

RELIGIOUS, LITURGICAL AND MUSICAL CHANGE
IN TWO HUMANIST FOUNDATIONS
IN CAMBRIDGE AND OXFORD, C. 1534 TO C. 1650:
ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

A STUDY OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL OUTLOOK,
INFLUENCE AND OUTCOMES

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by

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Abstract

Religious, liturgical, and musical change in two humanist foundations in Cambridge and Oxford, c. 1534 to c. 1650: St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. A study of internal and external outlook, influence, and outcomes

This study examines two university colleges after their foundation in the early sixteenth-century, emphasising reforms in worship and music during the volatile period of religious and political change that began with the establishment of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* (1534) and extended through the Long Reformation to the beginning of the Commonwealth (c. 1650). St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, were founded on humanist principles by Bishop John Fisher in 1511 and Bishop Richard Fox in 1516, respectively; these principles, which greatly affected the recruitment of fellows and the curriculum of studies, also altered the balance of educational and religious priorities with particular consequences for liturgical and musical provision and practice.

Earlier studies of liturgy and music in collegiate foundations have tended to focus on ritual and musical provision and practice, repertory, and the contributions of individual musicians. This study examines these matters within the wider context of each college, focusing on their respective Visitors and heads of house, influential members of the governing body, and their religious outlook across the period. For the most part, it was these figures who influenced and shaped what happened in the college chapels, rather than chaplains or musicians working under their authority. In both colleges, the provision for clergy and singers in the chapel and the consequent expectations of ritual and musical practice were modest by comparison with earlier foundations such as New College and Magdalen College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge; yet examination of the documentary and archival evidence reveals important information about distinctive features of liturgy and liturgical music.

Part 1 (Chapters One through Three) sets out the background of late medieval collegiate foundations, with particular reference to New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge. It goes on to examine the foundation and initial liturgical

requirements of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Lastly, it outlines key elements in English religious and political history during the period *c.* 1534 through *c.* 1650. Part 2 (Chapters Four and Five) consists of detailed case studies of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from *c.* 1534 through *c.* 1650, giving priority to the consideration of key figures in each college, and the consequent course of religious, liturgical, and musical change. Supplement One of Vol. II gives special attention to the organ in church, which by the 1560s had become identified - along with 'curious singing' (i.e. choral polyphony) - with elements of ritual practice deemed unacceptable by those of a radical reformed outlook. The evidence compiled here has also enabled detailed reconstructions in Supplement Two of Volume II - replete with altars, organs, and other furnishings - of the existing chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the former chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, demolished in 1868 to make way for a new chapel designed by Gilbert Scott.

Resumé

Cette étude est consacrée à deux collèges universitaires après leur fondation au début du seizième siècle; elle met l'accent sur les réformes qui se sont faites en matière de pratiques religieuses et musicales pendant cette période instable caractérisée par des changements religieux et politiques qui voient le jour à la création de l'Eglise anglicane (1534) et s'étend de la Réforme au début de l'interrègne (Commonwealth de Oliver Cromwell). St. John's College, Cambridge, et Corpus Christi College, Oxford, furent fondés sur des principes humanistes. Le premier fut créé en 1511 par l'évêque John Fisher et le second en 1516 par l'évêque Richard Fox. Ces principes eurent non seulement beaucoup d'influence sur la composition de leurs membres et sur leur programme d'études mais ont également changé l'équilibre entre les priorités éducatives et religieuses entraînant des conséquences particulières sur les dispositions et pratiques liturgiques et musicales.

Il existe des études antérieures sur la liturgie et la musique des collèges de Cambridge et Oxford qui se sont focalisées sur les rites, les pratiques musicales, les répertoires et les contributions des certains musiciens. Ma recherche reprend ces sujets mais les approfondit et se concentre sur les visiteurs, les responsables, les membres influents des instances dirigeantes et de leur vision religieuse à cette même époque. Ce sont pour la plupart ces personnalités qui ont influencé et contribué au développement des chapelles de ces collèges plutôt que les chapelains ou les musiciens qui travaillaient sous leur autorité. Dans les deux collèges, les clauses de contrats d'engagement du clergé et des chanteurs pour la chapelle ainsi que les attentes en matière de rituel et de pratiques musicales étaient bien plus modestes que celles en vigueur dans des institutions plus anciennes telles que New College et Magdalen College à Oxford et King's College à Cambridge. Néanmoins, une étude attentive de documents et d'archives révèle d'importantes informations sur des caractéristiques de la liturgie et musique liturgique.

La première partie (chap. 1 à 3) présente le contexte général de quelques collèges de la fin du Moyen-Age, plus particulièrement New College, Oxford et King's College, Cambridge, puis la création et les premières exigences liturgiques de St. John's College, Cambridge et Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Pour finir, on mentionnera des

éléments clefs qui caractérisent l'histoire politique et religieuse anglaise entre 1534 et 1650. La deuxième partie (chap. 4 et 5) est une étude détaillée de cas se rapportant à St. John's College, Cambridge, et Corpus Christi College, Oxford de 1534 à 1650 et se focalise sur des personnalités éminentes dans chaque collège et les changements religieux, liturgiques et musicaux qu'ils ont apportés. Supplément un du deuxième volume est plus spécialement dévoué à la place de l'orgue dans l'église, instrument qui fut dès 1560 considéré comme inacceptable par des réformateurs radicaux. À noter que cette désapprobation s'étendait également à la polyphonie chorale qualifiée de "chant bizarre" ("curious singing"). Les documents que j'ai découverts au cours de mes recherches m'ont permis de créer des images (supplément deux du deuxième volume) des autels, des orgues, du mobilier et divers autres objets qui se trouvaient aussi bien dans la chapelle existante de Corpus Christi College, Oxford, que dans celle de l'ancienne chapelle de St. John's College, Cambridge, qui avait été détruite en 1848 pour faire place à une nouvelle imaginée par Gilbert Scott.

Übersicht

Diese Studie untersucht zwei Universitätscolleges nach ihrer Gründung im frühen 16. Jahrhundert, mit speziellem Augenmerk auf die Reformen des Gottesdiensts und der Musik während der unbeständigen Periode religiösen und politischen Wandels, die mit der Etablierung der *Ecclesia Anglicana* (1534) begann und sich während der Reformation und bis zum Beginn des Commonwealth (1650) fortsetzte. St. John's College, Cambridge, und Corpus Christi College, Oxford, wurden auf der Grundlage humanistischer Prinzipien von Bischof John Fisher 1511 respektive von Bischof Richard Fox 1516 gegründet; diese Prinzipien, welche die Rekrutierung von Fellows und das Curriculum der Auszubildenden stark beeinflussten, veränderten auch das Gleichgewicht erzieherischer und religiöser Prioritäten, mit besonderer Tragweite für die liturgischen und musikalischen Regeln und die diesbezügliche Praxis.

Frühere Studien der Liturgie und Musik in Colleges tendierten dazu, auf die rituellen und musikalischen Regeln und die entsprechende Praxis, auf das Repertoire und auf die Beiträge einzelner Musiker zu fokussieren. Die vorliegende Studie prüft diese Gegenstände im grösseren Kontext der beiden Colleges; sie wendet sich ihren jeweiligen Visitors (ernannte Bischöfe, die das College überprüfen) und Heads of House (College-Leiter), einflussreichen Mitgliedern des Leitungsgremiums und deren religiöser Einstellung über die Zeit zu. An erster Stelle waren es diese Akteure, die beeinflussten und veranlassten, was in den Kapellen der Colleges geschah, und weniger die College-Prediger oder Musiker, die ihnen unterstellt waren. In beiden Colleges waren die Regeln für den Klerus und die Sänger in der Kapelle und die dementsprechenden Erwartungen an die rituelle und musikalische Praxis bescheidener im Vergleich mit älteren Colleges wie New College und Magdalen College, Oxford, und King's College, Cambridge; dennoch offenbart eine Prüfung des dokumentarischen und archivischen Materials wichtige Einsichten in Besonderheiten der Liturgie und der liturgischen Musik.

Teil 1 (Kapitel 1 bis 3) führt in die Hintergründe im Spätmittelalter gegründeter Colleges ein, mit besonderem Blick auf New College, Oxford, und King's College, Cambridge. Es folgt eine Untersuchung der Grundlagen und der ursprünglichen liturgischen Gegebenheiten in St. John's College, Cambridge, und Corpus Christi

College, Oxford. Schliesslich werden die Schlüsselmomente englischer religiöser und politischer Geschichte während der Periode von 1534 bis 1650 skizziert. Teil 2 (Kapitel 4 und 5) besteht aus detaillierten Fallstudien von St. John's College, Cambridge, und Corpus Christi College, Oxford, zwischen 1534 und 1650. Das Hauptaugenmerk liegt hier auf den Schlüsselakteuren beider Colleges und auf dem jeweiligen Verlauf religiösen, liturgischen und musikalischen Wandels. Ergänzung eins des zweiten Bandes schenkt der Orgel in der Kirche besondere Aufmerksamkeit; die Orgel wurde in den 1560er-Jahren – zusammen mit 'curious singing' (polyphone Chormusik), zum Beispiel polyphoner Chormusik – mit Elementen ritueller Praxis identifiziert, die in Ungnade bei denjenigen mit radikaler reformatorischer Einstellung fielen. Die hier versammelten Forschungsergebnisse erlaubten auch detaillierte visuelle Rekonstruktionen (Ergänzung zwei des zweiten Bandes) – reichlich versehen mit Altären, Orgeln und weiterer Ausstattung – der existierenden Kapelle von Corpus Christi College, Oxford, und der früheren Kapelle von St. John's College, Cambridge, die 1868 zerstört wurde, um der neuen, von Gilbert Scott gestalteten Kapelle Platz zu machen.

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The Provost and Scholars of King's College, Cambridge

The Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge

The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford

The President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

The President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford

The Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford

The President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford

List of Abbreviations

<i>ACANTA</i>	Venn, John. ed. <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900</i> . Ten volumes. Cambridge: 1922. Available online: http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/search.html .
<i>AOXEN</i>	Foster, Joseph. <i>Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714</i> . Oxford: 1892. Available online: British History Online. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714 .
<i>BCP</i>	Book of Common Prayer
<i>BVM</i>	Blessed Virgin Mary
<i>BHO</i>	British History Online
<i>BRUO</i>	Emden, Alfred. B. <i>A biographical register of the University of Oxford from A.D. 1501 to 1540</i> . Oxford: 1974.
<i>DNB</i>	<i>The Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to 1900</i> . Stephen, Leslie and Lee, Sidney, eds. 22 volumes. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885, repr. 1967-68.
<i>DNBO</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography Online</i> . Reproduction of the above. Available at: Internet Archive.
<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i> .
<i>EEBO-TCP</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i> - Text Creation Partnership.
<i>FO</i>	Harper, John. <i>The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Centuries: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians</i> . Oxford: 1991.
<i>GMO</i>	'Grove Music Online' at <i>Oxford Music Online</i> http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com .

- HUO 1* *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Schools*. Catto, Jeremy I., and Evans, Ralph, eds. Oxford: 1984.
- HUO 2* *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, *Late Medieval Oxford*. Catto, Jeremy I., and Evans, Ralph, eds. Oxford: 1992, repr. with corrections, 1995.
- HUO 3* *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3, *The Collegiate University*. McConica, James, ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- HCO* *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 3, the University of Oxford*, Salter, H. E. and Lobel, M. D., eds. Originally published by Victoria County History. London: 1954, 1966. Available online at BHO: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.
- MMB* Harrison, Frank. *Music in Medieval Britain*. London: 1958.
- ODNBO* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (Oxford University Press, 2004 with ongoing revisions, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>)
- STC* English Short-Title Catalogue of Books. Revised edition, 1986.

College Archives:

- ASCA All Souls College, Oxford Archives
- CCA Christ's College, Cambridge Archives
- ChChCA Christ Church College, Oxford Archives
- CCCA Corpus Christi College, Oxford Archives
- KCA King's College, Cambridge Archives
- MCR Merton College, Oxford Archives
- MCA Magdalen College, Oxford Archives
- NCA New College, Oxford Archives
- SJCA St. John's College, Cambridge Archives
- SJCOA St. John's College, Oxford Archives
- TCA Trinity College, Oxford Archives

A note regarding spelling and punctuation, transcription from manuscript sources, dates, monetary values, and the use of medieval and classical Latin in account headings

In general British English spelling and punctuation have been adopted throughout the thesis. In the transcription from manuscript sources, spelling and capitalisation have not been modernised, though punctuation has in certain instances been added. Square brackets indicate the interpolation of editorial additions as well as explanatory material; for the most part they have been added in cases of ambiguity or uncertainty. All single-year dates (e.g. 1559) in the text correspond to New Style dating (i.e. the year beginning on 1 January rather than on 25 March, only formally adopted in England after 1752); double dates separated by a slash (e.g. 1559/60) represent financial/academic years in the older style of dating. In most cases college financial years begin and end at Michaelmas (29 September) with the exception of St. John's College, Cambridge, which on the whole begin and end on the Feast of St. Thomas (21 December) and Corpus Christi College and All Souls College, Oxford, which begin and end at the Feast of All Saints (1 November).

The following abbreviations for currency have been used:

li = pound, equal to 20 shillings

s = shilling, equal to 12 pence

d = penny, pence

13s, 4d = one mark, c. 1516

In transcribing from manuscript sources, the original roman numerals (e.g. iv li, viij s, iiij d) or arabic numerals (e.g. 4li, 8s, 4d) have been deployed; however, in his transcriptions of the *Libri Magni* accounts at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, archivist Julian Reid has most often rendered the original roman numerals in arabic. During the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, accounts often mix roman and arabic numerals (along with Latin and English texts) until the mid-seventeenth century, when arabic numerals dominate the accounting. There is also a divergence in the rendering of account headings; the scribes at the humanist foundations of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, adopted classical

endings in account headings (e.g. 'Expensae Ecclesiae', 'Expense necessariae', 'Impensae Sacelli', ect.), while at King's College, Cambridge, medieval endings dominate the accounts through *c.* 1600 (e.g. 'Expense necessarie', 'Custus eccelsie', ect.) after which classical endings become the rule. A similar situation occurs at New College, Oxford, where medieval endings cease after *c.* 1550.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford: Accounts recorded in *Libri Magni* and bound together in Corpus Christi College Archive, C/1/1/2, C/1/1/3: issues of dating

Ten sets of annual college counts are bound together in the *Liber Magnus* for the period 1537/38-1548/49 and thirteen in the *Liber Magnus* for the period 1546/47 - 1556/57. The bursars rendered the accounts at the end of the financial year (i.e. 31 October); this is the year noted on the cover of the yearly accounts. In some cases, however, there is ambiguity about the year to which the accounts relate, because dates on the cover page have been altered. The confusion often arises because another hand has substituted or added regnal years (e.g. 'Henrici 8. 37^o', which signifies 22 April 1545 to 21 April 1546'; 2 Ed. VI', which signifies 28 January 1548 to 27 January 1549). The regnal year cuts across the accounting year, and those amending dates may consequently have opted for the wrong accounting year. In other instances accounting years appear out of chronological sequence. The table below identifies the folio on which a set of accounts begins, the likely financial year (1 November to 31 October), and notes giving details of the alterations.

Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49, Corpus Christi College Archive, C/1/1/2

folio	Financial year	Additional notes
3r	1537/38	'28 Henry VIII' appears at the top of the cover; this signifies the regnal year, 22 April 1536 - 21 April 1537. '1538' (suggests the accounting year, 1537/38) appears underneath, but has been crossed out: ' 1538 '. Underneath this is written '1537' (suggesting the accounting year 1536/37). As 1536/37 already appears at the end of C/1/1/1 this account must be that of 1537/38.
11r	1538/39	1538 has been written originally, then crossed out: ' 1538 '. '30 H. 8' has been added in another hand (signifies 22 April 1538 - 21 April 1539), which has also added '1539' (suggesting accounting year 1538/39).
26r	1539/40	'Anno 1539' has been penned originally; the date has been crossed out: ' 1539 '. '31 H.8' has been added (signifies 22 April 1539 - 21 April 1540) as has '1540' (suggesting 1539/40).
39r	1540/41	'1541' appears as the original date on the cover (suggesting 1540/41).
52r	1541/42	'1542' (suggesting 1541/42) is written then crossed out: ' 1542 '. 'Hen: 8 ^a 32 ^o ' has been added (signifies 22 April 1540 - 21 April 1541) as has '1541' (suggesting 1540/41).

66r	1542/43	On the cover: 'ad festum Martini epi' videlicet undecimo die Novembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici octavi tricesimo quarto - 1542'. 34 Henry VIII signifies 22 April 1542 - 21 April 1543.
78r	1543/44	The cover records: Computus Jo' Edwardis et Rogeri Morwent Dispens' ad Festum Martini Epi' ... anno regni regis Henrici Octavi tricesimo quinto 1543 (signifies 22 April 1543 - 21 April 1544)
92r	1544/45	'1544' (suggesting 1543/44) appears the original date on the cover. '35 H.8' has been added (signifies 22 April 1543 - 21 April 1544). Bursars: Roger Morwen and Hugh Turnbull (admitted, April 1532). Indenture dated, 26 November 35 Henry VIII for preceding year, i.e. 1543[?], or should it be 36 Henry VIII?
108r	1545/46	On the cover, '1546' has been written originally (suggests November 1545 to October 1546.) '1546' has been crossed out: ' 1546 '; the date '1545' (suggests the accounting year 1544/45) has been added as well as 'Henrici 8. 37 ^o ' (signifies 22 April 1545 to 21 April 1546, which may suggest/confirm the date, '1545/46').
	[1546/47]	Missing, but present in C/1/1/3, f. 2v.
	[1547/48]	Missing, or possibly next entry.
124r	1548/49	'1548' (suggesting 1547/48) appears as the original date on the cover; it has been crossed out: ' 1548 '. Underneath is written '1549' (suggesting 1548/49), which has also been crossed out: ' 1549 '. To the right of these dates appears '3', which is changed to '2', which is attached to 'Ed 6', making the regnal year 2 Ed. VI. (3 Ed. VI signifies 28 January 1549 to 27 January 1550; 2 Ed. VI signifies 28 January 1548 to 27 January 1549). Underneath '1549' (suggesting 1548/49) is written. This year (which begins on fol. 124r) is out of sequence, appearing after the year, 1545/46. The chapel accounts record liturgical books of the Latin rite: could this signify the account 1547/48?

**Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1546/47 (missing from C/1/1/2) - 1556/57,
Corpus Christi College Archive, C/1/1/3**

folio	Financial year	Additional notes
2v	1546/47	Missing from C/1/1/2.
16r	1547/48	Contains payments for copes and organ repair.
	[1548/49]	Absent here. Possibly in C/1/1/2, fol. 124r.
30r	1549/50	Uncertain. Under 'Impensae Internae' on fol. 37v: 'It' for pricksong books, 8s, 2d'.
39r	1549/50	Highly confusing indications. '1556' written and crossed out: ' 1556 ', followed by '1555' written and crossed out: ' 1555 ', followed by '1557' written and crossed out: ' 1557 ', followed by '1556', which is not crossed out. Underneath: '3.- 4. ph: & m.' '4' appears the darker (original?) ink (3 ph: & m. signifies 6 July 1555 - 5 July 1556; 4 ph: & m. signifies 6 July 1556 - 5 July 1557). The most remarkable appears underneath written faintly (recently?) in pencil: '3/4 Ed. vi 1549/50'. 3 Ed. vi signifies 28 January 1549 - 27 January 1550.
53r	1548/49	Original date written at top: '1553 6. Ed: 6' (6 Ed: 6 signifies 28 January 1552 - 27 January 1553). '6' has been crossed out from the regnal date: '6. Ed: 6' and faintly written in pencil (recently?) '2/3' is written, meaning 2/3 Ed: 6 (signifies 28 January 1548 - 27 January 1549). Written in pencil underneath: '1548/49'. The account appears here out of sequence. The contents of the chapel account list Edwardine liturgical books. The evidence suggests that there are duplicate accounts for either 1548/49 or 1547/48.
92r-105v	1550/51	Bound out of order.
68r-77v	[1551/52]	Draft version of 1551/52 (on paper).
106r-117v	1551/52	Bound out of order.
78r-91v	1552/53	
118r	1553/54	
139v	1554/55	
151v	1555/56	
166r	1556/57	

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction to the thesis

The purpose of the thesis

The principal purpose of this thesis is to explore musical and liturgical change that took place within Cambridge and Oxford colleges, c. 1534 - 1650. More specifically, it addresses two early sixteenth-century foundations, St. John the Evangelist College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, with further consideration of two earlier, larger colleges: the fourteenth-century foundation of New College, Oxford, and the fifteenth-century foundation of King's College, Cambridge. The work is not only a narrative of this change, but sets out to examine the intentions expressed in the respective foundation statutes and their further revisions as well as the external and internal factors that influenced or occasioned such change.

This particular record of liturgical and musical change must first be set in the context of a wider European body of religious change occurring during approximately the same time period. The larger influences on a European level encompass the broad reforms of Luther, Calvin, and other Swiss reformers, and the response of the Roman Catholic Church. Further, the liturgical and musical change is set within the context of shifts from late medieval to early modern modes of thought in both Europe and England.

Understanding key movements and influences affecting the university colleges also requires knowledge of national religious reform within England. This begins with Henry VIII's schism with Rome and the establishment of the king as head of the Church of England through the Act of Supremacy in 1534. The dissolution of the monasteries followed in 1536 and 1538, and the dispersion of their vast accumulation of wealth and property helped greatly to relieve royal debt and finance international wars. The Chantries Acts of 1545 and 1547 resulted in the abolition of collegiate churches, chantries (both independent and within a larger church), guilds, and fraternities; the intercessory function of these churches and chapels was suppressed, and more seriously so were their endowments and the clergy and singers who served

them. Only educational colleges (mostly in Cambridge and Oxford) were exempted. The second major event to effect national change was the introduction of the first vernacular *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, and its more radical successor in 1552: the Latin liturgy and its music became redundant. England avoided a potentially radical re-structuring of the Church and its laws (*Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, 1552) with the death of Henry VIII's devout evangelical son, Edward VI, in June 1553, and with the accession of Mary Tudor, his fervent Catholic sister. During Mary's brief reign, churches were ordered to restore the Latin rite, but the endowments and staff were lost. When Elizabeth I ascended the throne after Mary's death, she re-established the vernacular liturgy in a version of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1559, close to that of 1552. By the 1630s during the reign of Charles I, the polarity of moderate and more rigid protestant thinking already evident in Elizabeth's reign reached extremes of 'high anglican' to radical protestant thought and practice; tensions culminated in the 1640s with Civil War, the execution of the king, the suppression of the Prayer Book, the abolition of bishops and their cathedrals, and the adoption of a presbyterian form of church organisation - indeed something close to religious anarchy. All major religious change had transpired by 1650. In summary, religious changes regulated not by the Church but by the State through Acts of Parliament rattled the realm between c. 1534 and c. 1650; they characterise tensions within religious thought and practice, the echoes of which continue to resonate within the Church of England to this day.

In addition to the European and English religious reforms, a wider body of European political, cultural, and intellectual trends contributed to the altered nature of English university colleges, particularly those founded in the early 1500s. The new form of learning, which recalled classical (pre-Christian) thinking (and later became known as 'humanism'), played a decisive role during the era; it contributed to a humanist 'ethos', which had a direct bearing on the functions of devotion and music. This will be examined below. The invention of movable type and the printing press significantly facilitated the widespread dissemination of both religious texts (including English Bibles) and humanist literature; by the 1540s a voluminous evangelical printing trade was underway that unleashed a furious religious repartee of

pamphleteering between conservatives and evangelicals,¹ eventually allowing the evangelicals to dominate the nationalist vision. Printing also enabled the quick circulation of music required by the Church; Dana Marsh has identified Thomas Cranmer's *Exhortation* to the English *Litany* of 1544 as a development that 'marked the English church's first large-scale printing and dissemination involving polyphony for a specific purpose, reflecting contemporary evangelical imperatives for ritual music.'² Also, the printing of Merbecke's *Booke of common praier noted* (1550) 'stands as the crown's first large-scale musical dissemination subsequent to the Litany - this time, depending on the print medium alone.'³

The key research questions

Implicit within the purpose of the thesis is the fundamental question of what influences and occasions change in liturgical and musical practice - in the case of this study, within the context of English university colleges. The thesis attempts to address this by posing three principal research questions: i. what is the concrete physical evidence that indicates and records change? ii. who are the individuals effecting change? and iii. what are the intellectual ideas provoking change? Succinctly put, they deal with things, people, and ideas.

What was the provision and practice of liturgy and music in each college, and how far can that be established with certainty? College statutes provide a large body of physical evidence; they remain more or less constant and provide a 'measuring stick' for change. Liturgical and musical reforms may well conflict or at least moderate the requirements for order, ritual, and music of worship set down in the foundation statutes; in certain instances they may demand the drafting of new statutes. Such was the case at St. John's College, Cambridge, both during the reigns of Henry VIII in 1545 and of Elizabeth I in 1580 following the direction of William Cecil, Lord Burghley and the master and fellows. Other physical evidence includes archival

¹ This included the vitriolic musical diatribes of Thomas Becon (e.g. *The iewel of ioye*, London, 1550) and John Bale (e.g. *The Image of Bothe Churches*, Antwerp, 1545? STC 1296.5). Marsh, D., 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', unpublished D.Phil. Thesis (Oxford, 2007), 5, 102-47.

² Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', 147.

³ *Ibid.*, 261.

materials such as financial accounts, inventories, and lease books, as well as documents that record commissions for organs and the purchase of chapel furniture.

Yet another form of physical evidence surrounding liturgy involves buildings. As the historical point of departure of this thesis is *c.* 1534, this infers that a group of college buildings, more specifically, chapels, had been standing until then, and that these buildings and chapels remain intact today. By 1534 the college chapels examined in this thesis were built. But what has been lost or reshaped in succeeding centuries? It would be very convenient to walk into the university chapels investigated in this thesis today and assume that the state of the chapel was much as it had been before and after the Reformation; however, we cannot walk into the early chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, at all, as it was demolished in 1868 to make way for the much larger and more grandiose Gilbert Scott structure. Though maintaining its original dimensions, the chapel of Corpus Christi, Oxford, was radically altered in 1675 to accommodate new stalls, which resulted in shrinkage of its antechapel; the vestry on the northeast side of the chapel, the upper level of which housed the Thomas Dallam organ of 1618, was removed not long after the new stalls were added. Though the shell of New College chapel might have remained intact, much of its interior did not; under the authority of Bishop Horne in 1567, the magnificent stone reredos was plastered over and painted with scripture. Various lofts and organ screens came and went at New College, and - as at Corpus Christi - a loft beyond the northeast vestry door disappeared most likely during nineteenth century renovations.⁴ The famous chapel of King's College, Cambridge, was not even in use until 1537 and not completely furnished until 1547. The above considerations rely on an understanding of the nature and use of the college buildings, above all the chapel and cloisters (for processions), which will be discussed later.

⁴ The chapel was remodelled by James Wyatt from 1789 to 1794; its medieval roof was altered twice, once by Wyatt and another time by Gilbert Scott between 1877 and 1881 to make way for the current hammer-beam structure.

This first research question describes the size and nature of the college; it identifies the state of the college by c. 1530, which remained more or less the way the founder had prescribed in his statutes. The second research question addresses subsequent change influenced or directed by a variety of individuals and asks: who is exercising power and influence at any one time?

The first group of individuals to consider is the college personnel. In any college two individuals figure prominently: the head of house (e.g. warden, master, president, or provost) and the Visitor (e.g. the bishop of Winchester at New College and Magdalen, Merton, and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford, the bishop of Lincoln at King's College, Cambridge, and the bishop of Ely at St. John's College, Cambridge). The religious and musical outlook of these two figures is a key factor in the liturgical or musical tailoring of the college. Another group of influential individuals comprise senior officers (e.g. subwarden, vice-president, vice-provost, or deans) and other fellows with clearly significant roles (i.e. appointed senior fellows). The musicians, by contrast, are relatively insignificant figures - they were servants of the college rather than part of its governing body. While a musical study may wish to inquire into the holders of the office of master of choristers or organist at a particular moment in time, these were not key figures shaping and directing life in any given college; they had no decisive influence on liturgical and musical trends, whatever their skills and talents. Lastly, there remains another group of personalities affecting change and influence beyond the college walls; these individuals often influence dialogue, debate, and quite often scandal within the university. This might be exemplified by Thomas Cartwright in his enthusiastic support of *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572), in his own ensuing *Admonition to the Parliament*, and the incisive response of the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, John Whitgift (also Regius Professor of Divinity and master of Trinity College). It also might include individuals representing the bigger national picture with ties to Court or Parliament (e.g. the intervention of William Cecil to impose the Elizabethan Statutes at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1580) or the monarch him- or herself (e.g. Elizabeth I's imposition of President William Cole at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1568, or Charles I's mandate to place communion tables in 'altar-wise' positions in 1633). Perhaps more than any other research question, this particular question characterises the distinctive nature of the thesis.

We cannot examine in detail the changes in religious and political methodologies - particularly those affecting the two case study colleges - without forgetting the emphasis on the new form of learning that galvanised many of the educational institutions and royal courts of early modern Europe (not least, the Tudor court of Henry VIII). The new learning confronted English university colleges like New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge - foundations founded in the late Middle Ages and grounded in medieval scholasticism - with startling new didactic methodologies. Contemporary education became based upon the revival of Greek language studies (and later studies based on Hebrew supportive of biblical scholarship) and emphasised classical Roman Latin works, revitalised after the recovery of the letters of Cicero. As an educational programme 'it emphasized a distinctive rhetorical style and aimed for the highest philological standards, deployed with new awareness of textual authority and criticism'.⁵ The new 'humanist' methodology, which only later came to be generically termed, '*studia humanitatis*',⁶ exerted a particular force in the colleges of St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, the two principal foundations responsible for introducing the humanist curriculum to the universities.

'Humanism' is often regarded as an intellectual movement; however, there is a fine dividing line between 'intellectual' and 'religious' thought and ideas. Desiderus Erasmus von Rotterdam (1466 - 1536) provides an example of an intellectual cleric who led the humanist movement and directed change across the parameters of education, liturgy, and music. Significantly, he was responsible for bringing the study of Greek to Cambridge (and elsewhere). A priest with musical training,⁷ Erasmus had a distinct vision of liturgy and music; English liturgy and church music did not reflect this vision. Back on the Continent, Erasmus clarified his distaste in various invectives, which included a scathing critique of English polyphony and Marian devotion. Other religious figures who may be construed as intellectual leaders (many

⁵ Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', 21.

⁶ Terms such as '*studia humanitatis*' or 'humanism' are anachronistic terms. At the time the new educational methodology was simply referred to as *bonae literae*. Rex, R., 'The Sixteenth Century', in *St. John's College, Cambridge. A History* (Cambridge, 2011), 19. See below, Chapter Two, 73, nt. 275.

⁷ Marsh has investigated Erasmus's early training as chorister. Marsh, 15-16. See also Wegman, R., *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford, 1994), 76-9.

with distinct musical tastes) might include Martin Luther (1483 - 1546), John Calvin (1509 - 1564), or Jakob Hermanzoon (Jacobus Arminius, 1560 - 1609), all of whom exerted a firm intellectual force upon the universities.

The method of addressing these questions, and the consequent structure and balance of the thesis

The body of evidence and range of disciplines that cover the turbulent period between *c.* 1534 and *c.* 1650 are very wide. Given the space allowed by this thesis, the investigations conducted here, particularly those examining the two case study colleges, must therefore be very selective. Before addressing the research questions in the selected colleges, it is essential to provide the historical context of the colleges and their statutory (and in particular, liturgical and musical) provision prior to 1534. The provision of colleges in Cambridge and Oxford sets them apart from other universities in Europe as self-contained and self-governing institutions within the larger university. Also, they are distinct from other kinds of collegiate foundations in England. Although there is no attempt here to examine collegiate churches or parishes to which colleges became annexed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is helpful to consider royal foundations such as St. Stephen's in Westminster Palace, or St. George's in Windsor Castle, in the context of royal chapels set up by statute as collegiate foundations by Edward III in the mid-fourteenth century. These are colleges that also operated as household chapels within royal palaces, and from which parallels can be drawn. St. Stephen's and St. George's chapels will be briefly addressed in Chapter One ('The pre-Reformation context through *c.* 1534').

In setting this context, examination of two late medieval colleges (King's College, Cambridge, and New College, Oxford) is important: these are foundations whose statutes give balanced emphasis to both their intercessory function and their purpose as places of learning and scholarship. These are colleges with substantial provision of clergy and singers (including boys) in the chapel alongside the fellows and scholars. These two colleges also create a benchmark from which to compare the two sixteenth-century foundations of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The two early modern colleges of St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, demonstrate from the outset a distinctive educational

approach that directs more emphasis to classical learning, less emphasis on devotion and intercession, and consequently more modest staffing of the chapel.

It must be noted that the two medieval and the two early modern colleges have a common liturgical basis in the adoption of the Use of Salisbury. Though long established, that Use was subject to local adaptation or embellishment (e.g. Marian devotional antiphons at King's College). It was also subject to alterations in religious outlook during the first part of the sixteenth century.

While this thesis is primarily concerned with the study of the two early sixteenth-century colleges, change and reform at New College, Oxford, and King's, Cambridge, through *c.* 1547 is so significant that a portion of Chapter One ('The pre-Reformation context through *c.* 1534') will be devoted to this subject; this provides wider reference for changes made at St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford. Furthermore, account is always taken of the broader political, social, and religious change across the entire period of this study.

The main body of the thesis (Chapters Four and Five) consists of two detailed case studies that span the period between *c.* 1534 and 1650. In each case this consists of a successive historical narrative going over the same period, thus enabling consideration of the impact of specific individuals and events on the liturgical and musical life of the chapel. However, one specific phenomenon merits comparative examination across all four colleges: the provision, nature, and use of organs. Supplement One of Volume II has been reserved as an organ case study that extends over the chronological parameters of this thesis. During this period, the function of the organ changed significantly, and at times the instrument was an object of great contention. While each of these three case studies is self-contained and includes examples of organ provision, the concluding section of the thesis enables all the issues raised in each chapter to be drawn together and also identifies further areas for investigation.

2. Existing Scholarship

Existing studies of worship and music addressing English collegiate foundations, c. 1500 - c. 1660

Four studies form pillars that serve as a foundation for the study of late medieval and early modern English institutions and their worship and music; they were written between 1958 and 1991 by Frank Harrison, Peter Le Huray, John Harper, and Roger Bowers. Frank Harrison's monograph, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958), provided us with the first synthesis of nineteenth-century liturgical scholarship, assimilating it into the field of musicological study. Harrison combined first-hand archival research with a broad understanding of the studies of Frere, Wordsworth, and Sir John Hawkins (particularly in regard to the Oxford colleges)⁸ as well as the publication of a group of late nineteenth-century societies: Camden Society, Henry Bradshaw Society, Alcuin Club, Surtees Society, and Plainsong and Medieval Music Society.⁹ Furthermore, Harrison kept abreast of contemporary academic thinking, incorporating social history into the study of ecclesiastical polyphony. Harrison's work has provided this study with a firm base from which to gauge musical change after 1534.

Harrison's account of one of our most valuable extant sixteenth-century musical resources, *The Eton Choirbook*, has been extensively augmented and improved through the research of Magnus Williamson. His thesis, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background',¹⁰ not only expounds upon the provenance and performance boundaries set by this important collection of polyphonic Magnificats and Marian antiphons, it explores the wider implications of ceremony and worship within Eton College Chapel. His thesis also has a direct bearing upon ceremony, liturgy, and music at King's and the other Wykehamist institutions, making it particularly valuable to the current study, not only in its suggestions of possible musical repertory, but as a reconstruction of daily devotion within royal and

⁸ Hawkins, J., *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music: A New Edition with the Author's Posthumous Notes* (London, 1875).

⁹ Marsh, 46.

¹⁰ Williamson, M., 'The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background', unpublished D.Phil. Thesis (University of Oxford, 1997). online edn. rev. 2009, at www.diamm.ac.uk.

university chapels at the time of the Henrician and Edwardine Reformations. John Harper's *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*¹¹ provided us with the groundwork for analysing the medieval Rites and Uses, particularly the Use of Salisbury. It has become an essential tool in illuminating the liturgies of Mass and Office and the yearly calendar of feast and *feria*; it also provides a succinct summary of post-Reformation liturgies, including the varying versions of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Le Huray's pioneering monograph, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, was the only work to focus exclusively on the English Reformation prior to 1980; first published in 1967 (revised in 1978), it followed A.G. Dickens' *History of the Reformation* by three years and James McConica's *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* by two. Le Huray's monograph begins with the issue of Cranmer's 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, two years into the reign of Edward VI. The current study sets the historical point of departure to 1534 to encapsulate change that occurred before Cranmer's work.

Roger Bowers' ground-breaking 1992 thesis, 'Choral Institutions Within the English Church: Their Constitution and Development 1340-1500', illustrated the vast panorama of medieval musical worship; the work added immensely to our understanding of the roles of vicars choral, lay clerks, and choristers in choral foundations to c. 1550 and the development of polyphony after 1460. Bowers was also the only other musicologist other than Frank Harrison to embark on an in-depth investigation of the structure and constitution of the medieval university. Bowers contributed further to our understanding of late medieval and post-Reformation choral textures and timbres in 'To Chorus From Quartet. The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c.1390-1559.'¹²

Ian Payne continued Roger Bowers' examination of choral forces and textures; his published Ph.D. thesis, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge*

¹¹ Harper, J., *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Centuries: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991).

¹² Bowers, R., 'To chorus from quartet: the performing resource for English church polyphony, c.1390-1559', in Morehen, J., (ed.) *English Choral Practice 1400-1600* (Cambridge, 1995), 1-47.

Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547 - c. 1646,¹³ focused in particular on the acquisition, copying, and performance of polyphony in the prominent ecclesiastical institutions of East Anglia, including the choral foundations of King's College and Trinity College, Cambridge, as well as musical activity in the smaller colleges of Jesus, Christ's, St. John's, and Peterhouse, Cambridge. Payne also compiled a valuable body of biographical information of masters of choristers and organists. Like Bowers, Beth Ann Lee-De Amici pursued an in-depth investigation into the acquisition and performance of sacred music, including polyphony; however, in contrast to Bowers' doctoral study, Lee-De Amici's thesis, 'Ad Sustentacionem Fidei Christiani: Sacred Music and Ceremony in Medieval Oxford',¹⁴ highlighted the roles of fellows and scholars in the musical liturgy at four Oxford collegiate foundations. Lee-De Amici demonstrated how, contrary to popular scholarly belief, fellows and scholars of university foundations - not only chaplains, clerks, and choristers - acted as active performers of ceremony and sacred music, including polyphony. In addition, her study acknowledged an integration of religious and educational functions within the Oxford colleges and provided a reassessment of musical performance practice at the medieval university.

Whereas the studies of Harrison, Le Huray, Bowers, and more recent ones such as those of Payne, Williamson, and Lee-De Amici concentrate to a great degree on specific music sources and institutions that reflect quality polyphony and a balanced choral texture through c. 1550, the current study has broadened the scope to include colleges like St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, where singers are only mentioned briefly in the original statutes, and vocal resources for complex polyphony were absent or limited, but where textures might have included improvised polyphony (e.g. faburden and descant), composed polyphony, and organ polyphony up to 1558, as well as performance of vocal polyphony with organ thereafter. As Lee-De Amici realised (and to a certain degree, Magnus Williamson), the participation of fellows and scholars in the choral forces of smaller foundations was vital; this thesis probes deeper into this body of singers, highlighting the valuable

¹³ Payne, I., *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646* (New York & London, 1993).

¹⁴ Lee-De Amici, B.A., 'Ad Sustentacionem Fidei Christiani: Sacred Music and Ceremony in Medieval Oxford', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Pennsylvania, 1999). Available online at: www.proquest.com/products-services/dissertations and <http://opac.regesta-imperii.de>.

contribution of well trained former choristers at St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford. Finally, in contrast to the previous studies mentioned above, this study contributes to the broader historical and musical panorama within the Church, exceeding the chronological limitations of the previous studies; it also provides a perspective neglected in the previous studies: the influence of heads of house and selected fellows upon religious and musical change at national and collegiate levels and upon the deployment of polyphony and the organ in the selected smaller foundations through c. 1650. In various college histories and studies a large body of attention has been devoted to the philosophical, moral, political, and religious proclivities of heads of house and prominent fellows, especially those who went on to hold prestigious positions in the Church or government. Far too little attention has been accorded their musical proclivities - tastes and inclinations that often resulted in drastic alterations in chapel liturgy and music. In summary: the previous studies examine which changes occurred in regard to devotion and choral performance and to a smaller extent the non-musical proclivities of heads of house and other prominent figures; this study investigates the reasons for the implementation of devotion and choral performance with organs as well as the religious and musical tastes of the individuals responsible for introducing and enforcing them.

Current historical studies of English educational collegiate foundations and universities

Helen Jeffries and Francis Knights have provided two vignettes of choral provision at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The value of Jeffries' study lies in her establishing the presence of a body of trained ex-choristers amplifying the polyphonic potential of the singing body at Corpus Christi.¹⁵ Knights, though suggesting the possibility of polyphony, added little to our understanding of the true potential of the chapel staff and membership.¹⁶

¹⁵ Jeffries, H.M., "'But a Musician" - The Importance of the Underdog in Musico-Historical Research', in Jackson, J.H., and Pelkey, S.C., (eds.), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Mississippi, 2005), 23-43.

¹⁶ Knights, F., 'The Choral Foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford', *The Organ*, 70 (1991), 444, 446-7.

Lee-De Amici intensified her research of Oxford choral foundations, highlighting the constitution of the medieval choir of All Souls College.¹⁷ This broadened our understanding of musical practice at smaller university colleges, particularly those where a less formal body of chapel music and musicians was provided *en lieu* of extensive statutory provision for a formally constituted choir. This is particularly relevant to the current study, which focuses on smaller colleges with limited vocal resources.

Relevant historical and musicological studies since c. 1965

The vast transformation of Reformation historiography over the past forty years has opened up a fresh new view of the religious and musical world of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, addressing many areas neglected in previous Reformation studies. In particular, the revisionist wave of Reformation historiography that began in the 1960s has been augmented by a great number of studies that have honed and refined our fundamental understanding of the religious Reformations of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I. In 1964, A.G. Dickens advanced the evangelical Foxe-Strype narrative, adding his own innovations to contemporary research methodology; this added a body of newly recovered regional and local archival evidence that augmented the already existing body of government-centred documents. By the early 1970s, as Dana Marsh observed, Sir Geoffrey Elton's extensive research had uncovered important dynamics, indicating popular resistance to Henrician reforms. A few years later, J.J. Scarisbrick collected much of the new data from regional studies and offered the first broadly revisionist view of lay responses to the Reformation.¹⁸ After the firm establishment of revisionism in the late 1980s, Christopher Haigh and others¹⁹ contributed to the notion of English

¹⁷ Lee-De Amici, B.A., 'Academic colleges in the Oxford community, 1400-1560', in Fiona Kisby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge, 2001), 94-105; 'Cum nota solenniter celebret: music in the chapel of All Souls College, Oxford, 1445-1550', *Renaissance Studies*, 18, Nr. 2 (June 2004), 171- 207.

¹⁸ Scarisbrick argued that the majority of English people had not been dissatisfied with the pre-Reformation Church, an institution that was comparatively free of corruption, particularly when viewed in contrast with the frequency of contemporary scandal in Rome. MacCulloch, D., 'Henry VIII and the Reform of the Church', in MacCulloch, D., (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII* (Basingstoke, 1995), 160; Marsh, 48.

¹⁹ Haigh, C., (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987); also Whiting, R., *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1989); Brigden, S., *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989);

'Reformations' (of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I) in order to describe in more precise detail 'the religious reversals and contrasts of disjointed regimes - with three reversals coming over a period of twelve years.'²⁰

More specific Reformation issues have been addressed by Eamon Duffy, Nicholas Tyacke, and Kenneth Fincham; these include, in particular, iconoclasm and the fate of ceremonial regalia and precious objects associated with the Latin rite. Duffy's seminal *The Stripping of the Altars*²¹ has provided us with the first comprehensive account of the rampant iconoclasm unleashed during the reign of Edward VI, illustrating its magnitude from cathedral to parish church. Whereas Duffy addresses iconoclasm on a broad scale, Tyacke and Fincham have chosen specifically to focus on one controversial element associated with both the traditional and reformed churches: the altar (and communion table);²² they chronicle its use and symbolism in early modern England, its revival in the 1630s, its demise in the 1640s, and its reintroduction with the return of the episcopacy in the 1660s. Tyacke and Fincham's work has an impact on this study in light of the relationship shared between altars and communion tables and the placement of organs; this will be highlighted in the organ case study in Supplement One to Volume II.

A great deal of ambiguous Reformation nomenclature contained in the dizzying body of Reformation literature, old and new, cries out for clarification, and the varying shades and hues of protestantism and its radical offshoots call for codification. Fortunately, a group of prominent authors have come to our aid: they include David Hoyle, Diarmaid MacCulloch, Patrick Collinson, Peter Lake, Judith Maltby, and Nicholas Tyacke. Hoyle brought us a comprehensive account of puritan outrage and iconoclasm on the eve of the Civil War;²³ and his monograph, *Reformation and Religious Identity in Cambridge, 1590-1644* (Cambridge, 2007), has helped to refine

MacCulloch, D., *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986); Haigh, C., *English Reformations: Religion, Society and Politics under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993); cited in Marsh, 48.

²⁰ Marsh, 48.

²¹ Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars* (London & New Haven, 2005).

²² Tyacke, N. and Fincham, K., *Altars Restored. The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007).

²³ Hoyle, D., 'A Commons Investigation of Arminianism and Popery in Cambridge on the Eve Of the Civil War', *The Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), 419-425.

Reformation terminology, defining the myriad of nuances attached to outdated labels such as 'Catholic'²⁴ or 'protestant'. Similarly, Diarmaid MacCulloch and Dana Marsh have opted for clearer labeling of basic Reformation terminology (i.e. 'evangelical' and 'conservative' or 'reformist' and 'traditionalist'). This thesis adopts the more precise labeling of Hoyle, Marsh, and MacCulloch.

Our understanding of the all-encompassing term 'protestantism' and its more aggressive offshoot 'puritanism' has been further refined by a number of authors. Hoyle's study presents a comprehensive view of Elizabethan protestantism from conformism to presbyterianism in Cambridge, and Nicholas Tyacke focuses on a particular group of conformists: anti-Calvinists. The attitudes of protestants toward ceremony, music, and the traditions of the pre-Reformation Church remain particular filters in this thesis. For example, when Hoyle and Tyacke address conformists and anti-Calvinists wed to the *Book of Common Prayer* they recognise that although few conformists were enthusiastic about ceremonies, they were sufficiently comfortable with the idea of episcopacy to accept preferment, if it were offered.²⁵ Contemporary historians like Judith Maltby have chosen the term 'non-conformist' (after this point, 'nonconformist') to specify individuals demanding more reform than that provided by the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1559.²⁶ These nonconformists were content to labour on in the name of evangelism and wrestle with the methods of the national Church. Peter Lake has taken extensive pains to reveal varying degrees of conservatism and extremism within this one group; Lake's *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church* ²⁷ has focused on the varying degrees of puritanism inherent among a specific group of divines, including Edward Dering, Thomas Cartwright, William Whitaker, and Laurence Chaderton, all of whom passed through the University of Cambridge between 1560 and 1600. In the quest for an understanding of 'puritansim' Lake and

²⁴ Marsh's research showed that evangelicals labeled themselves 'Catholic' through c. 1550; Thomas Cromwell, Miles Coverdale, Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, for example, all associated the term with the evangelical agenda. Thomas Cranmer continued to refer to his core doctrine as 'Catholic' despite a radically reformed view of the Eucharist. However, from the 1540s onward religious radicals writing from the Continent began distancing themselves from the term; eventually a disassociation from the term 'Catholic' occurred among the evangelicals, who began to associate this term with 'antichrist'. Marsh, 28-9.

²⁵ Hoyle, D., *Reformation and Religious Identity in Cambridge, 1590-1644* (Cambridge, 2007), 37; Tyacke, N., *Anti-Calvinists. The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1989), 4-6, 52.

²⁶ Maltby, J., *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Oxford, 2000).

²⁷ Lake, P. *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982).

Collinson highlight the figure of Edward Dering, Collinson going so far as to call Dering's puritanism 'authentic protestantism'.²⁸ Diarmaid MacCulloch's work, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, contributed further to the religious colouring of Edwardine evangelism and Elizabethan protestantism.²⁹

A number of contemporary books and articles have addressed the English organ during the period of the Reformation(s). Stephen Bicknell's *The History of the English Organ*³⁰ has provided us with a comprehensive groundwork with which to classify English organs from the tenth century to the present day; it has also presented valuable material on organs built between 1534 and 1660. The work of John Caldwell has contributed not only to English organs but to all English keyboard instruments,³¹ and his edited musical works for *Musica Britannica* have proven highly valuable in the execution and performance practice of *The Mulliner Book* and *Tudor Keyboard Music, c. 1520-80*.³² Robert Pacey and Michael Popkin have provided us an extensive overview of the organs of Oxford.³³ Finally, a number of important works have been written by Nicholas Thistlethwaite, including: a comprehensive monograph on the organs of Cambridge,³⁴ the most authoritative article to date addressing the Thomas Dallam organ for King's College, Cambridge (1605/06), as well as a further articles focusing on the development of the King's College organ.³⁵

Other recent English Reformation studies

The contemporary hunger for thorough and wide-ranging accounts of the Reformation and its music has produced a number of notable studies over the past two decades; often incorporating interdisciplinary collaboration across the

²⁸ Collinson, P., *A mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism; the life and letters of 'Godly Master Dering'* (London, 1964), 28.

²⁹ MacCulloch, D., *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, 2nd edn. (London, 2001).

³⁰ Bicknell, S., *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996).

³¹ Caldwell, J., *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1973).

³² Caldwell, J., *Tudor Keyboard Music, ca. 1520-1580*, *Musica Britannica*, 66 (London, 1995); Caldwell, J., *The Mulliner Book*, *Musica Britannica*, 1 (London, 2011).

³³ Pacey, R., and Popkin, M., *The Organs of Oxford* (Oxford, 1980).

³⁴ Thistlethwaite, N., *The Organs of Cambridge* (Oxford, 2008).

³⁵ Thistlethwaite, N., 'The organ of King's College, Cambridge, 1605 - 1802', *BIOS Journal*, 32 (2008), 4-42; 'Boris Ord and the reconstruction of the organ in King's College, Cambridge: 1932-4', *BIOS Journal*, 31 (2007), 6-39; 'Dr Mann and the organ of King's College, Cambridge: 1857-1912', *BIOS Journal*, 29 (2005), 19-44.

humanities, they have instilled fresh energy into stagnant Reformation musicology. As Dana Marsh has argued, today's musicologists must focus on Reformation politics and historiography, drawing evidence not only from university and institutional archives, but also from the works and correspondence of leading court and ecclesiastical figures. His dissertation, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', which draws upon a large array of interdisciplinary sources, has been of particular value in widening our knowledge of the Henrician Reformation, including an in depth examination of the trial of John Merbecke and Merbecke's broader musical influence, the wider political and musical implications of the 'King's Litany' of 1544, as well as the contribution of two neglected figures to the Henrician musical narrative: Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Richard Sampson, dean of Henry VIII's Chapel Royal (1522-40).

In the realm of late medieval to post-Reformation music historiography a number of authors have delivered groundbreaking work. Both Magnus Williamson³⁶ and Jonathan Willis,³⁷ in their wide-ranging examinations of parish churchwarden's records, have addressed music quite different from the exalted repertory found at large choral foundations: both authors have chronicled the use of the organ in parishes, and Willis has placed special emphasis on the practice of congregational psalm-singing. Willis's book has also proven an invaluable source in illuminating the highly neglected musical practice of the English Reformation; it delivers an abundance of documentation on the musical inclinations of Reformation figureheads as well as the principal polemical writings and apologia addressing religion, music, and organs.

Rob Wegman's comprehensive research into Renaissance humanism and the role of Erasmus in *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530*³⁸ has contributed to many existing general studies addressing the religious, political, and social problems confronting Continental and English choir and organ music preceding the Henrician Reformation. Wegman's enlightening study of Erasmus

³⁶ Williamson, M. 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', in Burgess, C., and Duffy, E. (eds.), *The Parish in Late Medieval England. Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2006), 177 - 224.

³⁷ Willis, J.P., *Church Music and Protestantism in Post Reformation England* (London, 2010).

³⁸ Wegman, R., *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530* (New York, 2005).

focused not only upon his estimable contribution to humanism and its corresponding curriculum in the universities; it also demonstrated how Erasmus's objections to English ecclesiastical music and his opinions regarding contemporary pre-Reformation music in Europe as a whole may have eclipsed emerging tastes in English liturgical music.

Whereas Marsh and Wegman have addressed humanism and its possible educational and musical influences on the Reformation, Hyun-Ah Kim has pursued this avenue with greater intensity in *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England*.³⁹ Current scholarship, in her opinion, concurs that Renaissance humanism played 'an indispensable role in the origin and development of the Reformation'; she has devoted a large portion of this work to a valuable examination of John Merbecke's *Booke of common praier noted* (1550).

Eamon Duffy has continued his narrative of post-Reformation Roman Catholicism in England with two recent works. In *Fires of Faith*⁴⁰ Duffy presents us with a definitive account of the Marian apologetic and ecclesiastical reform under the clerical leader of Mary Tudor's regime, the archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Reginald Pole (archbishop, 1555-57).⁴¹ In *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*⁴² he augments the Catholic narrative of the pre- and post-Reformations and traces the experience of Catholicism in an age of upheaval, adding a valuable essay on the theology of John Fisher. Richard Rex, who also provided us with authoritative insights into the persona and theology of John Fisher in 1991,⁴³ has recently breathed new life into the religious and political society of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the sixteenth century; in a thorough survey across the humanities he has also provided us a few musical clues.⁴⁴ Another biography of John Fisher by Maria Dowling has probed deeper into the psychology and theology of the most prolific theologian and preacher

³⁹ Kim, H., *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England* (London, 2008).

⁴⁰ Duffy, E., *Fires of Faith. Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (London, 2009).

⁴¹ Pole had developed powerful contacts in the Vatican under Pope Paul III, who entrusted him with various commissions; he was made Cardinal on 22 December 1536, after which his relationship with Henry VIII deteriorated rapidly.

⁴² Duffy, E., *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition* (London, 2012).

⁴³ Rex, R., *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁴⁴ Notably, the attitudes of Master James Pilkington and his brother Leonard toward organs and psalm-singing after the accession of Elizabeth I. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 60-3.

of his day, providing vital information surrounding the founding of St. John's College, Cambridge.⁴⁵ Clayton Drees' biography of Richard Fox has delivered a compelling examination of Fisher's mentor, including a discussion of the nebulous education of Fox, his Magdalen College roots, and his fundamental precepts for the founding of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.⁴⁶

A recent body of work has been devoted to specific issues relevant to this thesis. David Skinner's recent research on the Tallis fragment, *Gaude gloriosa dei mater*, discovered in plasterwork at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, makes the startling suggestion that Henry VIII's sixth and last queen, Katherine Parr, was the author of the *contrafactum* text of Tallis's Henrician masterpiece.⁴⁷ John Milsom contributed extensively to the analysis of this valuable fragment in 1982;⁴⁸ the Tallis fragment will be explored in greater detail in the Corpus Christi College case study (Chapter Five).⁴⁹ John Harper's article, 'Sonic Ceremonial in Sixteenth-Century English Liturgy',⁵⁰ examined Nicholas Heath's Injunctions for Rochester Cathedral in 1544, addressing the musical alterations made after the realignment of the cathedrals of the Old Foundation with those of the New Foundation; more importantly, it illuminated the devotional week according to the Use of Salisbury celebrated at Rochester. Harper's more recent research has shed light upon the ceremony and music of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace, and that of the Chapels Royal of Charles I and his queen, Henrietta Maria; he has also addressed the music and liturgy associated with King's College, Aberdeen, after its foundation in 1505.

This can be no more than a summary of the literature, across a range of disciplines, which underpins the present thesis; but, of course, the primary manuscript sources still preserved in the individual college archives and libraries lie at its core.

⁴⁵ Dowling, M., *Fisher of Men: a life of John Fisher, 1465-1535* (Basingstoke, 1999).

⁴⁶ Drees, C., *Bishop Richard Fox of Winchester* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2014).

⁴⁷ This has been addressed in Skinner's paper entitled "'Deliver me from my deceitful enemies': A Tallis Contrafactum in Time of War", which was given as part of the symposium: 'Thomas Tallis: Chronology, Contexts and Discoveries' held 16 November 2015 at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

⁴⁸ Milsom, J., 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', *The Musical Times*, 123, No. 1672 (June 1982), 429-31.

⁴⁹ See Chapter Five, 291-4.

⁵⁰ Harper, J., 'Sonic Ceremonial in Sixteenth-Century English Liturgy', *BIOS Journal*, 35 (2011), 6-19.

**PART 1 - PRE-REFORMATION CONTEXTS/LANDMARKS OF
POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE**

CHAPTER ONE

THE PRE-REFORMATION CONTEXT, c. 1534

1. College foundations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: four notable examples

If one were to take a wide angle shot of the English Church through c. 1455 it would reveal a large panorama of institutions that practiced forms of worship and music closely connected to those of the Roman rite but prescribed in the ritual Use⁵¹ of Salisbury - that is to say, the ritual practice originally codified at Salisbury Cathedral, subsequently disseminated through the greater part of England and Wales, and officially adopted as the norm by 1542. The Church's late medieval ecclesiastical institutions, which often housed high-caliber choral forces and music, were comprised of monastic churches, monastic churches serving as cathedrals, secular (i.e., non-monastic) cathedrals, other prebendal colleges, parish churches, as well as a further group of collegiate churches and educational colleges.

Aside from around 10,000 parish churches (varying from the very modest to the large and richly endowed), monastic churches and foundations undoubtedly formed the largest group of institutions that made up the medieval English Church. The next significant group of institutions consisted of secular cathedrals and colleges. There were three types of collegiate church: collegiate churches serving as cathedrals, free-standing collegiate churches, and collegiate churches combined with a parish church.⁵² All these were comprised of substantial church buildings, and most often

⁵¹ 'Use' is distinguished from 'rite' (the order and content of the liturgy) and 'ceremony' (related to the conduct and style of an action or event). 'Use' identifies a regional, diocesan, or local variant of the Western Latin Rite. Harper, *FO*, 13-14.

⁵² There were three types of collegiate church: solitary-standing collegiate churches like Beverly, Ripon, or Southwell; collegiate churches serving as cathedrals such as Chichester, Hereford, Wells, York, or St. Paul's, London; and collegiate churches combined with parish church, which might be represented by Manchester or Tattershall, Lincolnshire.

their funding came from prebends. The largest of these establishments were served by deans, canons, vicars choral, and choristers, though numbers varied considerably.

There was another category of collegiate foundation whose chapel (rather than church) was integrated with the domestic buildings of the college. This included the royal college of St. Stephen within Westminster Palace, and of St. George within Windsor Castle, as well as the colleges of Cambridge and Oxford Universities and institutions like Eton College and Winchester College. While the royal colleges had deans and canons, the educational institutions had fellows, chaplains, clerks, and choristers. In all these ecclesiastical foundations there was an expectation that all would be competent in singing plainchant, and the majority included a group consisting variously of vicars, clerks, chaplains, and/or choristers with skills in both improvised and written-down polyphony. To these can be added those foundations whose functions were primarily intercessory, effectively collegiate chantries. Although intercessory duties were part of the remit of the educational colleges in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford with their sister colleges in Eton and Winchester, there were also colleges in the aristocratic/dynastic tradition of St. Mary-in-the-Newark, Leicester, and Edward the Duke of York's college of Fotheringhay. One last category comprised the household chapels of which the most pre-eminent was the Chapel Royal - a division of the royal household that accompanied the king wherever he went. In the early fifteenth century the royal household chapel of Henry V was notably lavish.⁵³ Other members of the royal family and the senior nobility maintained their own household chapels with significant musical forces, including at the end of the fifteenth century the Duke of Northumberland, Henry Percy (1478 - 1527), and the king's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, for example. Such household chapels might also extend to bishops; a chapel to rival the Chapel Royal was established in the first decades of the sixteenth century by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey.

A brief examination of four highly influential fourteenth-century foundations - the royal foundations of St. Stephen, Westminster Palace, and St. George, Windsor

⁵³ The royal household chapel of Henry V, the choir of which numbered over fifty by 1422, was the most lavish of all choral establishments in the early fifteenth century. Bowers, R., 'Choral Institutions within the English Church: their Constitution and Development 1340-1500', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, (University of East Anglia, 1975), 4031; Williamson, M., 'The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background', unpublished D.Phil. Thesis (University of Oxford, 1997), 142.

Castle, and William of Wykeham's educational foundations at Oxford and Winchester - provide us with a groundwork for investigating the two featured case study colleges of this thesis. They set a benchmark with which to compare liturgical and musical practice before and after the radical liturgical reforms of 1547 and 1558. But before we examine these royal and educational foundations, it might be helpful to quickly define two basic terms: 'college' and 'foundation'.

After the medieval universities and their constituent groups of religious/educational corporations (some called 'colleges', though the majority called 'halls') had been established, these corporations all began to adopt the unified name 'college'. Willis and Clark defined a university college as an 'incorporated body of men living together' in halls, hostels, and later 'colleges' for the purpose of study.⁵⁴ During the Middle Ages, the majority of these 'colleges' were 'foundations'.⁵⁵ In her article on musical foundations in medieval Europe, Barbara Haggh defined a foundation as a corporate entity (such as a college, chantry, or monastery) or a special observance within such an entity (for example, an anniversary obit or an extra antiphon sung after Mass) created by an initial bequest or endowment.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Willis, R., and Clark, J., *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton* (Cambridge, 1886, republished 1988), vol. I, xxxi.

⁵⁵ Lee-De Amici, B.A., 'Ad Sustentacionem Fidei Christiani: Sacred Music and Ceremony in Medieval Oxford', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 3.

⁵⁶ Haggh, B., 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta musicologica*, 68 (1996), 87-128. This could also include a foundation within a college that endowed scholarships or fellowships for a specific purpose, for example, to recruit trained ex-choristers for the choir; this is exemplified in the Keyton, Thimbleby, and Mountstephen foundations at St. John's College, Cambridge.

2. Two royal foundations: St. Stephen, Westminster Palace, and St. George, Windsor Castle

St. Stephen, Westminster Palace

It has been traditionally argued that upon witnessing the consecration of the Sainte Chapelle (the private chapel of the French kings) in Paris in 1248, King Henry III was so impressed with the building that he decided to construct a royal chapel to rival it in his palace at Westminster.⁵⁷ The construction of Henry III's chapel in Westminster Palace was begun in 1292 and continued under his successors, achieving completion in the early 1350s, during the reign of Edward III.⁵⁸ It took the form of a single-celled building with two storeys; the chapel's upper storey was used by the royal family, and the lower storey, by the royal household and courtiers (see below, Illustration 1.1. The chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster Palace). The chapel was re-conceived and adapted as a collegiate chapel after the foundation of the college of St. Stephen by Edward III in 1348. Similarly, Henry III built a chapel at Windsor Castle intended for his use in the king's apartments in the lower bailey, while the queen had use of the chapel adjacent to her apartments in the upper bailey. Henry III's chapel in Windsor Castle was refounded by Edward III as the college of St. George (sister college to the college of St. Stephen, Westminster) a few years later in 1352 (the queen's chapel at Windsor became the Chapel Royal).

Services in the chapels of St. Stephen, Westminster Palace, and St. George's, Windsor, followed the devotional day prescribed by the Use of Salisbury.⁵⁹ St. Stephen's was staffed with a substantial body of clergy; this included a dean, twelve canons, thirteen priest-vicars, four clerks, six choristers, and three officers. Many of the canons were committed to duties as judges in the courts at Westminster, and the day-to-day conduct of the services will have rested for the most part on the vicars,

⁵⁷ Cooke, R., *The Palace of Westminster* (London, 1987); Steane, J., *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales* (London, 1985), 7. The current research project investigating the history of St. Stephen's through the nineteenth century, based at the University of York, is challenging some of these previously accepted views. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that St. Stephen's mirrors the Sainte-Chapelle in the provision for a lower, undercroft chapel, and an upper, lofty principal chapel.

⁵⁸ Harrison, *MMB*, 19.

⁵⁹ For a detailed schedule of the liturgical day at St. Stephen's see below, Table 1.1. The devotional day according to the Use of Salisbury, derived primarily from the requirement at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 43.

clerks, choristers, and officers. Evidently highly skilled, the choir of St. Stephen's performed not only the large body of chant associated with the Latin rite, but a substantial polyphonic repertory that also included the use of the organ. This repertory included works contained in the great choirbook now belonging to Caius College, Cambridge, which was executed at the expense of one of the canons, Edward Higgon, and presented to the chapel. The exceptional capabilities of this choir may be exemplified by the Mass, *Lapidaverunt Stephanum* ('They stoned Stephen'),⁶⁰ by the chapel organist, Nicholas Ludford (c. 1485 - 1557), one of the composers featured in the choirbook and one of a distinguished line of musicians associated with St. Stephen's chapel.⁶¹

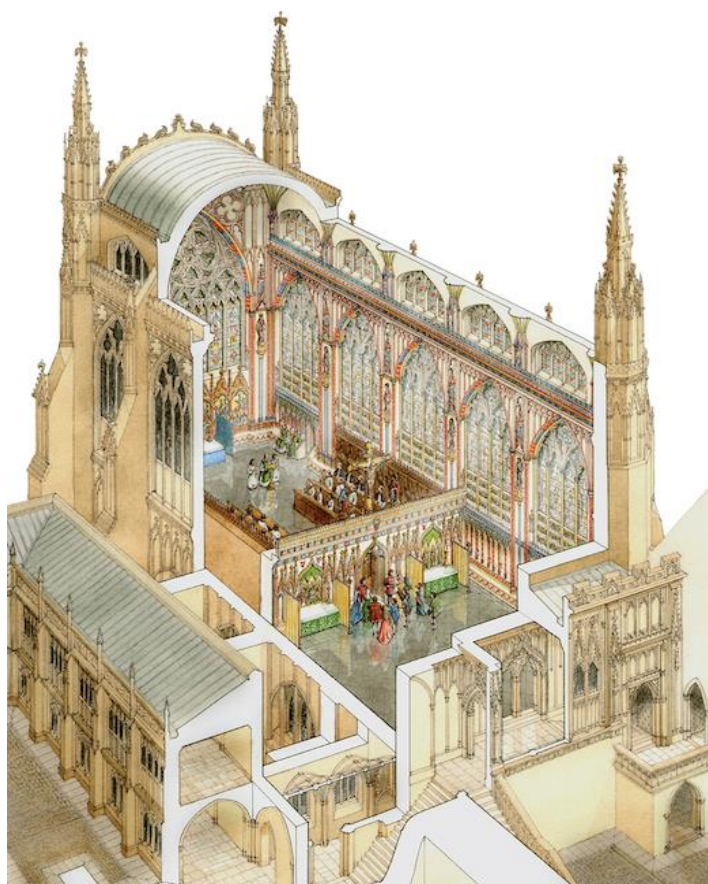


Illustration 1.1 The chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster Palace.⁶²

⁶⁰ The Mass was based on a plainsong antiphon, *Lapidaverunt Stephanum*, sung at Lauds on the feast day of St. Stephen.

⁶¹ Ludford held the joint posts of verger and organist during the last two decades of the college's life. As verger he was effectively in charge of the management of the liturgy and ritual of the chapel; as organist he would have performed during the liturgy daily, notably on Sundays and feast days. Harper, J., 'A medieval sacred space animated: the ritual and music of St Stephen's chapel', unpublished paper given at the St. Stephen's, Westminster conference, September 2016.

⁶² Image provided by Stephen Conlin: Artwork © Stephen Conlin. Artwork commissioned by Country Life Magazine. Pictu Limited. 5 Ridgewood, Knoll Hill, Bristol BS9 1QZ.

St. George, Windsor Castle

Edward III's second religious college of St. George, Windsor, was conceived along lines similar to St. Stephen's, Westminster, and founded in 1352. The new college at Windsor was attached to the Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, which like St. Stephen's had been constructed by Henry III in the early thirteenth century. Edward III then had the chapel re-dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. George the Martyr; Edward III's works at St. George's also provided a religious core for the Order of the Garter.⁶³ The chapel staffing included a warden (i.e. dean), twelve canons, thirteen priest-vicars, four singing clerks, and six choristers; according to the statutes, one of the vicars was to instruct the choristers in grammar and singing and was given the title *informator choristarum* or 'master of the choristers'. The chapel staffing was augmented during the period from 1475 to 1528,⁶⁴ and the original structure was expanded into a large cathedral-size chapel by the master mason, Henry Janyns, under the direction of Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury. The so-called 'Horseshoe Cloister' was constructed for a new community of forty-five junior members, including a warden, dean gospeller, sixteen vicars, thirteen lay clerks, two clerks epistoler, and thirteen choristers. Notable composers associated with St. George's Chapel include Thomas Damett (d. 1437), Nicholas Sturgeon (d. 1453), Walter Lambe (*informator choristarum*, jointly with William Edmunds 1479-80 and sole *informator*, 1483-84), Richard Hampshire (*informator*, 1492, 1496-99), and John Merbeck (clerk, 1531; *informator*, 1558-59).⁶⁵

⁶³ Colvin, H. M., Brown, R.A., and Taylor, A. J., *The History of the King's Works*, 2 (London, 1963), 870-82, 998-1000; Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 28.

⁶⁴ The expansion was begun by Edward IV, who created a 'new' foundation incorporated by an Act of Parliament. Expansion was continued by Henry VII and Henry VIII. Harrison, *MMB*, 20.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-1.

3. William of Wykeham's foundations at Oxford and Winchester: the statutes

Educational college foundations separated themselves from the royal college foundations, in that they were training grounds for future civil ecclesiastical servants, in particular, for the vastly depleted clergy of the late fourteenth century.⁶⁶ An investigation of educational college foundations and their chapels and the religious rites and music performed in them relies heavily upon an examination of the contractual terms set forth in foundation documents: these included foundation charters,⁶⁷ royal and benefaction charters,⁶⁸ and papal bulls;⁶⁹ however, the most relevant documents to this investigation are the college statutes.

Aside from dictating the administration, governance, course of study, worship, and devotion within a college, the statutes determined the capacities and purposes of musicians: while fellows and scholars formed the core of the foundation, chaplains, clerks, and choristers provided a body whose prime responsibilities were liturgical and musical.⁷⁰ We can thank Walter de Merton for the first university college charter and body of statutes - the so-called 'Rule of Merton', dated 1264. Often college statutes were altered in various recensions to incorporate contemporary changes in religion, education, and music, or to accommodate increases in membership and architectural expansion of the college; after several alterations Merton's statutes achieved their final form in 1274.

⁶⁶ The Black Death was largely responsible for waning numbers of clergy. See below, 27, nt. 81. Rashdall, H., and Rait, R.S., *New College*, University of Oxford College Histories (Oxford, 1901), 5-6.

⁶⁷ The foundation charter of King's College was given by Henry VI in 1443.

⁶⁸ Richard II provided letters of patent in July 1379, which granted the city a licence to sell lands for the founding of New College, a charter on 1 August, as well as a declaration in 1383 providing his protection and exempting all persons and goods involved with the building of the college from tolls and customs. The purchase of large quantities of wood from the forest of Windsor between 1396 and 1403 may indicate the patronage of both Richard II and Henry IV. Jackson-Stops, G., 'The Building of the Medieval College', in Buxton, J., and Williams, P. (eds.), *New College Oxford 1379-1979* (Oxford, 1979), 152.

⁶⁹ New College was the first foundation in Cambridge or Oxford to achieve extra-parochial rights granted by papal authority. The Papal Bull of Boniface IX in 1389 secured it the right to construct its own cloister and chapel where members could be buried, to build its own bell tower, and (in addition to the celebration of weekly Masses) the celebration of the principal (high) Mass in the chapel on Sundays. NCA, 9841. Documents relating to immunities and privileges.

⁷⁰ Lee-De Amici's research has contradicted traditional historiography that placed the liturgical and musical leadership of college devotion in the hands of the chapel staff and heads of house. She has determined that fellows and scholars played a substantial role in the liturgical and musical celebration of the liturgy, and that they participated at times in polyphonic sections of the liturgy. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 4, 112.

After careful consideration of the infrastructure and statutes of colleges already established in Oxford, in particular the 'Rule of Merton', William of Wykeham (1320 - 1404) composed an unprecedented series of statutes for his own foundations: a university foundation at Oxford (New College, 1379),⁷¹ and a sister preparatory foundation at Winchester (Winchester College, 1382).⁷² The Statutes of New College, composed in 1386, revised in 1389,⁷³ and finalised in 1400,⁷⁴ went on to surpass those of Merton in scope and purpose. These statutes regulated curriculum, college administration, and governance, as well as devotion,⁷⁵ and came to form the backbone of the future university college system. Wykeham's foundations of New College and Winchester College may be regarded as the pillars upon which the intellectual and religious educational movement of the late Middle Ages in England rested. Although radical changes were made to liturgical and musical practice within

⁷¹ Royal licence from Richard II to found the college and hold land 'in mortmain' was acquired on 30 June 1379. Five months later, on 26 November, Wykeham delivered his own charter, providing the imposing 'Seinte Marie college of Wynchestre in Oxenford' with the legal symbols of a corporate body. The name 'New College' became frequently used in order to distinguish itself from the older college of St. Mary (Oriel). Jones, A.H.M., 'New College', in *Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, vol. III (Oxford, 1954), 154, 155.

⁷² Wykeham's vision was to encompass all stages of education. At 'Collegium Sanctae Mariae prope Wintoniam' (Saint Mary College of Winchester) poor boys would be trained in grammar to become proficient in Latin, which had after the rediscovery of Aristotle at the outset of the thirteenth century (and the death of the incipient humanism of the twelfth) fell into neglect. Due to the deplorable levels of Latin proficiency in Oxford, a strong fundament in Latin became a prerequisite for admittance to Winchester's university partner, New College. All new members of the college in Oxford were to be former scholars of the school at Winchester and were to have attained the (comparatively mature) age of sixteen: it was vital to Wykeham to allow them sufficient time to master Latin. Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 26.

⁷³ The new statutes given in 1389 were a response to strife and indiscipline and most likely transferred executive responsibility for the college's finances from the warden to the three bursars. Storey, R.L. 'The Foundation and the Medieval College 1379-1530', in Buxton, J., and Williams, P., *New College Oxford 1370-1979* (Oxford, 1979), 8.

⁷⁴ Citations from the statutes will be drawn from the recensions of 1386, 1389, and 1400, the latter representing a finalised set of 1394. That of 1400 has been taken from the Harleian Manuscript, No. 1343, in the British Museum, transcribed in 1631. That text was collated with the Hargrave Manuscript, No. 337, also in the British Museum, which was also transcribed and intended for use by the bishop of Winchester and his successors in their capacity as college Visitors after 1660. The 1400 copy of the statutes has been reprinted in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford: with Royal Patents of foundation Injunctions of Visitors...*, vol. I (Oxford, 1853); unless otherwise indicated, statute citations in this thesis will be drawn from this copy.

⁷⁵ Walter de Merton gave barely any regulations for the Divine service beyond providing chaplains to say Mass and the Office Hours in the parish church that had become impropriated by the college. Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 54.

the college over the course of the Long Reformation,⁷⁶ Wykeham's statutes survived with no significant alterations until the nineteenth century.

It has been suggested that the educational and religious mandates set by the statutes of New College may be linked to the two related careers pursued by Wykeham himself: within the Church,⁷⁷ and in government.⁷⁸ Tremendous success at Court spurred Wykeham's desire to train a future generation of civil and canon servants; this provided the primary inspiration to found educational institutions, an inclination shared by the more exalted clerics of the day.⁷⁹ In addition, there were two personal goals⁸⁰ that appear to have driven Wykeham in the foundation of his colleges and conception of his statutes: first, the need to garner new priests to defend the faith, particularly after the Black Death had decimated so many of the clergy;⁸¹ and

⁷⁶ These included: the abolition of the Latin rite after 1558; changes incurred by the 1562 Injunctions of Bishop Horne; and the abolition of the Prayer Book and the substitution of the presbyterian for the Anglican form of worship by Parliamentary authority after 1648.

⁷⁷ Wykeham allegedly entered holy orders at the command of Edward III in order 'to qualify himself for the ecclesiastical preferment with which his master desired to reward his talents and services'. Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, lii. Perhaps his most influential post was that of bishop of Winchester, to which he was appointed in 1367. Aided by the wealth and power of one of the wealthiest dioceses in England as well the support of King Richard II, Wykeham was in an optimal position to found and endow the buildings of his two colleges dedicated to the Church and to education. Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', 152-3.

⁷⁸ Wykeham's secular career represented the fruits of intellect and education; it had grown from a humble grammar school education at Winchester and culminated in a number of highly influential positions. The first, 'Clerk of the King's Works' to Edward III, displayed his capacities as architect, which entailed, among other jobs, building parts of Windsor Castle. This involved the construction of the new royal lodgings in the upper ward of Windsor Castle. Jackson-Stops, 151. Further positions, including Keeper of the Privy Seal (1363) and Chancellor of England to both Edward III (1367) and later Richard II (1389-91), enlisted his political talents.

⁷⁹ Clerics of an elevated stature, such as Wykeham, founded ecclesiastical foundations of varying scale - the greater the cleric's fortune, the grander the foundation.

⁸⁰ A third goal might be added: to confute the anti-papal (and anti-musical) polemic of Lollardy (i.e. an early form of church reform that anticipated the tenets of later evangelicals) and the views of its principal proponent, John Wycliffe (c. 1320-1384). Wykeham later believed that Lollardy was creeping into the foundation and initiated means to eradicate and block it. Wykeham acknowledged the threat of Lollard subversion in Oxford, and his statutes aspire to a religious ideal under attack by Wycliffe. For example, Wykeham outlawed sermons in the college and the opportunity for Lollard heresy that they might provide; Wykeham limited sermons in college to once a year on the Feast of the Annunciation. Wykeham encountered further opposition from the Lollards in regard to his excessive wealth, Papal provision, and 'monstrous abuses of plurality and non-residence'. Rasdall and Rait, *New College*, 56. For more concerning the Lollard humiliation of Wykeham in 1376 see Leach, A.F., *A History of Winchester College* (London, 1899), 69-70. Wykeham's acerbic reaction to a ubiquitous Lollard threat is reflected in his attempts to build a learned militia of priests and clerks educated in the orthodox religion that could combat future threats. Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', 4012-13.

⁸¹ The Black Death had created a vast glut of vacancies. In 1361 Wykeham acquired from King Edward III a large batch of prebends, recently made vacant by the plague, including Abergwili, Llandewi, Brewi, Bromyard, Beverley, Wherwell, Hereford, and St. Paul's, among others. The list was

secondly, to create chantries to pray for Wykeham's soul, for those of the king (Richard II), and for those of Wykeham's benefactors, 'expediting their route through purgatory'.⁸² The balance of education and intercession remained a trait common to all succeeding founders influenced by Wykeham's model.

Out of Wykeham's core institutions radiated a string of foundations, whose 'Wykehamist'⁸³ founders modelled statutes after those of the twin foundations; these included Henry Chichele (founder, All Souls College, Oxford, 1438), William Waynflete (founder, Magdalen College, Oxford, 1459), and Henry VI (founder, Eton College, 1440, and King's College, Cambridge, 1441). All these foundations shared similar traits, and some, like Eton and King's, expanded upon Wykeham's model.

4. The purposes, structure, and governance of a Wykehamist foundation:⁸⁴ the example of New College, Oxford

Out of Wykeham's personal goals rose two broad purposes in the foundation of his colleges. These two sweeping goals are found at the outset of Wykeham's statutes, and can be found at more or less the identical point in the statutes of all succeeding foundations following the Wykehamist model. Priority is placed first and foremost upon the Church, and second upon education. In the opening section of the original 1386 Statutes of New College, Wykeham makes it clear that the college was first to serve the praise and glory of God, and then to provide education in the Liberal Arts and Sciences.⁸⁵ The opening of the Statutes for Magdalen College, Oxford (1480), drawn up by Wykeham's protégé, William Waynflete (1398 - 1486), is almost

augmented in 1363 by prebends in collegiate churches of Hastings and St. Stephen's, Westminster, and a pair of archdeaconries in Northampton and Lincoln. It is unlikely that Wykeham ever resided in any of these locations. In 1365 Pope Urban VI issued a papal Bull accounting for Wykeham's pluralities. At the time, Wykeham possessed one archdeaconry, one provostship, and ten canonries with prebends, the total value of which was £873, 6s, 8d. Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 5-6.

⁸² Jenkinson, M., *New College School, Oxford* (Oxford, 2013), 11.

⁸³ Contemporaries of Wykeham at New College as well as future members who venerated him and shared his political, religious, and musical inclinations became affectionately known as 'Wykehamists'. For example, a plea for aid to Bishop Warham in 1526 refers to 'ex collegio tuo Wychemensi'. Storey, 'The Foundation and the Medieval College', 9-10.

⁸⁴ I use this term to signify foundations modelled on those of Wykeham.

⁸⁵ See Vol. II, Appendix I. Opening sequences of selected Wykehamist statutes, 533-4.

identical to the opening of Wykeham's statutes for New College,⁸⁶ as is the opening of Henry VI's statutes for Eton and King's Colleges.⁸⁷

Wykeham's statutes go on to outline the membership and governance of the college. The statutes of all succeeding foundations made similar provision for the governance of the foundation.⁸⁸ Each college was headed by a chief executive officer and a secondary lieutenant, who served in place of the chief executive officer when necessary. Further officers controlled college finances and estates, and others assumed matters of discipline and academics. 'The highest-ranking officer had wide-ranging administrative powers and was responsible for general oversight of the foundation.'⁸⁹ At New College, Oxford, this man was called the warden; however, he was given different titles at other colleges.⁹⁰ The man holding the second-highest office at New College (and at Merton and All Souls Colleges, Oxford) was the subwarden.⁹¹ In all other Wykehamist foundations, including New College, the financial officers held the title of bursar,⁹² while those responsible for studies, discipline, and some religious matters were called deans.⁹³ The number and duties of the bursars and deans or their counterparts varied from college to college. Sharing a substantial body of power with the warden and subwarden at New College, were thirteen appointed seniors; they helped arbitrate in matters of dispute and controversy and - together with the warden and subwarden - voted on key issues and new members during elections. The thirteen seniors of New College included the five deans (of theology, canon law, civil law, and two of arts), and of the remaining eight seniors one was to study civil law and another canon law. A dean was also responsible for allocating liturgical duties, including those for chaplains, rulers of the choir, readers, and soloists for responsories and gradual in the chapel. Ideally, the

⁸⁶ See Vol. II, Appendix I, 533-4.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ The breakdown of the college government noted here is based on a description by Beth Ann Lee-De Amici. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 14.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ At Merton and All Souls, Oxford, this officer was also called the warden, but at Magdalen and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford, he was called the president; at Balliol, Oxford, and Jesus, Christ's, and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, he was labeled master, and at Oriel College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge, the provost.

⁹¹ At Magdalen and Corpus Christi, Oxford, he was called the 'vice-president'; however, at St. John's, Cambridge, the second-highest office was called the 'president'.

⁹² At New College there were three bursars.

⁹³ New College had five deans: one of theology, one of canon law, one of civil law, and two of arts.

entire membership of New College, including all college officers and chapel staff, numbered one hundred.

In addition to establishing these internal offices, Wykeham and successive Wykehamist founders also determined who would act as external Visitor. The Visitor's authority trumped that of the warden, if necessary, and it was the responsibility of the Visitor to ensure that the members of the college, including the warden and other officers, conducted themselves and the business of the college according to the demands of the statutes. Medieval Visitors to the colleges were generally bishops of an associated diocese. For example, at Oxford, the Visitor of New College and Magdalen (and later, Corpus Christi College) was the bishop of Winchester, because the founders of those colleges had held the post of bishop of Winchester.⁹⁴ The Visitor of King's College, Cambridge, was the bishop of Lincoln, while the Visitor of St. John's College, Cambridge, was the bishop of Ely.

In matters of acute controversy, particularly in matters of education and religion, the intervention of a reigning monarch or his officers was necessary. This became more frequent after Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII unleashed new religious and liturgical reforms following the dissolution of monasteries and cathedral priories between 1536 and 1540. The reforms resulted in diocesan calamity on a national scale, requiring the realignment of monastic cathedrals and monasteries with the newly founded cathedrals. At the universities, the king and his ministers had further issues to address: for example, in 1535, Thomas Cromwell intervened at New College to impose the humanist curriculum, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, during the same year he had all traces and influences of the founder, Bishop John Fisher, eradicated.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ The Visitor to All Souls was the archbishop of Canterbury, for the similar reason. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 15.

⁹⁵ Fisher refused to acknowledge Henry VIII's divorce from Katharine of Aragon; he was executed in 1535 after a controversial imprisonment and trial.

A note on Wykeham's buildings

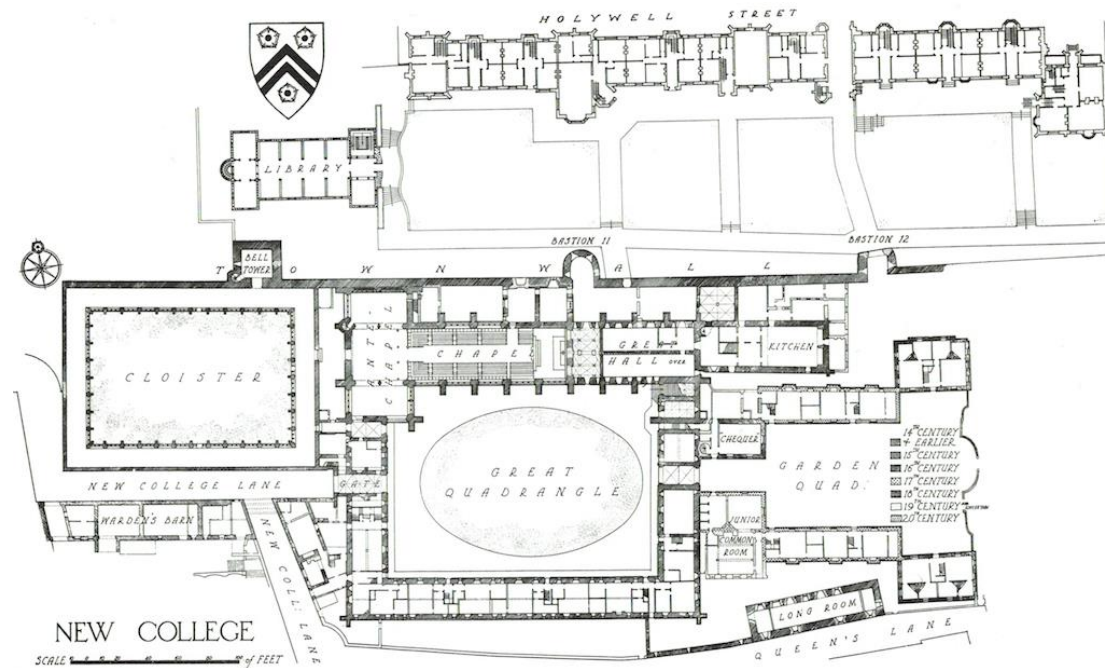


Illustration 1.2 Ground plan of New College.⁹⁶

Wykeham's experience at Windsor as 'Clerk of the King's Works' during Edward III's reign proved highly influential in the groundbreaking architecture of New College, which became a model for future colleges. In addition to a traditional group of buildings that had become normative in most colleges by 1360,⁹⁷ Wykeham and his builders, William Wynford, Hugh Herland, and Henry Yevele, succeeded in achieving a formidable set of architectural 'firsts': Wykeham was the first college founder who lived to see the completion of his conceptions (for both Winchester and New College) in a record period of six years; Wykeham created the first fully developed quadrangle plan; New College was first to place the chapel and hall back to back in one range - as at Windsor Castle; New College introduced the first T-shaped chapel,⁹⁸ the first cloister with a bell-tower (an echo of monastic building configuration), as well as the first gate-tower with warden's lodgings to be placed over it; New College also provided the first typical arrangement of mixed senior and

⁹⁶ Reprinted in Buxton and Williams, *New College*, 150.

⁹⁷ This included a chapel with vestry, dining hall and kitchen, library, and lodgings for warden and scholars. Wykeham developed the monastic-inspired quadrangle concept employed by Walter de Merton, placing his principal buildings around a central 'great quadrangle'.

⁹⁸ The chapel at Merton College was originally conceived as a cruciform building, though the nave was never built.

junior fellows' rooms; finally, New College contains the earliest surviving Perpendicular architecture in Oxford and the first groups of buildings to be faced entirely with dressed (Headington) stone.⁹⁹

The sheer size and breadth of Wykeham's chapel was unprecedented in Oxford, making it the most imposing church in the city. The chapel was the largest building of the college and dictated the form of all other buildings;¹⁰⁰ this was a reminder that devotion was to remain central to daily college life. Wynford's application of 'decorated' style and tracery in the enormous gridiron windows added to the novelty of the building. Wykeham adopted the ongoing tradition of dividing the quire¹⁰¹ and antechapel with a *pulpitum* (i.e. screen),¹⁰² as well as building a two-level vestry¹⁰³ on the northeast side of the building.

⁹⁹ See Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', 149 -190; Willis and Clark, 'The Collegiate Plan', in *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. III, 256-59.

¹⁰⁰ Wykeham may have conceived the chapel to be even larger and to include an antechapel (or 'nave' as Wykeham called it) seven bays long - an additional five bays longer than the antechapel actually built; however, Wykeham was unable to acquire the extra land necessary on the west. Jackson-Stops, 170; Gee, E.A., 'Oxford Masons 1370-1530', *Architectural Journal*, 109 (1952), 66-8.

¹⁰¹ *Nota bene*: in order to bar confusion between the terms 'quire' and 'choir', throughout this thesis the term 'quire' will be used to denote the portion of a chapel eastwards beyond the nave or antechapel, whereas 'choir' will signify a body of singers.

¹⁰² After this point 'pulpitum' will not be noted in italics, as the non-italicised form has become common usage.

¹⁰³ A similar structure at existed at Merton. Wykeham applied the concept at Winchester College, as well.

5. The fifteenth-century educational foundations of Henry VI: Eton College, Berkshire, and King's College, Cambridge

Foundation, statutes, buildings

Like William of Wykeham, Henry VI (1421 - 1471) planned two educational foundations in part to bolster the depleted clergy after the Black Death (1348-9) and to confute the heretical views of the Lollard, John Wycliffe, but also to educate doctors and lawyers.¹⁰⁴ Like Wykeham, Henry envisaged a preparatory school, Eton College (founded, 1440), from which members of King's College (founded, 1441) were to be recruited. Eton was originally founded in the aristocratic/dynastic tradition of the College of St. Mary-in-the-Newark, Leicester, and later expanded in the mid-1440s.¹⁰⁵ Though King's College was originally conceived on a smaller scale than Eton College, Henry VI was persuaded to expand his modest vision of a Cambridge university college with a rector and twelve scholars in 1441 to a royal foundation of seventy scholars and provost in 1443.

Henry's 'expanded' colleges of Eton and King's incorporated into their chapel worship a vast machinery of devotion,¹⁰⁶ which became essential to the perception of Henry as pious king, and to the 'royal' ethos Henry was attempting to establish. However, the king may not have acted alone: some scholars like Katherine Selway argue that the move to found Eton and King's was also integral in a public relations campaign on the part of the Lancastrian court to symbolise and advertise its own piety.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ The earliest statutes of King's College refer to the damage done by 'pestilencia' and the need to confute the views of Wycliffe and his disciple, Bishop Peacock. Morris, C., *King's College. A Short History* (Cambridge, 1989), 1.

¹⁰⁵ Eton also mirrored establishments like the Fitzalans' college at Arundel, Thomas Beauchamp's college at Warwick, and Edward, Duke of York's college of Fotheringhay, all located within sight of their founders' principal residences; like these establishments, Eton was to serve as chantry and mausoleum. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 29-30.

¹⁰⁶ This included a daily routine of seven Masses, including Lady Mass and High Mass, and the cycle of eight services of the Office. See Vol. II, Appendix III, 537-8.

¹⁰⁷ 'The king's piety is traditionally held responsible as the motivation behind the royal foundations, but it is clear that neither the king's piety, nor perhaps the king himself, lay at the heart of the matter.' Selway suggests that the primary motivation in the foundation of the two colleges was an effort to enhance the dignity of the Lancastrian monarchy; far from being a private, personal endeavour, Eton and King's represented 'very public, visible manifestations of Lancastrian piety, part of a public relations campaign which had begun after the deposition of Richard II in 1399'. Selway, K.E., 'The Role of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, in the Polity of the Lancastrian Monarchy', unpublished D.Phil. Thesis (Oxford University, 1994), 66.

But it was not just the Lancastrian Court that shaped the royal ethos of King's in its early days. The expansion of Henry's devotional vision, particularly in regard to ritual and music, was greatly influenced by Henry's visits to Winchester College and New College, Oxford, between 1441 and 1444. At New College, Henry was feted and took part in the lavish round of daily worship; during the king's visit in 1442/43, New College pulled out all the stops, sparing no expense for the king's well-being and even had Masses composed for the good of the king, adding them to the graduals in the choir beforehand.¹⁰⁸ King Henry became very familiar with the extensive musical provision of New College and the quality of its choir, which continued to honour him in prayer and music.¹⁰⁹ The visits to Winchester and New College made a striking impression on the twenty-one-year-old king, and Henry soon realised that this grand form of worship was perfectly suited to the royal ethos he and the Court now wished to establish at Eton and King's. This had a decisive influence on the provision for devotion and music manifested later in Henry's statutes.

The debt of gratitude Henry VI owed to Wykeham and his foundations and to Wykehamists like Waynflete was repaid in various ways. For one, Henry appointed Waynflete first provost of Eton College after its foundation in 1441. Henry's continuing admiration for Wykeham's vision also resulted in increases towards New College's endowment.¹¹⁰ The enduring bond between the foundations of Henry VI and William of Wykeham was formally cemented on 1 July 1444 when the so-called, *Amicabilis Concordia* was established, assuring an alliance for mutual support in

¹⁰⁸ 'Et pro diversis quaternis pergameni empties pro missis scribendis et notandis in diversis Gradalibus erga Adventum domini Regis...Et so[lutum] informatoris Chorustarum per annum una cum vi s viii d. Eidem pro informatione Antiphone beate Marie Virginis, xxxvi s, viii d'. NCA, 7407. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis* (after this point *Computus Bursariorum*), 1442/43. The king attended both Vespers and Mass at Winchester College on St. Cecilia's Day, 21-22 November 1444. Harrison, *MMB*, 158.

¹⁰⁹ In 1444/45 the *informator choristarum* of New College, John Francis (who had been paid for teaching the Marian antiphon in 1442/43), was paid to teach the antiphon of the Virgin with prayers for the King: 'Et in stipendio Informatoribus Chorustarum ad xx s. per annum una cum vi s, viij d. Allocatis eidem pro supervisione Antiphone beate Marie cum precibus adiunctis pro bono et salubri statu domini Regis, xxvj s, viij d'. NCA, 7409. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1444/45.

¹¹⁰ Beckington persuaded Henry VI to grant the college five manors and other property of the confiscated priory of Newton Longville, Buckinghamshire. Storey, 14.

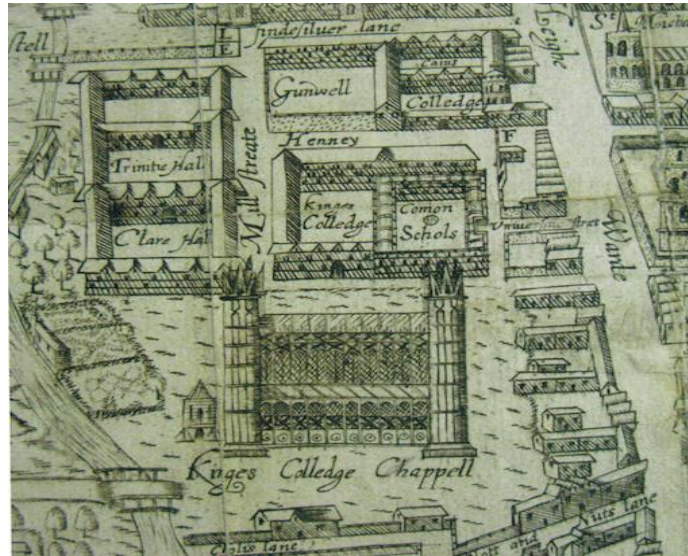
lawsuits between New College, Winchester College, King's College, and Eton College.¹¹¹

As in other Wykehamist foundations, the statutes of Eton and King's balanced intercessory with educational purposes. The underpinning statutes of Henry VI's foundations were issued in 1453, modelled upon - but going beyond - the statutes of William of Wykeham's earlier foundations of New College, Oxford, and Winchester College. They remained in force until the nineteenth century.

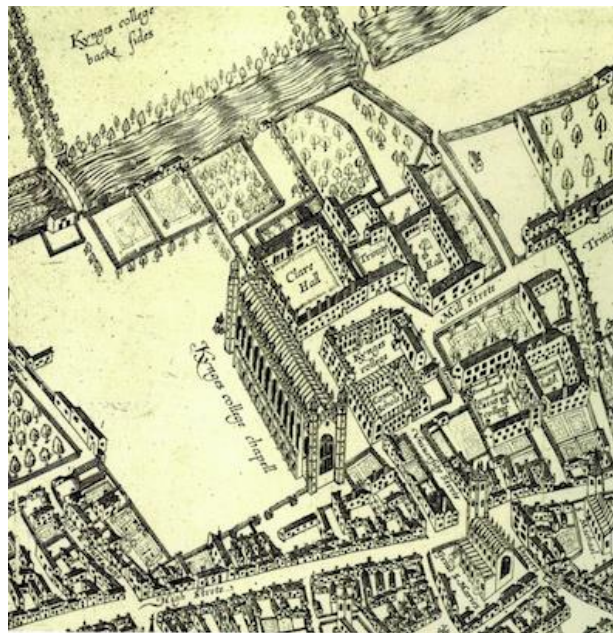
Though both New College and King's College are described as colleges of seventy 'scholars', this group obviously included 'fellows' as well. At King's, scholars were eligible for election to the fellowship after three years of probation, irrespective of whether they had achieved a degree or not. In contrast to undergraduates at other colleges, including New College, those at King's did not have to pass university examinations to achieve their B.A. degree, and were required only to satisfy the college. While the majority of fellows were to study theology, two were to study astronomy, two civil law, four canon law, and two medicine; as at New College, all fellows save those studying secular subjects were obliged to take holy orders and become priests, on pain of expulsion.

