 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), 2: 290-99; Idem, 'Music', in Ibid., 3: 104-16.

[61] In his annotation I Corinthians 14, Calvin assures the reader that 'the voice of man (although it be not understood of all in general) far excel all dead instruments: what shall we then say of chanting, which only feedeth the ears with a vain sound: if any man object that music, availeth greatly to the stirring up of men's minds: truly I grant it doth so, howbeit it is always to be feared lest some corruption should creep in. . .' Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common places*, 754-55. Under the *locus* 'Dancing', Merbecke quotes (283) Calvin's arguments about instrumental music at the temple: 'the Flute and Tabor and such other like things are not to be condemned, simply of their own nature: but only in respect of men's abusing of them, for most commonly they pervert the good use of them'.

[62] Garside notes that 'the post-Gregorian era has witnessed an increasing variety of ecclesiastical chants, all of which in their multiplicity and their senselessness testify to the Church's fallen state, and all of which must be categorically abandoned'. Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, 31.

[63] McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 204-5. The development of the Reformation is generally observed in the following four divisions: the Lutheran Reformation; the Reformed Church; the Radical Reformation (Anabaptism); and the Catholic Reformation. In general, the mainstream Protestant reformers designate the leaders of the Lutheran Reformation and the Reformed Church, not Anabaptists.

psalmody. It is for this reason that Dyce, a nineteenth-century Anglican advocate for plainchant, refers to metrical psalmody as a 'new kind of plainsong'.[64]

An example of the Protestant use of plainchant is illustrated by the first complete metrical Psalter in English, Crowley's *The Psalter of David translated into Englysh metre*, published in 1549 (STC 2725).[65] It contains just one musical setting (a four part harmonisation) whose melody is based on the traditional psalm tone 7, first ending. As generally assumed, this one chant melody appears to serve the whole Psalter. Another example is Seager's *Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalter of David* published in 1553 (STC 22134). It contains two four-part settings: one freely composed and the other a harmonization of the traditional psalm tone 6. Leaver suggests that together with *BCPN*, Crowley's and Seager's are evidence of the way the prose psalms were sung during the Edwardian reign.[66]

From the above discussion, it may be thus argued that the Reformation witnessed the three types of reforming plainchant: 1) reformed plainchant in Latin; 2) reformed plainchant in the vernacular; and 3) metrical psalmody. The first type corresponds to the reform of the Gregorian chant within the Catholic Church and also to Lutheran chants in Latin.[67] The second type is most common

[64] Dyce, *The Order of Daily Service*, a.

[65] R. Crowley (c.1518-1588), *The Psalter of David newely translated into Englysh metre in such sort that it maye the more decently, and with more delyte of the mynde, be reade and songe of al men. Wherunto is added a note of four partes, with other thynges, as shall appeare in the Epistle to the Readar.* (London: R. Crowley, 1549).

[66] Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 59-60.

[67] For an intensive study of the Lutheran chants in Latin, see R. L. Gould, 'The Latin Lutheran Mass at Wittenberg 1523-1545: A Survey of the Early Reformation Mass and the Lutheran Theology of Music, As Evidenced in the Liturgical Writings of Martin Luther, the Relevant *Kirchenordnungen*, and the Georg Rhau *Musikdrücke* for the *Hauptgottesdienst*'.

in the Lutheran Reformation. As will become clear, the Anglican reform of plainchant is an eclectic mixture of the first two, or even all of the three types. Before discussing the formation and development of the Anglican plainchant, the rest of this section will consider the Lutheran reform of the traditional chant which points to general aspects of the liturgical and musical transition at the time of the Reformation.

One of the most significant elements in the reform of existing Christian worship in the late Middle Ages was the 'vernacularisation' of the traditional liturgy. Martin Luther was not the first committed to this. Before Luther's *Formula Missae et communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensi* (1523), worship was already conducted in the vernacular by Wolfgang Wissenburger in Basel and by Johann Schwebel in Pforzheim.[68] At the early stage of the vernacular liturgies it was inevitable to translate the traditional Latin plainchant into the vernacular language. Humanists made a major contribution to this task in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Perhaps, the earliest example of this is Sebastian Brant's contrafactum 'Der Sequentz Verbum bonum' (c.1496) that is a German translation of the Marian sequence 'Verbum bonum et suave'.[69]

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S.M.D. diss. (Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1970). See also B. Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and his Reform of the Canon of the Mass*. Grove Liturgical Study 30 (Bramcote, Eng.: Grove, 1982).

[68] Martin Luther was neither the first to advocate the idea of the vernacular liturgy - a complete German liturgy - nor to attempt syllabic vernacular chant music. See C. K. Moss, 'The Musical Reform of Martin Luther', http://classicalmus.hispeed.com/articles/luther.html

[69] Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*, 90-2.

A main characteristic of the vernacular versions of plainchant is that they usually retained the poetic structures of the original Latin plainchant as well as its notation style and melodic formulae. It is Kaspar Kantz, the reformer of Nördlingen (a prior of the Carmelite monks of Nördlingen), who is of initial importance in relation to the musical settings of the vernacular liturgy. Kantz's *Von der Euangelischen Mess* published in 1522 is the first musical setting of the Eucharist in German.[70] While it bears a progressive theological view, its basic form follows the Roman formulary.

Later in the same year, Thomas Müntzer published a Mass as well as a Matins and Vespers in German. These vernacular liturgical works were printed together with the original Gregorian melodies. Luther's major liturgical reforming work of 1523, *Formula Missae,* is an adaptation of the traditional Mass. This publication reflects his conservative approach to the celebration of the Eucharist, compared to the Swiss reformers of the day: Luther retains the title of 'Mass', though it was aimed to be celebrated preferably in the vernacular, as the main Sunday service.[71] Most of the *Formula Missae* is sung in Latin, and only the sermon and several hymns are delivered in German. Luther made it clear in the preface to this

[70] Its full title is *Von der Euangelischen Messz. Mit Chrstilichen Gebetten vor vnd nach der empfahung des Sacraments.*

[71] Luther's liturgical reform is generally regarded as conservative, especially because of his keeping the term Mass. Leaver makes a distinction between the traditional concept of the Mass and Luther's. Further, Leaver argues, what lay behind Luther's approach to liturgical reform is 'not innate conservatism but theological radicalism' centring on the doctrine of justification by faith. See, Leaver, 'Theological Consistency, Liturgical Integrity, and Musical Hermeneutics in Luther's Liturgical Reforms', 131. T. Knolle, 'Luthers Deutsche Messe und die Rechtfertigungslehre', *Luther Jahrbuch*, 10 (1928): 170-203.

publication, however, that a completely vernacular service would be available soon, and for this purpose he called upon poets and musicians.[72]

In the meantime, other versions of the vernacular Mass were introduced in 1524 in Reutlingen, Wertheim, Königsberg, and Strassbourg.[73] One of those was Thomas Müntzer's *Deutsch Evangelisch Messze*, where the German text was set to the Gregorian chant melodies. Luther was however critical of this work:

> I would gladly have a German mass today. I am also occupied with it. But I would like it to have a true German character. For to translate the Latin text and retain the Latin tone or notes has my sanction, thought it does not sound polished or well done. Both the text and notes, accent, melody, and manner of rendering ought to grow out of the true mother tongue and its inflection, otherwise all of it becomes an imitation, in the manner of apes.[74]

Thus, Luther declares that the chant for the new service should be 'arranged as syllabically as possible. . . since the German language is largely monosyllabic'.[75]

This emphasis on the property of the vernacular language was practised in the *Deudsche Messe vnd ordnung Gottisdiensts* (German Mass and Order of Divine

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[72] In 1523 Luther wrote: 'I also wish that we had as many songs in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass, immediately after the gradual and also after the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei ... but poets are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them ... I mention this to encourage any German poets to compose evangelical hymns for us'. From *An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg* (1523). See *LW*, 53: 36-37.

[73] Moss, 'The Musical Reforms of Martin Luther', 3-4.

[74] *LW*, 40: 141.

[75] *LW*, 53: 55.

Service) printed in 1526.[76] Two composers, Conrad Rupsch and Johann Walther, joined this project.[77] In the *Deudsche Messe*, the traditional chant melodies were adapted to the vernacular texts in a simplified form which had no ligature and melisma. Some melodies of the *Deudsche Messe* were borrowed from contemporary popular tunes, which indicate that it was 'arranged for the sake of the unlearned lay folk'.[78]

Although Luther notes that 'I hate to see the Latin notes set over the German words,' both Latin and the vernacular had been used for the services at Wittenberg.[79] It is in this regard that the English Reformation was more radical; although the music practice of the cathedral and collegiate churches generally features liturgical and musical conservatism, its reformed liturgy was to be delivered in the vernacular alone. Luther and his successor Melanchthon recommend the use of Latin at the service for a pedagogical purpose, especially for the youth. It is perhaps for this reason that the ecclesiastical chant tradition

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[76] On the process of the preparation of this book, see R. A. Leaver, 'Theological Consistency, Liturgical Integrity, and Musical Hermeneutics in Luther's Liturgical Reforms', *Lutheran Quarterly*, 9 (1995): 117-38, esp. 124-26; see also *LW*, 53: 60.

[77] W. Blankenburg, *Johann Walter, Leben und Werk*, ed. F. Brusniak (Tutzing: Schneider, 1991), esp. 310-91.

[78] R. A. Leaver, 'The Lutheran Reformation', in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the Sixteenth Century*. ed. I. Fenlon (London: Macmillan, 1989), 271. See also Idem, 'Sequences and Responses: Continuity of Forms in Luther's Liturgical Provisions', in K. Maag & J. Witvliet, *Worship in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 300-28.

[79] *LW*, 53: 54.

was well preserved within the Lutheran church into the following centuries.[80] Two representative publications issued in the second half of the sixteenth century deserve to be noted here: *Psalmodia, hoc est cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta* (1553); Johannes Keuchenthal's *Kirchen Gesenge Latinisch und duedsch, sampt allen Euangelien, und Collecten auff die Sontage und Feste nach der Ordnung der Zeit durchs gantze Jahr* (1573).[81]

## Anglican Apologetics for Music

The Lutheran reform of liturgical chant foreshadows its Anglican counterpart in several ways. Leaver draws a parallel between the two, by comparing *BCPN* with the *Deudsche Messe.* The key point concerns the linguistic aspect of the vernacular chants - the syllabic nature of both the German and English liturgical texts. As will be observed in detail in the next chapter, however, the superficial affinity between them is not confined to the liturgical contexts alone; they illustrate the characteristic insights of the reform of plainchant of the day generally, grounded in humanist rhetorico-musical thought. Furthermore, the theological implications of the Anglican reform of plainchant are distinguishable from its Lutheran counterpart, as has been seen.

[80] For the Lutheran use of plainchant in two centuries after the Reformation (organ music, 1600-1750), see A. Bond, 'Plainchant in the Lutheran Church', *Musical Times*, 114 (1973), 582-87, 993-97, 1114-18.

[81] Lucas Lossius of Lüneberg compiled a basic anthology of Latin chant suitable for reformed use: The reformer Philip Melanchthon wrote the preface to this. Leaver, 'The Lutheran Reformation', 273-74.

It will therefore be obvious that the Anglican apologetic for plainchant owes its origins to a series of attempts to reform the morals and worship of the church in which music was integrated. The clearest statement of the early Anglican attitude to music may be found in the *Rationale* (or book of *Ceremonies to be used in the church of England*), compiled by a committee of bishops around 1540:

> The sober, discreet, and devout singing, music and playing with organs used in the church for the service of God are ordained to move and stir the people to the sweetness of God's word the which is there sung, and by that sweet [h]armony both to excite them to prayers and devotion and also to put them in remembrance, of the heavenly triumphant church, where is everlasting joy with continual laud and praise to God.[82]

In the *Rationale*, music is thus regarded as an art whose functions are: 1) to convey the Word of God; 2) to lead the worshippers to the profundity of the Word of God; 3) to stimulate the devotions and prayers of the worshippers; 4) to remind them of the eternal heavenly church praising to God. To meet these aims, most significant for the writing and performing of music is the intelligibility of the texts.

Of later relevant documentary sources, *The Homily of Common Prayer and Sacraments* quotes St Augustine's annotation upon the eighteenth psalm: 'we may sing with reason of man, and not with chattering of birds. For ousels, popinjays, ravens, pies, and other such like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not

[82] C. S. Cobb, ed. *The Rationale of Ceremonial 1540-1543*. Alcuin Club Collections 18 (London: Longmans, 1910), 14. Cf. H. Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker 1534-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

what: but to sing with understanding is given by God's holy will to the nature of man'.[83]

This passage is echoed in Jewel's article *Of Prayers in a strange tongue* of 1564, the key Anglican apologia for the use of the vernacular language in prayers and songs.[84] His advocacy for chanting in the vernacular is based on an observation of the multi-lingual context of primitive Christianity – Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic and so on.[85] Here, Jewel refers to the 'plain song' as the foundation of ecclesiastical music; 'the rest is altogether descant and vain voluntary, and the most part out of tune'.[86] Thus, florid polyphony whose text is understood neither by the singers nor by the listeners is condemned; singers employed for polyphonic music are compared to the birds able to imitate human speech without comprehension. In this view, the introduction of florid polyphony into Christian worship which eventually led to the obscuring of the Word of God was fundamentally denounced.[87]

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[83] The Second Tome of Homilies, Homily IX. (*The Homily Of Common Prayer and Sacraments*).

[84] Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*, 1: 283-84. Cf. J. E. Booty, *John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England* (London: SPCK, 1963).

[85] See Chapter IV, footnotes 142 & 143.

[86] Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*, 1: 264.

[87] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 1018 (Becon, in his b. of Reliques): 'Pope Vitalian being a lusty singer and a fresh and courageous musician himself, brought into the Church prick song, Descant, and all kinds of sweet and pleasant melody, and because nothing should want to delight, the vain, foolish, and idle ears of fond and fantastical men, he joined the Organs to the curious music all. Thus was Paul's preaching and Peter's praying turned into vain singing and childish playing, unto the great loss of time, and to the utter undoing of Christian men's souls, which live not by singing and piping, but every word that cometh out of the mouth of God'.

As implied by the above quotation, the Anglican advocates of plainchant conceived that the right way of singing for divine worship was by human reason. Most important of all, this way of singing was understood as identical with 'the true manner of worshipping and praying to our Lord God'.[88] The notion of singing as a prayer, which was elaborated by Calvin, lay at the heart of the core of the theological aesthetics of the Reformed Church. In accordance with this, the English reformers consult the patristic writers, especially Jerome on Ephesians. 5. As 'a good lesson for our musicians and chaunters', Becon adopts it under the title of 'what prayer is', chapter 5, in his *The Pathway unto Prayer.* Declaring that 'St Hierome teacheth our musicians a new manner of singing', he writes:

> Hereto agreeth the saying of St Jerome: 'We ought', saith he, 'to sing, to make melody, and to praise the Lord, rather in mind than in voice. And this is it that is said: "singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts". Let young men hear these things, yea, let them hear whose office it is to sing in the church, that they must sing to God, not in the voice but in the heart, neither must their throat and chaws be anointed after the manner of game-players with sweet ointments, that in the church singing more fit for game-places should be heard, but in fear, in work, in knowledge of the scriptures ought they to sing unto the Lord'.[89]

This passage – which has the Erasmian attitude to singing and chanting - and the Reformed theologians' commentary on it are prone to be misunderstood as an

[88] Ayre, ed. *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, 133-34.

[89] Ibid.; Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 1015. This commentary re-appears in Merbecke's commonplace book of 1581; and after the passages, Merbecke adds that 'let the voice of the singer so sing, that not the voice of him that singeth, but the words that are read may delight'.

entire elimination of music in the liturgy. Neither the church fathers nor their successors of the sixteenth century did so, however.[90]

The basic position of the Anglican reformers to allow music in the church is well presented in Merbecke's commonplace book. Here, the contents of the two *loci* 'music' and 'singing' are based on the writings of church fathers and the humanist and reformed circles – Petrarch, Erasmus, Martyr, Calvin, and Becon.[91] Music performed without texts was quite unacceptable to all of those. Amongst them, it is Martyr's defence of church music which is of particular importance in more direct influence than others on the Protestantisation of the English church in the 1540s.[92]

Martyr was a Florentine humanist and a Protestant reformer. He was well aware of the idea which became later the precept of the Florentine Camerata: the text is 'la cosa importantissima et principale dell'arte musicale'.[93] In commenting on Augustine's *Confession*, Martyr remarks that 'measure and singing were

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[90] Shepherd refers to Becon and Merbecke as a radical theological approach to music.

[91] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 754-56, 1015-18.

[92] For a comprehensive study of Peter Martyr, see J. C. McLelland, ed. *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University, 1980), esp. J. C. McLelland, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli: Scholastic or Humanist?', 142-52; C. Vasoli, 'Loci Communes and the Rhetorical and Dialectical Traditions', 17-28; M. Anderson, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli: Protestant Humanist', 65-84. For Martyr's influence on Cranmer, see M. Anderson, 'Rhetoric and Reality: Peter Martyr and the English Reformation', *SCJ*, 19 (1988): 451-69; Idem, 'Peter Martyr, Reformed Theologian (1542-1562): His Letters to H. Bullinger and John Calvin', *SCJ*, 6 (1973): 41-64. Patrick Collinson says of Martyr: 'But if we were to identify one author and one book which represented the centre of theological gravity of the Elizabethan Church it would not be Calvin's *Institutes* but the *Common Places* of Peter Martyr. . . ' Quoted in Anderson's 'Rhetoric and Reality', 469.

[93] Walker, 'Musical Humanism', 289. The quoted passage is Vincenzo Galilei's.

brought in for the word's sake, and not words for music'.[94] Under the title 'what music Saint Austin [Augustine] allowed', Merbecke quotes Martyr's statement that 'he [Augustine] consented that music should be retained in the Church'. Martyr goes even further to allow dancing for the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, stressing the legitimacy of singing for the same purpose: 'as it is lawful to sing, and we use singing to give thanks unto God, and to celebrate the praise, so also by a moderate dancing, we may testify the joy and mirth of the mind'.[95]

In defence of church music, Martyr draws upon I Corinthians 14. 26: he treats it as evidence that 'singers of songs and Psalms had their place in the Church'.[96] Martyr claims, however, they must sing '*not only* in voice, *but also* in heart, for the voice soundeth in vain, where the mind is not affected'.[97] Martyr's defence of the use of music in the church is thoroughly pedagogical and ethical: upon Colossians 3.16 he notes

> By these words Paul expressth two things, first that your song be the word of God, which must abound plenteously in us, and they must not serve only to giving of thanks, but also to teach and admonish. And then it is added with grace, which is thus to understand, as though he should have said aptly and properly both to the

[94] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 755.

[95] Ibid., 284. As for dances, Peter Martyr notes: 'we cannot say that of their own nature they be vicious'. What concerns him is that 'those things are nourishments and provokers of wantonness and lusts'. Martyr condemns the dance that is mingled between men and women: 'We ought to follow the examples of godly fathers, who now and then used dances, but yet such as were moderate and chaste, so that the men danced by themselves, and the women apart by themselves'.

[96] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 1016 (Pet. Mart. Upon Judic. Fol. 102. 103).

[97] Ibid., 1015 (Eph. 5. 18 and Coll. 3. 16).

> senses and to measures, and also unto the voices. Let them not sing rude and rustical things, neither let it be immoderately, as do the Tavern hunters.[98]

Martyr thus gives an apologia for music more explicitly than any of the Reformed ranks. Yet the misgivings remain, as he quotes Gregory: 'while the sweetness of the voice is sought for, the life is neglected, and when wicked manners provoketh God, the people is ravished by the pleasantness of the voice'. [99]

In this view, Martyr draws attention to Jerome's famous annotation on Ephesians 5 and Gregory's opinion in the Synod of Rome, written respectively in the Decrees, dist. 92. in the chapter, *Cantates*, and in the chapter *In Sancta Romana*:

> *Non vox sed votum, non cordula musica sed cor,*
> *Non clamans sed amans, cantat in aure Dei.*
>
> Not the voice but the desire, not the pleasantness of music,
> But the voice [sic.] not crying, but loving, singeth in the ears of God.[100]

The most authentic and authoritative ancient usage of chanting, advocated by Augustine and again by Martyr, was the manner of the Church of Alexandria used under Athanasius. Music, Athanasius regarded, as 'a way of involving the whole self in praise to God'.[101] According to Petrarch in his *De remediis utriusque*

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[98] (Pet. Mart. Upon Judic. Fol. 102. 103) – Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 1015-16. 'Let the word of the Lord abound plenteously in you, teach and admonish ye one another, in Psalms, Hymns, and spiritual songs, singing in your hearts with grace'.

[99] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 756 (Peter Martyr, upon Judic. fol. 103).

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ferguson, 'Toward a Patristic Theology of Music', 269.

*fortunae*, Athanasius utterly forbade the music which often aroused 'all lightness and vanity' in both the minds of the singers and hearers during the service.[102] Humanists argued that the way the Egyptian monks chanted was closer to recitation than singing. In this light, Becon develops the point made by Erasmus in commenting on I Corinthians 14:

> A Christian man's melody, after St Paul's mind, consisteth in heart, while we recite psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, and sing to the Lord in our hearts. . . All other outward melody is vain and transitory, and passeth away and cometh to nought.[103]

The Anglican reformers attempted to apply the ancient manner of chanting to their vernacular versions of the traditional liturgy. A representative example of this endeavour is illustrated by Archbishop Cranmer, a humanist reformer.[104] In his letter to Henry VIII, dated on the 7th of October, 1544, Cranmer writes:

> If your grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto (as is to the procession which your majesty hath already set forth in English), I trust it will much excite and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness. . .

This desire for producing chant music appropriate for the vernacular texts was not meant to eradicate the existing chant tradition. Cranmer adapted the English texts

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[102] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, 1016.

[103] Ayre, ed. *The Catechism of Thomas Becon, with other pieces*, 429. For Erasmus' comment on the biblical passage, see Chapter IV, 266 (footnote 119).

[104] For more on Cranmer's humanist scholarship, see M. Dowling, 'Cranmer as Humanist Reformer', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn, eds. *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 89-114. See also D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), see esp. 33.

to some of the existing excellent chants, convinced that such an adaptation would not demote the solemnity of the originals; rather, he believed, the adaptation would exalt the solemnity:

> 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 note 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.[105]

Cranmer's experiment for the vernacular liturgy bore fruit, as proved by the Litany issued in 1544. The Litany was set together with the musical notes of a progressive form in print; the ultimate goal of using them, as he asserts in the letter, lies in proper delivery in chanting. To achieve this goal, Cranmer places great emphasis on the one note/one syllable rule, characteristic of the humanist composition of classical odes.[106] Cranmer urges this rule to be applied throughout the musical parts of the liturgy:

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

[105] For the whole text of the letter, see J. E. Cox, ed. *The Works of Thomas Cranmer: Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*. The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 412.

[106] For more, see the next Chapter.

Chant music for the remaining parts of the vernacular liturgy except the litany was finally set by a poet-composer, Merbecke, as wished by Cranmer:

> But by cause mine English verses[107] lack the grace and facility that I would wish they had, your majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase.

The new way of chanting continued to be recommended after the introduction of the second Prayer Book of 1552 and over the period of the Elizabethan regime. In his Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter at York in 1552, Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York directs:

> We will and command that there be none other note sung or used in the said church at any service there to be had, saving square note plain, so that every syllable may be plainly and distinctly pronounced, and without any reports or repeatings which may induce any obscureness to the hearers. . .[108]

The 49th of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions issued in 1559, often regarded as the most lucid manifestation of the Anglican apologetics for music, re-capitulates the very principles lay out by the early reformers:

> The Queen's Majesty . . . willeth and commandeth . . . That there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understanded as if it were read without singing; and yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted

[107] 'English verse (versifying)' was commonly used to refer to 'writing in quantitative metre', in distinction from rhyming. For example, Spenser says: 'I am, of late, more in love with my Englishe Versifying than with Ryming'. For further, see D. Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 104-5.

[108] *VAL*, 2: 318.

> 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 understanded and perceived.[109]

Throughout the Elizabethan injunctions, the observance of the 'speech-rhythm' in chanting is highlighted.[110] For example, an injunction for Winchester Cathedral in 1571 directs:

> Item, that in the quire no note shall be used in song that shall drown any word or syllable, or draw out in length or shorten any word or syllable otherwise than by the nature of the word [as] it is pronounced in common speech, whereby the sentence cannot well be perceived by the hearers. And also the often reports or repeating of notes with words or sentences whereby the sense may be hindered in the hearer shall not be used.[111]

In the same year, Edwin Sandys issued injunctions for the diocese of London which makes a similar point:

> Whether there be a modest and distinct song, so used concerning the said parts of the Common Prayer which be sung, that the same may be as plainly understanded as if they were read without singing. . .[112]

[109] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, 1: 224. John Jewel and Richard Hooper deployed Anglican apologetics for church music. Especially, the latter is most frequently quoted in Victorian Anglican apologetics for church music.

[110] For further explanation of this style, see the next chapter,

[111] *VAL*, 3: 319.

[112] *VAL*, 3: 320.

It should be stressed that although the Anglican apologists agreed with the Swiss reformers such as Bullinger over the concept of sacrifice, their position on music in the liturgy was more moderate than that of the Swiss reformers. An example of this is illustrated by John Jewel, a key Anglican apologist.

Jewel was consecrated bishop of Salisbury on 21 January, 1560. His *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*, first published in 1562 in Latin, was followed by its numerous editions throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Jewel shares the Reformed understanding of sacrifice - a spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which does not allow music for the sake of the beauty of its sound only. In practising the idea of 'music of the heart', however, Jewel takes a more moderate position than the Zwinglian. Like Martyr, referred to as his 'spiritual father', Jewel allows singing in the liturgy, modelled on the practice of the primitive church: the participation of the whole congregation in the singing of hymns and psalms.[113] On 5 March 1560 Jewel wrote to Martyr that 'religion is now somewhat more established than it was . . . the practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this'.[114]

With the support of Archbishop Matthew Parker, Jewel's *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* of 1562 was translated into English in the same year, entitled as *An Apologie, or aunswer in defence of the Church of England.* Sympathetic though he was to the Reformed viewpoint of worship, Parker steers a more moderate course than those Reformed churches. This is evident in his letter to Sir William Cecil, dated 3 June 1564, which is a report of the French ambassador's visit to England. Here, Parker stresses the 'mediocrity (moderation)' of the

[113] Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*, 1: 283-84, 290, 309, 332-3.

[114] Ibid., 4: 1231.

Elizabethan religious policies, charging the Genevan and the Scottish of going too far in extremities:

> They [the French ambassador and the bishop of Constance] seemed to be glad that in ministration of our Common Prayer and Sacraments we use such reverent mediocrity, and that we did not expel musick out of our quires, telling them that our musick drowned not the principal regard of our prayer. [115]

Parker's *Advertisements*, published in 1566, allows polyphony, measured chanting, and the use of organ. More radical figures among the Anglican authorities, such as Grindal, reluctantly subscribed to it.[116] At this time, the music practice of cathedral and collegiate churches remained traditional in its basic form while congregational songs had become increasingly popular at parish churches, as witnessed by documents of both foreign ambassadors and non-conformists.[117]

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[115] J. Bruce & T. Perowne, eds. *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury*. The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), 214-15.

[116] Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson - the key nonconformists - showed a strong reaction against it. For further, see Shepherd, 'The Changing Theological Concept of Sacrifice, and Its Implications for the Music of the English Church c. 1500-1640', 107. E. Cardwell, ed. *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England . . . from the Year 1546 to the Year 1716* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844), 1: 321-31; H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan, 1896), 467-75.

[117] C. Monson, 'Elizabethan London', in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the Sixteenth Century*. Man and Music. ed. I. Fenlon (London: McMillian, 1986): 304-40.