¹¹¹ NCA, 1191. Transcript of the *Amicabilis Concordia* 'between the two Colleges of William of Wykeham and the two Colleges of King Henry VI, 1 July 1444', 1 doc., seventeenth cent. Further copies: NCA, 2845/NCA, 3117.

Buildings



Map 1.1 King's College, Cambridge. Detail of Richard Lyne, *Cantebrigia*, 1574. Engraved broadside, 42.8 x 29.2 cm.¹¹²



Map 1.2 King's College, Cambridge. Detail of facsimile of John Hamond, *Cantebrigia*. Engraving on nine sheets. Engraved by Augustine Ryther and Petrus Musier, 22 February 1592.¹¹³

After establishing a college and membership of 'royal' magnitude in 1443, Henry VI needed a monumental chapel of 'royal' proportions - one furnished and adorned in apposite visual opulence. Because Henry VI modelled King's College so closely after

¹¹² Reprinted in Massing, J. M., and Zeeman, N., (eds.), *King's College Chapel 1515 - 2015. Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (London, 2014), 200.

¹¹³ Full map, 118 x 88 cm. Reprinted in Massing and Zeeman, *King's College Chapel 1515 - 2015*, 200.

New College, one might expect Wykeham's groundbreaking chapel to provide the architectural point of departure for the chapel at King's; however, it was not New College chapel that provided the model, but the royal collegiate chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster Palace, a building well known to the king. Henry's familiarity with the interior and furniture of St. Stephen's is evinced by passages in his 'Will'¹¹⁴ of 1448:¹¹⁵ the rood loft and stalls of St. Stephen's, in particular, appear to have been models for the apposite furniture in Eton College chapel.¹¹⁶

St. Stephen's, Westminster, was a lofty, single-cell building, subdivided into quire and nave by a substantial wooden pulpitum. This description is directly applicable to the chapel of King's, though the scale of the chapel at King's went on to exceed that of St. Stephen's. Henry directed that the nave and quire of King's College Chapel measure a monumental 288 feet in length (actually achieving 289 feet) and 40 feet in width. By the time Henry VI died in 1471, eighteen side chapels had been added to the plan. Some scholars argue that Henry's exalted scheme was meant not only to reflect the royal ethos of the king and the Lancastrian court, but also to outdo Wykeham's chapels of Winchester and New College.¹¹⁷

The great chapel was not completed and occupied until 1537, almost one hundred years after its foundation in 1443, and the grand plan for the other college buildings never proceeded. The site intended for these buildings was only fully developed between the eighteenth century (when the Gibbs Building was added) and the early twentieth century; however, an initial court was constructed on a site between the University Schools and Clare Hall, on the north side of the great chapel, and a

¹¹⁴ Document of intention.

¹¹⁵ Dictated on 12 March 1448.

¹¹⁶ In reference to the stalls and rood loft Henry VI states: 'Item, in the said quier on every side 32 stalles and the roode lofte there, I will that they be made in manner and forme like the stalles and roode loft in the chappell of St. Stephen at Westminster, and of the length of 32 feete, and in breadthe clear 12 fete of assize...' 'The Will of King Henry VI', in Heywood, J., and Wright, T., (eds.), *The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College* (London, 1850), 176. The chapel of Eton College, in contrast with that of King's, was not initially conceived as a single-cell building, but as a substantial church with aisles and nave - a scheme never fulfilled.

¹¹⁷ 'In the draft of the Will mentioned above the following passage occurs at this point (after the dimensions of the length of Eton chapel). It is important as shewing the King's desire for imitating and surpassing Wykeham's work: "And so the seid quere is lenger than the quere of Wynchestre College at Oxenford by .iij. fete, Brodder by .ij. fete and the walles heyer by .xx. fete. The pennacles lenger .x fete". Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 357.

temporary chapel of which little is known¹¹⁸ was built between the great chapel and that court, in a narrow, confined space¹¹⁹ little more than 40 feet in width. The liturgy celebrated there was enhanced by a tremendous collection of plainchant and polyphony recorded in part by the voluminous inventory of 1529;¹²⁰ though none of these books survive, we know the repertory in part through concordances in the three extant choirbooks of Eton, Caius, and Lambeth. While the great chapel was completed, the rest of the college's accommodation remained cramped - in contrast to Henry VIII's own foundation of Trinity College (1546) a few hundred yards to the north, with its great court enlarged at the end of the sixteenth century.

6. Parallels and distinctions between New College and King's College

The uncanny similarities in the content and wording of Wykeham's statutes and those of Henry VI for Eton and King's can be attributed to the fact that a group of Wykehamists aided Henry VI in the composition of his statutes of 1453. These included New College alumni, Thomas Beckington, and William Waynflete,¹²¹ bishop of Winchester and first provost of Eton College. It was clearly Beckington and Waynflete who persuaded Henry to alter his original scheme and convert Eton College into an educational institution.¹²²

Though the statutes of King's are closely modelled after those of New College, they differ on a number of points. First, they differ in the number of college officers, which aside from the two principal officers (provost and vice-provost), seventy scholars, and three bursars included only seven seniors and three deans (one in

¹¹⁸ "There is no evidence by which we can form any idea of its (the early chapel's) size. By collecting together various entries scattered through the accounts, the most important of which are given below, we can discover that it had a door at the west end, and east and west windows. Stalls in the quire, a rood-loft, and altars of S. Mary and S. Nicholas are also mentioned. It was richly fitted up, and the services were performed with much pomp of ritual, from numerous allusions to plate, hangings, relics, service-books, vestments, choristers, and large and small organs'. Willis and Clark, vol. I, 535.

¹¹⁹ John Caius described it as 'mean and inconvenient'. Caius, J., *Historiae Cantabrigiensis Academiae ab urbe condita, Liber Primus* (London, 1574), 68.

¹²⁰ KCA 22, fols. 87r, 87v.

¹²¹ Waynflete was translated bishop of Winchester at Mass during the king's visit to Winchester on 21-22 November 1444.

¹²² Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 29.

theology, two of arts).¹²³ They also vary on points of devotion: particular at King's is the delegation of the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (after this point BVM) to choristers;¹²⁴ also, at King's there is no evidence of Jesus Mass, while at New College there is.¹²⁵

The first clause of Wykeham's statutes establishes a college of poor scholars 'for ever';¹²⁶ Wykeham envisaged a perpetual membership of seventy scholars. What he failed to consider, though, was the increasing demand for education that manifested itself in the universities within a century of his death. Other colleges, particularly those with smaller fellowships, increased the numbers of undergraduates and began admitting commoners in order to fill the need;¹²⁷ however, despite the influx of undergraduates and commoners elsewhere, the membership of New College was able to retain Wykeham's statutory numbers from the college's incorporation in 1379 through c. 1680,¹²⁸ remaining a paragon of stability for three centuries.

Though Henry VI's statutes also call for a perpetual college of seventy scholars and begin with virtually the same words as Wykeham's,¹²⁹ the instability caused by the Wars of the Roses and Henry VI's deposition in 1461 as well as the increased demand for education prohibited a membership like that of New College. It was not until 1481 under the tenure of Walter Field (provost, 1479-99) that Henry VI's statutory numbers

¹²³ Cap. XIII, 'De Decanis praeficiendis et eorum officio', in Statutes of King's College (1453).

Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 64.

¹²⁴ See below, *Exceptions to/similarities with the Use of Salisbury at New College and King's College*, 45.

¹²⁵ See below, 46, nt. 155.

¹²⁶ 'Nos Willielmus de Wicham, permissione divina Wintoniensis Episcopus...cognoscit, dirigit et disponit, de bonis fortunae...unum videlicet collegium perpetuum pauperum et indigentium scholarium clericorum, in studio Universitatis Oxoniae,...'. NCA, 3584. Introductory page, *Founder's Statutes of New College* (c. 1386).

¹²⁷ Parrot, D., 'The Reformation to Reform c. 1530-1850', in Tyerman, C. (ed.), *New College*, (Oxford, 2010), 38.

¹²⁸ Fellow commoners began to be admitted on the orders of the Visitor in 1679, despite the vehement opposition of the fellowship. 'New College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

¹²⁹ 'Nos Henricus Dei gratia Angliae et France rex, ac dominus Hiberniae, post conquestum Sextus...dirigit et disponit, de bonis quae Deus in hac vita nobis de suae plentudinis gratuit tribuit abundanter, duo perpetuo collegia, unum videlicet perpetuum collegium pauperum et indigentium scholarium clericorum in studio universitatis Cantabrigiae'. 'The Statutes of King's College (1453)' in Heywood and Wright, *Ancient Laws*, 7.

- including those of the choral force - were finally met,¹³⁰ and the vast machinery of devotion conceived by him could be set in motion.¹³¹ In contrast to New College, King's College also began to include undergraduates who were not scholars, and the first clearly established entries of fellow-commoners, scholar-commoners, and poor scholars (sizars) date from the end of the reign of Henry VIII.¹³²

7. The provision for worship at New College and King's College

The nature and pattern of the Use of Salisbury

After three centuries of trial and development the overall ritual of the English Church, c. 1530, was dominated by the diocesan Use of Salisbury (or Use of Sarum).¹³³ The ubiquitous deployment of the Use of Salisbury in the secular cathedrals of England, Wales, and Ireland was challenged only by a number of other local Uses.¹³⁴ The normative pattern of the devotional day according to the Use of Salisbury was filled with the principal cycle of the eight Office Hours (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext,

¹³⁰ KCA, KCAR 4/1/6/7. *Liber communarum*, 1481/82; Bowers, R., 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444 - 1644', in Massing, J. M., and Zeeman, N., (eds.), *King's College Chapel 1515 - 2015. Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (London, 2014), 262.

¹³¹ References to at least three altars (and most likely more) by 1481 indicate that the liturgy was being performed in the chancel and antechapel of the provisional chapel.

¹³² 'The colleges and halls: King's', in Roach, J.P.C. (ed.) *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: volume 3, the City and University of Cambridge* (London, 1959), 376-408. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol3/pp376-408>.

¹³³ The pattern and execution of ritual was contained in the Sarum Ordinal; it set out the opening words of chants, lessons, psalms, and prayers as well as the Proper of the Mass. A list of the individuals assigned to perform the rites was contained in the Customary (*Consuetudinarium*, *Custamarium*). After naming the chief officers of the church, the Customary also recorded their placement and arrangement in the stalls [e.g., *decani* (south) and *cantoris* (north), as well as soloists (*rectores chori*)] and rules of their department. The Sarum Breviary contained texts for the Office and Sarum Missal texts for the Mass. The Sarum Tonary and Antiphonal addressed chants and hymns. The Gradual and Processional included instructions for processions and sequences, and the Directory clarified the sophisticated rules of festal and ferial observances. For greater detail see Harrison, *MMB* 48-103; Harper, *FO*, 201-234.

¹³⁴ Local Uses included the Use of Hereford (with its own Breviary and Missal) and the Use of York (with its own Breviary, Missal, and Processional). The Use of York was adopted in the diocese of York, and perhaps in part in the diocese of Carlisle (Carlisle was staffed by Augustinian Canons, and its Use may have differed in detail from the Use of York). Monastic Uses were deployed in Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries, including Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Westminster Abbey, and St. Mary's Abbey, York, as well as at Durham, a Benedictine cathedral priory, which will have followed Benedictine monastic Use. Although the customs and liturgy (i.e. service books and chants) were normative in most educational colleges, provision for local Use was often made. Harper, *FO*, 201-234; Magnus Williamson noted that the customs of Salisbury may not necessarily have been observed unaltered at Eton. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 102.

None, Vespers, and Compline),¹³⁵ each containing a substantial portion of the Book of Psalms of the Old Testament,¹³⁶ but including a substantial repertory of antiphons, responds and readings (the latter principally at Matins) proper to either the season or the feast day. Alongside the principal cycle were the more restricted repertories of the BVM¹³⁷ and the Office of the Dead.¹³⁸ In the same way, there was a principal daily Mass,¹³⁹ preceded by processions on Sundays and major feasts,¹⁴⁰ parallel Masses of the BVM and of the Dead, and an antiphon ceremony after Compline. There were also chantry Masses. In addition, there were requirements for a Jesus Mass on Friday (from c. 1500 onwards) as well as rites on other days of importance, including Ash Wednesday and Holy Week and the Rogationtide processions.

A series of daily Masses on *feria* (i.e. week- or workdays) and those on greater and lesser feasts and Sundays became typical of all ecclesiastical establishments utilising

¹³⁵ For a comprehensive overview of the liturgy and music of the Office see Harper, *FO*, 73-108.

¹³⁶ The Office Hours occurred in the quire of most churches daily. Using the 'festal' form as a model, the 'hours' began with Vespers followed by Compline the day prior to the feast. The offices continued with the 'night hours' of Matins and Lauds (at daybreak), and the 'day-hours' at four points during the day - Prime, Terce, Sext, and None (sometimes referred to as the 'Little Hours') in which the service was not 'ruled' by *rectores chori*. The 'festal hours' continued with Vespers in the late afternoon/early evening on the feast day itself followed directly by Compline. Harrison, *MMB*, 54-55.

¹³⁷ The Little Office of the BVM celebrated daily in addition to the main Office and the weekly Commemorative Office of the BVM was performed by a special group of singers and chaplains, most often in a Lady chapel. In the case of some churches without specific Lady chapels, it was celebrated at an image or altar of the Virgin - usually in a place other than the quire.

¹³⁸ A further addition to the Office, the *Officium Defunctorum*, or Office of the Dead, was often recited daily as a Votive Office, particularly in chantries; however, it was deployed principally at the time of funerals.

¹³⁹ The Mass, centring on the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine, had since the time of Hippolytus and Justin in the mid-second century remained the primary act of worship in the English Catholic Church. After the seventh century the *Ordo Romanus I* had introduced the prototype of the form that came to be codified in the Middle Ages. Harper, *FO*, 109-114. Its texts included those which are constant (the Ordinary of the Mass) and those that vary (the Proper of the Mass). The celebration of Sunday Mass, according to the Use Salisbury c. 1400, included the Introit, *Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria in excelsis*, Collect(s), Gradual, Alleluia, Gospel, *Credo*, Offertory, Secret, *Sursum corda*, Preface, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, Canon, *Pater noster*, *Pax domini*, *Agnus Dei*, Communion, Post Communion, Dismissal, and *Deo gratias*. For greater detail, including the functions of the choir and ministers in the sanctuary as well as special services for Holy Week and Easter, see Harper, *FO*, 115-124; for the Ordinary of the Mass and Tropes see Harrison, *MMB*, 72-76. These texts achieved a normative form and provided the basis for the Mass inherited by the English Church, c. 1530.

¹⁴⁰ The procession, led usually by younger men and boys bearing the processional cross, candles, and thurible began by leaving the quire or main area of the church utilised for regular liturgy, walking solemnly in prescribed order to other parts of the church (sometimes outside around a cloister, if available) eventually returning to the quire. As Harper and Williamson have shown, processions were not limited to great cathedrals or to collegiate and monastic churches. Harper, *FO*, 127-9; Williamson, M. 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', in Burgess, C., and Duffy, E. (eds.), *The Parish in Late Medieval England. Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2006), 200-210. For greater detail as to the texts and music of processions see Harper, *FO*, 129; Harrison, *MMB*, 88-97.

the Sarum Missal by 1530. These included a nucleus of four daily Masses: the *missa matutinale* (morning Mass) celebrated for those who could not attend other Masses throughout the day, the Votive Mass of the Virgin (Lady Mass), the Requiem Mass,¹⁴¹ and the (High) Mass of the Day. The following is a typical daily devotional schedule according to the Use of Salisbury.

Table 1.1 The devotional day according to the Use of Salisbury, derived primarily from the requirement at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.¹⁴²

Approximate Time	Service
5 a.m.	Matins & Lauds of the day Matins & Lauds of Blessed Virgin Mary (private Masses of priests not on main <i>rota</i>)
6.30 a.m.	Prime, Terce, Sext, and None of BVM
7 a.m.	Mass of the BVM (Lady Mass)
8.30 a.m.	Prime
9 a.m.	Mass of the Dead (Requiem)
10 a.m.	Terce (Procession before Mass on Sunday)
10.30 a.m.	Principal Mass of the day
11.30 a.m.	Sext
12 noon	(Dinner)
2 p.m.	None
3 p.m.	Vespers & Compline
4 p.m.	Vespers & Compline of BVM
4.15 p.m.	Antiphon of BVM

Most large foundations also made provision for antiphon ceremonies, the most popular being the *Salve* ceremony and antiphon of the BVM. It was most often sung daily after Compline, either in the quire, in a Lady Chapel, or at an image, statue, or

¹⁴¹ One of the most frequent Masses was the Requiem Mass, or Mass of the Dead. It emphasised the intercessory function of the Church - a spiritual necessity inextricably linked to the medieval mind - and was offered daily in chantries by chaplains for the souls of benefactors, and at funerals for the souls of departed members of the community. Its Latin texts remained virtually unaltered until 1530. For greater detail see Harper, *FO*, 125-6.

¹⁴² The schedule is purely speculative and is extracted from John Harper's unpublished paper, 'A medieval sacred space animated: the ritual and music of St Stephen's chapel', presented at the St. Stephen's, Westminster Conference, September 2016.

altar of the BVM, and was in the larger choral foundations an opportunity for polyphony as exemplified in the five-part antiphons of the *Eton Choirbook*.¹⁴³ Works by New College and King's College composers are included in the *Eton Choirbook* and provide an indication of the formidable capabilities of the choirs; manuscripts were found at New College and King's.¹⁴⁴ By 1530 the Jesus antiphon and Jesus Masses began to reflect the popularity of the cult of Jesus, whose supporters included Lady Margaret Beaufort,¹⁴⁵ Richard Fox,¹⁴⁶ and Henry VIII.

Chant and polyphony (both composed and improvised) were employed as important - although not absolutely necessary - musical elaborations of liturgical rites. It is also important to note that polyphony until c. 1460 was executed by a group of soloists and not the full choir of men and boys we expect today.¹⁴⁷ Services on Sundays and lesser feasts were of greater importance than those on workdays - they were special

¹⁴³ For a comprehensive breakdown and analysis of the content of the *Eton Choirbook* see Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 183-283.

¹⁴⁴ This includes manuscripts by Edmund Turges, who wrote his five-part votive antiphon *Gaude flore virginali* (a complete setting survives in the *Eton Choirbook*) while a chaplain at New College in 1507/8; a fragment was found in the wallpaper of the college in 1960 among other fifteenth-century manuscript fragments and was catalogued by Roger Bowers. Robert Hacumblen, provost of King's College 1509-28, is most likely the composer of *Salve regina* ascribed to 'Hacomplaynt' in the *Eton Choirbook*.

¹⁴⁵ One of the principal contributors to the cult of Jesus was Henry Hornby, confidant to Lady Margaret and later officer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Following the completion of theology studies, Hornby, of Deeping, Lincolnshire, contributed (sometime after 1489) to drawing up an Office for the Feast of the Name of Jesus. Pfaff, R.W., 'The Feast of the Name of Jesus', Chapter IV, in *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1970), 82-3. This notable achievement drew him the attention of Lady Margaret; by 1499 Hornby was secretary and dean of Lady Margaret's chapel. Hornby's endeavours in the chapel contributed to the importance of the Office and Feast of the Name of Jesus within Lady Margaret's establishment. Payments to London printers for Mass books and primers 'in nomine Jesu' demonstrate that during his deanship the chapel had become a centre for devotion; records indicate that both the Mass and Office were deployed in her chapel, including the Mass and Office of the Name of Jesus. Jones, M., and Underwood, M.G., *The King's Mother* (Cambridge, 1992), 168-70, 176; SJCA, SJC, D91, D102/10. Lady Margaret's 'Household accounts' (account books and rolls).

¹⁴⁶ The imagery of Christ in the ceiling bosses at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (executed c. 1516-7), represents Fox's core inspiration in the founding of the college as well as the growing popularity of the cult of Jesus and the Holy Name at the outset of the sixteenth century, particularly during the reign of Henry VIII. Included in the imagery were the Five Wounds of Christ. See Chapter Two, 68-9, nt. 260.

¹⁴⁷ Magnus Williamson and Roger Bowers have argued that the liturgical choir of men and boys that today appears an immemorial feature of cathedral and collegiate worship first took its shape during the fifteenth century. Even when Henry VI ascended the throne in 1422 liturgical polyphony was soloistic, requiring a small group of (usually) adult male singers. By the time Henry VI had died traditional polyphonic texture had increased from three voices to five; it was comprised of a functional bass voice and a top tier of unbroken boys' voices - thus augmenting the overall range by an octave. The number of singers had also been enlarged to include twenty or more. For greater detail see Bowers, R., 'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c. 1500-58', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 112 (1987), 38-76 and Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late Medieval English Parish', 201-9.

events. To add to the pomp and *éclat* on these days certain sections of services were ornamented by polyphony. Traditional points in services that came to be decorated polyphonically included: the responds after the lessons at Matins (generally only the first and the last) and the *Te Deum* at Matins; the hymn at Lauds; the Ordinary of Lady Mass; the Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, and Offertory of the Lady Mass; the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei of the principal Mass; the hymn and Magnificat at Vespers; and the devotional motet in the Salve ceremony (i.e. the evening Marian antiphon).¹⁴⁸

Exceptions to/similarities with the Use of Salisbury at New College and King's College

Though the Use of Salisbury provided the fundamental ritual basis for devotion at New College and King's, both Wykeham and Henry VI decided to forego certain provisions or tailor requirements to their respective colleges. For example, although provision for the Hours of the BVM is included in the Customary of Salisbury, Wykeham decided to omit them. Henry VI, on the other hand, gave the (sixteen) choristers full responsibility for reciting the Office the BVM (the greater part of them consists of psalms sung to a psalm-tone)¹⁴⁹ in a clear, distinct voice in surplices 'divisis' on either side of the quire, according the Use of Salisbury.¹⁵⁰ In the recitation of the Office of the BVM, the statutes of Eton and King's bear the hallmarks of the late-medieval Marian liturgy as laid out in medieval books of hours.¹⁵¹ One peculiarity popular at both New College and King's was the Boy Bishop service.¹⁵² Also, in addition to the daily, weekly, and yearly liturgical services, other less solemn

¹⁴⁸ For further detail see Vol. II, Appendix II. Portions of the Mass and Office set to vocal polyphony, c. 1500 - 1558, 535-6.

¹⁴⁹ Roger Bowers has noted that the Hours of the BVM were 'sung' by the choristers at King's. Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 260. At Exeter the boys sang an antiphon at the time of Compline of the BVM. Therefore, the distinctions are: a) extent of responsibility, and b) location in the main quire (rather than the Lady Chapel, where by the Use of Salisbury the lesser Hours of the BVM were recited before Mass of the BVM itself).

¹⁵⁰ 'Volentes praeterea quod singuli chorustae....alternatim divisi ex utraque parte chori decant, superpelliciis induti, sine nota, distincte et aperta voce, Matutinas et alias Horas de Beata Virgine'. Cap. XLI, Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 107.

¹⁵¹ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 82.

¹⁵² The service, on which an elected boy became bishop for a day (even holding a sermon and leading the chanting), was traditionally celebrated on feasts falling near Christmas: St. Nicholas (6 December) and the feast of the massacre of the Holy Innocents (28 December). Harper, *FO*, 138.

observances occurred; these included liturgical dramas, especially popular in monasteries at Easter and Christmas time.

Table 1.7 Similarities with/ omissions from the Use of Salisbury.

Foundation	New College	King's College
Morrow Mass	' <i>missa matutinale</i> ' ¹⁵³ added by c. 1519 ¹⁵⁴	No recorded provision
Jesus Mass/antiphon	Possible provision for Jesus Mass by 1527/28 with music ¹⁵⁵	No recorded provision
Hours of the BVM (in addition to the traditional Office Hours) ¹⁵⁶	No recorded provision	Provided by Henry VI, intoned by choristers, <i>divisi</i>
Boy Bishop Service	On Feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December)	On Feast of the Holy Innocents, Feast of St. Nicholas (6 December) ¹⁵⁷

A note on the duties and significance of choristers in the statutes of New College and King's College

It is of note that the statutes of Wykeham and Henry VI for New College and King's (and those of all Wykehamist foundations) do not require all sixteen choristers to attend the Offices of the day, Lady Mass, or even the principal Mass, but (by implication) only the duty choristers as specified in the Salisbury Customary.¹⁵⁸ At

¹⁵³ A fellow-priest generally celebrated the morrow Mass with a scholar, assisting and preparing the altar. For example: 'So[lutum] socijs sacerdotibus celebrantibus missam matutinalem, liij s'. NCA, 7503. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1542/43. 'So[lutum] scholari preparanti altare ad missam matutinalem, x s'. NCA, 7496. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1538/39. The tradition of celebrating the *missa matutinale* continued throughout Henry VIII's reign. Payments, often to the sacrist, for celebrating the *missa matutinale* occur consistently in the accounts between 1534 and 1548, resume at the accession of Mary Tudor, and continue through the second year of Elizabeth I's reign.

¹⁵⁴ NCA, MSS 5141. Paper draft of an indenture founding a morrow Mass, no date, c. 1519 (cf. no. 9432); Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 242.

¹⁵⁵ According to statute, there is no mention of a Jesus Mass on Fridays; however, there is evidence of a Jesus chapel at New College, which by 1529 had its own organ: 'So[lutum] pro reparatione organorum in capella Jhesu, vii s, vi d'. NCA, 7480. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1527/28. This suggests that provision for a Jesus Mass and/or antiphon *cum nota* may have been added to the weekly provision.

¹⁵⁶ The statutes of King's and Eton place the 'Matutinas et alias Horas de Beata Virgine' after the sung Matins and Prime ('post Matutinas et Primam die cantatas'). 'Statutes of King's College (1453)', 'Statutes of Eton College'. Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 107, 553, respectively.

¹⁵⁷ Cap. XLII, 'De modo dicendi Missas matutinas et alias Horas canonicas in ecclesia collegiata', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 112.

¹⁵⁸ According to some versions of the Salisbury Customary, the whole body of choristers were bound only to attend Vespers, Compline, Prime, and Mass of the day on Sundays, double feasts, and feasts of

Eton and King's the choristers' obligation to recite the hours of the BVM (but not the hours of the day) lightened what would otherwise have been a very intensive working day, leaving them time enough to attend most of their instruction (even if their attendance was interrupted by the hours of the BVM).¹⁵⁹ The statutes of New College and King's provide for sixteen poor boys to read and sing at services;¹⁶⁰ however, while Henry VI makes clear the significance of the choristers in ritual and music under Statute XLII,¹⁶¹ in the corresponding statute of New College, Wykeham makes no mention of the sixteen choristers. Apparently, their participation in the traditional services mentioned in the Ordinal and Customary of Salisbury was simply inferred. This is significant and may suggest that the role of the chorister increased in importance by 1453; it may also reflect the fact that polyphonic musical textures were expanding to include boys' voices, which became normative by 1460.¹⁶²

College membership and staffing within the chapel

Wykeham's vision of devotion was conceived upon a much grander scale than that of St. Stephen's or St. George's; in order to execute the extensive daily provision for devotion Wykeham needed a substantial chapel staff (see below, Table 1.2). The choral provision was groundbreaking and exceeded that in many secular cathedrals, including Hereford, St. Paul's, Exeter, and Salisbury. After Henry VI increased the provision at Eton, it was evident that King's would have a membership and chapel staff similar to that of New College and Winchester College;¹⁶³ however, in contrast to Eton, where Henry prescribed ten clerks, only six were provided at King's.

nine lessons (with triple invitatory). Frere, W.H., (ed.) from the Customary in: *The Use of Sarum*, (Cambridge, 1902), vol. I, 40; Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 101-2.

¹⁵⁹ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 108.

¹⁶⁰ Rub. 45, Statutes of New College (1400), 78; Cap. XLIV, Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 121.

¹⁶¹ See below, 51, nt. 185.

¹⁶² Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', 5076-77; *idem*, 'To chorus from quartet: the performing resource for English church polyphony, c.1390-1559', in Morehen, J., (ed.) *English Choral Practice 1400-1600* (Cambridge, 1995), 33.

¹⁶³ The original letters of patent for the young king's foundation of Eton, issued at Sheen palace on 11 October 1440, founded a college of priests. The college was to consist of a provost, ten priests, four clerks, six choristers, twenty-five poor scholars, a schoolmaster, and twenty-five poor and infirm men. Henry VI's provision for Eton grew after William Waynflete convinced Henry to expand the provision, and in the mid-1440s this came to include a provost, ten fellows, ten chaplains, ten clerks 'skilled in chant', and sixteen choristers, as well as a master and usher to educate seventy scholars. King's was similarly staffed with a provost, seventy fellows and scholars, ten priests, ten chaplains, six singing clerks, and sixteen choristers. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 29.

Historiographical tradition has assumed that as a rule the chaplains were skilled in plainchant and the clerks (and at times choristers) skilled in polyphony;¹⁶⁴ however, Roger Bowers has argued that after 1460 chaplains needed to be competent in polyphony as well,¹⁶⁵ and Beth Ann Lee-De Amici's research has shown that on occasion fellows and scholars (particularly at smaller colleges like All Souls and Merton, Oxford) were active performers of music, including polyphony.¹⁶⁶ Further, though lay-clerks may have been expected to be polyphonic specialists,¹⁶⁷ it is evident that choristers and former choristers who became scholars and fellows¹⁶⁸ lent their abilities to the performance of polyphony.

¹⁶⁴ At Eton, Henry VI wished four clerks out of the six provided to be competent in polyphony. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 144-5, 452.

¹⁶⁵ After c. 1460, Bowers claimed, the expansion of musical texture to include boys' voices and a more common resort to full choral performance made necessary the participation of the chaplains as polyphonists, as well. Bowers, 'Choral Institutions,' 5076-77; *idem*, 'To chorus from quartet', 33; Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 112.

¹⁶⁶ Evidence from the college archives of All Souls and Merton suggests that fellows and scholars might have joined in the singing of 'cantus fractus' (i.e. polyphonic sections of the liturgy) from time to time. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 112, nt. 36.

¹⁶⁷ Not all 'clerks' were necessarily specialists in polyphony. Some were simply individuals in minor clerical orders appointed to undertake ritual duties (including that of subdeacon). There is a temptation to backdate the later understanding of 'lay clerk' as a choral singer in a polyphonic choir to the earlier term 'clerk', which was far more generic. I am grateful to John Harper for the clarification.

¹⁶⁸ Magnus Williamson has tracked down a body of ex-chorister members of Eton, King's, and St. George's, Windsor, who later became scholars and fellows. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 385-9.

Table 1.2 Statutory membership and chapel staffing at New College (1400) and Winchester College (1400), and King's College (1453) and Eton College (1444, 1447).¹⁶⁹

Foundation	New College	Winchester College	King's College	Eton College
Heads of House	Warden, subwarden	Warden, subwarden	Provost, vice-provost	Provost, vice-provost
Scholars	70	70	70	70
Chaplains	10 chaplains	3 chaplains	10 conducts ¹⁷⁰	10 chaplains
Clerks	3 (4 by 1530) ¹⁷¹	3 clerks	6 clerks	10 clerks ¹⁷²
Choristers	16	16	16	16
Master of Choristers	No mention, but 1 as of 1397	No mention, but 1 as of 1396/97 ¹⁷³	1 ¹⁷⁴	1 ¹⁷⁵
Organist	No mention ¹⁷⁶	No mention	1 ¹⁷⁷	1 ¹⁷⁸

¹⁶⁹ There exist two sets of statutes at Eton: the *Liber Originalis* (LO) of which several copies survive, was the text edited by Heywood and Wright and translated by Noel Blakiston, and which became the definitive code; there is also a set which antedates the LO, rediscovered in 1975 at St. John's College, Cambridge, and returned to Eton. The LO was dated by Heywood and Wright at 1444 and by Blakiston at 1447. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 35-6.

¹⁷⁰ King's College chaplains were called 'conducts'.

¹⁷¹ The post of '*lator librorum*' was converted into that of an extra singing man: its remuneration is recorded under 'Custus Capelle' in the accounts and is most often combined with that of the three clerks, for example: 'So[lutum] tribus clericis pro hoc anno iij li et so[lutum] latori librorum x s et solum eidem cantant' una cum clericis in choro, x s'. NCA, 7500. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1540/41. In the following year, 1542/43, it is made explicit that the *lator librorum* is to sing and that these duties are remunerated in the same payment with the clerks: 'So[lutum] iij clericis et latori librorum cantant' in choro cum eis, iij li'. NCA, 7503. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1542/43. Four clerks are recorded consistently through 1629; often one functioned as bell-ringer, as in 1615/16: 'So[lutum] tribus Clericis et campanistorum, 4li'. NCA, 7617. Under 'Stipendium famulorum' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1615/16. Three clerks are recorded 1630-59. There are further references in the *Computus Bursariorum*, 1530-1659.

¹⁷² Of the ten clerks, the four gentlemen clerks were to be 'skilled in reading and chanting and part singing, well qualified in their voices, one of whom is to be able to play the organ'. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 146-7.

¹⁷³ At Winchester College payment had been made to 'Edmund, a clerk of the chapel' for the training of the boys as early as 1396-7. Harrison, *MMB*, 32.

¹⁷⁴ The *informator choristarum* ('*informatore in cantu*') is referred to in conjunction with the evening Marian antiphon. Rub. XLI, 'De precibus, et orationibus, et horis, et aliis suffragiis per dicti Regalis Collegii praepositum, socios, et scholares dicendis', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 107. Roger Bowers has noted that at King's there had always been a 'Master of the Choristers' from the very inception of the choir (e.g. William Boston, 1447). From around 1480 the occupant of this office undertook to add (to the skills already being taught to the boys) the singing of polyphony from notation. I am grateful to Dr. Bowers for the clarification of this point.

¹⁷⁵ The specific provision in the statutes of the post of *informator choristarum*, a rare detail in which the Eton statutes differ from those of New College or Winchester College, was no more than the official incorporation and recognition of a post which had since come into being'. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 144; *Eton College Register*, 58, 49-50.

¹⁷⁶ Though there is no mention of an 'informator choristarum' in the statutes, the post is recognised and remunerated in the *Computus Bursariorum*. This individual also served as organist, in contrast to King's College, where the organist was drawn from the ranks of the clerks.

The provision for seating in the chapel

The provision for seating in the chapel¹⁷⁹ is more or less the same in most Wykehamist foundations. The statutes of both New College and King's instruct the chaplains to stand in the stalls among the fellows, arranging themselves according to the direction of the warden/provost or another high official acting in his stead. Lee-De Amici has noted that the statutory order of standing in the quire reinforces the function of the chaplains as teachers and assistants; strategically placed, they could 'support and guide the singing of the fellows and scholars (below) who, presumably less well trained, might otherwise have had difficulty singing the necessary chants at Mass and Office.'¹⁸⁰

Liturgical provision on workdays, Sundays, and great feast days

In contrast to the three daily Masses noted above at St. George's, Windsor, the statutes of both New College and King's provide seven, adding an additional three - principally intercessory - Masses.¹⁸¹ The principal Masses (Lady Mass, Requiem Mass, and High Mass) reflect St. Stephen's practice, although intercessory prayers form a supplement; however, the remaining four display specific intentions. While no specific intention is attached to the sixth and seventh daily Masses at New College, at King's the fifth, sixth, and seventh Masses are designated by Henry VI as 'Chapter Mass', 'Mass of the Annunciation', and a 'Mass *ad libitum*', respectively.¹⁸² Special

¹⁷⁷ To be drawn from the chaplains or the six clerks: 'Ac insuper sex clerici stipendiarii similiter bonae conditionis, legendi et psallendi et cantandi peritiam habentes, in vocibus similiter bene dispositi, quorum capellanorum sive clericorum unus sciat jubilaré in organis in ecclesia collegiata, ibidem in divinis quotidie deservientes'. Cap I, 'De Numero Scholarium studentium particulariter in diversis scientiis', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 20.

¹⁷⁸ 'Statutes of Eton College'. Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 514; Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 124.

¹⁷⁹ Rub. 46, 'De ordine standi in choro dictae capellae', in Statutes of New College (1400), 68; Cap. XLV, 'De modo standi in choro', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 122-3.

¹⁸⁰ Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 110.

¹⁸¹ For a complete list of daily Masses and Office Hours, including the antiphon of the BVM and the Hours of the BVM (King's) see Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 1. 537-8.

¹⁸² The Mass of the Annunciation emphasises the co-dedication of the college to the Virgin and St. Nicholas, and was most likely celebrated at a Marian altar on the western side of the screen in the antechapel (for further discussion and a visualisation see Supplement Two, 467-9 and Image 16, 475.

collects and prayers for the founders and benefactors are to be said at these Masses, emphasising the intercessory nature of services.

The provision for ritual and music on Sundays and feast days at both New College and King's is nearly identical. Principal attention is paid to Sundays and greater¹⁸³ and lesser double¹⁸⁴ feast days when the choir is 'ruled' by four *rectores chori*. On these days, the whole of the college community - warden, subwarden (at King's, provost and vice-provost) fellows, scholars, and chapel staff - is expected to be in the chapel for all the principal services from first Vespers on the day before the feast to Compline on the feast day itself. These services include: first and second Vespers; Matins and Lauds; the procession before the principal Mass; the principal Mass; and all remaining daily Office Hours. In all, the feast days numbered about one hundred full days in the year, together with the preceding afternoon for first Vespers and Compline.

Henry's provision differs from Wykeham's on a few points. For example, Henry VI makes explicit the musical leadership of the chaplains, clerks, and choristers, who are to sing during the principal Masses (Lady Mass, Requiem Mass, and High Mass) and the Office,¹⁸⁵ '*cum cantu et nota*'.¹⁸⁶ Further, in contrast to Wykeham, Henry VI lists a number of additional feasts and special events, including the Feast of St. Nicholas (patron saint of King's), celebrated on 6 December, and the Rogationtide processions;

¹⁸³ Greater (principal and double) feast days, feasts of nine lessons, and other specified solemnities. For a detailed list of feast days see Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 2, 539.

¹⁸⁴ Lesser feast days (minor doubles), simple feasts, and feasts of three lessons. For a detailed list of feast days see Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 2, 539.

¹⁸⁵ '...statuimus, ordinamus, et volumus, quod singulis diebus per annum Vesperae, Matutinae, Missae, et aliae Horae de die, in ecclesia Regalis Collegii cum cantu et nota per capellanos, clericos, et choristas ad hoc specialiter deputatos et etiam assignatos, devotius celebrentur'. Cap. XLII, 'De modo dicendi Missas matutinas et alias Horas canonicas in ecclesia collegiata', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 110.

¹⁸⁶ Roger Bowers and other scholars have defined '*cum nota*' to mean 'sung in plainsong' and '*sine nota*' to mean 'spoken'. However, others (including John Harper and Magnus Williamson) believe that '*sine nota*' means sung or intoned without embellishment. There is no ready resolution at this stage. The distinction between '*cum cantu*' and '*cum nota*' is equally uncertain. Much relies on the extent of improvised polyphony based on the chant. In English the standard term for composed polyphony is 'pricksong' (literally notes pricked by writing them down), but there is no Latin equivalent - though '*cum cantu*' could perhaps include this. Lee-De Amici concluded that plainsong must have been the minimum acceptable standard for a service conducted '*cum nota*' or '*per notam*' et '*cum cantu*'. For a comprehensive discussion of these terms see Lee-De Amici, '*Ad Sustentacionem*', Appendix I, '*Per notam et cum cantu: Definition, Interpretation, Implementation*', 225-28.

Henry adds that, like all other liturgical ceremonies on Sundays and feast days, these services are to be sung '*cum nota*' at the high altar and to follow the Sarum Ordinal.¹⁸⁷

Now that it has been established that services at New College and King's were sung '*cum cantu et nota*', a question arises: what were the expectations of Wykeham and Henry VI regarding the use of plainsong and polyphony? Wykeham's statutes demand proficiency in plainsong ('*planus cantus*') from the fellows and scholars, whereas the chapel ministers were required to have suitable voices ('*vocem habeant competentem*') and be 'adequately instructed in song' ('*in cantu sint sufficienter instructi*').¹⁸⁸ Henry VI demands similar proficiency in the statutes of King's and Eton, requiring a minimum competence in plainsong from fellows and scholars and greater vocal competence from the conducts and clerks,¹⁸⁹ who he requires to instruct the others. At both New College and King's there is, of course, the additional expectation of singing not just in plainsong, but also in 'pricksong', or polyphony, at specific points during the liturgy; however, the extent and complexity of the polyphony differed between Sundays and feasts and workdays. In her examination of Wykeham's statutes Lee-De Amici has noted that, 'although the statutes required musical performance for almost all of the daily Masses, it seems doubtful that ferias or lower-ranking feasts merited as elaborate a polyphonic performance as the more important days in the calendar, assuming that the choir employed polyphony at all on such days.'¹⁹⁰

Wykeham and Henry VI direct certain Masses to be sung '*cum cantu et nota*' and others to be celebrated '*sine nota*' (particularly at the lower altars); however, this does not exclude the possibility of celebrating Masses (and Office Hours) simultaneously,

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ '...et ultra numerum septuaginta scholarium et Sociorum dictorum, tredecim sint altaris et capellae praedictae ministri deservientes quotidie in eadem, quorum, videlicet, decem presbyteri et tres clerici existant, sufficientis litteraturae ac bonae conditionis et conversationis honestae; qui quidem presbyteri et clerici vocem habeant competentem, et in cantu et lectura sint sufficienter instructi, quique presbyteri et clerici, capellam praedictam regulare, ac omnes alio scholars et Socios dicti collegii in dicta capella psallentes et legentes, quos expedit, in cantu, lectura [et] psalmodia, docere ac instruere teneantur. Rub. 45, 'De numero presbyterorum et aliorum ministrorum servientium in capella, ac de officiis, servitiis et stipendiis eorundem', in 'Statutes of New College (1400)'. Publ. by Parker, J.H. in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (Oxford, 1853), vol. I, 77; NCA, 3584, fol. 21r, v. Rub. 45, *Founder's Statutes of New College* (c. 1386).

¹⁸⁹ The clerks at King's were required to be proficient in polyphony as well, and could therefore also help instruct polyphonic works.

¹⁹⁰ Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 228.

some sung '*cum cantu et nota*' and some 'said' (i.e. intoned) '*sine nota*'. The necessity to perform seven Masses and the Office during the day¹⁹¹ made this inevitable. The *largesse* of New College chapel, for example, could easily have accommodated one Mass or Office Hour celebrated '*cum nota*' in the quire, and another celebrated '*sine nota*' at the same time in the nave or antechapel. The same could have occurred in the capacious chapel of King's with its lower altars and numerous side chapels.

Table 1.3 Statutory provision for Sundays and greater feast days at New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge.

Foundation	New College	King's College
Attendance	Warden, subwarden, fellows, scholars, irrespective of their degrees, and chapel staff	Provost, vice-provost fellows, scholars, irrespective of their degrees, and chapel staff
Services (High Mass and the Office Hours)¹⁹² lead by	Warden, subwarden, or another principal dignitary ¹⁹³	Provost, vice-provost, or another principal dignitary
Readers¹⁹⁴ of the Gospel/Epistle	Fellows and scholars assigned by dean <i>per rota</i>	Fellows and scholars assigned by dean <i>per rota</i>
Patronal feast days¹⁹⁵ of the college	Five Marian feasts	Five Marian feasts, Feast of St. Nicholas
Services¹⁹⁶ sung, said?/how?	sung ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '/ ¹⁹⁷ distinctly and devotedly sung ¹⁹⁸	sung ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '/ ¹⁹⁹ distinctly and devotedly sung ¹⁹⁹

¹⁹¹ See Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 1, 537-8.

¹⁹² All other services on Sundays/feast days led by chaplains/conducts and clerks at both foundations.

¹⁹³ The statutes require the first and second vespers, high mass, and 'other hours of the day' to be solemnly celebrated 'with music' by the warden or a principal or dignified person of the college on Sundays and other 'solemn days' ('aliis diebus solemnibus'). '...Custos vel alius de principalibus et dignioribus personis ipsius collegii primas et secundas vespervas, altam missam et alias horas de die, in persona sua propria cum nota sollemniter celebret'. Rub. 42, 'Statutes of New College (1400)', 69, L.22-5.

¹⁹⁴ Those who read (i.e. intoned) the Gospel and Epistle, according to the Use of Salisbury, were the deacon and subdeacon, respectively.

¹⁹⁵ For a detailed list of feast days see Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 2, 539.

¹⁹⁶ Including hymns, psalms, and other songs.

¹⁹⁷ Rub. 42, 'De modo dicendi missas matutinas et alias horas canonicas in capella collegii', in Statutes of New College (1400), 68.

¹⁹⁸ '...vesperas, matutinas, et alias horas canonicas diei hujusmodi, ad invicem in personis suis propriis dicturi, lecturique ac etiam cantaturi, omniaque et singula ad missas et processiones sollemniter cum cantu et nota celebrandas pertinentia, quae per clericos sunt dicenda, cantanda et legenda, distincte dicant, legant, devotius cantent, atque in omnibus chorum regant.' Rub. 42, Statutes of New College (1400), 68-9.

¹⁹⁹ Wording is identical to that of Wykeham's statute: '...ad Missas et processiones sollemniter cum cantu et nota celebrandas pertinentia, quae per clericos sunt dicenda, cantanda, et legenda, distincte legant, dicant, devotius cantent, atque in omnibus chorum regant'. Cap. XLII, Statutes of King's College' (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 110-11.

The statutes of New College and King's require 'minor and inferior persons' among the fellows to celebrate and lead the first and second vespers, high Mass (principal Mass of the day), and other hours of the day on lesser feast days and *dies non-legibilis* (i.e. feast days without university lectures). A dean at both institutions is charged to allocate liturgical duties for rulers (*rectores chori*), readers, and soloists for responsories and gradual.²⁰⁰

Table 1.4 Statutory provision for lesser feast days, *dies non legibilis*, and Feasts of the Holy Innocents/St. Nicholas at New College and King's College.

Foundation	New College	King's College
Attendance	Warden, subwarden, fellows, scholars, irrespective of their degrees, and chapel staff	Provost, vice-provost fellows, scholars, irrespective of their degrees, and chapel staff
Services (High Mass and the Office)²⁰¹ on lesser feast lead by	Minor and inferior persons among the fellows ²⁰²	Minor and inferior persons among the fellows ²⁰³
Sung or said?	Sung	Sung
Services (High Mass and the Office) on <i>dies non-legibilis</i> lead by	Warden, subwarden, or allotted deacon	Provost or vice-provost
Sung or said?	Sung	Sung
Services on the Feast of the Holy Innocents lead by	Boys ²⁰⁴	Boys
Sung or said?	Sung	Sung
Services on the Feast of St. Nicholas lead by	Warden or fellow	Boys
Sung or said?	Sung	Sung

²⁰⁰ These are duties of the precentor in the Use of Salisbury, the second senior canon of the cathedral.

²⁰¹ All other services led by chaplains/conducts and clerks at both foundations.

²⁰² One of the fellows in orders may be assigned to perform all the rites for the day. Minor and inferior persons among the fellows ('minores et inferiores personae, Socii ipsius Collegii') were, like the warden on principal and double feasts, to execute the first and second vespers, principal Mass of the day, and other hours of the day ('primas et secundas vespervas, altam missam et alias horas de die'). Rub. 42, Statutes of New College (1400), 69, L.35-8.

²⁰³ Wording is identical to that of the New College statutes.

²⁰⁴ On the Feast of the Holy Innocents a boy was to officiate and lead the singing at Vespers, Matins, and the other Divine Offices, according to the Use of Salisbury. See above, 45, nt. 152.

Table 1.5 Statutory provision for workdays (i.e. weekdays that are not holy days, from Monday to Saturday early afternoon) at New College and King's College.

Foundation	New College	King's College
Attendance	Not required ²⁰⁵	Not required
Services (Masses and the Office) on workdays lead by	Chaplains and clerks ²⁰⁶	Chaplains and clerks ²⁰⁷
Sung or said?	Sung with clerks (and duty choristers) ²⁰⁸	Sung together with clerks and choristers

Table 1.6 Additional daily/weekly expectations at New College and King's College.

Foundation	New College	King's College
Required daily Prayers ²⁰⁹	Morning/evening privately, during the day in quire	Morning/evening privately, during the day in quire
Required attendance at least one Mass daily ²¹⁰ by	All fellows, scholars, and officers	All fellows, scholars, and officers
Daily Marian antiphon sung by	Chaplains and clerks (and choristers, presumably)	16 choristers (c.1530, by full choir) ²¹¹ and <i>informator in cantu</i>
Number of Masses to be celebrated by each fellow-priest weekly ²¹²	Seven, <i>per rota</i> ²¹³	Seven, <i>per rota</i>

²⁰⁵ On workdays fellows and scholars attended lectures and choristers (with the exception of duty choristers, who attended the chaplains and clerks at Mass and the Office) attended instruction in Latin grammar and singing by their *informator*.

²⁰⁶ 'Reliquis vero festis, cum regimine vel sine regimine chori celebrandis, et aliis ferialibus diebus per totum annum, capellani praedictae nostrae capellae matutinas, processiones, missas, cum collectis et memoriis especialibus superius in titulo praecedenti intitulatis, ac alias horas canonicas cum cantu et nota secundum usum ecclesiae Sarum, cum praedictae capellae nostrae ad hoc specialiter deputatis, devotione debita dicant, celebrant, atque cantent'. Rub. 42, Statutes of New College (1400), 67.

²⁰⁷ 'Reliquis vero diebus vel festis cum regimine vel sine regimine celebrandis, et aliis ferialibus diebus per totum annum, capellani ecclesiae nostrae praedictae Matutinas, processiones, Missas, cum collectis et memoriis especialibus superius et inferius intitulatis, et alias Horas canonicas cum cantu et nota secundum usum ecclesiae Sarum, cum clericis et chorustis praedictae ecclesiae ad hoc specialiter deputatis, devotione debita dicant, celebrant, atque cantent'. Cap XLII, Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 113.

²⁰⁸ See above, 46, nt. 158.

²⁰⁹ For a list of these prayers see Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 5, 541-3.

²¹⁰ New College was the first college to initiate this requirement. Harrison, *MMB*, 32.

²¹¹ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 266.

²¹² The names of priests were selected by the dean, delegated *per rota*, and affixed on a *tabula* (i.e. a board within plain view affixed to a pillar or wall in the chapel).

²¹³ Rub. 42, Statutes of New College (1400), 71-2.

Commemorative services, obits, and other provisions

The intercessory function of New College, King's, and other Wykehamist colleges (and most colleges founded between 1450 and 1535) manifested itself not only in the specific daily Masses, collects, and prayers, but also in a group of additional commemorative services.²¹⁴ At both New College and King's, the Office of the Dead (*exequias mortuorum*) and a Requiem Mass with prayers and collects²¹⁵ on the following day were celebrated four times throughout the year at the close of each term with the full college in attendance; college officers, fellows, and scholars and chaplains, clerks, and choristers were remunerated for their attendance and participation. At New College these services were offered for the king, founder (Wykeham), and benefactors and at King's for the souls of Henry VI, his parents, and benefactors.

Wykeham and Henry VI also provided an additional series of obits, including one for themselves (the founder's obit), to be celebrated on the anniversary of their deaths.²¹⁶ Henry VI included a further obit at King's: *exequies* and Requiem Masses for all souls of the benefactors celebrated within twelve days of Christmas. To the quarterly services and yearly obits at New College, Wykeham added two votive Masses: a votive Mass ('Mass of Holy Trinity') with special collects celebrated three times a year at the reading of the statutes,²¹⁷ and 'Mass of the Holy Spirit' to be celebrated at the election of a new warden.²¹⁸

The *Missa Domini Regis*, originally dedicated to Richard II, became a commemorative service staple at New College and a further occasion for polyphony.²¹⁹ The *Missa Domini Regis* was 'noted' (i.e. composed)²²⁰ during the reign

²¹⁴ See Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 6, 544-6.

²¹⁵ *Deus qui inter Apostolicos, Deus cui soli competit, Miserere, qucesumus, Inclina, Domine, and Fidelium Deus.*

²¹⁶ See Vol. II, Appendix III, Table 6, 544-6.

²¹⁷ Within the octave of Christmas, within the octave of Easter, and within the octave of the translation of Thomas Becket.

²¹⁸ Rub. 43, 'De exequiis et distributionibus faciendis in iisdem', in Statutes of New College (1400), 72-6.

²¹⁹ Yearly remuneration for the *Missa Regia* is made not only to clerks and chaplains, but also to the *informator choristarum*, suggesting that the choristers sang in the service.

of Edward IV in 1464/5, and the *Bursars' Long Book* of 1494/95 records once again the payment '*pro missa Domini Regis*' (later identified in the *Computus Bursariorum* as '*missa Regia*'). The payment for participants in the '*missa Regia*' recurs consistently throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (e.g. in 1636/37: '*Portio pro Exequijs et Missa Regia*'), though the service of the pre-Reformation Mass had long been extinct. The provision for morrow Mass and *missa Regia* occur at New College and Winchester College, but there is no provision for either at King's College.

Epilogue. The significance of the study of colleges founded on the Wykehamist model in relation to this thesis

It may seem over-generous to allocate so much space to the exploration of the liturgical provision, pattern, and practice of New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge. However, it is necessary to take account of the extent and complexity of liturgical and musical observance in these colleges, and to draw out the close parallels between them, in order to establish how radically different were the liturgical provision, pattern, and practice of the two 'new' foundations that form the core of this study. New College, founded in the later fourteenth century, served as a model for Henry VI's mid-fifteenth-century foundation; similar parallels can be drawn with William Waynflete's provisions at Magdalen College, Oxford, nominally founded in 1458, but not properly founded until 1480, the year of the first statutes. All three educational institutions included a large liturgical (and musical) component to complement the fellows and scholars; the ritual and musical embellishment of worship was a high priority. By contrast, both liturgical provision and priorities, and the intellectual goals of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, were significantly different from these earlier foundations. In a number of respects, they mark a divide between the late medieval and early modern. The context of the late medieval colleges therefore provides an essential backdrop to the primary narrative of the two early modern colleges.

²²⁰ 'Et solutum pro Notacione Misse Domini Regis, ix d'. NCA, 7717. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1464/65. Harrison *MMB*, 158-59.

CHAPTER TWO

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, FROM FOUNDATION TO c. 1534

Foreword

The core of this thesis traces worship and music through the most turbulent period of religious history in Britain. It does so not as a broad study (though the principal trends and events are outlined in Chapter Three of this thesis), but within the confines of two self-governing institutions. It seeks to explore the balance between local (i.e. power and influence of individuals within the college) and 'more than local' (i.e. external forces and broader, even national trends) influences. As has already been pointed out, this is the distinctive characteristic of this thesis. Such an approach could have been applied to any of the colleges described above (indeed, comparable studies of New College and King's College have had to be excluded from the thesis due to limits of space) or indeed to a cathedral or parish. However, St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, are notable as foundations created by two bishops with priorities as founders that differed significantly from their predecessors. This section outlines the founding and early history of these two colleges as a prelude to the main discussion in the second part of the thesis.

In the foundation of these two colleges there are three principal *dramatis personae*: Lady Margaret Beaufort (1441x43 - 1509), mother of Henry VII, founder of Christ's College, Cambridge (1506), and proto-founder of St. John's College, Cambridge (established after her death in 1511); John Fisher (1469 - 1535), bishop of Rochester from 1504, a major theologian, who was closely associated with Margaret Beaufort; and Richard Fox (1448 - 1528), successively bishop of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and (from 1501) Winchester, and also Lord Privy Seal.

Bishop John Fisher, perhaps the most prolific preacher of his era, and his mentor, Bishop Richard Fox, were wed as much to *academia* as to their faith; the founding of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1511 and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1517 were manifestations of a synthesis of *academia* and religion. Fox no doubt observed his protégé, Fisher, help their common friend, Lady Margaret Beaufort, in the

founding of Christ's and St. John's Colleges, and it is no coincidence that the two founders were well acquainted with one another's statutes; both the statutes of St. John's and Corpus Christi were drawn up at approximately the same time (1516-17) and both - perhaps in the spirit of the age - provided their college chapels with a minimum of intercessory requirements and a drastically reduced scheme of devotion and music to better serve the burgeoning *studia humanitatis*.

1. The foundation of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Lady Margaret's first successful endeavor in founding a university college²²¹ was the transformation of God's House, a 'medieval teacher-training college initially favored by Henry VI'²²² into Christ's College in 1506. The college traversed a more or less smooth road to foundation, in part through the aid of John Fisher, Lady Margaret's spiritual advisor and confidant. While the new buildings of Christ's were still under construction, Fisher succeeded in drawing Lady Margaret's interest to the former run-down Hospital of St. John the Evangelist,²²³ which was in debt²²⁴ and in dire need of repair. Perhaps inspired by the success of Christ's, she felt compelled to turn it as well into a proper university college, adequately endowed. Before her death she stated that should she live, she would make St. John's 'as good and of as good value' as Christ's,²²⁵ and after gaining the consent of her stepson James Stanley, the bishop of Ely, sought the necessary royal licence for a new foundation. It was to be a society of fifty persons, studying not only arts and theology as at Christ's, but canon and civil law, as well.²²⁶ Lady Margaret died in 1509, unable to realise her wishes. Perhaps

²²¹ Lady Margaret had already lent financial and moral support to the transformation of the old nunnery of St. Radegund into Jesus College in the 1490s, but shelved the project *en lieu* of the more pressing endeavour to rescue God's House from financial ruin. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 6.

²²² Dowling, M., *Fisher of Men: a life of John Fisher, 1465-1535* (Basingstoke, 1999), 13. God's House was founded in 1439 and moved by Henry VI to the present location of Christ's College in 1446 to make way for King's College. Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, 215-16.

²²³ The Hospital of St. John the Evangelist dated from the twelfth century. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 6.

²²⁴ The hospital's actual disposable income was barely £35 a year. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 6.

²²⁵ Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, 235.

²²⁶ SJCA, SJC D4/2. Provision for studying law was omitted from both the pope's bull, 24 June 1510, and the foundation charter, 9 April 1511; Jones and Underwood, 235.

sensing her approaching demise, she provided a codicil²²⁷ to her Will, instructing her executors to carry out her scheme; John Fisher, who had provided invaluable aid in the founding of Christ's, was now armed with the necessary tools to found St. John's College, Cambridge. However, in contrast to Christ's, the establishment of St. John's was plagued by a myriad of financial and legal obstacles.

By the time probate, royal, and papal approval for the alteration of the old hospital into St. John the Evangelist College had been achieved, Lady Margaret's executors (Fisher, Fox, Henry Hornby, and Hugh Ashton among them) had already sealed the foundation charter (on 9 April 1511), giving the college legal existence. After arduous years of legal battling, St. John's officially opened on 29 July 1516 and this final success was ultimately achieved through the combined efforts of Fisher, Fox, Hornby, and Ashton, as well as the co-operation of Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII.²²⁸

Though many contemporary scholars have cast Fox in the shadows of Thomas More (1478 - 1535) and his more renowned protégés, Thomas Wolsey (1473 - 1530) and John Fisher, Fox was every bit as much a guiding force in the Tudor age, particularly in the advancement of learning. As Lord Privy Seal (1487-1516) to two Tudor monarchs,²²⁹ and bishop of Winchester (1501-28),²³⁰ the wealthiest diocese in England, Fox was in a strategic position to effect change in the field of education, his passion. Though intimately familiar with larger foundations such as New College and, in particular, Magdalen College, Oxford, in his capacities as Visitor, Fox made no attempt to found so grand an establishment. Fox's original plan was to found a small monastic college, devoted to the Benedictine Rule.²³¹ Perhaps in light of

²²⁷ The codicil made it clear that the college was to be built, 'sufficiently endowed', and equipped from the revenues of Lady Margaret's estates and trust. In addition, all plate and other goods not previously bequeathed were to be divided between Christ's and St. John's. Jones and Underwood, 241.

²²⁸ For greater detail regarding the economic and legal hardships endured by Fisher and St. John's see Lewis, J., *The life of dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester. Now first printed with an introduction by T.H. Turner* (London, 1855), vol. II, 278-9; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 10-15.

²²⁹ Henry VII and Henry VIII.

²³⁰ Previously, successively bishop of Exeter, Wells, and Durham.

²³¹ A deed of 13 June 1513 shows us that Fox was building a college much like Canterbury College (but better endowed) for a group of eight young monks of St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester. They would be provided lodgings and follow that part of Oxford's curriculum open to monks studying for

contemporary views on monastic corruption, Hugh Oldham (1452 - 1519), bishop of Exeter and Fox's colleague and benefactor, convinced Fox to alter this aspect of his plan,²³² and to found not a monastic college along the lines of Durham College and Canterbury College, but a secular college, much like New College or Magdalen College, Oxford. After procuring the requisite royal licence from Henry VIII, Bishop Fox issued the foundation charter of Corpus Christi College from his diocesan residence of Wolvesey in Winchester on 1 March 1516.²³³

2. Scale - people and buildings - by comparison with New College and King's College

Buildings and site of St. John's College, Cambridge

In contrast to New College and King's College, new foundations whose buildings were conceived and newly built, St. John's, a re-foundation, inherited two principal buildings (the chapel and infirmary of the Hospital of St. John)²³⁴ already extant at

the B.D. and D.D. degrees. Four young monks were called 'Bishop's Scholars', approximately eighteen years old; one was to be warden and to receive £10 yearly and the other three, ten marks each. Their scholastic programme entailed sophistry, logic, philosophy, and divinity. Two chantry monks were to be paid 3d per day each, for celebrating two Masses (one each) 'in the Chappell where the sayd Bysshop hath ordained his sepulture to be' (in the cathedral church of St. Swithin). The membership was also to consist of four other monks from the same monastery: one to be named 'Prior's Scholar', the other three, 'Convent's Scholars'. They were to be paid ten marks each from revenues of the priory and convent. In addition a group of officers and servants were appointed and allotted wages. Bishop Fox envisaged in total, twenty-one members with a yearly endowment of £160. Fowler, T., *The History of Corpus Christi College with Lists of its Members* (Oxford, 1893), 60-62.

²³² The account often told relating to Fox's change of heart comes to us third-hand and is drawn from Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*; its source in turn comes from John Hooker, uncle of Richard Hooker, the notable sixteenth-century Anglican Divine and an alumnus of Corpus Christi. Oldham asked: 'What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no, it is more meet a great deal, that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their learning shall do good in the church'. Holinshed, R., *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1580, republished London, 1807), vol. III, 617. Holinshed dates Oldham's advice to Fox in 1518, three or four years too late. England's laity had in recent decades witnessed a wave of anti-clericalism. Much of the critique had been directed at the monastic orders, which many felt were lax in discipline and open to promiscuity; 'bussing' may refer to 'kissing' and reflect the penchant for homosexuality. This may have alarmed Fox and tainted his 'naive' vision of monastic life. Drees, C.J., *Bishop Richard Fox of Winchester. Architect of the Tudor Age* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2014), 126, nt. 17, 190.

²³³ CCCA, A/A/2/2, fols. 1-2. *The Foundation Charter of Corpus Christi College*.

²³⁴ Two buildings comprised the Hospital of St. John prior to Fisher's foundation: (1) the infirmary, popularly known as the 'labyrinth' due to its narrow passages built in 1200 and (2) the chapel. Prior to the erection of the chapel by Augustinian brethren at the end of the thirteenth century an oratory had been attached to the infirmary and used to celebrate Mass for the sick of the infirmary. At the time of the chapel's construction the infirmary was used to house students, an attempt of Bishop Hugh de Balsham to place students under the guidance of the Augustinian clergy that oversaw the site. For

the time of Fisher's foundation charter in 1511. By c. 1515 the buildings of the college conformed to the typical pattern for a medieval college: a single court or quadrangle, bounded on one side by a chapel, on another by a hall and kitchens, and on the other sides by living quarters, a library, and a gatehouse.²³⁵ Though the chapel of the old Hospital of St. John was retained, it was extended, substantially modified, and eventually augmented by side chantries for Hugh Ashton, John Fisher, Thomas Thompson, and John Keyton by 1533. The shell of the old infirmary northeast of the chapel was also retained, and new interiors were added. Apart from these two structures, all remaining buildings were newly built at a cost of approximately £5000.²³⁶ Alterations that changed the original scheme included a seventeenth-century classicisation of First Court.

In contrast to New College chapel, the largest church in Oxford at the time of its construction, and King's College Chapel, a grand building heavily endowed and constructed under the auspices of four monarchs, the early chapel of St. John's was a hand-me-down; unlike Wykeham and Henry VI who had their chapels built from the ground up, John Fisher was confronted with the task of refurbishing a dilapidated medieval building (the chapel of the Hospital of St. John) - a job requiring not only substantial physical resources but tremendous financial and political maneuvering. Despite the obstacles, Fisher succeeded in creating a fine chapel that served the college for over three centuries. Regrettably, the early chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, no longer exists (in contrast to other chapels examined in this thesis): it was destroyed in 1868/69 and replaced by Gilbert Scott's much larger gothic revival building. It has been one aim of this thesis to create a detailed image of the early chapel's interior c. 1546 based upon existing evidence. Successive images of the chapel at various stages of the Long Reformation illustrate the wide variety of modifications made and reflect the religious, liturgical, and musical perspectives of masters and influential fellows (see Vol. II, Supplement Two for images of the chapel, c. 1546, c. 1575, and c. 1641).

greater detail concerning the early history of the site and the appropriation of the late twelfth-century Hospital of St. John see Crook, A.C., *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott: A History of the Buildings of St. John's College, Cambridge 1511 to 1885* (Cambridge, 1980), 1-5.

²³⁵ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 11.

²³⁶ Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, 8-14; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 10-12.

Before Fisher's alteration, the chapel had been a lofty and long building; however, in contrast to King's College Chapel, it was only 121 feet in length (less than half that of King's chapel) and 30 feet in width. It was covered with a high-pitched roof, and a slender square tower rose slightly west from the centre of the building. This is the building Fisher inherited.²³⁷

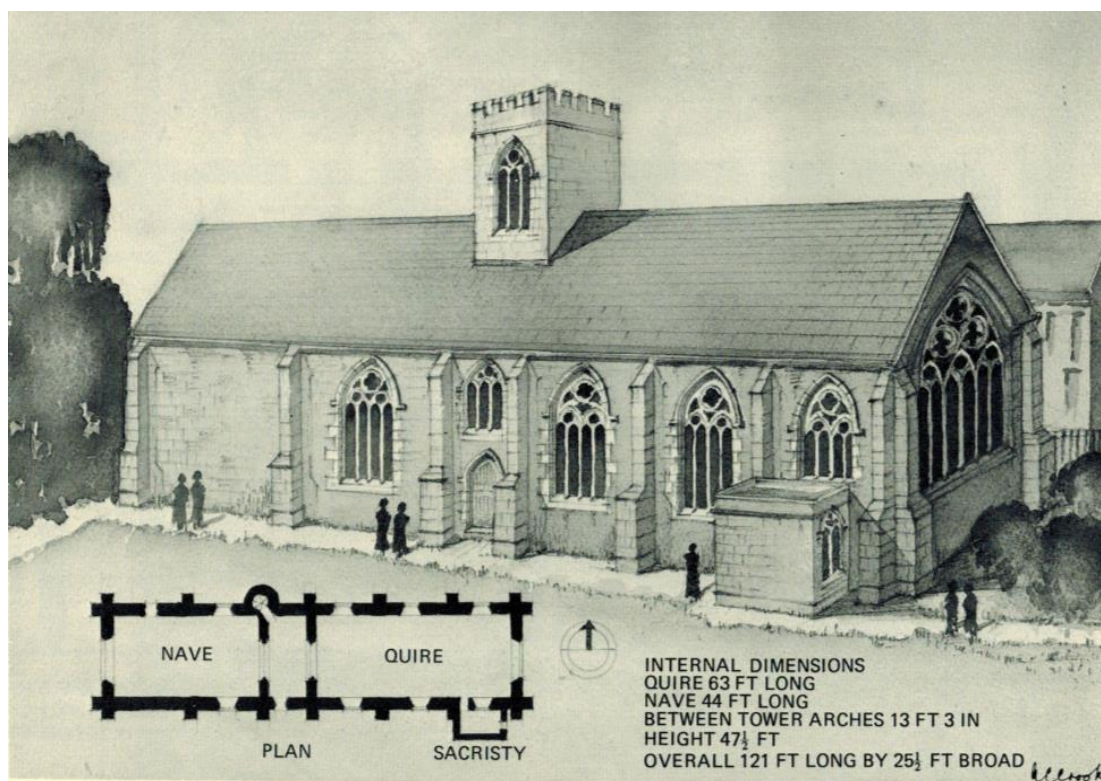


Illustration 2.1 Speculative drawing of the pre-foundation chapel of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge.²³⁸

There were four chantry chapels built within just over two decades of the foundation in 1511. The most significant to the musical discussion here was the chantry of John Fisher; it is therefore described here in detail. The chantry was built between 1525 and 1533 at Fisher's expense.²³⁹ In the accounts through 1547, four fellows²⁴⁰ were

²³⁷ 'At the southeast of the building, pointing in a southerly direction was a sacristy. On the north elevation, flanking the infirmary, was a semi-circular turret, enclosing a rood loft staircase. The walls of squared clunch were strengthened by buttresses at regular intervals, though the two supporting the tower on either side were closer together. A pair of buttresses at right angles supported the walls at each of the four corners.' Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, 15-16. Windows between the buttresses were in the Early Decorated style. There was a six-light window in the east, approximately 19 1/2 feet wide and 30 feet tall. The west window was probably similar but narrower. Two doorways were situated on the north and south walls. For a visualisation of the interior of the early chapel see Supplement Two, Images 19-22, 483-6.

²³⁸ Printed in Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*. Plate I.

²³⁹ The construction of the chantry is recorded in detail in Metcalfe's account book. In 1528-9 stone was bought for the tomb, and its completion is recorded in 1532/33. BL MSS Harl. 7074, fol. 15b;

chosen as chaplains to the chantry. In Fisher's conversion of the original chapel the three Early Decorated windows on the north side of the chapel were replaced by three narrower and lower windows in Perpendicular style. The most eastern of these three, nearest the main altar, was removed. The space formed by its removal and the wall beneath it was filled by three four-centred, late Perpendicular arches, of which the central arch was the widest. These connected Fisher's chantry to the quire. Over the three arches of Fisher's chantry, another lower Perpendicular arch was constructed; this opened onto a chamber over the chantry. The upper level arch was ten feet, five inches in height and seven feet, eleven inches wide. As the chantry occupied the entire space between the old infirmary and the chapel, there were no windows on the north side of it. It had one small window on the west side but none on the east as an external passage prevented the placement of a window there. The chamber over the chantry, believed by some to be the organ chamber referred to later in the Prizing Books,²⁴¹ had a window at each end and one on its north side above the wall of the infirmary. No staircase to this chamber was ever found; however, it had to have been accessed somehow. It is possible that the room was accessed by a wooden staircase from the floor of the chancel, or, more likely, by a staircase from the infirmary.²⁴² During the tenure of John Arrowsmith (master, 1644-53), the chantry was turned into a chamber for the chapel clerk and a chimney built (visible in Loggan's 1690 print). Three additional chantry chapels were complete by 1533: those of Hugh Ashton attached to the north wall and those of John Keyton and Thomas Thompson on the south (see Vol. II, Supplement Two, Images 19-24 for visualisation).

Baker, T., *History of the College of St. John the Evangelist*, Mayor, J.E.B., (ed.), (Cambridge, 1859), vol. II, 567.

²⁴⁰ Two from Yorkshire, two from Kent.

²⁴¹ According to Crook there was no evidence of a staircase to this chamber. Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, 17. The Prizing Books were maintained from 1606 and reveal much about the layout of the college, in particular, the college courts and their rooms and chambers. They record rooms at moments of transition, when they passed from one fellow to another. Nicholls, M., 'The Seventeenth Century', in Linehan, P., (ed.), *St John's College Cambridge. A History*. (Woodbridge, 2011), 128.

²⁴² A photograph of 1863 during the period of the chapel's destruction clearly shows a door accessing the chamber, though Crook insists this was a later addition. See Babington, C.C., *History of the infirmary and chapel of the hospital and college of St John the Evangelist, at Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1874), Plate 2. Eastern end of the north side (exterior).

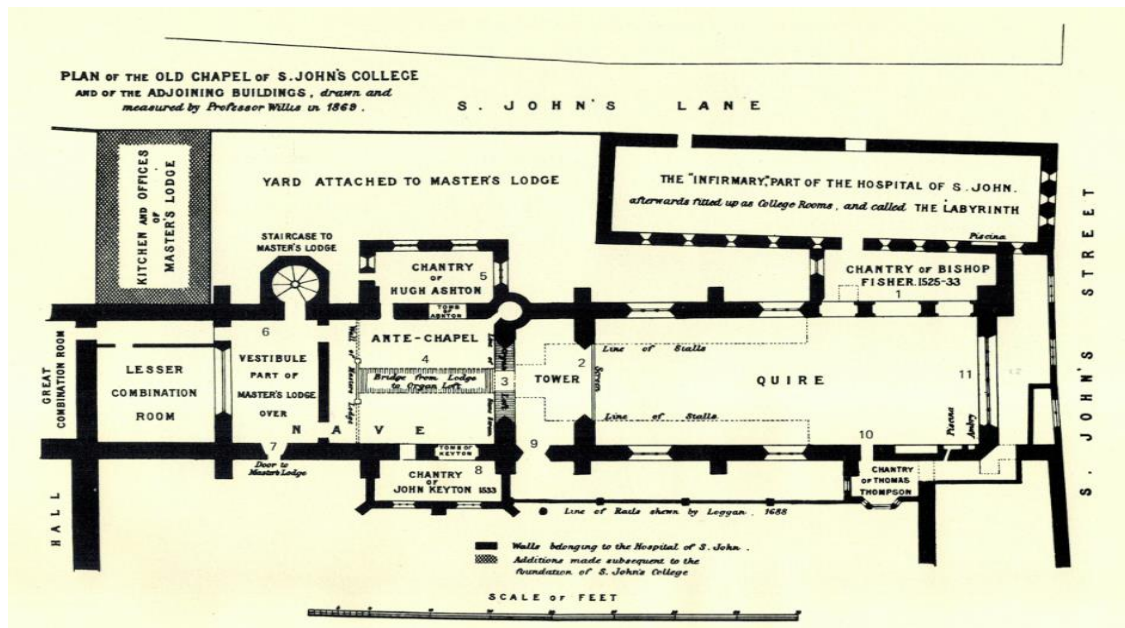


Illustration 2.2 Speculative plan of the north range of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1516 after Fisher's renovations, including lesser combination room, master's lodge, chapel with chantries, and the old infirmary. Drawn in 1869.²⁴³

Buildings and site of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

With an original £160 endowment eventually raised to c. £380, and a generous gift of £4000 from Bishop Hugh Oldham to cover the extension of buildings and the endowment, the foundation of Corpus Christi College was made reality in 1516/17. After procuring three parcels of land to form the site from different landlords, including Merton College,²⁴⁴ Fox built a traditional group of buildings typical of an Oxford college of the day: a chapel, cloisters, hall, library, kitchen and other offices, gardens and woodyard, as well as a gateway and chambers. As at most of the older colleges, including Merton, New College, and Magdalen, the president's rooms were originally set over the gateway in clear view of the front quadrangle.

Like other Oxford colleges, it was self-contained and - like many monasteries - set around a quadrangle; however, in contrast to New College, whose so-called 'great quadrangle' opens onto the garden, the front quadrangle at Corpus Christi is closed on

²⁴³ Printed in Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*. Plate II. Unfortunately, the image reflects Alec Crook's nineteenth-century assumption that the organ was placed in an organ loft separating the chapel and antechapel, which cannot be substantiated. This was, however, the position of the 1636 Robert Dallam organ.

²⁴⁴ For greater detail concerning the original land plot and previous halls and gardens see Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 67-70.

all sides, forcing the entire college community to traverse it under the eyes of the president.²⁴⁵ Surrounding the quadrangle were twenty sets of rooms accommodating fellows and *discipuli*, (i.e. undergraduate scholars) who shared rooms.²⁴⁶

Although modest in scale in comparison with New College and Cardinal College (later Christ Church) and Magdalen, Merton, or All Souls Colleges, Corpus Christi College was not lacking in opulence; Fox spared no expense in fitting out his college and its chapel with the finest materials. As Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII and Henry VIII, and bishop of the wealthiest diocese in England, Fox had access to some of the country's finest craftsmen. He employed the finest London goldsmiths, including the royal goldsmith to craft vessels for the celebration of the Mass.²⁴⁷ Equally important to the celebration of Mass were fine vestments, and Fox went to great expense to provide exquisite textiles, many imported from Italy. Sumptuously dressed officiants proliferated on great feasts days: the *rectores chori* (choir rulers), for example, who led the singing of the chant, intoned the Psalms, and sang the lessons among other duties, were distinguished by wearing coloured copes of silk and other precious fabrics.²⁴⁸

Fox also engaged the king's master carpenter Humphrey Coke (1496 - 1531)²⁴⁹ between 1514 and 1518, the mason William Eist from 1514 to 1516, as well as the

²⁴⁵ Every entrance to the staircases was visible from the president's rooms. Remaining living quarters were situated in the 'cloister chambers' outside the quadrangle between the chapel and the garden; this area was built after the foundation of the college. Fellows had keys to the garden, but *discipuli* did not; *discipuli* could only obtain the key to the library, accessed by a staircase from the quad. Although there were two more entrances, one a side entrance used for deliveries, they remained locked and inaccessible to members. The above measures helped to effectuate the tightly-knit society that Fox envisaged. 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

²⁴⁶ The rooms contained one fellow and one *discipulus* (sometimes two *discipuli*), the fellow occupying the top bed and the *discipulus* a lower truckle-bed, the arrangement perhaps echoing the tutorial system of Wykeham and Henry VI. *Ibid*.

²⁴⁷ The college possesses a chalice and paten hallmarked in London 1507-8, as well as Fox's crozier and two ablution basins deployed for the ritual washing of hands during the Mass. All are on permanent exhibition in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Reid, J., 'The Founder's Textile', *The Pelican Record*, 48 (2012), 22.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁴⁹ Coke was also one of the 'masters of the works' for Wolsey's Cardinal College in 1525, where he designed the roof of the great hall. Harvey, J., *English Medieval Architects: a Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550*, with contributions by Arthur Oswald, rev. edn. Alan Sutton (Gloucester, 1984), 64-65.

king's master mason William Vertue (1501 - 1527) after 1510.²⁵⁰ The king's glazier was hired to provide coloured glass of the highest artistry; this may have been either Flemish artist Barnard Flower (d. July or August 1517), with whom Fox had collaborated on the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge,²⁵¹ or James Nicholson, who is known to have worked for Cardinal College, Oxford, in 1528.²⁵² Corpus Christi's vast humanist library remained unique in Oxford. Until the foundation of other notable Oxford libraries, not least Thomas Bodley's in the early seventeenth century, Corpus Christi's library remained the college's most distinctive claim to fame and notoriety.²⁵³

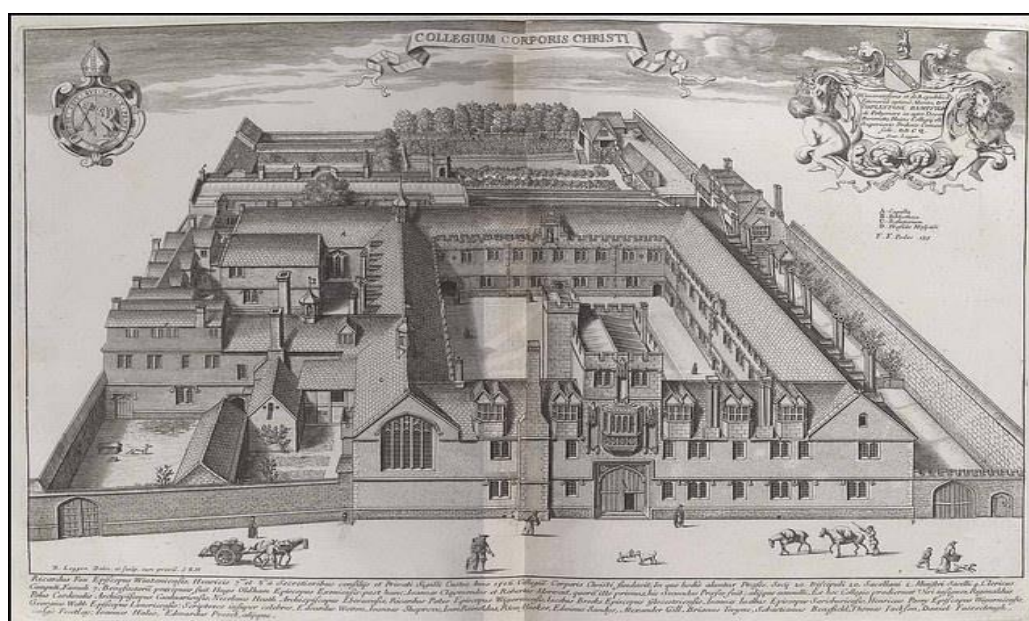


Illustration 2.3 Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1675. Engraving.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 64-65 and 307-10. For further details concerning William Vertue see entry for his brother Robert in *DNBO*; Reid, J., 'The Bosses of Corpus Christi Chapel', *The Pelican Record* (Corpus Christi College), 49 (December 2013), 16-17.

²⁵¹ A memorandum of 1515 at King's College provides for 'glazing the great Church' and directs that it be executed 'in such forme and condition as my Lord of Winchester [Fox] shal devise and commande'. KCA, KC/KCAR/CMR/71. Memorandum of payment from Thomas Larke sent by Robert Hacumblen to Barnard Flower, glazier, 30 November 1515; Pickering, N., 'Provost Robert Hacumblen and his Chantry Chapel', in Massing, J. M., and Zeeman, N., (eds.), *King's College Chapel 1515-2015. Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (London, 2014), 98.

²⁵² It is possible that the glass was made for Cardinal College and may have been passed on to Balliol in 1529 when all of Wolsey's property was forfeit to the Crown. Davis, H.W.C., *A History of Balliol College* (Oxford, 1963), 69.

²⁵³ For a detailed account of the contents of the library see Milne, J.G., *The Early History of Corpus Christi, Oxford* (Oxford, 1946), 37-53 and Liddell, J.R., 'The library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the sixteenth century', *The Library*, 18 (1938), 385-416.

²⁵⁴ Logan, D., *Oxonia Illustrata*, (Oxford, 1675).

The chapel was set east of the gatehouse and intersected at a ninety-degree angle by the hall. The length of the original quire of the chapel was c. 61 feet. In contrast to King's College and St. John's College, Cambridge, it contained no chantry side chapels. Instead, an antechapel containing two chantry altars was added west of the quire; it was separated from the quire by a rood screen, set at the time of the foundation approximately 33 feet from the western entrance.²⁵⁵ The antechapel is contained in the chapel's third bay from the east. This bay, though not included in the 61 feet of the original chapel roof, had the same-pitched roof as the quire.²⁵⁶ Much later, after the screen was moved westwards, the window in this bay had its ledge heightened to fit the stalls, which were put up between 1675 and 1676; it is uniform with the four easternmost windows of the quire, though not spaced evenly with them. A vestry originally adjoined the chapel on the northeast side, leaving only one of the chapel windows visible on the north. The vestry was most likely taken down in 1675/76 when the floor 'was paved with black and white marble, the roof painted and gilded, new stalls and a screen of cedarwood set up, the inner chapel lengthened towards the west, and more room made in the outer, by taking short the east end of the library that looked into it.'²⁵⁷

As with the other buildings, Coke and Vertue directed the construction of the fine but relatively modest chapel. The accounts make no specific reference to the construction of the fabric of the chapel, thus indicating that it was more or less complete by 1517.²⁵⁸ The interior was one of the last items of attention, in particular, the ceiling, which in contrast to the glass remains original today.²⁵⁹ The ceiling bosses,²⁶⁰ which

²⁵⁵ See Vol. II, Supplement Two, Images 7-10.

²⁵⁶ 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

²⁵⁷ Wood, A., Gutch, J., (ed.), *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford with a Continuation*, 2 vols, 4^{to} (Oxford, 1786-1790), 400.

²⁵⁸ Unfortunately, no building accounts for the chapel remain extant. I am grateful to archivist Julian Reid for making this aware to me.

²⁵⁹ 'Notwithstanding a major refurbishing of the chapel after the Restoration of Charles II, and some cosmetic smartening up in the 1840s, the chapel ceiling looks much as it did when the earliest members of the college first began their daily round of prayer there in 1517'. Reid, 'The Bosses of Corpus Christi Chapel', 15.

²⁶⁰ The bosses are of particular interest and significance, not only in the personal and heraldic imagery and imagery depicting Fox's royal patrons, but also in symbols associated with the passion of Christ. The images directly mirror the imagery devised by Fox and deployed in the bosses attached to the vault of the choir of Winchester Cathedral a decade earlier. Reid, 'The Bosses of Corpus Christi Chapel', 18.

were carved by Thomas Russell²⁶¹ and gilded at great expense by Humphrey Coke can be counted among the treasures of the college;²⁶² their imagery of Christ represents Fox's core inspiration in the founding of the college as well as the growing popularity of the cult of Jesus and the Holy Name at the outset of the sixteenth century, particularly during the reign of Henry VIII.²⁶³ Further details concerning the bosses and other structural elements of the foundation have been presented in the recently published history of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by Thomas Charles-Edwards and Julian Reid in conjunction with the 500th year anniversary of the foundation.²⁶⁴

Ultimately, there were a number of reasons for the small size of the chapel and its modest chapel staff, including the limitations of the land parcel and not least the provision for a membership of only sixty. As mentioned above, Fox's own college was founded at a different time after a different set of educational priorities than those of New College, Magdalen College, or King's College; given the intimacy of its quadrangle, the college was conceived far more akin to a household with chapel than New College or Magdalen in Oxford, or King's and Trinity in Cambridge. Accordingly, the reduced scale of its liturgy required a much smaller chapel staff.

²⁶¹ Thomas Russell, who was associated with the King's Works, came from an established family of wood craftsmen in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, which included Richard Russell, perhaps the foremost master carpenter of his age (worked at Westminster Abbey between 1490 and 1516, and on the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, 1509-15). Reid, 'The Bosses of Corpus Christi Chapel', 15.

²⁶² In November 1517 Coke was paid an advance of £3 'to pay the carver of the knots [i.e. roof bosses] for the chapel at 16d the piece'. A schedule of works appended to the end of the account records the carver as Thomas 'Roossell' (i.e. Russell) of Westminster. The following May, Coke was paid the then huge sum of £19, 5s for the gilding of 98 whole bosses and 14 half bosses at 3s and 22d the piece for whole and half bosses respectively. CCCA, CCCO H/1/4/1. Building accounts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 2 March 1517-20, November 1518: advance, fol. 29v; schedule, fol. 53r; gilding, fol. 39v; Reid, 'The Bosses of Corpus Christi Chapel', 16.

²⁶³ The images relating to Christ were certainly intended as aids to prayer and reflection, drawing on the gospel narratives of the arrest, trial, and execution of Jesus. There were also two bosses associated with the *arma Christi*: the sacred trigram of the Holy Name and the Five Wounds. Devotion to the Five Wounds was developing at the same time as devotion to the Holy Name (c. 1499/1500), although it had not achieved the status of a separate liturgical feast by the time of England's break with Rome. The wounds referred to are those inflicted in Jesus' hands, feet, and side by the nails and lance already recorded, and are represented by a pair of nail-punctured hands and feet radiating from a centrally placed heart. For the development of devotion to the Holy Name and its establishment as a feast day see Pfaff, R.W., *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), 'The Feast of the Name of Jesus', Chapter IV, 62-83 and 'Incipient Feasts: The Five Wounds', Chapter V, 84-91; Reid, 'The Bosses of Corpus Christi Chapel', 22-3.

²⁶⁴ Charles-Edwards, T., and Reid, J., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford. A History* (Oxford, 2017).

3. Purpose and statutory provision of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford - by comparison with Wykehamist foundations

The opening paragraphs of Wykehamist statutes present a panoramic purpose for the respective colleges, in which the Church and the Christian faith take precedence over the study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences.²⁶⁵ By contrast, the opening of Fisher's and Fox's statutes make no such statement; however, despite the lack of a sweeping introductory statement of purpose, Fisher and Fox make it clear that a shift in priorities has occurred, and that education in their respective colleges takes precedence over devotion and intercession. They approach this task in different ways.

For example, the preface of Fox's statutes ('*Prefatio de fundatione*') begins with two metaphors: the ladder and the beehive. We are told by Fox that our goal as we travel through this life, wretched and death-doomed, is to reach heaven. In order to make heaven more accessible there is a ladder; let us call the right side of the ladder 'virtue' ('*dextrum latus scalae appellantes virtutem*'), he writes, and the left side 'knowledge' ('*sinistrum vero scientiam*'). Between these two sides lay steps by which we can either ascend and soar or sink to the lowest depths. After having ascended to heaven himself Fox intends to assist others in a similar ascent (entrance).²⁶⁶ The message is clear: the doors to heaven are opened by the keys of virtue and knowledge; the ascent to heaven is not attained through hours of devotion and intercession but through education. Presenting this fundamental principle in the opening lines of his statutes enforces the nature of Fox's foundation. The *allevarium*²⁶⁷ (beehive) is the second metaphor that recurs throughout the statutes from the '*Prefatio de fundatione*' onwards; it underpins Fox's didactic and theological conventions. Only after knowledge has been attained,

²⁶⁵ See Vol. II, Appendix I. Opening sequences of selected Wykehamist statutes, 533-4.

²⁶⁶ 'Statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1517)' in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (Oxford: Parker, 1853), vol. II, 10. Under '*Praefatio de fundatione*'; Ward, G.R.M., tr. 'The Statutes of Bishop Fox given to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, A.D. 1517' in *The Statutes of Corpus Christi College, All Souls, College and Magdalen College, Oxford*. (London, 1843), vol. I, 2. Under 'The Preface concerning the Foundation'. It appears that both Parker and Ward have drawn their texts from one of the two 'fair' copies of the 1517 statutes housed in the college archives (CCCA, A/4/1/2; CCCA, A/4/1/6); however, it remains unclear which copy they used. See below, 81, nt. 317.

²⁶⁷ Fox compared Corpus Christi metaphorically to a beehive ('*alevarium*'), 'wherein scholars, like ingenious bees, are by day and night to make wax to the honour of God, and honey, dropping sweetness, to the profit of themselves and all Christians'. Ward, *The Statutes of Bishop Fox*, 2. Under 'The Preface concerning the Foundation'; Bishop Fox's final statutes (1528). CCCA, A/4/1/1A, 2. Under '*Prefatio de fundatione*'.

explains Fox, can his 'bees' (scholars) make wax day and night in the bee garden of Corpus Christi College to honour God and sweet honey to their own profit and that of all Christians. Finally, Fox emphasises the centrality of '*corpus Christi mysticum*' - the 'mystical body of Christ'. The body of Christ represents a collective, or corporate vision, and it appears to dominate Fox's world-view of the Church; Fox considered the Church's followers members of a spiritual *corpus Christi mysticum*, who suppressed individual desires to nourish the faith of that body. (The parallel with the collective work of bees in the hive is self-evident - and thus at a microcosmic level, with his college as *corpus Christi mysticum*). By the same token, this reflected the political and social 'body politic' of England, whose subjects served a monarch ruling by the grace of God.²⁶⁸

Fox's prioritisation of education is not just contained in the 'Prefatio de fundatione'; it is further sustained in the letter of Patent given by Henry VIII in 1517, in which Richard Fox, 'his heirs, executors, or assigns, or some or one of them, might have power and be able to make, found, rear, create, and establish a certain perpetual College for instruction in the sciences of Sacred Theology and Philosophy, and the good Arts'.²⁶⁹ The Patent states only later that the college be dedicated to:

the praise and honour of God Almighty, and the most sacred Body of Christ, and the most blessed ever Virgin Mary his mother, and the Apostles Peter and Paul, and St. Swithin and the other Saints, Patrons of the Church of Winchester aforesaid.²⁷⁰

Nowhere does the Patent state that the college is founded for 'the Exaltation of the Christian Faith' and 'the Advancement of the Church' as at New College, Magdalen, and King's.

In contrast to Fox's fundamental priorities, John Fisher's first intent is to create a code in the name of Lady Margaret of Richmond (mother of Henry VII) to which master, fellows, and scholars should obey, to the glory of God, to the honour of St. John the

²⁶⁸ Drees, *Bishop Richard Fox*, 7.

²⁶⁹ CCCA, MS S385; 'Royal Patent of Foundation', in Ward, *The Statutes of Bishop Fox*.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Evangelist, and to the 'augmentation of the Christian faith' (*fidei incrementum*).²⁷¹ In addition to this statement of intent, all Fisher's statutes (and those of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I) emphasise the three main wishes of Lady Margaret: the worship of God, the increase of the faith, and good, honest behaviour.²⁷² These are outlined at the outset of the statute 'De Cultu Dei' in all sets of statutes (1516, 1524, 1530, 1545, 1580).

Although Fisher's statutes begin with the wish to 'augment the Christian faith', in content and intent the entire body of statutes assigns a primary role to education and a secondary role to devotion. This is indicated, above all, in the sheer number of lines given to devotion (contained almost exclusively in the statutes 'De Cultu Dei' and 'De Trigintilibus et Exequiis'), which are many fewer than the lines dedicated to the curriculum and to lectures and lecturers. Fisher's provision for devotion, liturgy, and music is much more spartan than that of the corresponding statutes in Lady Margaret's already streamlined provision for Christ's College.²⁷³ The role given to devotion by Fisher is also more modest than the role assigned to it by Fox.

A comparison can be drawn between Fisher's devotional provision for St. John's and that of Fox for Corpus Christi College,²⁷⁴ which, like that of Lady Margaret for Christ's, represents a drastically reduced version of the much longer and detailed rubrics of Wykeham and Henry VI. Fox's provision for devotion is set out in two statutes: 'De divinis officiis et feriis observandis' (an outline of services) and 'De precibus et aliis suffragiis a singulis privatim vel publice dicendis aut canendis' (an outline of personal prayers and collects). By contrast, Fisher limits liturgical and musical provision solely to the statute 'De Cultu Dei', and he omits the statute devoted to personal prayers entirely. Later recensions of St. John's statutes (1524, 1530) laid

²⁷¹ In the original 1516 statutes: 'Tria sunt quae sociis collegii huius omnes in primis curare upium us, Dei scilicet cultus, fidei incrementum, et morum probitas'. In the 1524 statutes: 'Tria sunt quae pientissima fundatrix a sociis praesipue curanda votis omnibus exoptavit, nempe Dei cultus, morum probitas, et Christianae fidei corroboratio'. Rex notes that perhaps in light of the threat of Lutheranism Fisher changed 'increase of the faith' (*fidei incrementum*) to 'corroboration of the Christian faith' (*Christianae fidei corroboratio*). Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 26.

²⁷² See previous note.

²⁷³ Lady Margaret Beaufort's statutes for Christ's College (1505) provide another example of sixteenth-century statutes driven more by education, than by devotion; they represent a joint composition by Lady Margaret and Fisher, her confessor. They will be examined more closely in the St. John's case study, Chapter Four.

²⁷⁴ See below, 90-98.

out in increasing detail the academic provision of the college, introducing the features that placed St. John's at the forefront of what many current historians have labeled 'Renaissance humanism', but which at the time was simply referred to as *bonae literae*.²⁷⁵ It is worth noting that Fisher strove to respect Lady Margaret's wish that the college produce 'theologians who would communicate the fruit of learning to the people'.²⁷⁶ This indicates that education was primary to the formation of Fisher's (as well as Lady Margaret's) young preachers; a superlative education provided priests with the means to execute their duties (above all preaching) authoritatively.²⁷⁷

Both Fisher and Fox became heavily influenced by contemporary opinion in regard to musical provision within the first two decades of their respective foundations; their statutes proved to be works in progress. It was not until the later recensions of Fisher's statutes (1524) and those of Fox (1528) had been completed that the infrastructure of their respective colleges and their provisions for chapel music were finalised. It is perhaps no coincidence that Fisher and Fox embraced a similar vision of devotion, particularly in regard to musical provision. This is supported by the fact that a copy of the 1517 statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has been bound together with Fisher's 1524 statutes for St. John's, Cambridge,²⁷⁸ the volume will be discussed below. Although certain adjustments were made to chapel music by 1530 in their respective foundations, it remained clear that Fox and Fisher intended devotion to be subservient to the educational curriculum - less public, more pious, and less extensive than in the grand chapels of foundations like New College, Cardinal, Magdalen, and King's.

It might be added that though Fisher and Fox endeavoured to prioritise humanist rhetoric and scholarship in their respective curriculums, neither their personal goals nor their courses of study were identical. The comprehensive *bonae literae* of Fisher's selective humanist and scholastic curriculum was chosen with the explicit goal of

²⁷⁵ Richard Rex remarks that the anachronistic term, 'Renaissance humanism', used by historians today, merely signified *bonae literae* ('good letters') at the time, and represented the intellectual movement dedicated to the study of the languages and literature of classical antiquity. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century' 19.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁷⁷ The need for educated priests was widely recognised. Under Cranmer, only priests with degrees were allowed to preach: others were expected to read the authorised homilies circulated in print.

²⁷⁸ The volume (SJCA, C1/2) can be found in the St. John's archives.

producing a crop of capable theologian-preachers. All learning at St. John's, old and new, served to better the textual authority of contemporary biblical translation and commentaries; it was an institution where preaching and critical textual analysis of scripture were as much building blocks as the very stones of its foundation. According to statute, one fourth of the fellowship was to preach in English outside of the college nine times a year, and to deliver a sermon within the college chapel once a year.²⁷⁹ In contrast to Fisher, Fox placed greater importance on the humanist curriculum and less to medieval scholasticism, and he made no endowments for preacherships as Fisher did.

4. Intellectual life and ethos at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Though Fisher and Fox approached humanism from differing paths, both realised the enormous benefits of the new learning in the education of a dynamic, new clergy. Although John Fisher's first successes were the product of a medieval scholastic education,²⁸⁰ like Erasmus von Rotterdam (1466 - 1536), he came to repudiate the scholastic curriculum; Fox and Fisher were progressive enough to acknowledge the educational, political, and theological benefits of the humanist curriculum, particularly the advantages of studies in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and other tongues,²⁸¹ supportive of biblical scholarship.²⁸² Thus, Fisher invited Erasmus to teach Greek in

²⁷⁹ Cap. XXIV in Bishop Fisher's Statutes (1516). Mayor, J.E.B., (ed.), *Early Statutes of the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1859), 377.

²⁸⁰ Fisher's B.A. degree in Cambridge was based on the old-fashioned medieval *trivium* of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. Texts included the *Summulae logicales* of Petrus Hispanus, the seventh book of which was the infamous *Parva Logicalia*. The three-year M.A. course that followed was in the eyes of early sixteenth-century humanists equally old-fashioned and was based on the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy mixed with a substantial chunk of logic and philosophy and a statutory requirement of a year each on dialectics (Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* and his metaphysical works). For a complete survey of Fisher's education see Rex, R., *The Theology of John Fisher*, (Cambridge, 1991), 16-29.

²⁸¹ In Fisher's 1516 statutes he stipulated that some fellows should devote themselves as soon as possible to the study of Hebrew, and ordered that Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic, together with Greek and Latin were to be the only languages permitted within the college precincts. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 375.

²⁸² The recovery of Cicero's letters opened up new theological panoramas, offering greater textual authority to humanist scholars in their biblical translations and commentaries. Philipp Melanchthon (originally Philipp Schwartzerd), for example, drew upon the works of Cicero and the classics in his study of ethics and the renewed tradition of ancient morality; his library was influenced more by Cicero than by Aristotle. His *Prolegomena* to Cicero's *De Officiis* (1525) represents an example of a prolific reformer and theologian; it displays Melanchthon as a mastermind of the Lutheran

Cambridge between 1511 and 1514;²⁸³ he even took Greek instruction personally from Erasmus.²⁸⁴

Though the university delegated study in Cambridge in broad terms, it is difficult to determine what exactly was taught at St. John's and how; as Richard Rex observes, the tutorial system was largely informal and left fewer traces in the historical record.²⁸⁵ Academic life, however, can be gleaned from the recensions of the statutes (1516, 1524, and 1530). One part of the statutes that illustrates the daily academic routine concerns the requirements of the college 'lecturer'; in Fisher's first set of statutes (1516) he appears to have lifted this definition, practically *verbatim* from the 1506 statutes for Christ's College.²⁸⁶ The lecturer is described as a person of tremendous authority and influence over the *discipuli* and fellows; he was to provide four two-hour lectures a week - directly following morning Mass - one in sophistry, one in logic, and two in natural philosophy²⁸⁷ upon texts selected by the master and seven seniors.²⁸⁸ He was also required to devote two hours a day to 'repetitions' and 'examinations'; these extra sessions provided further material to better the students' understanding of their morning lectures. In addition, he presided over various scholarly exercises in the afternoons and evenings, which added up to *c.* twelve hours

Reformation, who applied Renaissance humanism to further Luther's propaganda. Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', 21, 27.

²⁸³ According to John Lewis (1675-1747), Erasmus held the Greek professorship until 1522; however, Maria Dowling's research shows that in 1518 Richard Croke became the first university Greek professor at Fisher's expense. Lewis, *The life of dr. John Fisher*, vol. I, 27; Dowling, *Fisher of Men*, 28. Also, Richard Rex has shown that, contrary to popular belief, Erasmus did not hold the Lady Margaret Professorship: in the dedication to Christoph von Stadion of his *Ecclesiastae Libri IV siue De Tatione Concionandi* (Basel, 1535) Erasmus alludes to the work of Fisher and Lady Margaret at Cambridge without mentioning the professorship at all. Rex, R., 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Professorship, 1502-1559', in Collinson, P. *Lady Margaret and her Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge, 1502-1649* (New York, 2003), 31-33. In light of his rampant name-dropping, Erasmus would not have hesitated to mention Lady Margaret's patronage had he actually held her professorship.

²⁸⁴ Erasmus's Greek lectures at Cambridge were apparently so inspirational that Fisher (at the ripe age of forty-nine) requested tuition in Greek by Erasmus. Allen, P.S., (ed.), *Erasmusi Epistolae*, II (Oxford, 1910), n. 592, 598; Underwood, M., 'John Fisher and the promotion of learning', in Bradshaw, B., and Duffy, E. (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: The career of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1959), 29.

²⁸⁵ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 18.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ As a rule, the two natural philosophy lectures consisted of one in Aristotelian logic and one in Aristotelian philosophy.

²⁸⁸ Bishop Fisher's Statutes (1516), (1524). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 383, 328.

per week.²⁸⁹ Less emphasis is placed here on the humanist disciplines of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and theology - a contrast to Fox's provisions in his statutes of 1517.

Indeed, Fox was more purposeful than Fisher in acknowledging the didactic potential of humanist methodology and rejection of medieval scholasticism. Fox's efforts to integrate humanist methodology into the curriculum placed Corpus Christi at the vanguard of contemporary education in England; until the foundation of Corpus Christi College there had been 'no *school* of humanist studies' in Oxford, and its founding had been 'a conscious and concerted attempt at innovation in university education'.²⁹⁰ It was 'an institution which, in the context of early Tudor Oxford, was altogether new in its curriculum and whose organisational design came to be exemplary'.²⁹¹

Corpus Christi's *avant-garde* curriculum, which was in part taught by three appointed Readers for Humanity (Latin), Greek, and Theology, designated c. two-thirds of each day to lectures in Latin, Greek, and theology.²⁹² Students attended lectures every day including Saturday from eight in the morning, and in the afternoons and evenings they were drilled and checked in disputations, tutorials, and examinations. Corpus Christi's substantial library, endowed by Fox with a body of scholastic texts from collections by Shirwood and William Grocyn²⁹³ and an unparalleled collection of Renaissance texts, exceeded all other libraries as a tool in humanist studies. In a somewhat exaggerated appraisal, Erasmus declared that the collection of trilingual books (i.e. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) 'will draw to Oxford in the future more people

²⁸⁹ For greater detail as to the qualifications, salary, and further duties of the 'domestic' or 'principal' lecturer, as well as to the nature of other subjects in the curriculum (e.g. mathematics, astronomy, cosmology, ect.) see Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 18-19.

²⁹⁰ Charlton, K., *Education in Renaissance England* (London, 1965), 83.

²⁹¹ Woolfson, J., 'John Claymond, Pliny the Elder, and the Early History of Corpus Christi College, Oxford', *English Historical Review*, 112 (1997), 882. Fox adopted the relatively new humanist methodology that had been emphasised in the statutes of Christ's and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, through the influence of Lady Margaret Beaufort and brought to new heights by Erasmus. Fox established three endowed lecturers to educate members of Corpus Christi, and also held university lectures himself; the three lecturers included a specialist in Classical Latin (the 'Reader of the Arts of Humanity'), an instructor in Greek ('Reader of the Grecists'), and a theologian ('Reader in Divinity').

²⁹² Every normal study day contained lectures at eight a.m. by the Reader in Humanity (Latin), lectures at ten everyday including Saturday by the Reader in Greek, and Scripture readings daily at two p.m. by the Reader in Theology. Liddell, 'The library of Corpus Christi College', 388.

²⁹³ Beauvais' *Speculum* in seven volumes and Boethius' *De Consolatione* and *De Disciplina Scholarum*, as well as Duns Scotus and Bonaventura. Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, 83-4.

than were once attracted to the sights of Rome'.²⁹⁴ With his curriculum and library Fox laid down a humanist groundwork that would define the college (and indeed the entire university) throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Throughout various recensions of the university statutes, including the 'Laudian statutes' (1636), the undergraduate curriculum remained comprised of rhetoric (in the first year, according to the Laudian statutes), dialectic in the second and third, and moral philosophy (as well as Greek and arithmetic) in the third and fourth years.²⁹⁵

The focus on Latin and Greek at Corpus Christi was coupled with an emphasis on patristic texts,²⁹⁶ which, among other advantages, lent greater textual authority to biblical translation. Although both Fisher and Fox concur on this point, Fox is emphatic in his desire for exemplary Latin, requiring the Reader of Humanity to 'manfully root out barbarity from our garden'.²⁹⁷ Here 'barbarity' refers to the Latin of the medieval 'Schoolmen' (like Duns Scotus,²⁹⁸ whose works were still taught at St.

²⁹⁴ 'Complures regiones vulgare monumentum aliquod nobilitavit. Ingenti Colosso Rhodus est Celebris; Caria Mausoli sepulchro; Memphis pyramidibus; Cnidus sculptili Veneris signo; Thebae magico Memnone. Mihi praesagit animus futurum olim ut istud collegium, ceu templum sacrosanctum optimis literis dicatum, toto terrarum orbe inter praecipua decora Britanniae numeretur; pluresque futuros quos trilinguis istius bibliothecae spectaculum, quae nihil bonorum autorum non habeat, unde nihil malorum non exulet, pertrahat Oxoniam quam olim tot miraculis visenda Roma ad sese pellexit'. From a letter from Erasmus to President John Claymond. Written from Louvain, dated 27 June 1519. Erasmus, D., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Allen, P.S. & H.M., (eds.), vol. 3 (Oxford, 1913), 619. Translated in Erasmus, D., *The Correspondence of Erasmus, Letters 842–992 (1518–1519)*, *Collected works of Erasmus*, vol. 6, Mynors, R.A.B. and Thomson, D.F.S. (eds.), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 405–407. Erasmus's laud addressed the over 150 books and manuscripts donated by Fox himself and an equal number given by John Claymond; the majority of these c. 300 volumes were Latin or Greek texts and commentaries. Erasmus described it as 'consecrated to the study of the three most important languages and to the study of the best literature of the ancient authors'. Later additions by Greneway and Cobbe augmented the collection as did over one hundred volumes given by John Rainolds in 1607. Another significant addition was the collection left by Brian Twyne in 1644. Milne, *Early History of Corpus Christi*, 37.

²⁹⁵ Feingold, M., 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. IV, *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1997), 213–14.

²⁹⁶ The Reader in Divinity emphasised the patristic texts of Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, Hilary, and Chrysostom and replaced those of Nicholas de Lyra, Hugh of Vienne, and other medieval scholastic theologians like Duns Scotus, for example (see below). The works of the Fathers taught in the daily Theology lectures were to take precedence over those of the medieval theologians, who according to Fox were 'inferior in learning as they are in antiquity'. Liddell, 'The library of Corpus Christi College', 389.

²⁹⁷ Ward, *The Statutes of Bishop Fox*, 99.

²⁹⁸ John Duns, commonly known as 'Duns Scotus' (1266–1308). Scotus's great work, the commentary on *The Four Books of Sentences* (*Libri Quattuor Sententiarum*) of Peter Lombard (c. 1096–1160), which was itself a collection of commentaries on the Bible as translated by St. Jerome, was extensively deployed in the universities. At Cambridge all lectures conformed to three models of medieval lecturing: a 'cursory' reading of the chosen text (i.e. with a minimal attempt to explain the principal sense of the author); a reading of a standard commentary on a set text, like Duns Scotus's on the *Sentences*; or an original commentary, most likely based on a comparison and evaluation of earlier

John's, Cambridge), rather than the purer Latin style of the classical authors like Cicero, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, and Quintilian, which the humanists strove to emulate.²⁹⁹ Both Fox and Fisher intended to arm their students with the advantages of rhetoric, instilled by Cicero and Quintilian. Finally, Fox and Fisher, as well as Wolsey wished to extend to all boys, especially the poor and underprivileged, the keys to upward social mobility provided by a humanist education.³⁰⁰

During the college's early years, the humanist groundwork at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was furthered by two significant friends of Fox: John Claymond (1468 - 1537, president, 1517-37) and Robert Morwen (1468? - 1558, president, 1537-58). Both were initially connected with Magdalen College, which had a significant influence on musical practice at Corpus Christi. This will be examined below. Claymond, a leading humanist of the age, made one of the great contributions to Renaissance humanist learning: a commentary on Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.³⁰¹

commentaries. Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher*, 18-19. Aldus Manutius, the Venetian printer who corresponded with William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre (1460? -1524) among other Oxford scholars of the period, describes England as the place from which once only 'barbarous unlearned works have reached us' in his dedicatory letter to Linacre's translation of Proclus' *De sphaera*, which he published in 1499. Thomas Linacre, a fellow of New College, translated a number of works from Greek into Latin, and presented a copy of his translation of Galen's *De sanitate tuenda* (Paris, 1517) to Fox.

²⁹⁹ Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, 83.

³⁰⁰ At the outset of the sixteenth century a humanist education was often the catalyst that propelled a formidable body of intellectual talent into the political and ecclesiastical arenas; Thomas More, Thomas Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell, Richard Fox, and John Fisher, all men from underprivileged families, provide prime examples.

³⁰¹ It is the largest single Renaissance commentary on the *Natural History*. In its surviving form, it covers thirty-three of Pliny's thirty-seven books and comprises approximately 6,800 folios in twenty volumes, sixteen of them in the Basel Universitätsbibliothek and four in the Corpus Christi College Archives. It remains one of the great achievements of Tudor humanist scholarship, and it affords a unique view of the state of learning at Corpus Christi and in early Tudor Oxford. Thus, as Jonathan Woolfson has observed, 'through the activity of his protégé Claymond, Fox's humanistic impulse laid the groundwork - far more fruitfully than recent accounts of sixteenth-century Oxford have implied - for the milieu in which [future lecturers like] Rainolds taught'. Woolfson, 'John Claymond, Pliny the Elder', 882. 'In a wider context Claymond's commentary demonstrates the lively state of Tudor humanism - conceived of in those technical, scholarly, and basically Italianate terms which recent Tudor historiography hastened to downplay'. *Ibid*, 901.

5. Worship and music at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford in the context of college life (by comparison with New College and King's)

College membership and staffing within the chapels of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford

All three versions of Bishop Fisher's statutes for St. John's College provided a modest membership - the 1530 statutes provide a master, president, twenty-eight fellows (*socijs*), and twenty-two scholars (*discipuli*)³⁰² not under the age of fourteen, which remains close to Lady Margaret's plan for a master and fifty scholars (i.e. fellows and scholars).³⁰³ Fisher also provided two deans,³⁰⁴ two bursars,³⁰⁵ and seven senior fellows³⁰⁶ to assist in important and weighty matters. Just four members of the foundation constituted the chapel staff: one fellow and three scholars chosen from the membership - a stark contrast to the numerous chaplains/conducts and clerks of New College and King's, who were for the most part hired externally. Lady Margaret directed that the fellows and scholars of St. John's be drawn from the nine northern counties;³⁰⁷ this was enforced in the statutes of 1516, 1524, and 1530. To the original

³⁰² It would appear that at St. John's (and to a certain extent Corpus Christi, Oxford) '*discipuli*' refers to scholars (i.e. those not yet fellows). These undergraduates also included probationary students and commoners. According to the 1524 and 1530 statutes, they were not to be under the age of fourteen; however, the limit was raised in the 1545 to sixteen. Cap. XV, '*De Discipulorum Iuramento*', in Statutes (1530); Cap. XIII, '*De Discipulorum Iuramento*', in Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 72-3. According to Fisher's 1516 and 1524 statutes, seven '*discipuli*' were to wait on the master and fellows in hall, one was to read the Bible at dinner time, and two others were to cover the altars on feast days, including the high altar. One of the two chapel scholars was to act as bell ringer and clock-keeper and the other to serve at morrow Mass and in the vestry. Cap. XXXVI in Statutes (1516); Cap. XL, '*De Obsequiis eorum infra Collegiu exhibendis*', in Statutes (1524). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 390, 335.

³⁰³ Lady Margaret had originally intended the membership at St. John's to include a master and fifty scholars - interestingly, this was more modest than the membership of Christ's, which consisted of a master and sixty scholars. Rex, '*The Sixteenth Century*', 8.

³⁰⁴ The two deans were chosen by the seven seniors. Cap. XVI in Statutes (1516). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 367-8.

³⁰⁵ The statutes of 1524 provide for two bursars. Cap. XX, '*De duobus Thesaurariis simul et Senescallo*'. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 298-300. After 1535 the accounts designate a senior burar, who tended to the external affairs and property of the college and a junior bursar, who was responsible for maintenance and repair of college buildings and rooms and the grounds as well as for internal affairs. Howard, H.F., *An Account of the Finances of the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge 1511-1926* (Cambridge, 1936, repub., 2010), 11, 281.

³⁰⁶ Cap. XV in Statutes (1516). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 366-7. One was the dean of arts, one dean of theology. Cap. VIII in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 29-30.

³⁰⁷ The seniors and fellows were to be drawn from the nine northern counties favoured by Lady Margaret (with no more than two from each county). On this point the statute recalls the similar rubric composed by Lady Margaret for Christ's College in 1506. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, xvi.

fifty or so fellows and scholars had been added an equal number of supplementary pensioners and fellow-commoners by 1523, and by the end of Henry's reign the total number of members rose to c. 170 (c. forty fellows and sixty scholars and the supplementary pensioners and fellow-commoners).³⁰⁸ If the entire membership sang at services on great feast days as requested by Fisher in his statutes (even excluding pensioners and fellow-commoners), this would have provided nearly twice the full membership assembled at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by Richard Fox, and thus twice the number of singers.

According to the 'Prefatio de fundatione' in Bishop Fox's statutes for Corpus Christi College in 1517, his society of 'bees' began as a group of sixty members: a president, twenty fellows (*socii*) and twenty scholars, or *discipuli* as Fox (and his protégé, John Fisher, at St. John's College, Cambridge) called them,³⁰⁹ three lecturers, and four ministers of the chapel (*ministri sacelli*), including two priests and two acolyte-clerks (*acolitii*). Like the students of all Wykehamist foundations, *discipuli* at both St. John's and Corpus Christi were to be tested in Latin verse and to be competent in plainsong ('*plano cantu*') at the time of their election; at Corpus Christi they were to be at least twelve years old and not older than seventeen.³¹⁰ As early as 1517 two choristers were added to the statutory provision for the chapel staff, though the actual presence of choristers on the foundation is first recorded after 1527/28; the boys arrived already trained in plainsong and polyphony. This will be addressed below.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 27-9.

³⁰⁹ '*Discipuli*' were students not unlike modern scholars, or undergraduates. At Corpus Christi they were allowed to enter between the ages of twelve and seventeen (nineteen maximum). Those *discipuli* who demonstrated their 'chastity, modesty, good reputations, and sound learning in Latin letters, logic and philosophy' were then eligible for election as '*scolarii*' (probationary fellows). Half of the twenty *discipuli* were to be chosen from Fox's four dioceses of Winchester, Durham, Bath and Wells, and Exeter, while the other half were to hail from the birth counties of Hugh Oldham and William Frost, the principal benefactors. Drees, *Bishop Richard Fox*, 133. In his 1516 statutes for St. John's College, Cambridge, John Fisher also uses the term '*discipuli*' to designate scholars. Bishop Fisher's Statutes (1516). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 368-407. Fox was no doubt in tune with Fisher's statutes (drawn up the previous year) when he composed his own for Corpus Christi in 1517.

³¹⁰ 'Sint praeterea, in eorum prima ad discipulatum in nostro Collegio admissione, scholastici non graduati, in plano cantu aliquantulum eruditi, duodecimum ad minus attigentes annum, nec nonum decimum completum excedentes'. Cap. 14, 'De discipulorum qualitate et electione', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 32. In this thesis citations from the Corpus Christi statutes are primarily drawn from the Latin version of Fox's 1517 statutes: 'Statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford' in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, vol. II (Oxford: Parker, 1853).

³¹¹ The addition of the choristers will be addressed in greater detail below. See below, 85-8.

The two deans of Corpus Christi (one a Master of Arts, the other Doctor or Bachelor of Theology) were appointed from the 'more discreet fellows' by the president and seven seniors; they were to see to the discipline and attendance of scholars and fellows, and they were to attend disputations.³¹² Two bursars managed estates and finances.³¹³ The addition of a porter, a butler, cooks, and other servants brought the entire membership to about sixty. To the statutory members were added six well-to-do commoners admitted at their own expense.³¹⁴ Like many colleges, including the other establishments examined here, provision was made for natives of various English regions.³¹⁵ The realisation of Fox's statutory membership numbers, as at King's College, Cambridge, was a staggered process, and it was not until 1524 that the college achieved Fox's proposed membership. The statutes composed by Fox in 1516/17³¹⁶ were revised shortly after Claymond took charge of Corpus Christi³¹⁷ and finalised in 1528 prior to Fox's death.³¹⁸ With several exceptions,³¹⁹ they included

³¹² Cap. 7, 'De Decanorum qualitate et officio', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 14-15.

³¹³ Cap. 8, 'De qualitate Dispensatorum et officio', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 16-17.

³¹⁴ Sons of nobles or of lawyers, under the charge of tutors ('jure regni peritorum'). Cap. 34, 'De extraneis non introducendis', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 80.

³¹⁵ The twenty *discipuli* were to be elected from the same counties as the twenty fellows. For a complete list of counties see 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

³¹⁶ The statutes survive in manuscript form under the founder's original seal and signature in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621); this appears to be the first version of 1517. It has been suggested that this version might have been loaned to Archbishop William Laud by archivist and historian, Brian Twyne, a fellow of Corpus Christi College during Laud's tenure as chancellor of Oxford University.

³¹⁷ The archives hold two 'fair' copies of the 1517 statutes, presumably written shortly after the original statutes: CCCA, A/4/1/2. Statutes of Corpus Christi College; including a note, in the hand of William Fulman, that these are the original statutes, sent to Robert Morwen on 22 June 1517. Date: 1517. CCCA, A/4/1/6. Statutes of Corpus Christi College, with annotations in the hand of President Claymond. Date: c.1517.

³¹⁸ The Corpus Christi archives house the revised statutes of 1528: CCCA, A/4/1/1. Statutes of Corpus Christi College, signed and sealed by Bishop Fox. Date: 13 February 1527 (modern dating: 1528). They incorporate all amendments made to that date. Three further copies were made and remain in the college archives: CCCA, A/4/1/1A and B. Two copies (the Bishop of Winchester's copies) of the statutes of Corpus Christi College, signed, but not sealed, by Bishop Fox. Date: 13 February 1527/8; CCCA, A/4/1/4. Statutes of Corpus Christi College: the vice-president's copy. Date: 13 February 1527/8. Though the citations of the Corpus Christi statutes in this thesis are principally drawn from the 1517 version printed by J.H. Parker in Oxford in 1853 ('Statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford' in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, vol. II), on occasion citations will be drawn from Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621 as well as from the original recension of 1528 (CCCA, A/4/1/1) and its copies (CCCA, A/4/1/1A and B; CCCA, A/4/1/4).

³¹⁹ Though Fox emulated the Wykehamist model, his statutes differentiated themselves from Wykeham's in four particular aspects. First, no fellow could become an ordained priest without an M.A. degree - a trait that also separated Corpus from its neighbours Oriel and Merton. Second, those who were ordained could remain fellows for life, though the less comfortable quality of life in the college did not inspire many to make this decision. Third, a fellow under an obligatory two-year

many provisions inherent in the statutes of Wykehamist foundations like New College and Magdalen College, as well as statutory ideas borrowed from Fox's protégé, John Fisher.³²⁰

Table 2.1 Statutory membership and chapel staffing at St. John's College, Cambridge (1524, 1530),³²¹ and Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1517, 1528).³²²

Foundation	St. John's College, Cambridge	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Heads of House	Master, president	President, vice-president
Senior Fellows	Seven	Seven
Deans	Two	Two
Bursars	Two	Two
Scholars (i.e. <i>discipuli</i> and fellows)	50 (22 <i>discipuli</i> , 28 fellows) ³²³	40 (20 <i>discipuli</i> , 20 fellows) ³²⁴
Priests/priest-fellows	1 fellow-priest (' <i>sacrista et socius</i> ')	2 (one precentor, one sacrist)
Clerks	None	2 (acolytes)
Choristers	None	2
Master of Choristers (<i>informator choristarum</i>)	None	None
Precentor	1 ³²⁵	1 (subsacrist)
Provision for choir rulers	Yes	Yes
Organist	None (1 by 1530) ³²⁶	1 (one of the acolytes)

probation was, according to Fox's statutes, to be called 'scholaris', a term and tradition employed until the eighteenth century at Corpus Christi. This has caused some confusion among historians, since a 'scholar' at Corpus was by statute a graduate and not an undergraduate, as one may believe. Also unique to Corpus Christi: *discipuli* became probationary fellows ('*scholarij*'); the probationary fellow at the time of fellowship eligibility (c. twenty years of age) did not pass to a fellowship automatically. Lastly, Fox's establishment became truly exceptional in contemporary Oxford in its deployment of humanist methodology, which was built into the 1517 statutes of Bishop Fox and brought to fruition by the first president, John Claymond. 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

³²⁰ Fox reviewed Fisher's draft ordinances for Christ's College in 1506/07 and collaborated with him to found St. John's College, Cambridge, following the death of Lady Margaret in 1509. He was equally familiar with the statutes of St. John's, drawn up in 1516; he was also listed among the executors of Lady Margaret, the foundress.

³²¹ Based on the 1530 statutes, which includes the additions of precentor and choir rulers added in the 1524 statutes.

³²² Based on the 'fair' copies of the original statutes (CCCA, A/4/1/2 and CCCA, A/4/1/6) and the recension of 1528 (CCCA, A/4/1/1).

³²³ To the original fifty or so fellows and scholars had been added an equal number of supplementary pensioners and fellow-commoners by 1523, and by the end of Henry's reign the total number of members rose to c. 170. See above, 80.

³²⁴ To the original provision were added six fellow-commoners. See above, 81, nt. 314.

³²⁵ The post of precentor was added with those of the choir rulers in the 1524 statutes (which were bound together with the Corpus Christi Statutes of 1517).

³²⁶ Although Fisher made no statutory provision for an organist, after 1528 the college possessed an organ, and by 1530 an organist, most likely recruited from the ranks of ex-choristers from Southwell Minster admitted as Keyton fellows/scholars. A boy from Northumberland (referred to in the letter

The provision and qualifications of the 'ministri sacelli' (i.e. chapel ministers and choristers) of Corpus Christi College

The two fair copies of the original statutes of 1517³²⁷ provide for two priests, two 'acolyte'-clerks ('at least to have reached first tonsure'),³²⁸ and - a last-minute consideration - two choristers. Fox's revised statutes of 1528³²⁹ provide for the same. This still remains a tiny choral and liturgical provision. Though Fox prescribed only two priests and two acolyte-clerks at Corpus Christi - a contrast to the substantial body of clergy at New College and Magdalen, Oxford, and Henry VI's foundations of Eton and King's - his delineation of their duties is more precise than that of Wykeham, William Waynflete, or Henry VI. Of the two priests: one was to be precentor of the choir, and the other to be '*edituus*' (i.e. sacrist).³³⁰ Of the two acolyte-clerks:³³¹ one was to be subsacrist³³² and the other, organist ('...*quorum alter erit*

from Vice-Chancellor John Watson to Nicholas Metcalfe in 1520) may also have been intended to assume duties as organist. See below, Chapter Four, 134-5.

³²⁷ CCCA, A/4/1/2 and CCCA, A/4/1/6. See above, 81, nt. 317.

³²⁸ 'Acolyte' was the highest of the four minor orders of clergy; there are seven clerical orders in two groups - lower, or minor (lector, proter, exorcist, acolyte), and higher (subdeacon, deacon, and priest). I am grateful to John Harper for pointing out the distinction.

³²⁹ The first of the 'Bishop of Winchester's copies' of the 1528 recension has been consulted in this instance. CCCA, A/4/1/1A, 51-4. Under Cap. XVI, 'De numero et officio ministrorum sacelli'.

³³⁰ The precentor was to perform his duties of the choir 'diligently and attentively...so that all things may be...celebrated to the praise of God....according to the custom of Salisbury' ('ex more Sarisburiensis ecclesiae'). He was to begin the chants and lead the singing of the rest of the college community ('Hunc sequantur alii; huic cantantes pareant, et cum eo consonant reliqui'). The duties of the sacrist, typically, allude to the non-musical responsibilities of celebrating the liturgy, including reading the Gospel and storing chapel ceremonial regalia and books. In every Mass accompanied by chanting he was to read the gospel according to the church fashion and the practice at Salisbury ('Evangelium more ecclesiastico secundum usum sarum legere'). He was to attend and keep the books, chalices, vessels, jewels,...and other ornaments of the chapel and to see that all the altars were suitably set on every feast day and week, as the holidays or seasons require. ('Et ut sacellum et altaria omnia singulis festis et hebdomadis convientur, ut festa aut tempora requirunt, ornentur, diligentur curet'). He was to close the gates and chests and provide the wax, the wine, and all similar items used in the chapel in the honour of God at the expense of the college. Finally, he or a deputy was to furnish the sacraments. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 37.

³³¹ 'Reliqui autem duo sacelli ministri accoliti ('acolyti' in the original 1517 statutes, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621) sint aut saltem prima tonsura initiati, et in cantu satis ut deserviant choro laudabiliter edocti; quorum alter erit organorum pulsator alter vero erit subsacrista, ut aedituum ('edituum' in MS Laud misc. 621) in his ('hys' in MS Laud misc. 621) quae attinent ad sacellum et ad ministerium Dei adjuvet; ad divina officia campanas pulset, sacerdotibus in sacello nostro missas celebrantibus, quatenus per praedicta possunt, uterque eorum respondeat et ministret si desint choristae...'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 37; Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621, 41. An interpolated symbol after 'et ministret' in MS Laud misc. 621 directs one to the margin where an added note refers to the choristers chosen by the president. Excluding the interpolated material concerning the two choristers, the 1528 description of the acolytes' duties is identical to that in the original 1517 statutes.

³³² He was to assist the *edituus* (sacrist) in chapel duties and service and ring the bells for the divine offices ('alter vero erit subsacrista, ut aedituum in his quae attinent ad sacellum et ad ministerium Dei adjuvet; ad divina officia campanas pulset..'). Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 37.

organorum pulsator'). They were also required to be 'laudably proficient enough in chanting that they can do service in the choir'.³³³ Here, the term 'choir' refers to the entire body of fellows and undergraduates (*discipuli*) singing in chapel: fellows, probationary fellows, and *discipuli* were expected to sing and play their part in the ritual, especially on Sundays and double feast days.³³⁴ Further, both of the *acoli*ti (acolyte-clerks) were required to assist the priests when celebrating Masses and administer to the choristers if needed.³³⁵ One can interpret this passage to mean that the acolyte-clerks were competent enough in plainchant at the least and perhaps also in polyphony³³⁶ to instruct the choristers musically or look after their pastoral needs or both.

It is of note that at the colleges of Corpus Christi, Oxford, and St. John's, Cambridge, the four chapel ministers were themselves engaged in studies. At Corpus Christi they were (with the possible exception of the second acolyte-clerk/organist) generally not drawn from the fellows and *discipuli* of the college,³³⁷ but brought into the college from elsewhere; however, once there, they became integrated into the tightly-knit academic society. When not tending to their chapel duties, the four ministers followed courses of logic, philosophy, or theology.³³⁸ Under 'Stipendia Edituorum et Clericorum' (before Edward's VI's reign) and 'Stipendia Sacellanorum et Clericorum' (during and after Edward VI's reign) in the *Libri Magni*, the two priests are most often styled either 'dominus' or 'magister', indicating recipients of the B.A. and M.A. degrees, respectively. In contrast to Fox's externally sourced staff at Corpus Christi, Oxford, Fisher's four-member staff at St. John's (one priest-fellow and three scholars)

³³³ 'Reliqui autem duo sacelli ministri accoliti sint aut saltem prima tonsura initiate, et in cantu satis ut deserviant choro laudabiliter edocti...'. *Ibid.*

³³⁴ This is reflected in a corresponding clause in which Fox directs the entire congregation to exert themselves utmost in 'singing and chanting' in unison ('sed continue ut officia postulant psallere et uno ore canere omnes et singuli satagant'). Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 41.

³³⁵ '... sacerdotibus in sacello nostro missas celebrantibus, quatenus per praedicta possunt, uterque eorum respondeat et ministret si desint choristae...'. *Ibid.*

³³⁶ The acolyte-organist most likely assumed polyphonic sections upon the organ at some point in polyphonic choral items. Thus, he would have been acquainted with the nature of improvised and most likely composed polyphony and be able to aid the choristers (who were trained in both improvised and composed polyphony) in this regard.

³³⁷ The two priests could have been drawn from the M.A. fellows on priests' stipends. They generally received the same stipend as fellows (40s/year). The second acolyte-clerk (the organist) may have been drawn from the membership. See Chapter Five, 240, nt. 982.

³³⁸ Charles-Edwards, T., and Reid, J., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford: a History* (Oxford, 2017) 43.

was drawn exclusively from the membership; this means that these individuals were also studying and pursuing degrees.

The provision for the Corpus Christi choristers, in comparison with the provision for the four chapel ministers, is not straightforward. In what appear to be the earliest form of the statutes (c. 1517), Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621, an interpolated symbol in the statute, 'De numero et officio ministrorum sacelli', directs one to the bottom of the page where the following has been added: '*duo vero choristae, quos volumus per Praesidentem nominari et assumi, erunt in omni genere cantus, ad minus plano et intorto (pricked appellant) edocti antequam assumantur, ut ita statim aut in collegio, impensis amicorum, aut ludo Magdalenensi, grammaticam discant et bonos auctores...*'.³³⁹ Further, under 'Prefatio de fundatione' the number of chapel ministers has been changed from four to six and the words '*reliqui vero duo choriste*' added to the end of the section.³⁴⁰ This suggests that choristers were not initially envisaged as part of the foundation, and that they were added after Fox composed his statutes of 1517 (Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 621). The hand of the scribe who wrote the principal text and the hand of the individual who made the interpolations to the main text suggest that they were one in the same person. The addenda of Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 621 have been integrated into the principal text of the two 'fair' copies of the 1517 statutes³⁴¹ and into that of the final 1528 statutes and its three copies³⁴² housed in the college archives. Their inclusion may therefore suggest a very early revision of the founder's intentions - or Claymond's preferences; despite this, there is no indication of the choristers' presence on the foundation until 1528/29.³⁴³

The qualifications of the two choristers at Corpus Christi are no less detailed than those of the four ministers. First, they were to be nominated and appointed by the president, which displays his active role in chapel music. They were expected to be competent singers of both chant and different kinds of polyphony - with chant and composed 'pricksong' ('*cantus intorto*') as minimum requirements - before they were

³³⁹ Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621, 41. Under 'De numero et officio ministrorum sacelli'.

³⁴⁰ Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621, 1. Under 'Prefatio de fundatione'.

³⁴¹ CCCA, A/4/1/2 and CCCA, A/4/1/6. See above, 81, nt. 317.

³⁴² The 1528 recension: CCCA, A/4/1/1. Its three copies: CCCA, A/4/1/1A and B and CCCA, A/4/1/4. See above, 81, nt. 318.

³⁴³ See Chapter Five, 247-8.

engaged,³⁴⁴ and they were to study grammar and good authors, either in the college or at the grammar school within Magdalen College.³⁴⁵ The statutes suggest that the college required experienced and trained choristers with intellectual potential; if this were the case, they might be admitted as *discipuli*.³⁴⁶ Thus, as Helen Jeffries has observed, the Corpus choristers did not have a musically dependent position, as did the choristers at New College or Magdalen; the college could provide them a future academic or ecclesiastical career, if they were suitable.³⁴⁷ Further, the total hours spent in chapel by the two choristers,³⁴⁸ above all on *feria* (workdays), was significantly less at Corpus Christi than at Wykehamist foundations like New College, Winchester, King's, or Eton, where all sixteen choristers sang during the evening antiphon and two to three boys assisted in ritual and singing as duty boys on the weekly *rota* during daily Masses and the Office.³⁴⁹

Generally, the Corpus choristers were boys below the age of twelve, the minimum age of acceptance of undergraduates (*discipuli*). Fox's statute implies that choristers already possessed skills in singing plainsong and polyphony.³⁵⁰ Their previous

³⁴⁴ 'Duo vero choristae, quos volumus per Praesidentem nominari et assumi, erunt in omni genere cantus, ad minus plano et intorto (pricked appellant)...'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 41; CCCA, A/4/1/1A, 53, Cap. XVI, 'De numero et officio ministrorum sacelli', Bishop Fox's final statutes (1527/8) for the foundation of Corpus Christi College; Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621, 41.

³⁴⁵ '...edocti antequam assumantur, ut ita statim aut in collegio, impensis amicorum, aut ludo Magdalenensi, grammaticam discant et bonos auctores'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 38; CCCA, A/4/1/1A, 53, Cap. XVI, 'De numero et officio ministrorum sacelli', Bishop Fox's final statutes for Corpus Christi College (1527/8).

³⁴⁶ 'Prandebunt et caenabunt cum famulis collegii, habebuntque eandem allocationem quam discipuli; et pro veste uterque decem solidos; nullum tamen penitus stipendium accipient. Sed si bene se gerant, et adsint etiam qualitates omnes ad discipulum requisitae, volumus ut compartibus sint praelati'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 38.

³⁴⁷ Jeffries, H.M., "'But a Musician" - The Importance of the Underdog in Musico-Historical Research', in Jackson, J.H., and Pelkey, S.C., (eds.), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Mississippi, 2005), 28.

³⁴⁸ Limited to attendance at morrow Mass. This applied to the choristers as well as the entire membership.

³⁴⁹ They were required to study grammar and good authors on weekdays; by contrast, choristers at King's and Eton (but not at New College and Winchester), in addition to their grammar and musical studies, were required to recite Matins of the BVM as well as Vespers and Compline of the BVM, and at New College, Winchester, King's, and Eton they were required to sing in a nightly antiphon to the BVM in the antechapel. All colleges that followed the Use of Salisbury (with the exception of Corpus Christi, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge) required a number of choristers, known as *hebdomaries*, or 'duty boys', to aid priests in ritual duties during the routine of Masses and the Office on workdays and also to sing (i.e. begin incipits).

³⁵⁰ They would have learned these skills, which were taught to contemporary choristers at reputable guilds and collegiate colleges. They included the improvisational/compositional skills of *faburden*, *descant*, *counter*, and *figuration* and further compositional techniques involving two, three, and four

training might have occurred in private household chapels or guilds and collegiate foundations with good choirs, particularly those in Lincolnshire (a county given preference by Fox), most notably the guild of the Virgin Mary at Boston and at Tattershall College. They would have already possessed much of the ability required of a new undergraduate (*discipulus*); the choristers' substantial knowledge of singing and grammar prior to matriculation as *discipuli* would enable his immediate progression to undergraduate at Corpus Christi.

Because it was necessary for all members to be accomplished in singing plainsong and to become priests, singing the body of chant might be considered 'work experience' as Helen Jeffries has suggested. The choristers' ritual and vocal duties in chapel would likewise have provided them 'work experience'. Further, their ritual and vocal competence combined with the grammar education they received could prove a distinct advantage at the time of admission, especially if they expressed a desire to become priests (and not musicians), as, presumably, was Fox's pious hope.³⁵¹

Perhaps, one of the most important aspects of the choristers' provision, and one that may have overshadowed their musical requirements, is the provision for their grammar education. The boys could be educated at their own expense or that of their friends or family while resident in the college; in this case they were probably being taught with the undergraduates - obviously, the best possible preparation for entry into the college. Alternatively, they could study free of charge at the grammar school that was part of Magdalen College. The grammar component of their education will be examined in greater detail in conjunction with the influence of Magdalen College below.³⁵²

voices, as well as imitative counterpoint and organ playing. Flynn, J., 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add, MS 30513): Music Education in Sixteenth-Century England', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Duke University, 1993), 165-236.

³⁵¹ Though it was never Fox's intention that choristers or other members pursue careers in music (but rather careers in academia or the church), a few members did follow a musical path, notably, Richard Edwards (1525-1566). Edwards became Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1557 and Master of the Children (i.e. singing boys) in 1561. A few of Edwards' compositions are included in the *Mulliner Book* and will be examined below (see Chapter Five, 288-9). Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 240. According to Foster: Edwards was from Somerset; scholar of Corpus Christi College, 11 May 1540; B.A., 3 November 1544; fellow, 1544; student of Christ Church, 1547; M.A., 1547; one of the gentlemen of the chapel royal to Queen Elizabeth and a student of Lincoln's Inn; 'a noted poet and comedian'; died, 1566. 'Edwards, Richard', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

³⁵² See Chapter Five, 244-6.

The status of choristers at Corpus Christi remained similar to those at the older foundations: low. Choristers were to serve both in hall at meals, and in chapel at Mass and Office on Sundays and greater feast days, and they were to eat with the college servants. In contrast to the *discipuli*, they received no stipend at all, but each of them were given ten shillings for their dress. Despite the relatively low status, a choristership could provide a stepping-stone to an invaluable humanist education if the chorister chose to become *discipulus*. Further, a chorister who profited from a subsequent humanist education could, like other members, climb the social ladder via careers in academia or the church.

Statutory provision and qualifications of chapel ministers at St. John's College, Cambridge

According to the statute 'De Numero et Officio Ministrorum Sacelli'³⁵³ chapel ministers at St. John's College, Cambridge, are to be comprised exclusively of fellows in holy orders and scholars not in holy orders - perhaps the most striking feature of Fisher's musical provision. Four ministers are provided. One is to be sacrist. A fellow of the college ('*sacrista et socius*'), he is to 'preserve the books, vessels and other furniture of the chapel, to supply the sacramental wine...and to administer the sacraments' and to prepare the altars for every feast and weekday service. Fisher ensured a substantial pool of fellow-priests to accommodate the Masses each week. He also required at least two of his four foundation fellows to take holy orders within two years, and to say at least four Masses per week for his soul and that of Lady Margaret.³⁵⁴

The remaining three official chapel ministers are to be drawn from the '*discipuli*' (scholars),³⁵⁵ and appointed weekly by the deans. One of the three is to be subsacrist

³⁵³ Statutes 1516, 1524, 1530, 1545.

³⁵⁴ '...tertia quod socii ipsi sacerdotes sint vel ad summum intra biennium fiant sacerdotes, et quod semper duo sint ex eis sacerdotes ad minimum'. Cap. LIV, 'De quatuor Sociis et duobus Discipulis per Johannem Roffensem Episcopum fundatis', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 242.

³⁵⁵ Fisher designates three '*discipuli*', or scholars (i.e. undergraduates), as chapel ministers: 'Reliqui autem tres sacelli ministri sint eiusdem collegii discipuli'. They would have attended to the more menial duties of assisting the sacrist at Mass and bell ringing. Statutes (1530) and Statutes of Henry VIII (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 78-9.

('subsacrista'), or chapel-clerk, and is to ring the little bell at the appropriate hours and assist the sacrist at the morrow Mass and other parts of the services.³⁵⁶ A second *discipulus* is to maintain the clock, and a third is to be bell-ringer of the great bell (rung at four in the morning and before the gates are locked at night).

As was customary at most university colleges at the outset of the sixteenth century, all undergraduates were required to sing at least plainchant at the time of admission. The scholars (*discipuli*) of St. John's were no exception. Although the ability to speak and understand Latin is required of scholars in Fisher's statutes of 1516 and 1524, there is no mention of testing them in singing. Competence in singing plainchant may have been so normative that Fisher omitted the requirement; it was simply inferred, and not accorded specific statutory provision.³⁵⁷ This is suggested by the case of John Cheke, who was examined by Nicholas Metcalfe (master, St. John's College, 1518-1537) in 1526: at formal election Cheke was required not only to recite Latin, but also to sing.³⁵⁸ It is not until 1530 that Fisher includes an examination in singing and literature (Latin, most likely) in the statutes; candidates were to be examined by one of the seven seniors³⁵⁹ '*in cantu et litteris*'.³⁶⁰ The requirement is repeated in the Statutes of 1545.

³⁵⁶ '...attinebunt ad sacellum et ad ministerium Dei, adiuvet ad Divina officia campanam sive campanulam pulset horis debitis, ac sacerdoti missam matutinalem celebranti diligenter inserviat'. Statutes (1530) and Statutes of Henry VIII (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 78-9.

³⁵⁷ Singing the body of chant appears part of the general requirement to become priests, hence the necessity of all members to be accomplished in singing plainsong. As mentioned above, singing the body of chant might be considered 'work experience'.

³⁵⁸ Needham, P.S., 'Sir John Cheke at Cambridge and Court A Thesis', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Harvard University, 1971), 14; Bryson, A., 'Cheke, Sir John (1514-57)', *DBN0*.

³⁵⁹ According to the 1530 statutes: 'per unum ex septem senioribus'. In the 1545 statute: 'per unum ex electoribus examinentur'. Statutes (1530) and Statutes of Henry VIII (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 70-1.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Lady Margaret's provision for liturgy and music at Christ's College, Cambridge: a possible model for St. John's?

Bishop Fisher aided Lady Margaret in the drafting of her statutes for Christ's College between 1505 and 1506;³⁶¹ thus, he was familiar with her provision for liturgy and music, which has certain similarities with that of St. John's. Lady Margaret envisaged Christ's as an establishment 'To the honour of Christ Jesus and the increase of His Faith' (opening of statutes, 1506);³⁶² as mentioned above,³⁶³ Lady Margaret demands that the fellows prioritise three things: 'the worship of God, the increase of the faith, and good, honest behaviour'.³⁶⁴ The space given to provision for worship is small in comparison with the older late medieval and early fifteenth-century foundations, and the daily routine of Masses is considerably reduced: there was a maximum of four Masses celebrated daily on both weekdays and Sundays.³⁶⁵ In contrast to Fisher's statutes for St. John's, there is no mention of chapel ministers or personnel or of the vocal qualifications of any member of the college. Instead, the twelve fellows (who were already, or were to become, priests) are to perform the divine service (i.e. Masses on weekdays, Sundays, and feast days and the Office on Sundays and feast days) at least five times a week in *rota*;³⁶⁶ on Sundays and festivals all fellows are 'to

³⁶¹ Christ's College was in effect the refounded and re-endowed establishment of God's House, which in turn had its own body of statutes written approximately at the time of Henry VI's licence in 1448. Rackham, H., *Early Statutes of Christ's College* (Cambridge, 1927), ii.

³⁶² 'To the honour of Christ Jesus and the increase of His Faith in the year of our Lord 1506, the following statutes were put forth by the princess of excellent piety, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and mother of the most illustrious King Henry VII, for Christ's College at Cambridge, which at no small expense the Princess herself lately completed, although it had before been in some measure begun by Henry VI of blessed memory, formerly King of England' (title page of master's translation). Rackham, *Early Statutes of Christ's College*, 43.

³⁶³ See above, 71-2.

³⁶⁴ Chap. XXIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Rackham, *Early Statutes of Christ's College*, 87. The identical three goals appear at the outset of 'De Cultu Dei' in the St. John's Statutes (1516, 1524, 1530), for example: 'Tria sunt quae socios collegii huius omnes in primis curare upim us, Dei scilicet cultus, fidei incrementum, et morum probitas'. Cap XXII, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1516). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 373.

³⁶⁵ In contrast to Fox's statutes there were to be daily Lady Masses and Requiem Masses. The daily round consisted of Mass of the Day, Mass for a special intention, Mass of the BVM, and Mass of the Dead (*Requiem*). The daily Mass with votive intention followed a weekly *rota*: Sunday: Holy Trinity; Monday: Angels; Tuesday: Martyrs; Wednesday: Apostles; Thursday: Virgins; Friday: Confessors; Saturday: All Saints. The Mass of the day was to be celebrated by the fellows (beginning from the seniors) every day not a feast day before six o'clock. Prayers were said at their discretion for the foundress and her kin and for the founders of God's House. Rackham, *Early Statutes of Christ's College*, 43.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

chant matins, mass, and vespers in the Chapel³⁶⁷ at suitable hours determined by the Master. In Chap. XLI the foundress wishes each pupil 'to be occupied either in the worship of God or in the study of the liberal arts³⁶⁸ or in learning virtuous manners'. Though she wishes her students to attend 'the whole of each of the Divine Services...on every Sunday and all other feast days', on 'days not feast days all shall be present daily at the saying of the mass of the day before six o'clock'. There is no provision for communal daily recitation of the Office. The college appears to prioritise the study of liberal arts; when not occupied with that students should devote themselves to worship.

Christ's College was in part equipped from Lady Margaret's household,³⁶⁹ and it was built from her revenues.³⁷⁰ Much of the ritual furniture and regalia came from her own chapel;³⁷¹ she also bequeathed over fifty books of chant and polyphony.³⁷² The use of the organ was of such importance to Lady Margaret that she bequeathed three organs to the college (total value of the three organs: £17, 8s, 2d); this included the great organ of Hatfield House, which she had transported to Christ's College in 1507, and which in all likelihood was placed in the upper level over the vestry.³⁷³ In light of the extensive list of service books and generous provision of organs, it was undoubtedly Lady Margaret's intention that choral music incorporating plainchant

³⁶⁷ This indicates Matins and Lauds, and Vespers and Compline, but not the lesser Hours, which were presumably recited privately.

³⁶⁸ This did not yet include the extensive humanist curriculum instituted at St. John's College.

³⁶⁹ SJCA, SJC/D91/19, 88, 100. Quarto volume of thirty-seven pages. 'boke made the xiiijth daye of Auguste in the first yere of the Reigne of Kyng Harry the viijth [1509] betwene Master Edwarde Bothe of the juell Howse with my ladies grace on the one partye And Master Docter Tomson of Christis Colage in Cambridge on the other partye Makyng mention of al suche Jewell & platte as the forsayde Master of Christys Colege hathe receivid owte of the Jewell howse of the Said ladies By her hignes's And by the commaundment of my Lorde of Rochester [John Fisher] Master Chaunceler Master Seynt Johns These parcellis here following'. I am very grateful to Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, fellow of Christ's College, who made me aware of his transcription of the inventory printed in: Martin, G.T., 'The Lady Margaret's Benefactions to Christ's College', *Christ's College Magazine, Quincentenary Edition*, 230 (2005), 33-5.

³⁷⁰ According to her accounts, preserved at St. John's College, it appears that she spent between 1505 and 1509 the sum of £1625 from her own revenues on the buildings alone, a colossal amount for the period. Martin, 'Lady Margaret's Benefactions', 32.

³⁷¹ SJCA, SJC, D102/13. Inventory of chapel stuff, n.d., c. 1509.

³⁷² This included ten antiphoners, nine Mass books, two 'manuels', nine graduals, thirteen complete processional books (including a 'Great processional'), two partial processional books, two pricksong books, and four pricksong books of Masses and antiphons.

³⁷³ See Chapter Four, 141.

and polyphony be sung, and that portions of the Mass and Office be performed in *alternatim* with the organ.

John Fisher's provision for liturgy and music at St. John's College, Cambridge. Statutory requirements for liturgy and prayer and evidence of the participation of scholars and fellows in the sung liturgy on greater feast days

In all sets of Fisher's statutes for St. John's greatest attention is paid to Sundays and feast days when the whole of the college community - the master/president, fellows, and scholars in surplices³⁷⁴ - were expected to be present³⁷⁵ in chapel for all the principal services from first Vespers on the day before a Sunday or feast to Compline on the Sunday or feast day itself. In contrast to the Wykehamist founders and to Richard Fox, Fisher does not bother to include a detailed list of feast days (though he does make a distinction between greater and lesser feasts). Instead, all feasts are inferred by the general blanket coverage of the Use of Salisbury. This would infer roughly one hundred full days in the year, together with the preceding afternoon for first Vespers and Compline. There is no mention of services on workdays (i.e. weekdays that are not holy days, from Monday to Saturday early afternoon) other than the morrow Mass.

All copies of Fisher's statutes require the membership to sing 'piously, distinctly and devotedly' at Matins, Procession, Mass, and Vespers according to the Use of Salisbury every Sunday and feast day.³⁷⁶ The initial and 1524 wording is almost identical.³⁷⁷ In both the 1530³⁷⁸ and the 1545³⁷⁹ statutes the sprinkling with holy water ('*aspersione aquae benedictae*') and Compline ('*completorium*') are added to

³⁷⁴ Regulations for formal attire on greater feasts are laid out in both the 1530 and 1545 statutes. The fellow-priests in holy orders are required to wear the surplice decorated with a hood of leather or silk to denote their academic rank. Scholars (*discipuli*) are also required to wear the surplice. The master is to wear a surplice of grey ('*graio amisio*'), which is stipulated in both sets.

³⁷⁵ Tardiness or absences were penalised with fines.

³⁷⁶ 'singulis Dominicis diebus et festivis ceteris matutinas, processiones, missam et vespas pie, distincte, devote ac iuxta morem et ordinem quantum fieri poterit ecclesiae Sarisberiensis [sic] socii omnes intra capellam decantent horis congruis per magistrum seu eius locum tenentem assignandis...'. Cap. XXII, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1516). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 373-4.

³⁷⁷ 'pie, distincte ac devote iuxta morem et ordinem quantum fieri poterit ecclesiae Sarisberiensis [sic] magister ac socii decantent intra sacellum...'. Cap. XXVI, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1524). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 310.

³⁷⁸ Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 88.

³⁷⁹ Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 89.

the list of services to be sung;³⁸⁰ however, these may have been assumed in earlier versions of the statutes.

The 1524 statute 'De Cultu Dei' requires the master to officiate at the principal Mass and the Office on principal double feasts, or, in his absence, one of the seven senior fellows as assigned by the deans; at all other lesser double feasts a fellow in holy orders is to officiate (see below, Table 2.2 Statutory provision for daily liturgy on Sundays and greater and lesser feasts at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford). The 1530 and 1545 sets add the following clause: 'at minor double feasts one of the seven senior fellows as assigned by the deans' is to officiate (*'minoribus vero duplicibus exequatur socius aliquis secundum decanorum assignationem...'*), which in the 1530 set is followed by, 'at all other feasts a fellow in holy orders is to officiate'.³⁸¹ In the 1545 text 'fellows in holy orders' is replaced by a phrase delegating duties on feasts such as Ash Wednesday, the vigil of Easter and Pentecost, Good Friday, etc., to the sacrist (i.e. a designated fellow) and at all other feasts to a priest in holy orders.³⁸² The provision for liturgy and music in the 1545 statutes will be examined in greater detail below.³⁸³

As is typical of other colleges, all members of St. John's are expected to recite specified prayers at the beginning and end of the day in their own chamber.³⁸⁴ All are required either to celebrate or to hear at least one Mass each day. Each priest in the

³⁸⁰ 'singulis quoque Dominicis diebus ceterisque festis matutinas, aspersionem aquae benedictae, processionem, missas et vespas ac completorium pie, distincte, ac devote iuxta morem et ordinem antiquam ecclesiae Sarisberiensis [*sic*] magister socii scholares et discipuli decantent intra sacellum horis congruis per magistrum seu eius gerentem assignandis: quibus a principio usque ad finem socios omnes et discipulos adesse volumus, et magistrum item ipsum, si non legitime sit impeditus.' Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 90.

³⁸¹ 'Idemque, aut eo absente praesidens, singulis festis principalibus executor erit officii: festis vero que maiora duplicia vocantur, magister ipse, si velit, aut unus quispiam e septem senioribus per decanos assignandus; minoribus vero duplicibus exequatur socius aliquis secundum decanorum assignationem, habito respectu ad sollemnitatem festi et diei; In reliquis vero festis quisque socirum (qui sacerdos fuerit) cursum et ordinem servabit suum...'. Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 90.

³⁸² 'In feriis autem sollemnibus, ut die Cinerum, vigilia Paschae, Pentecostes, in die Parasceves, etc., fel exequatur sacrista, aut alique comparet qui hoc munus pro ipso subeat. In reliquis vero festis unusquisque sacerdotum cursum et ordinem servabit suum'. Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 91.

³⁸³ See Chapter Four, 152-55.

³⁸⁴ See Vol. II, Appendix IV, Table 1, 547-9.

college is expected to celebrate at least four Masses each week. These are the only formal requirements set out for daily observance.

Traditional Requiem Masses for the founders and benefactors are required at both St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford. At St. John's, the Office of the Dead and a Requiem Mass the following day are to be celebrated near the four quarter days of the year for the foundress, Lady Margaret.³⁸⁵ The identical commemorative services are to be celebrated yearly on the anniversary of Bishop Fisher's death.³⁸⁶ Fisher also requires at least two of his four foundation fellows to say at least four Masses each week for his soul and that of Lady Margaret.³⁸⁷

In contrast to the colleges of King's, and New College and Corpus Christi, Oxford, there is no specific statute for seating in the quire. The only reference to seating can be found in the Henrician Statutes of 1545 under Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', which states that members (*discipuli*, fellows, pensioners) are to take the same places in the quire according to seniority;³⁸⁸ however, an order of seating had been established by the foundations following Wykeham's model, which included eastern-facing return stalls. This arrangement became ubiquitous.

Summary

Bishop Fisher was no doubt familiar with musical provision and practice at Christ's College; he had co-authored Lady Margaret's statutes (1506) and was appointed by her Visitor for life to Christ's. Despite similarities with Lady Margaret's relatively streamlined musical provision for Christ's College, Fisher's initial provision for liturgy and music at St. John's College appears even more compact than that of Lady

³⁸⁵ Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 92.

³⁸⁶ '...haec singulis annis perpetuo futuris, ipso anniversario die mei obitus, exequiae per magistrum et socios atque discipulos intra collegii sacellum celebrentur cum missa in crastino..'. These two services were to be celebrated for Fisher, his parents and friends, Lady Margaret, Henry VII, Henry VIII, the bishop of Exeter his parents and benefactors, and the souls of college benefactors and the faithful departed. Cap. LVII, 'De Trigintilibus et Exequiis', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 254, 256.

³⁸⁷ '...tertia quod socii ipsi sacerdotes sint vel ad summum intra biennium fiant sacerdotes, et quod semper duo sint ex eis sacerdotes ad minimum'. Cap. LIV, 'De quatuor Sociis et duobus Discipulis per Johannem Roffensem Episcopum fundatis', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 242.

³⁸⁸ Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 91, L. 25-30.

Margaret. The number of Masses and religious rites absent from the statutes of St. John's College (1516) is notable, and may perhaps reflect both the size of the college and the spirit of the time. There is practically no provision for workday Masses (other than the morrow Mass): in contrast to the statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which require that two fellow priests alternate celebrating the principal Mass on workdays, the only requirement made of the fellow-priest in Fisher's statutes is that he celebrate the morrow Mass at six a.m. It can be inferred from the Use of Salisbury that a daily Lady Mass and Requiem Mass were celebrated at St. John's, but the question arises as to who could/would have celebrated them; theoretically the fellow-priest and the three scholars who constituted the chapel staff would have been attending lectures and disputations (were they dispensed from courses?). The situation is more specific at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where the four designated daily Masses are celebrated by the externally hired chapel staff while students attend lectures. There is no specific mention of the daily recitation of the Office in chapel at St. John's: all references to the Office are limited to Sundays and holy days. There is also no requirement for a Jesus Mass on Friday, and there is nothing said concerning rites on non-festal days of importance, including Ash Wednesday and Holy Week, nor those for the Rogationtide processions. All this implies the priority of the educational purpose of the college and far less emphasis on the intercessory function, which continued to receive great priority in some of the earlier foundations such as New College and Magdalen College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge.

Richard Fox's provision for liturgy and music for Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Greatest attention in the statutes is paid to Sundays and feast days when the whole of the college community - president, vice-president, fellows (*socii*), probationary fellows (*scholarii*), undergraduates (*discipuli*), and chapel ministers - is expected to be in the chapel for all the principal services from first Vespers on the day before a Sunday or feast to Compline on the Sunday or feast day itself. This requirement applies to five principal feasts, thirteen major double feasts (including six feasts of the Virgin Mary), twenty-nine minor double feasts, and six simple feasts as holy days, as well as all Sundays. In all, this represents roughly one hundred full days in the year. In addition, all members are expected to be present for a solemn Mass at the

high altar on the feasts of the four Doctors of the Church and St. Augustine of Canterbury (but implicitly not for the Office services). The chanting and reading is to be distinct, devout, pious, solemn, deliberate, and unhurried, and only one service is to take place at any one time.³⁸⁹

On principal and greater double feasts, the president, or in his absence, the vice-president is expected to celebrate Mass. The deans are charged to allocate other liturgical duties, including those to rulers, readers, and soloists for responsories and gradual.³⁹⁰ On principal and greater double feasts, a fellow is to read (i.e. intone) the Gospel, and therefore act as deacon at the Mass. On other feasts and Sundays, a fellow is to celebrate Mass; the sacrist is to read the Gospel, and therefore act as deacon. On all feasts and Sundays, the Epistle is to be read by one of the Bachelors or *scolarii*, who therefore acts as subdeacon at the Mass.

The liturgical provision for workdays includes no directions at all for the communal recitation of the daily Office; all directions relate solely to the four daily celebrations of Mass in chapel on every day (work and holy day) of the year, except Good Friday. The Masses were celebrated at three altars: the high altar in the chancel and two altars in the antechapel (the altar of St. Cuthbert and the altar of the Holy Trinity, later called 'Frost's altar'). On workdays morrow Mass is said at about five a.m. at the altar of St. Cuthbert in the antechapel; on Sundays and holy days it occurs between Prime and Procession. It is to be attended by students, probationers, graduates, and fellows who are not Masters. The precentor and sacrist are to celebrate in alternate weeks. At the first Mass prayers are offered for the souls of John and Joanna Huddleston, and John Claymond, first president of the college. A second Mass at the altar of the Holy Trinity in the antechapel is to be said for Bishop Hugh Oldham. The third Mass is said at the high altar, at a time set by the president, but at nine a.m. in vacations, for the founder and his family. An additional fourth Mass at the altar of the Holy Trinity was instituted for William and Juliana Frost after their deaths - hence the designation 'Frost's altar'. These three Masses are to be celebrated by fellows in rotation. The

³⁸⁹ 'Mandamos insuper et in Christo exhortamur ut omnia contentur, legantur, distincte, devote, pie, religiose, moderate, mature, sine properatione secundum usum Sarensis ecclesiae'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 41.

³⁹⁰ These are duties of the precentor (the second senior canon of the cathedral) in the Use of Salisbury.

Mass at the high altar would be Mass of the day; however, the intentions at other altars are not specified. The first Mass may therefore be of the Virgin Mary, while the other two may be Requiem Masses or Masses celebrated for other intentions.

As is typical of other colleges, all members of the Corpus Christi community are expected to recite specified prayers at the beginning and end of the day in their own chambers.³⁹¹ All are also required either to celebrate or to hear at least one Mass each day. Each priest in the college is expected to celebrate at least three Masses each week. These are the only formal requirements set out for daily observance. It must be assumed that those who were in holy orders recited the daily Office, but there is nothing to state that this was said together in chapel at set times. At New College and Magdalen, for instance, these were duties that could be fulfilled by the larger body of chaplains and clerks. There is nothing to suggest whether the precentor, sacrist, and two clerks at Corpus Christi fulfilled the Office in chapel on behalf of the remainder of the college.

Two further intercessory requirements are made. On Sundays and feast days, when the whole college is present, additional prayers are made after Lauds and Compline in the middle of the chapel, between the benches: all recite the psalm *De profundis*, the prayers *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*, as well as other prayers for Oldham and Fox. Then on every Saturday, as well as on feasts of the Virgin Mary, an antiphon of the Virgin Mary is sung in the college hall; this is followed by *De profundis* and the other prayers listed above recited in middle of the chapel.³⁹²

At Corpus Christi, as at St. John's, quarterly commemorative services are offered. They are offered for: the king and royal family prior to Christmas;³⁹³ for Richard Fox, his parents and benefactors in Holy Week before Easter; for Bishop Oldham of Exeter, his parents and benefactors near the Feast of St. John; for souls of all benefactors of the college and the faithful departed near Michaelmas in September.

³⁹¹ See Vol. II, Appendix IV, Table 1, 547-9.

³⁹² *Ibid.*

³⁹³ The first exequies were intended for Henry VII and his consort Elizabeth, Lady Margaret, and Henry VIII and his consort Catherine (after their deaths).

The statutes of Corpus Christi make provision for seating in chapel in contrast to Fisher's statutes, which do not.³⁹⁴ On the upper seats sit members of the highest rank (so far as space allows): the president on the right, the vice-president on the left (i.e. in seats that in Salisbury cathedral were for dean and precentor), and then the remaining fellows and graduates by order of their degree (D.D., B.D., M.A., B.A.). Those who are not graduates are placed on the lower bench. The precentor and sacrist are placed between the M.A. and B.A. members, one on each side. The locations of the other two ministers of the chapel are allocated by the president. The order of seating is also to be followed in processions (the most junior proceeding first).

Summary

The number of Masses and religious rites absent from the statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as in the statutes of St. John's College, Cambridge, is notable, and once again reflects both the size of the college and the humanist emphasis of the day. As already observed, there is no mention of the daily recitation of the Office in chapel: all references to the Office are limited to Sundays and holy days. It is not clear whether the four daily Masses remembering the founder and other benefactors include or are supplementary to the principal daily Mass; nor is there a requirement for Jesus Mass on Friday, or daily Lady Mass (though these may have been included within the cycle of four daily Masses). There is nothing said concerning rites on non-festal days of importance, including Ash Wednesday and Holy Week, nor those for the Rogationtide processions. As at St. John's, this implies the priority of the educational purpose of the college, and far less the overall intercessory function of the college as a chantry (the *raison d'être* of New College and Magdalen, Oxford, and King's in Cambridge).

³⁹⁴ A similar arrangement to that at Corpus Christi and the older Wykehamist foundations can be inferred.

A comparison of the provision for liturgy and music at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Table 2.2 Statutory provision for daily liturgy on Sundays and greater and lesser feasts at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, including Masses and Office, prayers and collects, and commemorative services.

St. John's College, Cambridge		Corpus Christi College, Oxford	
Service	Where celebrated	Service	Where celebrated
Vespers (<i>primis</i>): celebrated Saturday on the eve of a feast day)	Quire	Vespers (<i>primis</i>): celebrated Saturday on the eve of a feast day)	Quire
Compline (<i>primis</i>): celebrated Saturday on the eve of a feast day)	Quire	Compline (<i>primis</i>): celebrated Saturday on the eve of a feast day)	Quire
Morrow Mass	Quire		
Matins	Quire	Matins	Quire
Lauds	Quire	Lauds	Quire
Prime	Quire	Prime	Quire
		Morrow Mass ³⁹⁵ with prayers and collects	In the antechapel at altar of St. Cuthbert
(Lady Mass) not designated, but inferred by the Use of Salisbury	Quire	(Second Mass ³⁹⁶ for Hugh Oldham, his parents and benefactors with collects ³⁹⁷	In antechapel at altar of the Holy Trinity
(Terce)	Quire	(Terce)	Quire
Aspersion/procession (on Sundays including feast days falling on Sunday)	Most likely utilising the quad and chapel	Aspersion/procession (on Sundays including feast days falling on Sunday)	Incorporating cloister, antechapel, quire
Mass of the Day (not designated, but inferred by the Use of Salisbury	Quire	Mass of the Day, ³⁹⁸ including prayers for souls of Richard Fox, his parents and benefactors, and those of the college with prayers, collects ³⁹⁹	Quire

³⁹⁵ On feast days the morrow Mass is to be said between Prime and Procession; on workdays it is the first Mass of the day - with no provision for the Office specified ('Diebus vero festivis, inter primam diei et processionem eadem missa celebretur'). Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 42.

³⁹⁶ The second Mass listed by Fox could be celebrated at any time throughout the day at the discretion of the president. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 42-43.

³⁹⁷ '*Rege, quaesumus, Domine, famulum tuum Hughonem...*'; after his death together with the prayer: '*Inclina, Domine...*'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 43.

³⁹⁸ At an hour to be convened by the president or in his absence the vice-president. During vacations at c. 9 a.m. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 42.

³⁹⁹ '*Deus, qui inter Apostolicos; Inclina, Domine; Deus, in cujus manu sunt corda Regnum; Rege, quaesumus, Domine famulum tuum Ricardum Pontificem, Fundatorem nostrum.*' For Henry VIII and his wife Catherine: '*Deus, qui inter Apostolicos.*' Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 43.

(Sext)	Quire	(Sext)	Quire
(None)	Quire	(None)	Quire
		Fourth Mass for William Frost and wife	In antechapel at altar of the Holy Trinity ('Frost's Altar')
Vespers (<i>secondis</i>)	Quire	Vespers (<i>secondis</i>)	Quire
Compline (<i>secondis</i>)	Quire	Compline (<i>secondis</i>)	Quire
No provision for Antiphon of the BVM		Antiphon of the BVM ⁴⁰⁰ with collects ⁴⁰¹	Hall

Table 2.3 Statutory provision for attendance and officiating of services on Sundays (St. John's only)⁴⁰² and greater feasts (principal and major double feasts, feasts of nine lessons) and other specified solemnities at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Foundation	St. John's College, Cambridge	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Attendance	Master, fellows and scholars (<i>discipuli</i>)	President, vice-president, undergraduates (<i>discipuli</i>), probationary fellows (<i>scholarii</i>), fellows (<i>socii</i>) and chapel ministers
Services (High Mass and the Office Hours) lead by	Master, or one of seven seniors in his absence	President, or vice-president in his absence
Readers of the Gospel (i.e. deacon) and Epistle (i.e. subdeacon)	Not designated	Fellow recites (i.e. intones) the Gospel, therefore acts as deacon; ⁴⁰³ one of the Bachelors or <i>scolarii</i> , recites Epistle, therefore, subdeacon. ⁴⁰⁴
Feast days specific to the college	St. John the Evangelist (27 December), St. John at the Latin gate (6 May)	Feast of Corpus Christi (Thursday after Trinity Sunday or sixty days after Easter)

⁴⁰⁰ In contrast to New College and King's, the antiphon to the BVM is to be sung every Saturday and on vigils of the five/six Marian feast days after Compline in the hall ('...singulis Sabbatis per annum, ac singulis vigiliis festivitatum Beatae Mariae Virginis, post completorium, omnes et singuli Socii, scholares et discipuli, praecentor et sacrista, in aula inter se devote cantent aliquam antiphonam in honorem gloriosae virginis et matris Mariae'). Cap. 19, 'De precibus et aliis suffragiis a singulis privatim vel publice dicendis aut canendis', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 44.

⁴⁰¹ Psalm, *De profundis clamavi*; Lord's Prayer and the Salutation of the Angels ('cum oratione Domenica ac salutation Angelica'); *Rege, quaesumus, Inclina, Domine* naming Hugh Oldham, benefactor; *Absolve, quaesumus*. After Fox's death: *Deus, qui inter Apostolicos* instead of *Rege, quaesumus*, ending with 'Anima Fundatoris nostri Ricardi et animae omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant'. Cap. 19 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 44.

⁴⁰² Fox includes Sundays with the lesser feasts at Corpus Christi.

⁴⁰³ 'On principal holidays and greater double feasts' the president was to celebrate 'Mass' (i.e. 'magna missa' or principal Mass; most likely the displaced Missa Matutinalis as well?); a senior fellow shall read the Gospel ('Evangelium legat aliquis Sociorum graduatorum...'). Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 43.

⁴⁰⁴ A scholar or one under instruction or one with the degree of Bachelor shall read the Epistle. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 41-42.

Services (including hymns, psalms and other songs) sung, said?/how?	Sung/'piously, distinctly and devotedly'	Sung ⁴⁰⁵ / chanting and reading is to be distinct, devout, pious, solemn, deliberate, unhurried. ⁴⁰⁶
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Table 2.4 Statutory provision for attendance and officiating of services on lesser feast days (minor doubles), simple feasts, and feasts of three lessons (and Sundays at Corpus Christi) at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Foundation	St. John's College, Cambridge	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Attendance	Master, fellows and scholars (<i>discipuli</i>)	President, vice-president, undergraduates (<i>discipuli</i>), probationary fellows (<i>scholarii</i>), fellows (<i>socii</i>), and chapel ministers
Services on lesser feasts (High Mass and the Office) lead by	On minor doubles, one of the seven senior fellows; on all other feasts a fellow in holy orders ⁴⁰⁷	Fellow ⁴⁰⁸
Readers of the Gospel (i.e. deacon) and Epistle (i.e. subdeacon)	Not designated	Sacrist (of the two priests) is to read the Gospel, therefore acts as deacon; one of the Bachelors or <i>scolarii</i> , recites the Epistle, therefore, subdeacon.
Sung or said?	Sung	Sung ⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁵ As in the New College and King's College statutes, the location ('in choro') of matins and the canonical hours is alluded to in a similar clause prohibiting 'saying' instead of 'singing' the psalms during the offices: 'Nec quispiam, dum divina ut praemittitur in choro celebrentur, et duma lii canunt et psallunt, dicat voce submissa matutinas et horas aliquas, verperas, completorium, aut alias orationes, per se vel cum alio uno aut plurius, aut etiam literis nisi cessante incumbat...'. Fox goes on to clarify that chanting is to be sung by all 'in unison' ('sed continue ut officia postulant psallere et uno ore canere omnes et singuli satagant'). Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 41.

⁴⁰⁶ 'Mandamos insuper et in Christo exhortamur ut omnia cantentur, legantur, distincte, devote, pie, religiose, moderate, mature, sine prope ratione secundum usum Sarensis ecclesiae'. *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ 'Idemque, aut eo absente praesidens, singulis festis principalibus executor erit officii: festis vero que maiora duplicia vocantur, magister ipse, si velit, aut unus quispiam e septem senioribus per decanos assignandus; minoribus vero duplicibus exequatur socius aliquis secundum decanorum assignationem, habito respectu ad sollemnitatem festi et diei; In reliquis vero festis quisque socirum (qui sacerdos fuerit) cursum et ordinem servabit suum...'. Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 90.

⁴⁰⁸ On 'inferior double feasts' and simple feasts of Doctors of the Church (Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine of Hippo) and St. Austin solemn Mass (the principal Mass) is to be 'celebrated by a single fellow chosen by the deans'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 43.

⁴⁰⁹ Fox indicates that the divine services are to be sung on greater and lesser feasts.

Table 2.5 Statutory provision for attendance and officiating of services on workdays at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Foundation	St. John's College, Cambridge	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Attendance	Required by all at morrow Mass only	Required by students, probationers, graduates, and fellows who are not Masters at morrow Mass; at least one Mass daily required for Master and beyond ⁴¹⁰
On workdays morrow Mass lead by	Senior fellow, beginning with the oldest ⁴¹¹	Priest
On workdays high Mass (and at Corpus Christi, fourth Mass) lead by	No designation	Fellow-priest ⁴¹²
Sung or said?	No designation	No designation

Table 2.6 Similarities with/omissions from the Use of Salisbury.

Foundation	St. John's College, Cambridge	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Morrow Mass	Daily before 6 a.m.	Daily at c. 5 a.m. (later on feast days)
Aspersions (<i>aspersio aquae benedictae</i>) ⁴¹³	Provision made in 1530 ⁴¹⁴ and 1545 ⁴¹⁵	No provision, but to be inferred
Jesus Mass/antiphon	No provision	No provision
Daily Mass and Hours of the BVM (in addition to the principal Office Hours)	No provision	No provision
Boy Bishop Service	No provision	No provision

⁴¹⁰ Students, scholars, and fellows who have not achieved the degree of Master are obliged to attend this Mass. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 42. Further, Fox, like Wykeham and Henry VI, requires all those who are not priests to attend one Mass daily, if possible. Cap. 19 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 45.

⁴¹¹ 'Singulis autem diebus profestis, his exceptis qui sollemniter celebrantur; unam de die missam per quondam sociorum a senioribus incipiendo ["aut pensionarium sacerdotem in collegio manentem", in the 1545 statute] celebrari volumus, et eandem ante sextam horam de mane finiri, cui ceteros omnes qui sacerdotes non fuerint genebus procumbentes ac devote precantes per ipsam integram missam adesse iubemus'. Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 90.

⁴¹² The principal Mass and fourth Mass (for William Frost) were to be celebrated by two fellow-priests by weekly turns ('Et has duas missas sub poena perjurii celebrent, aut suis sumptibus per domesticos celebrari faciant, Socii nostri Collegii sacerdotes septimanatim per vices...'). Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 43.

⁴¹³ Aspersions and Compline were added to the list of services to be sung in 1530: 'singulis quoque Dominicis diebus ceterisque festis matutinis, aspersio aquae benedictae, processiones, missas et vespas ac completorium pie, distincte, ac devote iuxta morem et ordinem antiquam ecclesiae Sarisberiensis [sic] magister socii scholares et discipuli decantent intra sacellum horis congruis per magistrum seu eius gerentem assignandis: quibus a principio usque ad finem socios omnes et discipulos adesse volumus, et magistrum item ipsum, si non legitime sit impeditus'. Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 90. They were most likely inferred in the earlier statutes.

⁴¹⁴ Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 90.

⁴¹⁵ Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 89.

Table 2.7 Additional daily/weekly expectations at St. John's College, Cambridge (1530 statutes), and Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1528 statutes).

Foundation	St. John's College, Cambridge	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Required daily Prayers	Morning/evening privately in own chamber ⁴¹⁶ /prayers/suffrages at morrow Mass ⁴¹⁷	Morning/evening privately ⁴¹⁸ and on Sundays and feast days in middle of chapel after Lauds and Compline ⁴¹⁹
Simultaneous services permitted?	Not specified	No (only one service is to take place at any one time)
Required attendance at one Mass daily	All members	All members
Daily/weekly Marian antiphon	None	Saturdays as well as on feasts of the Virgin Mary in the college hall; to be followed by prayers ⁴²⁰
Number of Masses to be celebrated by each fellow-priest weekly	Four (Three after Henry VIII's statutes, 1545)	Three

⁴¹⁶ These prayers were to be offered for benefactors, 'Countess Margaret of Richmond and Derby' and her relatives, her son Henry VII and his wife Elizabeth, James Stanley (stepson of Lady Margaret, bishop of Ely, and the college Visitor), and Henry VIII and his queen, Katherine. In the 1545 set Katherine is replaced by Henry's son, Edward. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Nicholas West (bishop of Ely), as well as the executors of the foundress are also included in the list of benefactors. See Vol. II, Appendix IV, Table 1, 547-9.

⁴¹⁷ To be recited by every scholar and fellow at morrow Mass: the Psalm '*De Profundis*' with 'the suffrages' for the departed souls of benefactors as well as '*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine, animam famulae Tuae Margaretae fundatricis nostrae...*'. See Vol. II, Appendix IV, Table 1, 547-9.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.* All to recite the psalm *De profundis*, and prayers *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and prayers for Bishop Oldham and Fox.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.* The psalm *De profundis* and prayers *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and prayers for Bishop Oldham and Fox.

CHAPTER THREE

LANDMARKS OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE, c. 1534 TO c. 1660

1. Markers of religious change by monarch/proctor, including Royal Injunctions and Acts of Parliament

This chapter provides a broader, national context for the detailed studies that form the core of this thesis. In a period of rapid, extensive, and at times contradictory change, it is impossible to do more than point to key features and events, and to link those where appropriate to the specific case studies that follow in Part Two of the thesis. This overview is undertaken from a series of different standpoints: regnal periods and statutory instruments; key figures and texts; institutional reform (including the social and economic consequences); and liturgical reform. Inevitably there is a measure of overlap between sections, and such topics as the *Book of Common Prayer* are referred to in several sections.

The narrative of religious and musical change presented in this thesis is divided principally into monarchical tranches: those of Henry VIII, his son Edward VI, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I. One might add the proctorship of Oliver Cromwell as a bookend. The historical point of departure remains the summer of 1534 when Henry VIII unveiled his Act of Royal Supremacy. It made Henry and his heirs 'the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England',⁴²¹ and, more than any other political or religious event, set the wheels of the English Reformation turning. Despite Henry's newly gained ecclesiastical power, he could not effect lasting reform without the cooperation and consent of Parliament and, in ecclesiastical matters, Convocation (of the English Church); any significant impetus for change in England,

⁴²¹ As Christopher Haigh has remarked, Henry VIII 'had not exactly been dragged kicking and screaming to the royal supremacy, but nor did he stride purposefully toward it'. Haigh, C., *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), 121. In efforts to defend his act in the ecclesiastical community Henry quickly turned toward the authority of scripture itself, which, he declared, demanded obedience to the king in spiritual as well as temporal matters; it was loyalty and patriotism rather than religious devotion that became the hallmarks of good English Christians. Justification by faith became outlawed, as well as the law of Christ's Universal Catholic Church.

Wales, and Ireland depended on national statutory change achieved through Acts of Parliament. The heart of Henry VIII's dramatic rearrangement of the Church consisted of the two Acts of Dissolution, suppressing all monastic houses; the lesser houses were affected in 1536 and the greater monasteries in 1539. This precipitated the restructuring of cathedrals associated with the old monastic establishments together with newly founded cathedrals; the result was a group of 'New Foundation' cathedrals, which retained the liturgy and chant of the Use of Salisbury.

The programme of reform begun by Henry VIII was rapidly accelerated after the accession of Edward VI (reigned 1547-53); England was showered with Acts of Parliament affecting religious worship. First came the Edwardine Chantries Act of 1547, enacted by the government under the direction of Edward Seymour, uncle of Edward VI.⁴²² This followed the first Chantries Act of 1545 mandated under the regime of Edward's father, Henry VIII. Taken together they effected the abolition of chantries, guilds and fraternities (each serving as an important source of endowment for ritual and musical embellishment in many churches), and almost all collegiate foundations, excepting educational colleges. Combined together with the earlier dissolution of monasteries, this resulted in a radical redistribution of the wealth and endowment of the whole Church of England, as well as making redundant a significant portion of its built heritage (mostly made over to laymen). It marked the end of substantial endowment for liturgical music outside a relatively small number of cathedrals, colleges, and certain parish churches. Edward's Injunctions of 1547 were issued in addition to the Chantries Act; in parts of the country they unleashed an initial wave of iconoclasm bent on dismantling the ceremonial regalia and imagery associated with the Latin rite.

The second stage of reform affected the entire liturgy with the introduction of vernacular forms of worship, beginning with the first *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, and its successor in 1552, more radical and reformed in both theology and ritual. This can be paralleled with changes mostly imposed through Royal Injunctions, which by the end of Edward's reign in 1553 had resulted in the removal

⁴²² Krieder, A., *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Harvard/London, 1979), 181-3, 192; Mould, A., *The English Chorister. A History* (London, 2007), 87; Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 52.

of stone altars, roods from above screens, as well as vestments and ritual artifacts. Many of the Latin liturgical books had vanished as well: they were redundant.

The first *Book of Common Prayer* was imposed through the 1549 Act of Uniformity. This effected the abolition of the Use of Salisbury, York, and Hereford, and thus swept away centuries-old Latin liturgical chant, the daily Mass, the votive liturgy of the BVM, and the annual round of festal processions, as well as the polyphonic repertory that had ornamented them.⁴²³ Organs were under attack as well; however, though the dismantling of organs is recorded in various churches, including university chapels, it did not mark the end of organ music.⁴²⁴ Further, the dismantling or destroying of organs were not top priorities of the Edwardine Reformation; the regime of Edward and his protector, the Duke of Somerset, was actually quite tolerant of organs, allowing them to stand in churches so long they remained silent. Comprehensive campaigns for the removal or destruction of the organ and the pre-Reformation superstition attached to it began in earnest with the return of protestant exiles after 1558.

The much more radical 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* that followed curtailed the few musical and theological vestiges of the old Sarum Use left by the 1549 Prayer Book.⁴²⁵ The Parliamentary enforced liturgies of the 1549 and 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* were followed by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's *Forty-Two Articles* written in 1553 'for the avoiding of controversy in opinions'. St. John's alumnus John Cheke played a central role in the development of the *Forty-Two Articles*, which were partially derived from the *Thirty-Eight Articles* of 1538 designed by Henry VIII, in turn influenced by the Lutheran *Augsburg Confession* of 1530.⁴²⁶ The *Forty-Two Articles* of 1553 remained the basis for the Elizabethan *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which

⁴²³ Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 219.

⁴²⁴ Magnus Williamson has observed that 'the dismantling of organs under Edward VI did not necessarily mark the end of organ music altogether, but only the decommissioning of subsidiary instruments rendered obsolete by the abolition of the votive liturgies which they had served'. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 221.

⁴²⁵ See below, Section 4. Key liturgical texts of the reformed church, 124-8.

⁴²⁶ Composed principally by Philipp Melanchthon, the *Augsburg Confession*, or *Confessio Augustana* was comprised of twenty-eight articles, which drew upon earlier Lutheran statements of faith. The purpose was to defend the Lutherans against misrepresentations and to provide a statement of their theology that would be acceptable to the Roman Catholics. 'The Thirty-Nine Articles' from www.britannica.com.

were after a period of incubation⁴²⁷ finally approved by Convocation (of Canterbury) and Parliament in 1571. Had Edward VI's life not been cut short by his illness, a comprehensive reform and new codification of canon law, *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (1552), would have topped the mountain of reform legislation; to compose it a commission including Thomas Cranmer and John Cheke had been selected by the king.⁴²⁸ Among the new ecclesiastical laws were specific directives pertaining to the use of music and singing in the liturgy.⁴²⁹

Following the accession of Mary Tudor (reigned 1553-58), legislation abolished the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549, 1552) and restored the Latin rite in churches; however, despite all her efforts Mary could not reinstate the infrastructure of the Church. This restoration was abruptly reversed at the accession of Elizabeth I (reigned 1558-1603); the restoration to the statute book of the royal supremacy and a new version of the *Book of Common Prayer* (1559) were the two essential objectives of Elizabeth's first parliament. The new *Book of Common Prayer* was tempered by her Injunctions of 1559, which protected choral foundations and the music in the liturgy from radical protestant suppression. Elizabeth's affinity for music, which was, at least in part, cultivated at an early age by her tutor Roger Ascham,⁴³⁰ fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, is illustrated in the forty-ninth article of her injunctions given in 1559.⁴³¹ Elizabeth's compromise with Parliament - the so-called Elizabethan Settlement - contributed to the polarity of conformism and non-conformism that

⁴²⁷ The Elizabethan *Thirty-Nine Articles* endured a period of evolution, beginning most notably with the articles of 1563. Hoyle, D., *Reformation and Religious Identity in Cambridge, 1590-1644* (Cambridge, 2007), 27. For full text of *The Articles of Religion of the Church of England* (The Elizabethan Articles, 1563) see: <https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/.../articles-of-religion.aspx>.

⁴²⁸ In February 1552 Edward records: 'Commission was granted out to thirty-two persons to examine, correct and set forth the ecclesiastical laws'. The commission included among others Cranmer, Martyr, Cox, and Parker. *The Chronicle of King Edward VI*. BL, Cotton MSS., Ner, C, x; repr. Jordan, W.K. (ed.), *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI* (London and Ithaca, 1966), 110. Thomas Cranmer, together with others composed the document; however, it was penned by Cheke.

⁴²⁹ See Chapter Four, 163.

⁴³⁰ See Chapter Four, 165-6.

⁴³¹ The 49th injunction established singing a hymn prior to and after the service (or sermon) and became the precedent for using non-liturgical texts like the Genevan metrical psalms at the beginning and end of a service or sermon. Injunction 49 states: '...it maye be permitted that in the beginnyng, or in thend of common prayers, eyther at morning or euenynge, ther maye be songe an hynme, or such lyke songe, to the prayse of almyghtye God, in the best sort of melodye and musicke...'. *The Injunctions Geven by the Quenes Maiestie. Anno Domini M.D.LIX. The first yeare of the the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Qeune Elizabeth*. Cawood, J., and Jugge, R., (printers), (London, 1559?) STC, 2nd ed., 10102. Reproduction of the original in the British Library available at EEBO.

characterised the escalating protestant divide of the 1560s and 70s and exacerbated the already heightened college factionalism in the universities.

During the 1590s the Calvinist grip on religion and ceremony began to recede nationally and at Court; however, despite counter attacks,⁴³² Calvinism remained tenacious in Cambridge. John Whitgift (master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1567-77; dean of Lincoln, 1571-77; vice-chancellor of the University, 1570; archbishop of Canterbury, 1583-1604) allowed Cambridge puritans to cling to the tenets of Calvinist doctrine and organised their attempt to nationalise it; after consulting with William Whitaker, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, Whitgift drew up the so-called *Lambeth Articles* (20 November 1595). In particular, these nine articles enforced the Calvinist views of predestination and election without qualification.⁴³³

Though John Whitgift may have identified with puritans on Calvinist doctrine, he differed from them on points of ritual and ceremony; his defense of singing and the use of the organ during the polemical battles of the 1570s will be addressed in the case study of St. John's College, Cambridge (Chapter Four).⁴³⁴ Despite the tenacity of Calvinists in Cambridge, a relaxation of attitudes on church music and the organ grew towards the close of the sixteenth century; this can be observed in the body of pro-music apologia originating from Oxford in the 1580s and 90s. Whitgift's moderate stance toward ceremony and music, including the use of the organ, was reflected in Richard Hooker's monumental defence of Anglican Church ceremony and music, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1595-8), which Whitgift supported.⁴³⁵ Hooker's influence will be highlighted in the case study of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Chapter Five).⁴³⁶

⁴³² William Barrett's Great St. Mary's sermon in Cambridge in 1595, for example. The sermon attacked the notion that faith alone guaranteed automatic salvation and repudiated the doctrine of unconditional predestination.

⁴³³ Elizabeth did not favour the *Lambeth Articles* (or Whitgift's initiative in creating them) and forbade them from publication. For a detailed discussion of the *Lambeth Articles* see Lake, P., *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), 201-2.

⁴³⁴ Chapter Four, 190-3.

⁴³⁵ Lee, S., 'Whitgift, John (1530?-1604)', *DNBO*.

⁴³⁶ Chapter Five, 302-6.

The more comfortable musical atmosphere cultivated by the pro-musical discourse of the 1580s and 90s spawned assiduous music acquisition and copying (including four- and five-part works) and the use of the organ at the larger choral foundations such as New College⁴³⁷ and King's College.⁴³⁸ These foundations also provided influential musicians like Thomas Weelkes,⁴³⁹ Edward Gibbons, and John Tomkins⁴⁴⁰ with education and employment. At about the time church music began to flourish, the Prayer Book liturgy received a new makeover: another version of the *Book of Common Prayer* was introduced in 1604⁴⁴¹ after James I ascended the throne.

During the reign of James I (1603-25), the early 'high church' party, members of which included Bishops James Montague, Launcelot Andrewes, and William Laud (president of St. John's College, Oxford, 1611-21), had already become affiliated with the court. This was a court that no longer saw reason to toe the Calvinist line on organs and adornments in worship, but which otherwise remained fairly conservative. In the minds of more aggressive members of the high church party, like Andrewes

⁴³⁷ After the installation of John Chappington's organ in 1597/98, evidence in the accounts and elsewhere indicate a full-blooded music revival. The repertory sung at the time is indicated by the *New College Chapel Choir Books* (Bodleian Library, Oxford. MSS. Mus. c. 46-51, d. 149-69, c. 22-5, fol. 32). These are incomplete sets and isolated sections of partbooks in use at New College from the early seventeenth century through the mid-nineteenth century (and most likely later). Composers in the collection include Thomas Weelkes, who matriculated (*pro forma*) to New College in 1602, as well as Byrd, Boyce, Farrant, Morley, and Tallis.

⁴³⁸ The caliber of the choir and chapel music at King's attained a boost after Annunciation Term 1591/92, when the twenty-four-year-old Edward Gibbons was appointed *informator choristarum*. An accelerated programme of music acquisition followed, including music for the hall ('grace books') as well as polyphonic music for four and five voices: 'Item: solut' Magistro Gibbins pro a sett of [?secular] song bookes ad usum Collegii, v s'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/20. Under 'Expense necessarie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1592/93. 'Item: solut' Magistro Gibbins for pricking 3 churche bookes of ten partes, x s'; 'Item: solut' Gibbons pro 4 grace bookes, x s'. KCAR/4/1/1/20. Under 'Expense necessarie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1594/95. 'Item: solut' pro Libris ad usum Chori, xl s'; 'Item: solut' pro Libris ad usum Chori, xxx s'; 'Item: solut' pro 26 Libris canticis ad usum Chori, iij li, vj s, iiij d'. KCAR/4/1/1/20. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1597/98, *Term. Mich.*, *Term. Nat.*

⁴³⁹ On 13 July 1602 Thomas Weelkes was admitted B. Mus. of Oxford University, having been matriculated at New College. New College would have been a logical choice for standard supplication since Weelkes had been affiliated with Winchester College, Wykeham's twin foundation. Choristers of Winchester had often been given the favour of supplicating for a degree through New College, and though Weelkes was organist, not chorister, he received the same privilege. It is made clear by the College Registrar, however, that Weelkes was not a foundation member of New College. Brown, D., *Thomas Weelkes. A Biographical and Critical Study* (London and New York, 1969), 22. An indication that Weelkes' music was performed at New College can be drawn by the inclusion of his compositions in the *New College Chapel Choir Books* (Bodleian Library, MSS. d. 149-69, Mus.e.23-5).

⁴⁴⁰ After John Tomkins assumed duties as 'Master of the Quire' and 'Organist' in 1606/07, the standards of repertory and choir achieved new levels. Tomkins' employment followed the installation of Thomas Dallam's magnificent organ, built on site at King's College between June 1605 and August 1606.

⁴⁴¹ See below, 128.

and Laud, the ritual of the Anglican Church was sorely in need of edification; this necessitated, in Laud's opinion, a reordering and beautification of church interiors, which came to include the installation and deployment of organs as well as the performance of contemporary verse-style repertory. Both James I and Charles I were in favour of this restoration of pomp and formality in worship and heartily adopted rich ceremonial and musical elaboration in their royal chapels. Charles I took matters to a national level in 1633, issuing a mandate to place communion tables in 'altar-wise' positions at the east end of churches - rather than longways in quires or chancels.⁴⁴²

Tampering with the ceremony of the liturgy came to polarise religious opinions throughout the reigns of James I and Charles I. Tensions rose to the boiling point during Charles I's years of 'Personal Rule' (1629-40), the period in which Parliament was suspended by Charles and left powerless; during this time Laud and his circle were allowed to beautify churches and enrich ceremony at will. The ferocity with which these Laudian reforms were attacked when Parliament convened in 1640 is reflected in the ensuing 1641 Commons Committee Report to Parliament (BL Harl. MS 7019); the report, a good part of which focuses on Cambridge, unleashed a series of mandates and demands by Parliament affecting ceremonial and ritual in Prayer Book services.⁴⁴³

Lavish ceremony and music in Oxford met its demise when the city capitulated to Parliamentary forces several years later, and the ensuing Parliamentary Visitations (1647-58) excised all vestiges of Caroline-Laudian reform inherent in college chapels. The theology and worship of the Caroline court and of Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud were systematically dismantled on a national scale between 1647 and 1650; the *Book of Common Prayer* was removed and replaced. New presbyterian forms of worship and confession, proposed by the 'Westminster

⁴⁴² The lengthways table signified the shared meal of the Lord's Supper, while the eastern altar was seen by some to represent the priestly sacrifice of the Mass. See Vol. II, Supplement One, 395.

⁴⁴³ Though the principal force of the Parliamentary offensive on Cambridge was spearheaded by William Dowling, a specific arm of the campaign involved the attack of Peter Smart (former prebendary of Durham) upon John Cosin, a leading figure in the Durham House group; Cosin was also master of Peterhouse, Cambridge and might be considered the spokesman for Laudian style in the contemporary University. Smart's onslaught on Cosin and Peterhouse had repercussions for all Cambridge colleges, in particular, for St. John's, where Cosin's colleague, William Beale, vigorously waved the Laudian flag; this will be addressed in Chapter Four, 229-30.

Assembly of Divines'⁴⁴⁴ (of which Edmund Staunton, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was a member), dominated church services, forcing those who clung to the Prayer Book to seek other solutions for worship.⁴⁴⁵ The Assembly produced a new presbyterian form of church government, a Confession of Faith (i.e. statement of belief),⁴⁴⁶ two catechisms or manuals for religious instruction ('Shorter' and 'Larger')⁴⁴⁷ and a manual for worship (the *Directory for Public Worship*). The Confession and catechisms were adopted as doctrinal standards in the Church of Scotland and other presbyterian churches, where they remain normative. The *Directory for Public Worship*, which was to replace the *Book of Common Prayer*,

⁴⁴⁴ The Westminster Assembly was a council of theologians (or 'divines') and members of the English Parliament appointed to restructure the Church of England between 1643 and 1653. On 11 December 1644 the majority submitted a draft of a presbyterian form of government. The Assembly was called by the Long Parliament before and during the beginning of the First English Civil War and had concluded its work shortly after Cromwell's dissolution of the 'Rump Parliament' (i.e. the name given to the English Parliament after Colonel Pride's purging of the Long Parliament on 6 December 1648, the members of which remained hostile to trying Charles I for high treason) on 20 April 1653. Van Dixhoorn, C., (ed.), *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643–1652* (Oxford, 2012), 38.

⁴⁴⁵ According to Wood's *Annals* under December 1648: 'In the same month (December) Latin prayers according to the Liturgy were taken away at Ch.Ch. (i.e. Christ Church), havine [sic] continued there till the Nativity in spite of the Visitors. Afterwards certain divines of that House, namely Mr John fell, Mr John Dolbin, Mr Richard Allestrey, &c., all lately expelled, set up the Common Prayer in the house of Mr Thomas Willis, a Physician, against Merton College Church (being the same house where lately had been an Independent Meeting), to which place admitting none but their confidants were Prayers and Surplices used on all Lord's Days, Holy Days, and their Vigils, as also the Sacrament according to the Church of England administered, continuing so till the Restoration of K. Ch.II.' Wood, A., *Athenae Oxonienses: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford : to which are added the Fasti, or Annals of the said University (1632-1695)*, new edition, Bliss, P., (Oxford, 1813). Under December 1648; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 216.