# 3. English Plainchant in the 1540s

## Cranmer's First Litany (1544): Towards the Uniformity of Liturgy in the Vernacular

In the 1530s there had already been a strong desire for the vernacular ceremonies and practices within the reforming circles, alongside the enthusiasm for the vernacular Bible.[118] Outwardly considered, however, the religious reform of the 1530s is conservative. The ninth of the Ten Articles of 1536, for instance, allows holy water, holy bread, the lights of Candlemas, and the ashes of Ash Wednesday, which continued in both the Bishop's Book of 1537 and the King's Book of 1543.[119] In the light of the revisionist interpretation of the English Reformation, thus, Kisby argues that 'ceremonial continuity rather than change prevailed in the chapel during the last two decades of Henry's rule, and the rituals performed and the king's involvement in them continued to provide opportunities for display,

[118] This is identified in the growth of vernacular prayer, as suggested by the English primers issued during that period. The earliest extant printed primer in the vernacular is Joye's *Ortulus anime. The garden of the soul: or the englisshe primers* issued in 1530 (STC 13828. 4). Of the English primers issued during the 1530s, William Marshall's *Goodly Prymer* had been most popular before the officially authorised one, 'King's Primer's of 1545 (*The primer, set foorth by the kynges maiestie and his clerigie*, STC 16034, etc.). Marshall's Primers begin with STC 15998 (1534). The Primer of Salisbury (Redman, 1537; STC 15997) contains the most progressive religious ideas.

[119] In 1538 the royal injunctions ban the image: 'That such feigned Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be so abused with Pilgrimages or Offerings. . . ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax to be set afore any Image or Picture'.

association, and access that were essential elements of strong kingship throughout the early Tudor regime'.[120]

During the late years of the Henrician reign, Cranmer had to steer a middle course between two conflicting views within the court: the conservative faction led by Gardiner and its evangelical opponent. The former argued for a historical continuity with the traditional doctrines and practices; the latter for a theological continuity with the primitive church according to a biblical theology developed by the church fathers.[121] In this context, Cranmer had set forth 'certain godly prayers and suffrages' in the vernacular language. The setting of the English prayers and suffrages was issued as an appendix to *An exhortation vnto prayer, thoughte mete by the kinges maiestie, and his clergy, to be read to the people in euery church afore processions*. Its original title is *A Letanie with suffrages to be said or song in the tyme of the said processions*; generally known as 'Cranmer's First Litany'.[122]

The royal injunction of 1538 banned the vernacular service during which singing must have been done in English: a diarist Wriothesley records a sung English Mass and Te Deum in London in 1538.[123] Within the evangelical circles,

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[120] F. Kisby, '"When the King Goeth a Procession": Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547', *Journal of British Studies*, 40 (2001), 46.

[121] Cf. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 155-56.

[122] For the facsimile of the Litany see J. E. Hunt, ed. *Cranmer's First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted 1550* (London: SPCK, 1939). For further discussion of Cranmer's liturgical works, see E. C. Ratcliff, 'The Liturgical Work of Archbishop Cranmer', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 7 (1956): 189-203.

[123] 'The canticle of Te Deum was songe in Englishe in the City of London, after sermons made by Doctor Barnes, by Thomas Rooffe and other of theyr sect, commonly called of the

singing in the vernacular became increasingly popular in the following decades: on September 22, 1543, for example, Dr. Lancelot Ridley was accused in that 'the Te Deum has been commonly sung in English at Herne where he is vicar'.[124] The vernacular primers of the 1530s and 40s contain the English version of the daily offices, but without music for it. This indicates that the English daily offices had been chanted in existing chant melodies.[125]

Cranmer's Litany, included later in the King's Primer of 1545, thus, is the earliest official attempt to set music for the vernacular liturgical texts, directed towards the uniformity of the liturgy in the English church.[126] Regarding this Litany Wriothesley records that

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Papistes the newe sect'. C. Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors from A.D. 1485 to 1559*. ed. W. D. Hamilton (Westminster: Camden Society, 1874), 1: 83. This spread of progressive religious ideas was limited to the cities such as London in south eastern England.

[124] Quoted in Aplin, 'The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early English Te-Deum Settings', 251. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1864-1920), XVII, part 2: 306.

[125] An example of this is the Compline hymn, *O Lord the Maker of all thing*, in the Wanley part books. Based on the traditional chant melody, it was written in a simple syllabic style for better text declamation. Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 24; Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, 39.

[126] The first vernacular litany appears in the second edition of Marshall's Primer (1535) but without music. There are two editions available of Cranmer's Litany (STC 10622 & 10619). Only the STC 10622 in the Oxford Bodleian Library printed in 1544 by Richard Grafton has music and this notation is reproduced in a facsimile of this litany. Cf. Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 19-21.

This year [1544] the King's Majesty before his going over into France set forth a litany in English, which he commanded should be sung in every parish church through England, which was the godliest hearing that ever was in this realm.[127]

Fig. 5. Suffrages, *Cranmer's First Litany* (Hunt, 1939: 87)

THE LETANY

O God the father of heauē:
haue mercie vpon vs miſe-
rable ſynners.
O god, the father of heauen: haue mercie vpon vs miſerable ſynners.
O God the ſonne, redemer of the worlde: haue mercie vpon vs myſerable ſynners.
B. O god

One of the most remarkable achievements of the Anglican reform, indeed, lies in the uniformity of the liturgy in the vernacular across the country. In the preface to the Litany, Cranmer manifests its purpose, on the basis of the tenet of the patristic theology of music – 'with one voice':

[127] Wriothesley, *A Chronicle*, 1: 148. He also notes that 'the eighteenth of October, being Saint Luke's day and Sunday, Paul's choir sang the procession in English by the King's injunctions, which shall be sung in every parish church throughout England every Sunday and festival day and none other'. Ibid., 1: 161.

As these holy prayers and suffrages following are set forth of most godly zeal for edifying and stirring of devotion of *all true faithful Christian hearts*, so is it thought convenient in this common prayer of procession to have it set forth and used in the vulgar tongue, for stirring the people to more devotion: and it shall be every Christian man's part reverently to use the same, to the honour and glory of Almighty God, and the profit of their own souls. And such among the people as have books, and can read, may read them quietly and softly to themselves, and such as cannot read, let them quietly and attentively give audience in time of the said prayers, having their minds erect to Almighty God, and devoutly praying in their hearts the same petitions which do enter in at their hearts the same petitions which do enter in at their ears, so that *with one sound of the heart, and one accord, God may be glorified in His church.* And it is to be remembered, that that which is printed in black letters is to be said or sung of the priest with *an audible voice*, that is to say, so loudly and plainly, that it may well be understood of the hearers: And that which is in the red is to be answered of the choir *soberly and devoutly.* [128]

This Litany is grounded in the *Sarum Processionale* which was itself founded on a Greek liturgy brought to England around the early eighth century. It was not however a mere translation of the traditional one: Cranmer omitted most of the names of Saints, retaining only three clauses (the invocations of saints), versicles and responses for a period of war were added.[129] Some melodies of the Litany are based on Sarum; [130] but its text underlay deviates completely from the traditional chant.[131] In his facsimile edition of the Litany, Hunt remarks that

[128] Hunt, ed. *Cranmer's First Litany*, 17. [my emphasis]

[129] J. Moorman, *A History of the Church of England*, 188.

[130] For the clear definition of Sarum Use and its influence on the British Isles and the Continent, see W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*. 2 vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 1: xxi-xxii, xxxvii.

[131] For an example, see Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 19. Leaver's example comes from the following sources: W. H. Frere, ed. *Graduale Sarisburiense: a*

'English as a liturgical language could have no finer beginning – this Litany ranking among the most superb works, not only in ecclesiastical, but in all literature'.[132]

The vernacular verses of the Litany are generally known as Cranmer's work. Its music has often been attributed to Merbecke due to the similarity between the Litany and *BCPN* in notation.[133] Leaver is sceptical of this assumption, noting that there is a distinct possibility that Cranmer himself set the music.[134] As Leaver assumes from the 1544 letter to Henry VIII, it may be Cranmer's work: 'I have travailed to make the version in English and have set the Latin note unto the same'.[135] Finally, Leaver concludes that 'such adaptation of the Sarum chant to the English text could have been done by practically anyone'.[136]

Whoever the musical author is, however, this account is rather anachronistic when considering vernacular literary fashion in the late 1540s. The English

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*reproduction in facsimile of a manuscript of the 13th century* [British Library MS. Add.12194] (London: B. Quaritch, 1894), 113; E. C. Ratcliff, *The Booke of Common Prayer of the Churche of England: Its Making and Revisions 1549-1661* (London: SPCK, 1949), plate 7; *Processionale ad usum insignis eccl'sie Sarisburiensis* (Antwerp, 1544), fol. xli verso. Donahue provides a comparison between Cranmer's Litany (STC 10622) and Sarum in its simplest form (STC 16237 – Processionale 1528). See Donahue's Ph.D. diss., 'From Latin to English: Plainsong in Tudor England', 78-81.

[132] Hunt, ed. *Cranmer's First Litany,* 16-17.

[133] Ibid., 22; Ratcliff, *The Booke of Common Prayer of the Churche of England: Its Making and Revisions 1549-1661*, 63; K. R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1972), 80. The musical notation of Cranmer's Litany consists of three note values. The first harmonised versions of this Litany are found in the Wanley books, and like all the later settings, they are in a straightforward chordal style. Le Huray, *Reformation and Music in England,* 163.

[134] Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 20.

[135] See 195 (footnote 105).

[136] Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 20.

verses of the Litany follow the rules of classical rhetoric and quantitative versifying, current in contemporary humanist circles.[137] Given his humanist background, especially his enthusiasm in classical rhetoric, it is clear that like many Renaissance humanists, Cranmer was able to set simple melodies to the English verse, let alone the versification.[138] As will be discussed intensively in the next chapter, however, in the sixteenth century the English versification and its treatment in song were not as simple as that which could be achieved by anyone. In other words, the versification which was based on classical prosodic theories and its application to the musical context required a more careful and complicated process of linguistic and musical considerations than has been thought.

## ***The booke of Common praier noted* (1550)**

### a. Context

The royal injunctions of 1543 ordered that one chapter of the English Bible should be read publicly every Sunday and holy day after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*. In the following year the English Litany was issued for the 'time of processions'.

[137] For the influence of humanist rhetoric on Cranmer's liturgical texts, see P. Mack, 'Rhetoric and Liturgy', in *Language and the Worship of the Church*. eds. D. Jasper & R. C. D. Jasper. (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1990): 82-109; see also G. J. Cuming, 'Thomas Cranmer, Translator and Creative Writer', in Ibid.: 110-19.

[138] Hall and Selwyn's studies suggest that Cranmer was keen on Cicero and Quintilian, and also he possessed a large collection of Erasmus' writings in all their variety. B. Hall, 'Cranmer's Relations with Erasmianism and Lutheranism', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn, eds. *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, 3-37; D. Selwyn, 'Cranmer's Library: Its Potential for Reformation Studies', in Ibid., 39-72.

Despite the efforts to disseminate this vernacular Litany throughout the country, it was not until after the accession of Edward VI that it came into a widespread use.[139] In addition to the vernacular Litany, Cranmer had produced an English draft order in 1545 for unifying the liturgy in the vernacular which appears to have started around early 1543; Henry VIII did not permit it to be printed. As noted earlier, thus, in basic form and structure, traditional practices and ceremonies of the church remained largely unchanged during the last years of Henry VIII.[140]

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[139] This is indicated in the 24th of the royal injunctions of August 1547: 'To avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen... by reason of fond courtesy and challenging of places in processions, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth. . . at any time, use any procession about the church or churchyard, or other place, but immediately before high mass the priests with others of the choir shall kneel in the midst of the church and sing or say plainly and distinctly the litany which is set forth in English with all the suffrages following, and none other procession or litany to be had or used but the said litany in English'. F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite* (London: Rivingtons, rev., 2nd ed., 1921), lxii, lxiii.

[140] Wriothesley bears witness to this in describing a procession: 'This year [1546] the 13th day of June, being Whitsunday, was a solemn peace proclaimed within the city of London, with other ceremonies as hereafter followeth; first, my lord, major with his brethren the aldermen assembled in the cathedral church of Pauls, with all the citizens in their best liveries; and, the high Mass being ended, there was a sermon made in the upper choir before the High Altar, exhorting the people to give laud and praise to Almighty God for the continuance of the same peace. The Sermon ended, Te Deum was sung within the choir, the bishop in his pontificalibus, with my lord major sitting in the dean's stall, and the bishop next to him. Then a solemn procession, with all their crosses and banners, of all the parish churches in London the children of Paul's school going foremost with two crosses before them, then all the other crosses following them. Then the clerks of the parishes in rich robes all the priests and ourates following them in rich copes also. Then the choir with their crosses and copes, the bishop of London bearing the sacrament of the altar under such canopy...' Wriothesley, *A Chronicle*, 1: 164.

With the accession of Edward VI the Church of England began to move in a more evangelical direction.[141] It was ordered that the Epistle and Gospel should be read in English; and also the Booke of the Homilies was first published on 31 July in that year, entitled *Certain Sermons, or homilies, appointed by the King's Majesty, to be declared and read, by all Parsons, Vicars or Curates, every Sunday in their Churches, where they have Cure.* This Book of Homilies containing a preface and twelve sermons is of particular importance in relation to the development of sacred rhetoric in Tudor England.

Central to the liturgical reforms in the sixteenth century was the establishment of regular preaching and interpretation of the Word as the key act of worship. The Homilie was intended to ameliorate a lacuna in the liturgy of the English church – the lack of preaching.[142] The list of sermons is: A fruitful exhortation to the reading of holy scripture/ Of the misery of all mankind/ Of the salvation of all mankind/ Of the true and lively faith/ Of good works/ Of Christian love and charity/ Against swearing and perjury/ Of the declining from God/ An exhortation against the fear of death/ An exhortation to obedience/ Against whoredom and adultery/ Against strife and contention.[143]

With regard to the provision of music practices, Antiphons and responsories commemorating the Virgin and the Saints, sequences, processions before high

[141] For more on the Edwardian liturgical reformation, see Bond, ed. *The Inventories of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle,* 13-19.

[142] Amos, 'Martin Bucer and the Revision of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer: Reform of Ceremonies and the Didactic Use of Ritual', 113.

[143] This Homilie was well accepted by the conservatives in the court: whilst Gardiner gives compliment to it he vehemently criticises Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, one of the biggest Edwardian Biblical enterprises. See Thompson, 'Erasmus and Tudor England', 55.

mass and so on were banned.[144] On Easter Monday, April 11, 1547, the first experiment was conducted with compline in the Royal Chapel. The *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo*, and *Agnus Dei*, were sung in English at the opening Mass of Parliament and Convocation on November 4, 1547. A vernacular service of Eucharist in both kinds, the *Order of Communion*, was issued in 1548 and commanded to be used from Easter Day, 1 April of that year. At that time, the choirs at St Paul's and other churches in London sang all the services in English 'both mattens masses and even-songe'.[145]

The first Edwardian Act of Uniformity passed by Parliament on 21 January 1549 authorised, from 'the Feast of Pentecost next coming' (9, June), the exclusive use of *The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Churche after the Use of the Churches of England.*[146] It has been generally agreed that although the compilation of this liturgy went through a few hands, 'Cranmer had the chief part in the inspiration and composition'.[147] Cranmer's strategy for this programme of reforming services may be summarised as follows: greater simplicity; more congregational worship; a liturgy in the language of the people; the restoration of primitive customs such as the administration of Holy Communion to the laity in

[144] W. H. Frere, 'Edwardian Vernacular Services before the First Prayer Book', in *Walter Howard Frere: A Collection of His Papers on Liturgical and Historical Subjects*, Alcuin Club Collections 35, eds. J. H. Arnold & E. G. P. Wyatt (London: Oxford University Press, 1940): 5-21.

[145] Frere, 'Edwardian Vernacular Services before the First Prayer Book', 7; Wriothesley, *A Chronicle*, 1: 187.

[146] F. A. Gasquet & E. Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London: J. Hodges, 2nd ed., 1891).

[147] Gasquet & E. Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, 180.

both kinds; and greater edification through sermons and reading of the Scriptures.[148]

The 1549 Book of Common Prayer contains ancient Christian practices in a condensed and simplified form. For this, Cranmer paid particular attention to several contemporary reformed liturgies inspired by the ancient practices.[149] Of the resources he studied, most influential are the following two: the reformed Breviary (for the use of the parochial clergy but banned by Rome) prepared in 1535 by the Spanish Franciscan, Cardinal Quignon (often known as Quiñonez)[150]; and a collection of revised forms for the Eucharist and the occasional offices by Hermann von Wied, a reforming Archbishop of Cologne in 1543.[151]

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[148] Moorman, *A History of the Church of England*, 187.

[149] It is known that in his library, Cranmer had copies of Clement Maideston's edition of the Sarum Directory for priests, Durandus' *Rationale*, and the *Deliberatio* of Archbishop Hermann von Vied, and the Cologne chapter's reply, *Antididagma*. David Selwyn has noted the discovery of Cranmer's copy of the Erasmian edition of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom. Selwyn, 'Cranmer's Library: Its Potential for Reformation Studies', in Ayris & Selwyn, eds. *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, 72. I thank Prof. B. Spinks for essential references for Quignon's Breviary reform, etc. in his paper 'Renaissance Liturgical Reforms: Reflections on Intentions and Methods', delivered at The British Society for Reformation Studies 12th Annual Conference (Westminster College, University of Cambridge, 30 March – 1 April, 2005). See also his essay, ''And with Thy Holy Spirite and Worde': Further Thoughts on the Source of Cranmer's Petition for Sanctification in the 1549 Communion Service', in ed. M. Johnson, *Thomas Cranmer. Essays in Commemoration of the 500th Anniversary of his Birth* (Durham: Turnstone Ventures, 1990), 94-102.

[150] In 1529 Quignon was asked by Clement VII to undertake a reform of the Breviary – *ad fontes*.

[151] In 1542 the archbishop of Cologne (presumably, a Christian humanist – a somewhat eclectic convert to Protestantism) had attempted in 1542 to bring together elements of Lutheran and Zwinglian teaching into a single rite.

In framing the Office of the first Prayer Book, particularly insightful was Quignon's Breviary reform – a key liturgical reform directed by an *ad fontes* approach of Christian humanism.[152] Whilst the canonical Hours were retained in Quignon's Breviary reform, antiphons, versicles, responses, and Little Chapters were omitted. A striking feature of this Breviary was the great length of the Scripture lessons which in the course of the year let the priest read through almost the whole of the Old Testament and the whole of the New Testament with the Epistles of Paul twice over. In his preface to the first Prayer Book, Cranmer copies word for word a considerable portion of Quignon's preface; but unlike Quignon, he reduced the Offices to two – Matins and Evensong (called Morning and Evening Prayer in the second Prayer Book).[153]

In the fifth of the twelve Homilies of 1547, Cranmer calls the traditional liturgical supplies kept under Henry VIII 'popish'. However, a series of Cranmerian liturgical reforms was not intended to be in radical discontinuity with the traditional church. When a rebellion arose in the West for the abolition of the

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[152] P. Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary* (London: Longmans, 1912), 177; J. W. Legg, *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary*. Henry Bradshaw Society Series 42 (London: Harrison & Sons, 1912), 8-9. See also J. M. Mountney, 'The Liturgy of the Hours: an Examination of some influences on the Liturgy of the Hours with particular Reference to the Breviary of Cardinal Quinones', M.A. diss. (University of Durham, 1984).

[153] Hunt, ed. *Cranmer's First Litany,*15. 'So that here you have an order for prayer (as touching the reading of holy scripture) much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used. It is more profitable becaue here are left out many things whereof some uncertain, some vain and superstitious, and is ordained nothing to be read but the very pure word of God the Holy Scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded on the same and that in such language and order as is most easy and plain for the understanding both of readers and hearers'. *The Booke of Common Praier* (1549), Preface.

new vernacular liturgy, Cranmer declares that 'it seemeth to you a new service, and indeed it is none other but the old: the selfsame words in English which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out'.[154] As Loades stresses, the revolutionary aspect of the first Prayer Book lies not in doctrine but in the vernacular language: it was aimed for an orderly reading of the Scripture throughout the year and at uniformity of worship throughout the English church; that is, the creation of the English liturgy alongside the English Bible.[155]

Thus, the Cranmerian programme of liturgical reform keeps ceremonial continuity with the traditional church. Agreeing with Cranmer's cautious reform, in a letter to the Ministers of Strasbourg, dated 26 April 1549, Bucer assures them:

> There is no superstition in these things [the more traditional rituals and ceremonies of the First Prayer book], and that they are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion, and that rather they may be won over.[156]

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[154] The resistance to the new service from the Cornish men: 'We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game; but we will have our old service of matins, mass, even-song and procession Latin, as it was before. And so we the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English'. J. E. Cox, ed. *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer.* The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 179.

[155] D. Loades, *The Reign of King Edward VI* (Bangor: Headstart History, 1994), 58-64.

[156] H. Robinson, ed. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, written during the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary.* The Parker Society. 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846-47), 2: 535. Cf. C. Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), 55-81; G. J. Van de Poll, *Martin Bucer's Liturgical Ideas: The Strasburg Reformer and his Connection with the Liturgies of the Sixteenth Century* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969), 142-64.

For both Bucer and Cranmer, thus, ceremonies and rites in themselves were not something opposed to the Word of God.[157] Whilst recognising the need for ritual continuity in the English context as in Cologne, though, Bucer admonishes as follows:

> Care will need to be taken that these rites and instruments of religious practices are *provided and used* in the manner required by the rule of the Holy Spirit which is admirably set out in this book: that is to say, to ensure that no room be left for any ancient wickedness, to provide nothing obscure which the people cannot understand, nothing which is not weighty and suitable to the work of building up faith in Christ and to the dignity of the cross of Christ.[158]

Contemporary chant practice is of particular importance in observing such an outward continuity in the liturgical performance of the day. Although the five traditional rites of the English church were abolished - Bangor, Lincoln, Hereford, York, and Sarum or Salisbury, the new vernacular texts had been still delivered in the same manner of chanting as in the Latin rites. This is witnessed in Bishop John Hooper's letter of 27 December 1549 to Heinrich Bullinger, a Swiss reformer.

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[157] A. Scott, 'Martin Bucer and the Revision of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer: Reform of Ceremonies and the Didactic Use of Ritual', *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 2 (1999), 107. Alongside Bucer, Peter Martyr was consulted too; his critique (which appears to have agreed in substance with most of Bucer's) is no longer extant. Martyr's view in this matter can be gleaned from his letter to Bucer of 10 January 1551. See G. C. Gorham, ed. *Gleanings of a Few Scattered Eras, during the Period of the Reformation in England. . .* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1857), 227-29.

[158] E. Whitaker, ed. *Censura: Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer* (Great Wakering, Essex: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1974), 142-44.

> . . . in the churches they always chant the hours and other hymns relating to the Lord's supper, but in our own language. And that popery may not be lost, the mass-priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy.[159]

Cranmer insisted on the need for music for the whole musical section of the English liturgy in the 1544 letter.[160] One of the most representative experiments for this came true in 1550 through *BCPN* where 'is conteyned so muche of the Order of Common prayer as is to be song in Churches'.[161]

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[159] Robinson, ed. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, 2: 72.

[160] For musical experiments of the vernacular services, see British Library Additional MS 5665 (Ritson); British Library Royal App. 74-76; British Library Additional MS 34191; Mus. Sch. E. 420-422 in Bodleian Library, 'Wanley'. Of these manuscripts, Lbl Add. 34191 is most controversial in terms of its copy date in relation to the first Prayer book and *BCPN*. Frere assumes that Add. 34191 is one of the 'experiments made in English service preliminary to the Prayer Book'. Aplin supports Frere's claim, disagreeing with Hunt who argues that Add. 34191's text is closer to the 1552 Prayer Book, hence, *BCPN* is the first setting of the 1549 Prayer Book. Frere, 'Edwardian Vernacular Services before the First Prayer Book', 7; Hunt, ed. *Cranmer's First Litany*, 23-4; Aplin, 'The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music', 252. For more on Add. 34191, see J. Summerly, 'British Library, Additional MS 34191: its Background, an Index and Commentary', M.M. diss (King's College, University of London, 1989). See also S. A. Scot, 'Text and Context: The Provision of Music and Ceremonial in the Services of the First Book of Common Prayer (1549) (BL)', Ph.D. diss. (University of Surrey, 1999).

[161] See the preface to *BCPN*. All examples and figures from *BCPN* used in this thesis are reproduced from Leaver's Facsimile edition (1980).

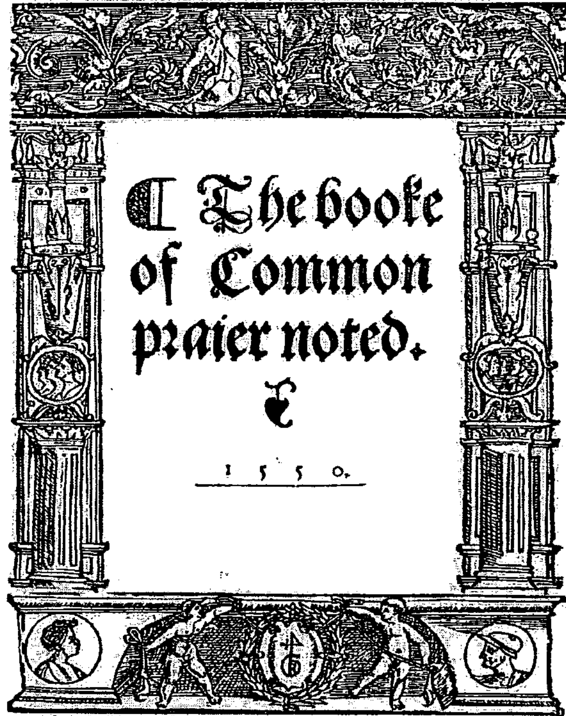



Fig. 6. Front page (*BCPN*)

**b. Structure**

In *BCPN*, music is set in syllabic chant style for the Preces and responses, Matins, Evensong, *Benedicite*, *Quicunque vult*, Communion, and Burial of the Dead.[162] Matins and Evensong are quite similar in structure; both start with the Lord's Prayer and the versicles and responses, followed by the Psalms and Canticles. Also, the large woodcut initial letter 'O' in Matins reappears at the beginning of Evensong (fol. E.1. recto). The initial indicates the change in the theological concept of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the time of the Reformation; that is, for the Edwardian reformers, as for the Protestant reformers of continental

[162] It does not contain the litany. For printing problems, contemporary use, some later owners, and extant copies, see Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 32-53. In 1939 Hunt listed fourteen known copies. Leaver listed all twenty-three in his facsimile. See Leaver, 42.

Europe, the only perfect and acceptable sacrifice of propitiation was the passion and death on the cross of Jesus Christ.[163] The Lord's Prayer is intoned on A; in the rest of Matins and Evensong the reciting tone is F.

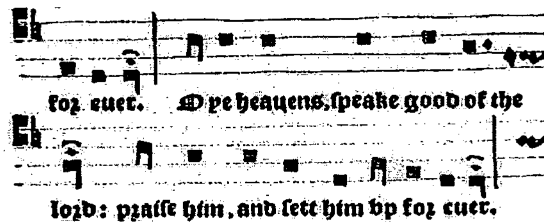
Fig. 7. The Lord's Prayer, *Mattins* (fol. B1 recto)

Merbecke employs the style of 'speech-recitation' throughout *BCPN*, premised on the subordination of the melody to the text. As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, *BCPN* may be divided into two sections in terms of accentuation: a metrical section and a free rhythmic section. All the canticles in Matins and Evensong, *Benedicite*, and *Kyrie* at the Communion where the prayer text is the major factor are set according to the metrical feet of the verses;

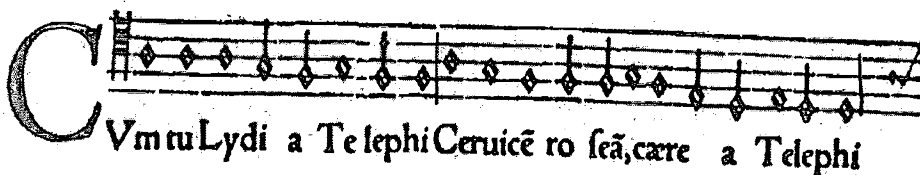
[163] Pickering's and Rimbault's facsimile editions do not have this initial. Cf. Shepherd, 'The Changing Theological Concept of Sacrifice, and Its Implications for the Music of the English Church c. 1500-1640', esp. 311-13.