⁴⁴⁶ A Confession of Faith to replace the *Thirty-Nine Articles* was begun in August 1646. While there is little record of the actions of the Assembly during the writing of the Confession, it is clear that there were significant debates in the Assembly over almost every doctrine found in it. The Confession was printed and sent to Parliament in December. The House of Commons requested that scripture citations be added to the Confession, which were provided in April 1648. Parliament approved the Confession with revisions to the chapters on church censures, synods and councils, and marriage on 20 June 1648. Van Dixhoorn, C., 'Westminster assembly (act. 1643-165)', *DNBO*: Paul, R.S. *The Assembly of the Lord: Politics and Religion in the Westminster Assembly and the 'Grand Debate'* (Edinburgh, 1985), 518.

⁴⁴⁷ The Assembly had already done significant work on a catechism (completed between December 1643 and January 1647) containing fifty-five questions, before it decided to create two catechisms rather than one. The *Larger Catechism* intended to assist ministers in teaching the Reformed faith to their congregations. The *Shorter Catechism* was based on the *Larger Catechism* but intended for use in teaching the faith to children. Parliament demanded scripture proofs for the catechisms as well. The Scots General Assembly approved both catechisms in 1648. Spear, W. R., 'The Unfinished Westminster Catechism', in Carlson, J.L., and Hall, D.W., *To Glorify and Enjoy God: A Commemoration of the 350th Anniversary of the Westminster Assembly* (Edinburgh, 1994), 196, 266; Godfrey, W.R., 'The Westminster Larger Catechism', *ibid.*, 131; Kelly, D.F., 'The Westminster Shorter Catechism', *ibid.*, 110-11.

was written speedily in 1644 and passed by Parliament on 3 January 1645.⁴⁴⁸ Musical change endorsed by the Westminster Assembly will be briefly addressed in the Corpus Christi College case study.⁴⁴⁹

2. Key figures and texts of intellectual and religious thinking, c. 1534-1550

Prior to his schism from Rome in 1534 Henry VIII - like any other mainstream Roman Catholic on the Continent - admonished Lutheran doctrine following the issue of Martin Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*, published in the fall of 1517. In order to build a case against Luther, Henry employed a circle of learned theologians. The most prolific among them was, without doubt, John Fisher, who had been a conspicuous figure at Court since before the death of Henry's grandmother, Lady Margaret Beaufort; Papal Rome rewarded Fisher with election to the cardinalate not only for his unwavering faith, profound sermons, and incomparable knowledge of the Church Fathers, but for his services in the fight against evangelical reform, including that of Luther. Written works included *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* (Antwerp, 1523), which constructed a strong case against Luther's doctrinal stance (justification by faith alone, reliance on Scripture alone, and the rejection of papal authority). Fisher's theological *chef d'oeuvre*, *De Veritate Corporis and Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*, countered the German-born Swiss evangelist, Oecolampadius;⁴⁵⁰ it identified the Mass with the one perfect offering at Calvary and clarified waters muddled by misguided late-medieval notions of the Eucharist.⁴⁵¹ Rome was particularly grateful for Fisher's convincing polemical ammunition, and these works were quoted tirelessly by Catholic apologists searching for a comprehensive response to Luther and other evangelical reformers. In Fisher, both Henry VIII and the pope had found a true 'defender of the faith'.

⁴⁴⁸ The Directory, accepted by the Scots as well, represented a compromise, or middle ground, between the presbyterians and congregationalists. Most presbyterians preferred a fixed liturgy while congregationalists preferred extemporaneous prayer. The Directory consisted of an order for services with sample prayers. The Assembly also recommended a psalter, which had been translated by Francis Rous, for use in worship. Benedict, P., *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, 2002), 401; Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord*, 518.

⁴⁴⁹ See Chapter Five, 352-3.

⁴⁵⁰ Further sources addressing Fisher's writing countering heresy include: Rex, R., 'The Polemical Theologian', in Bradshaw, B., and Duffy, E., (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and Reformation: The Career of Bishop John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1989), 109-30; Duffy, E., *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition* (London, 2012), 140-144.

⁴⁵¹ Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*, 143.

After the limbs of the Roman Catholic Church and the papacy had been severed from the body of the English Church and John Fisher had been executed for treason, the stage was cleared for a group of evangelical polemicists, including Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and Thomas Cranmer. Of these men, it was Cranmer, particularly in his capacities as archbishop of Canterbury, who forged the most significant theological and liturgical reform to date. Cranmer provided the Henrician and Edwardine Reformations with their principal vernacular liturgical texts, which came to fill the lacuna left in worship after the abolition of the Use of Salisbury in 1549.

Particularly relevant to the discussion here is Bucer's influence on Cambridge and Martyr's influence on Oxford as well as their contribution to Cranmer's revision of the 1549 Prayer Book. After Martin Bucer's attempts to defend the Augsburg Interim in Strasbourg failed, he was forced to flee Germany and accepted an invitation by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer to reside in England (1549-51). Bucer took the position of Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge in 1549. In June he entered into debate over the Eucharist with Peter Martyr, another refugee who had taken the equivalent Regius Professor position at the University of Oxford. Bucer quietly embarked on a mission to direct the English Reformation into what he felt were proper civil and ecclesiastical channels; to do so he enlisted those influential at Court, among them Bucer's friend, John Cheke, who was closely connected to the court of Edward VI. With the intention of presenting a memorandum to the king Bucer composed a major treatise, *De Regno Christi (On the Kingdom of Christ)*,⁴⁵² which he gave as a draft to Cheke on 21 October 1550. The work represented the culmination of Bucer's years of experience and encapsulated his thought and

⁴⁵² In his view the Reformation Bucer was not only concerned with the Church, but with all areas of life. Noting the difficult social conditions in England, he promoted the role of deacons to care for the poor and needy. He described marriage as a social contract rather than a sacrament, hence he permitted divorce, a modern idea that was considered too advanced for its time. He advocated the restructuring of economic and administrative systems with suggestions for improving industry, agriculture, and education. His ideal society was distinctively authoritarian, with a strong emphasis on Christian discipline. Greschat, M., *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times* (Louisville, 2004), 239-45: Translated from Greschat, M., *Martin Bucer: Ein Reformator und seine Zeit 1491–1551* (Munich, 1990).

theology; Bucer regarded the work as his legacy.⁴⁵³ In it he urged Edward VI to take control of the English Reformation, and proposed that Parliament introduce fourteen laws of reform, covering both ecclesiastical and civil matters. Despite Cheke's efforts, *De Regno Christi* never managed to gain hold of the Edwardine Reformation. Though Bucer's laws may have failed to catch Edward's ear, Cranmer's *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* did; the Church narrowly escaped this radical restructuring of canon and civil law, which was penned by none other than John Cheke. Bucer was praised and admired by some of the most prominent Cambridge men; he named Walter Haddon (former fellow of King's College and master of Trinity Hall, 1552) and Matthew Parker (master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; later archbishop of Canterbury, 1559-75) as executors to his will, and after Bucer's burial in Great St. Mary's in Cambridge, Cheke lauded Bucer in a letter to Peter Martyr.⁴⁵⁴

Peter Martyr Vermigli had fled to Zürich, Basel, and finally Strasbourg, where with Bucer's support he was appointed professor of theology and married Bucer's first wife, Catherine Dammartin of Metz. Vermigli and another Italian reformer, Bernardino Ochino were also invited to England by Archbishop Cranmer in 1547 and given a pension of forty marks by the government. In 1548 Vermigli was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. During the 1549 debate on the nature of the Eucharist, Vermigli chose to adopt the doctrine of Real Presence instead of Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation. This controversy over the Eucharist reached its zenith during the debates over transubstantiation in 1551, which involved Cheke and other leading Cambridge figures. It will be addressed below in the St. John's case study.⁴⁵⁵

Rob Wegman's research has illuminated the influence of Erasmus von Rotterdam on music during the Reformation and has revealed Erasmus to be an early critic of pre-

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁴⁵⁴ 'We are deprived of a leader than whom the whole world would scarcely obtain a greater, whether in knowledge of true religion or in integrity and innocence of life, or in thirst for study of the most holy things, or in exhausting labour in advancing piety, or in authority and fulness of teaching, or in anything that is praiseworthy and renowned.' Hall, B., 'Martin Bucer in England', in Wright, D.F., *Martin Bucer: Reforming church and community* (Cambridge, 1994), 144.

⁴⁵⁵ See below, Chapter Four, 156-7.

Reformation English church music;⁴⁵⁶ Hyun-Ah Kim's study has established the further influence of Erasmus, in particular upon Peter Martyr and other reforming theologians at the outset of the sixteenth century.⁴⁵⁷ During his English residencies between 1499 and 1517, Erasmus quietly observed what he felt were musical abuses in the church. He knew this was not the first time such abuses had been noticed, and that prior to the 1470s John Wycliffe and the Lollards had been circulating even more radical invectives against English liturgical music. In the ominous climate of persecution inherent in the 1520s Erasmus came to realise that criticism of things English - not least liturgical and musical practice - could be dangerous.⁴⁵⁸ Such prudence on the Continent was less an issue; in various writings from abroad Erasmus disseminated invectives against the Marian worship, incomprehensible polyphony, and the use of organs espoused by the English Church. For example, in *Annotations* to 1 Corinthians printed in 1519 Erasmus writes:

Haec adeo placent, ut monachi nihil aliud agant, praesertim apud Britannos, & quorum cantus debuit esse luctus, hi lasciviis hinnitibus, & mobile gutture deum placari credunt. In hunc usum etiam in Benedictinorum collegijs apud Britannos aluntur ephebi puerique et uocum artifices, qui mane uirgini matri modulatissimo uocum garritu ac musicis organis sacrum decantent. Huiusmodi choros episcopo coguntur alere domi. Atque his rebus occupati, nec attingunt bonas literas, nec audiunt quibus in rebus sita sit uera religio. Iam qui crassiores sunt quam ut artem musicam queant perdiscere, non putant satisfieri festo diei, nisi deprauatum quoddam cantus genus adhibeant, quod illi *fauburdum* appellant. Id nec thema praescriptum reddit, nec artis harmonias obseruat.

These [ways of singing] are so pleasing to monks that they spend their time doing nothing else, especially among the Britons; their song ought to have been mournful, yet they supposed that God is appeased by wanton whinnying and agile throats. In the Benedictine monasteries in England even youths, little boys, and professional singers are being maintained for this custom, who sing the early morning service for the Virgin Mother with the most elaborate vocal chatterings and with musical organs. It is choirs like these that bishops are expected to keep in the household. And, Being all occupied with these things, they neither find time for literary studies, nor are they able to hear on what things true religion would depend. Those who are too dull to be able to acquire the art of music do not think that the feast day is adequately observed unless they bring in a depraved kind of singing which they call *fauburdum*: it neither brings out the assigned theme, nor does it observe the harmonies of the art.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ Wegman, R., *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530* (New York, 2005), chapter four, 'A Special Case: England', 105-66.

⁴⁵⁷ Kim, H., *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England* (London, 2008), 73.

⁴⁵⁸ For more on the precarious nature of Erasmus's comments and the similarities between Erasmus and Wycliffe see Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 119-21.

⁴⁵⁹ Erasmus, *Annotations on the New Testament*, 508; see also Erasmus, D., *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*. 21 vols.

Although Erasmus refers to the musical practices of English monks, particularly those in Benedictine colleges in Britain ('*collegijs apud Britannos*'), we cannot conclude that he is referring to all the church music he heard while in England; however, the reference to 'professional singers' (clerks) and 'little boys' (choristers) would certainly apply to a choral foundation of the time, such as King's College, Cambridge, or New College and Magdalen College, Oxford, as would the reference to a service for the Virgin Mary (Lady Mass or the Marian votive antiphon) performed with elaborate music and organs.

One recurring theme in most of Erasmus's criticism of church music, both English and Continental, is the unintelligibility of the words that he witnessed in contemporary church music ('*audire cantum non intellectum*'). This was certainly the case in the reference to 'wanton whinnys' and 'chatterings' in the *Annotations*. In a rebuttal to the Italian diplomat Alberto Pio, written after 1531,⁴⁶⁰ Erasmus refuted Pio's allegation that he deemed it more devout for lay folk 'to be looking after women and children than to hear unintelligible ditties in church'. Erasmus writes:

Haec potissimum ad Anglos pertinent, nam illic tum agebam, apud quos cum sit perpetua vocum modulation, que non sinit intelligi verba, tamen denunciatur populo, ut audiant cantiones matutinas & horarum omnium sub poena gehennae. Jam utrum est sanctius, labore manuum subvenire liberis fame periclitantibus, an totum diem audire cantum non intellectum, ac proinde inutilem? Tollis igitur, inquiet, cantum? Non. Quin inibi dico: *Habeant sane templa solennes cantus, sed moderatos.*

...These words apply especially to the English, for I was staying there at that time [c. 1512-1514], among whom there is perpetual singing which does not allow the words to be understood, yet the people are compelled to listen to the songs of Matins and of all the [daily Offices], on pain of hellfire. Now, which is more holy: to support children who are in danger of starving to death by doing manual labour, or to listen all day to singing which is not understood, and therefore useless? 'Would you therefore', someone will say, 'abolish singing?' No. Rather, I say in [the *Annotations*]: By all means let the churches have solemn songs, but moderate ones.⁴⁶¹

Amsterdam, 1969-), vol. VI/8: 274-9 (cited in Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 109. See pp. 161-5 for full text of the diatribe from the *Annotations*).

⁴⁶⁰ Erasmus, D., *Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. (Leiden, 1703-6), vol. 9, 1155D-E; Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 113.

⁴⁶¹ Erasmus, D., *Opera Omnia*, vol. 9, 1155D-E.

Erasmus's criticism of musical instruments (which included sackbuts and trumpets) extended to the organ as is indicated above, and included his opposition to *alternatim* practice. In his reply to the Paris theologians in 1532, Erasmus comments on what he heard while on the Continent and 'in certain countries [where] they are compelled to attend Matins and the other Offices, the Mass, and Evensong, on pain of hellfire...'. Later in this same passage, he complains:

the rites are sung with such tedium that they wear out the listeners, And [polyphony] has found its way even into the monasteries: for they believe, I suppose, that the Virgin will take it amiss unless she has her own daily Mass, and this in priority to the Son, and that she takes now delight in any other vocal music than that which is sung with diverse voices (which seems to have been completely unknown in Antiquity), with organs playing *alternatim*.⁴⁶²

References to evensong and the rather exaggerated punishment, 'on pain of hellfire', bestowed upon those not attending services suggest England as the focus of the critique. The musical practice of *alternatim* can be observed as readily on the Continent as in England;⁴⁶³ distinctive to England were the polyphonic Lady chapel choirs - a feature of English monasteries - and the florid and complex polyphony they performed.

It is not unreasonable to assume that Erasmus's distaste for elaborate worship, including Marian devotion and organs, was attractive to progressive early modern thinkers, not least his admirer and friend, Bishop John Fisher.⁴⁶⁴ Erasmus's views would certainly have fallen neatly into Fisher's conception of a streamlined musical liturgy, which centred itself on the performance of chant and did not include Marian

⁴⁶² Erasmus, D., *Opera Omnia*, vol. 9, 901F and 902A-C; Erasmus, *Declarationes*, 254-56; Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 215.

⁴⁶³ The mid-fifteenth century metrical romance *The Squire of Low Degree* cited by Rob Wegman confirms the use of *alternatim* practice in England: 'Than shall ye go to your euenson, / With tenours and trebles amon... Your quere nor organ songe shall wante / With countre-note and dyscant, / The other halfe on organyns Playeng, / With yonge children full fayre syngyng'. French, W.H., and Hale, C.B., (eds.), *Middle English Metrical Romances* (New York, 1930), 745-56; Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 215.

⁴⁶⁴ Not only did Fisher engage Erasmus to teach Greek at Cambridge in 1511 (Erasmus was resident at Queen's College, 1511-14), taking private tuition from Erasmus himself, he had hoped to be accompanied by Erasmus at the official opening ceremonies of St. John's College in 1516. Erasmus, however, did not attend. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 13. It was not only Erasmus's command of Greek that impressed Fisher, but also his biblical scholarship; Erasmus's paraphrases on all the books of the New Testament provides a case in point. In a letter of 1522, for example, Fisher encouraged Erasmus to compose a paraphrase of John; Fisher's emulation of Erasmus's paraphrase concept is reflected in his own paraphrase and exposition of the Psalms. Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher*, 52.

worship⁴⁶⁵ or an organ. However, the two men may have differed on the deployment of improvised polyphony; while Erasmus was explicit in his dislike of the depraved 'fauburdum', Fisher appears to have condoned 'descant' and may have expected its performance at St. John's College.⁴⁶⁶

After the Edwardine Reformation had taken hold of England and elaborate ritual and music had been emptied from the ceremony and liturgy of the Church a pronounced austerity came to inhabit chapels and churches. In the vacuum left by the abolition of sacraments, prayers to saints, fasts, festivals, and other 'consolations of Catholic devotion', John Calvin provided 'blind and corrupted human beings' with a ticket to redemption and a fundamental doctrinal credo: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Calvin's *Institutes*, composed in 1536, quickly found its way into university curriculums after the accession of Elizabeth I.⁴⁶⁷ Calvinism, which came in various shades and extremes,⁴⁶⁸ gained a strong foothold in England during the Elizabethan Settlement and encompassed specific - not entirely derogatory - musical intentions. Though mainstream Reformation historiography has attributed the musically bleak churches of the Edwardine and Elizabethan Reformations to the reformers mentioned above,⁴⁶⁹ it was Heinrich Bullinger's hostile attitude toward music - rather than the more tolerant musical sympathies of Luther or Calvin - that contributed to musical

⁴⁶⁵ Fisher shared an affection with John Colet and William Melton for the Carthusian devotional treatises and devotion to the Name of Jesus. Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher*, 24. This may have contributed to his lack of enthusiasm for Marian worship.

⁴⁶⁶ See below, Chapter Four, 138-9.

⁴⁶⁷ Without the aid of Catholic devotion and the sacraments Christians approached the judgment seat with nothing but their sinfulness. Calvin offered hope in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Nicholas Tyacke prefers the contemporary usage of 'Institution' rather than *Institutes* when referring to the English translation of Calvin's famous work. Tyacke, N., *Anti-Calvinists. The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1989), 6. Calvin's magnum opus provided a summary of basic Christian doctrine 'salted with references to the church fathers' and was intended to lay the foundations for students of theology. A benchmark for protestant ministry and church discipline, *The Institutes* provided a protestant systematic theology capable of concurring with Catholic doctrines, and together with Calvin's other works helped lay the groundwork for the theology of the reformed English Church. Hoyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity*, 28; Calvin, J., *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, McNeill, J.T., (ed.), translated by Battles, F.L. (Philadelphia, 1960), xxxv. Calvin's works remained a vital source for theologians and had been printed in ninety-six editions by 1640. Hoyle, 28; Prestwich. M., (ed.) 'Introduction', in *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford, 1985), 3.

⁴⁶⁸ For comprehensive discussions addressing the varying shades of Calvinism see Hoyle, 25-48.

⁴⁶⁹ In Peter Le Huray's *Music and the Reformation in England 1549 - 1680* he described the bleak state of choral music under Edward VI; the majority of opinion in the Edwardine Church was 'overwhelmingly aggressive to polyphonic music and instrumental church music, occasionally to church music in general'. Le Huray blamed 'Calvinist Philosophy' for this condition. Willis, J.P., *Church Music and Protestantism in Post Reformation England* (London, 2010), 55; Le Huray, P., *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549 - 1660* (New York, 1967), 29.

outlook and government diktat in Britain during the reign of Edward VI.⁴⁷⁰ England was eventually saved from Bullinger's suggested castration of music thanks to returning Marian exiles in 1558, who - through the influence of the more musically tolerant Calvin and Bucer - contributed to the distinctly English measure of music and word that flourished in the Elizabethan Church. Although the Marian exiles reserved a place for music in worship, they abhorred the use of the organ and 'curious singing' (i.e. polyphony) and in this respect mirrored the views of Bullinger. This will be discussed in greater depth within the principal case studies and the organ case study in Supplement One.

The more tolerant musical attitudes of Calvin and Bucer certainly characterised the approach of Thomas Cranmer, who surrounded himself with Continental polemicists that favoured music in one form or another. John Calvin allowed prayer in the form of words alone or 'with singing' as long as the singing was not frivolous and was used with caution.⁴⁷¹ Martin Bucer, another member of Cranmer's foreign round table, was an enemy of florid Latin polyphony, but encouraged congregational singing 'and playing' in the vernacular metrical psalms.⁴⁷²

Though Continental polemicists like Bucer and Luther had already incorporated the metrical psalms into their liturgies, metrical psalms remained in a period of incubation during Edward VI's reign. Some of the earliest English examples emerged from Henry VIII's court: composed by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, they were intended as sacred texts for domestic singing. It is of note that Edward VI did not outlaw music in church or at home. A vibrant musical environment was recorded in Edward's chamber accounts.⁴⁷³ The young king, who like his father Henry VIII,

⁴⁷⁰ Heinrich Bullinger was epistolary correspondent to many of the leading figures of the English reform movement. Marshall, P., *Reformation England 1480-1642* (London, 2002), 72; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 55; MacCulloch, D., *The Later Reformation 1547-1603* (Basingstoke, 1990), 60.

⁴⁷¹ Willis, 48; Calvin, J., '1542 Preface to the Genevan Psalter', in Garside Jr., C., 'Calvin's Preface to the Psalter: a Re-Appraisal', *The Musical Quarterly*, 37 (1951), 566-77: 568.

⁴⁷² Collinson, P., 'The Reformer and the Archbishop: Martin Bucer and an English Bucerian', in Collinson, P., *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), 19-44; Willis, 48.

⁴⁷³ In March 1549 monthly stipends are recorded for seventeen instrumentalists, mostly foreigners, the majority of which were Italian. There are payments to two 'singing men', eight minstrels, and five interlude players. Collier, J.P. (ed.), *Trevelyan Papers, ect.*, pts i and ii (Camden Soc. LXVII and

was musically gifted,⁴⁷⁴ appreciated music both in secular as well as liturgical contexts; Edward VI was a fan of Thomas Sternhold, who 'rendered his great metrical version of the Psalms to him'.⁴⁷⁵

Between 1540 and 1570 anti-evangelical/protestant discourse profited from a body of Roman Catholic apologia emanating from Oxford during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor, and from Louvain during Elizabeth I's reign. It was composed for the most part by a highly influential group of New College fellows, among them, Nicholas⁴⁷⁶ and John Harpsfield,⁴⁷⁷ Thomas Harding,⁴⁷⁸ and Nicholas Saunders. The Harpsfields together with John Christopherson (fellow, St. John's College, Cambridge 1542; master of Trinity College, 1553-58) and John Proctor became gladiators of the Marian apologetic and leading figures at heresy trials under Mary Tudor, while Harding and Saunders contributed to Roman Catholic apologia during the

LXXXIV, 1857 and 1863), pt. i, 197, 200 and, pt. ii, 22-24; Jordan, W.K., *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power* (London, 1970), 20.

⁴⁷⁴ See below, Chapter Four, 164.

⁴⁷⁵ Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, 42. Sternhold, the first Englishman to produce metrical psalms as holy songs, had been at work since 1543 on a collection of metrical psalms and completed thirty-seven for publication in 1549, dedicating them to Edward VI. These were augmented and republished by John Hopkins, the enlarged edition appearing in at least nine reprints by 1553. Despite early efforts made by reformed churches in Canterbury, Glastonbury, and London, to deploy metrical psalms, the church of the Edwardine Reformation made no attempts to officially enforce the inclusion of vernacular metrical psalmody in its liturgy. Willis, 54.

⁴⁷⁶ Nicholas Harpsfield (1519-1575, Bachelor in Canon Law in 1543 and a Doctor in Canon Law in 1554) became a leading figure in the Lower House of Convocation under Mary Tudor; as one of its chief speakers he rallied to the bishops with an acknowledgement of papal supremacy and an affirmation of the doctrines of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass. His declaration was endorsed by both Cambridge and Oxford Universities. Nicholas Harpsfield's greatest work, *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, was presented to his patron, William Roper, as a New Year gift in January 1557. Duffy, E., *Fires of Faith. Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (London, 2009), 195. His arguments, particularly in the *Dialogue concerning Heresies* or in the *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, are as Eamon Duffy phrases it, 'bang up to date' - a 'bruising satire' and hostile commentary on the actions of contemporary reformers. More's literary and polemical objectives in these two works are detailed in Duffy, E., "'The comen knowen multitude of crysten men": A Dialogue Concerning Heresies and the defence of Christendom', in Logan, G.M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More* (Cambridge, 2011), 191-215.

⁴⁷⁷ John Harpsfield (1516-1578; B.A., 1537; M.A. in Theology, 1541) achieved particular renown with the publication of Edmund Bonner's *A Profitable and Necessary Doctryne* and its attached Homilies, thirteen of which were penned by Harpsfield. Bonner, E., *A Profitable and Necessary Doctryne with Certayne Homelies Adioyned Therevnto* (London, 1555), STC 3283.3.

⁴⁷⁸ Thomas Harding (fellow New College, 1536) contributed significantly to the Roman Catholic apologetic emanating from Louvain in the 1560s. Harding's *Confutation of the Apology* (1565), his defence of the Catholic Church and challenge to John Jewel's *The Apology of the Church of England* (1562), was countered by Jewel in *The Defence of the Apology* (1567). The scandal received Bishop Robert Horne's attention and anger, placing Harding high atop Horne's list of subversive recusant authors.

Elizabethan Settlement. Their works reverberated throughout the universities, especially Oxford, and armed traditionalists and recusants in the universities and abroad with potent polemical ammunition.

The extent to which pro-Roman Catholic apologia from Louvain had infiltrated England, in particular the universities, alarmed returning Marian exiles like Edwin Sandys and Robert Horne and prompted them to issue injunctions forbidding this literature during the 1560s.⁴⁷⁹ The danger was in fact real: Roman Catholic apologia from Louvain was found in the hands of recusant Catholics at New College and Corpus Christi College. It was not just the fact that members of both foundations possessed this 'schismatic' literature that made it dangerous; there may have been an ulterior, more deep-seated motive to which this literature was only a prelude. Nicholas Saunders' works, especially *De Visibili Monarchia Eccelsiae* (Louvain, 1571), as well as his machinations to overthrow Elizabeth may have contributed to the efforts of the Catholic faction of Corpus Christi to prepare for a return to the Latin rite. This will be addressed in Chapter Five.

3. The reshaping of church institutions, 1536-1550

Change at diverse levels: diocesan, local, economic, and social

The restructuring and realignment of monasteries and cathedrals during the 1540s precipitated a wave of reform at diocesan, local, economic, and social levels. The most comprehensive occurred at the diocesan level. Following the establishment of certain former monasteries as secular cathedrals (with deans, canons, minor canons, clerks, and choristers in place of the monks) in the 1540s, a common set of statutes was drafted for these cathedrals of the 'New Foundation'. One of the compilers of these statutes, Bishop Nicholas Heath, enlarged on these statutes in two sets of injunctions (1544) specific to his own cathedral at Rochester (formerly a Benedictine cathedral priory). They demonstrate his wish to establish the newly introduced Use of Salisbury with substantial musical provision.

⁴⁷⁹ See injunction 26 in 'Bishop Horne's Injunctions given to New College, Oxford, Aug. 29, 1567' and article 32 in 'Sandy's Articles for Worcester Diocese, 1569', Frere, W. H., (ed.), *Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the reformation, 1559 - 1575* (London, 1910), vol. III, 189, 226, respectively.

The advanced state of polyphony and the use of pricksong (i.e., composed polyphony) and the organ, which had been developing steadily in most large cathedrals, collegiate churches, and university colleges, figured prominently in Heath's statutes and injunctions. His plan for workday and feast day liturgical, ritual, and musical ceremony based upon the existing Use of Salisbury with slight variations was also reflected in most cathedral and university college provision and practice of time.

In the 1540s Convocation of the English Church had acknowledged models like Heath's at Rochester, which combined Henrician provisions with the Use of Salisbury, as a normative model for ceremony. This applied not only in cathedrals and collegiate institutions such as Tattershall and Fotheringhay, but in most university colleges; Heath's model at Rochester provides a helpful indicator of musical ceremony in many university colleges of the 1540s.⁴⁸⁰

Further interpretations of Henrician and Edwardine legislation coloured local change. This might include small groups or factions or a single person deployed to enforce the reform legislation according to their tastes. For example, notwithstanding a 'protestant' bishop (Ridley) in the London diocese at St. Mary, Woolnoth, there were payments for polyphony to be copied, and a clerk was employed to teach 'singing childrenen [*sic*]' from 1547-52.⁴⁸¹ At St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1545 thorough inventories of Catholic liturgical books, vestments, and ornaments were made, suggesting the intention of Master John Taylor - with his constituent evangelical faction - to sell them off; however, no effort was made to alter the liturgy of the Latin rite nor to remove regalia from the chapel during his tenure.⁴⁸² More effort was invested in eradicating all traces of Bishop John Fisher and the pope. The matter will be explored further in the St. John's case study.

⁴⁸⁰ See Harper, J., 'Sonic Ceremonial in Sixteenth-Century English Liturgy', *BIOS Journal*, 35 (2011), 10-11.

⁴⁸¹ Kitching, C.J., *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548* *London Record Society* 16, (London, 1980), 87 [published by BHO]; Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 233.

⁴⁸² See below, Chapter Four, 151-2.

Economic change, perhaps even more than political or religious change, put an end to lavish liturgical music, increasingly rich polyphony, and organ players; the sudden loss of funding after Thomas Cromwell's dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 and 1539 did great damage. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, together with his administrative assistant, Cromwell, then still a fledgling, had been shutting down religious houses since 1524, in part with the intention of founding Wolsey's humanist foundation of Cardinal College and its Eton-like sister institution, Cardinal College at Ispwich.⁴⁸³ Henry VIII lent his unequivocal support to Wolsey's efforts, observing the financial gains to be won, and after Wolsey's fall employed the ambitious Cromwell to continue where Wolsey had left off.

The wealth removed from monasteries now placed substantial economic resources in the hands of the Crown and friends of Henry VIII; Cromwell, the mastermind responsible for this new goldmine, was handsomely rewarded with favour and position.⁴⁸⁴ The dissolution of chantries and the numerous religious guilds and fraternities dedicated to saints (such as St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge) or the Virgin (Banbury, Boston, Lichfield, and Louth, for example)⁴⁸⁵ terminated opulent musical liturgies to Jesus, the Virgin, and the saints, as well as apposite chapels and organs. At the same time dissolution of collegiate foundations resulted in comparable loss of personnel and endowments, though some institutions survived as parish churches.

The restructuring and realignment of monasteries and cathedrals also induced change at a social level in addition to reforms at diocesan, local, and economic levels. In some cases the loss of religious guilds and fraternities forced the local parish to take on civic and social responsibilities that the guild or fraternity had undertaken.⁴⁸⁶ Where formerly guilds and fraternities had cared for the poor and funded education,

⁴⁸³ Marsh points out that 'in implementing these projects, Wolsey's suppressions would contribute directly to the establishment of model choral foundations'. Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', 64-5.

⁴⁸⁴ In January 1535, Cromwell was made the king's 'Vice-Gerent in Spirituals'. This involved undertaking assessments of property with visitations throughout the country, with the task of setting up a new arm of government taxation, the 'Court of Augmentations'. Marsh, 70.

⁴⁸⁵ Williamson 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 189-91.

⁴⁸⁶ In other places (e.g. Ashburton), where the loss had not been anticipated, the parish was placed in difficult circumstances.

the parish church now assumed these duties as well as the building and maintenance of roads and the maintenance of water supplies. The increased responsibilities of the local churchwarden and his congregation increased, resulting in a pronounced social restructuring not previously anticipated.

Exceptions from the mainstream reordering of church institutions: the university foundations of Cambridge and Oxford

During Henry VIII's dissolution and pruning of ecclesiastical establishments, one group of institutions was spared from closure or restructuring: the university colleges of Cambridge and Oxford, particularly the choral foundations of King's College, Cambridge, New College and Magdalen College, Oxford, as well as the colleges of Eton and Winchester. Christ Church (formerly Cardinal College), Oxford, was uniquely refounded as both educational college and cathedral. 'Although the secular academic colleges managed to survive the Reformation through specific exemption from the legislation that had suppressed the chantries (the monastic colleges were less fortunate; they disappeared along with the abbeys that had supported them), even had they wished to, they could not have hoped to escape the changes demanded by the Crown and the reform-minded bishops who set in motion much of English religious policy in the middle decades of the sixteenth century.'⁴⁸⁷ The resources for worship and music at these foundations remained very considerable; they were sustained in a way that did not occur at monasteries, nunneries, chantries, and religious guilds. Even after Cardinal Wolsey had died and his requirement for outward displays of pomp and *éclat* had been tempered, daily worship at Christ Church,⁴⁸⁸ New College, and King's College remained extravagant and extensive.

4. Key liturgical texts of the reformed church

The key liturgical text of reformed English worship remains the *Book of Common Prayer*. Drafted principally by Thomas Cranmer, this was first published in 1549, radically revised in 1552, and subject to two further, minor revisions (1559, 1604).⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 214.

⁴⁸⁸ See Jeffries, "'But a Musician'", 32-4.

⁴⁸⁹ The form that followed a final revision (1662) remains the sole, authorised liturgical book of the Church of England; more modern forms published since 1964 have the status of alternative services.

It retained elements of the Office found nowhere else in Europe, including the recitation of the whole Psalter (though monthly rather than weekly). It replaced the eight canonical Hours of the divine Office with two services, Mattins and Evensong, and transformed the Mass into Holy Communion, an aspect that disturbed many protestants, particularly radical puritans, who wished a clear break from the Rome and the Latin rite. The new order of service for Mattins, Evensong, and Holy Communion (which achieved something quite near their present format in 1552) excised all the Proper chants in which an entire college community would have participated.⁴⁹⁰ This was particularly evident in the Communion service, the greater part of which was recited by the priest with responses recited by the parish clerk.⁴⁹¹ The text remained subject to ritual interpretation, and this led to continuing tension and dispute.

Other vernacular liturgical texts issued between 1544 and 1549 offered further essential elements of reformed worship. The provision for Cranmer's *Litany* (also referred to as the 'King's Litany' of 1544)⁴⁹² and *Exhortation to the Litany*,⁴⁹³ and the domination of the Bible in English were complemented by Cranmer's *Homily of Good Works* (1547), which was enjoined to be read in church on Sundays, together with Erasmus's *Paraphrases*; the directive to deploy the *Homilies* marked one of the first reforming steps of the new reign and was in force as of summer 1547.

The exact directions for ceremony were laid out in the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books; for the first time a book created with the parish in mind (the Book of 'Common Prayer'), and not the Latin ordinals, customaries, breviaries, and missals of the cathedral of Salisbury, incorporated liturgical ritual. The liturgy of the Use of

⁴⁹⁰ Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 216.

⁴⁹¹ Harper, *FO*, 180; Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 216.

⁴⁹² Prior to 1544 the Medieval Latin Litany had been sung in London processions and in various contexts and for a variety of other specified purposes. The King's Litany (i.e. Cranmer's *Litany*) was a bold new experiment intended first, to deploy a vernacular text and second, to utilise the litany in a new context: to gather prayers and spiritual and mental fortification before going into war. 'Ultimately, the Litany was certainly deemed to be as appropriate for celebratory processions as it was for penitential occasions.' For a comprehensive discussion of the historiographical tradition of the Litany and the new plainchant and polyphonic settings of the Litany after 1544 see Marsh, 220-55.

⁴⁹³ 'As the Archbishop of Canterbury had sought in vain to establish a book of homilies - a project that would not come to fruition until the reign of Edward VI - it was in the Exhortation to the Litany that Cranmer was to score subtle points for his cause, as the Exhortation effectively is a homily.' Marsh, 245-6.

Salisbury was often highly unsuited and impractical for a small parish church, whose clergy could not compare with the numerous canons, vicars choral, clerks, and choristers available at pre-Reformation Salisbury and other major cathedrals; the parish now came into its own, and possessed its own succinct, practical manual for worship.

The vernacular texts and new orders of the *Book of Common Prayer* required musical change. The new services and the new ethos of 'understanding' demanded musical settings of the Prayer-Book Communion Service and settings of texts for Mattins and Evensong, notably for responses, psalms, and canticles. The eight principal sections⁴⁹⁴ of the 1549 Prayer Book were frustratingly vague in regard to musical instructions; random and inconsistent references appear to 'clerks' and to items 'said or sung'. For example, at Mattins the *Venite* was to be either 'said or sung', and the rubrics for Evensong contain only a fleeting reference to 'clerks'.⁴⁹⁵

The restructuring of the calendar under Henry VIII in 1536 and the later, more comprehensive changes under Edward VI in 1549 radically reduced the number of feast days; this in turn reduced the number of days on which members of collegiate foundations were expected to actively contribute to college liturgy according to statute. Prior to 1549, the fellows at New College, for example, had to be present at all chapel services on at least seventy-eight days in addition to the fifty-two Sundays throughout the year.⁴⁹⁶ After 1549, twenty-one feast days (with the exception of Sundays) remained in the English calendar, according to the liturgical reforms codified in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Consequently, with the appearance of the 1549 Prayer Book the number of those participating in the divine service was drastically reduced; John Harper estimates that the number of corporate foundations able to sustain a sung liturgy declined over a period of twenty years (from 1535 to 1555) from many hundreds to fewer than fifty. This included the Chapel Royal, the cathedrals, the Oxbridge colleges, the colleges of Eton and Winchester, and no more

⁴⁹⁴ The *Book of Common Prayer* (often referred to as the *Prayer Book*) contained what had previously been found in Breviary, Missal, Manual, and Directory - all that was required for daily services apart from the Bible. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 19.

⁴⁹⁵ 'Then the suffrages before assigned at Matins, the Clerks kneeling likewise, with three Collects...' *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁶ Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 215.

than five other institutions.⁴⁹⁷ It is less easy to estimate the impact on parish churches, where in some cases clerk and sexton with men and children from the parish might still sustain a modest choir (as, for instance, at St. Edmund's Church, Salisbury - formerly a collegiate foundation).

Upon examination the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* marked a decidedly significant move away from the 1549 *Prayer Book* with its inherent traditionalist threads, particularly in the realm of ceremony. At the outset in the second section 'Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retaeined' Saint Augustine is cited; in his time Augustine complained that ceremonies 'were growen in such a number, that the state of Christian people was in worse case (concernynge that matter) than were the Jewes' and that some should be taken away.⁴⁹⁸ The author poses a question: '... what would S. Augustine have sayed, if he had seen the ceremonies of late daies used among us, whereunto the multitude used in his time, was not to be compared. This our excessive multitude of Ceremonies was so great, and many of them so darke: that they did more confounde, an darken, than declare and set furth Christes benefites unto us'. Although the author criticises ceremonies, he does not express the wish to abolish them altogether: concessions are made for those who could not live without ceremony (among them, Elizabeth I):

For as those be taken away, whiche were moste abused, and dyd burthen mens consciences without any cause: so the other that remain, are retained for a Discipline and order, whiche (upon iuste causes) may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with gods law. And moreover, they be neither darke nor dombe ceremonies: but are to sette further, that eury man may understande what they doe meane, & to what use thei do serue.⁴⁹⁹

The 1552 book makes little provision for music, not least for music distinguishing feast and *feria*.⁵⁰⁰ The more radically protestant 1552 Prayer Book, prescribed by Robert Dudley, the successor to Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset, was clearly anti-choral; Evensong became 'Evening Prayer' and all references to singing by clerks

⁴⁹⁷ Harper, *FO*, 184.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Of Ceremonies', in *The Book of Common Prayer Printed by Whitchurch 1552 Commonly called The Second Book of Edward VI* (London, 1844).

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ Harper, *FO*, 185.

after the Epistle and Gospel and at the Communion⁵⁰¹ were struck. Though the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* was especially radical in its excision of music, the 1552 Order of Holy Communion still retained some similarities with the medieval Latin Mass; these traits came to antagonise radical protestants (especially presbyterians) who wished a clear break from Rome.⁵⁰²

In 1559 Elizabeth I and her Parliament effectively reinstated the 1552 book with a few modifications that made it acceptable to more traditionally minded worshippers, notably the inclusion of the words of administration from the 1549 Communion Service alongside those of 1552. Elizabeth's revised *Book of Common Prayer* coupled with her injunctions of the same year provided the antidote to the musical limitations of the 1552 Prayer Book, permitting a 'songe an hynne, or such lyke songe, to the prayse of almyghtye God, in the best sort of melodye and musicke' before or at the end of morning or evening 'common prayers', as has been mentioned above.⁵⁰³ Yet another version of the *Book of Common Prayer* was issued by James I in 1604; the king initiated further, modest changes, the most significant of which added a section on the Sacraments to the Catechism.

English Bibles

Equally important to the ritual and liturgy of the reformed church were the series of English Bibles published between 1535 and 1611. The English Bibles are relevant to the narrative of religious change in the university colleges addressed in this thesis; their acquisition will be mentioned in the context of the changing liturgies of the Reformations. Following the first English Bibles of John Wycliffe (1388, translated from the Latin Vulgate) and William Tyndale (New Testament, 1526 based on Greek and Hebrew texts of the New and Old Testament in addition to Jerome's Latin translation), the first complete Bible printed in early modern English appeared in

⁵⁰¹ For example, after the recitation of the Nicene Creed the 1549 version dictates 'the clerks shall sing the rest' after the incipit was sung by the priest; in the 1552 version: 'And the Epistle and Gosple being ended, shall be said the Creed' (which implies: by everyone present). Ketley, J., (ed.), *The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549, and A.D. 1552: With Other Documents Set Forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1844), 84, 268-9; Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 219-20.

⁵⁰² For a comparison of the Order of Communion (1552) and the medieval Catholic Mass see Harper, *FO*, 179-80.

⁵⁰³ Injunction 49, *The Injunctions Given by the Quenes Maiestie*. See above, 107, nt. 431.

1535 translated by Miles Coverdale. It was based upon Masoretic text, the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, the Latin Vulgate, German and Swiss-German Bibles (Luther Bible, Zürich Bible), and Leo Jud's Bible. The Great Bible of 1539 (based upon Masoretic text, the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, the Latin Vulgate, and the Luther Bible) was ordered to be placed in all churches under Henry VIII's regime. The Geneva Bible (New Testament, 1557, complete, 1560), which was in part translated with the help of William Cole, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is notable for being the first Bible divided into verses, and the Bishop's Bible (1568), published through the efforts of Elizabeth's archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, reflected the attempt by the queen to create a new authorised version. The Douai/Reims Bible (New Testament, 1582, Old Testament, 1609-10) was based upon Latin, Greek, and Hebrew manuscripts and provided English recusants and Continental Catholics with their first Roman Catholic Bible. Finally, the King James Bible, 1611, based upon Masoretic text, *Textus Receptus*, Tyndale's 1526 New Testament, some Erasmus manuscripts, and Beza's translation of 1598 not only provided England with the most authoritative translation to date, it deployed the most superlative early modern English translation to date; its philological and rhetorical standards came to define the English language to the present day. Significantly, it was not popular, and its use in the Church of England did not become normative until the eighteenth century.

The acquisition of English Bibles is recorded in the accounts of the case study colleges and often marks tranches of liturgical change. A great English Bible was acquired in 1547/48 by Corpus Christi College, Oxford, together with a 'boke of Communion'.⁵⁰⁴ In 1570/71 the college purchased the Bishop's Bible,⁵⁰⁵ and in 1611/12 the King James Bible,⁵⁰⁶ the translation of which was achieved through the efforts of the two Oxford Companies working at Corpus Christi and Merton Colleges. Members included Corpus presidents John Rainolds and John Spenser,⁵⁰⁷ and New

⁵⁰⁴ See below, Chapter Five, 262.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Paid for a bible in magno folio of the last edition, 33s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 22v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1571/72.

⁵⁰⁶ 'To [Joseph] Barnes for the Great Bible [i.e. the KJV], 53s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 22r. Under 'Bibliotheca' in *Liber Magnus*, 1611/12.

⁵⁰⁷ The task of translating the Bible was conceived and begun in part by Rainolds with the sanction and encouragement of James I and conducted in part in Rainolds' lodgings. For greater detail see Chapter Five, 310.

College fellow John Harmar.⁵⁰⁸ Bibles in Latin were purchased for the hall at Corpus Christi in 1608/09 and 1643/44, reflecting the college's penchant for Latin liturgical texts.⁵⁰⁹

St. John's College, Cambridge, purchased a bible for xiiij s, iiij d in 1542/43. This is most likely the Bible recorded in the 1545 inventories.⁵¹⁰ This Bible, as well as the Bibles purchased in 1548/49 and 1549/50,⁵¹¹ most likely refers to the Great Bible, ordered to stand in all churches under Henrician reforms. A reference in the third term of 1561/62⁵¹² may indicate a copy of the Geneva Bible, which could complement large orders for Geneva psalters and service psalters in the years following. A series of payments between 1568/69 and 1569/70⁵¹³ indicate that a new Bible was purchased; however, one in 1570/71 specifically indicates the acquisition of the Bishop's Bible.⁵¹⁴ The next reference in the accounts to a Bible occurs just before William Beale's grand, Laudian-style reordering of the chapel in 1633/34 when xj s is 'payd for a deske for the Bible'.⁵¹⁵ By this time the King James version had become the standard text.

Conclusion

The national, local, and even individual narratives of the Reformation in England follow a general course but are all subject to nuances and distinctions at any given

⁵⁰⁸ As a member of the 'Second Oxford Company' Harmar had a principal hand in the translation of the 'Gospels', the 'Acts of the Apostles', and the 'Book of Revelation' at Merton College.

⁵⁰⁹ 'For Trymelius (i.e. Tremellius') bible for the hall, 8s'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 123r. Under Impensae Aulae et Panarij in *Liber Magnus*, 1608/09; 'For a Latin Bible for the hall & paper, 8s'. CCCA, C/1/1/10, fol. 29r. Under 'Impensae Aulae et Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1643/44.

⁵¹⁰ 'a goodlie & great englishe bible' is included in the inventory. SJCA, C7/2, fol. 102v.

⁵¹¹ 'It[em] to Rich[ard] Smith for making ij plates for the Bible and mending the chaine, iiij d'; 'It[em] for a locke and keie for the Bible, ij d'; 'It[em] for viij newe psalters after the translation of the bible, xxj s'; and 'It[em] for ij yerds and a half of inkell to laie in the bible, j d'. SJCA, D106/18, fol. 142r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Bursars' Book*, II, 1549/50.

⁵¹² 'Item peter sheres for bindinge new and mendine the Englyshe Byble [*sic*], iiij s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 194v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1561/62.

⁵¹³ 'ffor iiij stringes for the Bible, iiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 397v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1568/69. The following year it appears to have been repaired: for 'mending the bible and a psalme boke, xiiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 421v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1569/70, first term.

⁵¹⁴ 'for a great new bible in englishe of ye last translation [the 'Bishop's Bible'] with great claspe, xxvij s, viij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 466r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1571/72, third term.

⁵¹⁵ SJCA SB4/4, fol. 358v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, Christmas 1633 - Christmas 1634, fourth term.

time. University and other educational colleges may have been spared the institutional disruption or dissolution that affected the larger Church, but as institutions they were subject to religious and liturgical change imposed nationally. Among their members were those at the heart of debate and dispute within the Church of England; and within each college dominant individuals or factions inflicted the broader narrative of theological persuasion and religious practice (with ritual and musical consequences). Emphases and timelines (including the removal or installation of organs) therefore differed from one college to another - in some instances there was outright conflict within the college. These are the focuses of the institutional case studies, which form the second part of this thesis.

**PART 2 - TWO CASE STUDIES: ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, c. 1535 - c. 1660**

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY: ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Chapter Two set out the initial foundation of St. John's College, Cambridge. This chapter continues the narrative of worship and music during a period of rapid changes at the college from the Act of Supremacy to the Interregnum. The research of Ian Payne represents the first significant body of material that tapped into the previously unexplored musical background of St. John's College, Cambridge, from the foundation to c. 1642.⁵¹⁶ The evidence presented here begins where Payne left off. John Fisher's early, minimal provision for music was augmented, and the body of singers came to include two to four appointed *rectores chori* (choir rulers), a precentor, and possibly choristers. Though Payne acknowledged the presence of college members who had been former choristers at Tattershall College and Southwell Minister, he did not trace specific individuals or follow their length of study on the foundation. Payne also failed to realise that the first organ was in use until 1558. The following account clarifies and illuminates the musical potential of the college, particularly after the appointment of Nicholas Metcalfe as master in 1518.

1. Augmentation of the musical provision through c. 1545

Musical provision under Nicholas Metcalfe (master, 1518-1537)

Elaborate music the type of which Bishop Fisher may have heard at Rochester, Lady Margaret's private chapel at Hatfield, or Christ's College, Cambridge, clearly had no place in the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge; Fisher provided for neither a formal statutory choir nor an organ. Singers at St. John's were, as at Christ's and Jesus

⁵¹⁶ Payne, I., *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals*, c. 1547 - c. 1646 (New York and London, 1993).

Colleges, non-stipendiary: no regular payments for them can be found in the accounts of these institutions. This is not to imply that St. John's lacked a motivated choral force, especially after Nicholas Metcalfe (1473 - 1537) became master. As Beth Ann Lee-De Amici has shown in her examination of Oxford colleges lacking statutory choirs, 'statutory precision' was not necessarily an indicator of the quality of a college's choral establishment.⁵¹⁷

Fisher's statutes required one fellow and three scholars to be appointed as ministers of the chapel - as sacrist, subsacrist, clockman, and bellringer. Between 1516 and c. 1530⁵¹⁸ these four ministers together with the body of singers (i.e. the entire membership) and an organ/organist (after 1528) were presumably able to render the chant associated with the Mass and the Office on Sundays and great feast days. Not much can be said of the state of the singers during the short succession of the first two masters, Robert Shorton (master, 1511-16) and Alan Percy (master, 1516-18). Percy was accustomed to the lavish provision of a polyphonic choir of men and boys at his ancestral family home, Alnwick Castle; musical provision in the chapel at Alnwick had been overseen by his brother, Henry Percy (1478 - 1527), the fifth Earl of Northumberland. Alan Percy went on to maintain capable polyphonic choirs while master of the College of St. Nicholas, adjacent to Arundel Castle (for which the *Lambeth Choirbook* was probably compiled) and later St. Mary at Hill, London,⁵¹⁹ which demonstrates his apparent interest in quality choral music, much of it polyphonic. Though Fisher may have chosen Percy 'as a scion of a noble house who might attract important patronage to the college',⁵²⁰ Alan Percy must have found the meager musical provision at St. John's dismal, and this may have contributed to his departure.

Movements to better the state of chapel music first got underway when Nicholas Metcalfe (master, 1518-1537), Fisher's archdeacon and right-hand man at Rochester, replaced Alan Percy, and became the third master of St. John's. Metcalfe clearly

⁵¹⁷ Lee-De Amici, B.A., 'Cum nota solenniter celebret: music in the chapel of All Souls College, Oxford, 1445-1550', *Renaissance Studies*, 18, Issue 2 (August 2004), 171-207.

⁵¹⁸ After 1530 ex-choristers from Southwell Minster augmented the body of singers and after 1534 former choristers from Tattershall College.

⁵¹⁹ Harper, J., 'The Rector as Patron: Alan Percy at St Mary at Hill, City of London', unpublished paper given at Plainsong and Medieval Music Society conference, 2005.

⁵²⁰ Dowling, *Fisher of Men*, 25; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century'.

possessed the administrative talent to keep the college afloat financially, and directed funds to recruit singers and purchase an organ.⁵²¹ Metcalfe also envisaged a richer musical panorama than John Fisher had - one he believed to be ensconced in the seemingly indestructible late-medieval ecclesiastical structure.⁵²² A letter written *c.* 1518, at the outset of Metcalfe's tenure, expresses evidence of the college's interest in acquiring musically trained junior members. In this letter the president of St. John's, John Smith, writes to Metcalfe, for the most part addressing ordinary estate matters; however, he also strongly urges Metcalfe to admit a talented musician at the advice of the vice-chancellor and 'Sir Stafford' of Pembroke Hall:

Syr: master vy[ce]chanselar & the company hays movyd me to wrytt to your masterschype to desyer yow to be gude master to the yowng man. He synges & plays at [the] orgaynes right welle & without we have hym now they well [*sic*] have hm in Pembroke haulle.⁵²³

It becomes evident upon reading further that the boy would prefer to be a member of St. John's rather than any other college. As the young man's name is not mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not he was actually admitted, nor what he contributed to the chapel of St. John's musically. Payne assumes that the boy is most likely an ex-chorister whose voice has broken rather than a boy-chorister.⁵²⁴

Another letter of *c.* 1520 illustrates the eagerness of the college to procure more musically trained junior members. The letter is undated, addressed to Metcalfe, and signed by John Watson;⁵²⁵ it commends a scholar from Northumberland. Metcalfe,

⁵²¹ Metcalfe's keen administrative talents were deployed immediately; countless transactions with donors and vendors were made, lands and woods surveyed, manorial courts managed, rents collected, and accounts audited.

⁵²² At the outset of his tenure Metcalfe, like John Fisher, believed the ecclesiastical structure of late medieval England to be invincible, Henry VIII's admonition of Lutheranism providing extra support. Henry's divorce in 1527 gradually brought this structure down. Metcalfe's reluctance to support the new evangelical reforms ultimately resulted in his resignation, which was demanded by Cromwell. Both the evangelical and Catholic factions praised his administrative talent, the evangelical Roger Ascham declaring: 'He was a Papist indeed; but would to God, among all us Protestants, I might once see but one that would win like praise, in doing like good, for the advancement of learning and virtue.' Giles, J.A., (ed.), *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London, 1856), IV, 234; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 33.

⁵²³ SJCA, D105/164.

⁵²⁴ Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 301.

⁵²⁵ John Watson (fellow, Peterhouse College, 1501-16) was master of Christ's College (1517-31) and vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge (1518-20, 1530-32). The letter suggests the interest and help from one connected to Christ's College (the sister foundation of St. John's), on behalf of St. John's. Watson held many positions; his pluralism is addressed in SJCA, D94/477 and D105/248.

who was in London at the time, is informed of a youth skilled in singing and in playing the organ (*'paettus egregie peritus est cantandi...sed preterea ob peritiam efficiendam in organi melodia'*), and that his admittance as *discipulus* would greatly benefit the college, considering the lack of musical personnel (*'necessaris ministris chori nostri...tedio afficim[os] prae defecto musicorum'*).⁵²⁶ Payne interprets this to mean that: (a) the college was urged to maintain, at least informally, some chapel music; (b) a nucleus of singers could be recruited from the ranks of undergraduates; and (c) that the quality of chapel music suffered from a shortage of skilled musicians.⁵²⁷

As Payne points out, there is no record of a member of St. John's being admitted as 'chorister' *per se* during the sixteenth century. There are, however, references in the inventories to four albs and eight amices for 'children'⁵²⁸ in 1545 and 'iiij albs & iij amyses for boys' in 1554/55,⁵²⁹ suggesting that there may have been four boy choristers present - whether for ritual duties or for singing or for both it is impossible to tell.

Furthermore, several documents confirm that ex-cathedral choristers were admitted to the college for their musical ability. Two benefactions in particular were set up in 1530 and 1534, which could between them have maintained seven ex-choristers at any given time. The 1530 benefaction was created by Dr. John Keyton (c. 1492 - 1590) and maintained two fellows and two scholars, to 'be electe[d] and chosen of those persons that be, or have been, qweristers of the Chapter of Southwell [Minster]...yf any suche able person in maners and learnynge can be found'.⁵³⁰ Keyton (prebend of Salisbury, 1510-37 and archdeacon of Leicester) was master of Southwell School, Nottinghamshire, where he would doubtless have been in contact with the choir of Southwell Minster; as long as he was alive he would have proposed boys with musical talent for the St. John's fellowships and scholarships. The Keyton

⁵²⁶ 'I beseech you to remember that we lack the necessary ministers for our choir we suffer injury on account of the deficiency of musicians'. SJCA, D56/41.

⁵²⁷ Payne, 301.

⁵²⁸ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106r.

⁵²⁹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 120r.

⁵³⁰ SJCA, D59/94 (27 October 1530).

scholarship seems to have been continued after 1549,⁵³¹ the year the college and choir at Southwell was disbanded; however, under the Edwardine regime the choral requirements would have been redundant.

The 1534 benefaction, created by Dr. Thomas Thimbleby, provided for one fellow, one scholar, and one student, 'to be elect[ed] & chosyn off such persons as be, or have bene, querysters' of Tattershall College in Lincolnshire.⁵³² The choir of Tattershall College was dissolved in 1545. Although neither Southwell nor Tattershall could supply choristers after the 1540s, until that time the choir of St. John's could have drawn upon as many as seven trained ex-choristers from Southwell Minster and Tattershall, in the performance of liturgical items (in plainsong and polyphony, at least extemporised) together with other fellows and scholars. According to contemporary chorister training, Tattershall ex-choristers would have been well versed in performing polyphonic liturgical works of the highest sophistication and playing the organ,⁵³³ and would have provided a strong choral nucleus for simpler demands at St. John's.

The modest provision for ritual and music in the chapel was enhanced by the founder before his death: Fisher added choir rulers (*rectores chori*) and a precentor to lead a body of singers apparently proficient in the accepted and acknowledged practice of improvised polyphony (descant). In addition to the original four *ministrorum Sacelli*, provided in the 1516 statutes, two to four⁵³⁴ *rectores chori* and a precentor to be

⁵³¹ SJCA, C3/1. *College Register*, from page 199 onward. Interestingly, Richard Longworth (master, 1564-69) was admitted as Keyton scholar on 6 November 1550. *College Register*, 200.

⁵³² SJCA, D.59/97 (24 June 1534).

⁵³³ Tattershall College was an establishment at the vanguard of choral development and polyphonic sophistication. An ex-chorister of Tattershall would have been proficient in singing composed as well as improvised polyphony; many ex-choristers would have been trained in organ playing. In 1455 the choral force at Tattershall comprised six chaplains, ten clerks, and ten choristers. It was expected that the daily Lady Mass be performed with polyphonic settings of the ritual with organ ('cum cantu organico et organis'); those required to attend consisted of one chaplain, three clerks, and all choristers. Bowers emphasises the point that, as at Eton (where four clerks assumed polyphonic settings) and King's, it was the clerks, not the chaplains who had the expertise to sing polyphony; he surmises that at Tattershall the three clerks, operating as a solo ensemble, either sang composed settings or faburden, with the choristers most likely singing descant over the plainsong. *Founders instructions Tattershall College*, DLD U1475, Q, 20, nr. 8; Bowers, 'Choral Foundations', 5064-65.

⁵³⁴ The inventories of 1545 refer to: 'one short forme for the Rectors of the quere'; 'ij old chayers of yron for the Rectors'; 'ij great new yron chayers'; 'iij standinge heighth lectors for the Rectors'; 'ij lectrens for the rectors' as well as four silver-capped staves. SJCA, C7/2, fol. 103r, v.

appointed by the two deans were added after 1524.⁵³⁵ The four choir rulers must have been held in great esteem for they were eventually provided four iron chairs (two 'old' and two 'new great chayers'), as well as 'iiij Rectors stavs with viij capps of silver whereof iiij are gilded with arms of our foundres...', in addition to 'iij standinge heith [sic] lectors for the Rectors' and 'ij lectrens for the rectors'.⁵³⁶ This gives the impression that the choir rulers were highly competent; it is not unreasonable to assume that some (by 1535) were fellows and scholars who had been former choristers of Southwell Minster or Tattershall College.

Those responsible for directing the singers at St. John's also included the deans, who were to compel members of the college to practice 'in the choir' and to fine the fellows absent from the '*Divinis officiis*'. The wording of the 1516 statute, especially the part addressing the dean's duty to instruct those 'unskilled in singing', became slightly altered in the 1524 and 1530 recensions of the statutes. In 1516 the statute reads: '*Et si qui canendi fuerint imperiti, ipso usu discent et exercitio*'. In 1524 the same statute states: '*ut si qui canendi sint imperiti ipso uso discant et exercitio*'; the wording of the 1530 statute remains identical to that in 1524.⁵³⁷ In all cases, the clause suggests that the deans are to encourage the rehearsal of the singers. All this shows that from the start of the foundation singing in chapel services was important enough to Fisher that he compelled the deans to ensure the attendance and rehearsal of the choral body (i.e. the entire membership).

Therefore, although it remains impossible to rate its quality, a group of trained singers, including ex-choristers and actual choristers (i.e. 'children', 'boys') enhanced daily services and the voices of some one hundred and fifty members on great feast days. However experienced or inexperienced the singers were, they had no formal

⁵³⁵ 'Hi praecentorem et rectores chori et executorem quemque pro ordine suo atque ceteros quosvis qui quicquam in choro sint acturi designabunt. Et si qui canendi fuerint imperiti, ipso usu discent et exercitio. Quamobrem et ad hoc decani singulos ad cantus exercitium intra chorum compellant, necque sinant quenquam Divinorum officiorum tempore alium inspectare librum, quam qui ad ipsa officia pertineat.' Cap. XVIII, 'De Duobus Decanis, qui Magistro tanquam auxiliaria brachia erunt', in Statutes (1524). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 293-95.

⁵³⁶ SJCA, C7/2, fol.103r, v.

⁵³⁷ 'Hi praecentorem et rectores chori et executorem quemque, ac ceteros quosvis qui quicquid in choro sint acturi, designabunt. Ad haec decani singulos ad cantus exercitium intra chorum compellant, necque sinant quenquam Divinorum officiorum tempore alium inspectare librum quam qui ad ipsa officia pertineat: ut si qui canendi sint imperiti ipso uso discant et exercitio.' Cap. VIII, 'De Decanorum Qualitate et Officio', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 34, 36.

choral leader or master of choristers (*informator choristarum*) to train them, in contrast to the choristers of King's College, New College, or Magdalen College, Oxford, who were trained intensively in music and grammar. The only leaders of the choir appear to be the precentor and the four *rectores chori*, who would begin incipits and sections on great feast days, according to the Use of Salisbury; however, it is not unreasonable to assume that one of these individuals coached the choir prior to services in the 'rehearsals' that the deans were required to encourage.

In his original, modest musical provision Fisher made no reference to polyphony of any kind; however, he may have expected improvised polyphony in the form of descant or faburden. It remains unclear if he regarded the practice of improvising as normative at the time he wrote the statutes in 1516, but in 1526 he clearly shows his approval of the practice of descant. In a sermon against Luther at St. Paul's Cathedral he characterized the practice of descant as laudable, using it to describe the relationship between scripture, patristic doctrine, and the entire unity of received church orthodoxy,⁵³⁸ describing the amalgamation as:

a song where be many syngers / that diuersely descant vpon the playne songe: but for as moche as they all agre withouten any gerryng / withouten any mystunynge / they make al but one songe / & one armony. In lyke maner it is of the scriptures of god / and of the doctryne of the churche: There be many singers / & some synge the playne songe / and some synge the descant / saynt Mathewe / saint Marke / saynt Luke / saynt Johane / saynt Peter / saint Paule / saint James / saint Jude syng the playne songe. Than be there a great nombre of the doctours / whiche descante vpon this playne songe: but for bicause ther is no discorde / no repugnancy / no contradiction amonge them / at the leest in any poynt concernyng the substance of our faithe: all their voyces make but one songe / & one armony.⁵³⁹

In this passage Fisher not only displays his understanding of descant in musical terms, he also demonstrates that descant was so normative to him that he could apply it as a metaphor in theological discourse. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that despite the lack of references to pricksong or polyphony in the accounts or inventories, the singers, certainly by 1526, could have performed improvised descant to plainsong. With the addition of the Keyton and Thimbleby scholars and fellows

⁵³⁸ Marsh, 118.

⁵³⁹ Fisher, J., *A sermon had at Paulis by the co(m)mandment of the most reuerend father in god my lorde legate, and sayd by Ioha(n) the bysshop of Rochester, vpo(n) qui(n)quagesom sonday, concernyng certayne heretickes* (London, c. 1526), ff. Div-Er; STC 10892; Marsh, 118.

and an organ and organist by 1535 this practice may have achieved a relatively high level of competence.

The provenance, possible size, and placement of the organ through 1547

The efforts of Nicholas Metcalfe to build up vocal resources naturally included procuring an organ. There is a string of early references to organs belonging to the Hospital of St. John (c. 1500, c. 1505-10);⁵⁴⁰ however, the interest of St. John's College in procuring organs of quality for the foundation is first displayed in two letters dated 5 and 12 May 1520.⁵⁴¹ In the first of these letters President John Smith informed Metcalfe in London that he had convinced twenty nobles 'to bye a payer of organs'. In the second of the letters to Metcalfe, Smith stresses the urgency of acquiring an organ: 'I pray yow let them [the organs] be good what so ever thei [*sic*] cost'. Apparently new organs were finally purchased in 1528 when a group of 'Sondry and divers marchannts of London gave emongist theyme [*sic*] x li towards the byeing of the newest Orgaynes'⁵⁴² for the college.

Despite the factional tensions building throughout the 1540s, as well as the induction of the Henrician Statutes in 1545, chapel music according to the Use of Salisbury seems to have remained in place, and the accounts confirm that organs were in use in the 1540s. In 1539/40 x s was paid 'for mendyng of the organs', and in 1547/48⁵⁴³ it is apparent that an organ was extensively overhauled:

'Item: [paid] to John how, organmaker of London, for mendying the organes and for glew, skynes and gymawys [*sic*], & for 4 yeres fo[llowing] (after 12d ye yere) and to

⁵⁴⁰ For c. 1500 see SJCA, D106/2, fols. 5v, 6r; for 1505-10 see D106/10, fols. 5r, 12v, 20r, 25v, 31v, and 39r. References recorded in Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 1. Provision for organs, St. John's College, Cambridge from the foundation (1511) to 1650, 573.

⁵⁴¹ Malcolm Underwood, former archivist of St. John's College, has dated these letters based on complex internal evidence.

⁵⁴² SJCA, C7/2, fol. 44v.

⁵⁴³ The *Bursars' Book*, I (D106/17) ends with the accounting year 1546/47. The *Bursars' Book*, II (D106/18) begins with the accounting year 1547/48. Ian Payne has dated this entry 1546/47, which appears incorrect.

hys sone that was with hym, vj s, x d'.⁵⁴⁴ 'Item to ye Joyner that made a roole [*sic*],⁵⁴⁵
off woode for the organs, viij d'.⁵⁴⁶

There are no precise clues as to the organ's size and disposition. The organ was driven by bellows, as indicated above as well as in payments in 1557. Not much more can be said of it.

The organist would have been expected to improvise on the plainsong contained in his organ antiphoner, one of which is recorded in the 1545 inventories;⁵⁴⁷ this was most likely *alternatim* performance, in alternation with singers in hymns and Magnificat, or as a soloist in antiphons, as the modest survivals of written-down organ music suggest. No organ book is mentioned for the Mass, but the organ may have been used in alternation for either the Ordinary or Proper of the Mass, or as a solo instrument at the Offertory.

Payne erroneously assumes that 'a payer of Organes' was almost certainly 'sold & delyvered' together with the chapel vestments and books between 1549 and 1552.⁵⁴⁸ He refers to the inventory of 'Instrumentes [not musical] belonging to the Chappell', which is part of the large three-part inventory taken on 15 January 1545.⁵⁴⁹ All items on the pages of the 1545 inventories are crossed through - presumably as a checklist for goods sold - with the exception of the 'payer of Organs' and 'a new covering to lye before the high aulter', which should suggest that the organs were spared.⁵⁵⁰ Payne concludes that the organ shared the same fate as the sold chapel items; however, if the organ were sold in 1551/52, then another was purchased at Mary Tudor's accession, for there are references to organists or organ blowers (in 1555/56 and 1556/57, see

⁵⁴⁴ SJCA, D106/18, fol. 32r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1547/48.

⁵⁴⁵ Both Ian Payne and I have transcribed 'roole', not 'roof' as one might assume. The letter in the text is clearly an 'l' and not an 'f'.

⁵⁴⁶ SJCA, D106/18, fol. 32r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1547/48.

⁵⁴⁷ The 'Antiphoner for the Organs' is listed in the inventory of 1545, SJCA, C7/2, fol. 102r.

⁵⁴⁸ Payne, 302.

⁵⁴⁹ 'The Inventorye of the books pertennyng to the Colledge taken die et anno Supradicti. Written in another hand later, presumably: 'in that all thes boks followyng were sold a° D. 1599'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 102r-103v.

⁵⁵⁰ See Vol. II, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 560.

below) and organ repairs in the accounts 1553-57. As there is no record of another organ being purchased, the 1528 organ must have been spared.⁵⁵¹

The 'pair of organs' referred to in 1528 was in use and repaired through the 1540s. Where was it placed? There are several theories proposed by various authors. In his account of the chapel organs, A.F. Torry felt convinced that the organ was placed in the room over Fisher's chantry, which was built between 1525 and 1533. The placement of the organ in a loft on the northeast side of the chapel reflects the manner in which Christ's College placed their organ 'a short time before', according to Torry.⁵⁵² Torry is referring to the great organ that Lady Margaret had transported from her chapel at Hatfield to Christ's College in 1507.⁵⁵³ Another source to identify the room over Fisher's chantry as an organ chamber is the Willis and Clark *Architectural History of Cambridge*:

The chantry communicated with the quire by three four-centered arches, of which the central arch is the widest. Each arch has a square head. Above the chantry there was a room, probably intended for an organ-chamber, like the room in a similar position at Christ's College. It opened to the chapel by a large arch, subsequently blocked, 10 ft. 5 in. high, and 7 ft. 11 in. wide, placed directly over the central arch below.⁵⁵⁴

Fisher was well acquainted with the chapel of Christ's as Visitor; in all likelihood Fisher imitated the structure at Christ's, placing his chantry in the lower level instead of the vestry at Christ's and placing the organ in the upper level. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, placing an organ upon a gallery at the northeast end of a chapel has a long tradition, as evinced by examples at Durham Cathedral and various university chapels, including New College and Winchester College.

⁵⁵¹ Payne incorrectly assumes that the Willis and Clark reference to an organ in the choir in 1557/58 cannot be traced. Not only can it be traced under 'Expensae necessariae', there is a payment for repairs to the bellows of the organ under 'Reparationes tenementorum Cantabrigiae et Domi'. SJCA, SB/4, fol. 83v. Under 'Reparationes tenementorum Cantabrigiae et Domi' in *Rentals*, 1557/58, third term.

⁵⁵² Torry, A.F. *Founders and Benefactors of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1888), 104.

⁵⁵³ Great organs from Hatfield were transported to Christ's, and replaced by organs from London. William Parker of Hatfield arranged their carriage and Robert Barton dismantled and re-set them at Christ's: 'Item to the same for money paid unto william parker of hatfeld for the carryage of the greyte organs from hatfeld unto Chrysts Collage, vj s, viij d'; 'Item paid unto Robert Barton at iij sondry tymes for the takyng downe of the organs at hatfeld (iij s, iiij d) and for the setting up of the same at Chrysts Collage (x s, iiij d) and for the takyng downe of the same organs and the setting up agayn (iiij s, viij d), [total] xvij s'; Household accounts of Lady Margaret, viij January xxij yere of [Henry VII](=1506) to the viij January of the xxij yere of [Henry VII](=1507). D91/19, 47; further facts regarding organs in SJCA, SJC, D91/19, 37, 44.

⁵⁵⁴ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, 283.

This method of placement also served as a space-saving technique;⁵⁵⁵ it would have proven ideal in the cramped chancel of St. John's. There would have been almost no space on the floor around Fisher's chantry due to the close proximity of stalls and a pulpit on the west and ritual stairs and possibly a 'sepulchre box' for use on Easter on the east. Further, the three arches practically met the eastern wall. Space on the south side of the altar would have been equally minimal with niches for the double piscina, aumbry, three ritual chairs for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, and Thomas Thompson's chantry altar vying for accessibility. And just west of Thompson's altar was the doorway to his chantry, which needed to remain unobstructed.

Charles Babington is another author to suggest the upper level of Fisher's chantry as a site for the organ, though he had certain reservations. Babington concluded that at St. John's 'it is difficult to discover any use for this room, with its fine open arch communicating with the quire, unless possibly an organ was placed in it'.⁵⁵⁶ Also, the *Prizing Books*⁵⁵⁷ describe the chamber at the time of its secularisation as 'the organ chamber'. The chamber's wood-beamed ceiling was plastered over, and glass was placed before the arch when the space was converted into an apartment for Leonard Pilkington in 1560/61. At this time the organ was without doubt removed (see below).

There remain two snags in the arguments of Torry and Babington. First, Fisher's chantry was not complete until 1533; therefore, where was the organ placed between 1528 and 1533? Second, according to Willis and Clark⁵⁵⁸ and Crook,⁵⁵⁹ no evidence of a staircase to this supposed upper level organ chamber exists.

With the loss of the chapel in 1868, the extent of later alterations to Fisher's chantry, and limited archaeological and pictorial evidence it is difficult to offer a definitive

⁵⁵⁵ Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 200-210.

⁵⁵⁶ Babington, *History of the infirmary and chapel of St. John*, 15.

⁵⁵⁷ The *Prizing Books* were maintained from 1606 and reveal much about the layout of the college, in particular, the college courts and their rooms and chambers. Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', 128. See above, Chapter Two, 64, nt. 241.

⁵⁵⁸ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, 242, 282.

⁵⁵⁹ Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, 17.

answer. The arch over the chantry chapel, in which the front of any organ placed there would have stood, was evidently part of the scheme for new Perpendicular-style windows in the eastern part of the chapel (three on the north and three on the south), completed and glazed by 1514.⁵⁶⁰ The absence of a staircase may simply mean that access was available from the old infirmary building (certainly the case after its subsequent conversion into a domestic room after 1559).⁵⁶¹ And while the chantry itself may not have been fully finished before 1533, the main structure, including the upper room, may well have been completed by 1528/29,⁵⁶² the year in which Fisher's tomb was purchased, thus allowing the organ to have been placed there from the outset.

Might there have been an alternative position for the organ other than in the northeast end of the chapel? Some authors like Alec Crook believe it to have stood on the rood loft; Crook defends the idea by stating that the rood loft was accessed by a staircase in Fisher's lifetime.⁵⁶³ As far as the placement of organs, though, Crook and Babington look at a pre-Reformation chapel through nineteenth-century eyes. The principal role of a screen or pulpitum during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was to provide a space for soloists to sing the Epistle, Gradual, *Alleluia*, and Gospel at Mass, and the responds that followed the lessons at Matins. Responsorial items, including the *Alleluia* and parts of the Gradual were, especially in the large choral foundations such as New College and King's College, occasions for polyphony. The evidence to support an organ on the screen at St. John's prior to 1635 is non-existent. First, there is no reference to an organ on the rood screen at St. John's in the college *Rentals* (i.e. financial accounts). Second, the available space for an organ and soloists on the very slender stone rood screen in the gothic arch dividing the antechapel and quire would have been negligible. Further, the purchase of a

⁵⁶⁰ Willis and Clark, vol. II, 283.

⁵⁶¹ In his forthcoming monograph on the organ in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Dominic Gwynn acknowledges the frequent absence of staircases to organ lofts and chambers in many churches and chapels and discusses the various means of accessing these spaces.

⁵⁶² Willis and Clark, vol. II, 282.

⁵⁶³ Crook describes a 'spiral staircase, which at first had an entrance from the quire side, probably giving access to a rood loft; this was substantially changed to the nave side by Fisher to give access to the organ loft...'. Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, 18.

lectern for 'the orgaines in the quere' in 1557/58⁵⁶⁴ appears to suggest that the organ stood in the chancel, though there is no indication of exactly where.

Though Eva Lilienfelde and I have attempted to depict two positions for the organ in our chapel reconstruction (one upon the floor in the northeast corner of the chapel and another in the upper level of Fisher's chantry), the most logical space for the organ remains the room over Fisher's chantry. Considering the dimensions of the chantry arch, we have chosen the Goetze & Gwynn St. Teilo organ to represent the early organ of St. John's chapel (see Vol. II, Supplement Two, Images 19 and 20).

A re-evaluation of the vocal and instrumental resources enhancing chapel worship at St. John's College through c. 1547

Fisher made no formal provision for polyphonic music or for an organ in 1516; however, by 1528, two to four *rectores chori*, a precentor, up to seven highly-trained ex-choristers from Tattershall and Southwell Minster, and possibly four boy choristers, as well as an organ and an organist (who was provided an 'organ antiphoner') were added to bolster Fisher's meager musical provision. Much of the improvement can be attributed to Nicholas Metcalfe. Metcalfe's interest in establishing a choral body may have infected Fisher; the addition of a choral leader (precentor) and *rectores chori* after 1524 in addition to the earlier requirement that the deans encourage choral rehearsal demonstrate Fisher's apparent interest in maintaining a group of singers more competent than those originally envisaged in 1516. The addition of the organ in 1528 brought yet another dimension to musical worship and the possibility of improvised polyphony and *alternatim* performance in hymns, canticles, and responds. Its use through 1547 proves that it had become an indispensable part of chapel services at St. John's. Further, in addition to the early requirement that the master, fellows, and scholars 'sing' at Mass and in various parts of the Office (Matins, Vespers, and Compline), Fisher added a new requirement in 1530: scholars were to be examined '*in cantu et letteris*'. This emphasises the

⁵⁶⁴ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 80v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58. This reflects the importance of the organ in the Latin rite during Mary's reign, and the payment coincides with others in preparation for Queen Mary's visit; the organ was no doubt being readied for the Mass celebrated for the Visitors in January 1557.

importance of mastering the chant deployed in the Mass and Office - an ability required of all fellows that became ordained priests.

As Fox's 1517 statutes for Corpus Christi College, Oxford, were found bound together with Fisher's 1524 statutes, one can assume that Fisher read Fox's statutes, observing Fox's more comprehensive choral provision; this may have influenced his decision to devote greater attention to his singers and add provision for a precentor and *rectores chori* in the 1524 statutes and the consequent 1530 recension. It is worth noting that Fox did not include provision for his two boy choristers in his 1517 statutes for Corpus Christi; might this have influenced Fisher, who omitted them as well in all his statutes from 1516 onward? Fisher would most likely have been aware of the addition of two choristers to Fox's statutes, by the latest, in 1528. Might this have prompted the addition of four boy choristers, as indicated in the inventories of 1545?⁵⁶⁵ Although there is no indication when they were added to the chapel staff, this may well have occurred during Fisher's lifetime. Though there is no specific reference to polyphonic music in the *Rentals*, by 1535 and beyond, the chapel certainly possessed the means to perform it. All this indicates a change of heart and mind on the part of Fisher in regard to the role of choral music and the use of the organ, particularly after 1524.

2. 1535-1547. Factors contributing to changes in ceremonial and musical embellishment of the Latin rite during the Henrician Reformation

In the spring of 1534 Cardinal John Fisher refused the Oath of Succession, the recognition of Anne Boleyn as Henry's wife, and the denunciation of the papacy, and was imprisoned in the Tower and executed.⁵⁶⁶ This was not just another public execution for treason and heresy - it was an event of international magnitude. Fisher, the greatest Catholic theologian in Europe, was the most prolific spokesman of the

⁵⁶⁵ 'iiij albs for children and viij amices'. Presumably, these were meant for choristers. SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106r.

⁵⁶⁶ Fisher's beautification and canonisation occurred in the late nineteenth century; it was not until 1935 that he could officially be considered a Roman Catholic martyr. Nevertheless, throughout the millennium-long history of the cardinalate, Fisher has been the only member of the Sacred College to suffer execution, as Eamon Duffy observes. Though Fisher never received word of his elevation and never wore the scarlet robes of a cardinal, he was in effect the only Cardinal that earned the right to wear the scarlet cassock, mozetta, and biretta - the symbols of a cardinal's willingness to shed blood for the sake of the Christian faith. Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*, 133-4.

traditionalists during Henry VIII's reign, not least in his unparalleled and influential invectives against Luther. Fisher's appointment by the pope as cardinal in May 1535 had been as much an act of gratitude for anti-Lutheran ammunition as a move to deter Henry VIII in taking Fisher's life. Unfortunately, the pope underestimated the implacability of Henry's fury, and his attempt to intimidate Henry did more to precipitate the execution of Fisher (and Thomas More) than to hinder it.

The international notoriety of Fisher's execution did little to garner him effective support from St. John's; any loyalty exhibited by the fellows during his imprisonment and execution on 22 June 1535⁵⁶⁷ began to dissipate a few months later after the royal visitation of the university and college in October 1535. The principal goal of the visitation was to enforce subscription to Henry's newfound royal supremacy from every individual. Its secondary goal, the repudiation of papal supremacy and control, proved a greater challenge. Papal authority was woven tightly into the college and university infrastructure, not only in Fisher's statutes, but in the university syllabus for scholastic study; the study of canon law as well as the scholastic theology so valued by Fisher were wed to Rome despite the integration of humanist methodology in the curriculum. The Visitors' injunctions abolished both the study of canon law and restructured the study of theology, just as they had in scholastically-oriented Oxford curriculums like that of New College; in theology lectures the Bible itself replaced the works of Duns Scotus, Peter Lombard's *The Sentences*, and other biblical commentaries that lay at the heart of medieval scholasticism.⁵⁶⁸

After the fellows subscribed to Henry's oath, wholeheartedly or not, an evangelical faction grew in strength. Disputes were inevitable and often volatile. A series of masters, including George Day (master, 27 July 1537 - 6 June 1538), who after an inconsequential few months as master of St. John's became provost of King's

⁵⁶⁷ Extant in the archives are letters from the fellows extolling Fisher's willingness 'to undergo tribulation for the sake of righteousness' and his firm belief that he 'please God rather than men'. Despite their show of morale, however, none of the fellows had the courage to follow Fisher's example and refuse to swear the new oath to the succession, 'and thus to recognize Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn and implicitly repudiate the papacy'. Lewis, *The Life of dr. John Fisher*, vol. II, 356-8; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 31.

⁵⁶⁸ For a comprehensive account of the university Visitations of 1535 see Logan, F.D. 'The first royal visitation of the English universities, 1535', *The English Historical Review*, 106, nr. 421 (October, 1991), 861-88; see also Rex, R., 'The crisis of obedience: God's word and Henry's reformation', *The Historical Journal*, 39, nr. 4 (1996), 863-94: 889; *idem*, 'The Sixteenth Century', 32.

College,⁵⁶⁹ and John Taylor (master, 4 July 1538 - 10 March 1546) added momentum to the early evangelical movement, which was still in its infancy in the years following Fisher's execution. An atmosphere of tension and division permeated the college; however, Richard Rex remarks that under Henry VIII the movement was 'eclectic and hesitant, not a thing of clear-cut party lines'.⁵⁷⁰ Members associated with early evangelism included: William Wellyfed, a nephew of Thomas Cromwell, who arrived to study law in 1536; John Cheke, who appealed to Ann Boleyn through her chaplain, Matthew Parker, for admittance and aid for his financially disadvantaged pupil, William Bill; and Robert Neville, future master of Trinity College, who made it a point to complain to Hugh Latimer on the dissension of certain fellows during the year after the visitation. Latimer remarked that St. John's was still subject to 'factions and affections';⁵⁷¹ the divided state of the fellowship prompted Thomas Cromwell to step in and lay down the law.

It was not only Latimer's comments that sparked the relentless scrutiny of Cromwell at St. John's College; the college was, after all, the offspring of Fisher's - now heretical - vision and spirituality. After his arrival as master on 4 July 1538 John Taylor initiated sweeping measures to rid St. John's of Fisher's memory; in particular, he concentrated on removing all his symbols from the chapel.⁵⁷² The 'fysches'

⁵⁶⁹ George Day had been a good Catholic fellow on Fisher's foundation in the 1520s, contributing Latin verses to one of Fisher's refutations of Luther. He was appointed the first Linacre lecturer in Physics in 1525 (see SJCA, M3/3. *Computus roll*, 1524/25). Like Robert Wakefield, Day switched allegiances during the divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, and became chaplain to the king. By 1537 he achieved high royal favour and became provost of King's College. Under Mary he changed colours once again, reconciling himself to the Catholic 'mother Church'. The protestant martyr, John Bradford, rebuked him for a readiness to conform under Henry, which he condemned as heresy under Mary Tudor. Day, apparently suffering bouts of conscience, stated, 'You were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world: but, I tell you, it was always against my conscience'. Foxe, J., *Book of Martyrs; or The Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church; A Complete History of the Lives, Sufferings and Deaths of the Christian Martyrs; from the Commencement of Christianity to the Present Period* (London: 1563), new ed. Malham, J., and Pratt, T. (eds.), (Philadelphia, 1856), Chapter VII, 176; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 36. Day was ousted from the provostship at King's in 1548 and replaced by the fervent evangelical John Cheke - another Johnian - after allegedly supporting the doctrine of transubstantiation.

⁵⁷⁰ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 36.

⁵⁷¹ From Latimer to Cromwell, 6 September 1527, in Latimer, H., *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer* (Cambridge, Parker Society, 1845), 381-2; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 35.

⁵⁷² Fisher's rebus, the fish and ear of corn ('fish ear': Fisher), was depicted ubiquitously in plaster and woodwork throughout the chapel. Accounts for the first term of 1540 record the following sums: 3d 'for takyn downe of Doctor Fyschers armes apon ye tumme'; 4d 'for takyng downe of the fysshes'; and 3s to a joiner for 'transformyng of the fysches'. SJCA, D106/17, fols. 56r, 66v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Bursars' Book*, I, 1540/41[?]; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 35.

(represented by dolphins) found at the end of every choir stall were, upon personal command of Cromwell, transformed into 'monstrous and ugly antiks'.⁵⁷³ The burial of Fisher's body within the college was forbidden by Cromwell and the Court on account of his sedition; his tomb was dismantled and his chantry chapel eventually converted into private apartments.

Also, following Fisher's execution, his magnificent library was rumoured to have been divided amongst Cromwell's comrades;⁵⁷⁴ according to François van Ortroy, an anonymous member of St. John's reported that in ransacking the books⁵⁷⁵ the king's commissioners 'trussed up thirty-two great pipes, besides a number that were stolen away...the poor college was now defrauded of their gift and all was turned another way...'.⁵⁷⁶ At first glance, this may refer to the removal of the organ, however, payments for organ repair between 1540 and 1548 and later between 1553 and 1558 indicate that the organ had remained in place.

Although St. John's College had been spared closure and restructuring during Henry VIII's dissolution and pruning of ecclesiastical establishments (1536-39), a new threat loomed over the college in 1545. 'An Act for dissolucion of Colleges' was passed that year,⁵⁷⁷ which empowered the king to appoint commissioners to take stock of college possessions and wealth. The revenues and goods of Cambridge colleges were to be recorded by a commission composed of Matthew Parker (vice-chancellor), John Redman (fellow, St. John's, 1530 and later master of Trinity College), and William May (master of Queen's College) and presented to the king. The result of the survey

⁵⁷³ Van Ortroy, F., (ed.), *Vie du bienheureux martyr Jean Fisher* (Brussels, 1893), 45; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 37; In honour of Bishop Fisher 'all the stalls' ends in queere...had graven in them by the joyner a Fish and an eereof wheat. But after he had suffered at London, my Lord Crumwell had the present figures put in their places'. Torry, *Founders and Benefactors*, 2.

⁵⁷⁴ For a detailed list of items pillaged by Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell see: Bailly, T., *The Life and Death of that renowned John Fisher Bishop of Rochester* (London, 1655), 185; 'Baker's History of the Statutes', in Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's College*, xix; Van Ortroy, *Vie du bienheureux martyr Jean Fisher*, 46, nr. 168, 316; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 32.

⁵⁷⁵ 'These commissioners...came to his librarie of bookes, which they spoiled in most pittifull wise, scattering them in such sorte as yt was amentable to beholde. for yt was replenished with such and so many kind of bookes, as the lyke was scant to be found againe in the possession of any one private man in christendome; and of them they trussed up xxxii great pypes, besides a number that were stollen away'. ['Quibus libris 32 magna vasa impleverunt praeter alios complures clam et furto ablatos...']. Van Ortroy, nr. 168, 316.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ Cooper, C.H., *Annals of Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1842), vol. I, 429.

showed that expenditures at St. John's exceeded its income by *c.* £70, indicating that the college was having great difficulty in making ends meet.⁵⁷⁸ The extensive inventories of Catholic liturgical books, vestments, and ornaments taken at St. John's in 1545 may suggest the intention to procure funds through the sale of these objects;⁵⁷⁹ however, because there are no monetary values attached to the items, the motivation appears more religious than financial - a reflection of the incipient enmity toward instruments of the Latin rite.

By the time Henry VIII intervened and delivered his statutes in 1545,⁵⁸⁰ the line of demarcation between evangelical and conservative factions was becoming clearer, and religious tensions were escalating; in Richard Rex's opinion the impetus for Henry's intervention and the imposition of his statutes of 1545 came from within the college.⁵⁸¹ The new statutes ignited bitter dispute among the members; during the heat of the battle, the fellows demanded John Taylor's 'involuntary resignation'. Taylor's frustration over religious factionalism within the college had apparently been building for several years, according to a letter to Henry VIII via Dr. William Butts, one the king's physicians.⁵⁸² In it Taylor pleads with the king for a prebendship in Lincoln, where he was already dean - a post he would gladly accept if he could relinquish his duties at St. John's.

In a demonstration of *via media* good will, Roger Ascham (1515 - 1568), the eminent Greek and Latin scholar, managed to maintain excellent relations with both evangelicals and conservatives at St. John's, though Ascham's father had warned him to leave the college and its religious controversies, perhaps discerning the explosive

⁵⁷⁸ Howard, H.F., *An Account of the Finances of the College of St John the Evangelist*, 22-4.

⁵⁷⁹ The inventories are discussed below, 158-9; they are itemised in detail in Vol. II, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 556-66.

⁵⁸⁰ After Henry VIII's divorce allegiance by the fellows to the pope and Rome could not be tolerated, making it necessary to compose new statutes. Under Master John Taylor the college, willing or not, was steered toward evangelism. Catholic fellows and scholars could no longer call upon their previous statutes in any form of defence, and, in Henry's mind, any alignment with the pope had to be substituted by that with the king. Any references in the statutes to the monasteries, such as Rochester, or to John Fisher (e.g. *exequies* or commemorations) were omitted. Further, the preference of fellows and scholars from northern England was also no longer acceptable.

⁵⁸¹ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 30-33.

⁵⁸² SJCA, D105/305. Letter from Taylor to William Butts, dated 31 October 1545; Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 122; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 44.

altercations to come.⁵⁸³ In the balance, the renowned Greek scholars Cheke and Ascham could be counted among the more musically tolerant evangelicals; this tolerance manifested itself in their royal pupils, Edward VI and Elizabeth I, respectively, and will be examined below. The stronger, increasingly anti-musical evangelicals were becoming clearer of mind and purpose; among them were Leonard Pilkington, Andrew Perne, Roger Hutchinson, Thomas Lever, and Roger Kelke, as well as James Pilkington and Robert Horne, two future ringleaders of protestant reform.

The conservatives were represented by: John Christopherson, future master of Trinity College; Thomas Watson, future master of St. John's under Mary Tudor; and George Bullock, fellow as of 1536 and future master of St. John's under Mary Tudor. Further conservatives included Alban Langdale, John Seton, and Richard Fawcett.⁵⁸⁴ After elections of the fellowship began increasingly favouring the evangelicals during the 1540s, Seton and Watson became strongly affiliated with the conservative Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; by 1548 both had relinquished their fellowships. By 1549 only seven conservatives remained and by 1550 even fewer. By this point the levers of power at St. John's rested firmly in the hands of the evangelicals.

Highly relevant to the musical discussion here is the fact that Cheke and Horne were to become figureheads in the Edwardine and Elizabethan Reformations, respectively; they were to effect legislation and injunctions that would firmly alter worship and music throughout England. These points will be examined below. Robert Horne and James Pilkington together with Laurence Humphrey and other Marian exiles were protestants of a more radical sort and would eradicate all remnants of the Latin rite, especially organs, particularly in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Horne, in his authoritative position as bishop of Winchester, could oversee a number of colleges as Visitor, including Winchester College and the Oxford colleges of New College, Corpus Christi, Magdalen, and Merton. Most Marian exiles appear to have been influenced by Heinrich Bullinger (1504 - 1575), perhaps the single most

⁵⁸³ Giles, J.A., (ed.), *The whole works of Roger Ascham, now first collected and revised, with a life of the author* (London, 1865), vol. I, 48; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 42.

⁵⁸⁴ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 42; For Langdale and Bullock see *ODNBO* (J. Wright and R. Rex, respectively).

destructive force to church music of the Latin rite during the Edwardine and Elizabethan Reformations.⁵⁸⁵ Bullinger's influence will be examined in detail below.

To summarise, a radical protestant force was brewing among the fellows of St. John's that would effect political and ecclesiastical change on a national scale; in this respect St. John's separated itself from other contemporary colleges. It is remarkable that a single college would produce such a large crop of brilliantly educated radical clerics; it is small wonder that St. John's would endure exhaustive purges of the music and rite of Salisbury under James and Leonard Pilkington. This will also be examined below.

A re-evaluation of worship, music, and the choral force at St. John's through c. 1547

If the chapel accounts and inventories are any indication of the musical sensibilities of John Taylor, then it is evident that a thorough castration of the Latin rite and its music was not a top priority during Taylor's purge of the chapel, perhaps supporting Richard Rex's argument that the evangelical movement at St. John's was 'eclectic and hesitant'. Though detailed inventories were made in 1545, Taylor made no alteration in the liturgy of the Latin rite during his tenure, nor did he remove regalia from the chapel; the accounts are rich in references to missals, graduals, processions, altars, vestments, and copes, though, as mentioned above, the new English Bible was procured in 1541 and Thomas Cranmer's *Litany* promptly purchased in 1544. The organ was also in use as repairs and renovation in 1540/41⁵⁸⁶ and 1547/48⁵⁸⁷ indicate. The ambivalent mix of contemporary protestant liturgical texts and liturgical texts (as well as regalia and music) of the Latin rite may represent Taylor's efforts to hold the volatile factionalism of his college in check.

⁵⁸⁵ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 49-60.

⁵⁸⁶ 'ffor mendyng of the organs, x s'. SJCA, D106/17, fol. 56r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Bursars' Book*, I, 1540/41. See Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 1. Provision for organs, St. John's College, Cambridge, from the foundation (1511) to 1650, 573.

⁵⁸⁷ See Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 1, 573.

On the whole, the statute Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', of the Henrician Statutes (1545) adheres to the liturgical and ceremonial conventions of the Latin rite, intact through the reign of Henry VIII. Like Fisher's Statutes of 1530 greatest attention is paid to Sundays and feast days when the whole of the college community - the master/president, fellows, and scholars in surplices is expected to be present in chapel for all the principal services from first Vespers on the day before a Sunday or feast to Compline on the Sunday or feast day itself. Requirements designating officiants at services has already been outlined earlier in Chapter Two. As in Fisher's statutes there is no detailed list of feasts, however, a distinction is made between greater and lesser feasts; all feasts are inferred by the general blanket coverage of the Use of Salisbury. This implies one hundred full days in the year, together with the preceding afternoon for first Vespers and Compline. There is no mention of services on workdays other than the morrow Mass. In contrast to Fisher's statutes, which make no mention of seating, the Henrician Statutes require members (*discipuli*, fellows, pensioners) to take the same places in the quire according to seniority. Of the benefactors to be remembered, Lady Margaret Beaufort remains primary, though King Henry and his son, Edward VI, are also to be remembered in prayers and collects. The statute also directs quarterly services (Office of the Dead, Requiem Mass) for Lady Margaret to be celebrated as well as a Mass for her anniversary (on 2 or 3 July). After listing the sums paid to those attending the commemorative services for Lady Margaret the statute directs the names of benefactors to be engraved on plates and affixed to three altars.

Other statutes within the 1545 set are clearly intended to amend those of Fisher's 1530 statutes. First, they make adjustments to the number and provenance of members outlined by Fisher's statutes and eradicate provision for Fisher's chantry priests. They provide for a master and twelve seniors, five more than Fisher provided. In the 1530 statutes a slight distinction is made between fellows (*socii*) and probationary fellows (*scholari*), which reflects the distinction made by Fisher's mentor, Richard Fox at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. This may suggest the influence of Fox and the endearing similarities in the statutes of both colleges. Henry's statutes, in contrast, ignore the distinction. For example, in the instructions for singing on feast days and Sundays the 1530 statute 'De Cultu Dei' continues to

mention the '*scholari*' ('*magister, socii scholares*⁵⁸⁸ *et discipuli decantent*') while the 1545 statute omits them ('*magister, socii, ac discipuli decantent*').⁵⁸⁹ In the 1545 statutes Lady Margaret's earlier stipulation of provenance from the nine northern counties is no longer in effect. Henry VIII's 1545 statutes also omit the chantry priests for Fisher. In the earlier statutes four fellows and two scholars (*discipuli*) were provided for in the name of Fisher (with intercessory duties of celebrating chantry Masses in his chapel) and twenty-two for the foundress, Lady Margaret. Under Henry's statutes there were thirty-two fellows and twenty-four scholars, and all were chosen in name of the foundress, none for Fisher - an example of the purposeful rejection of Fisher by Henry VIII and the St. John's evangelicals.

In an indeterminate moment after Edward VI ascended the throne, a scribe went over the Henrician Statutes, erasing, underlining, and scratching out all references to the Mass and to John Fisher. For example, the original text of the 1545 statute 'De Cultu Dei' directs the Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass '*in crastino*' (on the day following) to be celebrated quarterly for the foundress, Lady Margaret; however, the words '*missa de requiem*' have been scratched out, apparently at a later date.⁵⁹⁰ The original text also directs an additional Mass '*in crastino*' (on the day following) to be celebrated for the anniversary of the foundress (2 or 3 July); in this passage '*cum missa in crastino*' has been erased. After this point all further references to the Mass ('*missae*', '*missis*', '*missam*') are erased. In both the 1530 and 1545 sets of statutes the sacrist's duties allude to tending to the chapel and altars ('*sacellum et altaria*'). In the original manuscript of the 1545 statute '*et altaria*' appears to have been underlined at a later date for possible omission, evidently the work of an Edwardine or Elizabethan scribe. In the 1545 statute 'De Cultu Dei' a new clause is added: the sacrist was to preach at least once a quarter.⁵⁹¹ Despite the rejection of Fisher and Rome and the

⁵⁸⁸ In the Henrician (1545) and Elizabethan (1580) statutes the phrase '*pacto tria illa promoveantur quae pientissima fundatrix a sociis scholaribus ac discipulis*' is used; it lists Lady Margaret's three main goals.

⁵⁸⁹ Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 88; Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 89-90.

⁵⁹⁰ They appear to be scratched out with a sharp object, a knife perhaps. Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', in Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 93.

⁵⁹¹ Henry VIII's statutes, which Taylor instituted, instruct the sacrist, aside from his common duties of preserving the books, vessels, and other furniture and procuring wine, to preach at least once a quarter. '*...et conciones quasdam adhortatorias, aut unam saltem, singulis anni quartis in sacello...*'. Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 79.

various new elements addressing membership and duties of preaching, the Henrician Statutes (1545) suggest the tolerance of Henry VIII and Master Taylor toward Catholic conventions and the Latin rite. Alterations made to the manuscript suggest the change of theology and liturgical practice that characterised the college after Edward VI ascended the throne.

Further emendations made to the statute Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', in the statutes of Henry VIII (1545) are indicative of a rising evangelical tide: these emendations take the form of marginal notes added to the statute at a later date and tend to reflect post-1549 liturgical practice and ceremony. They first appear in the margin at the point in which the original 1545 statute assigns the celebration of greater and lesser double feasts to specific individuals (master, seniors, fellows). The marginal notes direct Sundays and feasts to be celebrated with 'Matins, litanies, synaxes, and vespers'; the master or his deputy is to celebrate the service, which is to be attended by himself, the fellows, scholars, and pensioners and sizars on Sundays.⁵⁹² Whereas the original text of the 1545 statute directs a morning Mass to be celebrated at 6 a.m. by a senior fellow, the marginal notes, added later, direct 'common prayer' to be said at five o'clock in the morning on weekdays; the service is to be celebrated by a member who has attained a status higher than Bachelor of Arts and who is assigned weekly.⁵⁹³ As in the original 1545 text, a commemoration for the foundress is to be held on the second or third of July, as prescribed by the Visitors with sums to be distributed for attendance.⁵⁹⁴ The marginal notes state that at all services, including those on feast days and vigils, members are to take the same places in the quire according to seniority. The use of surplices and hoods of silk or leather, depending on academic standing is retained in both the Henrician Statutes and the attached marginal notes.

⁵⁹² 'Singulis quibusque Dominicis, tum statim ['statis' in Stat. Eliz (1580)] festis diebus, matutinas, litanias, synaxas ['synaxes' in Stat. Eliz] vespervas ['vespertinas' in Stat. Eliz (1580)], magister, socii ac discipuli reliquique in collegio studiosi, sive pensionarii sive sisatores fuerint, pie et disincte in Dominico quod sacellum vocant celebrent temporibus idoneis per magistrum aut eius vicarium quem vices gerentem vocant assignandis'. Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', which makes reference to the later Elizabethan Statutes (1580). Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 91, 97.

⁵⁹³ 'Singulis autem profestis diebus ad communes preces habendas ad locum communem audiendum omnes, tam socii quam reliqui omnis generis, in Dominicum hora quinta conveniant. Has autem preces, locum et synaxim singuli qui supra gradum baccalaureatus artium sunt, quisque ordine suo hebdomadatim vel celebret, vel per alium celebrari curet'. Mayor, 97.

⁵⁹⁴ 'Huic magister si plene intersit, sex solidos et octo denarios habeat; praeses quinque solidos; singuli ex sociis eodem modo tres solidos et quatuor denarios; discipuli eodem modo singuli unum solidum: pauperibus quatuor solidi distribuuntur'. *Ibid.*

Finally, replacing the 1545 stipulation that the names of benefactors be engraved upon '*tabellas*' affixed to three altars, the marginal notes order their names to be written beautifully on two plates or boards to be exposed on view in the chapel.⁵⁹⁵

To summarise, chapel services after the arrival of the Henrician Statutes of 1545 retained the structure and liturgical practice of the Latin rite, including the use of three altars. The services continued to be celebrated by the same four chapel ministers⁵⁹⁶ designated by previous sets of statutes. The Henrician Statutes still required singing in the Mass and Office according to the Use of Salisbury by the entire college,⁵⁹⁷ and the ij s spent 'ffor mendyng the Rectors Stooles' in 1544/45⁵⁹⁸ confirm the continuation of the choir rulers' duties during moments of the ritual. This reflects Henry's wish to stay in touch with the ceremonies and music of the Latin rite despite excising all references to Rome, the Pope, and to Fisher. The marginal notes added to the Henrician statute 'De Cultu Dei' of 1545 outline services reflecting evangelical/protestant worship following the accession of Edward VI. Morning 'common prayer' foreshadows Mattins of the Prayer Book service and the implementation of '*preces matutinas*' during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I at various choral establishments, including New College, Oxford.⁵⁹⁹ The closure of Tattershall College in 1545 would mean the omission of the three specialist singers provided by Thomas Thimbleby's foundation scholarships, limiting the number of highly trained ex-choristers 1545-47 to the four provided by the Keyton benefaction.

⁵⁹⁵ 'Illorum omnium nomina in duabus tabulis pulchre describantur, et ex unoquoque latere infimi Dominici una affigatur, ut tam illorum benefacta hominibus per nos pateant, quam alii illorum beneficentia provocati libentius conferant ampliora. *Ibid*.

⁵⁹⁶ The chapel remained attended by a sacrist (a fellow) and three others (scholars). One of the scholars acted as subsacrist and another maintained the clock and rang the large bell in the morning and evening. In contrast to Cap. XVII, 'De cultu Dei', with its extensive marginal notes, Cap. XVIII, 'De numero et officio Ministrorum Sacelli', appears to have remained largely unaltered during the reign of Edward VI.

⁵⁹⁷ The 1545 statute, 'De cultu Dei', directs services on Sundays and feasts, Matins, sprinklings with holy water ('aspersionem aquae benedictae'), processions, Masses, and vespers and compline to be sung by the master, fellows, and *discipuli* distinctly and devotedly according to the Use of Salisbury at times appropriated by the master. '...iuxta morem et ordinem antiquum ecclesiae Sarisburiensis magister, socii scholares, et discipuli ['socii, ac discipuli' in Stat. (1545)], decantent intra sacellum'. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 88-9.

⁵⁹⁸ SJCA, D106/17, fol. 217r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Bursars' Book*, I, 1540/41.

⁵⁹⁹ 'Precibus matutinis', or 'preces matutinas', the protestant transformation of the Catholic 'missa matutinale', continued to be celebrated at New College during Mary Tudor's reign; payments for it are recorded under a separate heading in the 'Solutio' section of the *Computus Bursariorum* (e.g. 'Portio celbrantis preces matutinas, lij s'. NCA, 7540. Under 'Solutiones' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1565/66). The payments begin in the first decade of Elizabeth I's reign, continuing to 1654/55 (designated most always 'precibus matutinis') and most likely through the end of the Interregnum.

3. 1547-1553. Radical alterations in chapel music and ceremony under the tenures of William Bill (1546-1551) and Thomas Lever (1551-1553)

At the specific request of the Duke of Somerset, in his capacity as Lord Protector,⁶⁰⁰ William Bill succeeded John Taylor as master of St. John's on 10 March 1547 (some six weeks after the death of Henry VIII). With the election of Bill, one of the college's most ardent evangelicals, factionalism within the college peaked, and St. John's was transformed into a theological tinderbox. No topic generated more controversy than the doctrine of transubstantiation; debate within the college soon enveloped the entire University, in turn triggering further discussion on a national scale. It was the rebuke of the veneration of consecrated bread as the body of Christ during the elevation of the consecrated wafer at a Mass at St. Paul's by fellow Thomas Dobbe in 1547 that first ignited vehement discussion at St. John's.⁶⁰¹ This set off a chain of debate culminating in two debates on transubstantiation held in London, November and December 1551.⁶⁰² St. John's was well represented at the

⁶⁰⁰ Rex attributes this to the presence at Court of Bill's brother, Thomas, whose role as royal physician provided him easy access to Edward VI and Somerset. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 44.

⁶⁰¹ In December following Dobbe's rash behaviour at St. Paul's, Thomas Lever and Roger Hutchinson (a senior since 28 March 1547) felt compelled to address the question of whether the Mass was the Lord's Supper in their college disputations. Catholics argued that the celebration of the Eucharist at Mass was a sacrifice, whereas Lever, Hutchinson, and other protestant theologians considered the 'Lord's Supper' a memorial service. The debate grew out of the college into the university arena, and a further debate occurred in the Old Schools. Rex believes this to have been organised by Catholics hoping to 'set the record straight'. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 46.

⁶⁰² The issue of transubstantiation was of central importance to the Edwardine and Elizabethan Reformations and ecclesiastical polity. The debates were described by John Strype as 'two disputations, or rather friendly conferences', though their influence, particularly upon the *Second Book of Common Prayer* (1552), was formidable. Strype, J., *The life of the learned Sir John Cheke, kt: first instructor, afterwards secretary of state to King Edward VI* (Oxford, 1821), 69. A complete transcript of both disputations (with commentary) is written by Strype on pages 69-86. On 25 November and 3 December 1551 the two-part debate addressing the sacrament was held in the London homes of William Cecil and Richard Morison. The debates were organised as an academic disputation based on the dialectic procedure of university debates and involved men of the Cambridge circle, many now members of the ascendant party at Court; these included evangelical members like Cecil, John Cheke, Robert Horne (at the time dean of Durham), David Whitehead, and Edmund Grindal, then one of the king's chaplains. St. John's fellows, John Feckenham, John Young, and Thomas Watson defended the Catholic stance; with the presence of Cheke, Horne, and Watson, St. John's was well represented. Though a supporter of evangelical reform, John Madew, vice-chancellor of the University and president of St. John's, forbade the second disputation. This was met by violent reaction in the university and inspired Roger Ascham to compose a treatise on the subject - the first representation of his protestant beliefs. In a letter to William Cecil, Ascham asked whether he should dedicate the work to Protector Somerset or to John Cheke. Ascham, *Apologia pro coena dominica contra missam* (London, 1577); Ascham to Cecil 5 January 1548: Ascham, R., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, vol. I, Giles, J.A., (ed.), (London, 1864, 1865), 157; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 46.

London debates. John Cheke and Robert Horne, among others, argued for the evangelicals; the traditionalists included Thomas Watson, the first master of St. John's under Mary Tudor (master, 1553-54).⁶⁰³ The polarity among members of St. John's present at the debates illustrates the divided nature of the college and the progressive beliefs of prominent fellows.

The unfortunate gap in the accounts 1550-1555 makes a complete record of Edwardine iconoclasm and Marian restoration at St. John's College, Cambridge, impossible; however, as Rex observes, the gap in the records 'is itself an eloquent testimony to the disruption of institutional life...'.⁶⁰⁴ A group of payments in the *Rentals* through 1548 demonstrate a relatively sluggish move toward reform and surprising patience on the part of the reformers. Payments for the repair of vestments and the binding of a gradual occur in 1546/47, and the washing and mending of altar clothes, albs, and the washing of the 'veyle' (covering for the pix?) are recorded in 1548/49.⁶⁰⁵ In addition, there are the payments for the overhaul of the organ in 1547/48 mentioned above.⁶⁰⁶

The fact that the 'payer of Organes'⁶⁰⁷ at St. John's was left standing between 1548 and 1553 supports the argument that the removal of organs was not a top national priority during Edward's reign. This is further emphasised by the fact that the organs of King's College during the same period were left standing. At the time, St. John's distinguished alumnus John Cheke was provost of King's College (1549-53), Secretary of State, and continuing tutor to Edward VI.⁶⁰⁸ This contributes to W.K. Jordan's observation of the relative tolerance of the Duke of Somerset and the

⁶⁰³ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 48.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁵ SJCA, 106/18, fol. 87v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1548/49.

⁶⁰⁶ See above, 139-40.

⁶⁰⁷ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 103v.

⁶⁰⁸ Cheke returned to tutor the king during the pivotal years of the Edwardine Reformation (1549-1552), while provost of King's College and Secretary of State. Although others in Edward's court extended influence over the king, it was Cheke's uniquely intimate role as tutor that engaged trust and respect; Cheke was 'always at his [Edward VI's] elbow, both in his closet and in his chapel, and whereelse he went, to inform and to teach him'. Strype, J., *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke, Kt. First Instructor, afterwards Secretary of State to King Edward VI. One of the great Restorers of good Learning, and true Religion in this Kingdom* (London, 1705), 22.

Edwardine regime toward remnant Roman Catholics and certain trappings of the Latin rite.⁶⁰⁹

The lethargic change of religious gears and the tolerance suggested above was followed by more aggressive behaviour, illustrating the increasing momentum of the Edwardine wave of reform. According to Baker, the evangelicals 'had overthrown the mass in their disputations... the host was removed, and the pyx that hung over the altar was cut down'.⁶¹⁰ The scandal, which achieved infamous notoriety in government circles, forced the intervention of Roger Ascham, who mediated between the college and Archbishop Cranmer.⁶¹¹ Despite religious tensions, the damaged pyx was preserved in the revestry until at least 1563.⁶¹² Edwardine iconoclasm is further suggested in payments for the retrieval or rebuilding of the chapel's altars in 1556/57 and 1557/58:⁶¹³ they appear to have been removed and/or demolished during Edward's reign.

Three inventories of regalia, furniture, and liturgical books associated with the Latin rite taken in 1545⁶¹⁴ were scrutinised by evangelicals during Edward VI's reign; the

⁶⁰⁹ Throughout the period in which Thomas Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of Edward VI, dominated affairs of state, Roman Catholic dissent was treated with consistent moderation as long as it remained essentially Henrician; above all, Roman Catholics were to accept the cornerstone of ecclesiastical policy, the Act of Supremacy. A powerful group of traditionalist bishops remained ensconced in Parliament, expressing opposition in voice and votes in the House of Lords to measures effecting a reformed Church, and remained, with the exception of Bonner and Gardiner, undisturbed by the new regime. Both Cranmer and Somerset were prepared to accept the gradual and unforced promulgation of the reformed service. One of Somerset's fatal decisions was to allow Princess Mary to celebrate Catholic Mass in her chambers. Jordan, W.K., *Edward VI: The Young King. The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London, 1968), 209, 219.

⁶¹⁰ The pyx had been cut by a young, French protestant refugee by then name of Joseph, a servant to Robert Stafford, one of the college's noble fellow-commoners. According to Baker, a full account of these events is recorded in Ascham's *Epistles*. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 125.

⁶¹¹ The evangelicals were represented by Lever, who was given the chore of taking Joseph to London to appear before the Privy Council [see SJCA, 106/18, fol. 43r. Under 'Expensae necessariae'], while payments to George Bullock and William Barker for trips to London may suggest their attempts to defend the traditionalist faction. The incident is recounted in detail in: Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 49.

⁶¹² 'a broken pixe' is noted in the 1562/63 contents of the revestry made by Master Leonard Pilkington and the senior bursar, perhaps suggesting that it was kept for its monetary value. SJCA, C7/2, fol. 131r.

⁶¹³ See below, 167.

⁶¹⁴ The three inventories are recorded as follows: a) 'A true Inventorie of all Juells, goods ornaments' is made in a^o Dm. Regis henrici octavi xxxvj et xv Die Januarij (15 Jan 1545)'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 101r, 101v. The list includes ten chalices, two candlesticks, cruetts, two paxes, a crosse, a 'book of the gospels with Christ sitting in iudgement on the one side & Christ upon the crosse & Mary and Joseph on the other side...'; b) 'The Inventorye of the books pertening to the Colledge taken die et anno

removal and possible sale of a vast number of items, in particular music liturgical books of the Latin rite, appear to have been planned. This is indicated by two means: first, by additional notes in a separate hand listing the sale of liturgical books added to the heading of two of the inventories⁶¹⁵ and second, by the fact that all items (with the exception of the organ) are crossed out. A further inventory was taken in 1552 again and consisted of metal ceremonial regalia, ecclesiastical textiles, and liturgical books.⁶¹⁶ All the inventories appear to represent an effort to rid St. John's of all vestiges of the Latin rite. The inventories can be examined in greater detail in Volume II (see Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64).

According to Rex, Catholic liturgical books were burned in great bonfires in 1550 and 1551;⁶¹⁷ however, some books may have been retained and others newly purchased during the Marian restoration of the Latin rite. This is indicated by comparing the inventories of 1545 with those of 1553/54,⁶¹⁸ 1562/63,⁶¹⁹ and 1563/64,⁶²⁰ as well as by examining the 'Expensae Ecclesiae' of the *Rentals* from

Supradicti. Written in another hand - later, presumably: 'in that all thes boks followyng were sold a^o D. 1599'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 102r-103v. A vast inventory of liturgical books and wooden objects and an adjoining inventory of textiles including vestments and chapel furnishings follows and appears written in the same hand (at the same time?) as the previous 1545 inventory; 'The Invetorye of the vestments & copes pertennynge to ye said colledge Die et Anno Supradicti [i.e. mentioned above]' to which is added in another hand in darker ink: 'and that all thes boks followyng were sold and delyvered a.D. 1551 et a.D 1552'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 104r-108v. An enormous collection of chesables (ten) and other vestments, (c. twenty-eight), copes (over one hundred), and other cloths, tunicles, albs, canopies, altar cloths, and hangings. They were richly decorated and contained finely crafted floral and religious imagery. Some exceptional vestments appear in later inventories. For greater detail see Vol. II, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 561-5.

⁶¹⁵ One states, 'in that all thes boks followyng were sold a^o D. 1599' and the other: 'all thes boks followyng were sold and delyvered a.D. 1551 et a.D 1552'. See above, inventories b, c.

⁶¹⁶ 'Certain Stuff of Laken mettall In the revestry a^o d 1552'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 109r, v, 110r. For a detailed list of contents see Vol. II, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 561.

⁶¹⁷ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 48.

⁶¹⁸ 'A trewe inventorie of all Jewells & ornaments belonging to ye chapel of S. Johns Colidge in cambridge maid ye xxii day of Januarye in ye first & second yere of Philip & mary [1553/54, 1554/55] by ye grace of god kynge & quene of Englande Fra[n?]ce &'. SJCA C7/2, fols. 119v-121v.

⁶¹⁹ 'A trewe Inventorie of all the stuffe belonginge to the Revestrie made the xth day of Marche Anno Dmi 1562 of Regni Regine Elizabeth quinte By M^r Leondarde Pilkinton M^r [Master] and Mr Baronsdale The Senior Bursar'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 130r-131r. A substantial collection of vestments, copes, altar cloths, ij corporas, and old corporas. For a detailed list of contents see Vol. II, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 564-5.

⁶²⁰ Another 'trewe Inventorie of all the stuffe belonging to the Revestrie made the viij Day of March Anno Dm 1563 Et Regine Elizabeth sexto. By Magistro Longworthe presydant Magistrs Baronsdale et winter the bowsers. Magisters Troydall & Dawbney the Deans and delyvered to Magistro Dawbney sacrista'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 134r, 134v. William Baronsdale (Barnesdale) acted as senior bursar from

1554 to 1558. At least a portion of the vestments and ornaments sold fell into the hands of University Registrar, John Mere.⁶²¹ Rex suggests that in 1552 some of the revenue generated may have been used to purchase the new, more protestant and anti-musical *Second Book of Common Prayer* (1552).⁶²² Aside from the items listed above, gold and silver given by Lady Margaret, Fisher, and other benefactors were removed as was much of the chapel glass; this is indicated by payments for new regalia, including 'sensors', as well as glass during Mary Tudor's reign.

With William Bill at the helm of St. John's, a thorough purge of the liturgy and ceremony of the Latin rite was inevitable; the liturgical alterations made at St. John's by Bill, a fervent evangelical with strong royal affiliations, occurred almost simultaneously with those being made at the national level by Edward VI and his ministers. Early in 1548 the college bought copies of the Royal Injunctions of September 1547 together with Cranmer's protestant *Book of Homilies* (1547). Cranmer's *Homilies* were embraced immediately by a significant number of St. John's members; these men became part of an eighty-strong force, which was licensed by the national government in the summer of 1547 to preach anywhere in the kingdom. The list included Dr. Bill, the new master, and the president, John Madew, as well as four current and three former members.⁶²³

The principal texts of Edwardine worship, including communion books, psalters, Prayer Book, and Great Bible are present and accounted for in the 'Expensae Ecclesiae', 1548-1550. During the second term of 1548/49 two communion books are purchased for viij d, which can be compared to a similar purchase a year earlier at New College.⁶²⁴ An altruistic anti-war cry is reflected in another entry in 1548/49: j d is spent 'for the boks of praer for peace betwxyxt thys realm and Scotland'.⁶²⁵ In the

1560/61 to 1564/65. John Daubney succeeded him as senior bursar in 1565/66. Howard, *An Account of the Finances of the College of St John the Evangelist*, 282.

⁶²¹ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 48.

⁶²² *Ibid.*

⁶²³ Knighton, C.S. (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, the Reign of Edward VI*, (London, 1992), no. 74; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 44.

⁶²⁴ 'So[lutum] pro libello de communione, ii d'. NCA, 7513. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursaiorum*, 1547/48. This suggests compliance with the new service for communion, later outlined in the ensuing 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*.

⁶²⁵ SJCA, D106/18, fol. 87v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1548/49. Wars between England and Scotland that had plagued the first two years of Edward's reign had, according to Edward's

final quarter of the year (in the spring of 1549) the stationer is paid *iiij s* for '*iiij ynglyshe psalters*',⁶²⁶ suggesting either the deployment of *Prayer Book* psalters for singing to the old unwritten plainsong formulae or simply reading the Psalms in English. Also included is a payment of *iiij d* 'for a prymer in ynglyshe' [*sic*], most likely a copy of the King's Primer (1545) - effectively a revised book of hours, or as Richard Rex describes it, 'Cranmer's halfway house'.⁶²⁷ In 1549/50 references to the 'newe service' clearly indicate the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*.⁶²⁸ Another series of payments in 1549/50 allude to a new English Bible;⁶²⁹ of note: '*viiij newe psalters after the translation of the bible*', purchased for *xxj s*. Although the accounts for 1552/53 are missing, it can be inferred that the college acquired the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*, especially in light of Cheke's royal and local influence in Cambridge, in particular, his influence at St. John's.⁶³⁰ Further, Cheke was a significant contributor to the 1552 Prayer Book:⁶³¹ the deployment of this new order of worship at the University of Cambridge (and indeed throughout the realm) would have been a matter of course.

The relative tolerance of the Duke of Somerset and the regime toward remnant Roman Catholics was demonstrated at the Royal Visitation of Cambridge in 1549; the retention of organs at both St. John's and King's is further indicative of the

'Chronicle', ended by An. D'ni 1549 [1550]: 'Peace concluded between England, France, and Scotland...that we shall not war with Scotland, except new occasion be given...'. Jordan, *The Chronicle of King Edward VI*, item 24, 21. The 'boke of praer for peace' is recorded during the second term of 1548/49, which coincides approximately with Edward's entry. Edward goes on to record in item 30: 'A sermon in thanksgiving for peace, and Te Deum sung' in 'April, An. D'ni 1550'. Jordan, *The Chronicle of King Edward VI*, 23. Later in December 1551: 'Peace concluded between the Emporer and the Scots'. *Ibid*, 50.

⁶²⁶ SJCA, D106/18, fol. 88r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1548/49.

⁶²⁷ The 'Primer' was the canon of the Mass. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 47.

⁶²⁸ A payment is recorded 'to Skarlet for ij books of the new Service bound in parch[ment], viij s' at the outset of the second quarter and another at the outset of the third quarter is made 'for a booke of the newe Service bounde in parchment, iij s, iiij d'. SJCA, D106/18, fol. 142r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1549/50.

⁶²⁹ The references allude to the Great Bible of 1539, ordered placed in all churches under Henry VIII's regime. See above, 129.

⁶³⁰ John Cheke was one of the five appointed Visitors at the Royal Visitation of Cambridge, 6 May 1549. Subscription to the newly issued Prayer Book and the older *Book of Homilies* was required of all. All were also required to take the Oath of Royal Supremacy and denounce the bishop of Rome. Cheke read aloud, word for word, the contents of the 'Book of the New Statutes', signed by the king and his council. Papists were accused, though none of the Catholics lost their fellowship. In a letter from Cheke to Bullinger in June 1553 Cheke praised the achievements of England in religion and good learning and spoke of them all as if they derived directly from Edward himself. He sent on to Bullinger a copy of the *Forty-Two Articles*. Needham, 'Sir John Cheke at Cambridge and Court'. 268-270, 353.

⁶³¹ Although Bucer's influence was strongest, Cheke's contribution was notable. Needham, 350.

relatively conservative stance of evangelicals in Cambridge during Edward VI's reign. Conservative views on worship and music can be further illustrated by the works and careers of St. John's fellows, John Cheke and Roger Ascham. Cheke's views may be reflected by the provision for music in public worship in *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (1551/52), while Roger Ascham's attitudes toward music are illustrated in *Toxophilus* ('Lover of the Bow'), dedicated to Henry VIII and published in 1545. It was the didactic role of music - particularly training children in plainsong and polyphony - that interested Ascham (see below). For a member of the evangelical faction at St. John's this was unusual; such liberal attitudes toward music prove a marked contrast to the views of more radical evangelical fellows like James Pilkington and Robert Horne, who returned after the accession of Elizabeth I to expunge elaborate music and organs from English churches.

After Cheke's meteoric rise from revolutionary Greek lecturer to tutor to Edward VI and Secretary of State, he was strategically positioned to effect political and ecclesiastical change on a national scale;⁶³² the planned reforms would have consequences for the new liturgy and its music. Archbishop Cranmer had long been planning a new, sweeping codification and reform of canon law, which also included comprehensive directives for music in public worship. The result was the *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (1551/52). In his 'Chronicle' Edward VI mentions the work, which was co-authored by Archbishop Cranmer, Peter Martyr, Walter Haddon, and John Foxe and penned by Cheke.⁶³³ The *Reformatio* made relatively conservative provision for music, foreshadowing the injunctions of Elizabeth I; particular stress in

⁶³² Cheke's influence on Edward VI - not only in his classical education but in the king's views on religion - was estimable. It is evident that Cheke took the opportunity to influence the mind of the young prince in the realm of religion; evangelical homilies filled many of their letters, most of which leaned heavily toward protestantism. The diaries of Edward VI provide evidence not only of his great esteem for Cheke, but of his own evangelical predilections. Contrary to popular belief, the young king was not merely the puppet of strong evangelicals such as Cheke and others, but held his own religious opinions. Bryson, A., 'Cheke, Sir John (1514 - 1557)', *DNB*, 3; Jordan, *The Chronicle of King Edward VI*, 3.

⁶³³ In February 1552 Edward records: 'Commission was granted out to thirty-two persons to examine, correct and set forth the ecclesiastical laws'. Those appointed in the king's list included not only Sir John Cheke, but former master of St. John's, John Taylor (bishop of Lincoln at the time). The remainder of the list included eminent divines (Peter Martyr, Richard Cox, almoner, Matthew Parker, later Archbishop of Canterbury) and bishops (Cranmer, Goodrich, Ridley, Ponet, Coverdale, Barlow, Hooper, and Scory), as well as civilians and lawyers. The reform and codification of the canon law had been urged by Archbishop Cranmer for some time; this work, executed primarily by Cranmer and Martyr, was completed by the end of Edward's reign but never achieved the status of law. Jordan, *The Chronicle of King Edward VI*, xii-xiii, 110.

the *Reformatio* is laid on the intelligibility of sung text. After repudiating the 'vibrato and elaborate music' fashionable at the time (i.e. prior to Edward VI's accession) the *Reformatio* recommends that the texts rendered by the ministers and clerks be clearly understood by the 'hearers' (i.e. the people/congregation), who themselves take part in small portions of the divine services, the first of which is the Psalms; the congregation is also to sing in the Creed, Gloria, and the Ten Commandments.⁶³⁴

In divinis capitibus recitandis, & Psalmis concinendis, Ministri & Clerici diligenter hoc cogitare debent, non solum a se Deum laudari oportere, sed alios etiam hortatu & exemplo & observatione illorum ad eundem cultum adducendos esse. Quapropter partite voces & distincte pronuntient, & cantus sit illorum clarus & aptus, ut ad auditorum omnia sensum, & intelligentiam proveniant Itaque vibratam illam, & operosam Musicam quae figurata dicitur, auferri placet, quae sic in multitudinis auribus tumultuatur, ut saepe linguam non possit ipsam loquentem intelligere.

In reciting of the divine chapters and in the chanting of Psalms the ministers and clerks should carefully consider the fact that not only should God be praised by them, but others also should be led to the same worship by their exhortation, example, and observation. For this reason, let them pronounce the words methodically and distinctly, and let their chanting be clear and connected so that all things may attain to the feeling and understanding of the hearers. Therefore, it is determined that the vibrato and elaborate music, which is called fashionable, be removed. It causes such disturbance to the ears of the multitude that it is often impossible to hear the very language of those speaking.

Tum auditores etiam ipsi sint in opere simul cum Clericis & Ministris certas divinarum officiorum particulas canentes, in quibus Psalmi primum erunt, annumerabitur fidei Symbolum, & gloria in excelsis, decem sollemnia praecepta, ceteraq; hujusmodi praecipua religionis capita, quae maximum in communi fide nostra pondus habent: hiis enim piis divini cultus exercitationibus & invitamentis populus seiptum eriget, ac sensum quendam habebit orandi, quorum si nullae nisi auscultandi partes sint, ita friget & jacet mens, ut nullam de rebus divinis vehementem & feriam cogitationem suscipere possit.⁶³⁵

Furthermore, the hearers themselves are to have a part in the work together with the clerks and ministers. They will chant certain small parts of the divine services, the first of which will be the Psalms. The Creed will be added and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Ten Commandments of God and other special points of religion of this kind which have the greatest importance in our common faith. For with these pious exercises and inducements of the divine worship, the very people will be aroused and will possess a certain feeling for Prayer. If this amounts to nothing but to listen quietly, the mind will be chilled and dulled in such a way that it will be able to form no ardent and serious thought about divine matters.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁴ See translation printed on this page.

⁶³⁵ Chap. 5, 'De Sacrarum lectionum pronuntiatione, & Psalmorum cantu' in 'De Divinis Officiis'. Cranmer, T., *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (London, 1551/52) reprinted in: *England and Wales: Commissioners on Revision of Ecclesiastical Laws 1550-1552*, Londini, Anno Dom. M. DCXLI [1641], 85-6.

⁶³⁶ Chap. 5, 'The Reading Of Sacred Lessons And The Chanting Of Psalms', in 'Concerning The Celebration of Divine Offices'. Cranmer, T., *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, British Library, Harl.

One can argue whether or not the musical provision in the *Reformatio* would have provided greater leeway to church music than the terse directives of the 1552 Prayer Book. In any case, the death of Edward VI in the summer of 1553 impeded further efforts to have the document ratified by Parliament; despite a series of failed attempts to revive the *Reformatio* after the accession of Elizabeth I, Cranmer's comprehensive reform - for better or worse - never achieved the status of law.

Archbishop Cranmer and his ecclesiastical circle were not alone in their desire to retain music in worship: the king himself reserved a role for music in the liturgy, which is hardly a surprise in light of his enthusiasm for music in a secular context. Edward VI was musically gifted,⁶³⁷ and the chamber accounts reveal a vibrant musical climate at Court. In March 1549 monthly stipends are recorded for seventeen instrumentalists, mostly foreigners, the majority of which were Italian. There are also payments to two 'singing men', eight minstrels, and five interlude players.⁶³⁸ Of particular note is the presence in Edward's court of Thomas Sternhold, who 'rendered his great metrical version of the Psalms to him'⁶³⁹ and dedicated the second edition (1549) of the Sternhold-Hopkins psalms⁶⁴⁰ to the king. Therefore, in light of the king's musical tastes and the musical parameters set out by the *Reformatio* one may conclude that Cranmer, Cheke, and king did not envisage a musically castrated service - as did Ulrich Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger on the Continent - and intended services to include music, albeit in a simplified form, for congregational use.

MSS 426. Translation from Latin, Spalding, J. K., *The Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws of England, 1552* (Kirksville, Missouri, 1992), fol. 71v (original), 121 (translation).

⁶³⁷ Edward was instructed in the lute by the Flemish musician, Philip van Wilder. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, 42.

⁶³⁸ Collier, *Trevelyan Papers*, pt. i, 197, 200; *ibid.*, pt. ii, 22-24; Jordan, *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power*, 20.

⁶³⁹ Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, 42.

⁶⁴⁰ *Al such Psalmes of David as Thomas Sternehold late grome of his maiesties robes did in his lyfe tyme drawe into English metre.* "This second and enlarged edition was dedicated, in a four-page preface, to King Edward VI, and a pretty story is told of the young king's interest in the verses. The delicate and gentle boy of twelve heard Sternhold when "singing them to his organ" as Strype says, and wandered in to hear the music and listen to the words. So great was his awakened interest in the sacred songs that Sternhold resolved to write in verse for him still further of the psalms. The dedication reads: "Seeing that your tender and godly zeale dooth more delight in the holye songs of veritie than in any fayncd rymes of vanytie, I am encouraged to travayle further in the said booke of Psalmes." Earle, A.M., *The Sabbath in Puritan New England* (New York, 1891), 174-5. Available at Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/sabbathinpuritan00earliala>.

In the same way that Cheke was able to influence national reform through his association with Edward VI, Roger Ascham was in a similar position to effect change through his education of Elizabeth I. Not only did he imbue her with a first-rate classical education,⁶⁴¹ he encouraged her in the art of music. As Jonathan Willis has noted 'the process of transmission and reception of religious doctrine, practice and sentiment' occurred 'through individuals' interactions with music'.⁶⁴² In this sense Roger Ascham's education of the sixteen-year-old princess Elizabeth at the royal household at Cheshunt had a more direct musical influence than that of Cheke upon Edward VI. We know that Elizabeth received training on the virginal and that she became an accomplished player;⁶⁴³ she also played the lute. Ascham shared with the princess an affinity for music, having been personally encouraged in music by Hugh Fitzherbert, his own tutor at St. John's. In *Toxophilus* ('Lover of the Bow'),⁶⁴⁴ published in 1545 at the beginning of his career, Ascham expresses his regret at the decay in contemporary musical standards:

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the bringing vp of children than musicke is, both Galen proueth by authoritie and dayly vse teacheth by experience. For euen little babes lacking vse of reason, are scarce to well stilled in suckyng theyr mothers pap, as in hearynge theyr mother syng.⁶⁴⁵

Toxophilus is in effect a subtle discourse on contemporary political and religious views, and a substantial defence of the teaching of singing - both plainsong and pricksong - to children.⁶⁴⁶ These values may well have been inherent in Ascham's education of Elizabeth, which could explain Elizabeth's fondness for elaborate vocal music. Her forty-ninth injunction (1559), which guaranteed to all her protestant

⁶⁴¹ During Ascham's two years as Elizabeth's tutor, the queen read the entire works of Cicero, among a great number of other Latin works, and every morning she reputedly read from the Greek New Testament as well as Sophocles and Isocrates. Ascham also introduced her to the works of Melanchthon and Cyprian.

⁶⁴² Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 163.

⁶⁴³ A Venetian virginal owned by Elizabeth I is now housed in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Museum Nr. 19-1887).

⁶⁴⁴ *Toxophilus* was a groundbreaking work that combined Ascham's passion for archery with creative allegory. This treatise on shooting the long bow was cast in the form of a dialogue between two students: Toxophilus, a figure representing Ascham, and Philologus, a figure representing John Cheke. While out on a walk Philologus is surprised to find Toxophilus reading a book rather than shooting his bow. The work so pleased Henry VIII that Ascham was rewarded a pension of ten pounds a year. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 42, 69.

⁶⁴⁵ Ascham, R. *Toxophilus* (1545), republished, Arber, E. (ed.), (London, 1869), fol. 11, 41-2.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

subjects the right to sing before and after the service/sermon, merely suggested the minimum of musical requirements within her own Chapel Royal; there she was able to pursue at will her love of Latin and the 'plainsong and pricksong' encouraged by her tutor, Ascham.

4. 1553-1558. The revival of pre-Edwardine worship under Thomas Watson (master, 1553-1554) and George Bullock (master, 1554-1559)

With the accession of Mary Tudor all injunctions and new statutes given to the universities in the name of Edward VI were struck, and the *status quo* at the time of Henry VIII's death was resumed. Under the wishes of Stephen Gardiner, who was immediately restored to the chancellorship of Cambridge University, his chaplain, Thomas Watson, former fellow of St. John's, became master of the college.⁶⁴⁷ Watson brought with him a copy of John Fisher's 1530 statutes, which appear to have governed the college and chapel under Mary Tudor's reign.

Many Cambridge and Oxford colleges had carefully preserved pre-Edwardine regalia and furniture, including organs. Although the preservation of the organ and various ceremonial objects, vestments, and liturgical books is indicated by the chapel inventories of 1545, 1553/54, 1562/63, and 1563/64,⁶⁴⁸ the evangelical Bill/Lever regime took its toll, and St. John's lost a substantial portion of its chapel ornaments and service books. Therefore, it became a priority during the 1550s to re-beautify the chapel and replenish lost ritual items. Thanks to the efforts of Master George Bullock, some of the chapel items handed over to 'closet protestant' John Mere⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Gardiner replaced the duke of Northumberland as chancellor. While preoccupied with matters of state, he sent Watson, his chaplain, to Cambridge to make his instructions for the university known. Watson was elected master of St. John's on 28 September 1553. Gardiner to the University, 25 August 1553: Muller, J.A., (ed.), *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), 456; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 49.

⁶⁴⁸ See above, 158-9, nts. 614-16, nts. 618-20.

⁶⁴⁹ Mere was also a close friend of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, during the reign of Elizabeth I. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 54. In Cambridge and Oxford, various items, including books, survived the Edwardine purges, having been bought by shrewd profiteers such as Garbrand Herkes in Oxford; Garbrand Herkes, the Dutch stationer and bookseller and father of New College fellow, John Garbrand, was 'a lover of antiquity, who when the College Libraries were rifled of their MSS in the visitation of Ed. VI.th Commissioners, with his son, recovered & kept divers of them divers years'. NCA, *Registrum Custodem*, fol. 133r.

were returned after a turbulent course of events, including Bullock's excommunication.⁶⁵⁰ Profiteers such as Mere or Garbrand Herkes in Oxford exploited the Marian revival of the Latin rite, reselling books and church items; the sacrists of St. John's, for example, were forced to re-purchase old copes, which were mended and restored.

Steps to restore ritual items of the Latin rite and beautify the ceremony are recorded in 1555/56; changes made earlier are impossible to ascertain due to missing accounts. The 1555/56 *Rentals* record the restoration of altars;⁶⁵¹ the rood is set up,⁶⁵² which suggests that rood figures had been removed during Edward VI's reign. Silver and gold items are replenished: for example, the goldsmith is paid *iiij s, iiij d* 'for chains to two paire of sensers and for making them fyte'.⁶⁵³

The queen's visitation in January/February 1557 appears to have unleashed particular fervor⁶⁵⁴ and the desire to celebrate the restored liturgy and music of the Latin rite in pomp and *éclat*. Once again the altars are given attention, especially the high altar,

⁶⁵⁰ After Bullock legally demanded from Mere various 'ornamentes' of which the college had been 'shamefully spoyled', Mere lodged a counterclaim with John Young, former St. John's fellow and the vice-chancellor, stating that Bullock's recourse to the queen's courts infringed university privileges. Bullock was excommunicated as a result. However, after Stephen Gardiner, the chancellor of the university, came to defend Bullock (perhaps because Bullock appeared as a witness on his behalf during proceedings that resulted in the loss of Gardiner's bishopric of Winchester) Bullock was absolved; Young was then ordered to arrange a compromise settlement to return the chapel items and compensate Mere. Gardiner to Young, 17 June 1554: *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, 469; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, 225-6; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 52.

⁶⁵¹ In 1557/58 there are several payments referring to the high and low altars: 'Itim to goldeborowe for ij tables for ij alters, xx s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 76r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58, first term.

⁶⁵² The joyner was paid *ii d* in 1555/56 for 'setting up ye Roode'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 17r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1555/56.

⁶⁵³ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 17r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1555/56, fourth term. The 'sensors' are referred to later in the 1562 inventory of the revestry: listed are 'iiij payer of sensers of brasse'. SJCA, C7/2, fol. 131v.

⁶⁵⁴ The queen's visitation was held under the authority of Cardinal Pole. The college appears to have made great attempts to beautify the chapel in preparation for the visit; the great amount of ecclesiastical regalia purchased or repaired during the first term of 1556/57, including 'three greate torches bought at the visitation', may reflect the college's efforts to display itself in Catholic pomp and glory upon Mary Tudor's arrival in Cambridge in January 1557. On the morning of 20 January 1557 the Visitors (with the exception of Pole) arrived at St. John's and attended a Mass of the Holy Spirit. Lamb, J., (ed.), *A Collection of Letters, Statutes and other Documents from the MS Library of Corpus Christi College...* (London, 1838), 206-7; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 53. The investigation of St. John's proceeded the following day, and though the college was not completely free of factionalism, it produced little dissent. Bullock, who was on agreeable terms with the Visitors, was required to show them inventories of fellows' and scholars' personal libraries.

and significant sums are spent on components such as crucifixes and the pyx.⁶⁵⁵ Of note is 'a table [i.e. retable] of the passion of chryst for the hye alter', purchased prior to the queen's visit in January 1557 for xxxiiij s, iiij d.⁶⁵⁶ Also of note is the attention given to the restoration of John Fisher's chantry chapel.⁶⁵⁷

An opulent new collection of copes and vestments is purchased in 1556/57; Master Bullock was personally involved in the acquisition.⁶⁵⁸ The acquired vestments and copes, as well as additional hangings, and silver and gold regalia, are all splendidly described in the account entries of SB4/1 listed above and in new inventories of 1553/54 and 1554/55. The contents are in part re-confirmed by inventories of the 'revestry' taken in 1562/63 and 1563/64. All this suggests a splendour rivaling that of pre-Reformation years.

Following the reinstatement of Fisher's 1530 statutes by Master Watson, one might assume that musical practice, including the use of the organ and vocal resources prior to 1547, would resume. This in part depended on the membership - in particular, upon the retention of old (musically trained) members. As Rex has noted, Fisher's statutes gave the master and seniors power to expel fellows on the mere suspicion of heresy; this precipitated the most pronounced turnover of the membership in the college's history. The total fellowship varied between forty and forty-five at the outset of Mary Tudor's reign, and by the winter of 1553 it was just about halved; in 1554

⁶⁵⁵ In the first term of 1556/57 xxiiij s, xj d was 'in Spanishe money geven to the Goldsmythe by Magistro Willan to make a pixe to the highe Aultar'. Silver was also added for ix s, j d. There was also xiiij s spent 'for gilding of the pixe...'. In 1557/58: 'Item for iiij papers [for the a' is crossed out] of crucifixes for ye alters, xvj d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 76r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

⁶⁵⁶ This indicates an altarpiece depicting Christ's passion. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 76r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58, first term.

⁶⁵⁷ A table was also set up in Fisher's chapel: 'Item to bell for settinge up the table in my lord of Rochesters chappell and making a pece of the frame [Rex suggests a board with writing painted on it, probably to record his benefactions to the college and possibly to recount his martyr's death. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 54.] newe, viij d' and 'Item for fetchynge of it from Goldesborowes nayles & tenter hooks, vj d'. SJCA, SB4.1, fol. 80r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58. During the second term iiij d was spent 'for ij hundred tenter hooks for ye alters'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 80v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

⁶⁵⁸ 'two Coopes of blewe velvet embreded with golde' are listed among a group of vestments purchased 'in london by our Master the price thereof vj li, xiiij s, iiij d'. The purchase is recorded during the second quarter of 1556/57, suggesting that it may have been made in preparation for the queen's visit. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 44r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1556/57.

twenty-one new fellows had been admitted.⁶⁵⁹ How many of the old and new fellows were former choristers trained in plainchant or polyphony remains unknown; however, some of the old members may have been recipients of the Keyton and Thimbleby scholarships (this is an area that requires further investigation).

Examination of the *Rentals* between 1555 and 1558 (SB4/1) indicate that the organ was back in use during Mary's reign. Evidence of the use of the organ in the chapel is reflected in a group of payments: payments to organists (or organ blowers), a payment for a lectern for the organ, and another payment for repairing the bellows of the organ. In 1555/56 'Diall' is paid x s in the first and second terms '*pro organis*'.⁶⁶⁰ There is no payment recorded for the third or fourth terms. It remains unclear if Diall is the organ player or blower, for his name is listed among the servants. The following year (1556/57), again under '*Stipendia servientium*', 'Domino Woode' is paid vj s, viij d for the first term, xij s, iiij d for second, and the same for the third term '*pro organis*'.⁶⁶¹ No payment is recorded for the fourth term. Payments for Diall or Woode are not resumed in 1557/58, although the use of the organ is indicated in the purchase of a lectern and for a repair to the bellows.⁶⁶² Neither Diall nor Woode are listed in the *College Register* SJCA C3/1, suggesting that they were not members of the fellowship or scholarship; their inclusion among the servants tends to suggest that they operated the bellows. The organist, as was the case prior to 1547, was drawn from the membership; he was most likely one of the trained ex-choristers from Southwell Minster or Tattershall College. As there were no more fresh recruits from Southwell or Tattershall during Mary Tudor's reign, Diall and Woode may, alternatively, have been waits capable of playing the organ, as was the case with Richard Gibbons⁶⁶³ in 1642/43.

The next mention of the organ occurs in 1557/58. A payment under '*Expensae necessariae*' near the end of the third term records: 'Item for making a lecturne for ye

⁶⁵⁹ The twenty-one fellows of 1554 are listed in the *College Register*. Eleven new fellows are listed in 1555 and seven in 1556. SJCA, C3/1, *College Register*, 137-8.

⁶⁶⁰ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 16r. Under '*Stipendia Servientium*' in *Rentals*, 1555/56.

⁶⁶¹ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 43r. Under '*Stipendia Servientium*' in *Rentals*, 1556/57.

⁶⁶² See Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 1, 574.

⁶⁶³ Richard Gibbons may be a relation to Orlando Gibbons. See below, 225.

orgaines in the quere, iij s'.⁶⁶⁴ The sole repair made on the organ during Mary Tudor's reign is recorded during the same term: 'Item for iiij Irons for ye bellows of ye orgaines, xvj d'.⁶⁶⁵ These payments may suggest that the organ was in use during the Mass held the morning of 20 January 1557, when the Visitors (with the exception of Pole) arrived at St. John's and attended a Mass of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁶⁶ The lectern purchased for the organ in the quire is significant in that it provides a concrete clue as to the organ's location in the chapel. The extra expense for the lectern may also indicate the wish to 'pull out all the stops' for the Visitors; the 'organ antiphoner' mentioned in the 1545 inventory was most likely placed upon the lectern so that the organ could alternate with the singers in chant or polyphony and thus duly impress the Visitors.

The performance of plainchant is confirmed in the liturgical books listed in the *Rentals* 1555-58; these include antiphoners, graduals, hymnals, and processioners.⁶⁶⁷ Of special note is the enormous sum of iij li, xiiij s, iiij d made 'to goodmand Watson for a faire Antiphoner bound in whyte lether'.⁶⁶⁸ A book of such cost was practically unheard of: this must represent an item of great need to the college. This is most likely the expensive 'faire Antiphoner' in the Old Library (SJCL, MS 263). Though its provenance can be traced to Spain, how exactly it came to the college cannot be determined. The presence of Queen Mary in Cambridge in February 1557 was feted and eagerly awaited at St. John's; it may be that Philip II, Mary's Spanish husband, and/or his connections played a role in the acquisition of the volume, though this is speculation.

⁶⁶⁴ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 80v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

⁶⁶⁵ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 83v. Under 'Reparationes tenementorum Cantabrigiae et Domi' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

⁶⁶⁶ Lamb, *A Collection of Letters*, 206-7; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 53. See above, 167, nt. 654.

⁶⁶⁷ A missal and a 'new grail prynted in parchment [*sic*]' are purchased in the fourth quarter. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 17v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1555/56. The largest group of liturgical books purchased is recorded in the summer of 1558. A payment of vj li, xiiij s, iiij d is paid to William Allen for two more antiphoners and a 'messe book, hymnal and presssioners [*sic*]'. Finally, 'a grayle bound in whyte' is purchased for xv s, another mass book in parchment for vj s, viiiij d, and another antiphoner for iij li, v s. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 76r, v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

⁶⁶⁸ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 76r, v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

The richly illuminated text and chant melodies noted in the Spanish antiphoner (SJCL, MS 263)⁶⁶⁹ may provide us a glimpse of the music sung in daily services at St. John's during Mary Tudor's reign; its acquisition - together with the collection of processions and other liturgical books purchased or acquired - and the maintenance of the organ demonstrate the efforts of Master George Bullock and the college to restore choral music to St. John's. SJCL, MS 263 represents part of one section of a complete antiphoner - the Common of Saints, in which chants for different classes of saints are compiled (as opposed to chants for an individual saint, which would be in the Sanctoral). The magnitude of the complete antiphoner becomes apparent when considering that the Common of Saints is the smallest section of the antiphoner; the Temporal and Sanctoral are three to four times more substantial. And this Common does not appear complete. SJCL, MS 263 provides for only two services in the day: Matins and Lauds, generally sung one after the other. There appears to be have been another book for Vespers.

SJCL, MS 263 contains chants for five feasts.⁶⁷⁰ Their ordering is significantly different to that of the apposite chants found in the Sarum Antiphonal, and the contents are divergent. A comparison of the first section illustrates what is common to both SJCL, MS 263 and the Sarum Antiphonal, what is distinct, and what of SJCL, MS 263 is found elsewhere in the Sarum Antiphonal. The Sarum Antiphonal is ordered in a specific manner.⁶⁷¹ In a comparison with two Breviaries (one of 1474, the other post-Tridentine) the order of chant melodies given in SJCL, MS 263 is closer to the post-Tridentine, with only one Responsory different.

⁶⁶⁹ I am very grateful to John Harper, who has taken time to analyse the contents of SJCL, MS 263 and graciously provided me with his results.

⁶⁷⁰ 1. Feasts of Confessor Bishops (fols. 1-28). 2. Feasts of Virgins (fols. 28-56) - including alternative provision for virgin martyr and virgin not a martyr. 3. Feast of the Dedication of a Church (fols. 56-78). The placement here is unusual - it is normally found at end of the Temporal or beginning of the Sanctoral. 4. Feast of several Martyrs in Eastertide (fols. 78-99) again with alternative provision for single martyr. 5. Feast of Apostles in Eastertide (fols. 99-104) specific items only, since others are found elsewhere in the book.

⁶⁷¹ 1. Common of Saints in Eastertide: Apostles or Evangelists; One martyr or confessor; several martyrs or confessors. 2. Common of Saints outside Eastertide: Apostles; one martyr, for which there are several categories; several martyrs (several categories); Confessor Bishop; Confessor Abbot; Confessor; several confessors; one virgin martyr; one virgin not a martyr; several Virgins.

Finally, SJCL, MS 263 accords so little with the Use of Salisbury that one questions the purpose this volume served. It may be possible that St. John's found it acceptable to digress from the Use of Salisbury. Or perhaps in their need to acquire new service books, which were not as abundant as they were prior to 1547, the college used every opportunity to replenish their waning stock of choral books, even if they did not correspond entirely to the Use of Salisbury. The large size of the volume may indicate that the small group of skilled singers at St. John's lacked individual chant books and therefore stood around the antiphoner to perform the liturgical chants. Alternatively, this great book may have been used by the rulers and soloists. The items in the antiphoner are plainsong melodies in mensural notation. Given the potential of the singers (see below) they may have been capable of elaborating on the chants in *faburden* and *descant*; however, in contrast to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the larger foundations, there are no explicit references to polyphony in the accounts between 1553 and 1557.

Unfortunately, the sources for highly trained singers had vanished by the outset of Mary Tudor's reign: the choirs of Tattershall College and Southwell Minster had been dissolved in 1545 and 1549, respectively,⁶⁷² casualties of evangelical reform. However, it is likely that ex-choristers of Southwell and Tattershall that sang prior to 1547 were still present among the membership.⁶⁷³ Unfortunately, their names cannot be traced as easily as at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where examination of the college register and the 'Vestes' and 'Stipendia' sections of the accounts provide a valuable method of tracing choristers and following those that became members of the foundation. Further, the *College Register* at St. John's begins with the year 1545; it offers no record of members between 1511 and 1545. The two Keyton scholars listed in the *College Register* and Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, Thomas Wilson (matriculated pensioner from St. John's College, 1544) and Richard Sampson (matriculated pensioner from St. John's College, 1548) appear to have remained on the foundation. Further research is needed to determine whether Wilson or Sampson or other pre-1549 Keyton scholars studied and were trained musically at Southwell.

⁶⁷² Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 302.

⁶⁷³ The *College Register* lists the admission of three Keyton scholars between 1545 and 1549 and two in 1549. SJCA, C3/1, 190-200.

As observed earlier, there is also evidence in the 1553/54 inventory of possible choristers; 'iiij albs & iij amyses for boys'⁶⁷⁴ suggests that choristers may have been involved in chapel services. The albs and amices in the 1553/54 inventory appear to be the same ones listed in the 1545 inventories.⁶⁷⁵ Further, the reference to 'boys' and 'children' clearly refers to individuals not counted among the foundation members; 'boys' or 'children' in other contemporary records, such as Lady Margaret's chapel accounts, almost always designate choristers. Therefore, in light of possible ex-chorister members from Southwell and Tattershall still present among the members and the four boy choristers suggested above, the potential to sing improvised and possibly composed polyphony appears to have existed during Mary Tudor's reign.

5. 1558-1587. The ascendancy of protestant values and the limitations placed upon liturgical music

The reversal of religious gears at the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 was no less drastic than that under her Roman Catholic sister, Mary. The restoration to the statute book of the royal supremacy and the *Book of Common Prayer* were the two essential objectives of Elizabeth's first parliament; her views on music in the liturgy were expressed in the forty-ninth article of her injunctions given in 1559.⁶⁷⁶ As in previous monarchies, the compliance of the universities - the source of future political and ecclesiastical leadership - was vital. In the summer of 1559 royal commissioners descended upon Cambridge. With the exception of one man, the commissioners were all Cambridge graduates, three of them former fellows of St. John's,⁶⁷⁷ and several were to rise as stars in the protestant firmament. Five of the commissioners had been deprived of headships or fellowships during Mary's reign and went about their task ruthlessly.⁶⁷⁸ Among them was James Pilkington, who imposed Calvinist doctrine upon St. John's College and aggressively reordered the chapel, its liturgy, and its music.

⁶⁷⁴ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 121r.

⁶⁷⁵ 'iiij albs for Children & viij amises'. SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106r.

⁶⁷⁶ See above, Chapter Three, 107, nt. 431.

⁶⁷⁷ James Pilkington, Robert Horne, and William Bill.

⁶⁷⁸ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 58.

Two of the most powerful and influential figureheads of the commission included William Cecil, (later, the Lord Burghley),⁶⁷⁹ who after Elizabeth's accession had almost immediately been appointed chancellor of the University (1559-1598), and Matthew Parker, the new archbishop of Canterbury (1559-1575). Cecil's principal duties as Elizabeth's Secretary of State and advisor required the prowess of a formidable statesman and constant attention. His frequent role as mediator in large and small Cambridge University disputes drew equally upon his reserves of tact and diplomacy.⁶⁸⁰ As a former scholar of St. John's, Cecil expressed a continued interest in the well-being of his *alma mater*, St. John's; however, the 'volatile mixture of religious zeal and personal ambition' that exploded at St. John's during Elizabeth's reign was to tax his peacemaking capacities to the limit.⁶⁸¹

Master George Bullock was ejected by the commissioners from the mastership and the Lady Margaret professorship of divinity after refusing to take the Oath of Royal Supremacy; later at Durham, where he held a prebendship, Bullock declared before another set of commissioners that, 'the bisshope of Rome hath and ought to have the iurisdiction ecclesiasticall within this realme' and that 'the sea of that bisshope was the sea Apostolicke'.⁶⁸² His adamant views and actions against the Elizabethan regime drove him overseas to Antwerp, where he eventually completed and published his concordance of the Bible (1572).

A comprehensive purge of the fellows⁶⁸³ and scholars⁶⁸⁴ occurred after James Pilkington assumed the mastership of St. John's on 20 July 1559; as was the case in

⁶⁷⁹ Admitted to St. John's, 1535; left Cambridge, 1541 for Gray's Inn. 'Cecil, William', in Venn, J., *Alumni Cantabrigienses (ACANTA)*. Throughout his political career Cecil remained extremely supportive of St. John's College, his *alma mater*.

⁶⁸⁰ Alford, S., *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven & London, 2008), 12-23; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 58.

⁶⁸¹ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 58-9.

⁶⁸² Kitching, C.J., (ed.), *The Royal Visitation of 1559: Act Book for the Northern Province*, (Gateshead, 1975), 25; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 59.

⁶⁸³ Of the thirty-seven fellows present during the first days of Elizabeth's reign, only eighteen remained a year later. Of the nineteen departures, one came about by death and five occurred due to career moves. Seven fellows were expelled. A detailed list of college membership at the time of the 1559 visitation allows us to reconstruct an accurate image of departures, expulsions (which included President Thomas Willan) and various matriculations. One martyr of note was the canonised Richard Gwyn (later 'White', the Anglicised version of his name), who after returning from exile as a schoolmaster, was tortured, hanged, drawn, and quartered in Wrexham in 1584 for attempting to convert Welsh people to Roman Catholicism. 'A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mr.

numerous Cambridge and Oxford colleges, Roman Catholic fellows took refuge in Continental havens like Louvain and Douai. This would have consequences for the body of singers that had been built up during the tenures of Taylor and Bullock, by this time accustomed to performing the plainchant repertory of the Latin rite in *alternatim* with the organ.

Fervent puritans of the Elizabethan era regarded the universities as the incubator for a dynamic new clergy, which would preach in thoroughly reformed cathedrals, parish churches, and chapels. No one realised this better than James Pilkington (master, 1559-61). His chapel reforms - as well as those of his brother and successor, Leonard Pilkington (master, 1561-64) - purged the college of all remnants of the Latin rite.

James Pilkington: 'buyldynge Gods house'

Upon his return from the Continent, James Pilkington devoted part of his energy into building a platform for Calvinist theology based upon biblical justification. The chapel of St. John's provided a practical opportunity to realise his particular vision of a Calvinist church: at the very time he was composing his invectives against Rome and the Catholic Church, he was purging St. John's of all vestiges of the Latin rite, in particular, the ceremony and music associated with it. Drawing upon the Scriptures and concentrating on the Prophets Haggai (Aggeus) and Obadiah, he wrote and preached a sermon entitled *Aggeus the Prophete declared by a large commentary*,⁶⁸⁵ which he delivered at St. Paul's in 1561. The principal themes of the sermon centre on

Richard White, Schoolmaster', *The Rambler*, III, part VII (May 1860), 233-48, 366-88; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 59.

⁶⁸⁴ Richard Rex's research has shown that below the level of the fellowship at St. John's, the ability to determine expulsions and matriculations becomes difficult; no regular records of the college scholars and pensioners survive from this time. One recently matriculated scholar, William Clibburn, reputedly called Elizabeth 'a rascal'; as his name is never again found in college records, he was most likely expelled. Another scholar, John Rames, is listed among the Catholic refugees at Louvain in 1566. Cambridge University Archives, College I.7. 'Joannes Reyms, Anglus, in theologia' (18 June 1566) in *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, IV, 710; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 60.

⁶⁸⁵ Pilkington, J., *Commentary on the Prophets Haggai and Obadiah* (London, 1562), reprinted in Schofield, J., (ed.), *The Works of James Pilkington, BD, Lord Bishop of Durham* (London, 1842). An original copy has also been used in this study: Pilkington, J., *Aggeus the Prophete declared, by a large commentary*. Imprinted at London by Wylliam Seres the .2. of September.1560. Copy in the possession of the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Shelf mark, Upper Library, A.3.90.

the abolition of popery⁶⁸⁶ and 'buyldynge Gods house'. The sermon is in part a diatribe against the pope and in part against the grand buildings and extravagant ceremony and music of the Roman Catholic Church. It called to 'pull downe Abbeis, Collegies, Chauntries and such dennes of theeues' and replace them with 'common places', for 'it bee in the myddest of the fielde, God is as readye to heare your faythfull prayers, as in any Abbye or Nunrye'.⁶⁸⁷ In the sermon Pilkington describes the appearance of a protestant church and the bewilderment of Roman Catholics within it:

...where the Gospel is preached they knowyng that god is not pleased, but oneli with a pure hart, they are content wyth an honest place appoynted, to resorte together in though it were neuer halowed by byshop at all, but have onely a pulpit, a preacher to the people, a Deacon for the poore, a table for the communion wyth bare walles or els wrytten wyth scriptures, hauyng Gods eternall word sounding alwaies...So our poore Papistes weepe to see our churches so bare, saying: they bee lyke barnes, there is nothyng in them to make curtley unto, neyther sayntes nor yet their old lytle God.⁶⁸⁸

Cleverly assuming the voice of a figurative Roman Catholic, Pilkington continues to depict widespread Catholic dissent and the anger over the protestant alteration of churches:

Let us be ashamed then of these lewd sayings: "What should I do at the church? I may not have my beads; the church is like a waste barn: there is no images nor saints, to reading or preaching, that I cannot tell what it means: I had as lief keep me at home". This is a woeful saying...⁶⁸⁹

As a friend of John Bale (1495 - 1563) and Heinrich Bullinger, one would expect a loathing - if not a complete eradication - of music and ceremony; the sermon on Aggeus confirms Pilkington's contempt for ceremony enhanced by images, frankincense, elaborate singing, and organ music. After attacking the 'olde durty dreggs of popery' Pilkington describes in detail the wrong turn Catholics had taken in

⁶⁸⁶ 'If the people wyl serve God and obey their Prince, flee from Idolatrye, and escape Gods plagues: let us ioynntlye together earnestlye [and] abhorre poperye...'. Pilkington's revulsion of the Pope is illustrated in many passages in which he defends his belief that the 'Pope thinks his laws better then Christes'. Pilkington, *Aggeus the Prophete declared*, A.ii-iv; Liii.

⁶⁸⁷ SJC, Upper Library, A.3.90. Pilkington, *Aggeus the Prophete declared*, Jijj, 58v.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, S.iii, 231r.

⁶⁸⁹ Schofield, *The Works of James Pilkington*, 156.

their enhancement of ceremony and music; in a scathing critique of the contents and music of the 'Popes church' he asks (in the voice of all Catholics):

Can God by angrie with vs that haue bought & brought him many things into the church to delyte hym wyth all? We haue gylded many goodlye ymages pleasaunt to looke at, and if he wil haue any mirth, we haue goodly singing, and stryuing who can set the highest note, we haue swete Organes for the eare, and sweete frankencense for the nose. Were not the Church before like barnes bare and naked, and now are they trimme, that any God would dwell in them? Have we not done God good seruice trow ye?

Pilkington answers:

No surely, for god dwels not in temples made wyth hands of wood & stone, but in the harte of man, nor yet is worshipped with mans inuencions, but as he wyll and taught hymselfe.⁶⁹⁰

Pilkington clearly prefers 'the trumpet of God's words in our ears' to 'singing' and 'ringing':

...the church is more pleasant in the sight of God, where the gospel is preached, God's majesty and his mercy declared, than where all the ceremonies of Moses and the pope do shine so gloriously in the sight of the world. Let the papists examine well by these words, whether their copes, chalices, vestments, crosses of gold and silver, their singing, ringing, censuring, their images, relics, pardons, conjured waters, &c be more pleasant service to the Lord our God, than where the trumpet of God's words in our ears, to stir us up to the praising of God, and pulling down of our own crooked forward nature and stomachs.⁶⁹¹

Naturally, James Pilkington's confessional and ritual agendas were to resonate through the chapel of St. John's. Pilkington's attempt to realise his 'honest place' of worship was manifested during the first months of his tenure in his demolition of chapel furniture and imagery. This included: pulling down the high altar and replacing it with a communion table;⁶⁹² removing the altar in Hugh Ashton's chapel⁶⁹³

⁶⁹⁰ SJC, Upper Library, A.3.90. Pilkington, *Aggeus the Prophete declared*, L.i, 72v.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pii, 263r.

⁶⁹² The inventory of the reuestry made by Leonard Pilkington and the senior bursar in March 1562 includes 'Item one Deske of waynscott for the communion table'. SJCA, C7/2, 'Contents of the reuestry' (1562), fol. 131r. See Vol. II, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 565.

⁶⁹³ 'Item to John Waller and his man for a dayes work in pulling downe the hye alter & caring it awaye, xx d'; 'Item for pulling downe ye aulter in Doctor ashton[s] chappell, vj d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1558/59, third term. Although the altar was removed from Ashton's chapel, his tomb was maintained: 'Item to a painter for newe greninge the trees on magistro Asthonn's tombe, xvj d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 194v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*,

and one on the south side of the lower chapel; replacing twenty-one panes of glass (with clear glass); and 'altering ye crucifixe' (i.e. most likely removing the rood).⁶⁹⁴ Although the high altar had been removed, the altar steps remained intact.⁶⁹⁵ It is possible that the communion table was - in contradiction of Elizabeth's 1559 injunction suggesting the eastern storage of the 'holy table'⁶⁹⁶ - placed permanently between the stalls, remaining the chapel's focal point of attention.⁶⁹⁷ Pilkington's enmity of copes, Masses, and prayers for the dead was as vehement as his hatred of altars:

But many wold have not longe ago said, what need we to feare these plages, are not we come home agayn to our holy mother the Church and is not our olde litle God come home agayne to vs, have we not our alters, copes, Masses & trentalles, that wyl bryng vs through purgatorye for a litle mony, howe wickedly so ever we had liued, & our hoy father the Pope by his Legate the Cardinal or by hys pardones will absolve vs, paena et culpa that is, from all punishment from synne,... and geve us as many daies and yeares of pardon, as we lyst.⁶⁹⁸

1561/62. Payments in 1560/61 illustrate extensive remodeling of the upper part of the chapel after the high altar's removal: 'Item for an hundrethe and tenne paving stone to ley in the upper parte of the Chappell, vj s, viij d'; 'Item to William barne for leying the same and for other Jobbes of worke there, xvj d'; 'Item to Waller for ix Dayes worke in whitinge the Chappell & for plastering it in manye planes after xj d the Daie & to his Laborer after viij d the Daie, xiiij s, iiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 161v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1560/61.

⁶⁹⁴ 'Item to ye glazier for settinge xxj paines newe glasse in ye chappell & for altering ye crucifixe, ij s, ix d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1558/59. More new glass is ordered in 1560/61, though it is remains in conjunction with glass 'Blowen downe with the winde'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 161v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1560/61. In 1571/72 viij s, iiij d was spent on 'leading off xxiiij foot of old glasse for ye great windows & mending ij casements with i6 max quatrels of new glasse'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 466r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1571/72.

⁶⁹⁵ The altar steps were finally removed at the outset of Master Richard Longworth's tenure; under William Fulke's advice the steps at the east end of the chapel were removed, erasing all memory of the altar which had stood over them.

⁶⁹⁶ The exception being Holy Communion, when the table was to be placed 'in good sort within the chancel'. Haugaard, W.P., *Elizabeth and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1968), 135-7; Cardwell, E., *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England: Being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, ect. from the year 1546 to the year 1716* (Oxford, 1839), vol. I, 234; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 34. See Vol. II, Supplement One, 396.

⁶⁹⁷ The position of the table at St. John's was altered several times over the next two decades, reflecting the particular tastes of individual masters. For example, sometime under the succession of masters that followed Richard Longworth (Nicholas Sherpard, master, 1569-74; John Still, master, 1574-77; Richard Howland, master, 1577-87) a trestle communion table was deployed at Holy Communion (and recorded under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in 1576/77); when not in use the trestles were stored away (see below, 199). It was altered yet again during William Whitaker's tenure, and assumed the Elizabethan position of the communion while not in use during Holy Communion. This is confirmed in the 1641 Commons Committee Report to Parliament (BL Harl. MS 7019): we learn from the criticisms that prior to the arrival of Master William Beale there had been little interest in ceremony or ornament and that with the exception of three steps and a table placed altar-wise, the chapel retained 'ancient decency of churches and chapels'. See below, 227.

⁶⁹⁸ SJCA, Upper Library, A.3.90. Pilkington, *Aggeus the Prophete declared*, L.i, 72v.

'Whiting' the chapel proved the final stroke in its protestant transformation,⁶⁹⁹ and by 1560/61 it stood bleak and bare - a model of Calvinist austerity. While James Pilkington saw to the excision of altars and intercessory Masses and offerings, his brother Leonard (master, 1561-64) extrapolated his sentiments and went on to expunge the chapel of copes, vestments, furniture, liturgical books, and other 'popishe Trashe'⁷⁰⁰ that filled it and its revestry. Leonard's intentions to thoroughly purge the chapel of a vast collection of vestments and copes, silver and gold regalia, and furniture deployed under Henry VIII and Mary Tudor, as well as the apposite Latin liturgical service books used in ceremonies during their reigns are confirmed in the two inventories of 1562/63⁷⁰¹ and 1563/64⁷⁰² mentioned above. Strangely, the odd note attached to the second of the 1545 inventories suggests that a large portion of the liturgical books were sold as late as 1599;⁷⁰³ the continued presence of regalia and books until 1599 suggests that either they were too beautiful to be discarded or that their opulence might sanction financial investment and some future revenue.

⁶⁹⁹ 'Item to Waller for ix dayes worke in whitinge the Chappell & for plasteringe it in wanye planes after xj^d Daie & to his Laborer after viij^d the Daie, xiiij s, iij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 161v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1560/61.

⁷⁰⁰ In 1563 xxvj s, x d is 'Received for certain old Albes and other popishe Trashe, sold out of the Revystry the last yere'. Certain textiles were retained for use in Prayer Book services: payments are recorded for 'mending the aulter clothes' at the outset of 1558/59 as well as 'for mendinge certaine old copes and vestments and for washing albes' during the third term. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1558/59. In 1560/61 'magistro Jefferey' is paid iij s, ij d 'for wasshinge the albes and other lyninse in the Revestrie' in the second term and vj d in the fourth term 'for the wasshinge of staine off ye Revestrie clothes'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 161r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1560/61.

⁷⁰¹ 'A trew Inventorie of all the stuffe belonginge to the Revestrie made the xth day of Marche Ann^o Dmi 1562 of Regni Regine Elizabeth quinte By M^r Leondarde Pilkinton M^r [Master] and Mr Baronsdale The Senior Bursar'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 130r-131r. A substantial collection of vestments, copes, altar cloths, ij corporas, and old corporas. See Vol. II, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 565-66.

⁷⁰² Another 'trewe Inventorie of all the stuffe belonging to the Revestrie made the viij Day of March Anno Dm 1563 Et Regine Elizabeth sexto. By Magistro Longworthe presydant Magistrs Baronsdale et winter the bow sers. Magisters Troydall & Dawbney the Deans. and delyvered to Magistro Dawbney sacrista'. SJCA, C7/2, fols. 134r, 134v. See Vol. II, Appendix VI, 565-66.

⁷⁰³ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 102r-103v.

Liturgical and musical reform under James and Leonard Pilkington

The arrival of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* heralded the restoration of protestant services from cathedrals to parish churches. In an attempt to make the Prayer Book easier to swallow, particularly in Latin-filled university chapels, Elizabeth allowed the proliferation of Walter Haddon's Latin translation of the Prayer Book, *Liber precum publicarum* (1560).⁷⁰⁴ Apparently, the notion of protestant liturgies in Latin appealed to William Cole and Laurence Humphrey, two protestant colleagues in exile with James Pilkington in Switzerland during Mary Tudor's reign. Cole, and later John Rainolds, adopted Latin service books at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at least in part as an affirmation of the college humanist ethos; the chapel accounts of Magdalen College, Oxford, record payments for the *Liber precum publicarum* from the first year of Humphrey's tenure as president (1560/61) through 1640.⁷⁰⁵ Unlike his colleagues, Pilkington rejected Haddon's translation of the Prayer Book;⁷⁰⁶ he regarded the use of Latin in chapel services deplorable and included the *Liber precum publicarum* among the 'dirty dreggs of popery'.⁷⁰⁷ Thus, a strong contrast in attitudes toward the use of Latin prevailed during the outset of the Elizabeth's reign, not least between the heads of the two leading humanist establishments of Cambridge and Oxford: at Corpus Christi President Cole allowed Latin in services, perhaps at first as a compromise to Catholic recusants and later as a reflection of the humanist ethos of the college; at St. John's College, Cambridge, Pilkington forbade Latin, allowing his confessional agenda to supersede the Latin educational heritage of the college.

The accounts during the tenures of James and Leonard Pilkington and Richard Longworth (master, 1564-69) make it clear that English was the undisputed language

⁷⁰⁴ Haddon, W., *Liber precum publicarum, seu ministerij ecclesiastic[a]e administrationis Sacramentorum, alioru[m]q[ue] rituu[m] & c[a]eremoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana. Cum privilegio [sic] Regiae Maiestatis* (Excusum Londini, Apud Reginaldum Wolfium, 1560). STC (2nd ed.), 16424a. Copy from: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Available at *EEBO*.

⁷⁰⁵ '11 Aprillis Mro Garbrand pro tribus libris precum publicarum, x s'; '26 Maii pro duobus aliis libris precum publicarum, v s, iiii d'. MCA, LCE/6. Under 'Custus Sacelli' in *Libri computi*, 1560/61. '21 Martii Mro Seres pro duobus libris precum publicarum, vi s, viii d'. MCA, LCE/6. Under 'Custus Sacelli' in *Libri Computi*, 1562/63. Orders continue in 1567, 1571, 1604, 1607, 1610, 1623, 1639, and 1640.

⁷⁰⁶ Ex-King's fellow, Walter Haddon, had, like Pilkington, been one of the 1559 Visitors. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 146. His efforts to appease Elizabeth's moderate stance in regard to ceremony and music were sharply countered by Pilkington's more radical outlook.

⁷⁰⁷ SJC, Upper Library, A.3.90. Pilkington, *Aggeus the Prophete declared* L.i, 72v.

of the Church. Liturgical books purchased, aside from the Prayer Book, included psalters and psalm books in English,⁷⁰⁸ 'Communion books' and the Lord's Prayer early on in 1558/59,⁷⁰⁹ over twenty Geneva psalters between 1563 and 1570,⁷¹⁰ the Ten Commandments painted in English on a board,⁷¹¹ as well as English Bibles.⁷¹²

Within six months of Elizabeth's accession the Genevan practice of congregational psalm singing had been firmly established;⁷¹³ though singing in 'Geneva-ways' met with stark resistance by the dean and Chapter of Exeter in December 1559⁷¹⁴ and by the warden and fellows of New College, who referred to the metrical psalms as 'Robin Hoodes Ballades' and 'English rimes',⁷¹⁵ there can be no doubt it enjoyed

⁷⁰⁸ The following entries in the *Rentals* record payments for psalters/psalm books 1558-70. All entries are found under 'Expensae Ecclesiae'. 'Imprimis to baxter the Stationer for xij englishe saulters, xxix s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. In *Rentals*, 1558/59, third term. 'Item for xij psalters and the caryange of them from london, xvij s'; 'Item to magistro Cartesse for one psalter, xiiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 161v. In *Rentals*, 1560/61, first term. 'Im primis for 'bindinge 3 psalters, xvij d'; 'Item to Cuthbert the Stationer for 6 psalme bookes, vj s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 372v. In *Rentals*, 1567/68, fourth term. 'ffor iiij new psalters bought at Cuthberts, iiij s, viij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 421v. In *Rentals*, 1569/70, third term.

⁷⁰⁹ 'Item to hym ['baxter the Stationer'] for [two?] Communion books, x s'; 'Item to magistro Fulke for xij papers conteninge ye lords prayer, vj d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1558/59, third term.

⁷¹⁰ 'Imprimis paid to magistro Dawbney [sacrist] for x geneva psalters, xvij s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 226v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1562/63. 'Imprimis to magistro Baxter for x geneva psalters & sixe service psalters bought at Christmas laste, xxii s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 258v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1563/64, first term. 'Item for x geneva psalters, x s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 320v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' 1565/66, third term. 'Item for xiiij Geneva psalters, xij s'; 'Item for vj other psalters, ij a pece', xij s'; 'Item for vj Geneva psalters more, vj s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 347v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1566/67, fourth term. 'for a new geneva psalter for our master [Nicholas Sheppard, master, 1569-74], xij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, 444v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1570/71, second term.

⁷¹¹ 'Item for the Tenne Commandments in Englyshe, x d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 258v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1563/64, third term.

⁷¹² References to Bibles are recorded from the third term of 1561/62 onwards. 'Item peter sheres for bindinge new and mendine the Englyshe Byble [*sic*], iiij s'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 194v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1561/62. 'ffor iiij stringes for the Bible, iiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 397v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1568/69. 'ffor mending the bible and a psalme boke, xiiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 421v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1569/70, first term. 'for a great new bible in englishe of ye last translation [the 'Bishop's Bible'] with great claspe', xxvij s, viij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 466r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1571/72, third term.

⁷¹³ Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 49.

⁷¹⁴ According to a letter from Lord Mountjoy some of the vicars choral tried to disrupt congregational singing; by implication one assumes that such singing was additional to the weekly performance of the Prayer Book psalms 'by course'. The absence of easily available four-part metrical psalms prior to 1563 may have prompted the choir to sing in unison 'the tune of Geneva,...with the bass [i.e. the accompaniment] of the organs', as was the practice at St. Martin's, Ludgate. See Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 374; Payne, 49.

⁷¹⁵ Warden Martin Culpepper and fellows made no attempt to hide their disgust of the metrical psalms referring to them as 'Robin Hoodes Ballades' and 'English rimes'. 'Culpepper nequiter habet seu saltem

strong popularity over the following hundred years, particularly in parish churches. Payne argues that metrical psalms were intended primarily for singing among the common people (and not among university scholars),⁷¹⁶ and was an element that had little to do with puritan propaganda;⁷¹⁷ however, like other establishments examined by Payne, St. John's deployed the congregational singing of the metrical psalms. Payne suggests that metrical psalms were performed by a congregation together with the college singers of St. John's, and that this occurred in conjunction with events specifically intended for the general laity, such as extra-liturgical weekly sermons and lectures.⁷¹⁸

The teaching and doctrine of John Calvin figured prominently in the religious agendas of both James and Leonard Pilkington and the succeeding master, Richard Longworth; entries in the accounts of the 1560s underline their clear Calvinist stance toward music in worship, not least in the acquisition of 'geneva psalters' (1563-66).⁷¹⁹ The mention of 'geneva psalters' next to 'service psalters' may indicate the tradition of singing metrical psalms, either in monody or in four parts, prior to and after the service or sermon,⁷²⁰ while the rendering of the Psalms within the 'service psalters'

habuit ludilurio Psalmos Davidicos antedictos appellando eosdem 'Robin Whodes ballades'. 'The Visitation of 1566-67', in *Bishop Horne's Register 1560-1579*, copied by Parker, A. (March 2, 1901), Bodleian Library, MS Top Oxon. c.354, 113-14.

⁷¹⁶ Payne believes that 'there is neither need nor place for the singing of metrical psalms in the services of the reformed Prayer Book; such psalms were inappropriate for cathedrals and collegiate chapels because they represented a conscious and deliberate simplification of the psalms for the edification of, and to make them accessible to, the general laity'. Payne, 49.

⁷¹⁷ Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), vol. 1, 45-6.

⁷¹⁸ Payne, 49.

⁷¹⁹ After Calvin made the decision to include the congregation (not only a select group of performers) in singing, he devoted efforts to the creation of French versifications of the Psalms. His undertaking, which began first in Geneva in 1538, resulted in a first edition of Calvin's psalter in 1539 with melodies based on familiar tunes used in the German church in Strasbourg at that time, ostensibly composed by Wolfgang Dachstein (c. 1487-1553) and Matthias Greiter (c. 1494-1550). A new edition was issued in 1542 after Calvin returned from Strasbourg to Geneva with some melodies composed by Guillaume Franc: Psalms 6, 8, 19, 22, 24 (this tune was also used for Psalms 62, 95, and 111), and 38. Franc also composed melodies for the 1542 edition that included versifications by Theodore Beza (1519-1605). A 1551 edition, appearing under the title *Pseaumes Octante Trois de David*, featured music by Louis Bourgeois and included the tune 'the Old 100th', a setting of Psalm 100. Finally, a complete psalter was issued with rhymed versions of all 150 psalms in 1562. Some of the earlier melodies were replaced; the last forty were ascribed to one 'Maistre Pierre', probably Pierre Davantès. Many of the lyrics were updated or replaced. The versifications were written by Clement Marot (c. 1497-1544), the favorite poet of François I and Beza. 124 tunes are used in 150 Psalms, some of which are repeated. Schuler, D., 'The History of the Genevan Psalter', unpublished PDF. Available online: [http://www.genevanpsalter.com/attachments/Gen_Psal_intro_Schuler.pdf]

⁷²⁰ The reference to 'geneva psalters' occurred three years after Elizabeth I's Injunctions of 1559, which established the precedent for using non-liturgical texts like the Genevan metrical psalms at the

may have been executed in spoken recitation or in simple, unaccompanied monody in the manner of the old plainsong tones. A similar situation occurred in York: between 1574 and 1581 various York choirmen possessed 'a psalter & a booke of Geneva psalmes', suggesting copies of both Prayer Book and metrical psalms.⁷²¹ Additional 'geneva psalters' cease to be purchased at St. John's after 1570/71, in contrast to traditional service psalters, the maintenance and procurement of which occurs from 1570 through to the end of the century.⁷²²

After Elizabeth's accession and Pilkington's arrival all references to organ repairs or organ playing/blowing abruptly cease. This comes as no surprise in light of James Pilkington's clear distaste for 'swete Organes for the eare' and for 'singing and Organes piping', which he expressed in *Aggeus the Prophete declared*. It is possible that Pilkington's acquaintance with the circle of Marian exiles surrounding Heinrich Bullinger contributed to his hostility toward the organ, though further research in this area is required. After the payments for the lectern in the 'Expensae necessariae' and

beginning and end of a service. See above, Chapter Three, 107, nt. 431. It is not unreasonable to assume that James Pilkington had been among the English protestant exiles who brought over Thomas Sternhold's *Al such psalmes of Daudi as Thomas Sternehold ... didde in his life time draw into English Metre* (1549) to the Continent during Mary Tudor's reign. These were revised and augmented while the Marian exiles remained abroad. The 'geneva psalters' acquired by St. John's had, no doubt, English versifications; however one can only speculate as to the tunes deployed in the psalters. They were acquired after the publication of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meter* by John Day in 1562, which brought together most of the psalm versions from the Genevan editions and many new psalms by John Hopkins, Thomas Norton, and John Markant. The contents of Day's 1562 psalter represented the core of chapel music in the 1560s and 70s, and its use was widespread. Of the 63 tunes in the 1562 *Whole booke* only ten tunes were imported from Calvin's Geneva psalters; three are German in origin, but 27 are taken from the Anglo-Scottish *Forme of prayers* (sung by exiles in English psalters published on the Continent in 1556 and 1558). See Duguid, T., *Metrical Psalms in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c. 1547-1640*, (Abingdon, 2016), 52, 64-5. It is of note that the St. John's 'geneva psalters' post-date the publication of Sternhold and Hopkins' *whole psalms in foure partes* (1563), which may suggest the possibility of polyphonic versions. In the St. John's *Rentals* 1563-66 'geneva psalters' may refer to 'psalters from Geneva' (literally) or it may simply mean 'English metrical psalters, of the kind used or published in Geneva'. If the latter (most likely), then these could refer either to Day's monophonic or polyphonic versions. However, in light of the musical proclivities of Thomas Cartwright (fellow, St. John's College, 1560; fellow, Trinity College, 1562-71; Lady Margaret Professor in Divinity, 1569-70), who encouraged rendering the Psalms 'in a plain tune, easy...to be sung by those who have no art in singing...' (see below, 191), and the austere tastes of the Pilkingtons, it is likely that the Psalms were performed monophonically at St. John's.

⁷²¹ Payne, 49.

⁷²² The following entries record the purchase of psalters/psalm books between 1575 and 1590. 'ffor six Psalm bookes with five bought ye laste yeare, xij s'. SJCA, SB4.2, fol. 77v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1578/79, first term. 'for a dussen psalters for the Chappell, x s, ix d'. SJCA, SB4.2, fol. 244v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1586/87, second term. 'To...the bookbinder for bringinge home the psalters from London, ij s, viij d'. SJCA, SB4.2, fol. 247v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1586/87, first term.

for iron for the bellows in 'Reparationes tenementorum Cantabrigiae et Domi' 1557/58, there are no further references to an organ until the commission of Robert Dallam's organ in 1635. Unfortunately, there is no explicit mention of the organ's removal in the 'Expensae Ecclesiae', in the 'Expensae necessariae', or in any other sections of the *Rentals*; the organ was most likely scrapped with the altars. The organ would certainly have no place in the private lodging converted from the organ chamber for use by Leonard Pilkington, which was nearing completion in 1563.⁷²³

6. 1570-1590. The puritan college. Controversies affecting chapel ceremony and music

The austerity of decor, ceremony, and music in the puritan chapel of St. John's under James and Leonard Pilkington (1558-64) was a marked contrast to other - still richly appointed - Cambridge chapels such as King's, where the chaplains continued to wear opulent copes, and where the choir sang canticles and anthems in four (and later in five or more) parts.⁷²⁴ The chapel and the devotional landscape at St. John's were to attain an even greater degree of austerity when Richard Longworth (master, 1564-69) succeeded Leonard Pilkington as master in 1564 and when fellow William Fulke (1538 - 1589)⁷²⁵ - under Longworth's recommendation - became principal lecturer in

⁷²³ The alteration of the organ chamber may be reflected in an entry found in the 'Expensae necessariae' of 1563/64: the joyner is paid vij s for 'tewe casements in the m[aster] his Chamber tweve frames hanging in the Chappell and for mendinge the Communion Table'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 265r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1563/64.

⁷²⁴ This was demonstrated during the visit of Elizabeth in 1564; the chancel, pulpit, and reredos were draped in blue wall hangings, the organs were used (most likely in *alternatim* with the choir) in the *Te Deum* after which a polyphonic anthem was sung. See Nichols, J., *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth: among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures, and remarkable events during the reign of that illustrious princess: collected from original MSS., scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, &c., &c. : illustrated with historical notes.* vol. I, (London, 1823), 7-12; London, BL Harl MS 7033, fols. 114r, 127r. Despite Elizabethan reforms, King's College did not shy away from sophisticated four-part repertory during the 1560s. Bowers has suggested that a set of partbooks containing twenty-four pieces of four-voice sacred music (London, BL Add. MSS 30480-3) is of King's College provenance. In 1615 these were in the possession of Thomas Hamond, a relation to another Thomas Hammond, Master of Choristers (1587-92, 1598-1605). The composers included Thomas Causton, Christopher Tye, John Sheppard, William Mundy, Robert White, and Richard Adams [Richard Adams (scholar, 1551; fellow, 1554-6) served as chaplain and precentor 1557-9]. The collection included eight settings of canticles for morning prayer and seven for evening prayer, a 'Gloria' of Communion, and eight anthems mostly set to common biblical texts. Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 273.

⁷²⁵ Matriculated pensioner from St. John's, Michaelmas, 1555; B.A., 1557/78; M.A., 1563; B.D., 1568; D.D., 1572; fellow, 1564; incorporated at Oxford, 1566; university preacher, 1563; master of Pembroke College, 1578-89; vice-chancellor, 1581-2; died, 28 August 1589. 'Fulke, William', in Venn, *ACANTA*.

1566.⁷²⁶ During the volatile religious period that followed, chapel ceremony and music became a focal point for Longworth, Fulke, and a number of other radical Calvinists,⁷²⁷ who believed that the chapel should be stripped to the bare essentials of worship and that bishops should be excised from the administrative structure of the Church; this radical approach to church ceremony and leadership became characteristic of presbyterianism, the most radical form of Calvinism.⁷²⁸

During the first decades of her reign, Elizabeth I became alarmed at the radical turn away from conformity in liturgy (i.e. the adherence to the *Book of Common Prayer*)⁷²⁹ and ceremony. A steady movement away from Calvinism and its more radical advocates, the presbyterians, was led in part by the queen herself, who began to regard this type of radical Calvinism with contempt.⁷³⁰ The rejection of Calvin's policies and discipline by the queen and other conservatives began to alienate the radicals;⁷³¹ meanwhile, puritans complained vociferously that 'England had abandoned her proper place as head of European protestantism'.⁷³² The desire of radicals like John Field (1545 - 1588) and St. John's fellows, William Fulke and

⁷²⁶ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 70.

⁷²⁷ 'Radical Calvinists', 'radical puritans', and 'radical protestants' will, for the sake of discussion here, designate the same group of individuals.

⁷²⁸ Many Marian exiles not only synthesised Calvinist doctrine and the ceremonies of Geneva into their own protestant agendas, they came to criticise sharply the state of the Anglican Church; both conformists and nonconformists within it were simply too tolerant and did not adhere to the 'true' manner of protestantism in Geneva. The radical turn toward Calvin's idea of church government as a 'theocracy', with a consistory similar to that of Rome incipient during the Spanish inquisition, began to isolate these radical puritans, who came to butt heads with the episcopacy and its ecclesiastical government. Grounded firmly in the principle of intolerance, this type of 'Genevan' puritanism empowered its preachers with the right to denounce all who refused to accept the system. This trait of puritanism came to characterise presbyterianism. 'William Whittingham and the Puritans', in Taylor, W. C., (ed.), *Romantic Biography of The Age of Elizabeth; or Sketches of Life from the Bye-Ways of History*, vol. 2 (London, 1842), 96-102.

⁷²⁹ Presbyterians believed that the links with the Mass inherent in the 1559 Prayer Book (particularly those carried over from the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*) had not completely disappeared. They accepted the Prayer Book only as a compromise and a temporary solution to conducting the liturgy. Taylor, 'William Whittingham and the Puritans', 92.

⁷³⁰ Elizabeth's incipient hostility toward radical Calvinists was fueled early on in her reign. Some radical Calvinists within the Court even denounced Elizabeth's supposed marriage to the Duke of Anjou; though the marriage was a farce, the puritan confrontation angered Elizabeth, and support for the 'Geneva discipline' at Court began to cool. Taylor, 92-3.

⁷³¹ Later attacks on Calvinist doctrine included William Barrett's Great St. Mary's sermon in 1595 (see Chapter Three, 108, nt. 432). The sermon refuted salvation by faith alone, disputed the doctrine of unconditional predestination, and was also highly critical of Whitgift's *Lambeth Articles*, which had been in part drawn up with the help of Master William Whitaker of St. John's. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 201-2.

⁷³² This manner of antagonism may have prompted Elizabeth's reluctance to support the Huguenots of France and Gueux of Holland. Taylor, 92-3.

Thomas Cartwright (c. 1535 - 1603), to eliminate the episcopacy represented a direct affront to the queen; many of Elizabeth's bishops had been directly appointed by her, and to challenge the authority of these bishops was to challenge the authority of Elizabeth herself. The moderate puritan stance of men like William Whitaker (master of St. John's, 1587-95)⁷³³ and Archbishop John Whitgift (c. 1530 - 1604)⁷³⁴ was more the brand of puritanism Elizabeth could tolerate: particularly in their anti-papal polemic, they displayed loyalty to the Elizabethan cause, the Church of England, and to royal supremacy and defended - in Elizabeth's opinion - the cause of true religion.⁷³⁵

Musically speaking, conformists like Whitgift, who supported the organ in worship, shared more in common with Elizabeth than with the presbyterians, who in part fueled the anti-organ polemic of the 1570s and 80s and also eliminated any of the leeway that Elizabeth may have created in her forty-ninth injunction of 1559. Whereas conformists may have interpreted a 'hymn' or 'song' to designate a work in more than one voice, as was the case at King's College and in the Chapel Royal, this was unthinkable to presbyterians like Thomas Cartwright, who came to limit music to a simple rendition of the Psalms before and after the service.⁷³⁶

Three key events involving prominent figures of both the radical puritan and conformist camps at St. John's College illustrate the nature of chapel liturgy,

⁷³³ William Whitaker: matriculated pensioner from Trinity College, Michaelmas, 1564; born, Burnley, Lancashire, 1547; attended school, St. Paul's (London); scholar, 1567; B.A., 1567/68; M.A., 1571; B.D., 1578; D.D., 1587; fellow, 1569; fellow of Eton (Buckinghamshire), 1587; incorporated at Oxford (Oxfordshire), 1578; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1580-96; master of St. John's, 1586-95; ordained deacon and priest (Lincoln) 21 December 1576; university preacher, 1577; prebend of Norwich (Norfolk), 1578; chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral (London), 1580-7; canon of Canterbury (Kent), 1595; died, 4 December 1595; buried in St. John's College Chapel. 'Whitaker, William', in Venn, *ACANTA*.

⁷³⁴ John Whitgift: born 1530, Grimsby, Lincolnshire; B.A., 1553/4; M.A. from Peterhouse, 1557; B.D., 1563; D.D., 1566/67; fellow of Peterhouse, 1555; Lady Margaret Professor, 1563; university preacher, 1566; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1567-9; master of Pembroke, 1567 (April-June), and of Trinity, 1567-77; vice-chancellor, 1570-1, 1573-4; in 1571 became prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation (of the English Church). He was ordained deacon (Ely) July 1560; priest (Lincoln), 1560; chaplain to the bishop of Ely (Cambridgeshire), 1560, and R. of Teversham, Cambridgeshire, 1560; rector of Laceby (Lincolnshire); canon of Ely (Cambridgeshire), 1568; dean of Lincoln (Lincolnshire), 1571-7; prebend of Lichfield (Staffordshire), 1572-7; bishop of Worcester (Worcestershire), 1577-83; archbishop of Canterbury, 1583-1604; enjoyed the favour of Elizabeth and enforced her policy of religious uniformity. 'Whitgift, John', in Venn, *ACANTA*.

⁷³⁵ Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 55-59.

⁷³⁶ See below, 191.

ceremony, and music at St. John's between 1564 and 1595. The first involved presbyterians, William Fulke and Master Richard Longworth, and their part in the so-called 'vestments controversy' during Longworth's tenure (1564-69). The second surrounded the radical views of the presbyterian, Thomas Cartwright (fellow, 1560; fellow Trinity College, 1562-71; Lady Margaret Professor in Divinity, 1569-70),⁷³⁷ and his support of *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572) as well as his attitudes on ceremony expressed in 1576 in repartee with John Whitgift. The third event resulted from the religious and intellectual provocation of Master William Whitaker by the senior fellow, Everard Digby, a staunch conformist with conservative views on ceremony and music.

William Fulke and the 'vestment' controversy

The type of puritanism that angered Elizabeth most was planted at St. John's by James and Leonard Pilkington and achieved fruition during the tenure of Richard Longworth, Leonard Pilkington's successor. Part of their puritan agenda involved a distinct, and in their opinion, appropriate clothing for protestant clergyman; the conflict over this seemingly insignificant aspect of worship was to escalate into the virulent 'vestment controversy'. The queen's tastes in apparel favoured formality; in her 1559 injunctions, along with the permission to sing before and after the service, she instructed the clergy to 'wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of King Edward VI'.⁷³⁸ This angered zealous protestants like Fulke and Longworth, who considered Elizabeth's injunction an infringement of Christian liberty.⁷³⁹ Although it perturbed James Pilkington to have to invest energy in such trifles, he considered the vestments suggested by Elizabeth characteristic of the old religion and felt it his duty to remind William Cecil, that 'all cuntries which have reformed religion have cast away that popishe apparel with the pope', and that it was 'necessarie in apparel to have a shewe

⁷³⁷ Thomas Cartwright: matriculated sizar from Clare College, Michaelmas. 1547; born in Herts. (probably at Royston), c. 1535; scholar at St. John's, 1550; B.A. from St. John's, 1553-4; M.A., 1560; B.D. from Trinity, 1567; fellow of St. John's, 1560; fellow of Trinity, 1562-71; Lady Margaret Professor, 1569-70 (deprived); he went to Geneva and to Basel, where he was admitted at the University, 1577; the rest of his life was spent between the Continent and England; preacher at Antwerp and Middleburg; returned to England, 1585; master of the hospital at Warwick, 1586; died, 27 December 1603 at Warwick. 'Cartwright, Thomas', in Venn, *ACANTA*.

⁷³⁸ Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol III, 20; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 72-3.

⁷³⁹ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 71.

how a protestant is to be known from a papist'.⁷⁴⁰ Elizabeth's visit in 1564 proved delicate in this regard; Cecil, in his capacity as chancellor of the University, demanded that the university exhibit a 'uniformity ...in apparel' while Elizabeth remained in Cambridge.⁷⁴¹

The following year, 1565, St. John's was pushed to the forefront of the vestment controversy through a series of highly provocative measures implemented by Fulke. After Leonard Pilkington left the college, Fulke assumed a 'moral ascendancy' over the new master, Richard Longworth, and under Fulke's advice the chapel and its ceremonies were altered. First, the steps at the east end of the chapel were removed, erasing all memory of the altar that had stood over them. After Longworth succeeded in promoting Fulke to principal lecturer,⁷⁴² Fulke's vision and influence came to dominate worship further; in a series of sermons he denounced the celebration of Communion with unleavened bread, the practice of kneeling to receive the sacrament, the use of copes and vestments during the celebration, as well as the wearing of surplices by the clergy, describing them as 'popish trumpery'. Once again fine copes and vestments were sold for ridiculously low sums to the anger of Fulke's arch-opponents, the senior fellows.⁷⁴³ The surplice ultimately disappeared, and the reforms suggested by Fulke were put into practice. Plain bread replaced unleavened bread, and kneeling was removed from the ceremony. Following Fulke's preaching at the beginning of the first term of 1565, Longworth - under the influence of Fulke - entered the chapel together with the fellows and scholars without surplices. The act provoked vitriolic criticism by Cecil, who although a strong critic of popery preferred the Elizabethan, moderate puritanism of William Whitaker.⁷⁴⁴ Cecil and Elizabeth

⁷⁴⁰ Pilkington to Cecil, 25 October 1564: BL Lansdowne MS 7, fol. 2121; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 73.

⁷⁴¹ Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 158; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 72-3.

⁷⁴² 'Ego Guilielmus Fulco electus...in principalem lectorem 5 die Septembris Anno dmi 1565'. SJCA, C3/1, *College Register*, 98.