Merbecke does also consider the metrical structure of prose.[164] In the metrical section, music is no more than a simple means to deliver the words of the prayers. Merbecke borrows traditional psalm tunes for this section except the *Benedicite* (for the time of Lent in the place of 'Te Deum') whose melody shows affinity with Glarean's Horatian Ode (see ex. 1).[165] The rest of *BCPN* (Communion, Offertories, Burial of the Dead, etc.) - the prose section - is set in free rhythmic patterns. Most of the free rhythmic section - the Offertories, the post communion, Gloria and Creed at the Communion service - are Merbecke's own compositions.

Ex.1a. *Benedicite* (*BCPN*, fol. F4 recto; 20)




Ex. 1b. Glarean's Horatian Ode (*Dodecachordon*, ed. & tr. Miller, 1: 213).




[164] This is well observed in the *Quicunque vult* (The Athanasian Creed), *BCPN*. Erasmus emphasises the metrical structure of prose. See Chapter IV, 233.

[165] Helomore regards the *Benedicite* as a short form of *Tonus Peregrinus*. See his *Plainsong*, 56-7.

Table 1. The Table of Contents (*BCPN*)

***Mattins***

Versicles and Responses
Venite exultemus
Te Deum Laudamus
Benedictus dominus I
Benedictus II
Lesser Litany
Creed
Lord's Prayer
Suffrages
Collects

***Evensong***

Versicles and Responses
Psalms
Magnificat I
Magnificat II
Nunc dimittis I
Nunc dimittis II
Collects

***Benedicite*** (For the time of Lent in the place of Te Deum)

***Quiqunque vult***

***At the Communion***

Introit
Kyrie
Gloria in excelsis
Creed
The Offertories (16 biblical passages)
The Preface (Sursum corda)
Proper Prefaces (Upon Christmas day; Upon Easter Day; Upon the Ascension day; Upon Whitsonday; and Upon the feast of the Trinity)
Sanctus
Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church (Priest)
Lord's Prayer
Agnus Dei
The Post-Communions (16 biblical passages)

***At the Burial of the dead***

Response I
Response II

Response III
Response IV
Psalms
Lord's Prayer & Suffrages

***At the Communion when there is a Burial***

Introit
Kyrie
Collect
Sanctus
Agnus Dei

### c. *The Clerk's Book of 1549*

One of the Psalters (STC 2377) issued after the first Prayer Book is of particular importance in relation to *BCPN*. This Psalter has an addition to facilitate the clerks' task for the new vernacular service: *The Psalter or Psalmes of Dauid, corrected and poyncted, as thei shalbe song in Churches after the translacion of the greate Bible. Hereunto is added diuerse thynges as maie appere on the next side, where is expressed the contents of the boke.* Legg entitled it *The Clerk's Book of 1549*; it contains '*all that appertaine to the clerks to saie or syng at the ministracion of the Communion, and when there is no Communion. At Matrimonie. The visitacion of the Sicke. At Buriall of the dedde. At the Purification of women. And the first daie of Lent*'.[166]

The title page border of *BCPN* and its titles for the Communion and the Burial of the dead are the same as those of the *Clerk's Book*. It appears that in

[166] Legg, ed. *The Clerk's Book of 1549.*

structure and otherwise, *BCPN* was a musical version of the *Clerk's Book.*[167] Rubrics in *BCPN* suggest that Merbecke's chant was written for clerks' singing not for congregational singing.[168] Its pitch is also an important point to be considered. As to the matter of pitch in English vocal music in the sixteenth century, it has been assumed that the choir pitch was almost a minor third higher than present day pitch.[169] According to this, it is obvious that Merbecke's chant was for the professional ecclesial singers: the highest note in *BCPN* is G in modern notation.[170]

**d. Progressive Feature of *BCPN***

Previous studies have identified the Sarum melodies from which Merbecke's chants (may) derive. Of the results of their identifying, however, only the Kyrie (Communion, *BCPN*) shows a rather clear affinity with its Sarum equivalent, yet

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[167] Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 22, 56. Leaver offers relevant key literature for this: Ratcliff, *The booke of common prayer of the Churche of England: its making and revisions 1549-1661*, plate 32; R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485-1640* (London: Chiswick Press, 1913), no. 92; R. B. McKerrow & F. S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders used in England and Scotland 1485-1640* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), no. 489.

[168] *BCPN* was often regarded as written for congregational use. For further, see Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 27.

[169] D. Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 93 (1967): 97-112. R. Bowers, 'Further Thought on Early Tudor Pitch', *Early Music*, 8. no. 3 (1980): 368-75; Idem,'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England c. 1500-1558', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 112 (1986-87): 38-76.

[170] See, the 10th chant (Rom. viii), *The post-communion*: fol. P3 recto.

it is completely different from the traditional chant in rhythmic pattern.[171] This overall progressive feature of *BCPN* is well observed by Milsom's study of chant practices for the first Prayer Book service.[172] Milsom sheds a new light on the two Edwardian vernacular adaptations of the Sarum chant: one is found added in manuscript on three blank folios at the rear of the copy of *BCPN* in the Pepys Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge (shelf-mark PL 1118), which is a late transcription of the vernacular chants dating from around 1549; the other is the copy of the 16 June 1549 folio edition (STC 16273) in the library of Christ Church, Oxford (shelf-mark e. 6. 3).[173]

Through his comparative analysis of the above adaptations with *BCPN*, Milsom argues that, whilst the former represents the conservative viewpoint of the clergy, the latter represents progressive thinking within the Protestant ranks of the Edwardian court.[174] Unlike the two vernacular versions, as shown by Milsom,

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[171] 1) 'Kyrie' in *Missa pro defunctis* (Sarum) and 'Kyrie' in Communion (*BCPN*): Dyce, 1843: 4-5. For a transcription of them, see Leaver, 1980: 66; 2) 'Libera me' (Sarum) and 'In the middest of life' (Burial of the Dead, *BCPN*): Terry, 1929: 85. For the Sarum melody, see W. H. Frere, ed. *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*. 6 vols. (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901-24), 5: 583; 3) 'Alleluja' (Sarum) and 'Prayse ye the lorde' (*BCPN*): Fellows, *English Cathedral Music: from Edward VI to Edward VII* (London: Methuen, 1969), 58; 4) Leaver notes that Marbeck's melody for 'Agnus dei' in the Communion has distant echoes of a Sarum *Agnus*. Leaver, 1980: 71. For the Sarum, see W. H. Frere, ed. *Graduale Sarisburiense* (London: B. Quaritch, 1894), 18.

[172] J. Milsom, 'English-texted chant before Merbecke', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 1, no. 1 (1991): 77-92. The vernacular adaptations of the Sarum chant (the Pepys Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge) is reproduced in a facsimile edition of *BCPN*, issued in 1979.

[173] For further, see Ibid., 79-80.

[174] Ibid., 91. *BCPN* ran to only a single edition. For information on its extant twenty three copies, see Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 42- 53. Stevens notes that

*BCPN* is a great departure from the Sarum not only in melodic formulae but also in text underlay.[175]

In essence, Milsom's comparative study of those adaptations and *BCPN* aims to explore the English vernacular chants in which a more 'original' form of the traditional medieval chant appears to be preserved. Consequently, in this approach, one is liable to dismiss the importance of *BCPN*, especially in relation to the matters of word-tone relationship in sixteenth-century vocal music.

It is, at this point, worth noting an evaluation of *BCPN* in the light of the history of English song: Colles regards Merbecke's chant as one of the earliest experiments to accommodate the prose rhythms of the language to a free musical rhythm, a generation before the madrigal of the Italian Renaissance began to exert an active influence on English composers.[176] His appraisal of Merbecke as a pioneer in exploring problems of the vernacular language in song is more insightful than what existing studies have repeated concerning Merbecke's text placement, that is, the so-called Cranmer principle of church music as guidance for *BCPN*. Colles' observation does not go further than this, however, being limited as it is to the way Merbecke treats several words only: he fails to perceive

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*BCPN* 'failed to arouse any enthusiasm, although its quasi-mensural notation of unison chant should have satisfied the most ardent among reformers. It may well have been that its superficial resemblance counted against its formal adoption by the adherents of four-part harmony and strict homophony'. D. Stevens, *Tudor Church Music* (London: Faber&Faber, 1961, 2nd ed., 1966), 55.

[175] For musical examples to show the difference among the Sarum chants, *BCPN*, and the two vernacular adaptations, see Milsom, 'English-Texted Chant before Merbecke', 81, 84-5, 91.

[176] Colles, *Voice and Verse*, 31-2.

the humanist rhetorical code underlying Merbecke's treatment of text placement in *BCPN*.[177]

The following chapter will demonstrate the relation of rhetoric and the reform of plainchant in *BCPN*, discussing the question of word-tone relations in *BCPN* – the matters of text placement. It will detect various aspects related to the contemporary discourse of musical thought and theory, drawing upon the humanist approach to the subject of word-tone relationship in music.

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[177] See Introduction, 9.

# CHAPTER IV

# Rhetoric and the Reform of Plainchant in *The booke of Common praier noted* (1550)

Accent – 'the soul of a word' (ancient grammarians)[1]

[1] *CWE*, 26: 423.

# 1. Plainchant as *Musica Rhetorica*

## Plainchant and *Theologia Rhetorica*

Both Christian humanists and musical humanists had paid considerable attention to ecclesiastical chant practice.[2] Although their interests may be rather different from a technical viewpoint of music, there is consensus concerning the need for the reform of contemporary chant performance in their writings. The backdrop to this consensus lies in their new approach to theology and music respectively, as students of ancient rhetorical tradition.[3] Before discussing the extent to which classical rhetoric gave an impetus to the reform of chant practice in the late Middle Ages, it is, therefore, necessary to understand the rhetorical concept of music and that of theology, developed within the humanist circles. We shall first consider the theological motivation for the reform of plainchant.

The essence of Christian humanism lies in the establishment of a new framework of theological discourse based on the rules of classical rhetoric. D'Amico puts it as 'rhetorical theology' (*theologia rhetorica*) – 'the presentation of theological concepts in an eloquent fashion so as to move the will of the hearer

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[2] For a brief introduction to the humanist reform of chant, see F. Tack, *Gregorian Chant* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1960), 18-9, 49-52; W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (London: Burns & Oates, 1958), 288-89; D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 616.

[3] P.O. Kristeller, 'Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture', in *Renaissance Eloquence*, ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California, 1983): 1-19, rpt., in his *Renaissance Thought and the Arts*, 228-46.

or reader to embrace them more fully and easily'.[4] First and foremost, this rhetorical approach to theology led to fundamental changes in the sermon in both style and content. An excellent example of the application of classical rhetoric to the art of the sermon is 'epideictic' preaching; it had been prevalent in clerical circles at the papal court in the early sixteenth century.[5] The greatest merit of epideictic preaching lies in its syntactic clarity and intelligibility and lyrical quality.[6] As suggested by this new way of preaching, the major emphasis of rhetorical theology concerns enhancing the power of *pronuntiatio*, or delivery, in sacred oratory.[7]

At the heart of humanist study and education lay Quintilian's ideal of the orator with a strong moral tendency (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*, 'the good man

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[4] J. F. D'Amico, 'Humanism and Pre-Reformation Theology', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3: 350.

[5] For the 'Epideictic', see Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III. vii. (tr. Russell, 2: 103-17). The aim of the epideictic sermons was to 'evoke sentiments of admiration, gratitude, and praise, which in turn will lead to a desire for imitation. The materials most appropriate for exciting such sentiments are great deeds, especially the great deeds of God done on man's behalf, and these should be presented to the listener in the most visual and graphic fashion possible. But whatever the materials presented, they should be important in themselves and made relevant to the lives of the listeners. Since the whole oration is directed to these clear purposes, it will enjoy the literary unity which is required by them and, for this reason as well as others, it will abandon the thematic structure. The high purposes of epideictic mean that its vocabulary and syntax will be dignified, but its congratulatory mood allows, even enjoins, at last moments of lyric'. J. W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521*. Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 3 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), 71.

[6] J. F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 9-11.

[7] For more on *pronuntiatio*, see Introduction, 18-9.

skilled in speaking').[8] A group of humanists applied the Quintilian notion of the orator to the context of Christian education on the eve of the Reformation; they thought that the deficiency of preachers - the sacred orator - was one of the most serious problems medieval Christianity had faced. Most of Catholic and Protestant reformers were either humanists or theologians influenced heavily by the humanist movement, as stressed earlier. Given this, it is no wonder that the formation and dissemination of the ideas and practices of the Reformation had rested on rhetoric, the key humanist art of discourse. Central to the Reformation theology of Christian worship was the proclamation of the Word of God to every single individual. For the reformers, indeed, producing the sacred orator able to teach God's Word was of fundamental significance for the spiritual renewal of the existing church.

From the viewpoint of rhetorical theology, therefore, Christian humanists placed the greatest emphasis on the didactic potential of divine worship. As a result, many of them found it indispensable to use vernacular languages for facilitating lay education - teaching and studying the Word of God. In this view, they advocated the following three means: 1) the vernacular Bible; 2) preaching in the vernacular; and 3) vernacular liturgical books. Although the sermon was a major factor in the reformed liturgies, it was not the only medium of the Word of God; the whole practice of the liturgy itself was the container of God's Word. Sung or read, it was essential for all the words of the liturgy to be comprehensible and to be persuasive. In other words, matters of *pronuntiatio* or delivery, at

[8] Quintilian, I *prohoemium*. 8, II. xv. 1, II. xvi. 1, XII. i.1.

liturgical performance, became the focus of the humanist programme of reforming the existing liturgy and liturgical music practice.

The humanists and reformers appreciated the value of plainchant as an essential part of divine worship handed down from ancient ecclesiastical practices. Yet within the framework of the Reformation understanding of worship, contemporary chant performance was seen to have degenerated into the corruption of the medieval church – the evidence for 'the decadence of eloquence'. Although the Council of Trent did not allow the use of vernacular languages, the positions of both the Catholic and Protestant Reformations were alike insofar as the matter of the intelligibility of liturgical texts was concerned.[9]

This theological cause of the reform of plainchant met the endeavours of contemporary humanist music theorists in restoring ancient music – the unity of word and tone in ancient music. They believed that it was this unity of word and tone on which ancient ecclesiastical chant was built, but their separation had grown up in the chant practice of the medieval church.[10] In much the same way Christian humanists developed the notion of rhetorical theology, thus, musical humanists applied classical rhetorical precepts to the musical context. Some musical humanists shared the reforming programmes of Christian humanism, and paid considerable attention to the reform of existing chant practice. Of them, two

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[9] R. E. McNally, 'The Council of Trent and vernacular Bibles', *Theological Studies* 27. no. 2 (1966): 204-27. For more see Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', 576-94. For more recent study see, C. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *JAMS*, 55 (2002): 1-37.

[10] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 124.

music theorists are especially identified within the circles of Christian humanism: Heinrich Glarean and Biagio Rossetti.[11]

The discourse of the Renaissance music theorists regarding the subordination of music to its text is mainly concerned with polyphonic music.[12] It is Glarean who devoted great attention to monophonic music, particularly plainchant in which he found an excellent combination of aesthetical, ethical and pedagogical values.[13] The influence of Neo-Platonism on Christian humanists' musical outlook is clear in Glarean's basic approach to monophonic music that is in line with Galilei's. Miller points out that whilst Galilei's experiments in monody are a direct application of the Greek theory, Glarean's show its affiliation with the melodic principles of plainchant.[14] Glarean was enthusiastic about restoring the original forms of ancient ecclesiastical chant, which indicates his stance as a Christian humanist.

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[11] On Rossetti as a Christian humanist, see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 110-13.

[12] Harrán argues that 'Zarlino was not interested in reviving monody. Rather he wished to reform counterpoint according to some of the aesthetic premises that underlay monody'. *In Search of Harmony*, 213.

[13] C. A. Miller, 'The *Dodecachordon*: Its Origin and Influence on Renaissance Musical Thought', *Musica Disciplina*, 15 (1961): 155-66; I. Fenlon, 'Heinrich Glarean's Books', in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contents*, ed. J. Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 74-102; S. Fuller, 'Defending the *Dodecachordon*: Ideological Currents in Glarean's Modal Theory', *JAMS*, 49 (1996): 191-224. See also F. B. Turrell, 'The *Isagoge in Musicen* of Henry Glarean', *Journal of Music Theory*, 3 (1959): 97-139.

[14] H. Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: H. Petri, 1547), ed. & trans. C. A. Miller. MSD 6. 2 vols. (Rome: AIM, 1965), 1: 16. See also N. Pirrotta, 'Temperaments and Tendencies in the Florentine Camerata', *MQ*, 40 (1954): 169-89.

Glarean's close relationship with Erasmus is well known: he calls the Dutch humanist *parens* and *praeceptor*; Erasmus refers to Glarean as the 'champion of Swiss humanism'.[15] Just as Erasmus combined pagan classical learning with Christian piety, so did Glarean in the context of music.[16] In the last Chapter of Book II of *Dodecachordon*, treating the musical setting of Horatian odes, Glarean writes:

> May those who assert that the lightness of this author is perhaps too little suited to church songs pardon me in this matter, although they can certainly see that the early church fathers were in no wise fearful of arranging hymns for general use according to the form of this same poet's verses, and to prescribe them for the choir after merely changing the text; therefore, I shall be forgiven readily if, to his poems which are better known and which can lead the reader more easily to what we propose, we add our own, and bring the profane into the service of the sacred.[17]

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[15] Erasmus regards Glarean as having 'a great knowledge of history, and in music, geography and all the other subjects that are commonly called mathematical he is most experienced, for this is the field in which he is a specialist'. Fuller, 'Defending the *Dodecachordon*', 203.

[16] Fuller is aware that Glarean applies the intellectual perspectives of Erasmus to the teaching of music theory; he argues that Erasmian characteristics in Glarean are only a portion of the rhetorical surface, noting that 'it overlays a core of thought that is rigorous and mathematical in nature, based on systematic combinations of interval species and division of diatonic octaves. This mathematical core is ultimately rooted in a Pythagorean perspective transmitted through Boethius...' Fuller, 'Defending the *Dodecachordon*', 220, 222. Glarean's *Dodecachordon* is generally regarded as a specimen of the Quintilian parallel between the history of rhetoric and that of music. J. Shearman, *Mannerism, Style and Civilization* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), 34; Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, ch. 7. 'Rhetoric and the Sister Arts,' esp. 360-61.

[17] Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (AIM), 1: 210-11.

Glarean does not thus hesitate to 'bring the profane into the service of the sacred' for his purpose.[18] For Glarean, as for Erasmus, the supreme purpose of music lies in the praise of God and the enhancing of Christian virtue. Glarean believed that no music is a more efficient than plainchant in this respect. Most important of all, he lays great emphasis on the benefits of the study of plainchant in terms of the education of children; not only does it promote knowledge of modes, but it is also most helpful in establishing correct habits of speech.[19]

**The Relevance of Rhetoric to Music**

The core of humanist musical discourse lies in the rhetorical concept of music, based on an analogy between music and oratory. As Harrán remarks, 'the transfer of the principles of eloquence and persuasiveness from rhetoric to the theory and practice of music was one of the greatest achievements of the humanist movement in the Renaissance'.[20] Quintilian is of prime significance in relation to the groundwork of this rhetorical approach to music. In the *Institutio oratoria*, Quintilian calls attention to the relevance of music to rhetoric, discussing the alliance of music to oratory as a performing art whose function is to move listeners to various passions. As observed in the second chapter, Erasmus' and Gaffurius' notions of music, representatives of Christian humanism and musical humanism respectively, are typically Quintilianian. Thus, the rhetorical concept of

[18] Merbecke's melody for *Benedicite* in *BCPN* is close to Glarean's setting of a Horatian ode.

[19] In Miller's introduction to *Dodecachordon* (AIM), 1: 13.

[20] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 173.

music, originating from Quintilian, became the rationale for humanist music composition and performance.[21]

A systematic application of rhetorical theory to music first appeared in 1599; there had been obvious links between music and oratory from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.[22] In his *De arte canendi* of 1540, for instance, Sebald Heyden states:

> ... just as skill and acumen are needed to express in writing the fluency and flexibility of a language, so also are they necessary in the same degree to combine diverse musical intervals into a fully consonant harmony; again, just as they are needed to place an entire text with its characteristic shapes or figures before the eyes [*ob oculos ponere*] so clearly and so definitely that whatever is read or spoken is understood merely by ordinary letters of the alphabet, so also what should be sung, how much a tone should be raised or lowered, lengthened or shortened, is understood by notes and signs. And assuredly, if one examines closely examples of the first *componistae...*, he will be amazed at their extreme carefulness in demonstrating the things that pertain to the artistic manipulation of the tone, either in definite figures, or colors [*coloribus*], or signs, or numbers; they did this with no less ability and skill than did any of the grammarians in whatever they prescribed for variety of speech [*ad orationis varietatem*], so that music also, through manifold variety, possesses its own charm in accordance with the pleasing talents of its composer.[23]

In order to observe the relevance of rhetoric to music, it is important to consider the relation between rhetoric and poetry. From the ancient to the medieval period,

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[21] Palisca notes that 'there is hardly an author on music in the last half of the sixteenth century who does not dip into Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*'. See his essay '*Ut Oratoria Musica*', 39.

[22] For more see, Wilson, '*Ut oratoria musica* in the Writings of Renaissance Music Theorists', 349-58.

[23] S. Heden, *De arte canendi* (Nuremberg: J. Petreius, 1540); *De arte canendi*, trans. by C. A. Miller, MSD 26 (Dallas: AIM, 1972), 19.

poetry was considered a part of rhetoric. The relation between the two was debated in the time of the Renaissance, especially as to whether rhetoric subsumes poetry or vice versa.[24] The difference of opinions is however based on the consensus concerning the similarity between poetry and rhetoric 'as cognate forms of literary exposition' having been recognised by ancients and medieval scholars.[25]

This affinity is elaborated in various humanist writings: for example, Alessandro Piccolomini wrote in his commentary to book III of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* that 'these two disciplines, rhetoric and poetics, [are] so conjoined by their similarity that most of their considerations can and ought to be applied commonly to the one and the other'.[26] Furthermore, humanists envisage prose as poetry, beyond the technical difference between rhetoric and poetry: the former concerns prose while the latter verse.[27] In the *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronunciatione*, for instance, Erasmus discusses the quantitative structure of prose, stressing that metrical principles exist in prose as well as in verse, even if the rules are less restrictive and definite.[28] In essence, thus, the 'rhetoricisation of music' is interchangeable with the 'poeticisation of music' in the humanist discourse.

The humanist notion of *musica poetica*, preserving the meaning of the Greek word *melopoeia* (melodic construction), lies in the unity of speech and song in

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[24] Cf. Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 139, 218. In his *Dialogo della rhetorica* (1542), Sperone Speroni classified music under the arts that delight the body via the ears and poetry under those that delight the soul or spirit. Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 31.

[25] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 139.

[26] Ibid.

[27] On classical and humanist writers' view of prose as poetry, see Ibid., 217.

[28] *CWE*, 26: 423.

poetry, premised on the rhetorical measurement of words.[29] In this view, music composition is required to follow the same procedure of speech rhetoric comprising three parts: invention, disposition and elocution (*inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*). In the early seventeenth century, Kircher defines well the term *musica rhetorica* as follows:

> Just as rhetoric consists of three parts, invention, disposition and elocution, so does our musical rhetoric. Invention in musical rhetoric is none other than a fitting adaptation of suitable musical rhythms to words. Disposition, however, is a certain beautiful expression of the same [words] by their being fittingly coordinated with notes. Elocution finally is the very display, through song, of a melodic setting released from all numbers and adorned by tropes and figures. Through these [three parts], indeed, the whole shape of our musico-rhythmical work of art is revealed.[30]

That is, music composition, like an oration, has a beginning, middle, and an end (*exordium*, *medium* and *finis*). Like an oration of *eloquentia* it must have *elegantia*, *exornatio*, *decorum*.[31] The humanist endeavours for the rhetoricisation of music are indeed evident in their borrowing grammatical and rhetorical terms for explaining music: theme, motive, phrase, metre, rhythm, period, accent, articulation, figure, style, composition, etc'.[32] Most important of all, as in oratory, the ultimate goal of music lies in *pronuntiatio*, or delivery. Humanists thus apply

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[29] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 123-24.

[30] Ibid., 68.

[31] Elders, 'Humanism and Early Renaissance Music', 79. On the rhetorical figures, see Sonnio, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric*.

[32] Vickers, 'Figures of rhetoric/Figures of music?', 16-7.

the orator's three duties for delivery to the processes of musical composition and performance: *docere*, *delectare*, and *movere* (to teach, to delight, and to move).[33]

The rhetoricisation of music or the poeticisation of music led to a new conception of the musician: the 'poet-composer' or 'poet-musician'.[34] Humanists distinguish the poet-composer from the conventional musicians whom they call the *mathematici*. The fundamental difference between the two is clear in Gaffurius' exposition of the attribute of music: 'unlike other mathematical studies, music is not concerned solely with speculation but also with performance, and as already stated is joined to morality'.[35] That is, whilst the *mathematici* are preoccupied with technical problems, the poet-composers are concerned 'with the elegance of their harmony [*Euphoniae*] and are careful and scrupulous particularly in applying the text so that it fits the notes exactly the notes in turn express the meaning and separate affections of speech as appropriately as possible'.[36]

The rhetorical conception of music developed by humanists is inconceivable in isolation from the 'musical' conception of speech rhetoric in Quintilian's terms.[37] Erasmus urges orators to be more musical while seeking to apply the rhetorical rules to the procedure of music composition and performance. In this

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[33] Quintlian defines the three ends of the delivery: be agreeable, persuasive, and moving: 'Tria autem praestare debet pronuntiatio: conciliet, persuadeat, moveat, quibus natura cohaeret, ut etiam delectet' (*Institutio oratoria*, XI. iii. 154).

[34] For example, in *Compendium musices* (Nuremberg: J. Berg & U. Neuber, 1552) Adrian Coclico assigns a poet-musician to his fourth and highest category of musicians, after the *theorici*, the *mathematici*, and the *musici*. For more on Adrian Coclico's four categories of musicians in relation to the concept of 'elegance', see Harrán, 'Elegance as a Concept in Sixteenth-Century Music Criticism', 434-38.

[35] Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, tr. Miller (AIM), 15.

[36] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 173.

[37] Quintilian, *Institutia oratoria*, I.x.24. See Chapter II, 124-26.

view, the new concept of musician - the poet composer - falls into line with the humanist concept of the orator, with the same obligations as the orator's: in other words, the poet composer is a 'musical orator'.[38]

Gaffurius identifies musicians with orators: in discussing four kinds of musicians in the *Practica musicae* he refers to the first rank musician as 'those who are versed in prose, as orators and lectors, and who express their thoughts in words rather than in melody'.[39] For a representative example of this category of musician, Gaffurius illustrates singers of plainchant. Although 'plainchant does not have harmony of several parts', according to Gaffurius, 'the beginning and continuation of its melodies are established because the movement of its tones and the range of its modes (also called Tones) are clearly understood according to the natural order of the diatonic genus'.[40]

In this view, Gaffurius calls plainchant 'a soniferous reading' or 'modulated speech', namely, 'a reading aloud with tones either sustained or moving'. He emphasises that for the ancients, observance of this kind of modulated speech

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[38] Elder uses this term to refer to Dufay, in his essay 'Guillaume Dufay as Musical Orator', *Tijdschrift van de verenigung voor nederlandse muziekgeschidenis*, 31 (1981): 1-15.

[39] To the second kind of musician belong those who not only compose verses but who also declaim them in longs and breves according to a metrical plan (as in poetry); the manner of expression of the second kind allows it greater freedom than that of the first. / To the third kind belong those truly called musicians and singers, who create melody and sweet song in some mode and in a contrapuntal style which will be thoroughly studied in Book 3 of the present work. / To the fourth kind belong actors, mimes, and those who move rhythmically in response to musical sound, as in circle dances and other dances. Theophrastus has ascribed a pleasing music to them in their singing and dancing. Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, tr. Miller (AIM), 22.