⁷⁴³ The fellows were aware of the tremendous craftsmanship and value of the vestments and reminded the college that James Pilkington, while master, had rejected the relatively high offer of £40 as insufficient. Now, apparently, the copes and vestments were 'sold for a song'. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 71.

⁷⁴⁴ Cecil helped to secure Whitaker's appointment. Scott, R.F., *St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1910, repr. 2010), 47-48.

reprimanded Fulke and the membership, and Richard Curtheys, the president of St. John's, was called by Cecil to restore order.⁷⁴⁵

What type of music accompanied the services throughout this turbulent decade? Fulke had already displayed his engagement in chapel services early in Elizabeth's reign,⁷⁴⁶ acting as sacrist 1564-67;⁷⁴⁷ his desire to reform the nature of chapel ceremony under Longworth demonstrated his displeasure with the *status quo*, and his impassioned commitment to a thorough Calvinist transformation of worship. Although Fulke and Longworth found fault with chapel attire and corporal habits, they did not alter the tradition of singing the Psalms in the 'Geneva way'. Twenty-six Geneva psalters were purchased between 1564 and 1570, and in 1570/71 another Geneva psalter was purchased for the new master, Nicholas Sheppard (master, 1569-74).⁷⁴⁸ This suggests that, despite Fulke's radical Calvinist agenda and the all-encompassing reordering of ceremony at St. John's, both he and Longworth (and Longworth's successor, Sheppard) accepted the tradition of singing the metrical psalms before and after the service (or reading of the Gospel) as well as renditions of the Psalms within the 'service psalters' with spoken recitation or simple, unaccompanied monody as before.

Thomas Cartwright and the Admonition to Parliament (1572)

St. John's fellows, William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright, protégés of James Pilkington, supported the most radical form of Calvinism - presbyterianism. They argued to subject the Church to an ecclesial democracy, giving the power wrested from the pope to a consistory instead of to a sovereign,⁷⁴⁹ one of the essential

⁷⁴⁵ Curtheys tried repeatedly to eject Fulke until leaving Cambridge to become dean of Chichester in 1569. Though Fulke was deprived of his fellowship in 1565 - while Longworth remained master - he was re-elected to the fellowship in 1567. SJCA, C3/1, *College Register*, 145. After a showdown for the post of president, Fulke left only to return and be re-elected an unprecedented third time from spring 1570 to summer 1571 when he finally left the college to be married. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 72.

⁷⁴⁶ 'Item to magistro Fulke for xij papers conteneinge ye lords prayer, vj d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' *Rentals*, 1558/59, third term.

⁷⁴⁷ SCJA, C3/1, *College Register*, 76. Under 'Admissiones Sacristarum huius collegij quotquot fuerunt a festo S. Michaelis in anno Dm. 1545'.

⁷⁴⁸ 'for a new geneva psalter for our master, xij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 444v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1570/71, second term.

⁷⁴⁹ The supreme head of the Church was not an earthly monarch, but Christ. Pearson, A.F.S., *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535-1603* (Cambridge, 1925), 407.

elements of presbyterianism, and believed that no cleric should be of higher status than another.⁷⁵⁰ The notorious *An Admonition to the Parliament*, penned in 1572 by two radical London clergymen, John Field and Thomas Wilcox,⁷⁵¹ was the first absolute puritan declaration to embody the vision of Fulke and Cartwright, and to advocate an unmitigated replication of the Genevan model. Thomas Cartwright lent support to the document, eventually writing his own 'Admonition', *A Second Admonition to the Parliament* (1572),⁷⁵² after which he was forced to flee England.⁷⁵³ Both works, whose principal argument advocated a presbyterian restructuring of the Church, provoked vitriolic rebuttals from John Whitgift (master of Trinity College, Cambridge, dean of Lincoln, vice-chancellor of the University, 1570).⁷⁵⁴

Most relevant to this thesis is the vehement attack on contemporary ceremony, church music, and organs unleashed in the two *Admonitions*, and the heated debate between John Whitgift and the authors, Field and Wilcox and Cartwright. In the first *Admonition* Field and Wilcox attack the sacraments, which they contend are celebrated 'pompeously, with singing, piping, surplesse, and copewearing'. They also

⁷⁵⁰ Taylor, 'William Whittingham and the Puritans', 102.

⁷⁵¹ Both Wilcox and Field were imprisoned for a year after the publication of the *Admonition*. After Wilcox appealed to Cecil, Lord Burghley, in Latin, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, together with the Earl of Warwick, had Wilcox released. Bremer, F.J., and Webster, T., (eds.), *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, 2006,) 97.

⁷⁵² Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism*, 405.

⁷⁵³ Cartwright penned *A Second Admonition to the Parliament* just after being deprived of his Trinity fellowship by Whitgift. He wrote a further diatribe against Whitgift after fleeing England: *Replye to An Answer Made of M. Doctor Whitgift Agaynste the Admonition to the Parliament* (April 1573).

Whitgift answered back point by point in his *Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition Against the Replie of T.C.*, which appeared in 1574. Sheils, W. H., 'Whitgift, John (1530/31? -1604)', *ODNBO*.

⁷⁵⁴ The two violent tracts of 1572 (each entitled '*An Admonition to the Parliament*') recommended the reconstitution of the church on presbyterian lines. The first *Admonition* was by John Field and Thomas Wilcox and the second by John Whitgift's former opponent, Thomas Cartwright. John Whitgift at once answered the first *Admonition* (not the second) in a pamphlet which was entitled *An Answer to a certain Libel intituled An Admonition to the Parliament, 'By John Whitgifte, D. of Diuinitie'* (printed London, 1572, by Henrie Bynneman for Humfrey Toy; black letter). Whitgift's tract enjoyed a wide circulation, and reappeared the following year 'newly augmented by the authour'. He defended his conviction that the episcopal form of church government was an essential guarantee of law and order in the state. Cartwright retaliated in a 'Replye' to Whitgift's 'Answer'. In Whitgift's ensuing rebuttal, *Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition Against the Replie of T.C.*, (London, 1574), he solemnly warned 'the godly reader' at the conclusion of his preface, 'as they will answer at the day of judgment, that under the pretext of zeal they seek not to spoil the church; under the colour of perfection they work not confusion; under the cloak of simplicity they cover not pride, ambition, vainglory, arrogancy; under the outward show of godliness they nourish not contempt of magistrates, popularity, anabaptistry, and sundry other pernicious and pestilent errors.' Cartwright again countered Whitgift in both a *Second Replie* (1575) and *The Rest of the Second Replie* (1577), but Whitgift avoided further direct altercation with Cartwright. Lee, S., 'Whitgift, John (1530? -1604)', *DNBO*.

criticise the 'churching of women', which involved singing the '*benedictus*, *magnificat*' and '*nunc dimittis*'.⁷⁵⁵ John Field, the author of the first part of *An Admonition*, goes on to repudiate 'curious singing' (i.e. polyphony) and organs:

As far as organs and curious singing, though they be proper to popish dens, I mean to cathedral churches, yet some others must also have them. The Queen's Chapel and these churches must be patterns and precedents to the people of all superstitions.⁷⁵⁶

Whitgift volleys back with a defence of organ playing and singing:

As for piping it is not to be used at the Communion by any rule I that I know. Singing I am sure you do not disallow, being used in all reformed churches, and an art allowed in Scriptures, and used in praising of God by David.⁷⁵⁷

Greater insight into the type of church music expected by most presbyterians comes from Cartwright and Field. In 1576 Cartwright addressed the ceremonies of his radical new church and, like most Calvinists, reserved a place for the singing of psalms, 'one at the beginning of the service and one at the end...in a plain tune, easy...to be sung by those who have no art in singing...'.⁷⁵⁸ This, of course, excluded even the modest protestant choral music contained in John Day's '*Certaine notes*' (1560), published early in Elizabeth's reign, as well as the antiphonal performance of the prose 'service' psalms, which John Field compared to the tossing of balls back and forth in a tennis match.⁷⁵⁹ Both Field and Cartwright would clearly have blacklisted the polyphonic psalm settings of Sternhold and Hopkins' *whole psalms in foure partes*, published by Day in 1563 as well as other contemporary polyphonic music, such as that contained in the *Wanley partbooks* - certainly not music for 'those who have no art in singing'.

⁷⁵⁵ Field, J., Wilcox, T., *An Admonition to the Parliament. With a Letter to Bishop Parkhurst, Signed R. Gualter; and a Letter to Bishop Grindal, Signed T. Beza* (London: 1572), sigs. Aivv, Ciiir-v; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 65-6.

⁷⁵⁶ The First Article. Nr. 13. Frere, W.H. and Douglas, C.E., (eds.), *A View of Popish Abuses in Puritan Manifestos*, (London, 1910) reprinted in Jones, R.T., Dix, K., and Ruston, A., (eds.), *Protestant Nonconformist Texts: 1550 to 1700* (London, 2007), 44.

⁷⁵⁷ Ayre, J., (ed.) *The Works of John Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, The First Portion Containing The Defence of The Answer to the Admonition Against the Reply of Thomas Cartwright*, Tract XV, edited for the Parker Society (Cambridge, 1851), vol. iii, 106; Bayne, R., (ed.), Hooker, R., *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, the Fifth Book* (London, 1902), 170.

⁷⁵⁸ Ayre, *Works of John Whitgift*, vol. iii, 107.

⁷⁵⁹ '...they toss the Psalms in most places like tennis balls'. Field and Wilcox, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, sigs. Ciiir, Dir; The First Article. Nr. 13. Frere and Douglas, *A View of Popish Abuses in Puritan Manifestos*, 44; Maltby, J., *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), 3.

In contrast to Field and Cartwright, many conformists sanctioned the polyphonic versions of the psalms published by Day and embraced modern polyphonic settings of canticles and anthems; they also lent their support to the antiphonal rendering of the psalms. In *An answer to a certain libel* (1572), Whitgift's response to the *Admonition*, he calls upon Basil to justify singing the Psalms in antiphonally, adding that 'the over hastie reading or singing of them' was 'in deed to be misliked'; it was 'no parte of the booke of Common Prayer', thus 'no cause why you should absteyn from subscribing to it.'⁷⁶⁰ Albeit twenty years later, Richard Hooker, a defender of the musical ceremonies of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, felt that the same psalm alternation stirred up zeal between pastor and people.⁷⁶¹

Particularly relevant to this discussion is the repartee between Thomas Cartwright and John Whitgift over church music and organs, especially in light of Cartwright's affiliation with Cambridge University, in particular, with St. John's College,⁷⁶² where he was admitted scholar in 1550 and was a fellow from 1560 to 1562.⁷⁶³ Cartwright's sanctioning of psalm singing may corroborate the tradition of singing the psalms at St. John's, which was in all likelihood begun by James and Leonard Pilkington (Leonard is the first of the two to have ordered metrical psalms); this is confirmed by payments for Geneva psalters along with service psalters in 1563/64, a year after Cartwright's move to Trinity College. During his fellowship at Trinity, Cartwright was doubtless aware of the services at St. John's, which were to achieve prominence through the vestment controversy. Though Cartwright may have approved of the singing of psalms, he makes his opposition to the organ clear in his response to Whitgift's rebuttal to Field mentioned above: 'Under pretence of indifferent things, he [Whitgift] seemeth to allow of organs; which beside the popish abuse reneweth

⁷⁶⁰ Whitgift, J., *An answer to a certain libel intituled, an admonition to the Parliament* (London, 1572), sig. Aivr. 21; Willis, 65-6.

⁷⁶¹ 'As doth God in the presence of his holy angels...[the pastor]...joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive which shall most shew his own and stir up others' zeal to the glory of that God Whose name they magnify'. Hooker- Bayne, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Fifth Bk*, 173.

⁷⁶² See above, 187, nt. 737.

⁷⁶³ Cartwright's admission as fellow is listed under 'Socij admissi 1560. 5 Aprilis' in SJCA, C3/1, *College Register*, 139.

Judaism'.⁷⁶⁴ In his signification of the organ as a 'popish abuse' one can infer that Cartwright wholeheartedly supported the removal of the organ at St. John's after James Pilkington's arrival in 1558.

Other Cambridge colleges lost organs, in part a result of the hostile tone of the *Admonition*, but also, as was the case at St. John's, under the invectives of returning Marian exiles. James Pilkington and Richard Cox provide notable examples. Cox, in his new post as bishop of Ely, was heavily responsible for the removal of the principal organ at King's in 1570/71.⁷⁶⁵ Though Matthew Parker was also officially involved in that removal, it is hardly likely that he objected to the King's organ or organs in general, for he had a fine organ installed in his London church in 1568.⁷⁶⁶ Cox can be counted among the group of Marian exiles under the influence of Bullinger, an archenemy of the organ. It is also of note that as bishop of Ely, Richard Cox was official Visitor of St. John's College, where his colleague, James Pilkington, had the organ removed.

Ultimately, Whitgift (in due course, archbishop of Canterbury, 1583-1604) though a strong advocate of Calvinist divinity, was an unequivocal opponent of Cartwright, presbyterianism, and all that the *Admonition* represented; though both moderate and radical puritans claimed victory in the ferocious war of pamphlets that followed the publication of the *Admonition*, the battle was in effect won by Bishop Whitgift, a staunch defender of the episcopacy.

⁷⁶⁴ Ayre, *The Works of John Whitgift*, vol. iii, 214; Hooker-Bayne, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Fifth Bk., 171.

⁷⁶⁵ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Recepicio forinseca' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71. After returning from exile in 1559 Cox displayed a loathing of Elizabethan conformity, refusing to minister in her chapel on account of the crucifix and candles within it. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 406. It would be reasonable to assume that the same loathing extended to organs in churches.

⁷⁶⁶ The organ was removed in 1570/71 and xx s was spent 'for setting tharmes in thorgan lofte' just afterwards. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71. Nicholas Thistlethwaite has noted that the blame for the organ's removal may lay more with Cox rather than Parker. Thistlethwaite, N., 'The organ of King's College, Cambridge, 1605 - 1802', *BIOS Journal*, 32 (2008), 6. Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, was a fan of organs, and, to the distaste of many of his peers, Parker had an opulent new organ built in his metropolitan church at his own expense. Willis argues that this is almost certainly a reference to the imposing instrument built in 1564-65 by Henry Langford for the substantial sum of £56, 4s, 9d. Willis, 142.

The Digby affair, 1587-88

At the time William Whitaker assumed the mastership of St. John's in 1587 the University was a divided house, as was the college itself. Whitaker, a moderate puritan and zealous anti-papist,⁷⁶⁷ wished to steer the college toward the type of puritanism exemplified by Emmanuel College and to transform St. John's into a puritan seminary;⁷⁶⁸ however, after butting heads with the conformist faction of the college Whitaker was forced to relinquish his plan. From the moment Whitaker began his tenure tension between the college factions was acute; the Everard Digby affair (1587-88) provided Whitaker his first glimpse into the religiously disunified society of St. John's. The Digby affair is the third major event to illustrate the somber state of worship and music in the chapel of the 1570s and 80s; it may also have laid the seeds for the restoration of enhanced ceremony and music at St. John's after the turn of the century. The first confrontation between Whitaker and the eminent intellectual and scholar, Everard Digby,⁷⁶⁹ began with Whitaker's election as master in 1587, which Digby vigorously opposed. After the election, Digby tallied up further infractions at an alarming rate; above all, it was Digby's anti-Calvinist behaviour that enraged Whitaker. Digby's flagrant provocation caused Whitaker to issue a list of eighteen complaints against Digby on 4 April 1588.⁷⁷⁰ The result of the altercation was

⁷⁶⁷ Peter Lake has described Whitaker as neither nonconformist nor presbyterian; by comparison with radicals like Laurence Chaderton and St. John's fellows, William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright, Whitaker's proclivities represented the moderate puritan middle ground. The moderate puritan-to-presbyterian scale at St. John's might be represented by Whitaker allied with Archbishop Whitgift on the moderate side and Fulke and Cartwright on the radical side. Whitgift had supported Whitaker since his days as undergraduate at Trinity College, where Whitgift had been master; the strongest tie that bound them was their activities against Rome. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 59.

⁷⁶⁸ Laurence Chaderton, Whitaker's brother-in-law, had recently founded Emmanuel, a godly seminary dedicated to the doctrines of puritanism; the surplice was absent from the college until January 1605. An anonymous observer in 1603 reported that at Emmanuel 'they do follow a private course of public prayer after their own fashion both Sundays, Holy days and week days' and receive communion 'sitting upon forms about the Communion Table'. Peter Lake has shown that Chaderton was unequivocally presbyterian, while Whitaker remained a moderate puritan, particularly in his role as anti-papal polemicist. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 55-59, 169.

⁷⁶⁹ Everard Digby matriculated as sizar of St. John's on 25 October 1567. He was admitted as scholar on 9 November 1570. Digby received the M.A. in 1574 and the B.D. in 1581. He became a Lady Margaret fellow on 12 March 1573, a principal lecturer in 1584, and senior fellow on 10 July 1585. Although brazen in nature, his intellect and strong conformist proclivities proved challenging to Whitaker. Digby was a cousin of the Digbys of Rutlandshire, well-known Catholic recusants. The family patriarch, also named Everard Digby, was father to another Everard Digby, a notorious conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot, executed in 1606. Lee, S.L., 'Digby, Everard (1549-1592)', *DNB*, 50; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 85.

⁷⁷⁰ Whitaker delivered the eighteen complaints against Digby in a letter dated 4 April 1588. Allegations included suspicions of Digby's papism, accusations of Digby's inveighing against

Digby's ejection. Though Cecil and Whitgift demanded Digby's reinstatement, Whitaker, together with the aid of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester - who had flexed his radical protestant muscles on numerous occasions, not only at St. John's but also at Corpus Christi College, Oxford⁷⁷¹ - obtained formal confirmation of Digby's expulsion.

Relevant to the discussion here is an examination of Digby's conformist stance and his anti-Calvinist agenda, both of which are illustrated in his reply to accusations levied by Whitaker in 1588.⁷⁷² He violently denied a charge of popery, replying 'I have been and am ready to take the oath of supremacy, to subscribe unto the articles of religion; to the book of common prayer; therefore there is no such suspicion made by any honest man, but only by some schismatical precisians by professed adversaries'.⁷⁷³ Digby's contempt for Calvinism was indeed real; his sermons refuting Calvinist doctrine drew upon an erudite mixture of medieval scholastic theologians and philosophers, the Church fathers, and the 'hermetic' works of Greek Neoplatonism.⁷⁷⁴

Among all the charges, it was Digby's support of formal ceremonial, including vestments, copes, and music that illustrates the sober services at St. John's under Whitaker. Apparently, Digby missed rich visual and musical ceremony to such a

Calvinists (whom he considered enemies of the Church), as well as complaints over a sermon preached against voluntary poverty and the use of old copes and vestments in cushions. Whitaker, who had promised Cecil to be a fount of 'peace, concord and consensus' and remove 'occasions of faction', attempted to use Digby's infractions against the statutes to expel him; however, accusations of papistry exacerbated by the Catholic ties connected to Digby's family proved insufficient grounds for expulsion. As Charles Nicholl and Richard Rex have realised, Whitaker and Calvinist Cambridge were quick to equate anti-puritan sentiments with pro-Catholic subscription. Nicholl, C., *A Cup of News. The Life of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1984), 25; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 85.

⁷⁷¹ Dudley stepped in on various occasions, including the election of the Roman Catholic, Robert Harrison, to the presidency of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1568 and the release of Thomas Wilcox after his imprisonment following the publication of *An Admonition to the Parliament*.

⁷⁷² Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 85. The precise legal course of the Digby affair is not recorded; however, as Rex has observed, the general outlines can be reconstructed from references in the ample correspondence it generated. The above incidents occurred before Digby's expulsion in 1588. 'The answers of William Whitaker to the objections offered by Everard Digby' in BL Lansdowne MS 57, fols. 175r-76r, especially fol. 175v. Further details are found in a supplementary paper, fols. 177r-78r; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 86.

⁷⁷³ *University Registry Guard Books* in Cambridge University Archives: CUR 93, no. 6; Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 173.

⁷⁷⁴ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 85; Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 175-76.

degree that he attended services in King's College Chapel,⁷⁷⁵ where he would have heard polyphonic settings sung by a sumptuously dressed choir. This comes as no great surprise when evaluating payments for chapel attire and music acquisition during the tenure of Provost Roger Goad. The *Mundum Books* and the *Year Lists of Members on the Foundation*, demonstrate that Goad supported the choir (of which his son Robert was a member)⁷⁷⁶ and its master, John Tomkins. Further, although the chapel had lost its organ in 1570, King's chapel accounts of the 1570s indicate increased music acquisition, some of it polyphonic.⁷⁷⁷ Small wonder that Digby, in his thirst for ceremony and music, was drawn to King's services with their relatively complex protestant music and opulently appointed choir - a far cry from services held in the bleak chapel at St. John's, which relied on a meager diet of metrical psalms to enhance the liturgy. Digby was frank concerning his favour of copes, recounting to William Fulke, then vice-chancellor, that 'the use of them is very solemn and religious as may appear by the service used in her majesty's chapel and cathedral churches'. He went on to oppose Calvin, who some (including Fulke) declared against the surplice and sign of the cross, noting that Calvin 'had his errors'.⁷⁷⁸ Ultimately, one might describe Digby as a conformist with a penchant for rich ceremony, visual and musical; in this respect he reflected Elizabeth's own favour of formal ceremony and music. The ceremonial and musical vacuum at St. John's indicated by Digby's statements was to open the door to a renewed interest in singers and organs during the first quarter of the next century.

To summarise: radical Calvinist thought and doctrine had found a home at St. John's during the 1560s, 70s, and 80s. This had been demonstrated by Longworth, Fulke, and their followers during the vestment controversy and the reordering of the chapel and its ceremonial. During the *Admonition* controversy only a small number of St. John's fellows chose to support Cartwright and his advocacy of presbyterian church government. Many puritan fellows of St. John's held more mainstream views and helped form the backbone of puritan preachers bent on evangelising the realm.

⁷⁷⁵ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 85.

⁷⁷⁶ Robert Goad is listed as chorister in 1593/94 and was admitted scholar on 24 August 1594. See below, 202, nt. 805 and Vol. II, Supplement One, 420, nt. 169.

⁷⁷⁷ The accounts for the 1570s record acquisition of four- and five-part music (see below, 202, nt. 805). This is the type of repertory Digby would have heard at King's in the 1580s.

⁷⁷⁸ *Cambridge University Registry Guard Book* 93, no. 6; Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 173.

Patrick Collinson's survey of preachers active in Suffolk in the 1580s has shown that out of eighty-one, thirty had been St. John's members, above all during the years surrounding 1570.⁷⁷⁹ Other members became leading puritan MPs from 1570 on. The perpetuation of church music, albeit in a simple form, appears common to all St. John's protestants, conservative and radical alike. It is possible that the majority of St. John's puritans who garnered position, power, and notoriety, even radical followers of Cartwright, agreed with Cartwright's call to sing the Psalms simply and forbid the use of organs. Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that the Calvinist minimum of psalm singing characterised chapel worship at St. John's throughout the period and that an organ was in no way involved or present in services.

The Statutes of Elizabeth I of 1580 and their bearing on chapel ceremony

Throughout the tension and factional rivalry of the 1560s and 70s, much of the aggravation was exacerbated by the calamitous state of the statutes, which finally demanded a thorough revision. In a letter to Cecil in June 1575, Richard Cox, bishop of Ely and official Visitor, argued that the troubles had their origin partly in 'the folly and stoutnesse of unbridled youth' and partly from the physical state of the statutes, which had undergone such an enormity 'of erasure, insertion, and annotation' during the royal visitations of the previous thirty years that it was no longer possible to be certain of what they were meant to say.⁷⁸⁰ After Cox's urgent suggestion was ignored, Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Cecil complaining that there was no 'authentic book of statutes in the treasury' of St. John's, but instead only copies which had been 'rased, blotted, interlined, and corrupted with marginal additions, so as indeed no man can certainly affirm what is statute, what not'.⁷⁸¹ Rex notes that the quires into which the statutes were broken for editorial purposes as well as the blotches and marginal notes can still be seen today, and observes that the altered copies offer a compendium of English Reformation history.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁹ Collinson, P., *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1967), 128; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 91.

⁷⁸⁰ Cox to Cecil, 29 June 1575: BL Lansdowne MS 20, fol. 158r; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 80.

⁷⁸¹ Grindal to Cecil, 23 April 1576. Printed in Nicholson, W., (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal* (Cambridge, 1843), 358; Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 80.

⁷⁸² The statutes and the emendations record the following events: Henrician revisions that expunged the name of Fisher; the determined purge of 'popery' under Edward VI; the return to Fisher's 1530 statutes during Mary Tudor's reign; and the return to the Edwardine state of the statutes under

On 13 July 1576 a royal commission was established to revise the statutes and restore good order to the college. Although Cecil was appointed its head, it was actually manned by Bishop Cox and six Cambridge heads of house, including John Whitgift (Trinity), Edward Hawford (Christ's), and Thomas Ithell (Jesus). The commission's powers were extensive and could overrule the normal mechanisms of college governance, nominating and removing officers at will.⁷⁸³ Ultimately, the Elizabethan Statutes were drafted and written in 1580.⁷⁸⁴ Under 'Expensae necessariae' in the *Rentals* for 1580/81 a payment of xxvj s, viij d is made 'for wrytinge ye Statute booke Januarie 25' and John Scheres is paid ij s 'for byndinge ye statute booke'.

The provision for liturgy and music laid out in the Elizabethan statutes⁷⁸⁵ shows traces of both pre- and post-Edwardine directives. For example, in regard to the provision for the four chapel ministers the Elizabethan statute 'De numero et officio Ministrorum Sacelli' remains practically the same as that in Fisher's statutes of 1530 and Henry VIII's statutes of 1545.⁷⁸⁶ With certain alterations, the statute pertaining to the nature of services (Cap. XXI, 'De Cultu Dei') appears a copy of the Edwardine marginal notes. The two prayers to be said privately in the morning ('*Domine sancte Pater omnipotens...*') and evening ('*O Rex gloriose...*') by the master, fellows, and scholars remain largely unaltered.

The master, fellows, scholars, pensioners, sizars, and subsizars⁷⁸⁷ are required to attend the services on Sundays and certain feasts; perhaps the most significant

Elizabeth I (the extensive marginal notes outline provision for Prayer Book ritual and ceremony). Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 80.

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁴ 'The Statutes of St. John's College, Cambridge, extracted from MS Harl. Mus. Brit. 7050 et Collectione T. Baker' in Appendix 2 to [House of Commons] *Fifth Report from the Select Committee on Education*. London, 1818; facsimile reprint, Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969. This book of statutes was in the possession of Thomas Baker. I am grateful to archivist, Malcolm Underwood, for making this document available to me.

⁷⁸⁵ Cap. 18, 'De numero et officio Ministrorum Sacelli', and Cap. 21, 'De Cultu Dei', in The Statutes of St. John's College, Cambridge (1580). *Fifth Report*, 431-32.

⁷⁸⁶ One, a sacrist, is delegated to oversee and maintain the service books and procure bread and wine. Of the remaining three ministers, one is to be subsacrist and to aid the sacrist and ring the smaller bells within the chapel. Another is to maintain the clock. It was the duty of one of the remaining ministers to ring the bell in the morning and in the evening after the main gate had been locked. The sacrist is to be elected each year. Cap. 18, 'De numero et officio Ministrorum Sacelli', in The Statutes of St. John's College, Cambridge (1580). *Fifth Report*, 428-9.

⁷⁸⁷ 'subsizars' are added in the Elizabethan statutes.

instruction, though, is that the master, fellows, and scholars are to sing in the chapel on Sundays and certain feasts as well as at Matins and Vespers at times set by the master.⁷⁸⁸ This Elizabethan statute continues to emphasise ceremonial attire such as surplices and hoods, though mention of silk or leather is omitted. The provision for surplice and hood in the Elizabethan Statutes represents a snub to radicals like Fulke and Longworth, who wished to forbid their use.

As in the Henrician Statutes, the master, or in his absence the president (and on the first day of each term, the sacrist) is to celebrate the services of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Also, the instruction for the fellows, scholars, pensioners, sizars, and subsizars to occupy the same seats in chapel on feasts days and weekdays is identical to that in the Henrician Statutes. Baker observes that the note concerning the commemorations for the foundress is absent.

Prior to William Whitaker's tenure,⁷⁸⁹ the chapel remained so bare that it involved deploying a collapsible, trestle communion table: in 1575/76 *iiij d* is paid 'for a locke and key for ye little house to keep in [bremes, broomes?] and tressles⁷⁹⁰ serving for ye comunion table at the same time for broomes to sweep it'.⁷⁹¹ Apparently the table was set upon trestles and placed in between the stalls at the time of Holy Communion; the payment suggests that when not in use the trestles were stored in a large closet ('little house') with brooms, most likely in the east end of the chapel. Although Whitaker maintained the principal ceremonial furniture of protestant worship - communion table and pulpit - he may have grown tired of the trestle

⁷⁸⁸ 'Singulis quoque Dominicis diebus, caeterisque festis, matutinas atque etiam verspertinas preces, Magister, socii, ac discipuli decantent intra sacellum horis congruis per magistrum...'. Cap. 21, 'De Cultu Dei', in *The Statutes of St. John's College, Cambridge* (1580). *Fifth Report*, 431.

⁷⁸⁹ During the tenures of Masters Nicholas Sheppard (1569-74), John Still (1574-77), and Richard Howland (1577-87).

⁷⁹⁰ A communion table set on trestles appears to have been common in evangelical and later puritan chapels. For example, in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (vol. ii, 288) an incident on 3 September 1553 is described in which an enraged Catholic threatened, 'If he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face. And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it'. Also, in the Landsdowne MSS bound with the Queen's letters stands, 'Varieties in the service and the administration used', dated 14 February 1564 [1565]: Table. 'The Table standeth in ye body of ye church in some places, in others hit standeth in ye chauncell. In some places the Table standeth Alterlyke distant from ye walle a yarde, in some others in ye middest of ye chauncell north and south. In some places the Table ys joyned, in others hit standeth uppon Trestells. In some ye Table hath a carpet, in others hit hath none'. The extracts above are taken from: Tomlinson, J.T., *The North Side of the Table*, Church Association Tract 088 (c. 1890).

⁷⁹¹ SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 16r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1575/76, first term.

communion table, for in 1588/89 during the first year of this tenure, x s is spent 'for a communion table'.⁷⁹² Most likely, this table was stored in traditional fashion at the east end of the chapel and brought in between the stalls during Holy Communion. The *Rentals* are absent of references to the pulpit prior to 1593/94; however, during that year large sums were spent on 'mending ye pulpitt for hinges dore & stairs' and 'mattes for ye pulpit'.⁷⁹³

7. 1600 - c. 1625. An awakening of ceremony and music: chapel beautification and musical rejuvenation

At the close of the sixteenth century Cambridge University continued to be dominated by a 'confident reformed orthodoxy';⁷⁹⁴ there remains little evidence of 'any real or systematic opposition to the prevailing mood' (i.e. the hold of Calvinism on liturgy, ceremony, and music) in Cambridge at the turn of the century.⁷⁹⁵ There was, however, a minority within the university unhappy with the contemporary religious climate of Cambridge, and in particular with the relatively bleak state of ceremony and music in college chapels. This group included the notorious Johnian Everard Digby, whose discontent was splashed across Cambridge in a very public altercation; however, there were other, less vociferous polemicists in the university, like Launcelot Andrewes (master Pembroke College, 1589-1605, bishop of Winchester 1619-26),⁷⁹⁶ who laboured on steadily to rid the universities (and indeed the entire realm) of the Calvinist stifling of ritual and music. Andrewes was to become a prominent spokesman for the revival of beauty and formality in worship (already blossoming in Oxford by the end of the sixteenth century); later as a bishop of the so-called 'high church' Andrewes came to advocate a formal chapel

⁷⁹² SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 286r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1588/89, second term.

⁷⁹³ SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 392r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1593/94, first term.

⁷⁹⁴ Hoyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity*, 60.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁶ Launcelot Andrewes (1555-1626) attended Merchant Tayor's School before continuing on to a brilliant career. His appointments included: chaplain to Elizabeth I in 1588, chaplain to Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift, as well as master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1589, dean of Westminster (1601-05), Lord Almoner (1605-19), bishop of Chichester (1605-09), bishop of Ely (1609-19), and bishop of Winchester (1619-26). Andrewes, like Richard Mountague, a co-member of the so-called 'Durham House group' (see below, 207-13), distanced himself from both puritan and Roman leanings; in 1588, for example, Andrewes emphatically vindicated the reformed character of the Church of England against claims of Roman Catholicism and praised the writing of John Calvin.

arrangement (e.g. the placement of a highly decorated communion table on steps behind rails) that through William Laud's endeavours became styled 'Laudian'.⁷⁹⁷ In addition to opulent furnishings and decoration Andrewes envisaged a musical liturgy enhanced by choral music with organs; the Chapel Royal, where Andrewes became dean in 1618, remained a paragon of formality in worship and music and no doubt influenced his musical tastes.⁷⁹⁸

During the reign of James I a more extensive criticism of puritan divinity and Calvinist theology was on the rise, both at national and university levels. One of the most prominent clerics to contribute to the polemical battle against Calvinist theology was the Dutch theologian, Jacob Arminius (1560 - 1609); his doctrines and religious practice emphasised free will over unconditional predestination and an acceptance of ordered and uniform practices of worship.⁷⁹⁹ Although Arminius had been ruffling protestant feathers on the Continent during the opening years of the seventeenth century, his doctrines first began to flourish in England after his death.⁸⁰⁰ As the prominence of Calvinist theology began slowly dissolving, Calvin's partisans in the puritan House of Commons voted both Arminians and papists capital enemies of the state.⁸⁰¹ James I detested presbyterianism and Arminianism equally and advocated that the Synod of Dort (Dordrecht, 1618-19) punish Arminians as heretics, which it did.⁸⁰² Although James I had expressed clear anti-Arminian views and wished to leave the ceremony of the Church at the *status quo*,⁸⁰³ his tastes in church ceremony and music changed, becoming heavily influenced by William Laud, his chaplain, and

⁷⁹⁷ See Vol. II, Supplement One, 401-2 and Illustration S.3. Plan of Launcelot Andrewes chapel, 403.

⁷⁹⁸ Andrewes was dean of the Chapel Royal from 1618 to 1626.

⁷⁹⁹ Arminius was born in Oudewater, near Utrecht, in 1560. After graduating from Leiden, he studied under the French reformer, Theodore Beza (1519-1605), in Geneva, and returned to Amsterdam as a pastor in 1587 'with flawlessly protestant credentials'. Controversy surrounded his appointment as professor of theology at Leiden in 1602. He remained there - during an ever-escalating debate over predestination - until his death in 1609. Hoyle, 116.

⁸⁰⁰ For a comprehensive overview of Arminianism, particularly in Cambridge, see Hoyle, 103-30.

⁸⁰¹ William Prynne held Arminius responsible for 'Hereticall and Grace-destroying' new teaching, 'which of late almost shouldered out of doores, the ancient, established and resolved Doctrines of our Church'. Prynne, W., *Anti-Arminianism or the Church of England's old antithesis to new Arminianisme* (London, 1630), sig. A2-A3; Hoyle, 115.

⁸⁰² Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 101; Hoyle, 123-6.

⁸⁰³ At the Hampton Court Conference (January, 1604) James I defended predestination under conditions that the elect could hold justifying faith; however, the ceremonies of the church 'remained largely unchanged as the King endorsed the status quo and left such issues to his bishops'. Babbage, S.B., *Puritanism and Richard Bancroft* (London, 1962), 68; Hoyle, 95. James I eventually witnessed ceremonies directing greater attention to music, notably during his trip to Scotland in 1616.

other members of the early 'high church' movement, including James Montague and Launcelot Andrewes; by the time James visited Scotland in 1616 in an attempt to ward off the threat of presbyterianism, it is evident that he had grown more accustomed and receptive to ceremonies that included fine choirs and fine organs, like the magnificent Thomas Dallam double organ installed at Holyrood Palace in conjunction with the royal visit. The gentlemen and children (i.e. members of the choir) of the Chapel Royal attended him.

While Arminianism was on the rise, the rich musical liturgy often associated with it influenced an embryonic 'high church' movement, which had begun to manifest itself at Court and within Cambridge colleges during the 1580s. An initial phase identified by Payne *c.* 1580 - *c.* 1603 witnessed an increase in the acquisition and copying of polyphony, particularly at King's (both four-⁸⁰⁴ and five-part works⁸⁰⁵) and Trinity,⁸⁰⁶ a greater interest in the organ,⁸⁰⁷ a rise in the significance of the organist, and an increase in prominent musicians (e.g. Edward Gibbons, John Tomkins, and Henry Loosemore). All these aspects became more prominent during a second phase, *c.* 1603 - *c.* 1630.⁸⁰⁸ The early phase of the high church movement was linked to the pro-musical apologia of intellectuals like Richard Hooker and John Case, and was reflected in the revival of choirs, polyphonic choral music, and organs in Oxford, at the end of the sixteenth century, particularly at Magdalen College and New College -

⁸⁰⁴ Polyphony at King's is noted during the tenure of Provost Philip Baker. For example, during Elizabeth I's visit of Cambridge in 1564, the choir at King's sung an anthem in prick-song: 'The following morning at the sermon that she attended, the choir sang a Litany followed by 'in prick-song, a song'. Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions*, vol. I, 7-12. Under '1564'; BL Harl. MS 7033, fols. 114r, 127r.

⁸⁰⁵ During the tenure of Roger Goad in the 1570s and 80s, the choir sang a broad repertory of canticles, hymns, and anthems in four and five parts. A re-evaluation of Roger Goad's protestant agenda demonstrates that he supported the choir: this is suggested in the fact that his son Robert was a choir member (Robert Goad is listed as chorister in 1593/94 and was admitted scholar on 24 August 1594. KCA, KCHR/3/1/13/3. fols. 369r, 366r. Under the years 1593-95 in *Year Lists of Members on the Foundation*, vol. III. See Vol. II, Supplement One, 420, nt. 169) and that the master of choristers, John Tomkins, was given generous leeway in the acquisition of four- and five-part music (see KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/17. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1576/77; KCAR/4/1/1/17. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1577/78). Further, Goad was one of the earliest Cambridge heads of house to procure an organ after 1600.

⁸⁰⁶ After the arrival of *informator* John Hilton in 1593/94 a sharp increase in part-music copying occurred at Trinity, as well as a major overhaul of the organ. Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 59, 66.

⁸⁰⁷ A magnificent organ by Thomas Dallam was built on site at King's College between June 1605 and August 1606. A comprehensive account of the organ and its installation is recorded in the *Mundum Book* for 1605/06. The 'charges' have been analysed in thorough detail by Nicholas Thistlethwaite. Thistlethwaite, 'The Organ of King's College, Cambridge', 4-42.

⁸⁰⁸ Payne, 78-79.

for each of which John Chappington built organs (1596/97⁸⁰⁹ and 1597/98, respectively).⁸¹⁰

Despite these events at the larger Cambridge and Oxford foundations, little changed in the realm of ceremony and music in smaller colleges still under the thumb of Calvinist heads of house. In Cambridge, at colleges like Pembroke, Sidney Sussex, Jesus, Christ's, and St. John's, ceremony remained austere; while some chapels continued to deploy the metrical psalms and chant the canticles as the only means of musical adornment, others omitted music altogether.⁸¹¹

With the death of Master Whitaker in 1595 St. John's had been released from a puritan vice; some fellows began to question the necessity of somber ceremonial and music. Whitaker's hold on the college and chapel had impeded the resurgence of music generated by the pro-church music apologia of the Oxford scholars Matthew Gwinne (or Gwynne)⁸¹² and John Case,⁸¹³ the anonymous vernacular treatise *In praise of musick* (1586),⁸¹⁴ as well as Richard Hooker's defence of church music in *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. These works may have contributed to a large extent to a surge in part-music with organs at the larger Oxbridge foundations of New College

⁸⁰⁹ 'Solutum Mro Chappington pro organis per billam, 33li, 13s, 8d'. MCA, LCE/6. Under 'Custus Sacelli' in *Libri Computi*, 1596/97.

⁸¹⁰ 'So[lutum] Johanni Chappington for making the orgaines, lx li'; 'So[lutum] guilding the organes, x li'; 'So[lutum] for wainescote for the frame of the organes, xj li'. NCA, 7586. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1597/98.

⁸¹¹ According to 'Common Disorders in the University', written nearly a quarter of a century later in 1636, it was reported - reputedly by John Cosin and Richard Sterne (master of Jesus College) - that the Prayer Book was not used properly and 'they sing nothing at all'. Hoyle, 184.

⁸¹² Fellow, St. John's College, Oxford, 1574. 'Gwynne, Matthew', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁸¹³ The Aristotelian pedagogue, Dr. John Case of St. John's College, Oxford, made an emphatically Aristotelian defence of organs in *Apologia Musices* (1588). Both Case and Hooker emphasize music - and specifically harmony - as an expression of divine and human order. This concept is taken over directly from the Aristotelian and Platonic thinking that permeated much of the literature of the time. Here, however, it has particular relevance to the organ'. Harper, J., 'The politics of the organ, c. 1530-1670, with special reference to the period 1559 to 1620', unpublished paper given at the Aberdeen SEEK conference, April 2005.

⁸¹⁴ The movement had been propelled by a series of Latin apologia, including a Latin oration defending music, which Gwinne delivered as lecturer in music in 1582 and published. The re-established university press at Oxford issued through its publisher, John Barnes, the anonymous vernacular treatise *The praise of musick wherein besides the antiquitie, dignitie, delectation & use therof in civill matters, is also declared the sober and lawfull use of the same in the congregation and church of God* (Oxford, 1586), which included chapters defending church music and organs and also presented a defence of cultivated polyphony and English metrical psalmody. Quitslund, B., *The Reformation in rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English metrical psalter, 1547-1603*, (Aldershot, 2008), 260.

and Magdalen in Oxford, and King's and Trinity in Cambridge. St. John's College, by contrast, took longer to respond; it was under the leadership of Whitaker's successors during the early years of the seventeenth century that such developments first found resonance.

Under the tenure of Richard Clayton (master, 1595-1612), Whitaker's successor, the college still lacked a body of singers and an organ, making significant musical change impossible; however, a desire for richer ceremonial adornment began to awaken. In the election of the new master in 1595 Clayton had been the choice of Elizabeth I and Cecil over Henry Alvey, a strong puritan and Whitaker's proposed successor; this may reflect Elizabeth's distaste for puritanism and favour of a middle-of-the-road Anglican like Clayton. The austerity under Whitaker began to give way: after Clayton's election he was presented with a set of fine silver plate for the celebration of Communion⁸¹⁵ by William Cecil, who also, it would appear, began to succumb to the richness of ceremony favoured by Elizabeth and her Chapel Royal. Despite the indolence of Clayton's successor, Owen Gwynne (master, 1612-34),⁸¹⁶ more significant moves toward chapel adornment were made, including the revival of a singing body, as the evidence below might suggest. This period marked the beginning of a return to music and elaborate ceremonial throughout England and the universities; it would culminate in the ascendancy of the 'Durham House group'⁸¹⁷ and the religious tenets and ceremonial tastes of the 'high church' in the 1630s in both Cambridge and Oxford.

A general interest in chapel beautification and musical expansion began to sweep Cambridge after the turn of the century. At the same time King's was installing the magnificent Thomas Dallam organ in 1605, the chapel of St. John's was being newly wainscoted at great expense.⁸¹⁸ A series of payments in 1604/05 records extensive work in the lower chapel: the carpenter is paid 'for 5 days worke...mending the

⁸¹⁵ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 90.

⁸¹⁶ Hoyle notes that Gwynne was chiefly famous for his idleness; he could never qualify as an energetic conformist and does not appear to have had a particular theological allegiance. Hoyle, 105; see also Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 198-9.

⁸¹⁷ See below, 207-13.

⁸¹⁸ 'payde to Goodman Beton the joyner for wainscotinge the chappell, & for mending the old seats there & some plates in the parlour & gallerie in toto xxjiij li, x s, viij '. SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 123r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1604/05.

sealing of the lowe chappell, where the staires had been'; on 14 December 'Longe the carpenter' and his labourers are paid xxij s, ix d for 'whiting the lower chappell making up the wall, where the olde doore was into the woodyard, for stuffe thereunto & other things'; and on 14 December the masons are paid 'for a weekes worke about the setting of the paving in [the] lower chappell & the working of a new doore into the woodyarde'.⁸¹⁹

The chapel's appearance was steadily improving under Gwynne's tenure, despite the indolence attributed to him by Baker. The improvements may suggest the involvement of the senior fellows. 'Longe the carpenter' was involved in more work on the chapel in 1612/13 when he and three labourers are paid xxiiij s, iiij d 'for mending the chappell & for whitinge of it'. Also, in the first term of that year, iiij s is paid for 'a frame of wainscot in ye Chappell at 4 foote in length & for payntinge of it', and in the fourth term viij d is spent 'for a panel of new wainscot in ye chappell dore'.⁸²⁰ Beautification the chapel continued in 1624/25, when extensive bills for timber, stone, and ironwork are recorded.⁸²¹

The purchase of beautiful textiles is also recorded during Gwynne's tenure. For example, in 1619/20 opulent cushions are acquired: the cushion for the pulpit was covered on top in satin and underneath in damask; xxix s, x d is spent on a pillow stuffed with feathers and decorated with lace and silk tassels with 'a cover of Buckrom'.⁸²²

The list of service books acquired between 1603 and 1630 reflects all the hallmarks of the reformed protestant liturgy. A strong re-affirmation of protestantism came in the form of 'the booke of thanksgiving after the deliverance from the treason against the Parliament house, iiij d',⁸²³ purchased in the fourth term of 1604/05. Further payments that academic year included xxj s, x d 'for a new Communion booke & 4 new Psalters'. In 1614/15 the college procured 'a Bible in folio in 2 Volumes soft' as

⁸¹⁹ SJCA, SB4/3, fol. 123v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1604/05.

⁸²⁰ SJCA, SB4/3, fol. 307r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1612/13.

⁸²¹ SJCA, SB4/4, fol. 143r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1624/25, third term.

⁸²² SJCA, SB4/4, fol. 26r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1619/20, second term.

⁸²³ A reference to the Gunpowder Plot, which unleashed an intensified denunciation of Catholicism on the country as a whole. SJCA, SB4/3, fol. 117v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1604/05.

well as '4 service bookes in folio' for xxxv s and '6 other service bookes in quarto' for xxiiij s.⁸²⁴ The Bible was most likely a copy of the contemporary King James translation. 'Twelve bookes for the faste' were purchased for xij s during the second term of 1624/25.⁸²⁵ In February 1626 '12 bookes of Thanksgiving' are purchased for iiij d and '4 common prayer bookes in folio' for xxviiij s.⁸²⁶

The choir at Southwell Minster was revived in 1604 upon the reinstatement of its collegiate status. This raises speculation as to whether the Keyton scholarships were once again absorbing ex-choristers from Southwell. The *College Register* lists four Keyton scholars between 1607 and 1634,⁸²⁷ two of whom were admitted during Owen Gwynne's tenure, and all of whom with the exception of one (Thomas Henshawe of Middlesex, 1607/08) came from Nottinghamshire. Three more Keyton scholars were admitted from Nottinghamshire after William Beale assumed the mastership in 1634.⁸²⁸ The total number of Keyton scholars through 1642 is eight. It is possible that the seven from Nottinghamshire may have sung in the choir at Southwell⁸²⁹ and that, like Edward Mason (1618 - 1679), who was admitted at the outset of Beale's tenure (Keyton scholar, 1634; B.A., 1637/8; M.A., 1641), studied at Southwell School.⁸³⁰ William Horbery, who had been admitted a chorister at Southwell Minster in May 1632, became a scholar of St. John's in September of the same year⁸³¹ (he was later admitted Keyton fellow on 15 April 1641, during Beale's tenure).⁸³² It is reasonable to assume that these scholars were chosen in part for their

⁸²⁴ SJCA, SB4/3, fol. 352r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1614/15.

⁸²⁵ SJCA, SB4/4, fol. 143r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1624/25.

⁸²⁶ SJCA, SB4/4, fol. 166v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1625/26, first term.

⁸²⁷ Thomas Henshawe, adm., 15 March 1607/08; William Martiall, adm., March 1610/11; Rutland Snoden, adm., 7 April 1620; Ol. Dand, adm., 31 March 1626. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 292-5. Under 'Admissiones Sociorum Hujus Collegii...'.
⁸²⁸ Edward Mason, Keyton scholar, 1634 (B.A., 1637/8; M.A., 1641); Joseph Burnell, adm., 27 February 1636/37; William Horbery, adm., 15 April 1641.

⁸²⁹ An examination of the records of Southwell Minster is needed to confirm that all St. John's scholars and fellows sang in the Southwell choir.

⁸³⁰ 'Mason, Edward', in Venn, *ACANTA*.

⁸³¹ SJCA, D59/49, C3/2, 307. Payne contends that the first two dates 'hardly tally' and that the long, nine-year gap may suggest that his Southwell choristership was purely nominal. Payne, 106. Might the very short period at Southwell (May-September 1632) have been simply a means of attaining admission at St. John's? An examination of Southwell records may help clarify this.

⁸³² SJCA, D59/49; SJCA, C3/2. *Register of Officers, Fellows and Scholars. College Orders, ect.*, vol II, 1612-1711, 307; Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 295. Under 'Admissiones Sociorum Hujus Collegii...'.

musical abilities, and that as they progressed through their studies they continued to lend their trained musical skills to the body of singers.

Gwynne's efforts to revive of a group of trained singers may further be suggested in 1623/24. Archival evidence shows Gwynne was petitioned by one Ralph Hare, a generous benefactor to the new library, to grant a sub-sizarship, or poor-scholarship, to 'a pore boy named Daynes', who evidently had 'some skylle in songe'; Hare also suggested Gwynne 'bestowe on him a Quyrister's place in your Chapple'.⁸³³ Ian Payne maintains that Hare may have been mistaken in assuming that choristerships existed at St. John's in the early 1600s;⁸³⁴ it would be odd, however, for one so closely affiliated with the college to make such a comment without assuming that some sort of singing body was in place. Further, the matriculation of the two Keyton scholars from Nottinghamshire admitted during Gwynne's tenure (Snoden, 1620; Dand, 1626) as well as that of William Horbery, who had been admitted chorister of Southwell in May 1632 and scholar of St. John's the following September, contributes to the notion that the singing body was once again being enhanced by the voices of trained former choristers. Although Owen Gwynne may have attempted to recruit trained singers into the choral body of St. John's, Cambridge, it is unlikely that he could have expected the performance of polyphonic items, in contrast to his successor, William Beale, whose efforts were to open the door to verse services and anthems with organ.

8. 1634-1642. William Beale and the Laudian reordering of the chapel

The Durham House group and the realisation of the 'beauty of holiness'

The fashionable stress on preaching during the reign of James I (1603-1625) was replaced by an emphasis on prayer and the sacraments during that of Charles I (1625-47).⁸³⁵ By the time Charles I ascended the throne, services in cathedrals (particularly Durham), parish churches, and university chapels once again began to emphasise the

⁸³³ SJCA, D105/126. Mark Nicholls' research has demonstrated that Master Gwynne received many such letters from aggressive fathers and courtiers lobbying for the elections of sons or protégés to fellowships. Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', 116-118.

⁸³⁴ Payne, 106.

⁸³⁵ Colclough, D., (ed.), *John Donne's Professional Lives* (Woodbridge, 2003), 199.

ritual and its edification. The larger foundations had responded promptly to the changes in liturgical and musical taste, however, in smaller establishments without statutory choirs like Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Jesus, Christ's, and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, the hands-on efforts of the so-called 'Durham House group' (1617-30)⁸³⁶ and its followers were required to effect lasting changes on ceremonial and music.

The Durham House group consisted of a highly influential circle of clerics surrounding Richard Neile, St. John's alumnus⁸³⁷ and bishop of Durham (1617-28),⁸³⁸ together with Neile, the spiritual and administrative leader, the group affected ritual change on a national scale. Members often met at Neile's London residence, Durham House in the Strand, and included most notably John Cosin (1594 - 1672) and William Laud (1573 - 1645). Through his associations with James I⁸³⁹ and Charles I⁸⁴⁰ and his ecclesiastical power as archbishop of Canterbury (1633-35) Laud enforced conformity in ritual on a national scale and effected a highly adorned and

⁸³⁶ The 'Durham House group' refers to a group of churchmen, which embodied pro-Arminian doctrines and took an anti-Calvinist stance on predestination. The group was also keen to bolster a rich ceremonial that in the earlier words of Richard Hooker should promote and celebrate 'the beauty of holiness' in the Church of England. They took their name from the London residence in the Strand of the group figurehead, Richard Neile (1562-1640), bishop of Durham (1617-28) and later archbishop of York. Members who passed through the doors of Durham House included William Laud, John Buckeridge, John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Richard Mountague, Francis White, and Thomas Jackson, president of Corpus Christi College (1630-40). Durham House group members would eventually form the nucleus of the 'high church' movement, though Laud was to symbolically leave the group in 1626, the year he became dean of the Chapel Royal. Foster, A., 'Durham House group' (*act.* 1617-1630), *ODNBO*.

⁸³⁷ Born in Westminster, London; bapt. at St. Margaret's, Westminster, London, 11 March 1561/2; attended Westminster School, London; matriculated pensioner, St. John's College, Cambridge, Easter 1580; B.A., 1583/4; M.A., 1587; B.D., 1595; D.D., 1600. 'Neile, Richard', in Venn, *ACANTA*.

⁸³⁸ After 'the much translated' Richard Neile moved to Durham in 1617 his select circle of clerics that met in London included John Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester, William Laud (who had been one of Neile's chaplains and steadily traversed a path of ecclesiastical preferments), Richard Mountague, Thomas Jackson (one of Neile's chaplains), and John Cosin, another of his chaplains. Their links with Oxford (where Laud was president of St. John's College, 1611-21) and Cambridge (particularly through Cosin) extended the ceremonial drive of the group to college chapels. Hoyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity*, 135; Foster, 'Durham House group', *ODNBO*.

⁸³⁹ Laud was royal chaplain to James I.

⁸⁴⁰ Laud was dean of the Chapel Royal until his appointment as archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He endeavoured to reform the Chapel Royal, asking the king to be present at prayers as well as the sermon. The relationship between the king and Laud blossomed and according to Laud, in April 1627 Charles said something 'most graciously...unto me which I have wrote in my heart with indelible character, and great thankfulness to God and the King'. Scott, W., and Bliss, J., (eds.), *Works of the Right Reverend Father in God William Laud, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1846), vol. 3, 204. After a string of appointments he was made privy councillor in April 1627.

decorous style of worship and music which has come to be labeled 'Laudian-style'.⁸⁴¹ Under Laud's influence a revival of richer, more complex choral music enhanced ceremonial at many cathedrals and university chapels; much of this repertory was in the verse-style (and much of it composed polyphony), and for the first time organs were utilised as accompanying instruments along with cornets and sackbuts on feast days. As Hoyle has observed, 'the influence of Laud and the Durham House group was far-reaching, and thanks to one of Neile's chaplains, John Cosin, master of Peterhouse College (1635-42), ideas discussed at Durham House were rapidly aired in Cambridge.'⁸⁴²

It is often debated in contemporary Reformation historiography whether or not the theology of William Beale, like Richard Neile, William Laud, John Cosin, and other members of the Durham House group, embraced the tenets of Arminian doctrine. Some historians, as David Hoyle has observed, have been quick to label all members of the Durham House group 'Arminians'; however, although they may have agreed on the concept of free will, most Durham House members, such as Richard Mountague for example,⁸⁴³ were not entirely sympathetic to Arminius' ideas and often distanced themselves from the term 'Arminian'.⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴¹ Laud was in effect implementing the highly decorated style instituted in Launcelot Andrewes' private chapel. By enforcing conformity in the divine service, particularly in requiring more decorated forms of adornment, Laud 'was merely restoring the Church of England to the rules of its first reformation'. Scott-Bliss, *Works*, vol. 6, 42; Milton, A., 'Laud, William (1573-1645)', *ODNBO*. Laud sought to rebuild the power, wealth, and dignity of the church. His hands-on approach included not only visiting every dioceses, but also revising cathedral statutes. Milton, 'Laud, William'. For more on the elements of Laudian-style see Vol. II, Supplement One, 401-2 and Illustration S.3, 403.

⁸⁴² Hoyle, 134.

⁸⁴³ While fellow of King's, Mountague had been more familiar with the term 'pelagian'; the theories of Jacobus Arminius had not yet reached Mountague's ears, but in principle he sided with those against predestination. Macauley, J.S., 'Richard Mountague, Caroline Bishop, 1575-1641', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Cambridge, 1965), 38.

⁸⁴⁴ In 1628 Neile (then archbishop of York) had been accused by the House of Commons of Arminianism and argued in defence that he had not read three lines of Arminius' writings (Hoyle notes that many 'Arminians' claimed that they had never read Arminius). Nevertheless he felt that he understood what Arminius said and 'could not see what all the fuss was about'; aside from the points of predestination and reprobation, he was in Neile's mind a rigid Calvinist. Hoyle, 114. Hoyle observes that at the Synod of Dort 'Arminianism' became a catch-all term of abuse. The 'Arminianism' of some like William Laud was hard to prove; however, John Cosin, who possessed some of Arminius' works was - for a member of the Durham House group - unusually receptive to some of Arminius' ideas. Equally sympathetic to Arminius was Thomas Jackson. Richard Mountague, by contrast, disliked labels, and in particular renounced the label of 'Arminian': 'I disavow the name and Title of Arminian... I am no more Arminian than they Gomanans; not so much in all probability'. Mountague, R., *Apello Caesarum. A IVST APPEALE FROM Two Vniust INFORMERS* (1625). Facsimile edition (Da Capo Press: New York, 1972). Extracted from 'The Epistle Dedicatory'. The work was dedicated first to James I (written with him in mind), then to Charles I.

What is certain is that Beale, Neile, Laud, Cosin, and others linked their interpretations of contemporary religious doctrine and practice to ceremonial and music full of formality, reverence, and often, extravagance; in the words of Hooker and later Laud, this imbued worship with 'the beauty of holiness'.⁸⁴⁵ Cosin had argued that, during the era of James I, there had been too much emphasis placed on preaching and too little on much else. Cosin 'did not campaign to introduce subtle and Arminian distinctions to the Articles of Religion; he sought a different sort of church. It was ritual and church order, not the theology of predestination, that was discussed behind the doors of Durham House.'⁸⁴⁶ Ultimately, it was not the diktats of theological doctrine that galvanised the members of the Durham House group, but a desire for the edification of the ritual, which included opulent organs and verse-style repertory.

Though most members, like John Cosin and Richard Mountague, did not consider themselves or their rituals Roman Catholic in any way, they admired the reverence and honour associated with ritual in the Roman Catholic Church;⁸⁴⁷ these men and other contemporary clerics like John Normanton of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge⁸⁴⁸ took the view that ceremonial objects and regalia 'honoured' Prayer

⁸⁴⁵ The 'beauty of holiness' stems from a reference to Psalm 96: 9: 'O worship the Lord, in the beauty of holiness'. Richard Hooker borrowed the words in the Fifth Book of *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593–8). Hooker, R., Chapter XXXVIII, 'Of Music with Psalms', *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, the Fifth Book*, Bayne, R., (ed.), (London, 1902), 51. The notion of the 'beauty of holiness' in worship soon began to infiltrate later sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century pro-music apologia, eventually becoming linked to the 'high church' edification of churches and church ceremony. For greater detail see below, Chapter Five, 302–5. Richard Rex has observed that the tremendous value placed on beauty in the services of the European Counter-Reformation may have 'earned the backhanded compliment of a kind of imitation' in Laud's pursuit of the 'beauty of holiness' in church ceremony during the reign of Charles I. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 53.

⁸⁴⁶ Hoyle, 138.

⁸⁴⁷ Mountague repudiated the notion that images, altars, and additional ceremonial trappings were idolatrous. He supported the view that within the English church service regalia and images were elements of 'honour' (*dulia*) and not of 'worship' (*latria*) - two attributes inherent in Roman Catholic worship - stressing that in the English Church holy objects and images were not 'worshipped' - they 'honoured' God and lent dignity to services. Fincham, K., and Tyacke, N., *Altars Restored. The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547- c. 1700* (Oxford, 2007), 126; Mountague, *Apello Caesarum*, 253–265: 257–8. The fascination with Catholic attributes and terminology such as '*dulia*' and '*latria*' contribute to the opinion that Mountague, like John Cosin (perhaps his closest friend), 'looked to the Catholic past with far more interest than toward the Netherlands'. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 173; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 127; Hoyle, 142.

⁸⁴⁸ After 1636 Normanton turned toward Catholicism and an admiration for Rome and for various sacraments and rituals of Roman Catholicism. For Normanton's generation Rome was not the enemy it had been, and some aspects of Roman Catholicism were no longer viewed with fear and loathing; in

Book worship, lending it a dignity lost during the Reformation years. Consequently, the ceremonial tastes of Durham House members and their affiliates were often criticised as veering dangerously close to those of Roman Catholics, and the perceived popishness of their chapels and churches became frequent targets for puritan invectives of the 1630s and 40s.

Exacerbating the charges of popery heaped upon many members of the Durham House group was the allegiance to Charles I and the affiliation with his Chapel Royal and the Roman Catholic Chapel Royal of his queen, Henrietta Maria of France. Henrietta has been described as a 'Romanist princess'; this was nowhere more apparent than in her Chapel Royal. The Roman Catholic services in the Queen's Chapel Royal (which deployed a large staff of chaplains and singers and dispensed a prominent role to the organ)⁸⁴⁹ were highly elaborate and surpassed the simpler English rites in their splendour and musical sophistication. Thus, the King, anxious to make the Anglican Service as attractive as possible, began taking measures to elaborate and edify worship in English churches, not least in his Chapel Royal. After the appointment of William Laud as chaplain in 1626 the pomp and opulence of services in the king's Chapel Royal received a boost;⁸⁵⁰ musical provision remained

preaching Normanton supported the doctrine of 'justification by faith alone', defended fasting and penance, and praised Bellarmine and the papacy. Although Cosin did not embrace Catholicism and its Communion, he supported Normanton as did other Cambridge men, including William Beale. Hoyle reminds us that enthusiasts for ceremony did not have it all their way, and that 'at every turn the breadth and variety of belief in Cambridge was openly displayed'. Hoyle, 173-4, 183.

⁸⁴⁹ In addition to the queen's private chaplains and confessor, the permanent chapel staff of Queen Henrietta Maria consisted of ten Franciscan friars of the strict Capuchin Order headed by a Grand Almoner and three boys, trained at the Chapel Royal in France. The queen's organist was, however, English. In the queen's chapel weekday Mass was celebrated hourly from six a.m. to noon, and it is likely that the friars recited the Office daily. Additional singers and musicians were likely to be required on Saturday for the Litany and other solemn devotions, and for Mass and Vespers on Sundays and major feast days. Though all this appears to resemble English pre-Reformation worship, it drew upon the Roman Catholic practice of France, which the queen followed; the long-term agenda of the queens 'Oratorians', who conducted her Masses, was the reinstatement of Roman Catholicism in England, a move which alarmed Charles, who despatched both the bishop and the Oratorians back to France. Both the chapels of Charles I and Henrietta Maria included organs and a repertory incorporating them. I am grateful to John Harper for providing this information, which was drawn from his unpublished paper, 'The Chapels Royal of Charles I and Henrietta Maria', given at the Church of King Charles the Martyr, Tunbridge Wells, 31 January 2015.

⁸⁵⁰ Carter, S., 'John Cosin, Churchman', *Church Society*, 60/2, 1946
[www.churchsociety.org/docs/churchman/060/Cman_060_2_Carter.pdf].

considerable, and the organ essential, not least in the performance of verse-services and anthems.⁸⁵¹

A year later another Durham House member was to find royal favour, this time in Henrietta Maria's Chapel Royal. In response to a royal request, John Cosin published the notorious *Collection of Private Devotions* for Henrietta in 1627. This was an office book intended to bestow protestant women attending the queen 'something to set against the breviaries of their Catholic counterparts',⁸⁵² it contained special 'Hours' Services and introduced a few ancient liturgical features, including prayers for the departed. The book was widely circulated and at once aroused the denunciation of the puritans as a 'Romanising' book of 'Cozening' devotions. Though nothing definitely popish was discovered in the book, some puritans contended that Cosin's vision of 'Mattins' and 'Evensong' were so. Cosin became embroiled in further controversy the following year, 1628, when an elderly prebendary of Durham, Peter Smart (1569 - 1652?), accused him of introducing popish ceremonies and practices in Durham Cathedral.⁸⁵³

Polemical skirmishes surrounding the nature of ceremony continued as long as Durham House members exerted their influence over the Church of England;

⁸⁵¹ Charles I's Chapel Royal was headed by a dean and administered by a sub-dean. The Gentlemen who formed the choir included both priests and laymen; there were also twelve children (choristers) and supporting officers. Harper, 'The Chapels Royal of Charles I and Henrietta Maria'. The king would have been familiar with contemporary full and verse-style repertory requiring an organ. Orlando Gibbons, one of the most prolific composers of the verse-service/anthem repertory, was member and organist of the king's Chapel Royal (1603-1625); full and verse-style works by Gibbons and his contemporaries would have been included in the repertory performed at the Chapel Royal during the reign of Charles I.

⁸⁵² Hoyle, 197.

⁸⁵³ Cosin's replacement of the metrical psalms with 'anthems' was one of the many abuses contributing to Smart's scorn. Ultimately, Smart's tirade backfired, and he was imprisoned for twelve years. See Smart, P., *A Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations . . . Violations of the locall Statutes of Durham Cathedrall*, (1642), Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, Digital Library Production Service, November, 2012; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 155-6. Smart noted that Cosin had changed the position of the Holy Table, calling it an 'altar', that he had worn embroidered copes and had lit numerous candles during the service, had sung the Nicene Creed, and had taken the eastward position, although Smart, rather singularly, admitted that it was not 'material which way a man turn his face when he ministers and prays, if it be left a thing indifferent without superstition'. Parker, J., *History of Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford, London, 1877), cccxxix. Smart specially denounced the 'worshipping' of the Lord's Table 'with ducking to it, though there be no communicants nor any man there'. He declared that such a practice made the 'altar' an 'idol'. Cosin denied that 'he bowed at all at the said Table, and holdeth it altogether unlawful to be done', but he admitted 'bowing on going out and coming into the Church in reverence to God Almighty'. Parker, *History of Successive Revisions*, cccxci; Carter, 'John Cosin, Churchman'.

however, one ritual requirement continued to bind the Durham House group with its puritan adversaries: the strict adherence to the *Book of Common Prayer*. Despite the extravagant ceremonial (which at times became confused with popery and the Roman rite) and music that came to manifest itself in many churches, the *Book of Common Prayer* remained the liturgical backbone of worship in Caroline England.⁸⁵⁴

The influence of Charles I, William Laud, and John Cosin at St. John's, 1634-44

A trio of individuals proved a guiding force in the career of William Beale (master, St. John's College, Cambridge, 1634-44): Charles I, William Laud, and John Cosin. All these men strove to enhance ritual, ceremony, and music in their respective churches and chapels; their combined influence on Beale manifested itself in the extensive beautification of the chapel of St. John's and in Beale's efforts to revive musical practice there.

The king remained a primary force in Beale's career, beginning with Beale's election as master of St. John's College in 1634. The election proved controversial: a draw had occurred between Richard Holdsworth, a moderate puritan sympathetic toward William Laud's ceremonial reforms, and President Robert Lane, who had secured a letter of recommendation from Charles I; finally, the king was called to intervene, and Beale was formally admitted in February 1634 by royal mandate (*'per majorem partem sociorum ex mandato regio'*).⁸⁵⁵ Beale arrived with a measure of administrative experience after having served as master of Jesus College for two years (1632-34); he went on to hold the post of vice-chancellor of Cambridge University for one year (1634-35). At the request of the king and William Laud, Beale became rector of Paulerspury on 31 October 1637; he also received the sinecure Welsh living of Aberdaron on 28 March 1640.⁸⁵⁶

Beale maintained a close and sustained relationship with Charles I, and may have been influenced by inherent ceremonial and musical tastes at Court: Beale was

⁸⁵⁴ Foster, 'Durham House group', *ODNBO*.

⁸⁵⁵ A small celebration was held at Beale's arrival: 'payd for wyne and Sugar Cakes upon the day of our masters Cominge to the Colledge, 1li, xiiij d'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 385v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1633/34.

⁸⁵⁶ Cranfield, N.W.S., 'Beale, William (d. 1651)', *ODNBO*.

chaplain in ordinary to Charles I by 1635⁸⁵⁷ and therefore, familiar with the extravagant worship and music of the Chapel Royal. The musical forces and provision within the Chapel Royal could not have failed to impress Beale, who strove to rebuild a choral force at St. John's and to install a fine Robert Dallam organ in 1635, the same year he was appointed chaplain to Charles. Further, both the king and Beale emulated the chapel configuration and ceremony made popular by Launcelot Andrewes and William Laud. The king viewed the chapel of St. John's at the height of its Laudian glory in his visit to the college on 14 March 1641,⁸⁵⁸ when he spoke highly of Dr. Beale.⁸⁵⁹

Charles I exhibited a sustained interest in the affairs of Beale and the college, often participating in the election of fellows at St. John's.⁸⁶⁰ Beale and the college in turn demonstrated unswerving loyalty to the king, particularly during the Civil War when valuable plate was relinquished to support of the royalist cause.⁸⁶¹ Even after Beale had been ejected from St. John's Charles retained a high regard for him and sought out his theological expertise and advice.⁸⁶²

The influence of William Laud upon Beale's career and ceremonial and musical tastes remains undeniable. Beale was an avid promoter of Laudian-style worship and the reverence associated with it (this will be examined below); he became - next to John Cosin - a principal spokesman for the 'beauty of holiness' in worship and supported

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁸ The king 'walked to S. Johns, viewed their Chappell and Library and took a travelling banquet in the further Court, which was presented to him upon banquet chargers'. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. III, 322; Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. II, 628.

⁸⁵⁹ 'He [the king] spake very kindly concerning Dr Beal (who was absent), saying, *he would not believe such as he to be dishonest men, till he saw it so proved*'. Cited from a letter of Joseph Beaumont, fellow, 21 March 1641 and recounted in: Cooper, *Annals*, vol. III, 322; Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. II, 628.

⁸⁶⁰ Westminster, 7 July, 10 Charles I (1634-35), the king to Dr. Beale, master appointing Henry Masterson of Christ's College to be admitted to the fellowship vacated at the death of Dr. Rob Lane. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 506, item 293; New Castle, 13 May 1639 from the king supporting the election of Rob Waidson (Waydson) to the fellowship. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 523, item 349; Westminster, 9 February 10 Charles I (1635) from the king endorsing the election of Joseph Jude to the fellowship. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 507, item 298.

⁸⁶¹ For a reference to *The king's letter for plate* see Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. II, 631; for a complete list of items see the same volume, 633.

⁸⁶² After Beale had been arrested together with Edward Martin (master of Queen's College) and Richard Sterne (master of Jesus College), Charles I requested that Beale and other eminent divines attend him at Holmby 'for the direction of his conscience and clearing of his judgement about the present differences in religion'. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 218-20.

others who championed the cause.⁸⁶³ Music figured prominently in Beale's programme of edification (as indeed in Laud's), as evinced by his efforts to form a choir; beautiful organs were equally important to both Laud and Beale. It appears no coincidence that Laud and Beale chose to commission organs from the Dallam family (Laud engaged Thomas Dallam to build the organ of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1619, during his tenure as president, 1611-21),⁸⁶⁴ and that the Dallams were the preferred organ builders of the Durham House group, several members of which were well known to Beale. Although William Prynne described Beale as a 'creature' of Archbishop Laud,⁸⁶⁵ Beale's personal relationship with Laud appears cool, if not distant: after allegations were brought against Beale, insinuating that he had denounced the power of Parliament, Laud showed not support, but rebuke for him.⁸⁶⁶

The third individual that proved highly influential to Beale's career, particularly in regard to church ceremony and music, was John Cosin, who was held in great esteem by both the king and Laud. Cosin, like Beale, was intimately acquainted with the ritual, ceremony, and music of the Chapels Royal of Charles I and his queen, Henrietta Maria (for whom he composed the *Collection of Private Devotions* in 1627). Laud considered Cosin the 'principal promoter of ceremonial worship in Cambridge',⁸⁶⁷ and under his influence Cosin attained the mastership of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, in 1635.⁸⁶⁸ Cosin went on to become both vice-chancellor of the

⁸⁶³ Beale allegedly granted the authority to publish Robert Shelford's *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (1635) in which the author defends 'the beauty of holiness': 'One beauty hath beat out another; the beauty of preaching (which is beauty too) hath preached away the beauty of holiness...Alas that the daughters should drive away the mothers'. Shelford, R., *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (London, 1635), 2.

⁸⁶⁴ See below, Chapter Five, 326 and nt. 1363.

⁸⁶⁵ Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 213; Hoyle, 164.

⁸⁶⁶ According to Laud (Laud, *Works*, IV, 187): 'One Mr Jenkins is produced, but to what end I know not, unless it be to be spatter Dr Beal. He says that seven years since Dr Beal was Vice- chancellor of Cambridge; that in his sermon he then inveighed bitterly against the power of Parliaments, and named some unsavoury speeches of his, both concerning their persons and proceedings. Surely, if Dr Beal did as is testified, he was much to blame. But what is this to me! If it be said, *I did not punish him*; how could I punish that I knew not? And I profess I heard not of it till now at bar. If it be said, *I did prefer him*; that I do absolutely deny.' Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. II, 628.

⁸⁶⁷ Cited from Laud's *Works* in Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. II, 631.

⁸⁶⁸ Cosin attended Laud and Charles I at Durham Cathedral during the king's visit to Scotland in 1633 and was reputedly appointed by Laud in 'the regulation of all the proceedings connected with the King's reception in the Cathedral, and the arrangement of the Services which the King attended'. Cosin, *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham: Together with Other Papers Illustrative of His Life and Times*, vol. I (London, 1872), xxix.

University and dean of Peterborough in 1640; in the same year he became chaplain to Charles I.

During the so-called period of 'Personal Rule' (1629-1640), sometimes known as 'the eleven years tyranny', Charles I ruled England, Scotland, and Ireland without recourse to Parliament. This released Beale, Cosin, and their friends in Cambridge from the unwelcome attention of Parliament, and provided them unbridled freedom to decorate their chapels and tailor liturgy, ceremony, and music to their personal wishes. The common tastes in ceremony and music of Cosin and Beale are clearly illustrated in the type of decoration, ritual customs, and music that characterised the chapels of Peterhouse and St. John's between 1635 and 1642. These similarities will be examined in greater detail below. Cosin and Beale maintained a close friendship over the years, as their correspondence suggests; nowhere is this better illustrated than in the letters exchanged during the Parliamentary investigations of their respective chapels in 1640.⁸⁶⁹

The Laudian-style ritual arrangement within the chapel

After a colossal refurbishment, the chapel of St. John's became a paragon of Andrewes⁸⁷⁰ /Laudian-style, eclipsing all other Cambridge chapels - even the notorious chapel of Peterhouse⁸⁷¹ - in lavish decoration and ritual. Excluding the sum paid to Robert Dallam for the organ, the costs of Beale's Laudian renovation mounted to over £435.

Three sources record the outfitting of the chapel: extracts from the *Rentals*, particularly 1633/34 to 1636/37, the 1641 Commons Committee Report to Parliament (BL Harl. MS 7019), and the 1642 inventory of chapel furniture and goods. The *Rentals* record the cost of ceremonial regalia, furniture, and structural alteration. The payments for the communion table (almost always referred to as 'altar') and its accessories and the altar rails suggest a typical Andrewes/Laudian-style arrangement.

⁸⁶⁹ See below, 227, nt. 939.

⁸⁷⁰ Andrewes' fundamental influence on the 'Laudian-style' is addressed in greater detail in Vol. II, Supplement One, 401-3.

⁸⁷¹ See below, 227, nt. 927, 228. Also, Beale's vocal and instrumental (i.e. two organs) resources at St. John's overshadowed those of Cosin at Peterhouse.

In the fourth term of 1633/34 a large payment of vj li, vj s, vij d is 'Payd to Betson the Joyner for two Deskes, the Altar Table and the wanscott about the table', and ix d is 'payd for a brush for the Altar'. In addition xj s is spent 'for a deske for the Bible'.⁸⁷² In 1634/35 a 'velvett cushion on the Altar' is purchased.⁸⁷³ Our impression of the Beale's Laudian-style communion table becomes clearer after examining the 1642 chapel inventory, which lists a communion table cloth of red velvet in addition to two further cloths of gold and silver, and one damask cloth edged with silver lace.⁸⁷⁴ In 1636/37, during the fourth term alone, over £26 is spent on beatification, including '40s' paid to 'Betson...for the 2 railles at the ends of the Altar'.⁸⁷⁵ A number of items were donated by benefactors, including a 'new pulpit cloath & cushion above 4li bewstowed by Mr Redding, 3li, 12s, 6d'⁸⁷⁶ and gifts of silver, religious paintings, and an altar cloth given by Francis Dee, former St. John's scholar and bishop of Peterborough (1596).⁸⁷⁷

The *Rentals* also record major structural alterations: a new 'great window' in the east, begun in the fall of 1634 and complete by May 1636 (consisting of seven lights, apparently utilising pre-Reformation glass conserved from the major glass removal of 1558-61);⁸⁷⁸ the re-leading of the roof over Ashton's chapel in 1634/35 at a cost of x li, xiiij s, iij d; and a lead covering for 'the vestry in the upper end of the chappell' for viij li, j s, iiij d.⁸⁷⁹

Between 1635 and 1637 the stalls were beautified and provided with lighting, the east end was paneled, and the ceiling was painted. Payments record '34 brass

⁸⁷² SJCA, SB4/4, fol. 385v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1633/34, first term.

⁸⁷³ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 24v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1634/35.

⁸⁷⁴ Cooper, T., (ed.), *The Journal of William Dowsing. Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2001), 177.

⁸⁷⁵ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 77r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37.

⁸⁷⁶ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37.

⁸⁷⁷ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 107r. 'Memorandum' following 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1637/38.

⁸⁷⁸ Beale assigned Robert Taylor the task of placing 'some old painted glasse in the greate window' in the fall of 1634, for which he was paid ij li, j s. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 24r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1634/35, first term. The 'old painted glasse' most likely refers to pre-Reformation pieces preserved during James Pilkington's purge of the chapel (1558-61). The glazier received his fee over a year later: 'Item May 15 to Jo: Simpson the glazier for the new window, xxxvij s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1635/36, second term.

⁸⁷⁹ Ashton's chapel: SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 26r. Under 'Reparationes Domi' in *Rentals*, 1634/35. Vestry: SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 24r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1634/35.

Candlestickes to be fastened in the fellows and schollars seates'⁸⁸⁰ and brass candlesticks to adorn the master's and president's stalls.⁸⁸¹ The carver Edward Woodruffe was hired for the carving of four new statues in the fellows' seats and twelve new heads 'for the old statues',⁸⁸² as well as angels and wings 'at the east',⁸⁸³ which were fastened to the roof by plates.⁸⁸⁴ Woodruffe was also paid the large sum of 23li for 'the wainscot worke at the east end' and an additional 25s for 'the Dove and [of?] glory',⁸⁸⁵ which hung from a ceiling 'in a skie colour and set full of gilt starrs'.⁸⁸⁶ The Commons Committee Report notes that the words '*Jesus Christus Dominus Noster*' extended across the lenth of the ceiling, and that the sun - radiating beams of light - was painted in the portion of the ceiling over the altar/communion table.⁸⁸⁷ A reredos behind the 'altar' contained a large crucifix set between the crosses of the two thieves; it was adorned by angels and finished and painted with gilt.

Paintings and sacred imagery contributed further to the profusion of colour that flooded the chapel. One 'Luttiehuis'⁸⁸⁸ received tremendous sums for painting the

⁸⁸⁰ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37.

⁸⁸¹ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1635/36, fourth term.

⁸⁸² SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37. The 'statues' are visible today in the eastern stalls of the new Gilbert Scott chapel.

⁸⁸³ Apparently President Price fueled the irritation of reformed colleagues by gazing up toward the angels at hearing the phrase 'therefore with angels'. Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', 120; Hoyle, 214.

⁸⁸⁴ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37.

⁸⁸⁵ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 77r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37.

⁸⁸⁶ Taken from the description of the chapel in the 1641 Commons Committee Report to Parliament: BL Harl. MS 7019, fols. 74-8. The painting of the ceiling required extensive scaffolding as suggested by the following payments. 'Hen: Mans bill for setting up the scaffold to paynte the top of the Chappell Decemb' 3, xxij l'; 'Item...to ye Sawyers for sawying some of our owne Timber to make ye Scaffold, xxx s, x d'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, Christmas 1635 - Christmas 1636. 'Item boate=hire for scaffolding borrowed at Clare Hall, xviiiij s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1635/36, fourth term. 'ffor setting up the scaffold to paynte the roofe of the chappell Carpenters & Sawyers bills: Decemb' 10 Decemb' 17 & Dec' 4, iij li iiij s, vij d'; 'Mytons bills Dec. 10. 17. 24, iiij li, xiiij s, ij d'; 'Item for the use of haire upon the scaffold, xij s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37, first term.

⁸⁸⁷ 'The roofe is painted in a skie collour and set full of gilt starrs, at just distances are fastened in golden letters through the whole roofe *Jesus Christus Dominus Noster* short writ. Above the Altar is a gilt sunne with great light beames and a dove in the middest richly guilt, on the Northside neere the Altar and soe likewise in the outward chappell is there an open place into two little chappells (wch before Dr Beales coming thither were schollars chambers) wch are hung with red and greene hangings with Altars at the east end of each covered.' BL Harl. MS 7019, fol. 74r.

⁸⁸⁸ Simon Luttichuys (1610-1661) was a Dutch Golden Age still life painter active from the first half of the seventeenth century. Luttichuys was born in London. According to the RKD Netherlands Institute for Art History, he was probably the same person as Simon Littlehouse who painted a portrait of Bishop Thomas Morton, alumnus of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1637/1638. He was active in Amsterdam between 1649 and 1661. See RKD website: <https://rkd.nl/en/artists/51430>.

wainscot at the east end, which contained a depiction of St. Michael and the dragon, as well as for executing sixteen pictures of the life of Christ from conception to ascension, which were hung around the sides of the chapel in gilt frames.⁸⁸⁹ An additional painter, one 'Knuckells' was paid 32li, 17s, 10d 'for the rooffe' (most likely the ceiling in 'skie colour...full of gilt starrs') and 20li, 10s 'for painting the seates', as well as 48li, 14s, 7d' and 'more to him for the rooffe for Bish: Fishers Chappell, for Dr Asthons Chappell & Tombe'.⁸⁹⁰ The chapels of Fisher and Dr. Ashton were also decorated with wall and altar hangings of 'red and green serge'.⁸⁹¹ For a representation of Beale's Laudian-style chapel please refer to Vol. II, Supplement Two, Images 34 and 35.

Musical provision in the chapel, 1630-43

The existence of a post-1600 choral force at St. John's had, prior to Ian Payne's research, been thought to commence in the early 1680s;⁸⁹² however, as the *College Register* and archival documents (SJCA, D59/48 and SJCA, D105) have demonstrated, efforts to enlist trained singers had already commenced during the tenure of Master Owen Gwynne. By the time Dr. Beale became master the pre-Reformation tradition of admitting undergraduates with musical ability, the majority of whom were former choristers, appears to have been revived, and to have continued through the end of Beale's tenure in 1644.

⁸⁸⁹ 32li was paid to Luttiehuis 'for the paynted worke in the Chappell at sundry times', 8li for painting work at the east end, and an additional 9li, 10s 'for painting the new wainscot worke at the east end'. Luttiehuis had to have been an artist of some skill for he was paid 56li, 1s, 3d 'for the pictures about the Chappell', the frames of which were provided by 'Billop' for 6li, 1s, 5d. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 77r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37. According to the Commons report of 1641, there were sixteen 'Pictures about the Chappell', which 'were painted in greate draughts [drawings] and placed in gilt frames on both sides the Chappell, and at the East end...to supply a void place the story of Michael and the Dragon is set up in a frame as the rest'. BL Harl. MS 7019, fols. 75-6.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹¹ In both side chapels were 'hangings of red and green serge, of half a yard broad, with white and green lace, round about the chapel', and in each there was 'one table, covered with the same'. BL Harl. MS 7047, (see Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 253). Thomas Baker's mid-eighteenth-century account of the chapel in Dr. Beale's time corresponds closely with this and other descriptions drawn from the 1642 chapel inventory and from the *Rentals*. Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 217-18; Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 470, nt. 127.

⁸⁹² Master John Gunning bequeathed money for the maintenance of 'some singing youths and others'. Torry, *Founders and Benefactors*, 50-1.

As mentioned earlier, the total number of Keyton scholars admitted between 1604 (the year Southwell choir was revived) and 1642 is eight. The majority, including the three admitted during Beale's tenure, came from Nottinghamshire. Two were ex-choristers of Southwell Minster as previously stated: Edward Mason, who was admitted at the age of sixteen in June 1634 just after Beale had become master, sang in the choir and attended Southwell School;⁸⁹³ William Horbery, who had been admitted a chorister at Southwell Minster in May 1632, had already been on the foundation, having been admitted scholar of St. John's in September 1632.⁸⁹⁴ Horbery was, according to Baker and the *Register*, admitted Keyton Fellow on 15 April 1641.⁸⁹⁵ He also went on to hold the post of *Lector Mathematica*.⁸⁹⁶ This means that Horbery and Mason were able to lend expertise to the singers for a good decade.

Beale appears to have envisaged a comprehensive choral texture that included boys' voices: between July and August 1636, half a year after Robert Dallam's organ had been installed in the chapel (December 1636), a payment of *iiij s* is recorded 'ffor a surplice for 'halfehead'⁸⁹⁷ the Chorister to be left in the vestry';⁸⁹⁸ the accounts also record payments to 'Dunkin the chorister' for playing the organ in 1637.⁸⁹⁹

The cumulative evidence above indicates that Beale endeavoured to form a nucleus of trained singers to support the choral body at St. John's: at least two boys (one, capable of playing the organ) and at least two former choristers. It also suggests that Beale had a specific repertory in mind. We know that the Litany was sung and that 'anthems had forced out the Psalms', as was the case at Peterhouse.⁹⁰⁰ It is possible that Beale expected the performance of polyphonic compositions with organ in verse- and full-style with choristers assuming treble parts (and on occasion playing the organ) and other members assuming alto, contra tenor, tenor, and bass parts. Puritan complaints

⁸⁹³ SJCA, D59/48.

⁸⁹⁴ SJCA, D59/49, C3/2, 307. See above, 207.

⁸⁹⁵ SJCA, D59/49.

⁸⁹⁶ In 1641, 1642. SJCA, C3/2, 211.

⁸⁹⁷ No member of this name is recorded on the foundation of St. John's; however, according to Venn: Francis Halfehead, Halfheide (1591-1642): matric. sizar from Trinity College, 1609; scholar, 1631; B.A., 1632/3; M.A., 1636. 'Halfehead, Francis', in Venn, *ACANTA*.

⁸⁹⁸ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, Christmas 1635 - Christmas 1636). Admissions records show no one of this name on the foundation.

⁸⁹⁹ See below, 225.

⁹⁰⁰ Hoyle, 214.

in the 1641 Commons Committee Report make reference to 'anthems' and 'pricksong' employed at St. John's and other Cambridge colleges at the height of the Laudian era.

The most extensive undertaking of Beale to secure trained singers for the chapel at St. John's occurred in 1640 after Edmund Mountstephen, a wealthy Northamptonshire gentleman, bequeathed to the college £1000 in lands, the annual revenue from which (£100) was intended to support a new foundation of two fellows and two scholars. In an indenture dated 1 December 1640, which Beale attached to the original Mountstephen bequest (in which no musical requirement had been made), he made the stipulation that the two fellows and two scholars 'shalbee sufficiently versed & skilled in songe soe as they...bee able to sing their parts in the Quire'.⁹⁰¹ The evidence suggests that Beale was making serious efforts to form a choral body of men and boys capable of polyphonic textures (as 'their parts' appears to suggest). The endeavour to secure trained singers through the Mountstephen's foundation mirrors an identical attempt made to procure singers through the auspices of the Parke foundation at Peterhouse.⁹⁰² Unfortunately, owing to a tenant farmer's negligence in paying eight years rent, Mountstephen's benefaction succeeded in supporting only one fellow and no scholars prior to the Interregnum; the fellow, John Hardwar of Norfolk, was admitted on 9 November 1642.⁹⁰³ A further pre-Civil War reference to a musically talented undergraduate occurs on 15 September 1639, when a twenty-one-year-old ex-chorister of King's College, William Crabb, was admitted as sizar. At King's, Crabb had 'lived very...studiously, both for his musique and other arts of schollership, with very good proficiency in both'.⁹⁰⁴

In order to enable his group of trained singers to perform contemporary repertory the sort and style of which he may have known from the Chapel Royal or from other Cambridge chapels such as King's, Trinity, and Peterhouse, Beale needed an organ.

⁹⁰¹ SJCA, D59/5. For more concerning Mountstephen's foundation see Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 108.

⁹⁰² Payne, 108; Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 176. The similarities in choral provision and repertory are just two of many striking parallels between the two colleges and suggest close contact between Beale and Cosin in the ornamental and ritual makeovers of their respective chapels. See below, 227.

⁹⁰³ SJCA, C3/2, 308; Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. I, 295. Under 'Admissiones Sociorum Hujus Collegii...'.
⁹⁰⁴ Mayor, J.E.B., *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1882), vol. I, 44-5; Payne, 107.

Following the example of Laud and other members of his circle he turned to the Dallam family for an organ of quality.⁹⁰⁵ Robert Dallam, 'of the Citty of Westminster Organ-maker' had constructed a magnificent double organ for Magdalen College *c.* 1631, of which Beale was no doubt aware. The decision to hire Robert Dallam reflects Beale's wish to adorn his chapel with an opulent organ, to equip his singers with the best possible means to perform contemporary choral repertory, and to imbue the ceremony with solo organ music performed on an excellent instrument.

In 1635 Robert Dallam agreed to construct a new organ 'to contyne six seuerall stoppes of pipes euery stoppe conteyning fortynine pipes [*viz.*] one diapason most part to stand in sight one Principall of Tynne one Recorder of Wood one small Principall of Tynne one two and twentieth of Tynne...with sound boords [*Couveyantes?*] Conducts Roller boord Carriages & keyes two bellowes & wind trunkes with the case & carving [*onely?*] with all other necessities thereunto belonging finding all maner of stuffe both of iron brasse Tynne Timber & wainscoate...'⁹⁰⁶. The missing sixth stop was most likely a stopped diapason.⁹⁰⁷

The charges and materials for the organ suggest a modest instrument. Dallam's organ at St. John's College, Cambridge was single manual, but included a ten-foot diapason stop.⁹⁰⁸ The charges list five stops with forty-nine pipes each.⁹⁰⁹

Stop list

one diapason most part to stand in sight
 one Principall of Tynne
 one Recorder of Wood
 one small Principall of Tynne
 one two and twentieth of Tynne

⁹⁰⁵ See Chapter Five, 326-7.

⁹⁰⁶ Agreement of order, payment between the master and fellows of St. John's and Robert Dallam for an organ. SJCA, C8/2. *Lease Book*, 253.

⁹⁰⁷ Thistlethwaite, N. *The Organs of Cambridge* (Oxford, 2008), 100. For a complete transcription of the materials and charges for the organ see Vol. II, Appendix VIII. Charges and materials for Robert Dallam's organ for St. John's College, Cambridge (1635/36), 570.

⁹⁰⁸ 'One diapason most part to stand in sight'. SJCA, C8/2. *Lease Book*, 253. See Vol. II, Appendix VIII, 570.

⁹⁰⁹ According to the charges for the organ: 'one payre of organs or Instrument to conteyne six seuerall stoppes of pipes every stoppe counteyning fortynine pipes'. SJCA, C8/2. *Lease Book*, 253.

According to the original arrangement: 'Robert Dallam shall make by & finish & sett up [the organ] in the Chappell of St Johns Colledge a for said betweene the day of the date of these points [1 August 1635] & the first day of July now next ensuing 1636'. Dallam held to the agreement, for 'the Organs' were in place at Christmas 1636; they remained covered until Easter 1637 while further work done in the chapel was executed.⁹¹⁰ Beale and the college agreed to pay Dallam 'Nine score and five pounds' (£185) for the organ.⁹¹¹ In contrast to the larger organs of York, Gloucester, and Lichfield Cathedrals and Magdalen College, all double organs, the St. John's organ was small and might be compared in scope and size with the organ Robert Dallam had built for Jesus College the previous year for £200.

The Dallam organ appears to have rested on a loft at the west end of the chapel: the Commons Committee Report to Parliament of 1641 states that 'at the west end are a paire of organs set up by Dr Beale, in ye wainscot of wch is a hollow place capacious enough for an image just above ye entrance into ye Chappell'.⁹¹² The placement of the organ in the loft at the west end of the chapel⁹¹³ marks a contrast to the frequent placement of Thomas and Robert Dallam organs on the northeast side of the quire.⁹¹⁴ Henry Man's payments for the loft and stairs are recorded 29 January to 2 April, and 9 April to 27 June 1635.⁹¹⁵ Further reference to the stairs to the loft is made in

⁹¹⁰ 'four haire[s] [cloth made of hair] to cover the Organs from Christmas to Easter, xvij s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37. Payment for the cover of the organ is recorded together with payments for the scaffolding and the painting of the roof.

⁹¹¹ SJCA, C8/2. *Lease Book*, 253. See Vol. II, Appendix VIII, 570.

⁹¹² BL Harl. MS 7019, fol. 74r.

⁹¹³ A watercolour of the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge by one, Daniel Wood, painted in 1868 just before the chapel's demolition, depicts an organ whose case is possibly in part that of the Dallam organ of 1635, and whose pipe-work was possibly replaced by Dallam's son-in-law, Thomas Thamar, in 1661. It was enlarged to a double organ by Thamar in 1669 and amplified with six new stops by Renatus Harris in 1711. Further modifications were made in order to insert a new organ into the old case by Hill & Sons in 1838. The case is discernibly of seventeenth-century vintage. The Wood watercolour is now in possession of Roger Bowers, who has graciously allowed me to photograph it. An additional photo of the chapel interior made in the same year can be found in the college archives and provides another image of the organ. See Vol. II, Appendix IX. Extant images of the altered Robert Dallam organ for St. John's College, Cambridge, Illustration A.2 The chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge. Watercolour by Daniel Wood, 1868, 572. See also Illustration A.1 SJCA, Arch: III.4. The Old Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, 571.

⁹¹⁴ Examples: Thomas Dallam's organs for the Oxford colleges of Corpus Christi and St. John's and Robert Dallam's organs for York Minster, Gloucester Cathedral, and Magdalen College, Oxford.

⁹¹⁵ 'Payd Henry Man for worke about the Organ loft from Jan: 29. to Aprill 2, ix li, xix s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, Christmas 1635 - Christmas 1636, first term. 'Henry Mans billes of worke in the Organ loft & staires to it from Aprill 9. to June 27, x li, iij s'; 'Mytons bills

1637/38, first term, when xvj d is spent on 'a latch for the dore at the Organ Staires foote';⁹¹⁶ the organ loft is mentioned again in 1641/42.⁹¹⁷ There seems nearly as much spent upon the organ loft as for the stairs leading to it. The organ was in part a gift of Robert Booth: at Michaelmas the master and seniors sold some of the 'old and uselesse' college plate, agreeing that the proceeds (52li, 10s, 6d) 'should goe towards the Organs which since was wholly payd for with Mr. Bouthes money'.⁹¹⁸ For a visualisation of the Robert Dallam organ for St. John's College (1636) and its site in the chapel refer to Vol. II, Supplement Two, Image 35.

The organ was used extensively as payments for its repair indicate. On 30 August 1637 Dallam was paid xl s for 'tuning and repaying the Organs',⁹¹⁹ and during the first term of 1638/39 he was paid ij li, viij s for his journey from London to repair and tune the organs anew; he was also entertained on this occasion.⁹²⁰ The *Rentals* between 1637/38 and 1641/42 record a wealth of additional payments for tuning and maintenance, suggesting extensive use.⁹²¹ Among those who tuned the organ was Henry Jennings.⁹²² In 1637/38, 4d is paid to mend 'the locke of the Organ Case'.⁹²³

for the Organ Staires from Aprill 9 to May 14, x li, vj d'; 'Item to the Smith for worke about the Organ staires & the parlour, ix s, vj d'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1635/36, second term.

⁹¹⁶ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 102r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1637/38.

⁹¹⁷ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 203v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1641/42.

⁹¹⁸ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 58r. Following 'Recepta pro picibus' in a 'Memorandum' in *Rentals*, Christmas 1635 - Christmas 1636. Robert Booth (c. 1547-1615) matriculated as sizar from St. John's in 1565; B.A., 1570/71; M.A., 1574; fellow, 1573. He became benefactor to the college, giving a gift of £73 towards building a wooden bridge in 1593. He was instrumental in arranging funds from Earl Gilbert and Countess Mary of Shrewsbury for the construction of Second Court in 1599. SJCA, D94/8, D105/191. Booth bequeathed £300 and £100, in part for a conduit in Second Court; although no direct evidence can be found, he is reputed to have given the college a two-handled cup with cover made in 1616/17, commonly called 'Booths's Cup'. SJCA, C13; Malcolm Underwood has cited further references to Booth's benefactions: *The Eagle*, xxxvi (Lent, 1915), 149-50 and a letter from Robert Booth under 'Notes from the College Records' in *The Eagle*, xxiii (Michaelmas, 1901), 14-15.

⁹¹⁹ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, Christmas 1636 - Christmas 1637, fourth term.

⁹²⁰ 'Paid to Mr. Dallam Mar.6 for his journey from Lond. to repair & tune ye Organ. 2li, 6s, 8d & his entertainment 1s, 4d, [Total] ij li, viij s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 127r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1638/39.

⁹²¹ SJCA, SB4/5, fols. 102r, 127r, 151r, and 177v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae'. See Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 1. Provision for organs, St. John's College, Cambridge, from the foundation (1511) to 1650, 574-5.

⁹²² 'To Hen[rey] Jennings Apr. 23 for dressing and tuning the Organ in the Chappell, xxx s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 151r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1639/40, second term.