[40] Ibid.

became normative for the musical education of their youth.[41] As we shall see, Gaffurius and the next generation of musical humanists had sought the basic rules of oratorical and rhetorical techniques in chant performance practice.[42] In the second decade of the seventeenth century, for example, Cerone asks with regard to the singers of plainchant:

> What facility of Ovid, what ingenuity of Vergil; what sublimity of Horace, what dignity of Homer, what eloquence of Cicero would succeed or suffice to report the barbarisms that are sometimes heard in the choir?[43]

As has been seen, humanists had viewed the inherent quality of plainchant as lying in the unity of text and ritual and that of word and music. It followed that the humanist principles of text placement became of prime importance to the reform of existing chant practice.[44] As in Cerone's question, there are numerous expressions of accusations of barbarism (*barbarismus*) in contemporary chant performances. What was basically meant by 'barbarism' in humanist writings

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[41] Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, tr. Miller (AIM), 22.

[42] For Gaffurius' great influence on sixteenth-century music theorists, see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations*, 94-7.

[43] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 157. P. Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro. Tractado de musica theorica y practica* (Naples: J. B. Gargano & L. Nucci, 1613, 2 vols. Facs. ed., Bologna: A. Forni, 1969), 1: 421. See Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 105.

[44] H. Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16. – 18. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Triltsch,1941; rpt, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969), 22. Unger states that the oldest notational system for Gregorian chant, 'die Neumenschrift', owes its existence to rhetorical practice, a kind of punctuation system ('ekphonetischen Zeichen') applied to *elocutio* and from thence to the rhythms of music. Vicker, 'Figures of Rhetoric (Figures of Music)', 17.

was inaccuracies in speech and writing.[45] The direct yet ultimate opposite concept of the barbarism is elegance (*elegantia*). The first step to achieve elegance was to rectify the faulty use of speech - all the 'corrupted' usage of Latin as well as the vernaculars, on the model of classical eloquence in both spoken and written. In the same light, musical humanists, in the pursuit of music written and performed 'correctly' (rectè) and 'elegantly' (ornatè), used the term barbarism to designate inaccuracies in the musical setting of the text such as faulty accentuation.[46]

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[45] In defining the term, Isidore notes, 'with regard to duration, a barbarism is committed, to be sure if a short syllable is set in the place of a long one or a long syllable in the place of a short one. With regard to stresses, it is committed if the accent is displaced to another syllable (Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 36)'.

[46] In *Compendium musices* (1552, fol. B iii v), Coclico quotes Josquin's definition of music: 'art of singing and composing correctly and elegantly' ('Musica secundum Iosquinum, est rectè, et ornatè canendi atque componendi ratio'), cited in Harrán, 'Elegance as a Concept in Sixteenth-Century Music Criticism', 431. For further discussion of 'musical' barbarism, see, Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 36, 83.

# 2. Word-Tone Relations in *BCPN*

## The Rhetoricisation of *Cantus planus*

At the heart of humanist musical theory lay the subject of word-tone relationship in composition and performance. In the *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) Zarlino treats this subject intensively, formulating rules of humanist text placement.[47] Although it turned out that many of his rules derived from an earlier treatise of Giovanni Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (1533), Zarlino's theory of word-tone relation is of major importance for observing the core of the humanist approach to the subject.[48] According to Zarlino, in a broad sense, the subject of word-tone relation concerns the whole sphere of relations between music and words in their structure and content; in a narrow sense, matters of text placement, viz. the placement of syllables under their respective notes. In humanist musical discourse, thus, the subject of word-tone relations focuses on accentual, syntactical and expressive association between music and its text.[49]

Among these three elements, it is generally agreed that accentuation is 'the most important criterion in establishing the relationship of humanism and music'.[50] The first rule of humanist text placement stipulated in Zarlino's *Le*

[47] G. Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558; Facs. ed., New York: Broude Brothers, 1965), See Part IV, Ch. 32-33.

[48] D. Harrán, 'New Light on the Question of Text Underlay Prior to Zarlino', *Acta Musicologica*, 45 (1973), 24-56.

[49] For more, see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 8. 16-21.

[50] Elders, 'Humanism and Early Renaissance Music', 68.

*Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) concerns accentuation in line with quantitative versification: 'always to place a suitable note on a long or short syllable in order for no barbarism to be heard'.[51] In imitation of ancient Greek and Latin metrical theory, thus, humanists advocate accentuation, determined by duration or quantity of syllables. Harrán calls it the 'quantitative accentuation'. During the Middle Ages, both Latin and the vernaculars were written and spoken according to the quality (stress) of words, which is called the 'qualitative accentuation'.[52] The key point is that humanists despised rhyme and accent of medieval Latin and the vernaculars in favour of quantitative accentuation which they regarded as 'correct'.

Gaffurius is generally known as the first music theorist who wrote in classical Latin and applied quantitative accentuation to music.[53] For him, musicians' practice is not so different from that of grammarians in that their using a long or short syllable is dependent upon the principles and authority of the grammarians. He appeals to musicians to keep correct measurement of tones and not articulate any syllable before they know its value through a measuring of time and tone.[54] Under the title 'poets and musicians measure vocal sounds with long and short quantities' in Book II, Chapter 1, of *Practica musicae*, Gaffurius writes

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[51] 'La Prima Regola adunque sarà, di porre sempre sotto la sillaba longa, o breve una figura conveniente, di maniera, che non si odi alcuno barbarismo'. Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, 341. Harrán's translation in his *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 116, 381.

[52] On the quantitative and qualitative accentuation see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 10-16.

[53] Cf. Lowinsky, 'Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance', in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 154.

[54] Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, tr. Miller, 69.

> Through careful examination they (poets and musicians) determine the temporal duration of a word by considering syllables either short or long. A short syllable is assigned one beat and a long syllable receives two beats. . . A syllable is considered short by nature or because of a following vowel, and a long syllable is accurately recognised by nature, position, or also accent.[55]

Based on the rule of this quantitative accentuation, humanists challenged the tradition of the Gregorian chant measured in equal time units. Gaffurius bears witness to 'those who both write and measure such plainsongs in mensural values of longs, breves, and semibreves, as in the *Symbolum cardineum* [The Nicene Creed] and some prosas and hymns'.[56] According to him, 'the French in particular very frequently follow this practice in order to give greater rhythmic variety to the music'.[57]

Scholastic theologians of Paris did censure this rhythmic differentiation in chant performance attempted by humanists. In *De moderatione et concordia grammatice et musice* (1490), for example, Jean Le Munerat claims that the technique of 'speech-recitation' must not be applied throughout chant practice. While defending traditional chant usage, however, Le Munerat draws a distinction between the two types of chant in terms of the relation of word and music: *cantus* (or *concentus*) and *accentus*. The former, where the melody governs the text, includes antiphons, responsories, introits, offertories - most chants in the *antiphonal*, the *gradual*, and the *processional*; the latter, where the text governs

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Gaffurius, *Musicae practicae*, tr. Miller, 29. Here, Miller gives information on Glarean's examples to show the use of mensural values in these three types of plainchant: *Dodecachordon* (AIM), 1: 145, 150, 185, 193.

[57] Gaffurius, *Musicae practicae*, tr. Miller, 29.

the melody, the lessons, Epistles and Gospels, collects, other prayers, and orations. Psalms and canticles, such as the Magnificat, lie between the two. Furthermore, he stresses the difference between the square notation of plainchant and the notation of measured music, criticising strongly the introduction of the small note-values of polyphony into the 'plain, grave and uniform' liturgical chant.[58]

In the first half of the sixteenth century, musical humanists had been very keen on applying the rules of quantitative accentuation in chant performance. In his treatise on plainchant, *Libellus de rudimentis musices* (1529), for instance, Rossetti the choirmaster of Bologna cathedral writes:

> But in many places, and especially here in Italy, there are many who sing all notes equally as if they were breves [i.e. slowly] when they sing solemnly and as if they were semibreves [i.e. more quickly] when they sing quickly, ligatures as well as longs and mediocres, that is semibreves, everything in equal measure. And they do this because not all understand [the notion of] polyphony and do not have knowledge of the quantitative value of the notes.[59]

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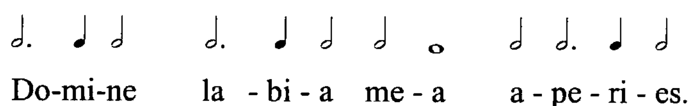
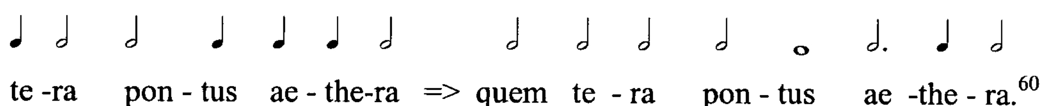
[58] *De moderatione et concordia grammatice et musice* (Paris: G. Marchant, 1490). For more, see M. Berry (Sister Thomas More)'s article 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century', 128-31. For an English translation of the *De moderatione*, see the appendix in her Ph.D. diss. For an excellent study of Le Munerat and his 1490 book, see Harrán, *In Defence of music*. Johnson and Treitler argue that the interest of Renaissance music theory did not constitute the discovery of the music-language relationship, but the development of another aspect of it. R. Jonson & L. Treitler, 'Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship', in *Studies in the History of Music*. 2 vols. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1983), 1-23, at 23.

[59] Quoted in Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 120-21. B. Rossetti, *Libellus de rudimentis musices* (Verona: Stefano e fratelli de Nicolinis de Sabio, 1529; Facs. ed., New York: Broude Brothers, 1968).

This treatise, presumably used as a music textbook for the choristers in the *scholar accolitorum*, offers examples of differentiating long and short syllables in chant performance: for instance, 'Domine labia mea aperies' (equal notes) is recommended to be performed as




Also, mis-accentuations of syllables in performance are corrected as follows:




Two decades later, in the same vein, Glarean stresses the need for singers capable of the quantitative accentuation as follows:

> I am looking for one which gives the long and short syllables their own time values, which certainly cannot be observed in a choir today, but which I believe was not neglected in former times; therefore, I believe that hitherto it happened that sometimes single long syllables were given more notes, although posterity has so neglected this thereupon, that they have given many notes indiscriminately to both long and short syllables.[61]

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[60] Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 117.

[61] 'Praeterea eum requiro, qui brevibus longisque syllabis sua det tempora, quod in Choro hodie mirum cur non observetur, olim, ut puto, non neglectum, unde adhuc puto esse, ut nonnunquam unilongae syllabae plures datae fuerint notulae, quanquam posteri hoc ita deinde neglexerunt, ut brevibus pariter ac longis promiscue plureis dederint notulas'. Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 179; tr. Miller, 1: 210. I have slightly emended the translation.

Why did the humanists place such a great emphasis on the rhythmic measurement and variety even in chant performance? This question is essential for understanding the humanist rhetorical notion of music. It may be argued that the ultimate goal of adapting the melody according to the accentuation of the text and the measurement of its syllables lay in fulfilling the orator's duties for delivery, especially that of moving the listeners (*movere*). In *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555), for example, Vicentino urges singers to use dynamics in rhythm, appealing to the way the orator treats the measure and what he achieves in doing so:

> The movement of the measure should be changed to slower or faster according to the words. . . . The experience of the orator teaches us to do this, for in his oration he speaks now loudly, now softly, now slowly, now quickly, and thus greatly moves the listeners; and this manner of changing the measure has a great effect on the soul. . . .[62]

The rules of quantitative accentuation became the focus of Zarlino's theory of text placement, as noted earlier. In formulating the theory of word-tone relation, Zarlino regards it as 'a truly shameful thing' that 'a long syllable is set to a short note or a short syllable to a long note', which is, according to him, what 'one hears nowadays in infinite compositions'.[63] On the basis of this observation, furthermore, Zarlino strongly suggests a revision of the chant practices:

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[62] Cited in C. V. Palisca, 'A Clarification of 'Musica Reservata' in Jean Taisnier's 'Astrologiae', 1559, *Acta Musicologica*, 31 (1959): 133-61, at 143.

[63] Lowinsky, 'Music in Renaissance Culture', 538.

> It would be a very praiseworthy thing and the correction would be so easy to make that one could accommodate the chant by gradual changes; and through this it would not lose its original form, since it is only through the binding together of many notes put under short syllables that they become long without any good purpose when it would be sufficient to give one note only. [64]

Zarlino's wish was finally realised at the institutional level: alongside the revision of the liturgical texts after the Council of Trent, in 1577, Gregory XIII commissioned Palestrina and Zoilo to revise the Gregorian chant, against the barbarisms in existing chant repertory and performance.[65]

Of the chant books issued during the Catholic Reformation, Giovanni Guidetti's *Directorium chori* (1582) is of especial importance in relation to the history of chant notation.[66] In modern scholarship, Guidetti's system of notation is famous for its unique note forms, devised to set both *accentus* and *concentus* in proportional durations: the preface of the book offers explanation of the note forms (see ex. 2); it also recommends most part of *accentus* (prayers, Epistles, Gospels, etc.) to be chanted on a single pitch – *recto tono*.[67]

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[64] Lowinsky, 'Music in Renaissance Culture', 538.

[65] A team of six composers, led by Felice Anerio and Francesco Soriano, was committed to this task. As a result, a revised gradual - the *Editio Medicea* - was published by the Medici Press in Rome in 1614-15.

[66] *Directorium chori ad usum sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae & aliarum cathedralium & collegiatarum Ecclesiarum collectum opera Ioannis Guidetti*...(Rome: R. Granjon, 1582). For important studies of Guidetti, see G. Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome, 1828; rpt. ed. 1966); Molitor, *Die Nach-Tridentinische Choral-Reform zu Rom*.

[67] Accent (Gospels, Lessons, Epistles, Orations, Prophecies, etc.); Concent (Hymns, sequences, antiphons, Responsories, Introits, tropes, etc.). Cf. Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 102.

Ex.2. Guidetti's proportional notation in *Directorium chori* (1582)

| Form | Name | Mensuration |
|---|---|---|
| ♦ | Semibrevis | 1/2 |
| ■ | Brevis | 1 |
| ■ (under semicircle) | Brevis sub semicirculo | 1 1/2 |
| ■ (under semicircle with dot) | Brevis sub semicirculo cum puncto | 2 |
| ■♦ (under semicircle) | Brevis & Semibrevis coniunctae sub eodem semicirculo | |

Through this system of notation, Guidetti applies the basic rules of ancient prosody to plainchant. Since these rules are essential to the further discussion of the humanist plainchant notations, it is necessary to consider them briefly. A metrical foot in classical prosody is a definite number of syllables and of time. It objectifies a pattern of 'times' through an arrangement of long and short syllables. Thus, ancient poetic feet consist of time durations rather than stresses. The rhythm of a line of verse is objectified by the durations of the feet into which the line is divided. The feet are themselves subdivided into units. In classical Latin the basic time unit of a metrical foot is a *mora* or *tempus*. A short syllable ( ˘ ) consists of one *mora* and a long ( – ) of two *morae*.[68]

[68] There are three categories of metrical feet: two-, three-, and four-syllable feet. The four disyllabic feet are the pyrrhic (two short syllables), the iambus (a short followed by a long), the trochee (a long followed by a short), and the spondee (two long). For more see O.B.

In Guidetti's notation, the *Semi-brevis*, or diamond-shaped note, is equivalent to a half-*tempus*; the *Brevis*, or square note, to one *tempus*; and the *Brevis sub semicirculo cum puncto*, or square note surmounted by a pause sign, to two *tempora*.[69] There is no indication of the mensural value of the *Brevis & Semibrevis coniunctae sub eodem semicirculo*. But this note form points to Guidetti's attempt at a stylistic delivery of syllables: it is intended to be 'delivered as if it is written in double sounds, so that, Doominus, instead of Dominus, but beautifully and gracefully' (*Pronunciabitur, perinde ac si duplici scriberetur Vocali, ut Doominus, pro Dominus, sed cum decore & gratia quae hic doceri non potest*).

As will be seen, however, Guidetti's proportional notation and his guidance for the singing of *accentus* on a single pitch were no innovations. Especially in relation to the latter, a recent study of chant performance in the early sixteenth-century papal court has demonstrated that Guidetti drew upon the already held practices of the papal Chapel.[70]

Borders gives a new light on a manuscript treatise of 1505, entitled *De tonis sive tenoribus*, written by Paride de Grassis, master of ceremonies under popes

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Hardison, Jr., *Prosody and Purpose In the English Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 32-3. See also this Chapter, footnote 107.

[69] In the 1604 edition of the *Directorium chori*, both the *Brevis cum semicirculo* and the *Brevis sub semicirculo cum pucto*, are omitted, and the *Longa* was introduced. See Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival*, 21.

[70] Humanism was prevalent in the papal curia under Pope Nicolas V (1447-55), Pius II (1458-64), Leo X (1513-21) and on. According to Leo X's secretary, Bembo, 'whatever was to be heard or read should be expressed in really pure Latin [Ciceronian Latin], full of spirit and elegance'. Cited in P. Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary* (London: Longmans, 1912), 177.

Julius II and Leo X. In this treatise, de Grassis illustrates nearly fifty musical examples of different melodic and rhythmic treatments depending on the category, context of meaning, and prosody of the texts.[71] De Grassis' illustrations reflect the sphere of the influence of humanist rhetoric on the liturgical performance in the early sixteenth-century papal court: in its mood and text declamation, the performance of *accentus* (orations, epistles, lessons, gospels, etc.) was directed to follow the same procedures of delivery as the humanist art of sacred oratory, such as epideictic preaching.[72]

As we have seen, the reform of plainchant within the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century was humanist in its approach and programme. In the pursuit of 'divine eloquence', the Church of England witnessed such a humanist reform of plainchant in the 1540s in which Merbecke played a key role. Our discussion of the humanist framework of *BCPN* begins by considering the Tudor rhetorical tradition especially in relation to Erasmian humanism.

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[71] J. Borders, 'Rhythmic Performance of *Accentus* in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome', in *Proceedings of International RAPHAEL Conference: Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano (Rhythmic and Proportional Hidden or Actual Elements in Plainchant 1350-1650), Parma & Arezzo, Italy, 3-6 dicembre 2003*. eds. M. Gozzi & F. Luisi (Rome: Torre d'Orefeo Editrice, forthcoming). I thank Dr. Borders for letting me read his paper before publication.

[72] O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome*, 5, 39, 72. On the impact of humanism on the Curia as early as the papacy of Nicholas V (r. 1447-55), see D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 9, 120-22. Distaste for the barbarisms of the Latin style of the liturgical texts and pre-Tridentine attempts to improve this situation are illustrated by the Breviary reforms including Quignon's in the first half of the sixteenth century. In correspondence with Clement VII, Caraffa remarks that 'what stomach can put up with such rubbish and nonsense from apocryphal books stuffed with so many lies and such unworthy [material] that if anyone who should occupy himself with such things did so, they would never be able to tolerate this state of affairs'. Fore more, see S. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

## Humanist Framework of *The booke of Common praier noted*

### a. English Quantitative Verse[73]

Perhaps, the significance of Erasmian humanism to the literary, intellectual and ecclesiastical history of Tudor England can most readily be appreciated within its rhetorical tradition. In a collaboration of Erasmus, Lily and Colet, a new Latin grammar book *Institutio Compendiaria totius Grammaticae* was introduced during the reform of St Paul School in London. This book became a standard grammar textbook; in accordance with the spread of humanist education the masters of choristers used it as the major textbook.[74] The focus of the new Latin grammar book was on speech: one of its basic instructions was to teach students 'to speak openly, finely and distinctly'. At a higher level, alongside Cicero and Quintilian, Erasmus' *De Copia* was studied as one of the most intelligent and popular rhetorical textbooks for someone wanting to be 'an exquisite orator'.[75]

In addition, in the mid 1530s when a large number of Erasmus' books appeared in English translation under Cromwell's patronage, John Checke and Thomas Smith introduced the Erasmian pronunciation of both Greek and Latin

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[73] For an excellent survey of the quantitative-verse movement in England see D. Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Idem, *The Rhythms of English Poetry* (London: Longman, 1982).

[74] This book is generally regarded as the most influential of all English textbooks in the history of education. T. Brooke, *A Literary History of England*, ed. A. C. Baugh, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1967); V. J. Flynn, 'The Grammatical Writings of William Lily', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 37 (1943): 85-113; C. G. Allen, 'The Sources of Lily's Latin Grammar: A Review of the Facts and Some Further Suggestions', *The Library*, 9, no. 2 (1954): 85-100.

[75] Cf. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, 86; Lehmberg, ed. *The Book named 'The Governor'*, 34.

into Cambridge. Despite the hostility of Gardiner, who was the vice-chancellor of the university, this attempt was eventually successful.[76] Before further discussion of the Erasmian impact on Tudor rhetorical tradition, it is helpful to note the basic elements of this reformed pronunciation, as explained in his *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronunciatione* (1528).

Here, with respect to the quantity of syllables, Erasmus notes that the proportion between long and short syllables is 2:1, on the basis of classical prosodic theory.[77] After treating several difficult words in measuring the proportion, Erasmus notes that 'the most thorough writers on the subject divide syllables into those that occupy one, one and a half, two, two and a half, and three units of time. This is a new sort of music'.[78] Then Erasmus shows the relationship of the quantity of the syllables to musical notes in the parallel of oratory and music as follows:

> You must be familiar with how musicians measure out a long from what they nowadays call a *vox maxima*, and how they then divide this long into breves, the breves into semibreves, these into minims, and finally these again into even shorter lengths. You also know how they vary the pace of their singing, sometimes to double time, sometimes to triple, according to certain proportions or measures as they are now called.[79]

[76] The *Ecclesiastes* devoted to sacred rhetoric (preaching) was published in 1535 and dedicated to John Fisher. For more, see J. Weiss, '*Ecclesiastes* and Erasmus: the Mirror and the Image', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 65 (1974): 83-108.

[77] *CWE*, 26: 424 [LB I 942 A]. See Chapter II, 128-29.

[78] Ibid., 425 [LB I 942 B] [ASD I-4: 63]. 'Imo qui exactius super hisce rebus conscripsere, docent in quibus syllabis sufficiat unicum tempus, in quibus unum semis, in quibus duo semis, in quibus tria. Audio nouam musicam'.

[79] Ibid., 427 [LB I 943 B] [ASD I-4: 65]. 'Atque adeo miror hoc homini musico videri, qui noris quomodo vocem, quam hodie maximam vocant, dividant in longam; rursus quomodo

This reformed prosodic system of the classical languages was applied to the vernacular poetry as well. A representative example of this is illustrated by Roger Ascham, a key Erasmian humanist of Tudor England. In *Toxophilus* (1545), Asham expresses his will to write in English rather than Latin for the benefit of his countrymen.[80] Recalling the discussions with Thomas Watson and John Checke of 'our new English Rymers', Ascham remarks that 'men of discernment prefer quantity to rhyme. . .'[81] Preferring classical metre to rhyme, thus, Ascham advocates the quantitative verse in English in *The Scholemaster* (1570):

> But by right *Imitation* of the perfit Grecians had brought Poetrie to perfitnesse also in the Latin tong, that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and understand right fully our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, what all good verses and all good learning to were destroyd by them, and after caryed into France and Germanie, and at last received into England by men of excellent wit in deede, but of small learning and lesse judgement in that behalfe.[82]

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longas in breues, breues in semibreues, semibreues in minimas, et has insuper secant in plusquam minimas: tum non ignores quomodo proportionibus, quas illi modos hodie vocant, varie producant aut accelerent pronunciationem, nunc ad rationem duplam, nunc ad triplam'.

[80] 'Though to have written. . . in an other tonge had bene bothe more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my labour wel bestowed yf with a little hynderaunce to my profyt and name maye come any fourtheraunce to the pleasure or commoditie, of the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose sake I tooke this matter in hande'. Cited in Hardison, *Prosody and Purpose in the English Renaissance*, 94.

[81] Ibid., 94-5.

[82] Cited in Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 93. Attridge quotes from Clough's *Amoures de voyage* to show a hexameter example in English (160): Shōrtlў, ăn | Ēnglĭshmăn | cōmes, whō | sāys hĕ hăs | bēen tŏ Săint | Pētēr.

In accordance with the rhetorical and poetical concerns of the humanists, Merbecke participated in the quantitative movement in the vernacular, as proved by his *The Holy Historie of King David*, published in 1579. It was 'drawn into English meter for the youth to read'.[83] Remarkably, as we shall see, it is from this humanist rhetorical standpoint that three decades before this publication Merbecke experimented with vernacular chant modelled on the accentual and syntactical properties of speech.

**b. One-note / one syllable rule**

Humanists in continental Europe were keen on quantitative versifying, and they applied rhetorical precepts to the sphere of Christian worship, with most emphasis on *pronuntiatio*, or delivery. The same is true of the English humanists during the Edwardian reign, as illustrated by the Book of Homilies issued in 1547, a set of officially approved sermons for delivery at the churches. In the *Censura*, regarding the Homilies, Bucer (a famous Erasmian) condemns the clergy for poor delivery, urging them to speak clearly and distinctly with devotion and gravity:

> Throughout the kingdom there is a vast number of pastors whose manner of reading the holy words is confused, casual, and hasty. In fact, they do not read them, they let loose an ungodly mutter with the result that the people can no more understand what is read than if it was read in Turkish or Indian. [84]

[83] STC 17302.

[84] Cited in Scott, 'Martin Bucer and the Revision of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer', 115.

Indeed, any part obscuring the content of the liturgical performance became an object of severe criticism. In this light, as observed in the previous chapter, the Edwardian reformers advocated 'a new manner of chanting' that was embodied in the 1544 Litany and *BCPN.*

Like the 1544 Litany, *BCPN* follows the one-note/one-syllable rule highlighted in Cranmer's letter to Henry VIII; it is not always strictly observed in *BCPN.* In the second half of thirteenth century, Jerome of Moravia stipulated this rule leading to the syllabic style.[85] With emphasis on the metrical scheme of poetry, the rule became customary in the humanist musical settings of classical odes especially in early sixteenth-century Germany.[86] One of the earliest experiments is the first collection of Horatian odes and epodes (1507) by Petrus Tritonius, a pupil of the great German humanist Conrad Celtis.[87] Tritonius set nineteen poems of Horace to music in syllabic declamation and observance of quantity: he uses only two note values (breves and whole-notes, except cadence), adapting them thoroughly to the long and short syllables of Latin metre.[88]

Humanists believed that ancient Greek music had been closely patterned after the metre of the verse and distinct recitation was of central importance to the ancient musicians, who abstained from melodic embellishments and preferred to set one note to each syllable of the text. In reviving this usage of ancient Greek

[85] For further, see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 64.

[86] For the humanistic odes, see R. Liliencron, 'Die Horazischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts, *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1887): 26-91.

[87] Lowinsky, 'Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance', 157-59.

[88] Ibid., 156; see also Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism, Thomas Campion, and the Two Daniels*, 17.

music, humanists set music to the verses in faithful observance of the ancient metres, omitting vocal ornamentations, giving one tone to each syllable.[89]

As discussed in the second chapter, humanist study and pedagogy made a major contribution to the development of the Reformation. In the reforming programmes of existing church music were involved humanist poets, composers and musicians. The way they revised it or wrote new music is in parallel to musical settings of the humanist odes in basic principles. Introducing the one note/one syllable rule into the vernacular chant music illustrates this point well. In English church music scholarship, however, the rule has invariably been described as 'Cranmer's precepts for the new style of church music', without considering its theoretical foundation in humanist musico-rhetorical tradition.[90]

Leaver sees *BCPN* as practised in Luther's idea, stressing that 'syllabic chant for vernacular services was not the invention of Cranmer but originated with Luther'. [91] Given the strong humanist tendency of Luther's reforming

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[89] E. E. Lowinsky, 'Music in the Culture of the Renaissance', *JHI*, 15 (1954), 547-48. In his report on 'Verse Meter and Melodic Rhythm', Lowinsky discusses five elements of the German humanistic ode: 1) a Latin ode of ancient origin, preferably by Horace; 2) strictly syllabic declamation; 3) elimination of all text repetition; 4) exclusive use of short and long notes to fit the short and long syllables of Latin meters; and 5) four-part harmony, to the exclusion of counterpoint in any voice. Lowinsky, 'Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance', 165.

[90] See, for instance, D. Stevens, *Tudor Church Music* (London: Faber & Faber, 1961, 2nd edn., 1966), 18. In relation to the so-called Cranmerian rule, Colles argues that 'this suggestion (the rule), contained in a private letter, has often been referred to as though it were a rule of the reformers having practically the force of law. It was nothing of the sort. Cranmer merely voiced a prevalent desire for simplification in music which the Catholic Church of the Continent shared with that in England.' Colles, *Voice and Verse: A Study in English Song*, 27.

[91] Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 28.

programmes, it is no surprise that the *Deudsche Messe* follows the same basic rule as the humanist settings of classical odes - one note/one syllable.[92] Apart from the fact that both *BCPN* and *Deudsche Messe* are syllabic chant, however, there is virtually no musical affinity between them.[93] The difference is easily discerned in terms of their notations: whilst *BCPN* uses four notes (actually five), aiming at accentual singing in rhythmic variety, Luther uses only two notes (♦, and ◊◊ or ◊♢), and except for the last syllable of a phrase, the semi-breve is used throughout the *Deudsche Messe* (see ex. 3).[94] As will be seen, *BCPN* is notated in proportional durations, preserving the accents of the vernacular texts. In both melodic and rhythmic patterns, consequently, *BCPN* is far more elaborated than the *Deudsche Messe*.[95]

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[92] For the music of the *Deutsche Messe*, see *LW*, 53: 61-90. For further on the musical aspects of the *Deutsche Messe*, see J. Wolf, 'Luther und die musikalische Liturgie des evangelischen Hauptgottesdienst', *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 3 (1901-2): 647-70; F. Gebhardt, 'Die Musikalischen Grundlagen zu Luthers Deutscher Messe', *Luther Jahrbuch*, 10 (1928): 128-69; C. Mahrenholz, 'Zur musikalischen Gestaltung von Luthers Gottesdienstreform', *Musik und Kirche*, 5 (1933): 281-96, rpt., in Idem, *Musicologica et liturgia*: *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. K. F. Müller (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960), 154-68; R. A. Leaver, '"Then the Whole Congregation Sings": The Sung Word in Reformation Worship', *The Drew Gateway*, 60 (1990/91): 55-73.

[93] Though arguing for the common ground of *BCPN* and the *Deudsche Messe*, Leaver also admits the difference in their musical features, see Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 59; *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 70-71.

[94] *LW*, 53: 57.

[95] As Stevenson points out, Merbecke's rhythmic scheme is closer to that of *Aulcuns pseaumes et cantiques mys en chant* (Strasbourg, 1539) rather than that of the *Deudsche Messe*. Stevenson, 'John Marbeck's "Noted Booke" of 1550', 230. For a facs. edition of the 1539 book, see R. R. Terry, ed, *Calvin's First Psalter (1539)* (London: E. Benn, 1932).

Ex. 3. Sanctus, *Deudsche Messe* (1526)[96]

Je--sa-ia dem proph--e--ten das ge-schach das er ym geyst den herren sit-zen sach/

auff eynem ho-hen thron ynn hellem glantz/ sey--nes kleydes saum den kor fül-let gantz/

**c. Merbecke's Notation**

In order to explore the humanistic framework of Merbecke's chant, it is now essential to draw attention to the 'theory of accented singing' that served as the central doctrine of the humanist reforms of plainchant.[97] Accented singing is also intended to clarify the syntactical structure of the text. This theory is well elucidated by Lampadius' instruction on 'the ecclesiastical accent, or the true method of reading Lessons, Epistles and Gospels', which says that 'an ecclesiastical accent' is recognised by 'a point set in the text', namely, a punctuation mark (comma, colon, full stop, etc.).[98]

[96] This is reproduced from W. Herbst, ed. *Evangelischer Gottesdienst: Quellen zu seiner Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, rev. ed., 1992).

[97] On the theory of accented singing see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 102-8.

[98] Lampadius, *Compendium musices* (1537; 5th ed., Berne: S. Apiarius, 1554). In this treatise Lampadius discusses six kinds of ecclesiastical accents, with emphasis on the observance of the quantity of the syllables: *How many ecclesiastical accents are there?* There are six, namely, 1) *immutable*, which neither raises nor lowers the final syllable; 2) *medial*, which lowers the final syllable a third; 3) *grave*, which lowers the final syllable a fifth; 4) *acute*, which returns the final syllable to the place of its descent; 5) *moderate*, which raises the final syllable to the neighboring second; 6) *interrogative*, which lifts the final syllable by step. Cited in Harrán, *In Search of Harmony: Hebrew and Humanist Elements in Sixteenth-Century Musical Thought*, 80-84: Idem, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 105-7.

Merbecke applies the rules of ecclesiastical accent to the suffrages and other sections of *accentus*: most of *accentus* is chanted *in recto-tono*, or a recto-tone with a third or fifth drop at the end (ex. 4). Furthermore, in *BCPN*, the punctuation marks are crucial in co-ordinating the relation of verbal syntax and musical articulation, causing different melodic formulae. As a contemporary music theorist Lanfranco stresses, it is in plainchant that syntax is a paramount factor in determining how the music divides into phrases.[99] Merbecke is fully aware of this, and his chant does show how the phrasing of melody corresponds to the syntactical structure or prosodic features of the text.

Ex. 4. The singing of *Accentus* in *BCPN*

a) Suffrages (Matins: fol. D3 recto)

[99] Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 130, 136. See also his 'New Light on the Question of Text Underlay Prior to Zarlino', *Acta Musicologica*, 45 (1973): 24-56. In this article Harran demonstrates that Zarlino is indebted to Lanfranco for his idea of textual underlay. Lanfranco stresses the difference between text setting in plainchant and polyphonic music, see 32-35.

b) Lesser Litany (Matins: fol. D2 recto; 10)

c) 'The Preface' (Communion: fol. M4 recto; 44)

Crucially, what sheds new light on the relation of accentuation to *BCPN* is its system of notation. As explained in the preface to *BCPN*, its notation comprises four note-shapes: a *strene* note (breve); a *square* note (semibreve); a *pycke* (minim); and a *close* (extended breve with pause) that is only used at the end of a verse. To lengthen the square note by half, Merbecke also includes the use of a *prycke* (a dot in modern notation). Interestingly, these note-shapes convey a reduction of the normal note values and the proportional relationship between the notes. So a *strene*, a dotted *square*, a *square*, and a *pycke* indicate time values in the proportions: 2:1½:1:½.[100]

[100] *CWE*, 26: 425. Erasmus says that 'the most thorough writers on the subject divide syllables into those that occupy one, one and a half, two, two and a half, and three units of time'.

In this booke is conteyned so muche of the Order of Commō prayer as is to be song in Churches: wherin are vsed only these iiii. sortes of notes,

The first note is a strene note and is a breue. The second a square note, and is a semy breue. The iii. a pycke and is a mynymme. And when there is a prycke by the square note, that prycke is halfe as muche as the note that goeth before it. The iiii. is a close, and is only vsed at ẏ end of a verse.

A.ii.

Fig. 8. Preface to *BCPN*, fol. A2 recto

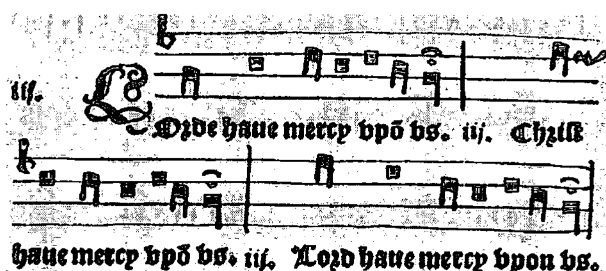
Of those notes, the *strene* note - the note with two tails - has received particular attention from the scholars of medieval music theory.[101] According to Bent and Benham, the *strene* note is twice as long as the 'punctum-like square note' (that is a *breve* but is equated with a *semibreve* by Merbecke), and exactly the same note is found in the Gyffard partbooks (British Library, Add. MS 17802-5) and John Baldwin's partbooks (Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 979-83).[102] It has

[101] Benham considers the name 'strene' as Merbecke's. H. Benham, ''Stroke' and 'strene' notation in fifteenth- and sixteenth- century equal-note cantus firmi', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993): 153-67, at 163. There is a reference in the late fourteenth-century: 'streina*n*t witȝ to longe tailes', See F. L. Utley, 'The Choristers' Lament', *Speculum*, 16 (1946), 194.

[102] M. Bent, 'New and Little-known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony', *JAMS*, 21 (1968): 137-156; Benham, '"Stroke" and "strene" Notation in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Equal-Note Cantus Firmi', 153-67.

been assumed that the *strene* notation was occasionally used in fifteenth and sixteenth-century English music in preference to 'normal' mensural notation.[103] In principle, Merbecke's notation implies the tenet of quantitative verse: 'a long syllable should theoretically take twice as long to pronounce as a short syllable'.[104] That is, the relation of notes to syllables in *BCPN* is determined by the measurement of the duration of syllables (quantitative accentuation) rather than accentual stress (qualitative accentuation).[105] A good example is illustrated by the use of the mixed metres of trochaic and iambic in the Kyrie at the Communion (see ex. 5).

Ex. 5. Kyrie (*At the Communion*), *BCPN*, fol. K1 recto.




Yet, Merbecke preserves the quality of words, like Philip Sidney who attempts to write quantitative verse that does not go against the stress of the traditional

[103] M. Bent & R. Bowers, 'The Saxilby Fragment', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981): 1-27. See also A. Hughes, 'The Choir in Fifteenth-Century English Music: Non-mensural Polyphony', *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac*, ed. G. Reese & R. J. Snow (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977): 127-45.

[104] Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism, Thomas Campion, and the Two Daniels*, 1.

[105] Six rhythmic patterns based on classical metrical feet: trochaic: ♩ ♪ ; iambic: ♪ ♩; dactylic: ♩. ♪ ♩ ; anapestic: ♪ ♩ ♩. ; spondaic: ♩. ♩. ; tribrach: ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪♪♪

English verse. This is readily observed, for instance, in the Creed at the Communion which is one of his own compositions (see ex. 22).[106]

There are several important examples of the quantitative accentuation which sound unfamiliar to modern ears: The word 'people', now regarded as trochee ( – ◡), is notated as spondee ( – – ), as show by example 6; the word 'apostolic', now pronounced ăpŏstŏlĭc, is notated ăpōstōlīc in *BCPN*.[107] Perhaps, most unfamiliar to us is Merbecke's treatment of words '- tion' ending such as resurrection (see Creed in the Communion, *BCPN*). These words are set as words of a syllable and a half for the 'tion', by using a dotted rhythm (rĕ- sŭr - rēc - tĭ – ōn: ♪♪ ♩. ♪ ♩), which is so characteristic of English Quantitative verse, as illustrated by Sydney's 'O sweet woods...' in *Asclepiads* (ex.7). The same treatment of such words (generations, imaginations) appears in Tallis' *Dorian Service* (British Library, Add. MS 29189).[108]

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[106] Attridge, *Well-weighed syllables*, 185-87. Sydney's approach to poetry is generally regarded as an 'Art of English Verse'. H. Smith, 'English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 9 (1945-46), 271. See also E. Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), 80-86.

[107] See Dyce, *The Order of Daily Service*, h [in his pagination]. Dyce remarks that 'Merbecke may legitimately be quoted as evidence for the quantity assigned in his time to particular words'.

[108] The tenor part of a passage in the Creed of Tallis' *Dorian Service* and Merbecke's setting of the passage in the Creed follows nearly the same text underlay: 'Who with the Fa-ther and the Son to –ge – ther is wor – ship – ped and glo-ri-fied, Who spake by the Pro-phets'. See Fellowes, *The Office of the Holy Communion as set by John Merbecke*, 39.

Ex. 6. ‘people’ (spondee) from *Benedictus dominus* I, *Mattins* (fol. C1 verso)

Ex. 7. Philip Sydney’s ‘O sweet woods…’ in *Asclepiads*

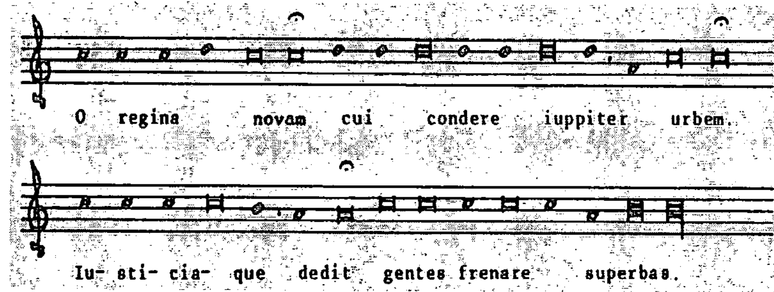
Ō swēet wōods thĕ dĕlīght ōf sŏlĭtărĭnēs!
Ō hōw mūch Ĭ dŏ līke yōur sŏlĭtărĭnēs!
Whēre măn’s mīnd hăth ă frēed cōnsĭdĕrātĭōn.
Ōf gōodnĕss tŏ rĕcēive lōvely dĭrēctĭōn.[109]

It must be stressed that such a proportional notation was a typical characteristic of the humanistic musical settings of classical odes. For instance, in *Grammatica brevis* (Venice, 1480), which is the first authoritative publication of Humanistic odes, Franciscus Niger uses four musical notes: longs (usually with pause), breves, semibreves, and remarkably, dotted semibreves (ex. 8).[110]

[109] This poem (but without the musical notes) is cited in Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 186.

[110] Many of the later humanist odes use only two musical note values. In his modernisation of Niger’s notation, Lowinsky argues that the note following the dotted semibreve was sung like a minim, not a semibreve. Lowinsky, *Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance*, 158-59. In relation to this, it is controversial whether the dots in example 8 are *puncta perfectionis* or *puncta imperfectionis*; they are *imperfectionis*, in terms of Apel’s illustration in *The*

Ex. 8. Fransiscus Niger, 'O regina' from *Grammatica brevis*. Venice, 1480 (E. S. Ryding, *In Harmony Framed*, 42)




Both musical and literary historians have argued that the division of long and short syllables in later editions of Niger's (1500) and the following humanistic odes such as *Ludus Dianae* (1501) of Conrad Celtis is determined by stress rather than quantity, referring to them as a kind of 'pseudo-quantitative setting' or an amalgam of stress and quantity. Niger's 'Tempora Labuntur' (ex. 9) illustrates this.[111]

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*Notation of polyphonic music 900-1600* (Cambridge: Midiaeval Academy of America, 4th edn, rev., 1949), 116. Conclusively, however, Apel disregards both *punctus perfectionis* and *punctus imperfectionis*, because of the unnecessary complications in terminology in making the distinctions between them and just refer to the sign in question as *punctus divisionis* exclusively. According to Apel (op. cit.), 'Gaffurius does not identify the *punctus perfectionis* with the *punctus divisionis*, but rather with the *punctus additionis* (or *augmentationis*). In *Havard Dictionary of Music* (708), Apel stresses that further distinction must be made between the *punctus perfectionis* in perfect mensuration and the *punctus perfectionis* – properly, *additionis* (or *augmentationis*) – in imperfect mensuration.

[111] Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism*, 37-45. Harrán makes the same point in relation to Zarlino in his *In Search of Harmony*, 92-108. Here, he points out that Zarlino's illustration of the application of quantity to music composition is in fact a case of qualitative accentuation.

Ex. 9. F. Niger, 'Tempora Labuntur' from *Grammatica brevis*, 1514, fol. 88 (E. Lowinsky, *Humanism in the Music of the Renaissance*, 159)

Tem-po-ra la-bun - tur ta - ci - tis - que se-ne - sci - mus an - nis Et fu - gi - unt fre - no non re-mo-ran - te di - es.

Pros - pe-ra lux o - ri-tur: lin - guis a - ni mis - que fa-ve - te Nunc di cen - da bo - na sunt bo-na ver - ba di - e

As Harrán points out, the stressed and unstressed syllables in language tend to correspond to long and short notes in music.[112] Whether the prosodic guidance of music is stress or quantity, what is clear is that with respect to the theory of accented singing in plainchant the humanistic music theorists distinguish three durations, represented by the basic shapes of long, breve and semi breve (ex. 10).[113] This foreshadows the plainchant reforms in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; and in those reformed chant books, grammatical quantities do not always correspond strictly with musical quantities in those reformed chants because of syntactic division.[114]

Ex.10. Nicolaus Wollick, *Enchiridion musices*, 1509 (Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 104)

Et / eritis / odio / omnibus / hominibus. / Operantium / mendacium.

[112] Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 14.

[113] Ibid., 102-8.

[114] For further discussion of the contemporary theory to differentiate between word accents and the sentence accents, see Ibid., 161.

As has been seen, the humanist theory of text placement epitomised by Zarlino's is evident in *BCPN*, before its great influence on the English theorists such as Morley in the late sixteenth century.[115] At the early stage of quantitative versifying, English humanists applied directly classical metres to the vernacular poetry. But later quantitative experiments such as Sidney's consider both classical criteria of quantity and stress in determining longs and shorts, which anticipates Campion's attempt at the marriage of music and poetry.[116] This accentuation was practised in the domain of ecclesiastical music earlier, as proved by Merbecke's chant.[117]

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[115] T. Morley, *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: P. Short, 1597). In this book, Morley quotes from numerous humanist writings including Lefèvre d'Étaples, Gaffurius, Glarean, Zarlino and so on. For a modern edition, see R. A. Harman's. (New York: Norton, 2nd ed., 1963). Harman offers an index of the humanist references specifically.

[116] It has generally been agreed that Thomas Campion's treatise (*Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, 1602) marks the last significant attempt to justify quantitative verse in English. See Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism*, 84. Campion followed Sidney's quantitative versification in his lute songs for his musico-poetic experiments. Ryding asserts that his treatise resembles the work of continental humanists far more than do the classicizing attempts of the Sidney circle. Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism*, 88. For further on Campion, see Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 219-27. For more detail on Thomas Campion as a 'poet-composer', see Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song*, ch. 8, 142-57.

[117] In his thesis, Shepherd points out that early experiments with the verse anthem were taking place, most probably at Windsor. Richard Farrant was master of the choristers at St George's Chapel, from 1564, and master of the Chapel Royal choristers from 1569. Revealing the influence of both the metrical psalm and the consort song, with the words taken from the Sternhold and Hopkins version of Psalm 137, Farrant's *When as we sat in Babylon* constitutes one of the earliest examples of the verse anthem. William Mundy (b. c1529, d. before 12 October 1591, the date his successor was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal) also experimented with the verse anthem. A Gentleman of the Chapel Royal since 21 February

It is generally assumed in plainchant scholarship that proportional notation was first introduced in Guidetti's *Directorium Chori* (1582). Remarkably, however, three decades before this, Merbecke used such a notation for an ideological and pedagogical purpose – the proclamation and intelligibility of the Word of God within the Church of England. It is at this point to be emphasised that in the 1530s and 1540s England had witnessed the moderate religious reform of the Erasmian tradition as well as the development of humanist learning under royal patronage.

As observed earlier, the Erasmian musical outlook takes root in the same principles of eloquence and persuasiveness as rhetoric. This understanding of music as a rhetorical means for true spiritual expression of the church reappears in Merbecke's commonplace book where Erasmus is the only modern writer named alongside church fathers. Under the title 'the Judgement of diverse learned men concerning singing', Merbecke quotes from Erasmus' extended comments on a passage in I Corinthians 14. Here, Erasmus emphasises that in emerging Christianity, 'singing was none other thing than a distinct and plain pronunciation'.[118]

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1564, Mundy was responsible for the verse anthem *Ah helpless wretch*, for alto and 5 voices with organ. Fore more, see Shepherd, 'The Changing Theological Concept of Sacrifice, and Its Implications for the Music of the English Church c. 1500-1640', 109.

[118] Here, Merbecke quotes from Athanasius (in Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae*), Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Erasmus. See Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common places*, 1017-18. The quotation from Erasmus: 'Eras. Rot. In Anno 1 Cor. Cap. 14. Erasmus Roterodamus expresseth his mind concerning the curious manner of singing used in churches, on this wise, and saith: Why doth the Church doubt to follow so worthy an author (Paul)? Yea, how dare it us bold, to dissent from him? What other thing is heard in Monasteries, in Colleges, in Temples almost generally, than a confused noise of voices, but in

According to Erasmus, it is the Lord's Prayer which preserves the music of pristine churches closer to modulated recitation rather than singing. Based on this observation, he writes

> While it [the Lord's Prayer] is not sung on a single tone, its ambitus does not exceed a fourth, with the exception of the phrase *ne nos inducas*, where the voice drops; this is not contrary to the precepts of the art, which teach that a lower sound is appropriate for supplicants.[119]

Merbecke sets the Lord's Prayer at the Communion in this way: its melody is based on a Sarum *Pater noster*; its ambitus is limited to a fourth, with the exception of the phrase 'and lead us' where the voice drops (ex. 11).

Most striking in Merbecke's is its rhythmic pattern. Whilst the 'square' note is the basic unit of rhythm in *BCPN*, it is exceptional that Merbecke uses the 'pike' notes (diamond shape) for the setting of the Lord's Prayer. Hunt regards this treatment as 'a mistake on Merbecke's part', noting that 'it is unthinkable that Merbecke intended the Lord's Prayer to be sung twice as quickly as the rest of the

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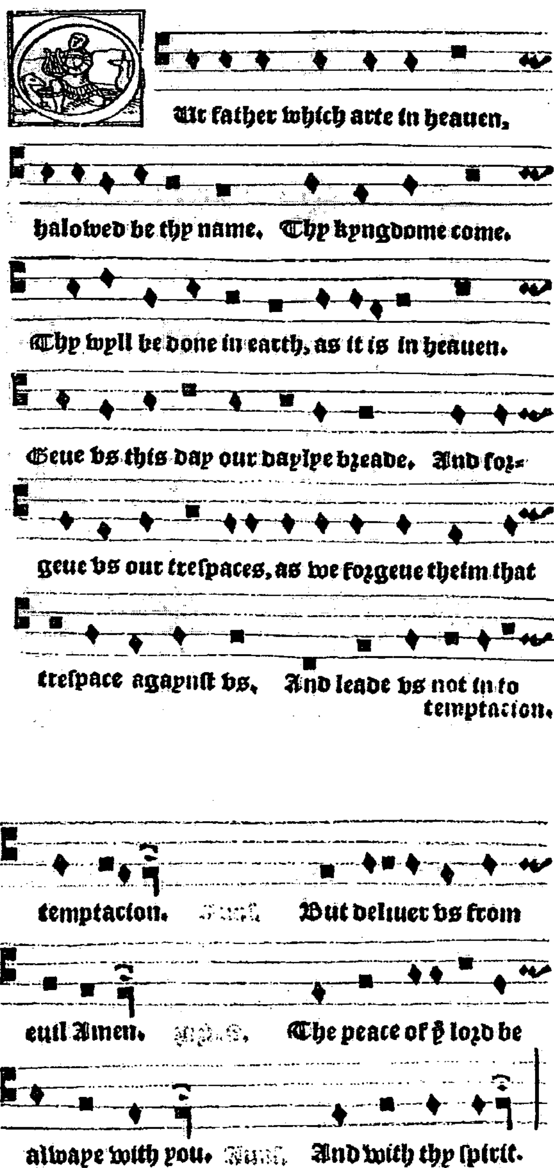
the time of Paul there was no singing, but saying only. Singing was with great difficulty received of them of the later time: and yet such singing as was none other thing than *a distinct and plain pronunciation*, even such as we have yet among us, when we sound the Lord's prayer in the holy Canon: And the tongue wherein these things were sung, the common people did then understand, and answered, Amen. Now what other thing doth the common people hear than voices signifying nothing? And such for the most part is the pronunciation, that not so much as the words or voices are heard, only sound beateth the ears' [my emphasis].

[119] Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', 334 [LB V 959E]. '. . .velut in precatione Dominica non est prorsus eadem vox, sed varietas non excedit diatessaron, nisi quod in *ne nos inducas*, deprimit vocem, nec id praeter artis praecepta, quae docent submissiorem sonum convenire metuentibus'.

service'.[120] Hunt's statement is absurd, however, given the rhythmic variety intended by Merbecke's proportion notation. For clear and accurate delivery in accentuation and articulation, Merbecke also sets most phrases in iambic pattern ('give us this day our daily bread'; 'against us'; 'us not into temptation'; 'the peace of the Lord be always with you', etc).

Ex. 11. The Lord's Prayer

(Holy Communion), fol. O1 verso.




[120] Hunt, ed. *Cranmer's First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted*, 26.

With regard to the reform of plainchant, the main target of Erasmus' criticism is the abuse of accentuation, current among contemporary church choirs, which do not distinguish quantities of syllables and differences of accent but chanting in equal time units instead.[121] Erasmus notes that whilst giving the same length and accentuation to all the syllables is favoured by the uneducated masses, the learned regard it as ridiculous and boring. From a Ciceronian point of view, chanting in an equal time unit is 'not saying but baying'.[122] According to Erasmus, 'even in hymns, where different lengths are put on different vowels, this is not done according to the natural lengths of the syllables, but by arbitrary arrangement'.[123] In this view, Erasmus highly prizes Ambrosian hymns composed in the simple iambic dimetre, as a model for the observance of the measurement of the syllables in music.[124] Decisively, in its mode, melody and metrical foot, Merbecke's *Te deum laudamus* corresponds exactly with Ambrose's illustrated by Glarean in

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[121] See Chapter II, 157.

[122] *CWE*, 26: 427, 430 [LB I 943D] [ASD I-4: 66]. '. . .nouum aliquid ac prodigiosum comminiscuntur, eodem tono, pari mora pronuntiantes syllabas omnes, paribus etiam interuallis,. . . magna quidem admiratione plebis imperitae, sed aeque magno tum risu tum taedio doctorum hominum. Hoc enim vere est, quod ait Cicero, Latrare, non loqui'.

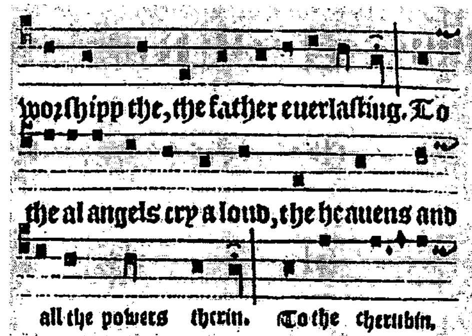
[123] See *CWE*, 26: 430 [LB I 943D] [ASD I-4: 65]. 'Et in cantu, si quando vocibus imparibus utuntur, inaequalitatem eam non ex natura syllabarum sed ex suo arbitratu metiuntur.'

[124] See *CWE*, 26: 430 [LB I 943D] [ASD I-4: 65-6]. '. . . in my view Ambrose must have ordered his hymns to be sung with full regard for the differences between syllables, and I do not doubt that this was in fact how they were sung until the spread of illiteracy and the resulting chaos of vowel pronunciation compelled resort to our modern unjust way of treating them all the same'. 'Non dubito tamen, quin Ambrosius suos hymnos obseruatis syllabarum modulis canendos instituerit, eamque consuetudinem arbitror valuisse, donec crassior litterarum inscitia et inconditus vocum tumultus compulit ad hanc inaequalem aequalitatem confugere'. For further on the literary background (two ways of scansion) of Ambrosian hymns, see Hardison, *Prosody and Purpose in the English Renaissance*, 43-46.

*Dodecachordon*, except in the cases of different syllable numbers in the vernacular translation (ex. 12 & 13).[125]

Ex.12. From *Diorum Ambrosij ac Augustini ode* in Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (ed. & tr. Miller, 1:149)

Ex. 13. From *Te deum laudamus* in Matins, *BCPN*, fols. B2 recto & verso.




[125] Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, tr. Miller, 110-11. Burney first observed this similarity; but he did not go further to consider the contemporary intellectual force behind the reformed chant in *BCPN*. Burney, *A General History of Music*, 806-7. Aplin fails to be aware of this prosodic feature of Merbecke's setting of the *Te deum* in his comparison of it with the Sarum chant, given in the British Library Additional MS 34191. Aplin, 'The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early English Te-Deum Settings', 247-75. Helmore (1878: 56) calls it 'a mutilated form of the Ambrosian melody'. Leaver (1980: 61) remarks that 'Helmore's ideal was the complete assimilation of Gregorian chant into English usage and thus he was unsympathetic to Merbecke's work'.