⁹²³ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 102r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1637/38.

After the 'Diall' and 'Woode' references in 1555/56 and 1556/57, respectively, the next appointed organist appears to be James Dunkin, or 'Dunkin the Chorister', as he is styled in the *Rentals*. It was agreed 'by order of the Master & Seniors' as of Lady Day (25 March) 1638 that he was to be paid 30s quarterly; the *Rentals* record payments for 'his quarterage'.⁹²⁴ His fee suggests that his services (i.e. playing the organ) were additional to his vocal duties as chorister.⁹²⁵ After the first quarter of 1638/39 his 'quarterage' ceases to be recorded in the 'Expensae Ecclesiae' section of the accounts. In the first quarter of 1642/43 at Christmas 1642, a much higher sum (4li, 10s) is 'Payed to Gibbons the Organist for his quarterage',⁹²⁶ which seems to confirm that Dunkin's 'quarterage' was for organ playing. Ian Payne and Roger Bowers have confirmed that James Dunkin, who was fifteen years old at the time of his admission as a sizar on 9 September 1637, was born in Canterbury, educated at Uppingham School, and served as chorister at Canterbury between 1630 and 1637. 'Gibbons', who was not resident on the foundation may be Richard Gibbons, a relative of Orlando; he appears to have been an innkeeper as well as a wait from c. 1625 to c. 1635.⁹²⁷

The Robert Dallam organ of St. John's became an early casualty of the Parliamentary offensive on Cambridge churches and chapels. In 1642/43 2li, 8s, 6d 'was payd by Mr. Heron the Ju. Bursar for taking down the pictures'⁹²⁸ and the organs and whiting the walls'.⁹²⁹ Henry Jennings received 4s 'for taking downe the little organ'.⁹³⁰ Ian Payne has interpreted this to mean a second instrument situated on the floor of the chapel;⁹³¹ however, since the payment is found not under chapel expenses ('Expensae Ecclesiae') but under 'Expensae necessariae', it may refer to an instrument in another

⁹²⁴ 'To Dunkin his l. q^{ter}, xxx s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 127r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1638/39, first term.

⁹²⁵ Payne assumes that undergraduate musicians were at times expected to utilise their chorister training either to sing or play the organ as and when required. Payne, 107.

⁹²⁶ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 226v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1642/43, first term.

⁹²⁷ Payne, 107.

⁹²⁸ Nicholas Thistlethwaite suggests that the organ case may have contained an image, which was taken down with the organs as of 1642/43. Thistlethwaite alludes to the puritan contempt for religious images inherent in the description of the organ in the Commons Committee Report mentioned above: '...in ye wainscot of wch is a hollow place capacious enough for an image just above ye entrance into ye Chappell...'. BL Harl. 7019, fol. 74r; Thistlethwaite, *The Organs of Cambridge*, 102.

⁹²⁹ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 226v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1642/43.

⁹³⁰ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 230r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1642/43, fourth term.

⁹³¹ Payne, 165.

part of the college.⁹³² The following year, 1643/44, 6s, 8d was 'Paid to old Dowsy [no relation to William Dowsing] when the Organ case was taken away'.⁹³³ According to Willis and Clark, 'in 1662 the organ is mentioned in a way which shows that it had not been destroyed when taken down eight years before. The organ-screen, probably part of Dr Beale's work blocked the chancel-arch, and concealed its fine proportions'.⁹³⁴

9. The puritan reaction and the ejection of William Beale

During the years of 'Personal Rule', Cosin and Beale had been allowed by Charles I and Laud to modify liturgical ritual, ornament, and music at will. By April 1640 - when the Short Parliament met again - the grievances accrued by Cosin, Beale, and other influential college leaders were so numerous that a conference was called in the House of Lords on 29 April to address the liturgical changes in churches and 'University chapels'.⁹³⁵ A Parliamentary offensive on Cambridge University heads of house and their chapels was launched, and Cosin and Beale and the chapels of Peterhouse and St. John's became principal targets.

John Cosin became the victim of a relentless campaign of defamation led by his old nemesis at Durham, Peter Smart. Smart spearheaded the parliamentary investigation of Cosin and Peterhouse chapel, the findings of which were published in The Commons Committee Report to Parliament of 1641 (BL Harl. MS 7019). In the report Cosin was accused of making the communion table into an altar, adorning it, and celebrating the Eucharist facing east, and also of 'extraordinary bowing' and preaching against the reformers.⁹³⁶ The chapel of Peterhouse was placed atop a list of

⁹³² This may have been a song school instrument, comparable with that formerly in New College, Oxford, and now owned by John Mander (London). For an image of the latter see Freeman, A. and Rowntree, J., *Father Smith, otherwise Bernard Schmidt, being an Account of a Seventeenth Century Organ Maker. Edited, annotated and with new material by John Rowntree* (Oxford, 1977), 167.

⁹³³ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 252v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1643/44.

⁹³⁴ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of Cambridge*, vol. II, 295. Willis and Clark are mistaken about the date, for the organ was taken down in 1642/43.

⁹³⁵ Hoyle, 196.

⁹³⁶ Cosin, *Works of the Right Reverend Father in God John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham now first collected* (Oxford, 1843), vol. I, xxiii-xxvii.

chapels exhibiting degenerate devotion; the Commons Committee Report describes in detail its offensive decoration.⁹³⁷

The attack on Cosin and his chapel at Peterhouse appears to a large extent the result of Smart's own personal vendetta; the investigation of Beale, on the other hand, was driven by Parliament in response to Beale's earlier outspoken criticism and seditious religious diatribes. In 1635 Beale suggested that the king was justified in passing laws without the consent of Parliament;⁹³⁸ the statement was not forgotten, and after the Short Parliament convened in 1640 Beale became 'the most immediate victim of the Commons' researches'.⁹³⁹ Rebuking Parliament, however, was only the tip of the iceberg: the examiners also accused Beale of defending papists and denouncing puritans in two sermons at St. Paul's; after considering further offences of a similar nature the Short Parliament labeled Beale 'an enemy of the true religion'.⁹⁴⁰

Beale's ritual and ceremonial alterations at St. John's became the subject of special attention and were addressed in a section of the Commons Committee Report entitled, 'Innovations in Religion and Abuses in Government'.⁹⁴¹ Not only was Beale held responsible for the alterations of St. John's, but also for those at Jesus College, where he had been master between 1632 and 1634. We learn from the report that prior to Beale's arrival at St. John's there had been little interest in ceremony or ornament and that with the exception of three steps and a table placed altar-wise, the chapel retained the 'ancient decency of churches and chapels'.⁹⁴² The description of

⁹³⁷ The altar at Peterhouse was dressed in 'partly coloured' silks. It supported two large, gilt candlesticks, a 'Bason', and two richly bound books. Above the altar the decorations included a dove and cherubim: behind it were hangings painted with angels and the legend, *In quod cupiunt Angeli*. There was also a large crucifix in the east window; according to the Commons Committee Report, 'in many frames on both sides of the chapel are various pictures of the history of Christ'. Crosses were worked into the woodwork of the stalls, the chapel door was adorned with an image of St. Peter, and 'there was incense on solemn days'. BL Harl. MS 7019, fol. 74r.

⁹³⁸ Beale had suggested that 'the King might make laws without Parliament' in a sermon of 1635. This flagged him as a radical figure, and it became a priority of the Short Parliament of 1640 to investigate. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. IV, 405; Hoyle, 197.

⁹³⁹ Hoyle, 215. At his denunciation for having spoken against Parliament in 1640 Beale complained to his friend Cosin that the fuss 'half foiled me in the government of my College, which was the orderliest body for so great a one in the University'. Beale to Cosin, 27 July 1640. Cranfield, 'Beale, William', *ODNBO*.

⁹⁴⁰ Hoyle, 215.

⁹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴² BL Harl. MS 7019, fols. 74-6.

Beale's Laudian-style chapel above illustrates the extent to which he was determined to change this.

The length and detail of the Commons Committee Reports on St. John's and Peterhouse surpassed those made in any other Cambridge chapel; not only do they provide us with a valuable insight into ritual, ceremony, and music within the two chapels, they also draw striking physical resemblances between them. We learn, for example, that the altar at St. John's was decorated almost identically to the altar at Peterhouse, and that it was covered by a frontal illustrating Christ prepared for the sepulchre. The report also notes that the life of Christ is 'painted in great draughts' hung on both sides of the chapel of St. John's; similarly, at Peterhouse 'in many frames on both sides of the chapel are various pictures of the history of Christ.' At St. John's a 'Dove of glory' hung from the ceiling, as did angels fastened to the roof by plates; above the altar at Peterhouse the decorations also included a dove and (one) cherubim. Communion rails are recorded in both chapels in addition to the traditional Laudian embellishments for the altar. On one element the reports differ: the Parliamentary descriptions suggest that the organ at St. John's was larger and more decorated. On the whole, the parallels in the Laudian makeup of the two chapels and the similarities in musical provision and repertory are remarkable; they demonstrate a unanimity in 'high church' chapel arrangement, ritual, and music, and suggest that Beale and Cosin communicated with one another in this regard.

The report of St. John's chapel was followed by a list of eleven articles cataloguing Beale's offences, which was presented to Parliament on 6 August 1641. The commissioners found the penchant of Beale and his colleagues for bowing in chapel particularly irritating; bowing to the east, which had been noted on numerous occasions, disturbed the commissioners especially.⁹⁴³ Beale had not helped matters when he defended the practice of bowing at Great St. Mary's. In Beale's opinion:

it was a sinn of damnation not to bow at the name of Jesus, & his argument he produced out of the Scripture false quoted, & that the sin was the same, for not bowing with submissive reverence to the Communion Table...⁹⁴⁴

⁹⁴³ Cooper, *Annals*, vol. III, 410-411; the articles are listed in full in Baker, *History of St. John's*, vol. II, 629.

⁹⁴⁴ BL Harl. MS 7019, fol. 74r.

Bowing toward the Communion table angered the puritan commissioners as much as bowing toward the east; they took particular offence to 'Mr John Price Senior fellow...a man that for many yeares alone practised bowing towards the Altar'.⁹⁴⁵ Price, who became college president, had also been noted - to the irritation of puritan colleagues - to gaze up toward the angels hanging at the east end at hearing the phrase 'therefore with angels'.⁹⁴⁶ This troubled Beale very little, and he merely forbade Price from presiding over the Eucharist again.

The ritual tastes and behaviour of Beale and Price found disdain not only among puritan commissioners, but also among the college membership. The fellows accused Beale of having enforced ritual observances at St. John's, of ousting opponents, and of misappropriating charitable funds in order to purchase images and candles. The adoration of the altar caused particular animosity among the puritan fellows.⁹⁴⁷

Beale's name became linked with John Cosin and William Laud, and those who shared 'his Papisticall Supersition'; sweeping lists of offences filled not only the Parliamentary prosecution of Beale, but also of Cosin⁹⁴⁸ and Laud (who suffered both prosecution and execution). Beale was formally ejected and deprived from his mastership by the Earl of Manchester according to an Act of Parliament on 13 March 1644, and was threatened with deportation 'to Algiers or the American islands'.⁹⁴⁹

The accusations against Cosin and Beale contributed in part to an order issued by the House of Commons on 9 September 1641 and addressed to 'Vice- chancellors of the Universities and the Heads and Governours Colleges'. It demanded them:

⁹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁶ Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', 120; Holyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity*, 214.

⁹⁴⁷ According to Simon D'Ewes (1602-1650), Dr Beale, 'caused such a general adoration to and towards the altar and sacraments to be practised, that many godly fellows and scholars of the house left their places to avoid the abomination; so as to them this necessary exilement was a real persecution.' D'Ewes, S., *The autobiography and correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, bart., during the reigns of James I. and Charles I* (London, 1845), vol. II, 112.

⁹⁴⁸ The Parliamentary prosecution of John Cosin included twenty-one charges drawn from Peter Smart's allegations, which included counselling 'some young students of the university to be imitators and practisers of his superstitious ceremonies...'. Cosin, *Works*, I, xiv-xvi.

⁹⁴⁹ BL Add. MS 5808, fol. 52; Cranfield, 'Beale, William', *ODNBO*.

to remove the Communion Table from the east end of all collegiate churches or chapels in the Universities, and to take away the rails and level the chancels. It was also ordered that all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary, should be taken away and abolished, that all tapers, candlesticks and basons shall be removed from the Communion table, and that all corporal bowing at the name of Jesus or toward the east end of the church, chapel or chancel, or towards the Communion table shall be henceforth forborn.⁹⁵⁰

The resolute puritan iconoclast William Dowsing, appointed to enforce the compliance of all colleges with the Parliamentary mandates, descended upon St. John's College, Cambridge, on 29 December 1643 to begin his examination of the chapel.⁹⁵¹ By this time the most provocative furnishings, including the organ and the pictures, had been removed. Further casualties of the puritan purge included the coloured glass, which was removed and replaced with clear glass,⁹⁵² and the cross, which was taken down from the bell tower.⁹⁵³

10. Conclusions

St. John's College, Cambridge, provides an image of a college at the mercy of powerful figureheads - some of whom influenced the reformation of educational methodology and religious doctrine on a national scale. In contrast to other colleges, where heads of house and senior fellows made no headway at Court or in Convocation, the founder, John Fisher, and fellows like John Cheke, Roger Ascham, and Robert Horne, as well as Master William Beale maintained influential liaisons with the monarchy and the Church; their respective religious (and musical proclivities) contributed to a college in a state of religious and musical mutation - and one in search of identity. The ethos imbedded by Fisher at the outset of the foundation culminated in a 'golden age' of humanism in the 1530s and 40s, but lost momentum afterwards. By contrast, the limited role given to chapel music at the

⁹⁵⁰ *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), *BHO*, 278, 279, 287; Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. III, 317; Hoyle, 215-16.

⁹⁵¹ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 230r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1642/43, first term. 'Item for Mr Dowsings super 1s for candles 4d for br[e]ad making 2s, 6d, Total 3s, 10d'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 256r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1643/44, first term.

⁹⁵² '...for 220 quarrios of glasse & for 149 foot of old glasse which was taken downe banded & soadared ut patet y bill, j li, xvij s'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 252v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1643/44.

⁹⁵³ 'Item for taking downe the Cross over the bell Tower March, 22s, 6d'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 256r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1643/44.

foundation increased in importance and, contrary to previous opinion, was as dynamic as that in smaller colleges such as Christ's and Jesus, where, as at St. John's, no formal provision for a choir was made. Significant efforts were made to assemble trained singers, including highly trained ex-choristers and possibly means and trebles in the 1540s and again during Mary Tudor's reign, and it is possible that both plainchant and polyphony (extemporised in the least) in alternation with the organ was performed. These advancements were cut short by a severe Calvinist outlook toward ceremony and music: it was the particular misfortune of the college to fall under the leadership of one the most resolute protestant exiles, James Pilkington, and it was primarily due to his intolerance of the Latin rite and its music that St. John's lost its organ and choral force. Not until William Beale's significant endeavours to revive chapel music in the 1630s did a choral force and an organ re-materialise; the installation of a fine 10 ft. organ by Robert Dallam in 1636 enabled performance of repertory in verse- and full-style. Ceremonial formality and music at St. John's, it would seem, swayed between radical Calvinism sown in Switzerland and Strasbourg and 'high church' musical tastes emanating from Durham House and the Caroline court.

Finally, St. John's College, Cambridge, was an establishment that intended to break away from mainstream educational and musical tradition, often carrying its innovations to excess: whether diluting the vast musical liturgies of the scholastically-oriented medieval foundations, ignoring the musical leeway of the Elizabethan Settlement, providing a podium for the most radical of protestant leadership, or indulging in the extravagance of Laudian style-worship and music, St. John's was a college of extremes. However, though the leaders of St. John's College may have turned the corners of the Reformation sharper than other college leaders, the college did not lose face, musically speaking.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY: CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

As with the preceding chapter on St. John's College, Cambridge, this study of religious change and the liturgical and musical consequences at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is principally concerned with the period from the Act of Supremacy to the Interregnum and features the relationship of change within the college (and those who influenced change) to the wider national context. In the case of Corpus Christi College it is necessary to begin this narrative earlier. This is due to the unique relationship between Corpus Christi College and Magdalen College and their specific connections during the years following the new foundation of Corpus Christi College.

1. Richard Fox's affiliation with Magdalen College and the implications for Corpus Christi College

Two previous studies by Francis Knights⁹⁵⁴ and Helen Marsh Jeffries⁹⁵⁵ addressed choral provision at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. However, the articles by Knights provide no comprehensive investigation of polyphony and merely hint at the possibilities. Jeffries signifies the nature of the Corpus singers as 'amateur' when set against the singers at larger foundations, including New College and Cardinal College, which she regards as 'professional'. Her examination of ex-chorister members that remained on the foundation is particularly helpful, though her research did not extend beyond the 1540s. In the following section I have picked up where Jeffries left off and have continued an examination of this potentially important body of trained singers.

⁹⁵⁴ Knights, F., 'The Choral Foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford', *The Organ*, 70 (1991), 10-14.

⁹⁵⁵ Jeffries, H.M., "'But a Musician" - The Importance of the Underdog in Musico-Historical Research', in Jackson, J.H., and Pelkey, S.C., (eds.), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*. 23-43 (Mississippi, 2005).

All of Richard Fox's biographers agree that after distinguishing himself in grammatical studies Fox very likely attended Magdalen College, Oxford, during the 1460s. This, however, cannot be unequivocally verified. The problem lies in the fact that at this early and difficult stage of the college's development no statutes or administrative records survive (if any existed).⁹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, there are factors that support the assumption that Richard Fox attended either Magdalen College, Oxford, or Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he became head of house after plague broke out in Oxford.⁹⁵⁷ Bonds with both establishments were maintained during Fox's episcopal career; however, those with Magdalen remain the strongest. Fox exhibited unusual interest in Magdalen as Visitor; no bishop of Winchester had visited the college after its founder William Waynflete did so in 1483.⁹⁵⁸ Internal crisis rocked Magdalen in 1506/07, requiring Fox to step in; as a result, Magdalen's contested president was replaced by Fox's friend, John Claymond. The charter for his own new foundation, Corpus Christi College, was issued in March 1516, at which time he made Claymond the first president. Another Magdalen fellow, Robert Morwen, became first vice-president and subsequently succeeded Claymond as president in 1537, presiding over Corpus Christi through the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary Tudor until his death in 1558. Yet another Magdalen man to become one of Corpus Christi's original members was Edward Wotton,⁹⁵⁹ who became *socius*

⁹⁵⁶ Davis, V., *William Waynflete: Bishop and Educationalist* (Woodbridge, 1993), 59; Carless, R.H.K., 'Selected Aspects of the Life of Richard Fox 1446-1528', unpublished M.A. Thesis (University of Bristol, 1987), 39-40. Early biographers like Brian Tywne and Thomas Greenway (president, 1561-1568) state categorically that Fox studied at Magdalen. Anthony Wood affirmed the same, but William Fulman was more cautious, stating that Fox 'attended the universitie of Oxford, where he is said (most probably) to have studied in Magdalen College'. More modern biographers along with Edmund Chiselm Batten (in 1889) placed Fox at Magdalen by 'tradition', and two nineteenth-century lists of Magdalen College alumni name Fox as either a 'sometime' or a 'probable' student there during the 1460s. Greenway, T., 'Collegii Corpus Christi Fundator...Richardus foxus Winton, Episcopus'. CCCA, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 280, fol. 194r; Tywne, *Collectanea ab Oxoniensi Historia*. CCCA, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 280, fol. 194v; Wood-Gutch, *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, 383; Fulman, 'De Vita Richardi Foxe, Episcopi wintoniensis et Collegii fundatoris', in *Collectanea*, vol. IX, CCCA, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 303, fol. 9v; Bloxam records one 'Mr. Fox', adding a note that this was 'probably Richard Fox, formerly Commoner, at this time Bishop of Durham'. Bloxam, J.R., *A Register of the Residents, Fellows, Demies, Instructors in Grammar and in Music, Chaplains, Clerks, Choristers and Other Members of Saint Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford from the Foundation to the Present Time* (Oxford and London, 1873), vol. II, 241; Drees, C.J., *Bishop Richard Fox of Winchester. Architect of the Tudor Age* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2014), 25.

⁹⁵⁷ Drees, *Bishop Richard Fox*, 25.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁹ According to Foster, Wotton was: son of Richard, of Oxford, an esquire bedel; chorister, Magdalen College, 1503, becoming demy in 1506; B.A., 9 February 1513-14; fellow and M.A., 1516; '*socius compar*' of Corpus Christi College, 1520, with leave to travel to Italy; D.Med., Padua, supplicated 16

compar of Corpus Christi in 1520, presumably on account of his knowledge of Greek. Wotton's distinctions in this discipline resulted in his appointment as Greek Reader in 1528. In light of his training as chorister at Magdalen College (1503-06),⁹⁶⁰ Wotton may have proven valuable as a trained singer, particularly after 1528 when choristers began augmenting the chapel staff and increasing the polyphonic potential of the choral body. Considering the college's affiliation with Claymond, Morwen, and Wotton, it becomes clear that Fox intended to accord prominent positions at Corpus Christi to Magdalen men, and that from an administrative, academic, and musical perspective Magdalen College remained a driving force during the first decades of Corpus Christi's existence.

In his conciliatory role as Visitor of both Magdalen College and New College, Oxford, Fox was in a unique position to observe the administrative, social, and spiritual state of affairs at two of Oxford's most renowned colleges and choral foundations. Not only did Fox address finances, governance,⁹⁶¹ and student affairs during his visitations of Magdalen and New College in 1506 and 1520, he laid particular focus on chapel worship. In particular, he scrutinised the behaviour of fellows and scholars during services and assessed the standards of choral performance.

What Fox learned disturbed him. At Magdalen in 1506, for example, Fox found that fellows had failed to serve in choir on feast days, as directed in the statutes, and that on occasion fellows had omitted various psalms and chants at matins and at other times.⁹⁶² Fox found further cause for alarm in 1520 when he realised that several fellows had been saying prayers 'under their breath when by statute they ought to

May 1526, for incorporation; on return from Italy also became Greek reader and fellow of the college of physicians, 1528; president of Magdalen College, 1541-43, physician to Henry VIII; died, 5 October 1555, aged 63, buried in St. Alban, Wood Street, Cheapside; father of Henry, 1548, and Brian. 'Wotton, Edward', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁹⁶⁰ According to R.S. Stanier, Edward Wotton was 'a man of remarkable and versatile learning'; he had been a pupil of Brynknell at Magdalen Grammar School while chorister, 1503-6. Stanier, R.S., *Magdalen School: A History of Magdalen College School, Oxford*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1958), 67.

⁹⁶¹ The 1520 visitation also investigated certain irregularities on the part of John Claymond's successor, John Higdon. Allen, P.S. and H.M., (eds.), *The Letters of Richard Fox, 1486-1527* (Oxford, 1929), nrs. 22 and 23, 35-37 for the 1506/07 visitation that led to the dismissal of President Richard Mayew; Drees, *Bishop Richard Fox*, 26.

⁹⁶² Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/A1/18, fol. 71r. *Register of Richard Fox*, Visitation of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1506-7; Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 104.

sing' (*'detecti sunt se dixisse divina servicia in choro missa voce cum per statutum cantare tenentur'*).⁹⁶³ For their offence the fellows were deprived of commons for a day.

The negligence at Magdalen prompted Fox to ask New College fellows and scholars whether any of them 'says matins and vespers under his breath when he ought to sing' and whether:

...fellows and scholars attend divine [service] according to statute and whether the manner of saying Masses, matins and other hours in the college chapel aforesaid is duly observed by the fellows, scholars, chaplains and ministers as outlined in the statutes.⁹⁶⁴

To his distress, Fox found fellows and scholars at New College guilty of the same offences perpetrated at Magdalen. Consequently, Fox issued injunctions to New College requiring members to:

'attend matins and vespers and other divine services on Sundays and feast days from the beginning, and at those times let them [fellows and scholars] sing and perform psalmody with the choristers as ought to be done according to the demands of the statutes.'⁹⁶⁵

This gives us a good impression of the ritual and musical requirements envisaged by Fox; more importantly, it foreshadows the expectations that he would incorporate into his statutes for Corpus Christi College. Fox's demands at Magdalen and New College also demonstrate that the musical participation of fellows and scholars (not only chaplains, clerks, and choristers) was, to his mind, essential in services on feast days - another expectation that would manifest itself in the provision for ritual and music in the Corpus Christi statutes.

⁹⁶³ Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/A1/20, fol. 54v. *Register of Richard Fox*, Visitation of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1506-7; Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 104-5.

⁹⁶⁴ '...aut socii et scholares secundum formam statuti intersint divinis et aut modus dicendum missas matutinas et alias horas in capella collegii predicti in statutis limitatis fuerint per socios scholares capellanos et ministros debite observatus.' Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/A1/20, fol. 62r. *Register of Richard Fox*, Visitation of New College, Oxford, 1520; Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 104.

⁹⁶⁵ '... diebus dominicis et festiviis intersint matutinas et vespers et aliis serviciis divinis in principio et ibidem cum chorustis cantent et spallant ut tenentur secundum exigentia statutorum'. Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/A1/20, fol. 65r. *Register of Richard Fox*, Visitation of New College, Oxford, 1520; Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 105.

Though musical provision at Magdalen was on a much larger scale and not applicable to the modest space and fellowship of Corpus Christi, at least in one respect, the pattern at Magdalen served Corpus well. Fox retained the provision for the singing of a Marian antiphon; by 1517 it was often sung in plainsong in some colleges, particularly smaller colleges like Corpus Christi. Whereas the antiphon continued to be performed nightly at the larger foundations of King's and New College - more often than not in polyphony by the choristers with their *informator* - the antiphon at Magdalen and at Corpus Christi was sung on Saturdays and on vigils of the six Marian feast days after Compline.⁹⁶⁶ Also, at both establishments the antiphon was sung not in chapel but in hall by the entire membership.⁹⁶⁷ At Corpus Christi this fitted the expectation of full liturgy on Sundays and feast days; further, in contrast to King's and New College, Corpus Christi had no special choral body (such as choristers) designated to sing a daily antiphon.

Distinctions between the choral expectations at Corpus Christi College and those at the larger choral foundations, including Magdalen College

As has been noted earlier, in founding Corpus Christi College in 1517, Fox established an entirely different balance between education and devotion. This is reflected in the physical size, disposition, and clerical staffing of the chapel, and the limited expectations for the liturgy on workdays. In her study of Fox's modest provision, Helen Marsh Jeffries has drawn out the contrast between the agenda for 'professional' lay musicians at foundations like Wolsey's Cardinal College, and the apparent reliance on 'amateur' musicians at smaller establishments like Corpus Christi.⁹⁶⁸ In this respect she reflects Roger Bowers' emphasis on the development of a skilled body of polyphonic singers (i.e. choristers as well as chaplains/priests/vicars

⁹⁶⁶ '...singulis Sabbatis per annum, ac singulis vigiliis festivitatum Beatae Mariae Virginis, post completorium, omnes et singuli Socii, scholares et discipuli, praecentor et sacrista, in aula inter se devote cantent aliquam antiphonam in honorem gloriosae virginis et matris Mariae'. Cap. 19, 'De precibus et aliis suffragiis a singulis privatim vel publice dicendis aut canendis', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 44.

⁹⁶⁷ At Magdalen the antiphon was sung on Saturdays in hall, where the entire college was required to sing 'devote per notam' (i.e. devoutly, in plainsong) from boards upon which the antiphon was written out (in 1485/86) and hung on the wall (in 1538). Harrison, *MMB*, 85. On other days it was sung polyphonically in chapel.

⁹⁶⁸ Jeffries, "'But a Musician'", 23-40.

choral)⁹⁶⁹ increasingly reliant on lay musicians (i.e. externally hired singing lay clerks).⁹⁷⁰ This appears, however, to underestimate the continuing dependence in many choirs on an inherent clergy with musical competence. As Magnus Williamson observed, at All Saints' Church, Bristol, no specific provision was made for lay clerks even though the choir's repertory was of substantial complexity and required a full choral scoring for treble, contra tenor, alto, tenor, and bass:

On paper, no specific provision for liturgical polyphony appears to have been made at All Saints', at least in terms of providing a team of lay clerks; yet, with apparently meagre resources, the choir's repertory included the sort of pieces more usually associated with choral institutions of the first rank. It is likely, if not certain, that at Bristol it was the chantry priests, employees of the numerous guilds and intercessory chantries within the church, and not a team of lay clerks who formed the backbone of the parish choir.⁹⁷¹

Also, 'Eton College, although a wealthy foundation, could not and did not try to assemble a large choir of lay singers to compare with St George's, Windsor, or other choral foundations of the first grade';⁹⁷² of the ten clerks provided for Eton by Henry VI only four were required to be singers of polyphony,⁹⁷³ and later even these were not always 'specialist' singers. There was a strong reliance on ex-choristers from Eton, King's, and St. George's, Windsor, to fill out polyphonic vocal scoring at Eton.⁹⁷⁴ The polyphonic repertory of the 1530s and 40s at Corpus Christi suggests repertory of the same type and caliber as that of Magdalen or New College (some of

⁹⁶⁹ Bowers claimed that after c. 1460 the expansion of musical texture came to include boys' voices, and that a more common resort to full choral performance made necessary the participation of the chaplains as polyphonists, as well. Bowers, 'Choral Institutions,' 5076-77; *idem*, 'To chorus from quartet', 33. At Magdalen, several clerks were promoted to chaplaincies at the college between 1491 and 1520. If one assumes that the clerks had been hired as polyphonic specialists, as Bowers suggested, this may further justify his claims about the gradual incorporation of chaplains into the polyphonic choir. Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, vol. II:1-4, *passim*. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 112-13.

⁹⁷⁰ Ian Payne notes that lay clerks had been introduced into the Old Foundation choirs as early as 1490, though Roger Bowers adds that although Salisbury appointed them from this date, they were very rare before the 1520s, and that it was at this time that singing lay clerks became replacements for qualified priests and clerks of the second form. The singing lay clerks were an enhancement of the priestly talent already available or could add an expertise not available among the singing chaplains or priests of the establishment, particularly in the realm of polyphony. Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 13; Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', 4049, 5064-65.

⁹⁷¹ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 65; see also Harrison, F. 'The Repertory of an English Parish Church in the Early Sixteenth Century', in Robijns, Jozef, (ed.), *Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600: Donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts* (Louvain, 1969), 143-7.

⁹⁷² Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 78.

⁹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 141. At Eton in 1480, there were usually no more than five clerks present at any one time, often only four. Out of these five, one, the parish clerk, was probably not a specialist singer. *Ibid.*, 180.

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 385. See below, 248.

which was sung at Eton, particularly the repertory of the *Eton Choirbook*). The execution of this repertory was also accomplished by 'meagre' resources, which did not entail the employment of lay clerk polyphonic specialists, but instead relied on chapel staff and ex-chorister members.⁹⁷⁵

In many respects it is unhelpful to delineate 'professional' and 'amateur', especially in an institution like Corpus Christi College, where (as elsewhere) the whole college was committed to the liturgy on Sundays and feast days. In providing two priests and two clerks in minor orders in the original 1517 statutes, Fox ensured a minimum body to administer and oversee the day-to-day running of the chapel: setting out linen, vessels, and vestments, indeed ensuring that all was ready for the liturgy, took time. That was why a distinct but small body of clergy was required, with responsibilities separate from than those of other members. The only advanced musical skill stipulated by Fox is the requirement that one of the clerks be competent in organ playing. It is worth recalling that Fox's original vision was a college for educating monks, and that a religious, even clerical, starting-point is a better source for understanding the provision at Corpus Christi. The normal expectation of the clerical body was to sing the liturgy, primarily reciting the great body of psalmody in chant - at Corpus in full on Sundays and feast days, and in the least at morrow Mass on workdays. This may help explain why Fox found it unnecessary to include choristers in the original 1517 statutes of Corpus Christi.

⁹⁷⁵ It is of special note that some acolyte-clerks and ex-choristers rose in rank among the chapel ministers. Stipends for the four *ministri sacelli* (two priests/chaplains designated 'precentori', sacrista; two acolyte-clerks designated 'subsacrista' and 'pulasator organorum') are recorded under 'Stipendia Edituorum et Clericorum' (before Edward's VI's reign) and 'Stipendia Sacellanorum et Clericorum' (during and after Edward VI's reign). The stipend for the organist is recorded last: for example, in the case of John Barons in 1538/39. Barons provides an excellent example of a chapel minister rising in rank. By 1549, the last year he is recorded under 'Stipendia Edituorum et Clericorum', he had risen in rank to 'sacrista' (chaplain-sacrist) and received the apposite (higher) salary of 10s per term (in 1549/50 he served only for 3 terms, receiving 30s). Further, Barons pursued academic studies, receiving the B.A. and M.A. degrees, and even had his own room in the years preceding his departure. Though he is styled 'magister' and received the M.A. degree, he did not become fellow and did not receive the 53s, 4d stipend allotted to M.A. priest-fellows. Choristers also rose in rank among the *ministri sacelli*: Richard Vaughan and Edmund Vaughan, for example, became clerks (and *discipuli*) in the 1620s (Edmund also became fellow, January 1631). Thomas White, who began as chorister in 1611, served as chaplain between 1623-28 and also received B.A. and M.A. degrees. See Volume II, Appendix V. Choristers remaining on the foundation of Corpus Christi College, 1528-1641, 553-4. Needless to say, the expertise of these musically trained individuals bolstered the polyphonic potential of the choral body at Corpus Christi during the 1540s and 1620s and 30s.

There may be two additional factors that influenced Fox's decision to omit choristers in 1517. The first factor involves a reflection of the sparse musical provision contained in the statutes of Balliol College, Oxford, which Fox revised at the request of the college and Pope Julius II in 1517⁹⁷⁶ - the same year in which the Corpus Christi statutes were finalised. Though Fox was familiar with the musical provision in the statutes of grand choral foundations like New College and Magdalen, such extensive provision had no place in Balliol's revised statutes. In Fox's 1517 revision of Balliol's statutes the celebration and direction of chapel services were restricted - as in Balliol's earlier statutes - to two chaplains drawn from among the ten fellows. The singing body consisted of *scholastici* (i.e. undergraduates) and fellows competent in plainsong.⁹⁷⁷ Further musical provision was not accorded the college in Fox's statutes;⁹⁷⁸ no provision was made for specific singers at Balliol, not least for choristers.

The second factor that may have influenced Fox lies in the minimal musical provision found in Lady Margaret Beaufort's statutes for Christ's College (drawn up with the aid of her confessor, Bishop John Fisher in 1505)⁹⁷⁹ and that in Fisher's statutes for St. John's College, Cambridge, drawn up in 1516, only a year earlier than Fox's. Fox shared an intimate knowledge of both sets of statutes with John Fisher.⁹⁸⁰ Like Corpus Christi College, Oxford, St. John's was another small humanist college where no specific statutory provision for singing-men or choristers was made and where no master of choristers or director of singers was provided. Given the absence of a

⁹⁷⁶ In 1517 Fox had been appointed by Pope Julius II to revise the statutes of Balliol College in light of various internal disputes. After a petition by the college on 13 August 1504 the college appealed to the pope to have the statutes 'revised, reformed, corrected, and amended...'. The pope granted the request, and appointed the Bishop of Carlisle and Winchester (Richard Fox) to examine all the statutes given to the College over the years. They were allowed sweeping powers to alter all they deemed necessary. Ultimately, Bishop Fox undertook the task alone and provided Bailliol with new statutes. During a three-year period Fox drew up the statutes, often with the consultation of John Claymond of Magdalen College. 'Bishop Fox's Statutes', in Jones, J., *Balliol College. A History*, 2nd, ed. (Oxford, 2005), 38-42.

⁹⁷⁷ All 'scholastici' eligible for nomination at Balliol were to be of good character, less than eighteen years of age, and well skilled in grammar and plainsong. Jones, *Balliol College*, 43.

⁹⁷⁸ Davis, H.W.C., *A History of Balliol College* (Oxford, 1963), 59, 63.

⁹⁷⁹ Christ's College was the refounded and re-endowed establishment of God's House, which in turn had its own body of statutes written c. 1448. Rackham, *Early Statutes of Christ's College*, ii. See above, Chapter Four, 90, nt. 361. Lady Margaret, together with Fisher, drew up entirely new statutes.

⁹⁸⁰ Fox collaborated with Fisher to found St. John's College, Cambridge, following the death of Lady Margaret in 1509. He was not only familiar with the 1516 statutes of St. John's (see above, Chapter Four, 80, nt. 309), but with those of Christ's College, Cambridge, as well.

choral force and of any qualified master of choristers to coach, instruct, and lead the singers at either St. John's, Cambridge, or Corpus Christi, Oxford, it would appear that no elaborate musical provision was ever intended or envisaged by Fisher or Fox c. 1516-17. It appears the original intention of both Fisher and Fox to subsist on a minimum of ritual and musical elaboration, particularly on workdays,⁹⁸¹ and to allow the chapel ministers - most of whom were students - more time for study. Finally, religious and educational priorities had changed since the founding of New College and King's College; at St. John's and Corpus Christi in the early 1500s greater emphasis was now placed upon learning - in particular upon humanist methodology - and less upon devotion and musical magnification of the liturgy.

The *ministri sacelli* of Corpus Christi not only played an integral role in daily devotion: they were tightly woven into the academic and social fabric of the society - much more so than the chapel personnel of large choral foundations such as Cardinal College or New College. For example, the chaplains of Corpus Christi, as seniors, participated with scholars and fellows in disputations held twice weekly in chapel, and were often students themselves: chaplains and acolyte-clerks (along with the servants of the college) were encouraged by Fox to pursue academic studies, and many went on to obtain B.A. and M.A. degrees. Despite their traditionally inferior status,⁹⁸² the chaplains and acolyte-clerks of Corpus Christi associated closely with

⁹⁸¹ The most entailed musical elaboration was relegated to the full liturgy on Sundays and greater feasts.

⁹⁸² The status of choristers within the college has been established in Chapter Two; this leaves one to speculate as to the status of chapel singing-men. Jeffries' research has helped to clarify the status of priests and clerks and their integration within the membership. In order to determine their niche within the college hierarchy one must look beyond just statutory provision and review stipends and the provision for livery. The priests were two men of status approximately equal to probationary fellows and could have easily been drawn from the fellows that had become ordained priests. The first acolyte-clerk, who acted as sacrist, appears to have held the status of - at most - one of the undergraduates. Jane Flynn has also commented on the low status of acolyte-clerks at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The clerks were paid the same as the choristers (and the second cook): twenty-six shillings and eight pence a term. They were often associated with the non-scholarship students (*discipuli*) and sat at their table during meals, which was also shared by choristers; the priests sat with probationary fellows. Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 247. Priests were paid more than acolyte-clerks; each of the priests received 40s in 1528/29 and the first acolyte-clerk (this individual is styled 'clerico' in the 1530/31 accounts) 26s, 8d. This man received wages comparable to undergraduates or servants. The distinction between the two chaplains/priests and the acolyte-clerks is also confirmed in the ordering of names within the account lists; for example, in the 'Impensae pro Vestibus' of the *Liber Magnus* of 1528/29 the two priests, Travys and Eston, are recorded after the list of fellows but before the first of the undergraduates, but John Hychyns, one of the acolyte-clerks appears at the very end. The two priests and one of the acolyte-clerks seem to have been employed (i.e. receiving wages). The 'fourth singing man' (the organist perhaps) as Jeffries has labeled him, seems to be an individual not listed with the other three, and appears to have been drawn from within the college; it is unlikely that a

other members of the college, both in chapel and in hall; though they may not always have been considered the equals of fellows (some chaplains, however, did hold fellowships), they certainly enjoyed a higher standing than the average 'musician' of the day.⁹⁸³ Further, Fox demanded dynamic musical interaction between chapel ministers and foundation members on Sundays and feast days; Fox's purposefully snug chapel bound the college society tightly together (much more so than the capacious chapels of the grand foundations) and provided the ideal environment in which to realise his musical expectations.

The additional provision for choristers at Corpus Christi in 1517/1528

Fox's original provision for four *ministri sacelli* remained intact for eleven years (1517-28), suggesting that this modest group provided sufficient musical resources to fulfil the normal expectation of a clerical body without polyphonists; this type of provision might be compared to that in a small household chapel such as a bishop might retain. Something occurred shortly after the drafting of the 1517 statutes to alter Fox's original intentions and to persuade him to acknowledge the polyphonic opportunities provided by the addition of two choristers. Jeffries assumes that the addition of the choristers was first made in the statutes of 1528, 'presumably as Fox lay dying';⁹⁸⁴ however, the scribe who composed the principal text of the original 1517 statutes (Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621) has attached the provision for choristers as addenda to the 'Prefatio de fundatione' and the statute 'De numero et officio ministrorum sacelli' of the original text (Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 621), suggesting that this additional provision was made shortly after the original statutes had been drafted. Further, the addenda to the original statutes become part of the principal text in the two fair copies of the 1517 statutes in the archives.

fellow would have assumed this fourth post, as the status of this post was unsuitable for an ordained priest. Jeffries, "But a Musician", 33-4.

⁹⁸³ Jeffries cites the example of Wolsey condescendingly labeling John Taverner 'but a musician': in Wolsey's eyes, musicians were not worthy of great attention (Wolsey's opinion sank even lower in Taverner's case, especially after Taverner had been charged for heresy). Jeffries, 32, 38.

⁹⁸⁴ Jeffries has observed that between 1529 and 1531 large numbers of fellows were performing extra priestly duties in chapel, 'perhaps ones that were required for two years but not before or after'. This period occurs just after the choristers' names first appear in the *Libri Magni* and may suggest a period of increased choral activity. The fact that Fox died in 1528 makes it possible that extra requiem Masses were being sung for him, thus accounting for the extra personnel (i.e. choristers) and greater activity. Jeffries, 32, 38.

One can therefore conclude that a debate occurred over the addition of choristers, a provision not intended by the founder, and that the decision to include them was made shortly after President Claymond began his tenure. Claymond may even have been a significant contributor to (if not editor of) the college statutes (which Fox may perhaps have overseen, but not drafted himself). Jeffries, Knights, and other researchers have overlooked this. Although the decision to add two choristers appears to have occurred early on, strangely, the *Libri Magni* do not record their presence until 1528/29; further research is needed to clarify why the names of boys admitted as choristers are first recorded in the years following Fox's death.

What prompted the decision to add choristers, and to what extent did Magdalen College play a role? Part of the answer lies in the academic and musical agendas of the men into whose hands Fox commended Corpus Christi, most notably John Claymond. Claymond, an established and trusted colleague of Fox during the early 1500s, became president of Magdalen College in 1507 - arranged in part through Fox's efforts.⁹⁸⁵ As the first president of Corpus Christi Claymond became not only the director of the college's administrative affairs, but also a key figure in the humanist shaping of Fox's modest, but ground-breaking foundation.

But Claymond's association with Corpus Christi College began even before his appointment as president. He was actively engaged in the foundation, playing a critical role in the acquisition of land for the college. Further, Claymond saw Corpus Christi through its building programme, and donated a substantial collection of humanist books and manuscripts to the library.⁹⁸⁶

What persuaded Claymond to accept the presidency of Corpus Christi? First, the presidency of Corpus presented fewer administrative challenges than those of a major foundation like Magdalen College. Second, the time won offered Claymond the opportunity to pursue other humanist-related endeavours and projects, making him an ideal choice as president of Fox's establishment. In the recently published history of

⁹⁸⁵ At the Visitation of 1506-7 Fox replaced Magdalen's president, Richard Mayew, with Claymond. Claymond remained president of Magdalen until 1516 when Fox persuaded him to resign and assume the presidency of Corpus Christi. Drees, *Bishop Richard Fox*, 26.

⁹⁸⁶ See above, 77, nt. 294.

Corpus Christi, Thomas Charles-Edwards argues that, during the college's early years, it lacked the funds to endow all three readerships (Latin, Greek, and Theology) and that there was no separate Theology Reader.⁹⁸⁷ President Claymond appears to have assumed this responsibility himself; however, it remains unclear who filled the position after his death.⁹⁸⁸ Claymond's work also included the compilation of a vast commentary on Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, an endeavour that revolutionised the study of medicine and fit neatly into Fox's humanist ethos.⁹⁸⁹

The presidency of Claymond (and that of his successor, Robert Morwen) also left a mark on the chapel and affected both musical provision and choral repertory. It appears that from the very moment President Claymond and Vice-President Morwen were established at Corpus Christi considerations for choristers (and the possibility of singing polyphony) were being made. All Magdalen men, including Morwen and Claymond, would have been familiar with the quality of the renowned choir⁹⁹⁰ and the repertory of Magdalen College.⁹⁹¹ Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that Claymond (and perhaps Morwen as well) persuaded Fox to augment the mens' voices of the chapel staff with means and trebles, thus establishing a balanced choral texture and in time - after enough choristers had joined the ranks of *discipuli* and fellows - enabling the performance of the polyphonic repertory he had heard at Magdalen.

⁹⁸⁷ Edwards and Reid, *Corpus Christi College*, 51.

⁹⁸⁸ I am grateful to Julian Reid, archivist and co-author of the new history, for drawing my attention to this point.

⁹⁸⁹ Woolfson, 'John Claymond, Pliny the Elder', 882-903.

⁹⁹⁰ In the course of his presidency at Magdalen, a large choral foundation steeped in tradition, Claymond was no doubt familiar with its musical provision, which included a chapel staff of ten clerks, four chaplains, and sixteen boys trained by an *informator choristarum*. This was a dramatic contrast to the chapel staff of Corpus, which at the time of Claymond's arrival consisted solely of four ministers and no choristers.

⁹⁹¹ This included a large collection of Masses, antiphons, psalms, and Magnificats recorded in a 1522 Magdalen inventory, among them works of Magdalen composers like Richard Davy (d. 1507) and John Mason (d. 1548). Davy was *informator choristarum* at Magdalen (1490-2) and some of his most compelling five-part works (four of them Marian in nature) are included in the *Eton Choirbook*: 'O domine celi terreque', 'Salve ihesu mater vera', 'Stabat mater dolorosa', 'Virgo templum trinitatis', and 'In honore summe matris'. John Mason had been singing man of the chapel and scholar at Lady Margaret's household chapel (he had an exhibition at Tattershall College, 1504-7; in 1507 he obtained a dispensation and journeyed from Tattershall to Hatfield, where Lady Margaret made an offering when he sang his first Mass). SJCA, SJC, D91/19, 29, 32, 34, 35. In 1508 he matriculated to Magdalen College, Oxford, obtaining the B.Mus. on 12 February 1509. He was *informator choristarum* at Magdalen College, 1509-10.

Of course, adding boys' voices to a choral body was certainly not a new idea in the early 1500s,⁹⁹² of which Fox was well aware. The decision of Fox and Claymond to make provision for two choristers shortly after the Corpus statutes had been written may simply have been formalising a situation that had already emerged as common practice elsewhere, from large cathedrals and collegiate chapels to well-staffed household chapels. After the addition of the choristers musical provision at Corpus became akin to the musical provision one encountered in a small household chapel. The principal differences that separated Corpus Christi from larger foundations and well-staffed, contemporary household chapels like those of Henry Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland, and Lady Margaret Beaufort at Collyweston or Hatfield⁹⁹³ were: a) Corpus had only two choristers and b) there was no qualified master to train them.⁹⁹⁴

Educational and musical expectations of Fox's choristers

What remains significant at Corpus Christi is the educational expectation for the two choristers: they were expected to have attended a grammar school or comparable institution of learning prior to appointment and to continue grammar training after their appointment. From the educational standpoint the choristers had two options: to study within the college, most probably with the undergraduates - obviously, the best possible preparation for entry into the college; or to study expense free⁹⁹⁵ at

⁹⁹² The frequent use of three-part textures for men's voices (alto, two tenors) came to be enhanced by boys' voices, creating a balanced five-part texture (treble, alto, two tenors, bass) after 1460. Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', 5076-77; *idem*, 'To chorus from quartet', 33.

⁹⁹³ Musical provision at Lady Margaret Beaufort's household chapels at Collyweston or Hatfield included chaplains, clerks, and boys. Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, Appendix 3, 268-287; see also SJC, D91, D102. 'Household accounts' (account books and rolls) of Lady Margaret. Musical provision in the household chapel of Henry Percy (briefly discussed in Chapter Four, 133) was lavish and included a polyphonic choir of men and boys. See Bowers, 'To chorus from quartet', 35-8. The clerks of Henry Percy's household chapel consisted of three basses, four tenors, and four countertenors. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 383.

⁹⁹⁴ Lady Margaret's household chapel accounts record two clerks with qualifications as masters of choristers and one 'superindendant of the children': Alexander Bell, who had been choirmaster at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1486-7, is recorded as chapel clerk; Robert Cotterell, 'of the chapel' (i.e. clerk) had been schoolmaster of choristers at Fotheringhay, 1505; in his role as 'superintendent of the children' of the chapel, Henry Hornby went in the autumn of 1504 to London in search of qualified boys. SJCA, SJC, D91/20, D91/21. Lady Margaret's household accounts.

⁹⁹⁵ Education at Magdalen School was free to 'all persons whomsoever, who may attend the Grammar School'. According to the Magdalen statutes: 'we enact, ordain, and will, that there be in our College for ever, one Master or Informer in Grammar, to be alike hired, and removed by the President, who is freely and gratuitously, with out exacting anything to inform, teach, and instruct with the greatest

Magdalen College Grammar School, one of the top grammar schools in England, and receive room, board, and liveries at Corpus Christi to boot - an attractive opportunity for boys from affluent as well as poor families. The offer to study at Magdalen Grammar School represents yet another strong Magdalen influence made most likely under the suggestion of Claymond or Morwen. R.S. Stanier has confirmed that selected choristers of Corpus Christi studied at Magdalen Grammar School under Fox's statute at least through c. 1600;⁹⁹⁶ Richard Hooker, who studied at Magdalen Grammar School in 1567, is a prime example, though at the time choristers were appointed on academic excellence and not on vocal talent.⁹⁹⁷

Not all boys that came up to Corpus studied at Magdalen Grammar School and lived completely free of charge; this can be inferred from Fox's statute (i.e. they could study grammar within the college 'at the expense of their friends').⁹⁹⁸ There were various avenues of financing education at Corpus for boys in need. Aside from the subvention by friends or family, it has been suggested by Milne⁹⁹⁹ and Jeffries¹⁰⁰⁰ that some choristers who came up to Corpus with the intention of eventually becoming undergraduates may have paid their own way through their duties as choristers.

Next in importance to the educational expectations of the choristers are their musical requirements. According to Fox's revised statute: they are to be nominated by the president and already versed in all kinds of singing, 'at least in the plain and involved

diligence, and in the most expedient manner, all persons whomsoever, who may attend the Grammar School, which is built and situate hard by our College aforesaid: Also, under the said Master there is to be One Usher, engageable and removeable in form aforesaid, who is freely and gratuitously, and without the demand of anything, to inform and instruct, subordinately to the aforesaid Master, the said persons who attend it; and in all things to take upon himself, and supply the duties of the said Master when the latter is absent...'. Ward, G.R.M., 'Waynflete's Statutes for Magdalen College' in *The Statutes of Corpus Christi College, All Souls, College and Magdalen College, Oxford* (London, 1843), 608 (140). I am grateful to Robin Darwall-Smith, former archivist of Magdalen College, for his insight into this matter.

⁹⁹⁶ Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 84.

⁹⁹⁷ See below, 304.

⁹⁹⁸ '...edocti antequam assumantur, ut ita statim aut in collegio, impensis amicorum,...'. Cap. 18 in *Statutes of Corpus Christi College* (1517), 41.

⁹⁹⁹ According to Milne, 'boys of promise were encouraged to come and live at Corpus with a view to proceeding to election as scholars (i.e. *discipuli*): if a boy could sing, he might pay his own way by getting a nomination as a chorister'. Milne, *Early History of Corpus Christi*, 7; Knights, 'The Choral Foundation of Corpus Christi', 11.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Jeffries, 28.

("pricked" they call it)' at the time of appointment.¹⁰⁰¹ This means that by 1528 Fox (and most likely Claymond and Morwen) must have envisaged - in addition to an entire membership capable of plainchant - a body of singers able to sing polyphony; these specialists included the choristers, two acolyte-clerks, both capable of singing and aiding the choir, one of whom was to play the organ (which infers an individual capable of vocally extemporising polyphony as well as playing it on the organ), as well as former choristers sprinkled among the membership. The additional support of former choristers (who came in part from external establishments like New College and Magdalen College) who became foundation members becomes crucial to the polyphonic abilities of the choral body; thus, the search for ex-choristers among the membership is of vital importance to this study and will be addressed below.

What type of musical guidance and experience awaited the already trained choristers upon their arrival at Corpus Christi? A chorister's musical instruction at Corpus, in contrast to the impeccable grammar school education, may not have been as formidable as a chorister's training at Magdalen. At Magdalen Grammar School the boys (including the Corpus Christi choristers) were instructed by a master and usher¹⁰⁰² - quite separate from the choristers, who were under the supervision of an *informator* at the song school.¹⁰⁰³ At Corpus Christi, by contrast, service in chapel (with musical requirements) and education were integrated. The fact that the statutes require these two boys to be competent in plainchant and pricksong underlies the fact that Corpus Christi procured experienced boys from external sources: not only from good parish schools like Boston or Tattershall, but from colleges in the vicinity like Magdalen and New College. Corpus Christi may have appealed to choristers wishing a wider education than was possible in those two scholastically rooted medieval foundations. The provision for study at Magdalen Grammar School and not at the song school is significant; this suggests that training or coaching with the acolyte-clerk/organist at Corpus Christi (and not with an *informator choristarum* at Magdalen) would suffice and that Fox's emphasis remained on grammar and not

¹⁰⁰¹ 'Duo vero choristae, quos volumus per Praesidentem nominari et assumi, erunt in omni genere cantus, ad minus plano et intorto ("pricked" appellant)'. Cap. 18 in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 38.

¹⁰⁰² See above, 244-5, nt. 995.

¹⁰⁰³ There remains no concrete evidence that the Corpus choristers were indeed trained in music by Magdalen's *informator choristarum*, though this cannot be ruled out.

vocal excellence. It becomes obvious that the standards of the Corpus Christi choristers - who lacked the many hours of training given to their counterparts at song schools like Magdalen and New College - were inferior to those of choristers at the large choral foundations, and that the body of singers at Corpus Christi, solely under the direction of the clerk/organist or subsacrist clerk was never intended to perform at the level of the large specialist choirs. The musical standards set by Fox (and possibly Claymond) - even with the addition of choristers - suggest that musical performance at Corpus was never intended to be grand, but rather modest, perhaps even only 'functional'; it demonstrates that, in contrast to Wykeham or Waynflete, Fox had entirely different musical priorities in mind. This also contributes to Fox's greater understanding of devotion and music in a university college: they were to remain subservient to education.

But who were the early choristers, from whence did they come, and what type of training had they received prior to their arrival at Corpus Christi? The *Libri Magni* and the *Liber Admissorum* contain a substantial list of boys attracted to Corpus Christi and its unique provision for choristers. The first recorded choristers at Corpus Christi, John Garrett¹⁰⁰⁴ and Gervase Lynche,¹⁰⁰⁵ arrived in 1528/29 and 1531/32, respectively, presumably having received their grammar and musical training from reputable schools and guilds in Lincolnshire¹⁰⁰⁶ and Kent. Each was admitted as *discipulus* in 1532 and 1534, respectively. There is also later evidence that boys with chorister experience transferred from other colleges. James Fenn provides an example: Fenn, who came from Somerset, was a chorister of New College and became chorister at Corpus Christi College in 1554; he was elected as a fellow in

¹⁰⁰⁴ John Garrett, (chorister, 1529/30, 1530/31) *discipulus*, 27 April 1532, aged 16 years, 2 months; *scholaris* (probationary fellow), 14 February 1536; *socius* (fellow), 1538; vacated, 1544. See Vol. II, Appendix V. Choristers remaining on the foundation of Corpus Christi College, 1528-1641, 551.

¹⁰⁰⁵ According to Emden: Gervase Lynche was born 7 July 1515 in Kent; *discipulus*, 26 March 1534; *socius* (fellow), 26 September 1537; vacated by 1539. Emden, *BRUO*. If the date of Lynche's birth is correct, he would have been between fifteen and sixteen years of age as chorister; according to R.S. Stanier, boys voices changed at roughly fifteen and a half, which barely allows Lynche the possibility of continuing as a treble. See Vol. II, Appendix V, 551.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Garrett was most likely trained in a town with a reputable grammar school and church choir and guilds such as those at Boston, or Tattershall, Lincolnshire. Jeffries has established that Thomas Garrett, possible relation to John, was chaplain at the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and master of the grammar school at Boston, Lincolnshire. If John Garrett had lived in Boston, it is likely he would have received the education that enabled him to come from the grammar school and from service as chorister in one of the town's guilds. Jeffries, 32.

1558, receiving the B.A. on 22 November 1559.¹⁰⁰⁷ Though a much later example, Daniel Featly¹⁰⁰⁸ transferred to Corpus Christi from Magdalen College, where he was appointed chorister on 27 June 1590, aged eight; he became *discipulus* of Corpus Christi College in 1594 - a time when chapel ritual and music reflected the puritan austerity of President William Cole.

Former choristers known to have been admitted as academic members

The concept of boys being admitted to the same collegiate body where they previously sang as choristers, though infrequent in the Middle Ages, became a gradual trend at various establishments during the sixteenth century; these included King's and Eton Colleges, as Magnus Williamson has shown.¹⁰⁰⁹ At Corpus Christi this integration fit neatly into the humanist ethos of the college, and it contributed to an isolated and tightly knit membership; as Jeffries has remarked, 'the progression of a boy from chorister to scholar cannot but reflect the way in which the chapel community was integrated into the college as a whole.'¹⁰¹⁰ The first infiltration of a former Corpus Christi chorister into the undergraduate membership occurs in 1532 with John Garrett (*chorister*, 1528/29, 1529/30, 1530/31, *discipulus* 1531/32).¹⁰¹¹

Identifying choristers at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, can be accomplished by three methods. The first is a consultation of Thomas Fowler's lists of members¹⁰¹² and

¹⁰⁰⁷ Fenn rejected the Oath of Supremacy and fled to Reims after which he became priest. He returned to England and was apprehended and executed at Tyburn in 1582/3. 'Fenn, James', in Foster, *AOXEN*. I am grateful to archivist Julian Reid for informing me of this reference. See Vol. II, Appendix V, 552.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Featly received the B.A., 13 February 1601-2, M.A., 17 April 1605, B.D., 8 July 1613, D.D., 12 July 1617; fellow in 1602. Featly went on to become one of England's prominent protestant divines. He is recorded at Lincoln's Inn, 1628. 'Featly, Daniel', in Foster, *AOXEN*. See Vol. II, Appendix V, 552.

¹⁰⁰⁹ 'The presence of ex-choristers of Eton, King's, and St George's as scholars [of Eton] ensured that there was a regular, if limited, supply of trained musicians on site'. These voices enabled a realisation of full polyphonic choral scoring. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 385-8.

¹⁰¹⁰ Jeffries, 28.

¹⁰¹¹ Jeffries traced John Garret, the first chorister, by first finding the name 'Garrett', listed under 'Impensae pro Vestibus' in 1528. Garrett, like other undergraduates, is allotted ten shillings for livery; however, his name does not occur under 'Stipendia', suggesting that he could not have been an undergraduate at the time. The only statutory provision for those receiving clothes but no stipend was that for choristers. The *Liber Admissorum* for 1532 records Garrett's official entry into the college as *discipulus*. Jeffries, 28.

¹⁰¹² Fowler has compiled a list of all members, including clerks and choristers. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 426-30.

the second, an examination of Milne's *Alphabetical List of Members*.¹⁰¹³ The third method, used by Helen Jeffries to identify chorister John Garret, offers the most precise indication. This requires examining the livery section ('Vestes omnium ordinum') of the *Libri Magni* and comparing this list with the stipends for *discipuli* and fellows ('Stipendia omnium ordinum'). Those who receive the x s for liveries under 'Vestes' and no stipend as *discipulus* under 'Stipendia omnium ordinum' are in most cases choristers. If the name eventually *does* appear under 'Stipendia' (at the very bottom of the list), this shows that the chorister has remained on the foundation, and is receiving the stipend of x s, allotted a *discipulus*. If this individual then remains on the foundation and progresses on to probationary fellow (*scholaris*) and fellow (*soci*), over the years his name climbs the list, and he is allotted the apposite stipends. One can cross-reference these names with the list of matriculated members in the *Liber Admissorum*.¹⁰¹⁴ I have followed Jeffries' method in this study to trace former choristers remaining on the foundation through c. 1640.

Evidence shows that following Garret's matriculation in 1531/32 further ex-chorister undergraduates began infiltrating the membership, and that by 1534 there were at least three highly trained ex-choristers within the membership, guaranteeing the performance of four- and five-part polyphony.¹⁰¹⁵ The figure rose after c. 1536¹⁰¹⁶ when the accounts begin to record an increasing body of polyphonic music.¹⁰¹⁷ This is surely no coincidence: it parallels the acquisition of polyphony under President Robert Morwen, who may have realised that the performance of four- and five-part

¹⁰¹³ CCCA, 942.57 Mi. Milne, J. G., *Alphabetical List of Members of Corpus Christi College Oxford. From the Foundation to 1900* (Oxford, 1900).

¹⁰¹⁴ This method of following a chorister's academic progress has been deployed by Julian Reid, the college archivist, and myself and has provided us with over twenty-five known ex-chorister members between 1530 and 1640. See Vol. II, Appendix V, 551-5.

¹⁰¹⁵ Edward Wotton, an ex-Magdalen chorister (1503-06), was Greek Reader as of 1528, and Garrett and Lynche were admitted as undergraduates in 1532 and 1534, respectively; thus, by 1534 the choral body, which now comprised at least three ex-chorister members plus the six-member chapel staff, was fully capable of four- and five-part polyphony. See Vol. II, Appendix V, 551.

¹⁰¹⁶ Post-1536 ex-choristers include: Florentine Elys (chorister, 1536/37), admitted *discipulus*, 7 May 1538, aged 15 years, 2 months, vacated by 1542; John Batt(e), (chorister, 1540/41, 1541/42), admitted *discipulus*, 12 May 1543, vacated 1547, supplicated for B.A., July 1546; John Dolber (chorister, 1544/45, 1545/46), *discipulus*, 1546, probationary fellow, 1549, M.A., 4 July 1553. See Vol. II, Appendix V, 551.

¹⁰¹⁷ 'It' pro prykyng, 18s, 8d' (a substantial sum). CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 143r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1536/37; 'It' Henrico for prykyng, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 9r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1537/38? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). This is most likely a payment to Henry Brether, or Bretherne, who copied/composed books of polyphony at New College in 1534/35.

soloist polyphony was now possible at Corpus Christi. By 1537 four former choristers could be counted among the membership: Wotton,¹⁰¹⁸ Garrett, Lynche, and Florentine Elys; this could, together with the two statutory choristers, guarantee six highly trained individuals capable of plainchant and polyphony. Given an adequate group of singers, which may have included the two acolyte-clerks as well as additional boys resident in the college but not yet members,¹⁰¹⁹ the emerging full choral polyphony upon which Roger Bowers has concentrated in his research¹⁰²⁰ might also have been possible. The choral body remained, of course, tiny and inconsistent in number in contrast to the larger choral foundations; this most likely made attempts to sing works with more than one voice to a part rather hit-and-miss, at least during the formative years of the college.

The provenance, placement, and possible size of the organ

In Fox's early conception of chapel music he envisaged one of the clerks being competent in organ playing. In order to enable the practice of *alternatim* between singers and organ during the Mass and Office a modest instrument was provided. The first mention of an organ occurs in 1536/37,¹⁰²¹ though the fact that Fox provided an organist in his 1517 statutes suggests the existence of an organ from the foundation onwards. Although the *Libri Magni* make references to the organ through 1575/76, the year the case was removed,¹⁰²² they do not offer a clue as to its provenance; in fact, the origin of the instrument fails to be mentioned in any archival document, including inventories.

¹⁰¹⁸ Wotton could have been counted among the group of polyphonists until 1541 when he became president of Magdalen College.

¹⁰¹⁹ Milne has suggested that in addition to the two statutorily provided boys, there exists the possibility that other boys, resident in college but not members of the foundation, also sang in the chapel on Sundays and feast days. There were as many as six of these non-foundations in the college at any one time during the period 1537-42; the youngest was eight years of age. Milne, *Early History of Corpus Christi*, 7.

¹⁰²⁰ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', 5076-77; *idem*, 'To chorus from quartet', 33.

¹⁰²¹ 'It' pro recertione foll' (*foll*i: bellows) orga', 3d'; 'It' pro coreo pro organis, 18d'; 'It' pro reparacione organorum, 23s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 143r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1536/37.

¹⁰²² The *Libri Magni* record payments for organ repair and maintenance through 1553. See Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 2, Provision for organs, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from the foundation through 1650, 576.

The organ may have been placed in one of two manners: upon a gallery over the vestry door in the northeast corner, a common placement for organs at the time and one that suited chapels with limited space; or on the floor of the chancel, either just east of the vestry door or on the southeast corner opposite the vestry door with bellows adjacent. The latter site may be indicated by a payment for 'makeinge ye pavement by ye organs' in 1555.¹⁰²³ The space required to accommodate the high altar, three ritual steps, and the additional choir step would have left practically no space for the organ on the floor of the chancel. A payment for repaving the quire in 1574/75,¹⁰²⁴ may also suggest that the organ was not on the floor: if it had rested on the floor, it would have interfered with the repaving and been removed. The organ's removal, however, is recorded a year later in 1575/76, during a visitation by Bishop Robert Horne.¹⁰²⁵ Finally, only one space in the chapel could have accommodated the early organ: that in a loft over the vestry door (the same site of the college's seventeenth-century organ).

The specifications of the early organ are as difficult to determine as its provenance or location in the chapel; however, details in the exterior and interior northeast chapel wall provide clues as to its possible size. The surviving partial outline of a structural arch in the exterior stonework of the northeast chapel wall gives us an idea of the overall dimensions of the vestry; the arch ascends to cover the existing window and is approximately 3.7 meters in width. Traces of the vestry door as well as a small fireplace remain extant within the stonework of the wall underneath the arch.¹⁰²⁶ The outline of the vestry's arch was also discernable on the interior of the northeast chapel wall until it was plastered over during the chapel renovation of 2016/17. The arch would allow room on the upper level of the vestry for a small instrument comparable in size and scope to the St. Teilo organ constructed by Goetze and Gywnn¹⁰²⁷ (see Vol. II, Supplement Two, Image 7). Because the vestments, copes, and ceremonial

¹⁰²³ 'It' for makeinge ye pavement by ye organs, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 156v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1555/56. 'pavement by ye organs' may suggest that the instrument was placed on the floor. The first mention of a wooden gallery with pillars appears in the charges for the Thomas Dallam organ in 1617/18. See below, 328.

¹⁰²⁴ 'For 27 dozen of bricks to pave the higher part of the choir, 24s, 6d'; 'For paving the higher part of the choir, 10s, 10d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 59r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1574/75.

¹⁰²⁵ The removal of the case occurred simultaneously with Horne's visit. See below, 320.

¹⁰²⁶ See below, 329.

¹⁰²⁷ For the specifications of the St. Teilo organ see Vol. II, Supplement One, 391-2.

regalia stored in the vestry would have required easy access from ground level, the upper level (most likely accessed by stairs from within the vestry, as was the case 1618-40) would have lent itself well to an organ, particularly in light of the space needed for the bellows. This manner of placement had achieved a tradition by the early sixteenth century and can be exemplified in the two-storey vestries of Lady Margaret's foundations of Christ's College (1509) and St. John's College, Cambridge (1511), as has been mentioned earlier.

2. 1537-1547. Embellishment of the Latin rite during the first decade of the presidency of Robert Morwen

Robert Morwen (1486? - 1558) was integral to the foundation and establishment of Corpus Christi College. This is reflected in two major areas. First, Morwen is connected to the very land on which the college stands: as part of the acquisition of land for the college buildings, John Claymond purchased land from Morwen in 1513. Second, Morwen played a major role as administrator: Fox appointed Morwen as perpetual vice-president of Corpus on 4 July 1517, and he was nominated by Fox to succeed Claymond as president in 1527, eventually assuming that office on 26 November 1537, the day Claymond died. Morwen held a number of additional ecclesiastical positions and competed several times for the presidency of Magdalen College. He was evidently an able administrator, but left no scholarly writings and no bequests of books.¹⁰²⁸

Evidence suggests that from the very outset of his presidency liturgical and musical ceremony were of particular importance to Morwen. A large group of payments for the acquisition and repair of graduals, processioners, antiphoners, and missals is recorded in 1537/38, the first year of Morwen's tenure, including the substantial sum of vj li, x s for two graduals and two antiphoners;¹⁰²⁹ this may indicate large volumes

¹⁰²⁸ Evans, M.D., 'Morwen, Robert (1486?-1558)', *ODNBO*.

¹⁰²⁹ 'It' pro ligatura nove' libroru' prec', 4s, 6d'; 'It' pro pasting quinque missali, 10d'; 'It' pro registris pro eisdem, 4d'; 'It' pro ligatura Antiphonis et gral'is vicepraesidis, 4s'; 'It' pro duabus gra'bus et duobus Antiphon'bus, 6li, 10s'; 'It' pro ligatione processional, 5s, 3d'; 'It' pro 3bus missalibus, 6s, 8d'; 'It' pro a sclaspe [*sic*] pro novo testament in bibli'ca et cathenacione' librarum, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 9r, v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1537/38? [There are ambiguities in dating. '28 Henry VIII' is written at the top of the cover page (fol. 1r); this signifies the regnal year 22 April 1536 - 21 April 1537. This is followed in another hand by 1538, which has been crossed through: ~~1538~~].

to be placed on a double-sided lectern for use by the rulers or other singers standing around it. Payments for binding antiphoners and mending and washing copes occur in 1546/47, the same year an English New Testament was purchased.

Payments for the binding of over thirty processioners between 1537, the year of Morwen's election, and 1541/42¹⁰³⁰ suggest processions in which the entire membership was involved (sharing these modest books one between two). The route of the procession cannot be certain; most likely it incorporated the covered cloister on the south side of the chapel, the upkeep of which is indicated in payments under 'Impensae Sacelli'. The organ appears to have achieved importance as repairs indicate, first in 1537/8, and then in three successive years in the 1540s.¹⁰³¹

A sizable group of payments recorded between 1537/38 and 1547/48 suggest Morwen's interest in acquiring and maintaining a substantial body of polyphony and plainchant.¹⁰³² John Barons, Corpus Christi's first named organist, was involved in

Underneath is written '1537']. 'Pro psalterio magno cum notis et duobus alijs psalterijs, 3s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 74v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1542/43. 'It' pro fibulis et resartione processionalium, 10d'; 'It' pro nova ligatura trium librorum Emanuell, 2s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 118r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1545/46? [On the cover (fol. 108r), '1546' has been written originally. This traditionally signifies the accounting year November 1545 to October 1546. This date has been crossed out: '1546'; the hand that crossed out this date has added '1545' (suggests the accounting year 1544/45) and 'Henrici 8. 37^o' (signifies 22 April 1545 to 21 April 1546, which may suggest/confirm the date '1545/46')].

¹⁰³⁰The following entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'It' pro ligatione processional', 5s, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 9v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1537/38? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'It' pro ligatione 3 processional', 21d', CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 47r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1540/41? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'It' pro ligacione 30 processional', 17s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 61v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1541/42? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix).

¹⁰³¹The following entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'It' pro recertione foll' (*folli*: bellows) orga', 3d'; 'It' pro coreo pro organis, 18d'; 'It' pro reparacione organorum, 23s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 143r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1536/37. 'It' pro tri' loris [leather strap, thong] pro organis, 3d'; 'It' pro reparacione organorum, 10s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 103v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1543/44? (possibly 1544/45; (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx). 'It' pro reparacione organorum, 2s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 118r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1545/46? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx). 'It' pro corio pro organ', 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 24r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1547/48.

¹⁰³²The following entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'It' Henrico for prykyng, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 9r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1537/38? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'It' to barons for mendyng of ye antiphonars in ye church & prykyng of Jesus ser'vice?], 7s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 35v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1539/40? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'It' Barono for prykyng of masses & Antems, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 61v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1541/42? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'It' pro ligatura libri cuiusdam torti cantus, 6d'; 'It' pro reparacione trium aliorum, 4d'; 'It' pro quinque libris cantus torti empti ad Frost de Osney, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 118r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1545/46? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx). 'It' pro emendatione libri torti cantus, 6d'. Also recorded are payments for missals and hymnals as well as repairing copes. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 133v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1548/49? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx).

the pricking of a Jesus service in 1539/40 and Masses and anthems in 1541/42; Barons is also paid the substantial sum of 26s, 8d 'pro antiphonaria' in 1548/49. Notable are the payments in 1545/46 to 'Magistro Knyght' for pricking an antiphon for the feast of Corpus Christi and to Henry Brether (Bretherne) for writing it out.¹⁰³³ This is most likely the composer Thomas Knyght (c. 1525 - 1550), *informator choristarum* at Salisbury Cathedral (1526x29 - c. 1543).¹⁰³⁴ Knyght's compositions continued to be received at Winchester College until 1545;¹⁰³⁵ given the close relationship New College maintained with Winchester College, its sister foundation, and the fact that Henry Brether was employed by both New College and Corpus Christi within a ten-year period to copy music,¹⁰³⁶ it is unsurprising to find Brether copying out Knyght's antiphon at Corpus Christi. Knyght's five-part Mass *Libera nos* is included in the 'The Henrician Set' of the *Peterhouse partbooks*,¹⁰³⁷ which was,

¹⁰³³ 'It' pro chirotecis optimis Mro Knyght pro antiphona Corporis Xti [Christi], 2s'; 'It' pro chirotecis Henrico Bretherne pro exscriptione antiphone Corporis Xpi', 5d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 118r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1545/46? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx).

¹⁰³⁴ According to Nick Sandon, Thomas Knyght was probably the lay-vicar and *informator choristarum* of that name at Salisbury Cathedral from c. 1526 to 1543 or later. Sandon, N., 'The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse, Cambridge (Cambridge University Library, Peterhouse Manuscripts 471-474): a study, with restorations of the incomplete compositions contained in them', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Exeter, 2009), 99. This is confirmed by Roger Bowers who adds: "Throughout his known career he was a lay vicar of Salisbury Cathedral, where he became instructor of the choristers some time between 1526 and 1529, and also organist in, or a little before, 1538 (his deed of appointment to both offices is dated 30 April 1538). He undertook "to kepe laudablie the orgeyns accordinge to good Musycke and armony", and to teach the choristers "playnsonge pryckesonge Faburdon and descante". He must be distinguished from the Thomas Knyght who was a prebendary of Salisbury. Owing to the imperfect state of the cathedral's archives, the musician cannot be traced there later than 1543. No successor is known until October 1550. Compositions by Knyght were still being received at nearby Winchester College up to 1545.' Bowers, R., 'Knyght, Thomas.' *GMOMO*. See also Robertson, D. H., *Sarum Close: A History of the Life and Education of the Cathedral Choristers for 700 years* (London, 1938), 122. According to Harrison, Knyght succeeded John Wever as instructor of choristers at Salisbury in 1529. Harrison, *MMB*, 178-9. See also Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 164 and Matthews, B., 'Some Early Organists and their Agreements', *The Organ*, 51 (1972), 149.

¹⁰³⁵ Bowers, 'Knyght, Thomas.' *GMOMO*. Magnus Williamson has noted that polyphony at Eton was contracted out to Knyght and has listed payments for Knyght at Winchester: in 1540-1, he was paid 6s for writing responds (WCM, 22198 [bursars' accounts, 1540-1], under 'Custus capelle'); in 1542-3, he received 7s, 6d for more responds (WCM, 22200 [bursars' accounts, 1542-3], under 'Custus capelle'); the following year, Robert Reynolds (fellow of Winchester College) paid him 5s for composing unspecified polyphony (WCM, 22201 [bursars' accounts, 1543-4], under 'Custus capelle'); similar payments continued until 1548-9.

¹⁰³⁶ Henry Brether or Bretherne, paid for 'prycking' books at Corpus Christi in 1536/37 and 1545/46, also copied or composed polyphony at New College in 1534/35. 'So[lutum] henrico brether pro notatione cantilenarum, ij s'; 'So[lutum] henrico brether pro notatione cantilenarum 5 Junij [1535], ij s'. NCA, 7489. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1534/35.

¹⁰³⁷ Thomas Knyght's five-part Mass *Libera nos* is Nr. 72 in the Henrician Set of the Peterhouse partbooks; the *cantus firmus* (which has to be in the treble) is the sixth antiphon at Matins on Trinity Sunday (1520, *Temporale*, f. iiij) and is treated with considerable freedom here. Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 270.

reputedly, copied nearby by a Magdalen scribe, c. 1540.¹⁰³⁸ Three four-part settings (of the *Alleluia*, *Obtine sacris*, the antiphon *Christus resurgens ex mortuis*, and the Marian antiphon *Sancta Maria virgo intercede*)¹⁰³⁹ and a Mass, which are ascribed to 'Mr Knyght', are included in the so-called *Gyffard partbooks*.¹⁰⁴⁰ In addition to being an inventive composer of Latin church music, Knyght also wrote music for the English rite; a vernacular *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* attributed to 'Knyght' were included in John Day's *Mornyng and Evening Prayer* of 1565.¹⁰⁴¹ These two works by Knyght also appear, anonymously, in the *Wanley partbooks* (Oxford, Bodleian Lib, Mus.Sch.E.420-22), and date from c. 1550, near the period of Knyght's known activity.¹⁰⁴²

The above-mentioned works spin a web that binds Knyght, a Salisbury composer, to Winchester College, New College, and Magdalen College, Oxford. If Morwen and Corpus Christi were indeed interested in performing Knyght's works, the provenance of which stem from collections associated with these places, it is possible that the

¹⁰³⁸ Due to the re-structuring of choral personnel in the New Foundation cathedrals, loss of employment at monastic establishments, and inflation an increased mobility of clerks occurred. For example, Thomas Bull, Tallis's fellow lay clerk at Canterbury in 1540, was employed by Magdalen College, Oxford, as lay clerk between 1528 and 1539. Sandon suggests Bull copied the seventy-two pieces of five-part church music that comprise the 'Henrician Set' mainly from exemplars belonging to Magdalen College in the space of a few months between late 1539 and late 1541 for use at an unidentified choral institution; this may have been copied at the request of Magdalen College for the use of Magdalen College itself, perhaps in order to modernise the archive by copying music out of choirbooks into partbooks. Alternatively, the five-part works may have been copied by Bull to take with him to Canterbury before he began his post there. It remains uncertain if Bull himself copied all of the set. Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 125-30.

¹⁰³⁹ Of note is Knyght's fresh and spontaneous four-part *Alleluia* '*Obtine sacris*' for Lady Mass, which illustrates the mid-sixteenth century manner of ornamenting a plainsong in the tenor and adding freely imitative parts set around it. In addition, the partbooks include an excellent four-part setting by Knyght of *Dicant nunc Judei*, the verse of the antiphon *Christus resurgens ex mortuis* for the procession on Easter Sunday morning when the cross is taken from the sepulchrum.

¹⁰⁴⁰ A Mass by Knyght is included among the composers of the partbooks owned at an early period by Dr. Philip Gyffard. British Museum, MSS. Add. 17802-5. These partbooks were written during the revival of the old liturgy under Mary Tudor (1553-8). Long, K., *The Music of the English Church* (London, 1971), 65. Other composers include Tallis (the four-part *Missa Sine Nomine*), Taverner, Appelby (*informator* at Magdalen College, 1539-41), Okeland, Tye, Sheppard, William Whytbrook (sub-dean, St. Paul's, 1531-35), William Mundy (chorister, Westminster Abbey, 1542-3), William Blytheman (d. 1591), and Robert Wyhte/White (b. 1533-74). The liturgical character of the contents demonstrate clearly that they were written for use with the Sarum rite. Harrison, *MMB*, 288, 377 (ex. 170), 409-10.

¹⁰⁴¹ Also included in John Day's *Mornyng and Evening Prayer* are works by John Taverner (e.g. *the Communion Gloria*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, and *Exaudiat te Dominus*) adapted by Thomas Causton. The works of Knyght, Taverner, and others are part of: Day, J., (ed.), '*Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts to be song at the morning Communion, and euening praier, very necessarie for the Church of Christe to be frequented and vsed: (vnto them added diuers godly praiers Psalmes in the like forme to the honor and praise of God*' (London, 1560, 1565). STC. 16443.

¹⁰⁴² Bowers, 'Knyght, Thomas', *GMOMO*.

other compositions of the 'Henrician Set' of the *Peterhouse partbooks*,¹⁰⁴³ the *Gyffard partbooks*, or the *Wanley partbooks* may have been performed at Corpus Christi. Further, if Knyght's antiphon for Corpus Christi was as demanding as his other works or the compositions contained in the above collections, it is reasonable to assume that the caliber of choral performance at Corpus Christi was substantial; this challenges previous assumptions that the choral force at Corpus Christi was negligible and capable at the very most of singing plainchant at services.

In addition to payments for pricksong, there are also two payments for *cantus torti* (intricate songs) - first for the addition of ligatures, and then for five books bought from 'Frost' of Osney.¹⁰⁴⁴ Though not specified as polyphony, a set of five books suggests a set of partbooks. Therefore, the payments for polyphony found in the *Libri Magni* between 1537 and 1547 suggest not only the preparation (even composition) of music within the college by John Barons, but also the importation of music from Salisbury (Knyght) and perhaps New College (Brether).

The provision for the Jesus service reflects the increasing popularity of the Jesus Mass and cult of Jesus that reached a zenith at the end of Henry VIII's reign: it was an intention much favoured by Margaret Beaufort, and John Fisher was involved in its promulgation.¹⁰⁴⁵ It is not apparent whether this payment for a Jesus service is for the

¹⁰⁴³ The collection seems to feature Magdalen composers. In addition to Davy and Mason, mentioned above, other composers affiliated with Magdalen include: Thomas Appelby (*informator choristarum*, 1538-41), John Catcott (lay clerk, Magdalen, 1539-43 and 1546-51), William Alen (lay clerk, 1539-42), Arthur Chamberlayne (chorister, Magdalen College, 1485x86, 1490, Edward Hedley (lay clerk, 1529x32, 1540x43), Edward Martyn (chorister, Magdalen, 1485-86), and Robert Hunt (chorister, Magdalen, 1486-93). Other formidable composers represented in the seventy-two works of the Henrician Set of the *Peterhouse partbooks* include John Taverner, Robert Fayrfax, Nicholas Ludford, Thomas Tallis, Christopher Tye, and John Merbecke. For a complete list of compositions and composers see Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', iv, 122.

¹⁰⁴⁴ The payment for five books to Frost suggests the acquisition of a pre-existing collection, perhaps made redundant after the new see of Oxford had been transferred from Osney to Christ Church in 1545. I am grateful to John Harper for this reference.

¹⁰⁴⁵ This note presents a continuation of biographical information on Henry Hornby (begun in Chapter One, 44, nt. 145), placing it in the context of his contribution to the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus (prominent in Fox's conception of Corpus Christi College), as well as his connections with Tattershall College, a source of choristers at both St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In addition to being an officer of St. John's College, Cambridge, Hornby was also made warden of Tattershall College by Lady Margaret, and he was elected alderman to the guild of the Virgin Mary in Boston. This is significant in that these institutions were valuable sources for choristers to both Corpus Christi, Oxford, and St. John's, Cambridge, and in the fact that they lie in Lincolnshire, one of the preferred counties for Corpus members stipulated by Richard Fox. Hugh Oldham, who guided Fox during the foundation of Corpus Christi, was also student of the arts and both laws (canon

relatively new Feast of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, 7 August,¹⁰⁴⁶ or for a weekly Jesus Mass. The provision of a special antiphon for Corpus Christi is no surprise, given the dedication of the college.¹⁰⁴⁷ None of the other payments identifies specific repertory beyond its typology as pricksong or *cantus tortus*. All this suggests a new direction in the musical embellishment of the liturgy from 1537/38 onwards, and the availability of competent polyphonists.

This supposition is strengthened by evidence in the *Libri Magni* and *Liber Admissorum*, which record two further ex-choristers (John Batte, chorister, 1539-40, 1540/41, 1541/42, admitted *discipulus*, 12 May 1543; John Dobler, chorister, 1544/5, 1545/46, *discipulus*, 1546/47) in addition to the three former choristers (Garrett, Lynche, Elys) listed above.¹⁰⁴⁸ Edward Wotton, former chorister of Magdalen, also remained Greek Reader after 1528, possibly contributing another highly trained voice to the group of polyphonists at Corpus Christi until 1541 when he became president of Magdalen College. At any given time between 1536 and 1547 there appear to have been at least two former choristers among the membership; the nucleus group of

and civil) at Oxford and served as Lady Margaret's chancellor. It is worth noting that Fox's musical provision for Corpus Christi was much less extensive than that in Lady Margaret's household chapel, and that it wasn't until c. 1536 with the advent of polyphony and a substantial group of polyphonists at Corpus that the tradition of a Jesus service found resonance. For further information on Henry Hornby and the role of Lady Margaret's household officials at St. John's, Cambridge see Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother* 168-70, 176. Devotion to Christ and the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus was apparent in all her benefactions, including those for Christ's and St. John's, Cambridge, where John Fisher, Lady Margaret's confessor, was responsible for its promulgation. Jones and Underwood, 198. In 1493 John Alcock, bishop of Ely and founder of Jesus College, Cambridge, was equally interested in the cult of the Name of Jesus. Jones and Underwood, 212.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus remained a day of reverence during the reign of Mary Tudor: 'for making of wex at Jesus day to Matherstone, 10d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 147r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1554/55. Devotion to the Holy Name grew from the later thirteenth century, but only became fully incorporated into the English church calendar as a feast in its own right in 1488/89, when it was accepted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, respectively. The cult of Jesus is also remembered in the ceiling bosses depicting the passion of Christ as well as the sacred trigram of the Holy Name and the Five Wounds. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, 'The Feast of the Name of Jesus', Chapter IV, 62-83 and 'Incipient Feasts: The Five Wounds', Chapter V, 84-91; Reid, 'The Bosses of Corpus Christi Chapel', 22-23.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Jesus and his body, to whom the college is dedicated, is reflected in apposite liturgical celebration: the Feast of Corpus Christi (Thursday after Trinity Sunday) remained throughout the Reformations and beyond a major feast and celebration accompanied by feasts in the hall, as well: 'It' It' famulo Joannis' Marlow pro allatione (*Allatio*: carrying, delivering, from *affero*, *allatum*) agni in festo Corporis Christi, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 104r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1543/44? (possibly 1544/45; (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx). 'It' pro convivio in conclave (entertainment in the hall) in die Corp' xpi' ut patet per billam, 10s, 5d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 119r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1545/46? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx).

¹⁰⁴⁸ See above, 247. For a complete list of chorister undergraduates between 1537 and 1547 see Vol. II, Appendix V, 551-5.

polyphonists remained the two appointed choristers and the two acolyte-clerks, one of which acted as organist. Two further ex-choristers appointed by Morwen, Christopher Gyll and Walter Roche, joined the membership later during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor, respectively.¹⁰⁴⁹

There is no specific reference to organ books for the years 1537-47, but the payments for organ repairs during this period suggest regular use of the organ; in light of the evidence above it can be assumed that it was used in alternation with either chant or improvised faburden/descant or composed vocal polyphony. On the limited evidence of the surviving repertory (notably, British Library Add MS 29996 and the *Mulliner Book*, discussed below), the organ may also have been used as a solo instrument (without alternation), either for antiphons at the Office or the Offertory in the Mass.

Just one fragment of pre-Reformation polyphony has survived at Corpus Christi, not in a library but embedded in a wall to fill a gap: part of Tallis's six-part Marian antiphon *Gaude gloriosa dei mater*. This is a very demanding early work by Tallis,¹⁰⁵⁰ and recent research suggests that it may originate from the reign of Henry VIII rather than Mary Tudor. However, the text of the Corpus Christi fragment is not that of the Latin antiphon, but of a vernacular translation of John Fisher's *Psalmi seu precationes* made by the last queen of Henry VIII, Katherine Parr, and published anonymously in April 1544, less than a year after she became queen.¹⁰⁵¹ It will be discussed in detail below.

Apart from enriching Corpus Christi's musical repertory, Morwen invested time and money in the fitting out and maintenance of a richly adorned chapel as well as the repair of a large body of vestments and copes; this attests to his taste for visual, as well as musical, opulence in the execution of the Latin rite. The accounts paint a picture of a small but sumptuously appointed chapel. In addition to the wealth of images, silver, censers, liturgical vessels, paxes, and altar cloths, Morwen spent

¹⁰⁴⁹ See Vol. II, Appendix V, 551-2.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The performance of this c. 25 minute long, six-part composition would infer the participation not only of highly-trained choristers to execute the treble part, but members from the chapel staff and ex-chorister *discipuli* /fellows to help fill out the alto, tenor I, tenor II (contra tenor), tenor (bariton), and bass parts.

¹⁰⁵¹ Fisher's 'psalms' consist of selected verses from the Book of Psalms, compiled into new texts. See White, M., 'The psalms, war, and royal iconography: Katherine Parr's *Psalms or Prayers* (1544) and Henry VIII as David', *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 554-75.

considerable sums on the upkeep and acquisition of liturgical vestments and copes.¹⁰⁵² Morwen placed great importance on the high altar at both Corpus Christi and Magdalen College.¹⁰⁵³ In 1545/46 a wooden canopy for the high altar of Corpus Christi was constructed for xxviiij s, iiij d,¹⁰⁵⁴ perhaps the last attempt at beautification before the accession of Edward VI. Finally, the evidence confirms the resplendent celebration of the Latin rite between 1537 and 1547, replete with costly ceremonial regalia and furniture as well as a substantial body of plainchant and polyphony complemented by the organ, all of which was maintained through the end of Henry VIII's reign.

3. 1547-1558. From Edwardine reform to reinstatement of the Latin rite under Mary Tudor

With the ascendancy of Edward VI to the throne, an influential group of evangelicals rose to prominence and gained the reins of Corpus Christi College. Most prominent among them was John Jewel,¹⁰⁵⁵ who after an exemplary career as *discipulus* and fellow (1542)¹⁰⁵⁶ became a prolific orator, receiving the appointment of Reader in

¹⁰⁵² 'It' pro reparatione vest', 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 35v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1539/40? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'It' pro reparatione caparum, 6d'; 'It' to ye vestement maker pro Mag' Vicepraes', 14s'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 47r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1540/41? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'Solutum pro 39 ulnis de locram precii' ulnae vjd ob, 16[?]'s, 1d ob'; 'It' Rose Cater pro facture eiusdem pan, 2s, 8d'; 'It' Jacobo Colynson 16 diebus pro reparatione caparum, 2s'; 'It' pro rybande sylke for ye orferesse of ye copes, 20d'; 'It' Jacobo Colynson pro facture ear', 3s, 4d'; 'It' pro 3bus unceis de rybaynd, 2s, 6d'; 'It' Brygmano for ryban, 2s, 4d'; 'It' Jacobo Colynson pro reparacione vestiment' & caparum, 8d'; 'It' Jacobo Colynson for setting yn of ye orferes & mending, 20d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 61v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1541/42? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix). 'Itm' pro pano lineo pro albis, 13s, 4d'; 'Itm' pro compositione albarum, 20d'; 'Itm' pro reparatione caparum, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 74v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1542/43. 'It' pro buckram pro capis, 5s, 4d'; 'It' pro verro setueco[?] pro capis, 3d'; 'It' Jacobo Colison pro reparacione vestimentorum, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 89r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1543/44? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx). 'It' Jacobo Colison pro reparacione vestimentorum, 12d'; 'It' Joanni' Oram pro capa alba, 3li, 13s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 104v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1544/45? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx). 'It' pro filo ad emendationem caparum, 3d'; 'It' pro reparacionibus caparum, 18d'; 'It' muelri lavanti xviiij corpores, 12d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 10v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1546/47.

¹⁰⁵³ Morwen donated five pounds to Magdalen in December 1557, seven months prior to his death on 16 August 1558, for the adornment of the high altar. Evans, 'Morwen, Robert (1486?-1558)', *ODNBO*.

¹⁰⁵⁴ 'It' pro canapeo ligneo [wooden canopy] altaris summi, 28s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 118r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1545/46? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Jewel became, next to Richard Hooker, the most prolific protestant divine to have studied at Corpus Christi.

¹⁰⁵⁶ After holding a 'postmastership' at Merton at the age of thirteen, Jewel's Merton tutors recommended that he be placed at Corpus Christi; he was admitted on 19 August 1539. Fox's dynamic

Humanity (Latin) in 1548. Apparently this period of reform left the college's humanist curriculum in havoc. Jewel remarked on the 'decay of learning' both in the university, where an excessive cultivation of rhetoric (especially the works of Cicero) dominated the curriculum, and within the college, where reluctant members appeared to lack 'industry and application to study'.¹⁰⁵⁷

While the power and influence of evangelical members rose, the might of the Roman Catholic majority remained hidden behind a convincing show of acquiescence; Morwen induced an impressive series of reforms¹⁰⁵⁸ that were no doubt scrutinised by the evangelical Visitors.¹⁰⁵⁹ However, despite the reforms made, events suggest a continued attachment to the Latin rite on the part of Morwen and the Roman Catholic fellows. In 1551, as the government began cracking down on religious traditionalists in Oxford, Morwen and two Corpus fellows, Thomas Walshe (a zealous Roman Catholic),¹⁰⁶⁰ and Richard Allen, were incarcerated in Fleet prison (15 June 1551); as a result John Jewel temporarily overtook the presidency.¹⁰⁶¹ They were charged 'on suspicion of having used ceremonies on Corpus Christi day'¹⁰⁶² other than those prescribed in the new *Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁰⁶³ No attempt was made to remove Morwen formally from the presidency;¹⁰⁶⁴ the month Morwen spent in prison sufficed apparently as a warning. This may reflect the leniency of the era, particularly

and comprehensive humanist curriculum was still in full swing, and Jewel mastered its requirements with an unrelenting discipline. He received the B.A. Degree on 20 October 1540, was made fellow in 1542, and received the M.A. in 1544.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Wood, *Annals*, 1547-1552; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 95.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See below, 262-3.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The *Libri Magni* record payments for the reception of Cox and other leading evangelicals and confidants of young King Edward VI: 'It' to Mr Doctor Cox [Richard Cox, Dean of Christ Church and Chancellor of the University] and Mr Nevenson [Christopher Nevinson] Visitors, 50s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 104v. Under 'Solut' fforinseca' in *Liber Magnus*, 1550/51. 'Solutu' for a feste to ye hedds off the unyversyty, 5s, 10½ d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 88r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Thomas Walshe, from Winchester. Fellow, Corpus Christi, 1517; M.A., 17 June 1521; prebendary of York, bishop of Elphin about 1511; dean of Corpus Christi during Mary Tudor's reign. 'Walshe, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹⁰⁶¹ '...a letter was sent to the college, to appoint Jewel to govern the College during the imprisonment of the President'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 95.

¹⁰⁶² It seems likely that Corpus Christi day became an English service celebrating the name day of the college. The pre-Reformation feast of Corpus Christi was no longer part of the calendar, and simply observing it as a festival (even with standard English services from the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*) would be a contravention.

¹⁰⁶³ The government began to put pressure on religious conservatives in Oxford, and Morwen and the fellows were sent to Fleet prison on 15 June 1551. Evans, 'Morwen, Robert (1486?-1558)', *ODNBO*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ 'July 17, the Warden of Fleet was ordered to release the President of Corpus Christi, upon his being bound to a bond of £200 to appear next term before the Council. Allen, upon his conforming to the King's orders, was restored to his Fellowship'. Evans, 'Morwen, Robert'.

that of the Duke of Somerset and Thomas Cranmer at the outset of Edward's reign, who seemed prepared to wait patiently for a thorough evangelical transformation of the Church and to wade through the mire of resistance that impeded the comprehensive reforms they supported.¹⁰⁶⁵

Mary Tudor's accession cleared Oxford colleges of reformers like Jewel, who had remained a thorn in Morwen's side, and gave traditionalists like Morwen and the Catholic fellows the liberty to show their true colours. Fowler and Wood report that Morwen and Walshe (dean at Corpus Christi under Mary Tudor) boasted how throughout Edward VI's reign they had shrewdly hidden and preserved 'all the Ornaments, Vessels, Copes, Cushions, Plate, Candlesticks, &c., which, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, had been used for the Catholic service'.¹⁰⁶⁶ Morwen's religious zeal was rewarded, and he was even invited to play a small role in Cardinal Reginald Pole's Counter-Reformation: after Pole began a systematic legatine visitation of all dioceses in April 1556, including those in Cambridge and Oxford, Morwen was appointed to the Legatine visitation of Oxford.¹⁰⁶⁷ The college affiliation with Pole and his regime is reflected in several items in the *Libri Magni*.¹⁰⁶⁸

The reprieve of the dormant Catholic faction was swift. Jewel and others were driven out, though Morwen regretted Jewel's departure, no doubt on account of Jewel's academic brilliance, and attempted to place some of the blame on other members.¹⁰⁶⁹ This may hark back to the dominance of academic excellence over that of the liturgy, which lays embedded within Fox's statutes. Several other members were expelled,

¹⁰⁶⁵ Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, 209, 219. See above, Chapter Four, 158, nt. 609.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 97.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Throughout his appointment as Visitor, Morwen had a say in a thirty-point plan for the restructuring of the University and the rehabilitation of Catholicism; the plan addressed, among other topics, the observance of the university statutes, the numbers of students, the election and behaviour of officials and fellows, as well as the purge of surviving heretical books. Evans, 'Morwen, Robert'. For more on the Legatine visitations see Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 131-54.