**d. Modulated Recitation**

Plainchant became an excellent means to the end of the establishment of correct habits of speech within the framework of humanist pedagogy. Humanists argued that the core of ancient ecclesiastical chant lay in distinct and modulated delivery (*distincta modulataque pronunciatio*).[126] Heavily influenced by the church fathers and the practices of pristine Christianity, humanists thus recommended modulated recitation (or speech recitation) as the ideal style of ecclesiastical chant.[127] The modulated recitation was the main feature of the practice of the Egyptian desert fathers – the manner of the Church of Alexandria used under Athanasius. This practice, advocated by Augustine, was most influential on the humanist restoration of ancient Christian worship.[128]

One good example of the modulated recitation may be found in ff. 66-68 of a manuscript in Cambridge University Library.[129] In her unpublished doctoral thesis Berry draws attention to this as one of several types of 'measured Credo'.[130] Berry refers to this style as 'rather a stylised speech-recitation', differentiating it from regular mensuration and the vigorous freely measured style of the *Credo Cardinale* in the Dutch Augustinian Gradual. The main characteristic of this style lies in the use of a minim for unaccented syllables: a lengthening of the accented syllable of proparoxytones followed by a proportionate shortening of the

[126] See Chapter II, 156-57.

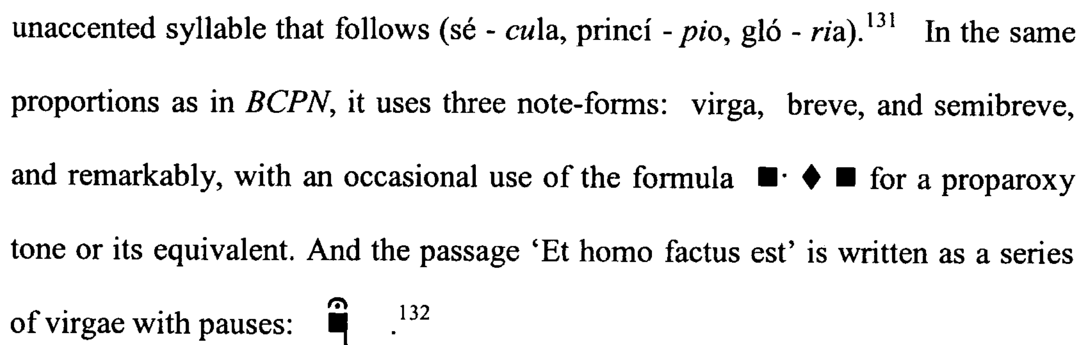
[127] Cf. Chapter II, 140. On the problems of translating 'modulation', see Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 5 (footnote 7).

[128] Cf. Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship*, 263-69.

[129] Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 6189. This is a Gradual from Cordova in Spain, dated 1521.

[130] M. Berry (Sister Thomas More), 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and Sixteenth Century', Ph.D. diss. (University of Cambridge, 1968), 115-20.

unaccented syllable that follows (sé - *cu*la, princí - *pio*, gló - *ria*).[131] In the same proportions as in *BCPN*, it uses three note-forms: virga, breve, and semibreve, and remarkably, with an occasional use of the formula ■· ♦ ■ for a proparoxy tone or its equivalent. And the passage 'Et homo factus est' is written as a series of virgae with pauses: .[132]



It may be argued that this series of virgae with pauses was affected by 'the series of fermata-marked block-chords' which was one of the most commonly used rhetorical figures in fifteenth-century polyphony – Burmeister termed it *noema.*[133] Merbecke also uses this rhetorical figure aiming at increasing the expressiveness of key words, in his motet *Ave Dei Patris Filia,* with words 'Ave Jesu'.[134] In *BCPN*, the series of virgae do not appear; Merbecke uses the longest notes in the word 'Holy' in the two settings of the Sanctus for such a rhetorical effect (ex. 14 & 15).

Ex. 14. Sanctus (*At the Communion*), *BCPN*, fol. N2 recto (46)

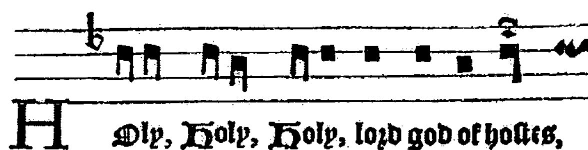
[131] Berry, 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century' (1965-6), 127-28. Berry also observes that, in this style 'the *pausa conveniens*, a rest to allow the singers to take their breath and a necessary feature of all psalmody, is usually given as a breve rest between the verses, and once it is indicated at the mediant cadence'.

[132] Berry, 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and Sixteenth Century', 116.

[133] Elders, 'Humanism and Early Renaissance Music', 83.

[134] *Tudor Church Music*, 10: 219.

Ex. 15. Sanctus (*At the Communion when there is buriall*), fol. S1 verso (66)




As has been seen, the modulated recitation, known as the chant style of the Egyptian church, became normative for *BCPN* which was the Anglican musical manifestation of the 1540s.[135] It is here important to note that the Anglican reframing of the structure of the liturgy was heavily influenced by ancient Egyptian practice: the Offices were contracted into two - Matins and Evensong, as the churches of the Alexandrian patriarchate had only two public assemblies in the day, even in the monasteries. In the Egyptian church, after the twelve psalms of the nocturn, two lessons (one from the Old Testament, the other from the New

[135] For the impact of speech-rhythm upon syllabic recitation before *BCPN*, see Berry's article, 128. Here, by 'the evidence of the influence of speech-rhythm', Berry means 'the natural way an English speaker of the time pronounced his Latin'. It is not clear in this defining whether the Latin was classical or medieval. Also, Berry does not consider what ideas or intellectual methods led to such an influence of speech-rhythm on chant performances. Berry draws upon a set of isolated tenors for the *Magnificat* in an organ-book dated around 1530 (British Library, Music MS Royal Appendix 56). In it, the basic note-value of the recitation is the semibreve, but occasional minims are allotted to the light second syllables of proparoxytones – words like 'dóminus', with two unaccented syllables following the accent. This is the way the contemporary humanist theorists such as Rossetti treats those words for chant performance, and it was fully adopted by Guidetti's *Directorium chori*. See Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 12.

Testament) were read. Cranmer adopted this rule, omitting completely the lessons of the saints.[136]

Appealing to the authority and manner of pristine churches, thus, a key Anglican apologist Jewel asserts that 'Rome is not the mother of all these things (the psalmody and other ecclesiastical music, and the singing of *Gloria Patri* at the end of every psalm)'.[137] This passage points to the spirit of the *Anglican* revival of ancient ecclesiastical chant in which the significance of *BCPN* lies; that is, the establishment of the vernacular chant tradition based on the usage of the primitive church.

## Christian Hebraism and the Reform of Plainchant

The question of text placement was a major issue in the humanist reform of plainchant, as has been seen. For humanists, introducing the accentuation based on classical prosody into existing chant practice was pivotal for restoring ancient chant usage. The main characteristic of ancient ecclesiastical chant according to them lay in the modulated recitation according to the quantitative accentuation.

In illuminating the rhetorical framework of *BCPN*, finally, this section calls attention to humanist concerns in the practices of synagogues in reconstructing

[136] In the revised Prayer Book of 1552, Matins and Evensong are called 'morning prayer' and 'evening prayer' respectively. Cf. W. Palmer, *Origines liturgicae, or Antiquities of the English ritual, and a dissertation on primitive liturgies*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1832).

[137] J. Jewel, *Of Prayer in a strange tongue* – the third article, 1564; Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*, 1: 266.

pristine Christian worship; and particularly, their rhetorical concern for the accentuation of the Hebrew biblical chant. It has seldom been recognised that this particular trend within humanist circles led to a remarkable musical consequence in both theory and practice; never has its influence been detected on contemporary reformed plainchant.

The determining factor of the rhythmic measurement in *BCPN* is in principle the duration or quantity of syllables. Like contemporary humanist composers, however, Merbecke does not consistently follow grammatical quantity in practising the theory of accented singing. In order to elucidate the theoretical backdrop to this treatment of accentuation in the humanist compositions of ecclesiastical monophonic music, our discussion will focus on the following three issues: first, humanists' rhetorical interest in the Hebrew accents and the humanist notations of the Hebrew biblical chant; secondly, Zarlino's theory of accentuation inspired by Christian Hebraist scholarship which sets out the rules of accentuation, current within the contemporary humanist music circles; finally, we shall consider how the two issues mentioned above are related to the humanist reformed chant in *BCPN.*

**a. Humanist Notations of the Hebrew Pentateuch Chant**

The nature and programme of Renaissance humanism is summarised in the slogan *ad fontes* - back to the sources.[138] Although humanist efforts for the revival of

[138] The humanist scholarly ideal in the late Renaissance was to be 'expert in three languages' - Hebrew, Greek and Latin (*trium linguarum gnarus*). Trilingual colleges were established at Alcalá in Spain, at Paris and at Wittenberg. For further, see McGrath, *Reformation Thought,* 148-51.

ancient learning primarily concerned Latin letters, a considerable interest in the ancient Near Eastern linguistic and religious traditions is also evident in the humanist writings.[139] For many, this interest directly related to their zeal for exploring primitive Christianity.[140] Of the traditions, what received most attention were the Hebrew and Jewish mystical writings; a key Florentine humanist Pico della Mirandola, for instance, sought the compatibility between Christian doctrines and the Kabbalah.[141] Johannes Reuchlin is the best successor of Pico's Hebraist enthusiasm. Like Erasmus' biblical and patristic scholarship, Reuchlin's studies of the Hebrew language and Bible and Kabbalah paved ways for the new

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[139] See, for example, R. Wakefield, *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicae, Hebraicae, Chaldaicae*, W. de Worde, 1529; J. Wegg, *Richard Pace: a Tudor Diplomatist* (London: Methuen, 1932, rpt, 1971), 274; R. Weiss, 'England and the degree of the Council of Vienne on the teaching of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, Tome 14 (1952): 1-9.

[140] It is reflected in a key Anglican apologist, Jewel's writings: 'Here are we required to shew some evidence, that in the primitive church the public service was in the Syriacal, or Arabic, or Egyptian, or any other barbarous tongue... let him [Mr Harding] read St Hierome, describing the pomp of Paula's funeral. These be his words: *Tota ad funus ejus Paloestainarum urbium turba convenit: . . . Hebroeo, Groeco, Latino, Syroque sermone, psalmi in ordine personabant*: "At her funeral all the multitude of the cities of Palestine met together. The psalms were sung in order, in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syrian tongue"'. Ayre, ed. *The Works of John Jewel*, 1: 268.

[141] The Florentine intellectual climate in the late fifteenth century is characterised by the revival of Platonic and neo-Platonic thought. The Florentine neo-Platonists sought the prophetic, poetic, mystical, and mythic origins of religion in the mysteries of the Egyptian and Persian sages rather than in the evangelical piety of the Greek Fathers. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers*, 224.

hermeneutical framework and methods of the Bible on the eve of the Reformation.[142]

The humanists committed to the Hebraist scholarship – Christian Hebraists – paid significant attention to the proper pronunciation and cantillation of Hebrew texts. What was of particular interest for them was the music of the accent motives of the biblical chant – the tunes of the Pentateuch reading.[143] During the first half of the sixteenth century three Hebraists printed the accent motives in musical notation that constituted the tune of the Pentateuch reading in the Ashkenazi communities: Johannes Reuchlin, *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae* (Hagenau, 1518): fol. 83 ff.; Sebastian Muenster, *M'lekhet ha-Diqduq / Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam* (Basel, 1524): fol. P. 2a -3a; Johannes Vallensis, *Sefer Tuv Taàm / Opus de Prosodia Hebraeorum* (Paris, 1545): fol. 12b.

The humanists call the biblical chant *Accentus musicus*; the 'Biblical accents' are inseparable from their musical motives. For a pedagogical purpose, the musical motives of the accents (accent signs) were systematised in the form of simple melodic formulae, later termed as the '*Zarqá* Tables' (after the name of the

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[142] J. Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506). F. Rosenthal, 'The Rise of Christian Hebraism in the Sixteenth Century', *Historia Judaica*, 7 (1945): 167-91.

[143] These accent motives became the ground of the tune of Pentateuch reading in the Ashkenazi communities. For further, see H. Avenary, 'The Earliest Notation of Ashkenazi Bible Chant', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 26 (1975): 132-50.

first tune of accent).[144] Accordingly, through their notations, the humanists made a decisive contribution to the preservation of the *Zarqá* motives (see fig. 9-11).[145]

Fig. 9. Johannes Reuchlin, *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae* (Hagenoae: T. Badensis, 1518): fol. 83 ff

Fig. 10. Sebastian Muenster, M'lekhet ha-Diqduq / Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam (Basel, 1524): fol. P. 2a -3a

[144] H. Avenary, *The Ashkenazi Tradition of Biblical Chant Between 1500-1900: Documentation and Musical Analysis* (Jerusalem: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1978).

[145] Figures (9-11) are reproduced from Ibid., 13-18.

SEBASTIAN MUENSTER, *M'lekheth ha-Diqduq — Institutiones Grammaticae* (fol. p. 2a–3a, Basel 1524)

Sequuntur nunc musicorum accentuum melodiæ, ne quid desit curiositati.

[*Title:*] "Following now are the melodies of the musical accents, in order not to leave the reader's curiosity unsatisfied."

[*Bottom of page 2:*] "These three begin with (the note) F" (i.e., the melodies of the three accents *Y'thiv, Pashtá* and *Qadmá* begin with the note F — and not with the note A, as mistakenly notated).

[*Bottom of page 3:*] "Some of these melodies differ from those marked down by Reuchlin in his Prosody: indeed, I myself have heard them chanted variously by Hebrew priests *(Kohanim Iuriyim).*"

INSTITVTIO HEBRAEA

AVTORE SEBAST. MVNST.

Fig. 11. Johannes Vallensis, *Sefer Tuv Taàm / Opus de Prosodia Hebraeorum.* (Paris, 1545): fol. 12b

LIBER SECVNDVS

*Sequuntur Regum ac ministrorum toni.*

נגינות מלכים

נגינות משרתים

Among the three publications of the Hebrew language and prosody, Reuchlin's book is the most excellent and authoritative in terms of intellectual scope and otherwise. As we shall see, Reuchlin's is of major significance especially in relation to the humanist rules of accentuation, yet tends to be dismissed. Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae* consists of three books: he calls the first book *ta'am* (טעם) which concerns pronunciation; the second book is *meteg* (מתג), in which Reuchlin gives twenty-seven rules (which he calls rhetorical accents) to achieve a rhetorical metre; and the last is called *neginah* (נ ג י נ ה) which he calls *Accentus musicus* - an ancient custom to chant the Pentateuch that had been handed down as a daily custom in contemporary synagogues.[146]

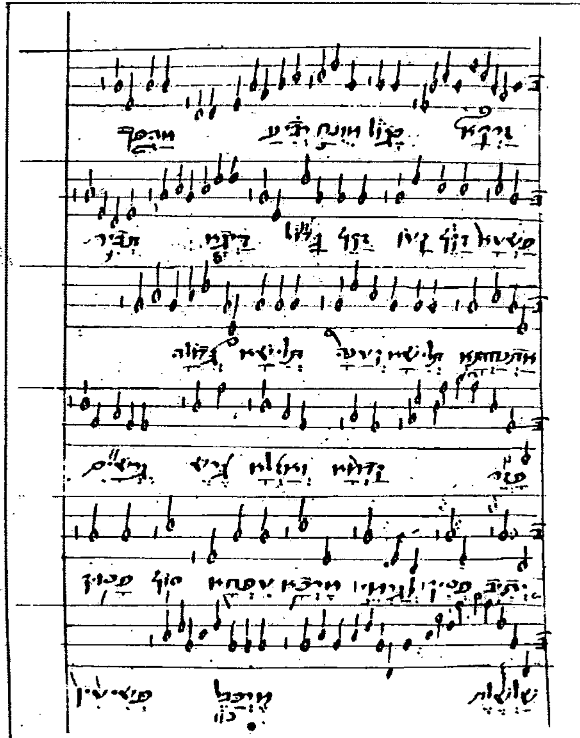
It had been assumed that the music notation in Reuchlin's book was the earliest transcription of the Pentateuch chant (see fig. 9).[147] Avenary discovered an earlier source of humanist notations of the biblical chant than this from two manuscripts in the library of Caspar Amman (c.1460-1524) of about 1511 (see fig. 12). Amman was prior of an Augustinian monastery, an enthusiastic Hebraist; he was very sympathetic to Protestant ideas and published a German translation of

[146] Cf. Hirsch, 'John Reuchlin, The Father of the Study of Hebrew among Christians', 465-66. M. Krebs, ed. *Johannes Reuchlin 1455- 1522* (Pforzheim: Im Selbstverlag der Stadt, 1955, new ed., Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994); L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin: sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1871, rpt, Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1964).

[147] See also S. A. Hirsh, 'Johann Reuchlin, the Father of the Study of Hebrew among Christians', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 8 (1896): 445-70.

the Psalter. According to Avenary's claim, the music in the manuscript was not Amman's work, but of Amman's tutor, Johannes Boeschenstein.[148]

Fig. 12. Hebrew Manuscript Munich 427, fol. Ia, Ib (from Caspar Amman's library)



Boeschenstein was a Jewish scholar renowned for his Hebrew knowledge among contemporaries. From 1518 he taught Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg under Luther's supervision;[149] he also taught Johannes Eck and Sebastian Sperantius, the Catholic opponents of Luther. Boeschenstein was an

[148] Avenary, 'The Earliest Notation of Ashkenazi Bible Chant', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 150. On Boeschenstein, see E. Werner, 'Two obscure Sources of Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae* ', *Historia Judaica*, 16 (1954), 46-54.

[149] W. Koenig, 'Luther as a student of Hebrew', *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 24 (1953): 845-53.

accomplished musician: he transcribed from oral tradition the Torah cantillation in music notation; he composed psalms and four German sacred songs, of which 'Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund' (When Jesus Stood Before the Cross) is best known.[150] He was 'one of the foremost pioneers in the Hebrew language, customs and music among the turbulent Gentile world of the Renaissance and the Reformation'.[151]

In his book of 1518, Reuchlin attributes the melody of the Pentateuch reading (rendered as the tenor-voice) to Boeschenstein.[152] That is, Boeschenstein is the one who supplied the music in Reuchlin's book as well as the Amman manuscript. The '*Zarqá*-Table' of both Reuchlin and the Amman manuscripts consist of the same 33 accents, whilst Muenster and Vallensis produce only 20, omitting *Meteg*, *Gaya*, *Maqaf*, and *Maqel* – those which are not genuine 'musical accents'.

In fact, Reuchlin had three musical assistants including Boeschenstein: according to Avenary's identification, 1) Boeschenstein (for the diatonic melody); 2) Christopher Schilling of Lucerne (for the harmonies); and 3) Diebold Schilling of Lucerne, a son of Christopher Schilling, who was in the company of Glarean.[153] As Avenary shows, there are some differences between the notation in Reuchlin's book and that in the Amman-Mss. The Amman source uses mostly two note values: a white *Minima* and white *Semininima*; only 'Sof pasuq' has the

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[150] E. Werner, 'Two obscure Sources of Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae*', *Historia Judaica*, 16 (1954): 39-54, esp. at 51-2.

[151] Ibid., 54.

[152] Avenary, 'The Earliest Notation of Ashkenazi Bible Chant', 149; H. Loewenstein, 'Eine Pentatonische Bibelweise in der Deutschen Synagoge (um 1518)', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 12 (1930): 513-26.

[153] Avenary, 'The Earliest Notation of Ashkenazi Bible Chant', 148-49.

*Semibrevis* and the conventional final Longa.[154] This is notated in Reuchlin's book as follows (see the 14th motive in Fig. 9): □ □̂ □̂.

It has been assumed that there had been two styles of the biblical chant and the humanists took the simpler style used for pedagogical purpose rather than more elaborate one for performance in the synagogue.[155] Of the three humanist notations, Reuchlin's version is of especial importance in this regard. It has a more elaborate rhythmic system than other notations. Most of the accent motives in Reuchlin's notation have the note with a pause at the end. Muenster's notation has no pause; Johannes Vallensis (1545)'s notation consists of minim and semibreve with pause. However, the main interest to modern transcribers of the *Zarqá* Table lies in its melodies not in its rhythms. For this reason, in those transcriptions, several accents - whose rhythmic patterns are different but melodies are alike - appear identical (see ex. 16).

Ex. 16. Avenary's transcription of the Zarqá Table (from 'The Earliest Notation of Ashkenazi Bible Chant', 146)

[154] Ibid., 138 (manuscript), 144.

[155] Ibid., 58-9.

*Transcription of the Amman Sources A (Cod. 426) and B (Cod. 427).*

Interestingly enough, Reuchlin includes the rhetorical accent (*meteg,* מתג) in the '*Zarqá* Tables' whilst both Muenster and Vallensis exclude it.[156] In his transcription of the *Zarqá* Tables of Reuchlin, Avenary focuses on melodies of the accents, neglecting their original rhythmic values, so that several accents appear exactly identical in terms of both rhythm and melody (for instance, nos. 19 & 25,

[156] The '*Zarqá*-Tables' of the two other humanist notations (Muenster's and Vallensis') consist of only 29, omitting Meteg, Ga'ya, Maqaf, Maqel which are not genuine 'musical accents'. For more see Avenary, 'The Earliest Notation of Ashkenazi Bible Chant', 149. For more on Reuchlin see Hirsch, 'John Reuchlin, The Father of the Study of Hebrew among Christians', 445-70.

nos. 31 & 32 in ex. 17).[157] Below (ex. 17) is a transcription notated in observance of the original rhythmic values in Reuchlin's Zarqá Table.

Ex. 17. Rhythmic patterns of Reuchlin's notation

**b. The impact of the Hebrew accents on Zarlino's theory of accentuation**

Zarlino was heavily influenced by Christian humanism. In typical terms, he gives the highest praise to Jerome amongst the patristic writers: 'the most holy and scholarly Jerome'.[158] Just as Erasmus, an exponent of Christian humanism, regarded Aaron as the first model of the Christian orator, so Zarlino regarded

[157] Avenary, *The Ashkenazi Tradition of Biblical Chant Between 1500-1900*, 13, 24-31.

[158] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 15.

Moses as the first model of the poet-composer, viz., the musical orator. In Book VIII, Chapter 13 of the *Sopplimenti musicali* (1588), Zarlino refers to Moses as 'friend of God and most ancient writer', and a poet who sang the Word of God in a perfect harmony of words and music under divine inspiration.[159]

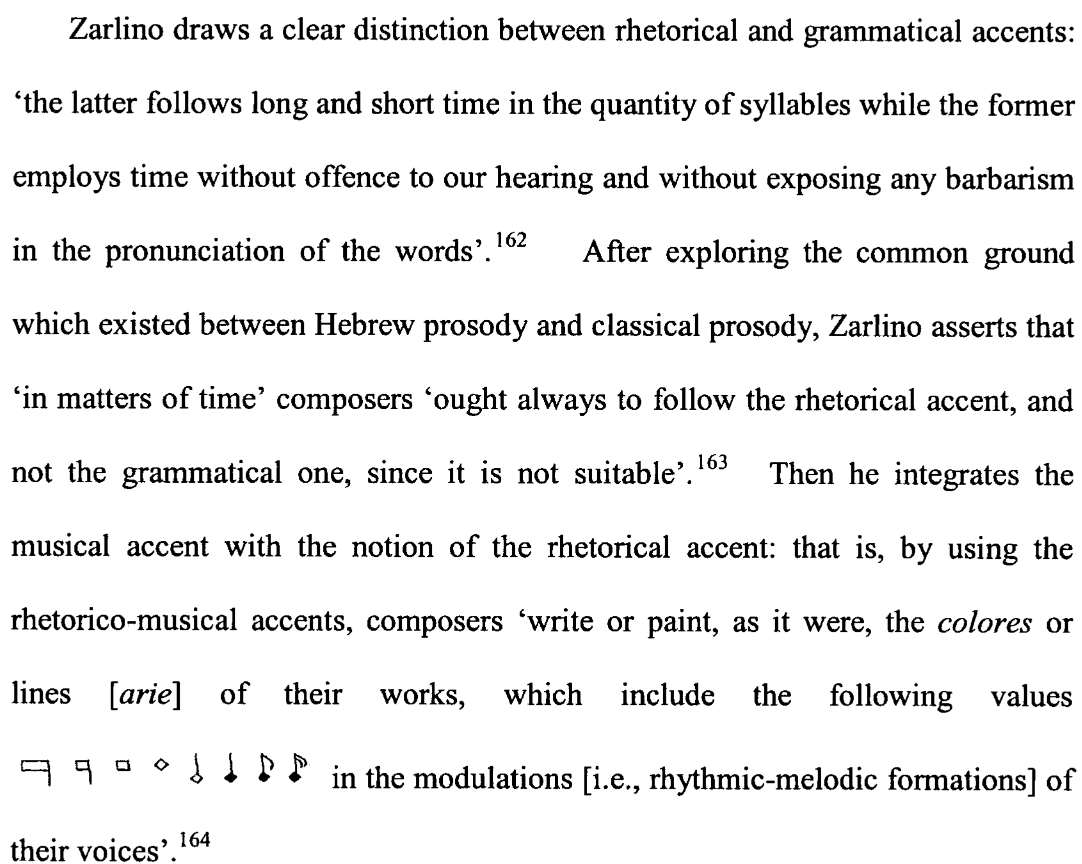
Zarlino's use of Christian humanism is best illustrated by his references to the Hebraist scholarship which the humanists achieved. In clarifying his idea of vocal composition (*melopoeia*), as well as ancient Greek music theory, Zarlino draws on the rules of Hebrew accents – the reading chant in synagogues. His knowledge of the Hebrew accents (and the modelling Moses as the poet composer) is indebted to the Christian Hebraists - Reuchlin and Muenster - concerning the accentuation and vocalisation of the biblical chant. Harrán traced the original sources (Reuchlin's and Muenster's) used by Zarlino in relation to the explanation of the Hebrew accents.[160]

In Book VIII, Chapter 13 of his *Sopplimenti musicali,* Zarlino discusses intensively three kinds of Hebrew accent: grammatical, rhetorical, and musical accents. The use of these accents is confined to the practice of the biblical chant in

[159] G. Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice: F. de' Franceschi Senese, 1588. Facs. ed., Ridgewood, New Jersey: Gregg, 1967), 323. Harrán's translation, see his *In Search of Harmony*, 7-8. 'Regarding the musical accent, they say that Moses, friend of God and most ancient writer was the one who taught how to drive the happiness conceived by the mind into certain joints and limbs with sounds free from vanity. Thus any mortal being, after having pondered the beneficence and magnitude of God, and feeling full of happiness, with all his senses about him, would, as from an overplentiful source, erupt in contorsions of the body with the song of his voice and with those artful movements of the tongue in which music truly consists, to offer clear and abundant praise to the majesty, the omnipotence, the wisdom and the benignity of the Highest Maker'.

[160] See, Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 4, 199. See also 'Johann Reuchlin, the Father of the Study of Hebrew among Christians', 466.

synagogues. Zarlino notes that 'they [the priests] call the grammatical accent *ta'am* (טעם), i.e., 'taste', for the pronunciation of every word requires it. It makes the voice sound more emphatic. Then they call the rhetorical accent *meteg* (מתג), i.e., 'retention' or 'retardation' or 'brake', for with it they come to deliver words elegantly. As to the musical accent, they call it *neginah* (נגינה), i.e., 'harmony', for by using it they come to deliver words with melody'.[161]

Zarlino draws a clear distinction between rhetorical and grammatical accents: 'the latter follows long and short time in the quantity of syllables while the former employs time without offence to our hearing and without exposing any barbarism in the pronunciation of the words'.[162] After exploring the common ground which existed between Hebrew prosody and classical prosody, Zarlino asserts that 'in matters of time' composers 'ought always to follow the rhetorical accent, and not the grammatical one, since it is not suitable'.[163] Then he integrates the musical accent with the notion of the rhetorical accent: that is, by using the rhetorico-musical accents, composers 'write or paint, as it were, the *colores* or lines [*arie*] of their works, which include the following values  in the modulations [i.e., rhythmic-melodic formations] of their voices'.[164]

Thus, the Hebrew notion of accentuation was essentially helpful to Zarlino's formulating the rules of text placement. Similar interest in the Hebrew

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[161] Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali*, 322-23; Harrán's translation, *In Search of Harmony*, 5.

[162] Zarlino, Ibid., 323; Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 7, see also 161-62.

[163] Zarlino, Ibid., 323; Harrán, Ibid., 17. There had been attempts to systematize Hebrew prosody as a parallel of the Greek pattern in the sixteenth century. Cf. Werner, 'Two obscure Sources of Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae*', 41-2.

[164] Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 162.

accentuation and the biblical chant may be traced amongst contemporaries. For instance, Guidetti's proportional notation, which is famous for its unprecedented note forms, is of interest with regard to this: strikingly, there is some morphological affinity between Guidetti's notation (see ex. 2) and Reuchlin's notation ( ◊ □ □ □ ).[165] No documentary evidence suggests that Guidetti read Reuchlin's book of 1518 and the peculiar note forms ( ■ ■ ) derived from the notes of Reuchlin's. Given the strategy for the text which underlay his chant book, however, it is highly probable that Guidetti consulted one of the most famous humanists in treating accentuation matters for some concrete guidance.

**c. Rhetorical and Musical Accents in *BCPN***

Reuchlin was greatly admired by key English humanists such as Thomas More and John Fisher - both were close friends of Erasmus.[166] Fisher introduced Hebraic studies into a college curriculum at Cambridge in the second decade of sixteenth century.[167] An examination of the teaching facilities provided by

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[165] Werner assumes that the nucleus of the world-famous collection of Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican was provided by the Florentine nobleman Gianozzo Manetti who began to study Hebrew with a Jew (about 1450), and succeeded in interesting Popes Nicholas V and Sixtus IV in the pursuit of Hebrew studies. Werner, 'Two obscure Sources of Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae*', 39-40.

[166] Cf. C. Zika, 'Reuchlin and Erasmus: Humanism and Occult Philosophy', *Journal of Religious History*, 9 (1977): 223-46; W. L. Gundersheimer, 'Erasmus, humanism, and the Christian Cabala', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 26 (1963): 38-52; J. Rouschausse, *Erasmus and Fisher: their Correspondence 1511-1524* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1968), Letter 3; 45.

[167] Fisher was elected Vice-Chancellor of the university in 1501. The statutes of St John's college, first drawn up by Fisher himself and revised in 1524 and 1530, give a prominent

universities, schools and private households in Tudor England shows the increasing interest of Hebraic studies among English Christians.[168] This development of Hebrew scholarship in Tudor England is most readily identified within the Protestant humanist circles that were keen on the study of the Bible in its original languages.[169]

Merbecke was acquainted with the Hebrew scholarship cultivated by the humanists. His commonplace book functions partly as an etymological dictionary (Greek, Latin, and Hebrew), according to the humanist trend. Under the *loci* 'Man', for instance, Merbecke quotes Traheron's discussion 'of two Hebrew words that signifie man'.[170] Merbecke's commonplace book also contains exegeses of famous contemporary Christian Hebraists such as Theodor

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place to the study of Hebrew in the curriculum. On Hebrew scholarship and education in sixteenth-century England, see G. L. Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England:A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), esp. see 97-8. Cf. J. E. B. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1859), 375.

[168] On Hebrew scholarship and education in sixteenth-century England, see G. L. Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England.*

[169] Rosenthal, 'The Rise of Christian Hebraism in the Sixteenth Century', 187; Hirsch, 'John Reuchlin, The Father of the Study of Hebrew among Christians', 467-8. Cf. A. Schper, 'Christian Hebraists in Sixteenth-Century England', unpublished Ph.D. diss. (London University, 1944); F. Rosenthal, 'Robert Wakefield and the Beginnings of Biblical Study in Tudor England', *Crozer Quarterly*, 29 (1952): 173-80; D. Karpman, 'William Tyndale's Response to the Hebraic Tradition', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 14 (1967): 110-30; G. Hammond, 'William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew original', *RQ*, 33 (1980): 351-85; Z. F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's Knowledge of Hebrew', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 36 (1935): 392-96.

[170] Merbecke, *A Booke of Notes and Common place*, 661-62. See also 'Jehovah' (519-20) and 'Jewes' (522-25) in Merbecke's commonplace book. Bartholomew Traheron (1510-c.1558): politician and reformer, he became the King's Librarian in 1549 and later a canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor.

Bibliander.[171] As argued in the first chapter, Merbecke knew Latin; there is no evidence that he studied any Hebrew or Greek primer or relevant books. Yet his enthusiasm for the humanist exegeses hints that he must have learned those classical languages at least at an elementary level and known directly or indirectly the instructions of Reuchlin, alongside Erasmus's.

As observed in the previous section, Merbecke's notation is evidence of the way humanist rules of accentuation operate in chant music. Modelled on the accentual and syntactical properties of speech, his chant was notated in proportional durations, with the consideration of stress of words. In relation to the duration of syllables, there are two interesting points in *BCPN* that need more explanation.

One is that throughout *BCPN* Merbecke uses the note of 'a close', viz., virga with pause. As explained in the preface, the 'close' note appears at the end of verse; an exception is in the 'Sanctus' at the Communion. These treatments of the note with pause are not so impressive for modern readers, and it is not of importance what the function of this note was. It is however distinctive, using

[171] Theodor Bibliander (c.1504-1564): linguist, theologian and scholar. One of the great Hebraists in the early Reformed churches. He has been called the father of exegetical theology in Switzerland. In addition to writing numerous commentaries on the prophets, he published a Hebrew grammar for beginners in 1535, and in 1542, a complete Hebrew grammar. He also published historical studies and produced studies on the New Testament. Bibliander completed his translation of the Old Testament into Latin. He has been called an Erasmian, a proto-Arminian, and a universalist. See, J. W. Baker, 'Bibiander', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 1: 171-72.

the note at the end of the verse throughout the chant, and most important of all, it is evidence of the oratorical and rhetorical features of Merbecke's chant.[172]

As to Merbecke's careful treatment of final syllables, it is significant to note that Quintilian was sensitive to degrees of length in final syllables.[173] Quintilian emphasises the importance of the final syllable in discussing the four features of *pronuntiatio*, especially in relation to clarity: 'many people fail to carry through the final syllables because they over-emphasize the earlier ones'.[174] The use of the pause at the end of a verse is a general characteristic of the humanist settings of classical odes; and it does characterise Reuchlin's notation of the biblical chant and also Merbecke's.[175]

It is for the same purpose – a rhetorical purpose that in addition to 29 musical accents, Reuchlin includes the rhetorical accent (*meteg,* מתג) - 'retention' in the Zarqa Table, to deliver words elegantly. The rhythmic formula of the *meteg* is unique among the 33 motives: □ 𝄐□ . This rhythmic formula of the rhetorical accent appears throughout *BCPN*, which may explain why Merbecke painstakingly uses the close note at the end of a verse.

The other interesting point is that the four note-shapes given in the preface of *BCPN* convey a reduction of the normal note values, as noted earlier. It is here important to draw attention to Zarlino's understanding of the three Hebrew

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[172] A note form with pause is used by Guidetti; but the duration of Guidetti's breve with pause (*Brevis sub semicirculo cum puncto*) corresponds to that of Merbecke's strene note.

[173] *CWE*, 26: 426.

[174] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI. iii. 33, tr. Russell, 5: 101.

[175] It is important here to be aware of the humanist efforts to make a parallel between Greek prosody and Hebrew, and in some cases, the Hebrew theory of accentuation is entirely misunderstood. For instance, see Werner, 'Two Obscure Sources of Reuchlin's…', 41-2.

accents, premised on the 'divergent conceptions of time'. Harrán summarises the key point of Zarlino's discussion as follows: the composer following the grammatical accent confines his rhythms to two durations, the long and the breve (ᒣ □), which indicates an 'absolute' measurement of long and short durations according to their corresponding note values. A typical example of the composition according to the grammatical accent is Tritonius' setting of Horatian odes (see ex. 18).[176] On the other hand, the composer following the rhetorical accent chooses from any of the eight note values, lining them up in pairs of longs and shorts (ᒣ/□, □/◊, ◊/𝅗𝅥 etc.) or in freer groupings, which indicates a 'relative' distinction between longs and shorts according to their rhythmic context.[177]

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[176] As Harrán observes, in Zarlino's discussion of the grammatical accent, it is not clearly specified whether the accent is of a quantitative or qualitative variety. Zarlino quotes Jerome who claims to have discovered in the Bible not metres but 'oratorical number' which is not according to the measure of durations but according solely to the usages of inflections. Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 32-3.

[177] This point is elaborated in Book II, Chapter 16 of the *Sopplimenti*: 'In this regard, some of little understanding [viz., those who insist on following the grammatical accent – Ed.] claim that in Part III, Chapter 49 of the *Istitutioni* I was mistaken to have indicated long and short time separately with different notes, namely, the former with the note □ , which they call a breve, and the latter with the note ◊ , which they call a semibreve, or moreover, to have indicated the long with the semibreve ◊ and the short with 𝅗𝅥 , the minim. In their opinion, long time ought to be indicated with the note ᒣ , which they call a long, and short time with the note □ , the breve, in order for the names of the notes to designate the time they signify and for the notes to correspond to their names. As if these notes, ᒣ □ ◊ 𝅗𝅥 , by relation or comparison, were not double each other in their time, that is, the larger one following a smaller one, as with the long following the breve, the latter the semibreve and, likewise, the semibreve the minim! Or as if any of them could not be applied to any particular long or short time, with the notes following each other in order and the one and other of their durations measured by a common time unit!' Harrán's translation, *In Search of Harmony*, 162-63.

Ex. 18. Tritonius' setting of Horatian odes (Augsburg, 1507)[178]



Merbecke's reduction of normal note values - the flexible treatment of the notes - aims at obtaining greater rhythmic freedom and a closer union with the text. It implies the precept of the rhetorical accent in Zarlino's terms determined by rhythmic context of the text. Merbecke's setting of the Lord's Prayer at the Communion is a good example to illustrate this (ex. 11).

What is of particular interest in relation to the humanist notations of the Hebrew biblical chant is 'The Offertories' set to sixteen biblical passages - Merbecke's own compositions. The musical accents of the Hebrew biblical chant

[178] Reproduced from Harrán, *In Search of Harmony*, 163; Harrán quotes the first two of four phrases from Liliencron, ''Die Horazischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts', 69.

as well as the rhetorical accent (*meteg*) may be traced in the sixth chant of the Offertories (ex. 19).[179] Other chants in the Offertories may also contain some of the musical accents (ex. 20).[180]

Ex. 19. The sixth chant of 'The Offertories'

Who goeth a warfare at any tyme
at his owne cost? who planteth a vyne yarde,
and eateth not of ÿ fruite therof? or who feedeth
a flocke, & eateth not of the milke of the flocke.
i. Cor. ix.

[179] No.13 the Zarqá Table: 'who goeth a warfare at any tyme at his owne cost'; no. 5: 'who plan-teth a vyne yarde'; no. 33: 'or who feed-eth a'.), the Zarqá Table) Other chants which may contain some of the musical accents are:

[180] The first chant (no. 1 & 2: 'that they may se your good workes and glorifie'); the second (no.10: lay not vp for your selues'; no. 16 & 17: but lay vp for your selues'); the fourth (no. 15: 'to the kyngdome of heauen, but he'); the fifth (no.22: 'be hold lorde'; no. 1 & 2: 'and if I haue done any wrong to a-ny man'); the eleventh (no.7: 'Charge them which', 'agaynst the tyme to come that they may'; no. 33: 'they be re-dy to geue and'); the fourteenth (no. 15: 'do thy diligence'; nos. 17 & 21: 'for so gatherest thou thy selfe a good reward').

Ex. 20. The musical accents in 'The Offertories'

Et your light so shyne before Mat. v.
men, that they may se your good workes and
glorifie your father which is in heauen.

a. The first chant (Mat. v)

b. The second chant (Mat. vi).

Ay not vp for your selues treasure Mat. vi.
L. s. vpon

vpon the earth where the rust and mothe
doth corrupt, and where theues breake throw
and steale: but lay vp for your selues
treasure in heauen, where neither rust nor
mothe doth corrupt, and where theues do
not breake through nor steale.
Whatsoeuer

c. The fourth chant (Mat. vii)

Ot euery one that saithe vnto me,
lorde, lorde, shall entre in to the kyngdome of Mat. vii.
L. ij. heauen,

heauen, but he that doth the will of my father which
is in heauen.

d. The fifth chant (Luke xix)

Zache stode forth, and sayde vnto the
Luc. xix.
lorde, behold lorde, the halfe of my goodes I
geue to the poore, and if I haue done any
wrong to any man, I restore foure fold.
Who

e. The eleventh chant (I Timo. vi)

Charge theim which are riche in
this worlde that they be redy to geue and
glad to distribute, layng vp in store for theim
selfes a good foundacion, agaynst the tyme to
come, that they may attayne eternall life.
God

f. The fourteenth chant (Job. iiii)

Be mercyfull after thy power if
thou hast muche geue plenteously, if thou hast
Tho. iiij. little

little, do thy diligence gladly to geue of that
litle, for so gatherest thou thy selfe a good
reward, in the day of necessitie.

# 3. The Ethos of Modes in *The booke of Common praier noted*

## Mode Ethos

One of the major concerns of musical humanism lies in the revival of ancient modal theory, particularly the classical doctrine of modes, mode ethos.[181] Medieval music theorists had discussed the ethos of modes in their treatises.[182] As demonstrated by Palisca, however, humanist music theorists and composers were most enthusiastic about mode ethos and applied it exhaustively to the music practice of their time.[183] The humanist ideal of music grounded in the doctrine of mode ethos is well presented in the *Utopia* of Thomas More:

> In one respect, however, they are beyond doubt far ahead of us, because all their music, both vocal and instrumental, renders and expresses natural feelings, and perfectly matches the sound to the subject. Whether the words of the prayer are supplicatory, cheerful, serene, troubled, mournful or angry, the music represents the meaning through the contour of the melody so admirably that it stirs up, penetrates and inflames the minds of the hearers.[184]

[181] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I.x.32-3.

[182] For the medieval theorists such as Guido d'Arezzo and Jerome of Moravia on the ethos of modes, see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought*, 54-59.

[183] C. V. Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance', in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, eds. L. Lockwood et al. (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990): 126-39. See also B. Meier, 'Rhetorical Aspects of the Renaissance Modes', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115 (1990): 182-90.

[184] 'Verum una in re haud dubio longo nos intervallo praecellunt, quod omnis eorum musica, sive quae personatur organis, sive quam voce modulantur humana, ita naturales affectus imitatur et exprimit, ita sonus accommodatur ad rem, seu deprecantis oratio sit seu laeta, placabilis, turbida, lugubris, irata, ita rei sensum quendam melodiae forma repraesentat, ut animos auditorum mirum in modum adficiat, penetret, incendat'. T. More, *Utopia*: *Latin*

Indeed, humanists were convinced that the choice of an appropriate mode to the content of the text was crucial to write a rhetorical or poetical music. As Giovanni del Lago stresses in the *Breve introduttione di musica misurata* (Venice, 1540), the first thing a composer should do is to study the text or other subject and on that basis choose the mode of the composition.[185] However, neither among classical writers nor humanists was there perfect agreement over the ethos of modes and their choice for musical composition. For example, as shown by the table drawn in Gaffurius' *Harmonia instrumentalis* (1518) and Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547), the two key music humanists had different opinions of the ethos of modes.[186]

Table 2. The Ethos of Modes

| | Classical | Gaffurius 1518 | Glarean 1547 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mode 1 Dorian | majestic, masculine, steadfast | constant, severe; moves phlegm | majestic and serious |
| Mode2 Hypodorian | haughty, pompous, confident | slow, slothful, sluggish | serious, forbidding, submissive |
| Mode 3 Phrygian | exciting, martial | incites to anger, war | mournful, suitable to laments |
| Mode 4 Hypophrygian | austere; appeases anger | quiet, grave; calm excited | melancholy, plaintive |
| Mode 5 Lydian | funeral, sad, convivial | weeping, lamenting | harsh and dignified |
| Mode 6 Hypolydian | Bacchic, intoxicating | tearful, lamenting | pleasing, not elegant |
| Mode 7 Mixolydian | threnodic, lamenting | exciting, withdrawn | tranquil |
| Mode 8 Hypomixolydian | | sublime, free of corruption | natural charm, sweetness |

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*Text and English Translation*, eds. R. M. Adams, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 238-39.

[185] Quoted in Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance', 126.

[186] This table is based on Palisca's, with a slight revision of Glarean's section. Palisca also offers a table of the medieval ecclesiastical tradition of mode ethos. See his article, 132. Gaffurius uses the term tonus exclusively in his discussion of the 8 modes (see chapter 7, *Practica musicae*); Glarean uses *modus* for this, reserving tonus for the interval of a whole tone (Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, tr. Miller, 1: 19).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mode 9 Aeolian | | | serious and pleasant |
| Mode 10 Hypoaeolian | | | |
| Mode 11 Ionian | | | agreeable, sweet, suitable for dancing |
| Mode 12 Hypoionian | | | |

The humanist pragmatic approach to mode ethos reached its climax in 'the extremely text-sensitive polyphonic style' in the second half of sixteenth century; it is clear in their monophonic music composition too. Merbecke's chant is a good example of this, as will be seen. In fact, in previous studies, modes in *BCPN* have seldom received the attention they merit. Scholars identified the Psalm Tones Merbecke adopted for some of his chants which all belong to the metrical section.[187] None has however suggested any further idea concerning modes in the remaining section of *BCPN*. The fundamental reason for the difficulty in explaining Merbecke's use of modes is that one is bound to consider modes in *BCPN* in terms of traditional plainchant modes. As will be argued, however, the humanist characteristic of *BCPN* lies not only in its text placement but in its modes.

For the texts of the metrical sections, Merbecke uses the traditional Psalm Tones (see table 3). All five psalms in *BCPN* are set to the same Tone – Tone

[187] For example, see Helmore, *Plainsong*, 56-57: *Venite Exultemus*, 8th Tone (Matins & Evensong); *Benedictus Dominus* I, 5th Tone; *Benedictus Dominus* II, 8th Tone; *Magnificat* I, 1st Tone; *Magnificat* II, 8th Tone; *Nunc dimittis* I, 5th Tone; *Nunc dimittis* II, 7th Tone; *Benedicite*; *Quicunque vult*, 4th Tone.

8.[188] The emotional attribute of the each Psalm Tone which Merbecke must have known is described in the preface of Matthew Parker's *The whole Psalter translated into English Metre* (1567). Here, Parker discusses 'the Conjunction of Psalmes and tunes' (sig. VV2v – VV3r), with verses on 'The nature of the eyght tunes' (sig. VV4r):

> The first is meeke: devout to see,
> The second sad: in majesty.
> The third doth rage: and roughly brayth,
> The fourth doth fawne: and flattry playth,
> The fyth delighteth: and laugheth the more,
> The sixt bewayleth: it weepeth full sore,
> The seventh tredeth stoute: in forward race,
> The eyghte goeth milde: in modest pace.[189]

As stressed by Zim, this Psalter reveals Parker's humanist moral and scholarly concerns in ways which can be regarded as representative of many other psalmists' attitudes in sixteenth-century England. Its preface provides a list of the resources indicating the humanist preference for patristic authorities and

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[188] Psalm 1 Introit for Advent I (fol. I 4 verso); Psalm 6 Introit for Ash Wednesday (fol. E 1 verso); Psalm 42 Introit for burial communion (fol. R 4 verso); Psalm 95 *Venite* at matins (fol. B 2 recto); Psalm 116 Burial services (fol. R 2 verso). See Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, 59. In *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), Thomas Morley shows psalm chanting in all eight tones. T. Morley, *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: P.Short, 1597), ed. R. A. Harman (London: Dent, 1952), 249-52.

[189] Cited in R. Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer 1535-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 293. According to Walther, Luther himself selected the eighth tone for the Epistle and the sixth for the Gospel, saying that 'Christ is a friendly and charming Lord, hence we shall take the sixth tone for the Gospel. Since St Paul is a very serious-minded apostle, we shall use the eighth tone for The Epistle'. Cited in Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 95-6.

contemporary Christian Hebraists.[190] Merbecke shared all this enthusiasm, as discussed earlier; above all, his full awareness of the humanist rules of accentuation suggests his acquaintance with the most up-to-date discourse of modes within the humanist music circles of his day. Remarkably, as will become clear, Merbecke applied Glarean's new modal theory to his chant, under the humanist consideration of the ethos of modes.[191] Before examining Merbecke's choice of modes, therefore, it is essential to observe the key points of Glarean's modal theory relevant to *BCPN*.

## The Rhetorical Use of Modes in *The booke of Common praier noted*

As is well known, Glarean is a major contributor to the development of modal study in the sixteenth century. His *Dodecachordon* aims at establishing a modal

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[190] Zim, *English Metrical Psalms*, 136.

[191] At this point, I disagree with Wilson who notes that, of the musical treatises issued in the 1540s and 1550s - Heyden (1540), Glarean (1547), Coclico (1552), and Finck (1556) - 'all but Glarean's were conceived as music tutors within Protestant humanist circles'. B. M. Wilson, "*Ut oratoria musica* in the Writings of Renaissance Music Theorists", in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. T. J. Mathiesen & B. V. Rivera (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995): 341-68, at 351. Despite the disagreement between Protestant humanists and Catholic humanists in various doctrinal matters, as has been seen throughout this thesis, both shared the same scholarly concerns in many other matters. Like Erasmus, though Glarean remained within the Catholic Church throughout his life, his superb scholarship in various subjects including music were influential on contemporary and later generations, independently of their religious views. Glarean is generally regarded as an advocate of 'nationalist' humanist visions which contributed to the development of national identities and vernacular literature. Cf. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 52.

system by adding the following four modes to the traditional chant modes: the Aeolian, the Ionian, and their respective plagal modes, the Hypoaeolian and Hypoionian.[192] Glarean's discussion of the 12 mode system inspired by ancient Greek modal theory takes into a serious consideration its ethical and emotional associations, with practical applications. In doing so, as shown by the above table, Glarean presents his own view on the inherent ethical-emotional characteristics of modes.

One of the most distinctive features of Glarean's modal theory lies in his particular attention to the relation of B-flat to the Dorian and Lydian modes. Before Glarean, the Dorian mode with a B-flat had been regarded as a form of the first mode and the Lydian mode with a B-flat as a form of the fifth mode. With respect to this, Glarean argues that the consistent use of B-flat in the Dorian results in a different octave arrangement which he called Aeolian, and that B-flat in the Lydian produced the Ionian in the same manner. According to Glarean, these modes using B-flat as a key signature should be considered as a transposed Aeolian and a transposed Ionian, respectively; the former fits the A-a range of the Aeolian and the latter the C-c range of the Ionian. Glarean applies the principles of key signature to both plainchant and polyphonic music.[193]

Returning to *BCPN*, Merbecke often uses B flat as a key signature in the Dorian and Lydian modes, which indicates a transposed mode respectively. A table to show his choice of modes is below (table 3). As Donahue states in her doctoral thesis, indeed, 'throughout his adaptations modal phrases give way to

[192] Zarlino discusses this twelve modal theory without reference to Glarean.

[193] Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, tr. Miller, 1: 19-23.

diatonic passages. He thus loses the modal character at times and destroys the subtle cantonisation of modal constructions'.[194]

Table 3. Modes in *BCPN*

***Mattins***
Venite Exultemus, 8th Tone

Te Deum Laudamus, Mode 3

Benedictus Dominus I, 5th Tone

Benedictus Dominus II, 8th Tone

***Evensong***
Venite Exultemus, 8th Tone

Magnificat I, 1st Tone

Magnificat II, 8th Tone

Nunc dimittis I, 5th Tone

Nunc dimittis II, 7th Tone

***Benedicite*** (For the time of Lent in the place of Te Deum), transposed mode 9

***Quiqunque vult***, 4th Tone

***At the Communion***
Introit, 8th Tone

Kyrie (transposed mode 11)

Gloria in excelsis (Mode 4)

Creed (transposed mode 9)

The Offertories

1 (Mat. v) - mode 2

2 (Mat. vi) - mode 1

3 (Math. vii) - mode 8

4 (Mat. vii) - mode 2

5 (Luc xix) - transposed mode 9

6 (1 Cor. ix) - mode 6

7 (1 Cor. ix) - mode 8-3

8 (2 Cor. ix) - mode 7

9 (Gala. vi) - mode 1

[194] Donahue, 'From Latin to English: Plainsong in Tudor England', 142.

10 (1 Timo. vi) - mode 8

11 (1 Timo. vi) - mode 1

12 (Hebre. vi; Hebre. xiii) - mode 8

13 (1 John iii; Toby iv) - mode 10

14 (Toby iv) - mode 1

15 (Prov. xix) - mode 2

16 (Psalm xli) - mode 10

Sanctus - mode 2

Lord's Prayer

Agnus Dei - mode 1

The Post Communions

1. Mat. xvi/ Mar. xiii – mode 4
2. Luke i – mode 1
3. Luke xii – mode 2
4. Luke xii – mode 12
5. John iiii – transposed mode 11
6. John v – transposed mode 9
7. John viii/ xii – mode 7
8. John xiii/xiiii – mode 8
9. John xv – transposed mode 11
10. Rom viii – mode 12
11. Rom viii – mode 1
12. Rom xiii – transposed mode 9
13. I Cor. 1 – mode 8
14. I Cor iii – mode 7
15. Cor. Vi – mode 8
16. Eph, v – mode 1

***At the Burial of the dead***

Response 1 - mode 8

Response 2 - mode 8

Response 3 - mode 8 → mode 2

Response 4 - mode 1 → mode 3

***At the communion when there is a Buriall***

Kyrie – mode 3

The Collect

Agnus Dei – mode 8

The Creed of the Communion and responses in the Burial of the Dead are of particular importance in relation to mode ethos. Merbecke's approach is closer to Glarean than Gaffurius in choosing a mode for a certain occasion, as will be seen. Glarean defines the characteristic of transposed Aeolian (D scale including a B flat) as 'wonderfully pleasing' whilst the Dorian (the same scale using the B natural) has greater dignity. As shown by the table, Merbecke uses the transposed Aeolian for the Creed and several biblical passages of The Offertories and The Post-Communions which convey the emotion of conviction and resolution.

**a. Creed (*At the Communion*)**

In contrast to the traditional chant usage, Merbecke provides music for the whole text of the Creed in *BCPN*.[195] Alongside the Gloria, indeed, music for the prose Creed is the peak of *BCPN*; it is delivered with the most elaborate melodies corresponding to the textual meaning.[196] The Creed is set in the pentatonic scale, and echoes several musical accents of the Hebrew biblical chant (nos. 13/15/20). The pentatonic scale often includes semitones for the 'unstressed transition notes', which is so characteristic of the sixteenth-century humanist notations of the Hebrew chant.

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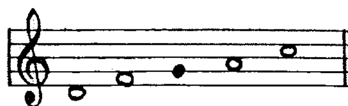
[195] Merbecke gives the full text of the Apostles' Creed, while the first Prayer Book does not do so. Cf. Leaver, ed. *The Booke of Common Prayer Noted*, 32. For more on the omission of the Credo at medieval liturgical performance, see Ch. II, 155, esp. footnote 151.

[196] In this respect, Luther's *Deudsche Messe* is different from *BCPN*.

Ex. 21. The Pentatonic Scale (built on a tertian chain)



In observing the pattern of the pentatonic scale, what is of particular importance in relation to Merbecke's Creed is a tertian chain on which the pentatonic scale is built (see ex. 21).[197] Avenary repeats Sachs' emphasis that 'the melodic span of the tertian chain comprises both the minor and the major triad (D-F-A and F-A-C, respectively)', which results in the impression of 'hovering between major and minor'.[198] The same modal effect is detected by Perkins in William Byrd's music: in his review of Kerman's *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, Perkins remarks on the 'commixtures in the *Gradualia* of D Dorian for text phrases referring to earthly matters and F Lydian for celestial things'.[199]

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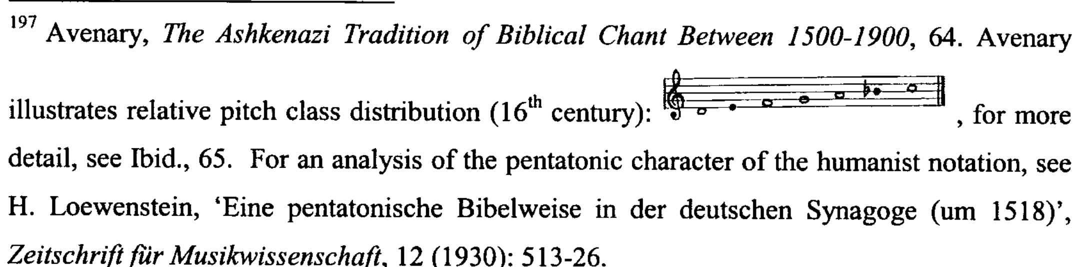
[197] Avenary, *The Ashkenazi Tradition of Biblical Chant Between 1500-1900*, 64. Avenary illustrates relative pitch class distribution (16th century):  , for more detail, see Ibid., 65. For an analysis of the pentatonic character of the humanist notation, see H. Loewenstein, 'Eine pentatonische Bibelweise in der deutschen Synagoge (um 1518)', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 12 (1930): 513-26.

[198] C. Sachs, 'The Road to Major', *MQ*, 29 (1934): 381-404.

[199] L. L Perkins, *MQ*, 70 (1984): 134-49, at 137. J. Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981). I thank Dr. K. McCarthy for the information on Perkins and for letting me read her paper before publication, given at The Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (Institut für Musikwissenschaft Weimar-Jena in der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Germany, 31 July - 3 August, 2003); K. McCarthy, '"Notes as a garland": the Chronology and Narrative of Byrd's *Gradualia*', *Early Music History*, 23 (2003): 49-84.

Merbecke's Creed illustrates an earlier excellent application of this 'rhetorical use of the modes'. That is, the hovering between major and minor is clear in the Creed: the divine - creation, incarnation, resurrection, ascension, etc. – is mostly set in major (see bold characters, in the texts of the Creed) whilst the human - crucifixion, burial, worldly things, etc. – is in minor. The inward shifting of major-minor modes is based on A - the note to determine the pentatonic character of the Hebrew biblical chant.[200] Merbecke also uses the technique of word-painting in words and phrases ('buried', 'arose', 'ascended in to heauen', 'the resurrection of the deade'). In the Creed, the *close* note (virga with pause) appears only twice except in the first and last phrases: 'And I belieue one Catholike and Apostolike Churche'; 'and I loke for the resurrection of the dead'.

> I believe in one God.
> **The Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth**, and of all things visible, and invisible: **And in one Lord Jesu Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father** before all worlds, **God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made**, being of one substance with the Father, **by whom all things were made, who for us men**, and for our salvation, **came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man**, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried, **and the third day he arose a gain** according to the scriptures, **and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father** (whose kingdome shall haue none ende): **and he shall come again with glory**, to judge both the quick and the dead.
>
> **And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, who with the Father and the Son together**, is worshipped and glorified, **who spake by the prophets**. And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church. **I acknowledge one Baptism**, for the remission of sins. **And I look for the resurrection of the dead**: and the life of the world to come. Amen.

[200] Avenary, *The Ashkenazi Tradition of Biblical Chant Between 1500-1900*, 65.

Ex. 22. Creed (*At the Communion*), *BCPN*, fols. K2 verso - L1 recto.

# The Crede.

Beleue in one God. The father almightie maker of heauen and earth, and of all thynges visible, and inuisible: And in one lorde Jesu Christ, the onely begot- ten

ten sonne of God, begotten of his father before all worldes. God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten not made, beyng of one substaunce with the father, by whome all thynges were made, who for vs men, and for our saluacion, came downe from heauen, K. iii. and

and was incarnate by the holy ghost, of the virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for vs, vnder Poncius Pilate he suffred and was buried, and the third daye he arose agayne accordyng to the scrip- tures, and ascended in to heauen, and sitteth at

at the ryght hand of the father, whose kyng- dome shall haue none ende: and he shall come agayne with glorye to Judge bothe the quicke and the deade. And I beleue in the holy ghoste, the lorde and geuer of life, who procedeth from the father and the sonne, who

who with the father and the sonne together,
is worshipped and glorified, who spake by
the prophetes. And I beleue one Ca-
tholike and Apostolike Churche. I ac-
knowlege one baptisme, for the remission of
synnes. And I loke for the resurrection of the
deade:

deade: and the life of the worlde to come. Amen.

**b. The Burial of the Dead**[201]

Interestingly, the setting for the burial of the dead begins with the woodblock initial of 'the birth of Christ', which appears only here. The text of the first response is the message of eternal life proclaimed by the risen Christ (see the text below). For this response, Merbecke chooses the Hypo-mixolydian mode whose character is defined as 'natural charm and sweetness' by Glarean (see table 2). The text of the second response concerns the believers' hope of, and conviction in, the resurrection, and it is also set in the Hypo-mixolydian mode. The third response is divided into two, as indicated by the rubric (red colour). The first part of it is set in the same Hypo-mixolydian mode as the previous two responses; but Merbecke uses 'the Hypo-dorian mode' that has the lowest octave range for the second part – that is, for the music 'while the Corps is made ready to be layed into

[201] In this section, some rubrics (see shadowed ones) which are not printed in *BCPN* are quoted from the 1549 *Clerk's book.*

the earth'. This change of modes signifies the change of liturgical gesture and mood, as indicated by the rubric (ex. 23):[202]

At the buriall
of the dead.
Respons.
I am the re-
surrection and
ẏ life saith the
lorde, he that beleueth in me, yea, though

Fig.13. The first woodblock initial, *At the Burial of the dead*

Ex. 23. The change of mode in the third response, *At the Burial of the dead* (*BCPN*)

The priest meeting the corpse at the church stile, shall say: Or else the priests and clerks shall sing, and so go either into the church, or towards the grave.

[202] The texts of the responses are from J. Ketley, *The Two Liturgies, A.D.1549, and A.D. 1552: with other Documents set forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI.* The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), 144-45.

Response 1 - mode 8

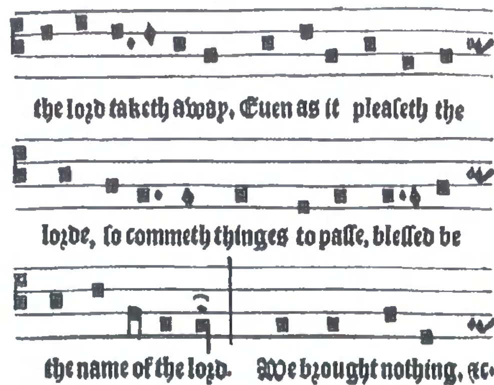
I am the resurrection and the life (saith the Lord): he that beliveth in me, yea though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall not die for ever (John xi).

Response 2 - mode 8

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the last day, and shall be covered again with my skin, and shall see God in my flesh: yea and I myself shall behold him, not with other but with these same eyes (Job xix).

Response 3. mode 8 ➔ mode 2

We brought nothing into this world, neither may we carry any thing out of this world. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away. Even as it pleaseth the Lord, so cometh things to pass: blessed be the name of the Lord (1 Tim vi. Job I):. **mode 8**




(While the Corps is made ready to be layed into the earth, the Clerkes shall syng)

Man that is born of a woman, hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery: he cometh up and is cut down like a flower; he flieth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one state (Job ix [xiv]): **mode 2**

Whyle the Corps is made ready to be layed into the earth, the Clerkes shall syng.

Man that is borne of a woman

hath but a short tyme to liue, and is full of

Likewise, Merbecke applies such a change of modes in the last response: it begins with the Dorian mode; the chant following just after the gesture of the priest casting earth upon the corpse (from 'I heard a voyce…') is set in the Phrygian mode (ex. 24).[203] This change of modes is an important clue to suggest that Merbecke's approach to the ethos of modes is in line with Glarean and Erasmus.[204] Whilst Gaffurius defines the Phrygian mode as exciting, Glarean defines it as mournful and suitable to laments. In his analysis of Josquin's motet

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[203] I speculate that the clef (fol. R1 verso) is a misprint; it should have appeared on the first line of the stave as in the previous folio. This misprint is often found in other chants in *BCPN*. One may argue however that the chant (from 'I heard a voice…') works better with the clef as it stands, in Mixolydian mode 7, as it quotes the opening of the Latin funeral antiphon 'In paradisum' which is in mode 7.

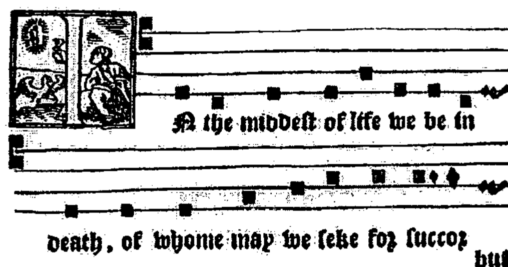
[204] Glarean discusses connections of modes in Chapter 3, Book III, *Dodecachordon* (tr. Miller, 1: 105-6). In *Dodecachordon*, the criteria of judgment are 'the octave range and division, the *phrasis* (= characteristic melodic intervals) and the final note' (Ibid., 1: 21). Miller remarks that 'it is noteworthy that Glarean neither rejects the final note nor considers it the ultimate factor in determining a mode. When the final tone does not fit the other factors he implies a modulation in a strictly melodic sense, as in example 38, in which he states that the *phrasis* is Aeolian but the ending is Ionian. – melodic variation in a single voice. Such modulations are mentioned rather frequently, as the four-voice example 84. From this, it would seem that Glarean's judgment of modes was made on purely melodic grounds' (Ibid., 22).

*De profundis*, Glarean notes that Josquin 'has greatly obscured the *phrasis* by a wonderfully and intentionally selected freedom of texture, using now the leap of the Lydian, now the leap of the Ionian, until finally by means of those very beautiful artifices, he moves gradually, slipping unnoticed and without aural offense, from the Dorian to the Phrygian'.[205]

Ex. 24. The change of mode from Dorian to Phrygian, *At the Burial of the dead*

Response 4

In the midst of life we be in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, which for our sins justly art moved? Yet O Lord most holy, O Lord most mighty,
O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.
Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts: shut not up thy merciful eyes to our prayers: But spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from the.




[205] Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, Book III, chapter 24 (devoted to mixed-mode compositions), tr. Miller, 2: 266. Cf. S. Krantz, 'Rhetorical and Structural Functions of Mode in Selected Motets of Josquin des Prez'. Ph.D. diss. (University of Minnesota, 1989).

but of the, O lorde, which for our synnes iust-
ly art moued: yet O lorde God most holy,
O lord most mightie, O holy and most mercy-
full sauiour, Delyuer vs not in to the bitter
paynes of eternall death. Thou knowest
lord the secretes of our hertes, shut not vp thy
mercyfull

mercyfull eyes to our prayers. Vers. But
spare vs lorde most holy, O god most migh-
tie, O holy and mercyfull sauiour, Thou
most worthy Judge eternall, suffre vs not
at our last houre for any peynes of death, to
fall from the. Delyuer vs not. &c.
M. f. I heard

Then the priest casting earth upon the corpse, shall say,
I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be like to his glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

Then shall be said or sung, I HEARD a voice from heaven, saying unto me: Write, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. Even so saith the Spirit, that they rest from their labours.
Apoc. xiv.

Heard a voyce from heauen
ſaiyng vnto me, wryte, bleſſed are the dead
which dye in the lord: Euen ſo ſaith the
ſpirit, that they reſt from their labours.

An earlier reference to this change of mode 'from Dorian to Phrygian' is found in one of Erasmus' major writings, *Adages*. Here, Erasmus refers to numerous ancient writers' views on modes, and states that the Dorian mode was more delicate and the Phrygian more severe, mentioning *skolion*, a Phrygian form of song, commonly used in the dirges at funerals.[206]

[206] *CWE*, 33: 282-84 (*Adages*, II v 93 [LB II 579A-E]).

# Conclusion

In his seminal study of the Reformation Bernd Moeller stresses that 'humanists were both the real pioneers and ultimately the real supporters of the Reformation movement'.[1] This claim is not of course applicable to all the humanists who lived at the time of the Reformation, given the diversity of religious, political, and philosophical ideas amongst them. The extent to which humanism constituted an intellectual force of any significance in the sixteenth century is indeed different from country to country and from region to region.[2] It is, however, undisputable that Renaissance humanism was the intellectual and educational programme which contributed most to the origin and development of the Reformation.[3]

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, the relationship between Renaissance humanism and the Reformation has seldom been considered an important factor in the historical understanding of Reformation music. Previous research on Merbecke's music set to the 1549 Prayer Book is a case in point. Even in Leaver's study, which draws upon the religious thought of the Reformation as the key interpretative scheme by which to understand Merbecke and *BCPN*, humanism is left largely out of the picture. In an attempt to revise

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[1] B. Moeller, 'Problems of Reformation Research', in *Imperial Cities and the Reformation*, eds. & trans. H. C. E. Midelfort & M. U. Edwards, Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 14. For its original German text, see 'Probleme der Reformationsgeschichtsforschung', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vierte Folge, 14 (1965): 246-57. Moeller's study situates the Reformation in the context of secular history, criticising the contemporary 'theological Reformation research' that concentrated exclusively on Reformation *theology*.

[2] On tensions between the two movements, see McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 60-3.

[3] See Chapter II, 107-9.

existing views on Merbecke, Leaver places Merbecke, particularly his writings, in the framework of the Reformation. Interdisciplinary as Leaver's approach is intended to be, however, his study of Merbecke is based on *exclusive* 'theological Reformation research' – the dominant approach by the mid 1960s that tends to treat the Reformation along narrow dogmatic lines, centring on Luther. This approach (which some Protestant historical theologians still stick to) often fails to understand the Reformation as 'a complex network of historical relationships'.[4]

Leaver's survey of Merbecke's literary work deals with 'the other reformers' of continental Europe and England whose ideas influence Merbecke. Invariably, however, Luther's theology lies at the centre of Leaver's account of the Reformation as a whole. This position remains unchanged in his later description of Merbecke, which pays little attention to current studies that have shown the multi-faceted lives of leading figures of the Reformation, not only as reformers but also as excellent scholars, trained in the education of *bonae litterae*.[5] As a result, the strong humanist tendency of continental and English reformers with which Merbecke was deeply involved is dismissed in Leaver's study.

As discussed in the second section of the introduction, in correcting existing misrepresentations of Merbecke, Leaver argues that, regarding the reform of liturgical chant, 'Marbeck's intentions were those of Luther'.[6] Perhaps the clearest point made by Leaver with regard to Luther's own motivation for liturgical reform is found in his article 'Theological Consistency, Liturgical

[4] Moeller, 'Problems of Reformation Research', in *Imperial Cities and the Reformation*, eds. & trans. Midelfort & Edwards, Jr., 7.

[5] For example, see P. Ayris & D. Selwyn, eds. *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 39-72.

[6] Leaver, *The Work of John Marbeck*, 59.

Integrity, and Musical Hermeneutics in Luther's Liturgical Reforms' (1995).[7] There, Leaver seeks to challenge the prevailing view of Luther's liturgical reform as 'inept', 'inconsistent', and 'conservative'. Leaver's main argument is that Luther was not 'a conservative and unimaginative liturgiologist' but 'a serious Reformation liturgist' who imposed 'radical liturgical expression to justification by faith'.[8] Leaver thus regards the *Deudsche Messe* as an outcome of the 'theological radicalism' which lay behind Luther's liturgical reform. More importantly, it is from this standpoint that Leaver draws parallels between Luther and the radical features of Merbecke's theology and his music in *BCPN.*

These radical elements in Merbecke had already been emphasised – in more general terms – in earlier accounts. Colles remarks, for example, that '[Merbecke] was a modern-minded man with no love for outworn ecclesiastical conventions. He would have been the last person to revert to an old-fashioned notation for the sake of appearances'.[9] Indeed, Merbecke favoured the most up-to-date cultural models of the Tudor intellectuals in terms, not only of ideas – religious and otherwise – but of the means of expressing those ideas. It is, however, wrong to say that his mind was devoid of interest in the past. On the contrary, Merbecke should be seen as part of the contemporary cultural trend that was keen on the restoration of classical antiquity.

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[7] R. A. Leaver, 'Theological Consistency, Liturgical Integrity, and Musical Hermeneutics in Luther's Liturgical Reforms', *Lutheran Quarterly*, 9 (1995): 117-38.

[8] Leaver, 'Theological Consistency, Liturgical Integrity, and Musical Hermeneutics in Luther's Liturgical Reforms', 131. See also B. Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and his Reform of the Canon of the Mass*. Grove Liturgical Study 30 (Bramcote, Eng.: Grove, 1982), 11-4, 37.

[9] Colles, *Voice and Verse: A Study in English Song*, 30.

The problem is that Merbecke's attitude towards antiquity is liable to be overlooked, especially when his intellectual outlook and method are approached from the narrow dogmatic angle mentioned above. It is primarily for this reason that the present study has explored these matters within the framework of Renaissance humanism and its emphasis on reverting *ad fontes* – to the sources. What must be stressed here is that humanist enthusiasm for the 'original' sources was not merely antiquarian but also practical in that it was profoundly motivated by the wish to improve contemporary society; that is, the revival of those sources, and the appeal to classical antiquity as a model of eloquence, education, moral and religious life, and so on, became the cornerstone of reform and improvement.

The humanist aim of drawing on antiquity to achieve practical results in contemporary society is central to the Cranmerian liturgical reform of the 1540s, in which Merbecke played a key role through his chant music. This reform was based on various ancient sources of liturgy recently reconstructed by humanists and embodied by careful application and adaptation to the new linguistic and ecclesiastical context. This liturgical reform was seen as an essential step towards eliminating barbarism by reverting to the ancient style of worship. The resulting versification was 'laboured poetry, redolent of classical reminiscences and full of clever tricks of versification', as in the earlier revisions of the Breviary by such prominent ecclesiastical humanists as the Bishop of Guarida Alferi, Zacharia Ferreri.[10] Compared with the classical Latin revisions of medieval liturgical texts,

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[10] P. Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 179. As a good example of an English rendering of a Latin collect that reflects the humanist rules of rhetoric in Cranmer's liturgical composition, Peter Mack cites the collect for St James: 'Grant, o merciful God, that as thine holy apostle James, leaving his father and all that he had, without delay was obedient unto the

Cranmer's liturgical composition was doubly difficult, since it had to take into account both classical rhetoric and prosody and the properties of the vernacular tongue.

The humanist combination of antiquarian and practical interests is also noticeable in Merbecke's writings. Although early musicological studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries do not see Merbecke as related to Renaissance humanism, they were aware of the classical characteristics of *BCPN*.[11] According to Hawkins, for instance, Merbecke's monophonic music 'was framed according to the model of the Greek and Latin churches, and agreeable to that tonal melody, which the ancient fathers of the church have celebrated as completely adequate to all the ends of prayer, praise, thanksgiving, and every other mode of religious worship'.[12] Similarly, the Victorian Anglican advocates of ancient plainchant showed great interest in *BCPN* for practical use.[13]

On the other hand, later studies including Leaver's have made light of the classical features of Merbecke's music; they tend to focus either on radical aspects of Merbecke's theological outlook and his music in *BCPN* or on the medieval

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calling of thy son Jesus Christ, and followed him; so we, forsaking all wordly and carnal affections, may be evermore ready to follow thy commandments; through Jesus Christ our Lord.' See P. Mack, 'Rhetoric and Liturgy', in *Language and the Worship of the Church.* eds. D. Jasper & R. C. D. Jasper (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1990), 82.

[11] See, Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1: 450; Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, ed. Mercer, 1: 803-7.

[12] Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1: 541.

[13] See, Introduction, 5.

Sarum derivation of Merbecke's chant.[14] Neither approach is incorrect; musically and theologically however, they are both partial and superficial. In an attempt to break the mould of these rather unidimensional evaluations of Merbecke and his music in *BCPN*, the present thesis has provided a new interpretation that depicts Merbecke as a humanist scholar and composer and illuminates his strategy for *BCPN* within the context of the pedagogy, rhetoric, and theology of sixteenth-century intellectual history. Through this interpretation, the thesis has also demonstrated the influence of the humanist reform of plainchant on the liturgical chant music of the Reformation, exploring the manner in which stylistic changes in ecclesiastical monophonic music reflect and *intensify* changing religious and intellectual sensibilities during the time of the English Reformation. I now summarise the key points of each chapter as follows:

In the first chapter, Merbecke's religious and intellectual outlook and his literary career have been re-appraised in the light of Erasmian humanism, which played an essential role in the formation and development of Tudor Protestant humanism. This re-appraisal proves Merbecke's scholarly capability within the humanist rhetorical tradition and shows how his writings, characterised as they are by moderate, undogmatic and laicist pietism, are illustrative of Protestant humanism.

The musical framework of Erasmian humanism is of major significance in relation to the humanist root of the Reformation attitude to music. One major point often dismissed in previous studies is how much Erasmus' musical view owes to the patristic theology of music. Filling this lacuna, the second chapter has

[14] Leaver dismisses what was observed by these early studies as merely antiquarian. Leaver, ed. *The Work of John Marbeck*, 12-3.

observed the essence of Erasmus' musical outlook that was echoed in the writings of the next generation reformers on music.

The third chapter has revealed the gist of Anglican plainchant apologetics underlying *BCPN*, essentially in line with the Erasmian ideal of ecclesiastical music. The wide reception of an Erasmian musical outlook in sixteenth-century England has been made clear through an analysis of Tudor Protestant humanists' writings and Episcopal articles concerning music and musicians. What is most important is that the reform of English church music practice was characterised by the inextricable link between musical and moral reformations. Tudor Anglican apologetics of plainchant are rooted in this solid musical-ethical association.

In view of what has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, the final chapter has illuminated the humanist rhetorical framework of Merbecke's chant. It is arguable that the humanist reform of plainchant signals the union of two conceptions based on classical rhetoric: rhetorical theology (*theologia rhetorica*) and rhetorical music (*musica rhetorica*). Humanist rhetorical discourse on theology as well as the nature and function of music – which is framed by the *ad-fontes* approach – cannot be adequately understood without considering the ancient 'auditory environment', the 'oral-aural culture'.[15] As Targoff puts it, sixteenth-century liturgical reform marked 'a shift of emphasis from a visual to an auditory register'.[16] Plainchant practice was an essential part of this aurally-

[15] For more on the ancient oral-aural culture, see W. Ong, *The Presence of the Word* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); E. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), esp. 65-6.

[16] R. Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), 22. Foley stresses that 'while contemporary

oriented liturgical reform that appealed to the worship of emerging Christianity (i.e., during the first century) and to ancient rhetorical rules taught especially by Quintilian – a key rhetorician of the period. It was in this context that humanists found the ideal style of chanting in distinct and modulated delivery (*distincta modulataque pronunciatio*).

It is generally agreed that Renaissance humanism was an educational and cultural movement, mainly concerned with the promotion of eloquence. For the humanists Cicero was the model of true eloquence – the perfect orator, and Quintilian was the best instructor for the ancient *ars rhetorica*. This revival of classical rhetoric paved the way for a re-orientation of music aesthetics. Based largely on Aristotle's *Poetics*, the humanists established a foothold for the 'rhetoricisation of music' (or the 'poeticisation of music'). Two Aristotelian doctrines reinforced by them – 'imitation (*mimesis*)' and 'the stirring of emotions (*ethos*)' – preoccupied many Renaissance music theorists and composers.[17] At the heart of humanist musical discourse lay the concept of music as an imitation of language (*imitatio verborum*) with emphasis on its rhetorical and ethical attributes and effects.[18]

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western society is visually oriented and believes what it sees, the first followers of Jesus – like their Jewish forebears – lived in a world where hearing was believing'. Foley, *Foundations of Christian Music: The Music of Pre-Constantinian Christianity*, 6.

[17] Harrán, *Word-Tone relations in Musical Thought from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, 90-6. On the humanist imitation of style, see C. W. Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance, *RQ*, 33 (1980): 1-32; J. F. D'Amico, 'The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose: The Case of Apuleiansim', *RQ*, 37 (1984): 351-92.

[18] See A. Carapetyan, 'The Concept of the "Imitazione della natura" in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 1 (1946): 47-67.

Such was the Renaissance humanist notion of music, on the basis of which music became a vehicle of thought in the time of the Reformation. The central issues for the composers committed to music-making for the reformed liturgical texts were those connected with *pronuntiatio*, or delivery; that is, the relevance of the four attributes of *pronuntiatio* – accuracy, clarity, elegance, and compatibility – to the art of musical composition and performance. First and foremost, they embarked on the revision or reform of existing ways of chanting in liturgical performance – both *concentus* and *accentus*. As has been demonstrated by this thesis, Merbecke's music in *BCPN* (which was written during the period of the transition of the liturgy from Latin to English) is a good example of such chant reforms, and is evidence of the way in which the basic principles of classical and humanist rhetoric and prosody operated in vernacular ecclesiastical chant practice.

Merbecke had been educated at St George's Chapel, Windsor and was engaged in various offices there during his professional life, directly exposing him to the humanist climate of the Tudor court. An important clue for re-interpreting *BCPN* is found in Merbecke's main duties as a clerk at St George's: to sing psalms and canticles; to read lesson and epistle at Mass, and to teach choristers. The significance of this has been widely neglected in previous studies, and the important question of the way those duties were expected to be performed at institutions dominated by humanist studies and pedagogy has been largely ignored.

The present thesis has advanced the view that, in sixteenth-century England, the discipline of clerks as a key factor in the performance of the liturgy and the teaching of choristers was embodied in the ideal of the 'Christian orator' – the

combination of the humanist model of orator and Christian piety. It is in this context that Merbecke, an orator (as he calls himself), draws heavily on humanist rhetorical principles for his musical composition for the reformed liturgy.[19] At this point, it would also be reasonable to apply the notion of the 'musical orator' (or the 'poet-composer,' *melopeist*) to Merbecke as a professional singer of plainchant and as a composer of the monophonic church music.[20]

It is my hope that this study will deepen our understanding of Merbecke as an *orator*, as a man whose intellectual and religious outlook was oriented towards the union of encyclopedic knowledge, eloquence, virtue, and wisdom, in the pursuit of *true* harmony between life and language and between life and music.

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[19] See Chapter I, footnote 213.

[20] See Chapter IV, 236-37.

# Appendix

**Merbecke Editions since 1843**

(* facsimile editions)

W. Dyce, *The Order of Daily Service, the Litany, and Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion, with Plain-Tune*... (London: Burns, 1843-44)

W. Pickering, *The book of common prayer noted* (London: W. Pickering, 1844)*

E. F. Rimbault, *The book of common prayer with musical notes: as used in the chapel royal of Edward VI / compiled by John Marbeck* (London: Novello, 1845)*

R. Janes, *Merbecke's book of Common Prayer* (London, 1847)

R. Redhead, *The Order for the Burial of the Dead* ... (London: J. Masters, 1854)

J. Jebb, *Choral Responses and Litanies of the United Church of England and Ireland* (London: G. Bell & R. Cocks, 1847-57)

*Nicene Creed* (London, 1859)

W. J. Westbrook, *The Preces and Responses at Morning and Evening prayer (from Merbecke) for three treble voices, with accompaniment for the Organ* ... (London, 1865)

*The Order for the celebration of the Holy Communion, with musical notes taken from Merbecke's Booke of Common Praier, etc.* (Dorking: R. J. Clark, 1870)

E. F. Rimbault, *The book of common prayer with musical notes: the first office book of the Reformation / compiled by John Merbecke*, 2nd ed., rev. and corrected (London: Novello, 1871)*

S. R. Coles, *Kyrie, Sursum Corda, Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei from the Office of Holy Communion*, arranged ... (London, 1878)

*Merbecke's Burial Anthems* (London, 1880)

*Merbecke's Communion Service* (Oxford? Mowbray & Co, 1880)

J. Stainer, *A Choir-Book of the Office of Holy Communion* (London: Novello, 1880)

*The Ferial Preces, Responses, and Litany* (London: SPCK, 1882)

*A Festival setting of Marbeck's Communion Service ... with varied ... harmonies composed by T. Morley* (London: Novello, 1882)

*Requiem Æternam. A manual of ritual music for the burial of the dead, for the most part derived from Merbecke's Booke of Common Praier noted, etc.* (London, 1882)

Trefnedig i'r Cymraeg gan W. L. Richards, *Gwasanaeth y Cymmun Bendigaid yn ol Marbeck*. (London: Novello, 1885)

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