¹⁰⁶⁸ For example, a visit made to Pole by the vice-president of Corpus Christi in 1554: 'To Mr Vicepresident to the Lorde Cardinal in December, 18s 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 150r. Under 'Impensae Equitantium in negotijs Collegij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1554/55. 'For my lorde of Gloceters dinner in Lent, 6s, 1d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 6v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1557/58. 'lorde of Gloceters' refers to James Brooks [*scolari*, 1528; fellow, 1531-2; master of Balliol, 1547-5; Marian appointment as bishop of Gloucester, 1554-8; deprived under Elizabeth and died in prison; one of the sub-commissioners for the trial of Cranmer *et al*, and alongside Morwen, one of Pole's visitors of the University]. I am grateful to Julian Reid for making this reference known to me.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 96.

and Walshe, the principal dean, arranged a public flogging for one scholar (i.e. probationary fellow) Edward Anne, aged nineteen, for composing verses against the Mass; Anne left without becoming fellow.¹⁰⁷⁰

Evidence of compliance with Edwardine reform

Corpus Christi College responded properly to the reforms of Edward VI's regime, even purchasing a copy the king's patent in 1549/50.¹⁰⁷¹ The apposite liturgical books in English were acquired immediately at Edward's accession. This included: a *New Testament* and Cranmer's *Homilies* in 1547;¹⁰⁷² a great Bible, a 'boke of Communion', and Erasmus's *Paraphrases* for the parishes of Hendred and Warborow in 1547/48; as well as other diverse English service books for the chapel through 1552/53,¹⁰⁷³ including psalters and the first and second *Book of Common Prayer*. The *Libri Magni* also indicate a significantly altered chapel in which a communion table with tablecloths replaced the former altars.¹⁰⁷⁴ The extensive collection of sacred furniture, vestments, and ornaments had been safely stored away, as legend has it, in the college beehives - perhaps an allegorical reference to Fox's concept of the college as an '*alevarium*' (beehive), and therefore stowed away in parts of the college buildings or other properties they owned.¹⁰⁷⁵ Additional evidence of reform can be found in the

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷¹ 'It' for a copie of the kyngs patent, 3s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 38v. Under 'Impensae Placitorum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1549/50? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1546/47 - 1556/57', xxi).

¹⁰⁷² 'It' pro novo testament anglie, 3s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 10v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1546/47. During the same year: 'It' pro biblia anglie, 13s'; 'It' pro the homilis anglie, 14d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 11v. Under 'Impensae Internae'. 'It' pro the homilis for Warborow, 18d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 12r. Under 'Impensae Externe'.

¹⁰⁷³ 'It' pro Communione Anglice, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 26r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1547/48. 'It' pro Paraphrase Eras' pro Hendred & Warborow, 11s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 27r. Under 'Impensae Externe' in *Liber Magnus*, 1547/48. 'It' for vj psalmes in Englishe ijs the pece, 12s'; 'It' for a great bible, 15s, 8d'; 'It' for the boke of Communion, 5s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 62v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1548/49? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1546/47 - 1556/57', xx-xxi). 'It' for vj psalters from Evans, 14s'; 'It' for iij English psalters of Goore, 4s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 101r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1550/51. 'It' for a comunyon boke, 4s, 4d'; 'It' for a nother comen boke of prayers, 5s'; 'It' for vj psalters, 14s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 114r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1551/52. 'It' for a boke of Commen Prayers, 4s, 4d'; 'It' for iij psaltors, 5s, 4d'; 'It' for ij other psaltors, 4s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 86r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

¹⁰⁷⁴ 'It' for the Communion Table, 7s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 101r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1550/51. 'It' for wassing ye comunyon table clothe twyse, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 86r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

¹⁰⁷⁵ The college beehives are in effect much too small to conceal so great an amount of material. In reality, the beehive remains an allegory for the entire college; the church items could be hidden about

decreased frequency of Holy Communion, which is recorded in payments for wine and bread for Communion under 'Impensae sacelli'.

The *Libri Magni* record a sharp reduction of fellows receiving the 53s, 4d stipend for ordained priests between 1541/42 and 1552/53, which may be another sign of the times.¹⁰⁷⁶ It remains unclear if the fellow-priests taking the stipend were actually part of the evangelical faction, or if Morwen allowed fellows of the traditionalist faction to receive the payment during Edward VI's reign. Bishops John Poynt and Robert Horne were soon to require fellows to become ordained ministers; it was in all likelihood this group of fellows that began to receive the payment after 1560.¹⁰⁷⁷

Aside from the acquisition of psalters, which may only indicate the reading or chanting of the Psalms, there is only one reference - in 1549/50 - to the acquisition of music, and this happens to be for 'pricksong books'.¹⁰⁷⁸ The payment is uncharacteristically tucked away in the 'Impensae Internae', and may indicate the new, simpler four-part style inherent in *contrafacta* by John Taverner, for example, or in works contained in the Wanley, Lumley, and Gyfford partbooks.¹⁰⁷⁹

anywhere within the 'beehive' (i.e. the college), depending on the resourcefulness of the fellows involved. Addressed below, 270-1, nts. 1117, 1118.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Nine fellow-priests are recorded in 1541/42 (CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 61v), eight in 1542/43, four in 1546/47 and 1548/49 (there appear to be two years marked 1548/49 one in which there are five, fol. 59v), five in 1549/50, three in 1550/51 (CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 99r), and two in 1552/53 (fol. 84r). All figures are recorded under 'Stipendia' in *Libri Magni*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ A distinction was made by Bishops Poynt and Horne between the difference of becoming a priest and a minister (a term used from the BCP 1552 onwards). About 1551 some of the fellows appealed to Poynt, bishop of Winchester (and college Visitor), and asked whether it was now necessary for fellows to take holy orders, seeing that the Mass had been abolished. Poynt reinterpreted Fisher's statute, declaring that '...though ye be discharged of massing, yet ye be not discharged "a ministerio Dominico"'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 98-9. Horne reminded the fellows of their obligation to enter the ministry, clarifying the subtle distinction between the 'priesthood' and the 'ministry'.

¹⁰⁷⁸ 'It' for pricksong books, 8s 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 37v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1549/50? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1546/47 - 1556/57', xxi). This may represent a number of things, for example, the procurement of compositions in the *Wanley partbooks*. The works of the *Wanley partbooks*, most of which are written for men's voices only, could call upon boys to embellish works in splendour on high days. They include complete settings of the 1549 texts for choral sections of the Communion and matins and evensong canticles, as well as anthems attributed to Tye, Sheppard, and Tallis. *Wanley partbooks*, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.e. MSS 420-22; Mould, *The English Chorister*, 88-89.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Although working under the imposed restrictions of the Edwardine Reformation, composers retained traditions with the past: 'Composers continued to make sporadic use of plainsong, faburden, and the formal schemes of Sarum ritual items in the new Anglican repertory, as well as borrowing a great deal from small-scale secular structures such as the carol and partsong'. Milsom, J., 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', *The Musical Times*, 123, No. 1672 (June 1982), 429. A frequent example, which proved practical was the use of *contrafacta*, the method of adding new words to an existing piece of

The speedy return to the Latin rite at Mary Tudor's accession

The church ornaments and furniture so carefully concealed during Edward's reign enabled a quick transition back to the Latin rite; there are only a few additions to the chapel stock, including two cruets purchased by Welche (Walshe?),¹⁰⁸⁰ and vestments seem only to have been repaired, not newly bought. The rapidity with which altars were reinstalled¹⁰⁸¹ and blessed¹⁰⁸² and the chapel converted just after King Edward's death illustrates the vigour and zeal of Morwen and the fellows. Morwen made further attempts to sanctify and beautify the chapel, including the restoration of the high altar tabernacle.¹⁰⁸³ Great care and expense were taken in the construction of a silk canopy, which was decorated with tassels and supported by staves. The canopy was traditionally used to cover the sacrament during processions, a custom that increased in popularity under Cardinal Pole's regime, particularly on the Feast of Corpus Christi, one of the most important yearly celebrations.¹⁰⁸⁴ This also may

music. For example: Taverner's *Small Devotion* Mass (English version in the Edwardine 'Wanley' partbooks). Milsom, 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', 429.

¹⁰⁸⁰ 'for cruets which Mr Welche bowght, 3s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 147r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1554/55.

¹⁰⁸¹ 'It' for setting upp ye altars & dressing ye churche, 22s, 8d'; 'It' for heare for ye altars, 5s'; 'It' for hooks, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 86r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

¹⁰⁸² 'It' for halloyng ye Aulters in wyne, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 125v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1553/54.

¹⁰⁸³ 'for mending the tabernacle to Bolton, 12s'; 'Ite' payd to Dollye the painter for giltinge ye tabernacle, 18d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 146v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1554/55. This reflects the importance Morwen placed on the adornment of the high altar at both Corpus Christi and Magdalen College (see above, 259, nt. 1053). Henry Bolton was a local carpenter or joiner active in Oxford. He was paid a year later to construct 'a iudas' (i.e. a large candlestick or frame on which the Easter candle was mounted): 'It' to Henry Bolton for making a iudas, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 156v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1555/56. Bolton was also knowledgeable in the dismantling and reinstallation of organs. He removed the organ at New College in 1550/51: 'So[lutum] pro henrico bolton pro removendis organis ad templo, xii d'. NCA, 7518. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1550/51. Bolton also removed the organ at All Souls College in 1560/61: 'pro removenti organa nobis imposita, x s'; 'pro Bolton et famulus pro removentibus organa, ij s'. ASCA, c.283. Under 'Capella' in *Accounts*, 1560/61. In 1553/54 Bolton helped transport an organ back into the chapel at New College: 'So[lutum] bolton pro assere ad organa, viii d'. NCA, 7523. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1553/54. Bolton also constructed a communion table for the chapel at Magdalen College, Oxford, in the early 1550s. 'Doyle' assumed the more decorative work of painting and gilding, not only at Corpus Christi, but also in other Oxford colleges - at New College during Mary's reign, for example: 'So[lutum] Doyle pro pingendo velamine pendent ante cruce, xij d'. NCA, 7529. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1557/58.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The tradition was most likely inspired by one of Pole's Oxford associates, Bartolome Carranza, the Legatine Synod, who dictated that on St. Andrew's Day (30 November) of every year a procession, Mass, and sermon was to be held. Carranza mobilised the resources of Philip and Mary's splendid Chapel Royal and mounted a magnificent musical procession with the Blessed Sacrament through Kingston-upon-Thames on Corpus Christi day, 1555. Though the first procession had distinct Spanish

reflect Morwen's allegiance to Pole and to Queen Mary, whose arms were set upon the rood loft.¹⁰⁸⁵

Equal care and expense was taken in restoring the liturgy and its music. Chapel music, which incorporated plainchant, polyphony, and the organ, remained paramount to Morwen. This is reflected first in the re-acquisition of plainchant books immediately following Edward VI's death in July 1553¹⁰⁸⁶ and further books purchased in 1554.¹⁰⁸⁷ Another large sum of 3li, 6s, 8d was paid to the Dutch bookseller Garbrand Herkes 'for bokes' in 1553/54¹⁰⁸⁸ in addition to 3li, 6s, 8d he received for antiphoners and graduals in July 1553.¹⁰⁸⁹ These entries are followed by payments for the tuning and repair of the organ in 1553/54, recorded together with a new order of 'prick song bokes'.¹⁰⁹⁰ The books purchased from Garbrand as well as the pricksong books may suggest the return to pricked Mass settings, such as the Jesus Mass reported earlier, as well as other compositions that alternated in polyphony and plainsong. Payments for repairing the organ suggest its regular use, most likely in *alternatim*, either with chant, improvised faburden, or composed vocal

influences, Bishop Edmund Bonner orchestrated one the following year, which inspired many Englishman attending to fall to their knees in reverence. Consequently, the Legatine Synod made a momentous decision to place the Blessed Sacrament locked in a stone tabernacle raised above the high altar, as opposed to placing it in the hanging pyx customary in England at the time. Wilkins, D., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae* (London, 1737), vol. IV, 121; Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 192.

¹⁰⁸⁵ 'It' for ij newe armes and paynting ye roode, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 125v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1553/54.

¹⁰⁸⁶ 'It' to Garbrand [Garbrand Herkes] for ij antypho' & iij grayles, 3li, 6s, 8d'; 'It' to Stoffler for ij books off our owne, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 86r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

¹⁰⁸⁷ 'Imprimis for binding a mas booke, 18d'; 'for paper for the hyme books, 14d'; 'For regesters to the mas books, 6d'; 'To Mr Evanse ut patet per billam for binding of books, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 146v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1554/55.

¹⁰⁸⁸ 'It' to Garbran for bokes, 3li, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 125v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1553/54. Garbrand Herkes' shrewd decision to retain outlawed Catholic service books during the Edwardine Reformation resulted in large profits during the Marian revival of the Latin rite; the substantial payments made to him by Corpus Christi and New College attest to a thriving business. Particularly large payments are recorded at Corpus Christi. Garbrand was a frequent guest of the college over the next decade as reflected in payments for suppers and other hospitality shown him. For example: 'Wine given to Mr Garbrand and his wife with others, 5d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 72r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1575/76, *Termino tertio*.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See nt. 1086.

¹⁰⁹⁰ 'It' for prick song bokes, 3s, 4d'; 'It' for mending ye organes to Browne, 13s, 4d'; 'It' for lether hunger [rope] for ye organs, 12d'; 'It' to Mr Baynton for mending ye organs, 40s'; 'It' for a key to ye lock by ye organs, 4d'. All entries recorded in CCCA, C/1/1/3, fols. 125v, 126r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1553/54.

polyphony. A body of polyphonists that included choristers,¹⁰⁹¹ at least four singing men (one an organist), and at least five ex-choristers¹⁰⁹² is confirmed in the *Libri Magni* and *Liber Admissorum*.

4. 1558-1568. Instability, resistance, and reform

Perhaps no period evoked more administrative instability and religious tumult at Corpus Christi than the decade following the accession of Elizabeth I and the death of the founding officer, Robert Morwen, successively vice-president and president. This period marked an attempt by Roman Catholic members to safeguard their sacred ornaments and music. A veritable battle was played out between Roman Catholics clinging to (and hoping for a return to) the Latin rite and an ever-increasing number of protestants from within and without the college determined to reform it.

A quick succession of presidents with varying religious beliefs heralded the religious calamity of the decade. The Roman Catholic, William Cheadsey (president, 1558-59), elected president two months before the death of Mary Tudor, was deprived in September 1559. William Butcher (president, 1559-61), his successor, then oversaw a protestant reordering of the chapel and its worship, which was maintained by Thomas Greenway (president, 1561-68). General unrest in the college was exacerbated by criminal charges brought against Butcher and Greenway, both of whom tried to appropriate copyhold fines;¹⁰⁹³ it proved the misfortune of Corpus Christi to fall under the direction of two weak and morally questionable presidents, particularly at a

¹⁰⁹¹ Thomas Chaff (1555), Gought, Maunder, and Waglye (1558). Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429.

¹⁰⁹² John Dolber, Christopher Gill, Walter Roche, Thomas Chaff, and James Fenn. Fenn was admitted on 31 July 1554 as chorister to Corpus from New College (where he had been a chorister) and became *scolaris* in 1558. According to Foster: Christopher Gyll was from Somerset; chorister, 1547/48, 1548/49, 1549/50; fellow, 1552(?); B.A., 21 February 1554; M.A., 30 June 1558. One of this name, canon of Lichfield, 1575, chancellor 1578, and treasurer 1581. 'Gyll, Christopher', in Foster, *AOXEN*. For greater detail see Vol. II, Appendix V. Choristers remaining on the foundation of Corpus Christi College, 1528-1641, 551-2.

¹⁰⁹³ At this time there were continual disputes in the college about the fines for renewal of the copyholds and also for the renewal of leases. These fines increased in value as years passed and ultimately far exceeded what the college obtained from rents. In all colleges there were disputes as to what proportion the fines should be divided between the fellows. At Corpus there were repeated accusations that presidents Butcher and Greenway kept too much. 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

time when the college was in need of strong leadership. The ensuing chaos of vying factions and religious instability that characterised the atmosphere at Corpus 1558-68, required not one, but two visitations - in 1566 and 1568 - to bring stable protestant order to the college.

Elizabeth's accession marked the return of a tight-knit trio of exiled protestants that exerted particular force in the protestant reordering of Corpus Christi College: Laurence Humphrey (president of Magdalen College, 1561-89),¹⁰⁹⁴ William Cole (president, 1568-98),¹⁰⁹⁵ and Robert Horne (bishop of Winchester, and therefore Visitor to the college). Especially after the appointment of their mentor of sorts, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester,¹⁰⁹⁶ as chancellor of the University on 13 December 1564, both Corpus Christi and Magdalen College became the objects of hard-knuckled reform. Change was effected through visitations held by Horne¹⁰⁹⁷ in 1560/61, 1566, and 1568, and kept in check by his circle of colleagues, a group of protestant luminaries that included Bishop John Jewel.¹⁰⁹⁸ The members of Horne's protestant club were entertained on numerous occasions at Corpus.¹⁰⁹⁹ Although

¹⁰⁹⁴ Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson, the two leaders of the nonconformist clergy in Oxford, often appealed to William Cecil and Dudley, Lord Leicester, in matters of controversy, such as the vestment controversy (which peaked in 1565); during the disputes over clerical attire, the queen supported conformity while Humphrey and Dudley did not. Humphrey's firm protestant vision was first expressed in *De religionis conservatione et reformatione vera* published in 1559 and dedicated to the Earl of Bedford, a committed protestant nobleman who eventually backed his appointment to the presidency of Magdalen College. Humphrey's views emerged in another of his works written in 1559 and published in English in 1563, *Optimates, sive de nobilitate*, which was dedicated to Elizabeth I. Despite the dedication, Humphrey's vision continued to frustrate and enrage Elizabeth. Brockliss, L.W.B., *Magdalen College Oxford. A History* (Oxford, 2008), 160.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Cole had either been expelled or fled in 1553 or early 1554; according to Humphrey, Cole became one of a band of English protestants 'who composed a sort of literary society' around Peter Martyr in Strasbourg. Cole, Horne, Humphrey, James Pilkington, and Thomas Lever (of St. John's College, Cambridge), twelve in all, moved to Zürich; in 1557 Cole moved to Geneva, contributing to the translation of the Scriptures, which led to the so-called 'Geneva Bible'. Cole shared distinct attitudes toward the interior appearance of churches with Humphrey; both were members of 'A Commission to deface monuments of Superstition' appointed by Elizabeth. See below, 298.

¹⁰⁹⁶ After Elizabeth's accession Dudley patronised a substantial group of Edwardine clergy and Marian exiles - especially Horne, Humphrey, and Cole in Oxford. Adams, S., 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588)', *ODNBO*.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Horne, as bishop of Winchester - and therefore episcopal Visitor at the college - kept special watch over New College and Corpus Christi, both of which had set off alarm bells between 1558 and 1560.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Now in a reversal of fortune, bishop of Salisbury.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Corpus entertained prominent protestants at the time of the university visitations beginning in 1558/59, among them, Robert Dudley, the future chancellor: 'pro vino fat' dne' Chandowes [Dorothy Bray (c. 1524-1605) married Edmund Brydges, 2nd Baron Chandos, c.1546] et dno' Dudley, 7s'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 34r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1558/59. 'For a supper to the Queen's Surveyor, 5s'; 'To his clerk, 2s'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 33v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber*

Corpus Christi made feigned attempts at a protestant reordering,¹¹⁰⁰ there remained great dissent at large. This required Horne's constant attention; he (or his commissaries) returned on several occasions throughout the 1560s - and well into the 1570s - to impose injunctions of reform at both Corpus Christi and New College.¹¹⁰¹ The goals of Horne and his protestant circle attained fruition at Corpus Christi with the installation of his colleague, William Cole, as president in 1568.

Three major sets of visitations set tremors of reform rumbling through Magdalen, New College, and Corpus Christi. A major visitation held at Magdalen College in 1558 occasioned the mass departure of chaplains, clerks, and choristers,¹¹⁰² including Thomas Mulliner and Paul Amerson. According to Horne's visitation records (Bodleian Library, BOD MS Top Oxon. c.354), Amerson assumed duties as *informator* at New College, where he was found in possession of a large body of seditious Roman Catholic literature.¹¹⁰³ After the mass exodus at Magdalen, Mulliner may also have found temporary employment at New College.¹¹⁰⁴

The repudiation of Elizabethan supremacy stood atop the list of grievances in an extensive set of Oxford visitations held between 1558 and 1560/61 by Horne and George Ackworth, his commissary. Three colleges in particular had 'demurred to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy', Corpus Christi and New College among

Magnus, 1558/59. Various payments for 'the Visitors' are recorded, including Edwin Sandys, the Corpus alumnus, John Jewel [now bishop of Salisbury], and Bishop Robert Horne: 'for wine for the Visitors, 16d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 34r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1558/59. During the same year: 'Riding to Abingdon to the Visitors, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 35r. Under 'Impensae Equitantium'. 'Pro convivio exhibito vicecancellario [Francis Babington, vice-chancellor 1560-62, and chaplain to Robert Dudley], et alijs, 22s, 2d'; 'Pro convivio exhibition Episcopo Sarum [John Jewel], 47s, 9 1/2d'; 'Pro convivio exhibito Epo' Winton [Robert Horne], 4li, 17s, 4½ d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 63r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1560/61.

¹¹⁰⁰ See below, 278-82.

¹¹⁰¹ Visitations of Corpus Christi were held in 1560/61, 1566, 1568, and 1575/76 and at New College in 1561/62, 1566/67, and 1574/75.

¹¹⁰² Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, vol. II, lxxv.

¹¹⁰³ Of all the members accused of possessing seditious literature in the 1562/63 visitation of New College, the greatest offender seems to have been the *informator choristarum*, Paul Amerson (former clerk of Magdalen College). 'The Visitation of 1562', in *Bishop Horne's Register 1560-1579*, Bodleian Library, MS Top Oxon. c.354, 4-5 and in 'The Visitation of 1566-7', 28 (this page is also numbered 6 and 157).

¹¹⁰⁴ See below, 287, nt. 1195.

them.¹¹⁰⁵ Horne visited Corpus Christi, New College, Magdalen, and Trinity and ordered every fellow to subscribe to the Oath of Supremacy and to acknowledge the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, raking up any residues of superstition and unsound leadership along the way;¹¹⁰⁶ one matter that troubled him pertained to 'an unfitt president [Butcher] in Corpus Christi Colledge'. New College presented perhaps the greatest challenge with the threat of dissent from within and manipulation 'from abroad'.¹¹⁰⁷ In light of the disconcerting body of Roman Catholic apologia landing on English shores and infiltrating Oxford, particularly New College, Horne and his Visitors descended upon New College in further visitations during 1562/63. What Horne was soon to realise was that literature from Louvain had also permeated the membership of Corpus Christi,¹¹⁰⁸ and that it posed a potential threat to the reform of chapel worship.¹¹⁰⁹

In 1566 Laurence Humphrey complained to his ally Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and chancellor of the University (1564-85),¹¹¹⁰ of the 'decay of the true religion' at Corpus Christi.¹¹¹¹ Humphrey and Horne, in particular, were unrelenting in their

¹¹⁰⁵ 'Causes for which New College refused to subscribe to the Queen's Supremacy'. Lemon, R., (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80* (London, 1856). *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/edw-eliz/1547-80> [accessed 23 February 2017], vol. 19 August/September 1561, Nr. 56.

¹¹⁰⁶ Horne deprived the president of Magdalen College [Thomas Coveney, president 1558-1561] and '... found also an unfitt president [Butcher] in Corpus Christi Colledge: yeat bicause i could not be [by] the Statutes these so well proceade against him as I ded against thother by reason the company wolde not obiect against him, I have therfore thought good to travaill with him voluntarily to resigne his place, which fynally he hath done in to my hands'. *Bishop Horne's Register 1560-1579*, Sp 12/19, no. 56. Butcher had been elected President of Corpus Christi on 15 December 1559 by the Royal Commissioner, Dr. Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, who had six years before under Mary's reign visited the College as one her commissioners. During the visitation Butcher was 'impeached for not delivering the fines of Copyholds, which he sought to appropriate to himself...' He resigned a few months later on 13 December 1561. Therefore, this was not a question of religion, but of financial misappropriation.

¹¹⁰⁷ Fraught with the prospects of losing their religion, many New College Catholics looked with hope to the Catholic apologia of their fellows in exile, Thomas Harding, Nicholas Saunders, and John Marshall, printed by their colleague, John Fowler, in Louvain and Antwerp.

¹¹⁰⁸ George Atkinson, a chaplain (and colleague of Thomas Mulliner) of Corpus Christi ejected during the Visitation of September 1566, was charged with bringing Marshall's *Treatyse of the Cross* into the college. See below, 272.

¹¹⁰⁹ See below, 272-4.

¹¹¹⁰ Dudley was appointed chancellor of the University of Oxford after the recommendation of John Mason, his predecessor; in subsequent years this office provided him an increased role in the Church at all levels.

¹¹¹¹ Both men were feted at the college and had ample opportunity to scrutinise its factional balance. Laurence Humphrey and presumably Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, were fed and entertained at college expense in 1565/66. 'For wine given to my Lord of Leicester's gentilmen, 6d'; 'Pro convivio exhibito Doctor Humphrie Doct. Floide[?], 16s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 115r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1565/66.

efforts to reform the college; Dudley, a supporter of radical protestantism,¹¹¹² was most probably the catalyst for Horne's visitation of 1566, for imposing William Cole after Greenway's resignation,¹¹¹³ and for demanding a revision of the college statutes in 1575/76. Queen Elizabeth's visit to Corpus Christi College in 1566 - which occurred shortly after Dudley and Horne had been entertained in college - put Corpus Christi once again under renewed protestant scrutiny.¹¹¹⁴

The full scale of Corpus Christi's religious transgressions was revealed during the formal visitation of Corpus Christi by George Ackworth, Bishop Horne's chancellor and commissary in 1566¹¹¹⁵ - an event that set off a war of slander and denunciation. The Visitors were subjected to the religious mudslinging of various factions: the protestant fellows vs. President Greenway; and the protestant fellows (and Visitors) vs. Corpus Christi's Roman Catholic fellows.¹¹¹⁶ The most troubling revelations of the 1566 visitation proved the illicit appropriation of church plate, vestments, and other chapel furniture during the first year of Elizabeth's reign (during Cheadsey's tenure),¹¹¹⁷ as well as their retrieval in 1561/62¹¹¹⁸ and what this might imply. The

¹¹¹² Dudley once declared 'I am not, I thank God, fantastically persuaded in religion but ... do find it soundly and godly set forth in this universal Church of England'. Wilson, D., *Sweet Robin: A Biography of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester 1533–1588* (London, 1981), 205. However, Dudley did defend the religious interests of the Swiss-Strasbourg exiles and protected leading presbyterians like Thomas Cartwright during the 'Admonition' controversy; he was accused by the puritans and the disciplinarian wing of the Church of encouraging the presbyterians to overthrow the episcopate so that he and his friends could seize the estates of the church. After the queen fought 'prophesyings' and attacks on bishops, culminating with the suspension of Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury in 1577, Dudley was accused of suspending such attacks and stated his true colours on the subject. He was not prepared to destroy the episcopal order: 'I am so resolved to the defence of that is already established' [and the present crisis] 'I feared long agoe wold prove the fruit of our discention for trifles and since for other matters'. Wood, T. (author), Collinson, P., (ed.), *Letters of Thomas Wood, Puritan, 1566-1577* (London, 1960), 94–8.

¹¹¹³ Dudley apparently suggested to Elizabeth to nominate William Cole after Greenway resigned in 1568. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 128.

¹¹¹⁴ 'For setting up two bedsteads against the Queen's coming, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 116r. Under 'Impensae Cubiculorum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1565/66.

¹¹¹⁵ According to the Fulman MSS, there is no mention of any personal visitation of the college during Greenway's tenure, but in Bishop Horne's register in the episcopal archives at Winchester there is a document of seventeen pages headed 'Acta habita gesta et expendita in Capella infra Coll. C. C. in Univ. Oxon. 17 October 1566, coram^[L] ven. viro M^{ro} Georgio Acworth Legum doctore ... ad dictum Coll. Visitandum Commissario specialiter deputato.' Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 110.

¹¹¹⁶ As at New College, all members were required to sign submission to the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* before more earnest matters were addressed. The heart of the visitation centred on the altercation between the group represented by Greenway and a number of fellows and another group represented by three fellows, Jerome Rainolds (fellow), George Atkinson (chaplain), and Richard Joyner, (clerk of accounts) and their supporters. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 110.

¹¹¹⁷ 'Imprimis, that Mr Hierome Reynolds hath taken the Church Jewells and other ornaments oute of the Vestrye againste all order of Statute. And kept theme there VIII yeres [i.e. from the

vast collection of vestments¹¹¹⁹ at Corpus Christi was hidden within or without the college.¹¹²⁰ It remains unclear why the church plate, furniture, and vestments were retrieved; more puzzling still, was the existence of three stone altars in 1568.¹¹²¹

President Greenway does not appear to have been involved in the retrieval of the hidden items. Although his enemies in 1566 labeled him a 'mutable papist', indications in the chapel accounts demonstrate his cooperation with the Prayer Book liturgy. Ultimately, neither a support of Roman Catholicism nor a defence of the Latin rite can be attributed to Greenway; despite the questionable actions of the recusant Roman Catholic fellows, the Latin rite appears dormant during this period.

As equally troubling as the presence of regalia and altars associated with the Latin rite was the circulation of what Horne deemed 'schismatic literature';¹¹²² in his

commencement of Elizabeth's reign] in his own privye custodie, part under grounde, part above grounde, And hathe denied the having of it, being asked by Mr President in the last scrutiny. Item, he consented to an unlawfull alienation of the Colledge church goodes, and eyther forged or privily conveyed the Colledge common seale to be set to the said alienation and for recovery of the same again [i.e. to enable Windsor, who was the nominal owner, to claim them should circumstances render such a course desirable] bound the Colledge under there common seale to the paymente of ii c li to be paid by a day.' Thomas Windsor Esq. of Surrey would have held the items in safekeeping until they could be retrieved. For greater detail see Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 115-17.

¹¹¹⁸ As payments in the *Libri Magni* indicate, chapel goods and vestments were retrieved from Joyner's custody for 40s in 1561/62: 'Itm for redeeming of certain churche stuffe that Mr Turnbull pledged at Johan Hylls, 10s'; 'Itm for the redeeming of other vestments that he also pledged at Joyners, 40s'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 75v. Under 'Impensae Panarii' in *Liber Magnus*, 1561/62. Jasper Turnbull was admitted scholar on 20 February 1555. Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹¹¹⁹ The college managed to retain a substantial amount of pre-Reformation regalia and vestments. An inventory of the chapel compiled in 1566 records among many other items: two hangings of cloth of tissue for the high altar; 'the best' set of red velvet vestments for priest, deacon, and subdeacon; a set of vestments of cloth of gold made from green velvet; and another of blue silk. Also included were copes of blue silk embroidered with crowns and mitres, copes of green spangled with gold, and, notably, two copes of purple velvet containing branches with pelicans of gold. A vast collection of regalia and vestments was hoarded through the Restoration in 1660 and beyond, which suggests the college's continued interest in ceremonial regalia of the pre-Reformation Latin rite. In the seventeenth century Corpus Christi still owned a vast collection of sixty copes and over four hundred vestments. See Vol. II, Appendix VII. An inventory of the church goods at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1558/59. 567-8. Only a handful of vestments and plate survives today, including a fragment (known as the 'Founder's Textile') containing pelicans that Fowler believes was part of the cover for a puritan communion table, a crozier of Bishop Fox, and his chalice and paten of gold. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 99. Archivist Julian Reid has recently discovered that the Founder's Textile is actually a pulpit cloth, crafted in Florence during the 1520s and purchased for the college by Bishop Fox. Reid, J., 'The Founder's Textile', *The Pelican Record*, 48 (2012), 24.

¹¹²⁰ It is likely that some of the church goods were stored in town at the lodgings of Richard Joyner (clerk of accounts). Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 49.

¹¹²¹ See below, 280.

¹¹²² 'Item ne quis introducat introductum [*sic*] Legat ant penes se detineat aliquem librum Hardingi, Saunderi, Marsetti, Heskeni, Dormeri ant aliorum schismaticorum qoarumcunque imposterum sub

injunctions for New College in 1566 Horne accused fellows of 'papismi gravissimi', and forbade the possession of works by New College Catholic apologists Thomas Harding,¹¹²³ Nicholas Saunders,¹¹²⁴ and John Marshall,¹¹²⁵ among other authors. Horne's concern was not without reason: George Atkinson, the former chaplain of Corpus Christi (and colleague of Thomas Mulliner during his brief stay), was ejected during the Visitation of September 1566 and charged with bringing Marshall's *Treatyse of the Cross* into the college;¹¹²⁶ it is also likely that Atkinson and other Roman Catholic colleagues may have been familiar with contemporary recusant literature infiltrating Oxford from Louvain.

What did this body of literature signify to the Roman Catholics of Corpus Christi and New College? The first decade of Elizabeth's reign represented an era of uncertainty and hope on the part of recusant Roman Catholics across England. Particularly during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Roman Catholics were wondering what course the queen would take in regard to Catholicism; in 1562 the bishop of Carlisle was confident that 'the crucifix with Mary and John should be set up again in all Churches before Christmas'.¹¹²⁷ Such a belief that ornaments and objects of the Latin rite could retain a place in worship may also have driven the Roman Catholic fellows at Corpus

pena amotionis a dicto Collegio quia spectant ad dedicus [*sic*] Collegij'. 'The Visitation of 1566', *Bishop Horne's Register 1560-1579*, 36, 106.

¹¹²³ Thomas Harding (fellow, 1536) was somewhat of a religious chameleon. He became Regius Professor of Hebrew under Henry VIII, and during the reign of Edward VI a staunch protestant, instructing Lady Jane Grey on the fundamental principles of Edwardine reform. Although he was provided letters of patent to recommend him for wardenship, New College refused them. Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 112. During Mary's reign he converted to Catholicism, becoming Stephen Gardiner's chaplain and treasurer of Salisbury. On Elizabeth's accession he fled to Louvain. Harding's *Confutation of the Apology* (1565), his defence of the Catholic Church and challenge to John Jewel's *The Apology of the Church of England* (1562) was countered by Jewel in *The Defence of the Apology* (1567). Harding's name rested atop Horne's list of subversive recusant authors.

¹¹²⁴ Nicholas Saunders (Sanders, Sawnders) rose to international prominence with his major work, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* (Louvain, 1571); in the same way that John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* paid tribute to the martyrs of the protestant faith, Saunderson's work lauded martyrs of the Catholic faith and supported the papal excommunication of Queen Elizabeth. Williams, P., 'From the Reformation to the Era of Reform', in Buxton and Williams, *New College*, 47.

¹¹²⁵ John Marshall, who is paid for bell ringing at morning prayers in the accounts for 1548/49, was elected probationer in 1549. Under Mary Tudor he became vicar of Upham in the diocese of Winchester. His Catholic proclivities drove him away from England at Elizabeth's accession; he joined the group of Louvain Wykehamists headed by Harding and Saunders and became canon of St. Peter's Church, Lisle, where he wrote a treatise on the Cross. According to Wood, he left the cathedral of Lisle a fragment of the true Cross. Wood-Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. i, 568.

¹¹²⁶ See 'Bishop Horne's Injunction Articles given to New College, Oxford, Sept 1566', Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 182, nt. 1.

¹¹²⁷ Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 94.

to retrieve hidden vestments and ceremonial regalia in 1561/62. Also, the fact that Atkinson and other recusants at Corpus Christi and New College were in tune with vibrations from Louvain may indicate the belief and hope that a *coup d'état* would remove Elizabeth from the throne and restore Roman Catholicism to England.¹¹²⁸ Furthermore, the anti-protestant sentiments that had exploded in the 'Rebellion of the North', November 1569 - January 1570, may well have echoed through the walls of Corpus Christi during the 1560s: the rebellion had in particular threatened the county of Durham from whence, by statute,¹¹²⁹ the college was required to draw its members.¹¹³⁰ Finally, it appears that with the accession of another protestant monarch, the Roman Catholic fellows decided to safeguard the ornaments and furniture of the chapel, both within and without the college, in the hope that Elizabeth might ease her views toward regalia of the Latin rite or that England would witness yet another monarchical turnover with a complete restoration the Latin rite in all its pomp and *éclat*.

In contrast to New College, no record of Horne's injunctions addressing chapel worship at Corpus Christi remains extant.¹¹³¹ Horne insisted upon the singing of 'Psalms in English metre' in his injunctions for Winchester and New College (1566, 1567). There is no reason to doubt that his intentions at Corpus Christi would be otherwise; the 'five psalters having the psalms'¹¹³² in metre annexed' purchased for 10s, 4d in 1565/66 evince the college's compliance with metrical psalm singing.

¹¹²⁸ Nicholas Saunders, one of the most prolific New College recusants, played an avid role in the promulgation of *Regnans in Excelsis* (25 February 1570), the Papal Bull excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth I, and even attempted to persuade Philip II of Spain to intervene militarily in England and help remove Elizabeth from the throne and restore Catholicism to the realm. Williams, 'From Reformation to Reform', 47. It is therefore likely that Roman Catholic fellows at New College - who doubtless would have been familiar with Saunders' works, including *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* - were waiting in the wings, hoping for another restoration of the Latin rite. In light of the informal relationship between New College and Corpus Christi College, it is reasonable to assume that the recusant fellows at Corpus Christi College knew of the seditious literature of New College recusants, which, in addition to Saunders, included Thomas Harding and Nicholas and John Harpsfield; they may have continued to safeguard their former collection of copes, vestments, and church regalia in the event that Elizabeth I was deposed and the Latin rite restored with the help of Spain.

¹¹²⁹ Cap. 14, 'De discipulorum qualitate et electione', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 32.

¹¹³⁰ Extracted with the kind permission of Roger Bowers from his forthcoming article, 'Prayer in Music at an Oxford College: a Local Response to the Northern Rebellion (1569-70)?'.

¹¹³¹ Frere published only seven injunctions for Corpus Christi College, none of which address recusancy or chapel worship. 'Bishop Horne's Injunctions for Corpus Christi College, 1566', Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 181.

¹¹³² Possibly John Day's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meter*, 1562.

Further, as George Atkinson, one of the Corpus chaplains, was caught with Marshall's recusant literature, the injunction given for New College by Horne and for Worcester by Sandys forbidding the works of Marshall, Harding, and other recusants from Louvain¹¹³³ would no doubt have applied to Corpus Christi.

Until Elizabeth I's accession Corpus Christi remained firmly in the grasp of a Roman Catholic majority. However, during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, a growing number of protestants, some more radical than others, materialised. Contemporary Reformation historiography has shown that during the outset of Elizabeth's reign religious change was a gradual process, and that an ever-expanding religious divide separated not just religious groups but even families. Just as the Civil War would do nearly a century later, the religious clashes of the early Elizabethan Reformation tore families asunder, turning father against son, brother against brother; the Rainolds family, in particular, provides an enlightening case study of a deeply divided family enduring the violent religious rifts of 1560s. The religious convictions of the four brothers John, Jerome, Edmund, and William Rainolds¹¹³⁴ and their father poignantly demonstrate the religious division within Corpus Christi College and without; the scandals surrounding Jerome and Edmund and the fickle and unstable religious beliefs of John and William illustrate the volatility and unpredictability of contemporary religious debate during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign.

The changing theological views of John Rainolds, unquestionably the most prolific of the three brothers who became Corpus fellows, provides a high-profile case. John Rainolds' father and his uncle had been devoutly Roman Catholic, and at the commencement of John Rainolds' studies at Corpus in 1563 at the age of fourteen, he was, like his two elder brothers Jerome and Edmund, a Roman Catholic.¹¹³⁵ The gradual distance John Rainolds placed between himself and the Roman Catholic faction at Corpus Christi (which included Jerome and Edmund) and his conversion to

¹¹³³ Article 32 in 'Sandy's Articles for Worcester Diocese, 1569', Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 226.

¹¹³⁴ Jerome ('Hieronymus' in Fowler), Edmund, and John were fellows of Corpus Christi College, and William was a fellow of New College.

¹¹³⁵ Feingold, M. 'Rainolds, John (1549-1607)', *ODNBO*.

protestantism reflects the highly erratic religious climate within the college between 1558 and 1568.

How did this devout Roman Catholic family end up with a protestant 'black sheep'? In the search for possible influences one might examine John Rainolds' tutors and academic training. However, his academic training lay principally in the hands of Roman Catholics: the Latin Reader in 1566 was none other than his brother Edmund; in 1568 the Latin Reader was Simon Tripp, a fellow approachable by both religious parties, but who in effect leaned toward Roman Catholicism.¹¹³⁶ George Rudd was the Greek Reader in 1563, and the next recorded Reader was John Rainolds himself in 1572. Therefore, his protestant sympathies appear to have been drawn from sources other than teachers and tutors.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment in time when John Rainolds became protestant, but evidence demonstrates that his conversion was complete at the latest by 1566. First, evidence in the *Libri Magni* and the proceedings of the Horne/Ackworth visitation suggest that Rainolds' protestant convictions lay by October 1566 with the Visitors, who directed their aggression toward his Roman Catholic brother, Jerome, as well as to chaplain George Atkinson, Richard Joyner (clerk of accounts), and their supporters. Second, John Rainolds was clearly supportive of his sovereign queen, and during her visit to Oxford 30 August - 3 September 1566, Rainolds presented her verses.¹¹³⁷ Lastly, after Jerome Rainolds had been charged and expelled, yet another scandal enveloped his brother Edmund, who was expelled for his role in opposing the installation of William Cole in 1568 - a move that John Rainolds and the protestant faction supported. It appears that the seventeen-year-old John Rainolds had moved sufficiently away from Rome and the beliefs of his brothers to avoid involvement in the scandals of 1566 and 1568. If the consternation caused by two recusant Catholic brothers was not enough, John Rainolds' eldest brother, William (1544? - 1594), a devout Calvinist, converted back

¹¹³⁶ Tripp was suspected of popery by Dudley. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 135.

¹¹³⁷ 'Binding the book of verses made in the Queen's coming, 22d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 118r. Under 'Solutio forinseca' in *Liber Magnus*, 1565/66. Eight years later he presented her with his translation of Plutarch's *De utilitate ex hostibus capeinda* (BL Royal MS 15 A. iii); however, his friendship with the queen and later with James I was to deteriorate after suggesting a cooperation between bishops and presbyters on contested issues. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

to Roman Catholicism at approximately the same time:¹¹³⁸ a colourful example of the religious tumult of the era.

Evidence in the *Libri Magni* suggest that beginning in c. 1568 Rainolds, now clearly protestant, had gained the confidence of Cole and Horne, and that he maintained friendships with both men through at least 1580.¹¹³⁹ By 1569 he had convinced Cole of his fervent protestant convictions to the extent that Cole appointed him tutor of Richard Hooker.¹¹⁴⁰ Differences with Edmund Rainolds appeared ironed-out, or at least civil, by 1580/81;¹¹⁴¹ however, Rainolds' protestantism evolved into radical puritanism that leant toward presbyterianism. His extremist puritan agenda produced rifts with both Elizabeth I and James I; this will be discussed below.

The religious climate imposed upon Corpus Christi by President Greenway, Horne, Ackworth, and Laurence Humphrey resulted in an increase in protestant fellows and reduction of Roman Catholic fellows. Despite the violent events of the 1560s, the dominant faction was protestant; its thirteen members included the newly converted John Rainolds, future president and eminent puritan divine, and John Barfoot (Barefoot), who later became vice-president of Corpus Christi and archdeacon of Lincoln.¹¹⁴² By 1568 there appear to have been approximately seven Roman Catholic fellows left;¹¹⁴³ when Greenway resigned in 1568 and the presidency fell vacant, the remaining Catholics saw one final chance to regain control over the college and

¹¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹³⁹ 'To Mr Vicepresident and Mr Raynolds sent for by ... Lord of Winton [Horne] ultimo Maij ad 12 Junij, 31s, 6d[?]' CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 137v. Under 'Impensae Equitantum in negotiis Collegij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1567/68. 'To Mr President riding into Devonshire with Sir Rainolds and three servants in progress, 3li, 5s, 11d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 151v. Under 'Impensae Equitantum in negotiis Collegij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69. 'Spent in diverse journeys, by Mr Vice President and Sir Raynolds at Witney to see the bedsteads set up and the chambers appointed and other things provided, 6s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 10v. Under 'Impensae in removendo colleg' nr' ad Witney' in *Liber Magnus*, 1570/71 (Year of plague, college moved to Witney). 'Mr Rainolds, Mr Norton and one servant riding two several journeys to the Bishop of Winchester [Horne] about the interpretation of a statute, 51s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 98v. Under 'Impensae equitantum in negociis...' in *Liber Magnus*, 1577/78. 'Wine on Trinity Sunday for Mr Raynolds with the President, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 8v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1580/81, *Termino tertio*.

¹¹⁴⁰ Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹¹⁴¹ 'Wine for Mr Edmund Rainolds and Mr Harward with Mr President [Cole] on Ascension Day, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 20v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1581/82.

¹¹⁴² Both Rainolds and Barfoot had matriculated in 1562/63.

¹¹⁴³ See CCCA, MS CCC, fol. 238, MSS. vol x., fols. 147, 148; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 125.

attempted to elect a president. Their efforts (which had been preceded by the scandal of 1566) became a source of notoriety, and after Greenway's resignation, according to Strype and Fowler:

complaints came up this year concerning the prevalency of Popery in Oxford; and particularly in Corpus Christi, and the New College, and that of Winchester appertaining to it.¹¹⁴⁴

The remaining seven Catholic fellows attempted to elect the former fellow and vice-president, Robert Harrison. Harrison, incidentally, had been the only member to receive a priest's stipend between 1559 and 1566, the year he was removed from the college together with other Catholic members.¹¹⁴⁵ In a Latin letter¹¹⁴⁶ addressed to Ackworth (Horne was apparently incapacitated and Ackworth was visiting the college),¹¹⁴⁷ the thirteen protestant fellows flattered him and bid him to block the election of Harrison. Though protestant fellows held the majority in the college, they could not control the election; by statute, the election lay in the hands of the seven senior fellows, a group which at the time was comprised of both Catholics and protestants. Evidently, Catholics held the majority among the seven seniors, for Harrison was officially elected.

After hearing of the events at Corpus Christi, University Chancellor Robert Dudley¹¹⁴⁸ proposed to Elizabeth I that William Cole replace Harrison;¹¹⁴⁹ consequently, Elizabeth annulled Harrison's election and appointed Cole to the

¹¹⁴⁴ Strype, J., *The history of the life and acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal, the first Bishop of London, and the second Archbishop of York and Canterbury successively, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To which is added, an appendix or original mss. faithfully transcribed out of the best archives; whereunto reference is made in the history. In two books*, Bk. I, Ch. 13; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 128-9.

¹¹⁴⁵ Harrison left 'out of an affectation to the Popish religion', according to Strype. Harrison had been well known and respected; he was vice-president of the college in 1563/64. He received a priest's stipend in 1563/64, and most likely in 1564/65 (the accounts are missing) and 1565/66. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fols. 105r (1563/64), 116v (1565/66). Under 'Stipendia' in *Libri Magni*, 1563/64 and 1565/66.

¹¹⁴⁶ CCCA, MS CCC, fol. 238, MSS, vol x., fols. 147, 148; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 125.

¹¹⁴⁷ 'For wine and cherries for Mr Commissary [Ackworth], 18d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 135r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1567/68.

¹¹⁴⁸ Dudley was appointed chancellor of the University of Oxford upon the recommendation of Robert Horne.

¹¹⁴⁹ Dudley patronised Marian exiles like Cole. Dudley's domestic chaplains in 1559 and 1560 had both been exiles. 'During the next three decades he employed an extraordinary number of chaplains - twenty-seven can be definitely identified - which suggests he may have used some form of annual rotation. Nine of his chaplains became bishops, and at least twelve became heads of Oxford and Cambridge colleges'. Adams, S., 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588)', *ODNBO*.

presidency. This illustrates Dudley's interest in and patronage of former Edwardine clergymen and Marian exiles like Horne, Cole, and Humphrey;¹¹⁵⁰ entries in the *Libri Magni* corroborate Dudley's close friendship with Humphrey and Corpus Christi.¹¹⁵¹ As a result of bitter internal resistance to Cole,¹¹⁵² Horne was forced to hold another visitation in order to impose Cole physically, reportedly 'breaking open the gates of the house which they had shut against him'.¹¹⁵³ After Horne and the Visitors eventually entered the chapel the group of opposing fellows recanted their actions, and Cole was officially admitted. On 21 July 1568 yet another commission was sent by the queen that included Horne, William Cecil, Thomas Cooper, Laurence Humphrey, and George Acworth; their objective: to extinguish any remaining dissent and to expel several Roman Catholics, including Edmund Rainolds, Miles Windsore, and George Napier. This visitation appeared once and for all to have cleared the way for the Calvinist-dominated theology of Cole and his circle; the success of Ackworth, Cole, and Humphrey was feted in style during the academic year 1568/69.¹¹⁵⁴

Evidence of reform in chapel worship and music after 1558

As we have observed, after William Cheadsey had been removed, Corpus Christi fell under the watchful eye of Horne and his circle. Compliance was inevitable. Fox's statutory provision for Masses, the Office, and private prayers were made redundant and replaced by morning and evening service. The furniture of the chapel was radically altered, beginning with the removal of the altars from the chapel; this appears to have been an ongoing process beginning with the high altar in 1559/60¹¹⁵⁵

¹¹⁵⁰ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 125.

¹¹⁵¹ See above, 269, nt. 1111.

¹¹⁵² 'The senior fellows, still conservative in their approach to Elizabeth's settlement, also had no wish to have a married president imposed upon them'. Usher, B., 'Cole, William (c. 1530–1600)', *ODNBO*.

¹¹⁵³ Strype, *Life of Abp. Grindal*, Bk. I, Ch. 13; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 129.

¹¹⁵⁴ Payments for 1568/69 include: 'For wine for Mr Commissary [Acworth] and Dr Humfrey, 2s'; 'Wine for Mr Doctor Spenser and other with Mr President [Cole], 10d' (*Termino primo*); 'For a feast made to the Commissary [Acworth] and the heads of houses, 41s, 3¾ d' (*Termino secundo*); 'For a Feast made to Mr Commissary and others the 24 May [1569], 23s, 4d' (*Termino tertio*). CCCA, C/1/1/4, fols.145r-146r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69.

¹¹⁵⁵ 'To the masons for taking downe of the high altar, 12d'; 'To the carpenter for covering the altars, 11s'; 'To Knotte for carrying the stones out of the church, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 42r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1559/60.

and continuing with the remaining altars in 1560/61,¹¹⁵⁶ the year of Robert Horne's first visitation and a visit by John Jewel and the vice-chancellor.¹¹⁵⁷ Additional work involving the removal of altars and the repaving of the chapel was carried out in 1561/62.¹¹⁵⁸ The altars were replaced by a communion table;¹¹⁵⁹ a table for the Ten Commandments (i.e. panel/s), erected in 1561/62, completed the protestant arrangement.¹¹⁶⁰ English service books were procured, including the *Book of Common Prayer* and psalters¹¹⁶¹ as well as a 'book for Wednesday Service' in 1561/62 and 1562/63 (most likely containing the Litany).

Chapel payments for bread and wine confirm the infrequency of Holy Communion.¹¹⁶² At first, the service was relegated principally to great feasts such as

¹¹⁵⁶ 'To the workmen for pulling down the altars for work for a day and a half at xxd the day, 2s, 6d'; 'For meat and drink for the workmen in the church, 10d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 64v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1560/61.

¹¹⁵⁷ 'Pro convivio exhibitione Episcopo Sarum[John Jewel], 47s, 9 ½ d'; 'Pro convivio exhibitio vicecancellario et alijs, 22s, 2d'; 'Pro convivio exhibitio Epo' Winton [Robert Horne], 4li, 17s, 4½ d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 63r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1560/61.

¹¹⁵⁸ 'To William Jones for three days' work when he pulled down the altars with four men, 8s, 10d'; 'For three days' work to the slatter with one man when he paved the church, 3s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 78r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1561/62.

¹¹⁵⁹ 'For washing the communion table cloth at Christmas and Easter, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 90r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1562/63. 'For washing the communion table cloth, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 102v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1563/64 [written at the front; loose list says 1564/5]. 'For washing the communion table cloth, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 125v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1566/67. 'For making the feet of the communion table shorter, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 144v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69.

¹¹⁶⁰ 'It for the table of commaundements, 10d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 75v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1561/62.

¹¹⁶¹ The following entries are found under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'For a communion booke, 5s [6?]'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 32v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1558/59. 'Im primis for two communion books, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 42r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1559/60. 'For two psalters, 2s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 62v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1560/61.

¹¹⁶² Payments for wine are recorded only at Easter and 1 August in 1559/60. Payments for bread and wine are recorded only at Christmas and Easter, 1562/63 and only at Easter in 1563/64. Accounts for 1564/65 are missing. The accounts through 1569 suggest that Holy Communion was celebrated on major feasts only: 'For bread and wine at Christmas, 5d'; 'For bread and wine at Easter, Ascension Day and Whitsunday, 2s 8d'; 'Bread and wine 1a de August, Itm' Octobris et Novembris, 19d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 115r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1565/66. 'For bread and wine for communion at Christmas, Twelfth tide, Easter, Whitsuntide, Trinity Sunday, 1a Dominica Augusti, item 1a Octobris et Novembris, 5s, 8d' along with 'washing the communion table cloth'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 125v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1566/67. In 1567/68 a payment 'For wine and bread, 3s' is found under 'Impensae Sacelli'; however, the following payments are listed under 'Impensae Panarij': 'For wine, bread and frankincense at Easter 2s'; 'For wine on Whitsunday, 20d' [outside of chapel]. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 135r. 'For wine and bread on Shere Thursday [Shere alias Shrove Thursday: Maundy Thursday], 10d'; 'For wine at Easter, 2s'; 'For wine and bread the first Sunday in October, 17d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fols. 144v, 145r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69.

Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday; however, by 1604/05 it had settled into a monthly service, as it did at Salisbury after Jewel's injunctions of 1560.¹¹⁶³

The new evidence presented above suggests that the ever-diminishing Roman Catholic contingency tried valiantly to salvage the last vestiges of the Latin rite - including the ceremonial regalia recovered in 1561/62. This was done perhaps in the hope that: a) Harrison might be elected; b) that Elizabeth might support attitudes toward such regalia; or c) that the queen might be deposed. Entries under 'Impensae Sacelli' in the *Liber Magnus* in 1568/69 (after Cole had been installed) may suggest that a return to the Latin rite had been imminent: 'for pulling downe of three aulters in the churche and carrying away the stones, iij s, iiij d'; 'for caring an alter stone viij d'; 'for setting up the desks where the alters stode, x d'.¹¹⁶⁴

Had the Roman Catholic faction attempted to prepare a return to the Latin rite during the gap between the Visitation of 1566 and the attempted election of Harrison? Otherwise, it remains difficult to explain the presence of stone altars in a chapel after the scrutiny of the Horne/Ackworth visitation. On the other hand, how would the thirteen protestant members have allowed such a move? The altars would have been impossible to miss; this may suggest that they were somehow allowed to remain standing - perhaps covered and used as tables or desks of some sort - through 1568/69. Alternatively, the entry may suggest an error on the part of the scribe: was this a misplaced payment or a payment in arrears for the altar removals of 1560/61?

The majority of the entries in the *Libri Magni* after 1558 reflect the acceptance of the Prayer Book liturgy and the influence of Robert Horne, who visited the college in 1560/61 and 1566. Aside from the procurement of two psalters in 1560/61, which may have been used simply to recite the psalms, the entry mentioned previously for 'five psalters having the psalms in metre annexed' (1565/66)¹¹⁶⁵ makes it clear that these were metrical psalms, most likely intended for singing before and after sermons. Though it is tempting to assume these were the Sternhold-Hopkins four-part

¹¹⁶³ Jewel's injunctions ordered monthly Communion in 1560 and was analogous to what was happening elsewhere. See 'Jewel's Articles for Salisbury Cathedral' (1568), Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 204.

¹¹⁶⁴ CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 144v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69.

¹¹⁶⁵ See above, 273.

harmonisations of *The Whole Psalmes in foure parts*...published by John Day in 1563,¹¹⁶⁶ this may be unlikely due to the differing formats of the harmonised and un-harmonised books of psalms.¹¹⁶⁷ In Horne's injunctions of 1567 for New College he required that the metrical psalms be sung before and after sermons, and that every member bring a psalm-book.¹¹⁶⁸ Therefore, the purchase of the metrical psalms may reflect the influence of Horne through his commissary Ackworth, who held the visitations of New College and Corpus Christi, and who delivered Horne's injunctions to both establishments. Further, during 1565/66, precisely the same time the metrical psalms were procured, Horne's colleagues 'Doctor Humphrie' and Dudley were entertained at Corpus; this contributes to the notion that the protestant noose around the college was tightening and that those in charge aligned themselves with Horne's religious agenda.

A further reference for music books occurs in 1561/62; however, it remains difficult to interpret what it might signify. The *Liber Magnus* records: 'Itm for ink and paper that Dorset¹¹⁶⁹ had to make certain singing books, 10d'.¹¹⁷⁰ One can only speculate as to what the 'singing books' contained. Were the compositions intended composed by Dorset the clerk? Were they copies of works, such as the *contrafacta* contained in

¹¹⁶⁶ Following the Sternhold and Hopkins edition of *The Whole Book of Psalms* in 1562 came a 'whole' tune book in 1563 (*The Whole Psalmes in foure parts*...published by John Day, 1563). For greater detail see Chapter Four, 182-3, nt. 720.

¹¹⁶⁷ The term 'annexed' suggests that two books were being bound together and must therefore have been of the same size and format. John Day's harmonised psalms in four-part settings in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meter*, 1562, 1563 were printed in landscape (oblong) format, and the psalters would have been in ordinary print layout. Therefore, the 'annexed' psalms in metre cannot have been those of Day.

¹¹⁶⁸ Injunction 36 in 'Bishop Horne's Injunctions given to New College, Oxford, August, 29, 1567', Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 189.

¹¹⁶⁹ One of the chapel clerks. Forename not identified by Fowler. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 426.

¹¹⁷⁰ The term 'song books' or 'singing books' often appears in the accounts of Cambridge and Oxford colleges during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, for example at King's College in 1570. At King's there were ten 'song books' purchased in 1570/71, and this may correspond to the between eight and ten *conducti et clerici* recorded under 'Pensiones', 1570-80. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71. As was the case at Lincoln under Byrd's supervision, it was often intended that men sing from songbooks without choristers. Although the entry 'for paper to make certain singing books' in the Corpus Christi *Liber Magnus* (1560/61) could signify new books in the simpler Elizabethan style, this payment is immediately followed by payments for vestments and copes. Might this therefore suggest books pertaining to the Latin rite? In any case, the use of vestments in the ritual during the early years of Elizabeth's reign demonstrates resistance to contemporary protestant reform and reflects the *via media* attitude of the queen in regard to ceremony (and perhaps music).

contemporary collections like John Day's '*Certaine notes*' (1560, 1565)¹¹⁷¹ or in the *Wanley partbooks*?¹¹⁷² Or were these works in the simpler Elizabethan homophonic style, perhaps intended for the canticles of the Prayer Book service or for anthems? There may be evidence at New College to suggest that Horne accepted music in this style, even though it appears at first glance that he condoned only the singing of metrical psalms: in the injunctions given for New College in 1567 he encourages the choristers to study plane and 'composite' (polyphonic?) music.¹¹⁷³ Therefore, could the 'singing books' at Corpus Christi have contained in the very least works in the simpler Elizabethan homophonic style?

The idea that such repertory could have been sung at Corpus Christi during the 1560s may be underscored by the presence of the prolific Thomas Mulliner for over a year (1564-65) as clerk/organist. The sole concrete reference to polyphony during the 1560s occurs in 1562/63, a year prior to Thomas Mulliner's arrival: 'For paper to prick songs, 4d'.¹¹⁷⁴ Was the paper intended for use by Mulliner? He certainly would have possessed the aptitude to arrange songs in polyphonic settings. It remains unclear whether this entry reflects songs based on psalm tunes from Sternhold and Hopkins or songs and homophonic block-chordal anthems for use in Prayer Book services similar to those found in the *Mulliner Book*.¹¹⁷⁵ In the early 1560s, former choristers under Mary Tudor such as Thomas Chaffe (chorister, 1555; *scholaris*, 1557; clerk, 1562) could have contributed expertise in performing polyphonic music, thus enabling the performance of this sort of repertory or any other accepted four- or

¹¹⁷¹ For a comprehensive analysis of Day's publications of '*Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts to be song at the morning Communion, and euening praier, very necessarie for the Church of Christe to be frequented and vsed: (vnto them added diuers godly praiers Psalmes in the like forme to the honor praise of God*' from 1560 to 1565 as well as extant Medius, Contra-tenor, Tenor, and Bassus parts see Nixon, H.M., 'Day's Service Book 1560-1565', in *British Library Journal*, 10 (1984), 1-31. Available online at: Electronic British Library Journal (eBLJ), 1984 Articles. <https://www.bl.uk/eblj/1984articles/pdf/article1.pdf>. In the STC catalogue nr. 16443 '*Certain notes*' is comprised of 'Liturgies - Book of Common Prayer Selections' and contains three consecutive musical settings of the Anglican services, in the order Morning Prayer, Communion, Evening Prayer, followed by fifteen anthems or 'Godly Prayers'.

¹¹⁷² For example, *Te Deum* by Hugh Aston, the Magdalen composer, was set to an English text. Equally well known is the 'In nomine' section of Taverner's *Gloria Tibi Trinitas* Mass, which was published in '*Certaine Notes*' in two versions with different English texts. Milsom, 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', 430.

¹¹⁷³ 'The Visitation of 1566' *Bishop Horne's Register 1560-1579*, 105-107; Rasdall and Rait, *New College*, 131.

¹¹⁷⁴ CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 90r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1562/63.

¹¹⁷⁵ Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 247-8.

five-part Elizabethan church music of era. It is worth noting that the austere musical tastes of Horne and Humphrey would have discouraged the more complex music of the time, suggesting that this acquisition was at most for polyphony of a simple nature.

Elizabethan attitudes toward organs and the gradual disuse of the Corpus Christi organ

Hostility toward the organ in worship was predominant among the Marian exiles, several of whom were closely intertwined with Corpus Christi College and were often received as friends and guests. As noted in the context of other references, these included Laurence Humphrey, president of Magdalen College, and bishops Horne, Sandys, and Jewel.¹¹⁷⁶ Humphrey, a frequent visitor to the college, had the organ at Magdalen removed along with the *theatrum crucifixi* (pulpitum/rood loft) during his reordering of the chapel in 1560/61.¹¹⁷⁷ Sandys, a sometime guest of Corpus Christi during the early 1560s,¹¹⁷⁸ had the Worcester organ destroyed in 1560,¹¹⁷⁹ and Bishop of Salisbury John Jewel, who was also on occasion entertained at Corpus Christi, had the organ removed at Salisbury as part of his reorganisation of the cathedral. The antipathy of Bishop Robert Horne (the college Visitor) toward the organ was no less pronounced than that of his colleagues; Horne had organs silenced at Winchester in 1570,¹¹⁸⁰ and was most likely responsible for the removal of the organ from New

¹¹⁷⁶ For greater detail concerning the anti-organ polemic of the 1560s and 70s and the role played by the Marian exiles see Vol. II, Supplement One, 407-12.

¹¹⁷⁷ The extensive work of Henry Bolton in the removal of the *theatrum crucifixi* at Magdalen occurred between October and December 1560 and may have included the organ. MCA, LCE/6. Under 'Custus Sacelli' in *Libri Computi*, 1560/61. The earlier organs of Magdalen College, included an organ by William Wotton placed on the pulpitum as well as a smaller organ placed in the quire, most likely in a northeast position either on a gallery or at floor level. Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, vol. II, xcvi-xcviii. The absence of references to the organ 1561-69 suggests that the organ was either removed with the pulpitum or in the least, silenced. Henry Bolton, a local carpenter/craftsman removed organs at New College (1550) and All Souls College (1560/61). See above, 264, nt. 1083.

¹¹⁷⁸ 'For flour termio tertio viz for venison of my Lord Sandes, Dr Lewes, Mr Panell[?], Corpus Christi Day and other times, 7s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 103v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1563/64 [written at the front; loose list says 1564/5].

¹¹⁷⁹ Sandys appears to have softened his attitudes on the organ for in his 1569 he states: 'Item, whether you have such number of choristers as be appointed by the statutes, and whether their master be apt and willing, to bring them up and instruct them in singing and playing on the organs according to the statutes'. Article 16 in 'Sandy's Articles for Worcester Cathedral, 1569', Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 230.

¹¹⁸⁰ In a set of injunctions for Winchester College Horne decreed 'that organs be no more used in service time, and the stipend for the organ player...[be] turned to some other godly and necessary

College in 1571/72.¹¹⁸¹ Therefore, as Corpus Christi was under the almost constant scrutiny of this particular group of men, it would only be a matter of time before its organ was removed or silenced. This will be addressed below.

In light of their aversion toward organs it appears unusual that Horne or Humphrey allowed the organ to remain standing at Corpus Christi during the 1560s; perhaps Horne could have lived with it merely 'silenced' as was the case at Winchester. Although there is no record of President Cole's sentiments regarding the organ, it is reasonable to assume that it was no longer used in services after 1566. This is corroborated by the lack of organ repairs or maintenance recorded after 1553/54; evidence from the *Libri Magni* shows that the organ had been restored and tuned following the death of Edward VI in July 1553,¹¹⁸² and the last recorded repairs on the organ prior to Elizabeth's accession occurred in 1553/54 when c. £2 was spent.¹¹⁸³ This remains the last payment for repair recorded prior to 1575/76 when the case of the early organ was taken down. The post of *pulsator/modulator organorum*, referred to in the statutes and held by John Barons, Thomas Mulliner, and others, appears not to have been officially altered until 1653.¹¹⁸⁴

The appointment of Thomas Mulliner and its possible impact on chapel music

Thomas Mulliner is recorded in the *Admissions Register* 3 March 1563 (1564, new style dating) and referred to as '*modulator organorum*'. The *Liber Magnus* for the preceding year (1563/64) is missing, and as Mulliner was sworn in on 3 March 1564, then presumably he would have been recorded in the missing *Liber Magnus* as one of the *ministri sacelli* for almost three quarters of that financial year (i.e. for the months

purpose in the college'. Injunction 27 in 'Injunctions for Winchester College' (1571), Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 330-1; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 140.

¹¹⁸¹ 'Solutum: to a Joyner taking downe the organes, ij s'. NCA, 7548. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1571/72. The organ removal appears to have occurred in conjunction with the protestant reordering of New College Chapel following the Ackworth-Horne visitations.

¹¹⁸² 'It' for settyng ye orgyns in tune, 5s'; 'It' for glewe, 2d'; 'It' for lether h.ng' for ye orgyns, 12d'; 'It' for mending ye organs, 12d'. These payments are followed by: 'It' for setting upp ye altars & dressing ye churche, 22s, 8d'; 'It' for heare for ye altars, 5s'; 'It' for hooks, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 86r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

¹¹⁸³ See above, 265, nt. 1090 for the organ payments under Mary Tudor's reign. Recorded in: CCCA, C/1/1/3, fols. 125v, 126r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1553/54.

¹¹⁸⁴ The final reference to the '*pulsator/modulator organorum*' occurs in 1653 when the post is officially abolished under Parliamentary authority. See below, 350.

March to October 1564). 'Mullynar' is listed among the four chapel ministers in the *Liber Magnus* 1564/65 and accorded stipends and vestments for two terms. It appears that he departed in the spring of 1565 at which time he was succeeded by the presumably talented, organ-playing chorister 'Samuell'.¹¹⁸⁵

In total, the time spent by Mulliner at Corpus Christi was almost five quarters (over a year). Until now scholars have reckoned that Mulliner only spent two terms (those during 1564/65) at Corpus Christi. This is significant since it means that Mulliner had more time to study and absorb musical life and culture in Oxford than is previously believed. As Jane Flynn has noted, while at Corpus Mulliner was most likely a student and may have been hoping to obtain a degree;¹¹⁸⁶ however, Flynn's claim that Mulliner was a 'scholar in and before 1564' appears incorrect. The oath taken by Mulliner was that of the chaplains and clerks, one different from the oaths sworn by *discipuli* and fellows;¹¹⁸⁷ hence, he could not have been *discipulus*. Further, as has previously been shown in the case of organist John Barons, the *ministri sacelli* (and the servants) were encouraged to study and obtain degrees (Barons is first styled 'domino' under 'Stipendia Sacellorum et Clericorum' and later 'magistro',

¹¹⁸⁵ As customary, 'Stipendia Sacellorum et Clericorum' list stipends for the four *ministri sacelli* in the following order from top to bottom: the two priests/chaplains ('precentori', 'sacrista') and two acolyte-clerks ('subsacrista' and organist, whose title, 'pulsator/modulator organorum' is not written). In 1564/65 George Atkinson was precentor for all four terms, and Robert Ireland and one 'Styll' assumed the duties of sacrist, Ireland for one term and Styll for three. Thomas Chaffe was the subcrist clerk, and Thomas Mulliner and one 'Samuell' were paid as organist clerks; Chaffe was paid for a full year, Mulliner for terms one and two, and Samuell for terms three and four. The names of Mulliner and Samuell follow Chaffe, suggesting they were the organist-clerks. According to 'Stipendia' and 'Vestes' 1564/65 it appears that Samuell, together with William Man were the two choristers, which suggests that Samuell was already in a capacity to assume the duties of acolyte-clerk/organist at Mulliner's departure in the spring of 1565. 'Atkynson pro quatum [terminis], 40s'; 'Ireland pro uno ter[mino], 10s'; 'Styll pro tribus ter[minis], 30s'; 'Thomas Chaffe pro quatuor ter[minis], 26s, 8d'; 'Mullyner pro duobus ter[minis], 13s, 4d'; 'Samuell pro duobus ter[minis], 13s, 4d'. Livery payments were accorded Atkinson, Styll, Chaffe, 'Mullyner', Samuell, and Man. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fols. 106r, 107r. Under 'Stipendia Sacellorum et Clericorum' and 'Vestes omnium ordinum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1564/65. In 1565/66 stipends are listed for the four chapel ministers: Atkinson, George Johnson, Chaffe, and Samuell. Vestments were provided for Atkinson, Johnson, Chaffe, Samuell, Man, and one 'Clerke', suggesting that Man and Clerke were the two choristers. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fols. 117r, v. Under 'Stipendia Sacellorum et Clericorum' and 'Vestes omnium ordinum', in *Liber Magnus*, 1565/66.

¹¹⁸⁶ Mulliner's hand in the *Corpus Admissions Register* CCC MS B/1/3/1 bears distinct similarities with the hand of the *Mulliner Book* as Flynn has shown. His name appears in the *Matriculation Register of the University* (Oxford Bodleian Lib, SP/1, Register P, fol. 214.) under Corpus Christi; therefore, Flynn concludes, Mulliner was a 'scholar in and before 1564'. Although he may have been a student, as she contends, he was neither *discipulus*, *scolaris*, nor *socius*. Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 99-100.

¹¹⁸⁷ A different form of words was used by the chaplains and clerks, and while the oath was sworn in front of other members of the college, it was not sworn in front of a notary unlike oaths sworn by *discipuli* and fellows. I am very grateful to Julian Reid for bringing this to my attention.

suggesting that he received the B.A. and M.A. degrees), even though they may not have been *discipuli* or fellows (Barons was neither). Mulliner's stay of over a year is significant, not only because of the time it would have allowed for study, organ playing, and teaching (choristers and others): it would have provided the opportunity to finish his collection of organ works (begun, c. 1558 and complete, c. 1564), now British Library Add, MS 30513, the so-called '*Mulliner Book*'. Although merely a fragment in the metamorphosis of chapel worship and music during the 1560s, the presence of such an important musician during this volatile period poses two major topics for discussion: 1) what or who drew Mulliner to Corpus Christi? and 2) what impact, if any, did the didactically arranged organ works of the *Mulliner Book* have on singing, organ playing, and repertory selection within the chapel?

Extant biographical material on Mulliner is minimal, though thanks to the extensive research of Jane Flynn we have been able to create a much clearer image of his origins, training, and musical career. First, Flynn has built an extensive case for Mulliner's Roman Catholicism,¹¹⁸⁸ linking him to the Molyneux family ('Mulliner' being a corruption of 'Molyneux'), Roman Catholics from Lancashire.¹¹⁸⁹ During Mary Tudor's reign Thomas Mulliner learned skills as a chorister under the traditional methods of chorister education prior to c. 1563.¹¹⁹⁰ Flynn has then traced Mulliner's footsteps from Magdalen College, Oxford, to London, where he remained from 1558 to c. 1563.¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁸⁸ Much of Flynn's evidence, however, focuses on the *Mulliner Book* itself. The texts he chooses in his manuscript, as well as his own poems, particularly one extolling the Virgin (*De beata maria Versus*, A7, fol. 120), reflect Roman Catholicism and would have been outlawed by the protestant regime. Further, a translation exercise in the book appears to explain the Roman Catholic use of images. Flynn, 88.

¹¹⁸⁹ Christopher Haigh observes that during the 1560s when John Pick (Peele) and other priests began to administer an oath of loyalty to the pope: 'two priests who had served at Sefton until 1563 took the oath, as did Sir Richard Mollineux [allegedly Thomas Mulliner's father] and his whole family'. Haigh, C., *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), 250; Flynn, 61-2.

¹¹⁹⁰ See below, 290-1.

¹¹⁹¹ After his voice broke Mulliner went to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he sang as clerk April 1557 - July 1558. He remained only a short time, leaving during the mass exodus of chaplains, clerks, and choristers during the Visitation of September 1558. Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, vol. II: lxxv; Flynn, 69-70. Mulliner's departure from Magdalen in July 1558 occurs very near to that of Edmund Molyneux (possibly Mulliner's brother, who left two terms prior to him) and Paul Amerson, who after his departure in July 1558 appears to have become *informator* at New College, sharing duties with John Serrel, supervisor of choristers, and remaining there until 1571/72. Mould, *The English Chorister*, 98. Mulliner appears to have left Magdalen with Roman Catholics driven out under the visitation, and this may have altered his original intentions to work towards a B.A. at Magdalen. After this brief stop at New College Mulliner went to London perhaps together with Edmund

It is likely that Mulliner's education in London came to an abrupt end due to the religious persecution of his Roman Catholic mentors, John Heywood and Sebastian Westcote (master of choristers of St. Paul's, between 1563 and 1564).¹¹⁹² Flynn attributes Mulliner's movements in part to searching out establishments where Roman Catholics were in charge. Given their previous reputations as centres of Roman Catholic education and worship, New College and Corpus Christi, as well as St. Paul's, would have been appropriate places for young Roman Catholic musicians like Mulliner and Paul Amerson (clerk, Magdalen College, 1557-58,¹¹⁹³ *informator choristarum*, New College after 1558) to have studied or worked during the early years of Elizabeth I's reign.¹¹⁹⁴ This can be corroborated by evidence that I have retrieved from the archives of New College, which shows that Mulliner may have worked there briefly during Michaelmas Term 1558/59¹¹⁹⁵ prior to his studies in London. The termination of Mulliner's studies with Heywood in London in 1563 is followed by the next step in Mulliner's career: his arrival at Corpus Christi College in March 1564.

But why did Mulliner choose Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in particular as a haven during these unstable times? One reason may lay in familial ties to the college.

Molyneux, the cantor at Magdalen. Like many other musicians in London, Mulliner was drawn to John Heywood, a poet and instrumentalist, who educated young men from 'gentle' (i.e. affluent, educated) families. Mulliner began his training with Heywood sometime between 1558 and 1559. Aside from organ instruction, Mulliner learned to play the cittern, gittern, and virginals, 'secular instruments which could conceivably provide an outlet for musical talent even during uncertain times'. Flynn, 280. Flynn has observed connections to St. Paul's through Heywood, who was possibly a minor canon, and who performed there on occasion; Mulliner possibly taught boys at St. Paul's informally. Flynn, 92.

¹¹⁹² Sebastian Westcote was excommunicated in July 1563; according to Bishop Grindal, Westcote was successfully corrupting choristers in part through song texts, which could be construed as recusant (M114 *The bitter sweet* of the *Mulliner Book*, for example). Flynn, 323-4. One year later in July 1564 John Heywood was forced to depart for the Continent.

¹¹⁹³ Probably chaplain in and before 1564; clerk of Magdalen College, 1557-8; B.A., 28 April 1559; fellow, 1559-60; chaplain, 1558-9 or 1560-2. Under 'Amersone, Paul', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 88, 103.

¹¹⁹⁵ 'So[lutum] Mullinax pro ly prykyng, v s'. NCA, 7530. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1558/59. The spelling could suggest either Edmund Molyneux, which is written 'mullynax' at Magdalen, or Thomas, which is written 'mullynar' and 'mulliner'; however, according to Jane Flynn, Edmund had left Magdalen two semesters earlier than Thomas. Mulliner's payment is recorded at the outset of the academic year 1558/59 (October) at New College; it would have been a logical progression for Thomas Mulliner to move to New College at the outset of Michaelmas term just after he left Magdalen in July 1558. Mulliner and Amerson appear to have arrived to New College at approximately the same time. Elizabeth's accession made musical training and careers uncertain and one was left to consider the options; this might explain the move to New College by Mulliner and Amerson after the mass exodus from Magdalen.

Mulliner's colleague, the acolyte-clerk Thomas Chaffe,¹¹⁹⁶ who like Mulliner would have been about twenty-one years old, had been a Corpus chorister in 1555, together with Thomas Mulliner's half-brother Anthony Molyneux (fourth son of Sir Richard);¹¹⁹⁷ therefore, it appears that Thomas Mulliner might already have been familiar with the musical and religious atmosphere at Corpus Christi through the experience of his half-brother Anthony.

Although Corpus Christi was renowned as a centre of Catholic humanism and scholarship, there may have been other considerations that drove Mulliner to Corpus. First, as Flynn has emphasised, Mulliner came as a student, not just acolyte-clerk, a fact ignored or discounted by musicologists; he was still pursuing compositional training and grammar studies, perhaps with the hope of obtaining a degree.¹¹⁹⁸ Second, perhaps in a lull between Horne's visitations of 1560/61 and 1565/66, Corpus Christi's Roman Catholics appear to have been searching for a musician who would maintain a level of musical quality - perhaps in preparation for a return to the polyphonic music of the Latin rite. It would have been unthinkable for Horne, or members of his circle, including Humphrey, to have considered hiring an organist or hearing an organ in services in 1563; Mulliner's selection appears clearly to represent a discreet move of those not aligned with Horne's views on musical worship (i.e. the Roman Catholic faction), in particular, the use of the organ.

One last factor, though marginal, may have drawn Mulliner's attention to Corpus Christi: this may have been his acquaintance with the musical works of Richard Edwards (1525 - 1566), a Corpus Christi alumnus, who worked at the Chapel Royal and at Westminster Abbey at the time Mulliner was studying with Heywood in London. Edwards became Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1557 and Master of the Children (i.e. singing boys) in 1561.¹¹⁹⁹ During studies at Corpus Christi (1540-47), Edwards must have pursued some form of musical education, though he is not listed as 'chorister'. In 1546/47 Edwards was nominated senior student of Christ Church and studied music there under George Etheridge. Though he later achieved greater fame

¹¹⁹⁶ Chaffe provides another example of a former Corpus Christi chorister, who was able to contribute his musical skills to the singing of extemporised and composed polyphony.

¹¹⁹⁷ Flynn, 99.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 240. For biographical material on Edwards see above, Chapter Four, 87, nt. 351.

as a poet and playwright, Edwards was also active as composer; three of Edward's songs are included in the *Mulliner Book*.¹²⁰⁰ These represent precisely the type of repertory sought by Mulliner for his collection: works that could be used in the training of choristers. It remains uncertain if Mulliner and Edwards were acquainted and, if so, whether a religious bond existed between them. This provides material for further research.

The Mulliner Book was compiled between 1558 and 1564 while Mulliner was a student of John Heywood in London,¹²⁰¹ and was being completed while Mulliner was resident at Corpus Christi College. Upon close examination it becomes evident that the works Mulliner collected were intended for didactic purposes. Listed by genre they include: Latin inscriptions, poems, and translation exercises;¹²⁰² secular songs,¹²⁰³ song-accompaniments, and instrumental dances; organ pieces based on *cantus firmi*; and compositional examples and models.¹²⁰⁴ The organ music based on chant is arranged didactically in increasing compositional difficulty throughout; it can be regarded as a graded school of organ playing that would have been practical in training the two choristers, ex-chorister *discipuli*, or fellows who wished to improve their skills. Some of the pieces could have been used during the Prayer Book service as voluntaries - the *Mulliner Book* is the earliest known source of the voluntary (represented by Farrant M20 and Allwood, M17), the *In nomine*, and the keyboard psalm-setting.¹²⁰⁵ The works based on Latin plainchant, of increasing complexity in

¹²⁰⁰ *O the syllye man* and two anonymous pieces are attributed to him: *In goinge to my naked bedde* and *When grypinge griefes*. Further works by Edwards include a song from *Damon and Pithias*, 'Awake, ye woeful wights' and a setting of the Lord's Prayer in Richard Day's Psalter of 1563. Smith, M., 'Richard Edwards', *GMO*; Flynn, 240.

¹²⁰¹ Flynn, 58-116. The inscription at the outset of the Mulliner Book reads: *Sum liber thomae mullineri iohanne heywoode teste*, which signifies he was a student of Heywood at the time. Flynn, 84.

¹²⁰² The Latin exercises and poems in the *Mulliner Book* are similar to those for advanced grammar-school students. The *Mulliner Book* also contains exercises in Latin translation, in part utilising 'sententiae' (i.e. well-known sayings) and proverbs, as well as poems, all of which would have been suitable in reinforcing the grammar training of the two choristers and of the undergraduates.

¹²⁰³ The *Mulliner Book* had not been recognised as a source of chorister songs for pedagogical use until the research of Jane Flynn. A body of popular secular chorister songs comprises a section of the book, which includes 'laments' (typical songs sung in chorister plays). These may have been sung informally or at entertainments outside of the chapel. For example, M83 *O ye tender babes*, which is part of the address 'To the reader' in William Lily's *Grammar*, is set to music by Tallis in the *Mulliner Book*, its unique source. Other examples include M114 *The bitter sweet*, M1 *The higher that the cedar tree*, and M25 *Fonde youthe as a bubble*.

¹²⁰⁴ Flynn, 280.

¹²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 382.

two, three, and four voices,¹²⁰⁶ represent not only an analysis of improvisational techniques such as faburden, descant, figuration, and counter, but also emphasise imitational techniques, exemplified by the small 'points' (i.e. examples of counterpoint and imitation). Also included are unornamented transcriptions of polyphonic music, no doubt intended as a base upon which the singer or keyboard player could decorate his part.

Many of these pedagogical methods and precepts were becoming outdated within the constraints of Prayer Book services, and one might question their validity under the impending musical reforms of Horne and his circle. There are, however, aspects that would appeal to both Roman Catholic recusants and supporters of Elizabethan church music of the era. Roman Catholics would have found upon examination that many of the song texts included for sacred or secular use could be regarded as recusant in character.¹²⁰⁷ By contrast, protestants seeking the simplified style of Elizabethan church music would find that the book contains pieces in homophonic, block-chord style with vernacular texts - repertory suitable for morning or evening prayer (M82 Sheppard *The man is blest* and the Thomas Sternhold setting of Psalm 1, for example).¹²⁰⁸ Furthermore, there are transcriptions of popular English anthems: M44 Sheppard *I give you a new commandment*; M43 Tallis *Remember not, O Lord*; M85 Tallis *When shall my sorrowful sighing*; and M112 Tye *When that the fifty day*. Therefore, despite a preference for an increasingly outdated style of composition and organ playing, which incorporated now old-fashioned descant and faburden,¹²⁰⁹ Mulliner displayed a surprising versatility and an ability to compose in old and new forms - elements vital to any musician intending to survive musically within the constraints of the protestant regime.

¹²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 367. Mulliner appears to group certain *cantus firmis*-based pieces together in order to show the compositional techniques involved.

¹²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 337. The *Mulliner Book* includes five laments and six songs concerning betrayal or judgment that may be deemed recusant in nature. Examples include: M80, M88, M89, M90, M110, M111, M113, M114, M115, and M118. They may have been intended for use in plays, most likely sung by choristers whose master was a recusant; at Corpus Christi, Mulliner himself could have assumed the role of master, as the statutes never provided a master of choristers. In any case, these recusant texts would have found particular resonance among the remaining Catholics of the college.

¹²⁰⁸ Sheppard wrote his settings before metrical psalms were sung liturgically and may have written them for the education of the choristers of the Chapel Royal in the 1550s. Flynn, 315-6.

¹²⁰⁹ These were techniques typical of the musical formation Mulliner would have received as a chorister during the reign of Mary Tudor.

The discovery of the Thomas Tallis contrafactum, Gaude gloriosa dei mater

After the discovery of several pages of music attributed to Thomas Tallis found in 1978 during building renovations at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, John Milsom observed and analyzed these extraordinary leaves, publishing his findings in 1982.¹²¹⁰ According to Milsom:

The manuscript contains one voice part of Tallis's finest large-scale Tudor votive antiphon, *Gaude gloriosa dei mater*,¹²¹¹ set not to its original Latin words¹²¹² but to a previously unknown English text. The voice featured is the 'contratenor' (as labeled in the modern edition, *Tudor Church Music*, v, 123-43), which enters after a series of rests; as the scribe failed to provide a title or incipit, the opening words of the text are now unknown.¹²¹³

¹²¹⁰ Together with several pages from a contemporary printed book, three leaves of music were found beneath plaster, filling up a crack in a timber-framed wall. The new source is part of a paper partbook and comprises three leaves - one bifolium enclosing a single leaf - measuring c. 149 x 202 mm in oblong format, with five staves ruled to the page; fol. 3v is ruled but blank, while portions of the remaining five sides of music are now so worn as to be illegible. The paper cannot be dated precisely but certainly belongs to the middle years of the century and bears a watermark similar to one in use in about 1549. C.M. Briquet: *Les Filigranes*, facs. of 1907 edn., no. 12786 ('jug', Rouen, 1549); Milsom, 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', 429-31.

¹²¹¹ The mighty six-part *Gaude gloriosa* is the greatest of Tallis's votive antiphons; in length, inspiration, and craftsmanship it marks a zenith in the development of this form. Its nine elaborately set invocations alternate between various groups of solo voices or full choir, and the work takes twenty-seven minutes to perform. It includes brilliant Marian imagery and pictorialism, deploying rising intervals in its themes. The writing is highly florid; some syllables carry lengthy melismatic phrases of an instrumental rather than vocal character. Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 73. Therefore, it demands highly competent singers; if it were sung at Corpus Christi either in the 1540s in Latin or as a *contrafactum* in the 1560s, it would require not only two excellent choristers and at least two well-trained acolyte-clerks, but other well-trained singers, as well (e.g. ex-chorister *discipuli* or fellows).

¹²¹² Milsom has presented the opening of the original text (in translation): 'Rejoice, glorious mother of God, Virgin Mary truly honoured, whom God has exalted to a throne over the heavens. Rejoice Virgin Mary, to whom angelic choirs in heaven sing sweet praises ...' (etc). Milsom, 430.

¹²¹³ *Ibid.*

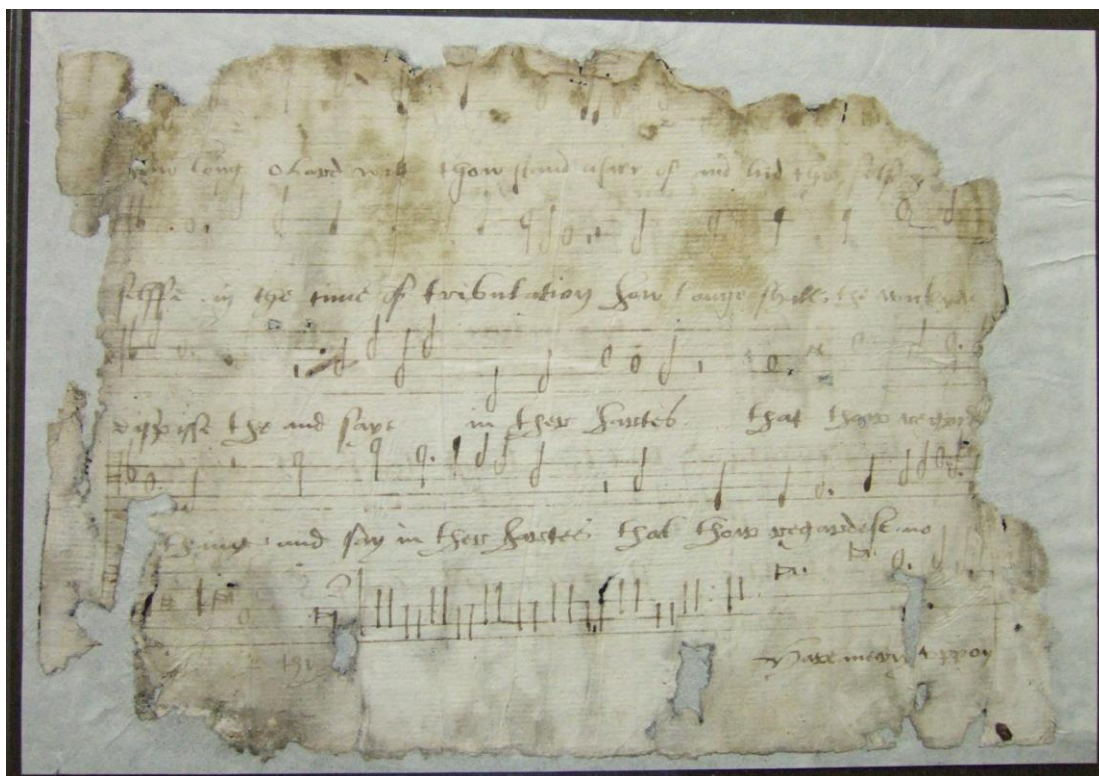


Illustration 5.1 CCCA, MS 566. Page of contratenor partbook containing a vernacular version of Thomas Tallis's votive antiphon *Gaude gloriosa dei mater* found in plasterwork at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1978. Measurements: c. 149 x 202 mm.

This is an early work by Tallis, and the recent research of David Skinner suggests provenance from the reign of Henry VIII rather than Mary Tudor.¹²¹⁴ As mentioned earlier, the text of the Corpus fragments is not that of the Latin antiphon, but of a vernacular translation of John Fisher's *Psalmi seu preces*¹²¹⁵ made by the last queen of Henry VIII, Katherine Parr, and published anonymously in April 1544, less than a year after she became queen. Skinner has argued that Parr, who was as much nurse as wife and queen to Henry during the last year of his life, prepared this text and set it to the music of Tallis to be performed during a spectacular public service in London, aimed at rallying the troops behind Henry VIII and his continuing wars. The

¹²¹⁴ 'Thomas Tallis's *Gaude gloriosa dei mater* has long been regarded as a celebration of the short-lived return to Catholicism under Queen Mary and as a tribute to the Henrician masterpieces of the pre-Reformation years. All of the sources are Elizabethan, but one: that of the incomplete Corpus Christi fragments. The author of that text has been now identified as Henry VIII's sixth and last queen, Katherine Parr'. Skinner, D., "'Deliver me from my deceitful enemies': A Tallis Contrafactum in Time of War', *Early Music*, 44, 2 (2016), 233-250.

¹²¹⁵ Fisher's 'psalms' consist of selected verses from the *Book of Psalms*, compiled into new texts. See White, M., 'The psalms, war, and royal iconography: Katherine Parr's *Psalms or Prayers* (1544) and Henry VIII as David', *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 554-75.

'psalm' adapted to Tallis's music is very suitable in a time of war, and thus might have inspired prayers and enthusiasm for Henry VIII's war with France.¹²¹⁶

Ex. 1

Ano - - ther be none to de - li - - ver me from -
 them[,] for - get not thie pore ser - vant for -
 - get not thie pore ser-vante for - get not thie poore [ser] - - -
 - - - vante. suf - fer not them which be ____ op - pressed to
 (etc.)
 looke for helpe al - ways in vayne[.]

Musical example 5.1 The opening phrases of Tallis's *contrafactum* fragment *Gaude gloriosa dei mater*. Transcribed by John Milsom.

It remains difficult to determine by whom and where in the college this work could have been sung. Milsom has remarked, 'It is not impossible that the new words were provided by Protestant sympathisers before the Reformation proper as some sort of substitute for the idolatry of the original Marian text.'¹²¹⁷ However, this would not apply to Corpus Christi, either at the end of Henry VIII's reign or during Edward VI's, when the majority of fellows still clung to the Church of Rome. Though the work could have been sung to its original Latin text during Mary Tudor's reign, this *contrafactum* is more likely to have been sung by remaining Roman Catholic fellows

¹²¹⁶ The text is as follows: (opening missing) 'And ther be none to deliver me from them [.] forget not thie pore servant. suffer not them which be oppressed to looke for helpe always in vayne [.] put them to flighte [;] disapoynte them of ther purpose [;] cast them down hedlonge as there wickednesse have deservid [;] for the [y] are treatours & raybels agaynst me [.] let thie poore be browght to [k]now () ther wickydnese lighte uppon there owne hede [.] let the [w]icked sin[ner]s retorne in to he[ll] and let them fall and be taken in the pit wiche the[y] have diggide [.] I will trust in the Lorde w[hich] savest them that in the[e] put there confydens. I (?) say thow for[ge]tteste thie servantes and that thow hidest thie face because thow wil not see these troubles [.] ther prid is to us () gresse and vexation an[d t]he glory & triumpe in owre adu () how long o Lord will thow stand afarr of and hid thie self in the time of tribulation [?] How longe shall the wickyde dispisse the and say in ther hartes that thow regarde[st no]thing [?] (end of section; rests) have mercy uppon (very large lacuna) th[y m]ighty name defende me for thow arte my sav[iour] and my glorye. so be it (repeated four times).' Square brackets enclose editorial insertions by Milsom; round brackets indicate lacunae or editorial comments. Milsom, 430.

¹²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 430-1.

of the 1560s, who may have remembered it previously sung in Latin and for whom its vernacular text addressing deliverance in times of adversity achieved a particular poignancy. The considerable technical demands and length of this large-scale work (c. twenty-seven minutes) poses the question as to whether or not the college still possessed choristers, clerks, and ex-chorister members during the early 1560s competent enough to execute it. Finally, it is impossible to determine whether this Marian Latin antiphon was sung prior to 1544 on Saturday in hall as stipulated by Fox's statutes, or the *contrafactum* sung in chapel at some time after 1544. The pages are very small and uncharacteristic of larger, partbook format; John Harper has suggested that they may have been intended as a sacred song, sung privately around a table.¹²¹⁸

Summary

The musical references between 1558 and 1568 show no overt indication of the Latin rite, but rather, Elizabethan music of the period. The payment for 'paper...to make certain singing books' recorded in 1561/62 can refer to a variety of contemporary Elizabethan church music: popular *contrafacta* (i.e. works with English texts based on earlier Latin compositions) such as that in John Day's '*Certaine notes*' (1560, 1565); works for men's voices such as those included in the *Wanley partbooks*;¹²¹⁹ or any music in homophonic style intended for the canticles of the Prayer Book service or anthems. The 'paper to prick songs' in 1562/63 may suggest setting psalm-tunes (as opposed to popular secular songs) into four parts;¹²²⁰ examples of polyphonic psalm-based music written for the Prayer Book liturgy include harmonisations of Parsons

¹²¹⁸ Personal communication.

¹²¹⁹ Collections like the *Wanley partbooks* or John Day's '*Certaine notes*', in which the majority of compositions are scored for men's voices, might have found particular resonance at Corpus, where the majority of singers were men. Though pure speculation, the Corpus singers may also have sung any number of *contrafacta* such as Hugh Ashton's *Te Deum*, or English versions of Taverner's *Gaude plurimum*, which replaces the Latin text with the English words of Psalm 145 according to the translation of Whyte's Psalter of c. 1550; the most comprehensive surviving sources of music written for the new Prayer Book texts is contained in the *Wanley partbooks*, which contains works of Tallis, Tye, Sheppard, and Mundy. The simplicity of Tallis's *Short Service* of c. 1550 is indicative of the demands required. Mould, *The English Chorister*, 89.

¹²²⁰ Jane Flynn has given the example of John Hall's *The Courte of Vertue* (1565) as an example, which contained pedagogical features, including 'ballad- or psalm-like tunes' by Hall, one of which he set into four parts. Flynn, 247.

and Causton, among others.¹²²¹ The entry for 'paper to prick songs' is recorded under 'Impensae claustrum et sacelli', suggesting music to be sung in chapel in a sacred context. John Milsom has reminded us, however, that there were only 'rare cases where a secular song provides the musical basis for a sacred work' and that the new text was generally metrical.¹²²² The purchase of metrical psalms occurs in 1565/66 during the same term that Humphrey and Robert Dudley (chancellor of the University) were being entertained and just months before Horne's visitation through his commissary George Ackworth; this appears therefore a move to align the college with Horne's tastes in liturgical music. Based on the manner in which the Psalms were 'annexed' (i.e. bound) they were un-harmonised. Finally, the continued presence of well-trained Corpus choristers and former choristers from Mary's reign, such as Thomas Chaffe, would have enabled much of the polyphonic Elizabethan church mentioned above.

The presence of Thomas Mulliner as clerk/organist (and student) for just over a year (1564-65) raises questions as to how an organist like Mulliner (and a strong Roman Catholic, to boot) could have been employed while Corpus Christi rested under the watchful eyes of Bishop Robert Horne, Robert Dudley, and Laurence Humphrey. Various factors must be considered. First, Mulliner's residence occurred between visitations by Horne in 1560/61 and 1566. Mulliner's employment also occurred at the same time Vice-President Robert Harrison was paid a priest's stipend. Further, Mulliner arrived after church vestments and regalia had been retrieved (in 1561/62). External influences emanating from Louvain and Durham (i.e. the 'Northern Rebellion') have been mentioned above. Might Mulliner's employment be linked to an attempt by Roman Catholic fellows under Vice-President Harrison to prepare for a return to the ceremony and music of the Latin rite in the belief that a change of monarch and religion was imminent?

Finally, the existence of Roman Catholic recusancy at Corpus Christi during the 1560s is undeniable. Evidence of hidden chapel ornaments (and possibly altars), the

¹²²¹ For example, Psalmus: *O Lord turn not away*, harmonised by Parsons, Causton, and Farmer and the organ verset, which is included in the *Mulliner Book* in a relatively old-fashioned faburden and descant treatment (M109).

¹²²² Milsom, 429.

presence of the Tallis *contrafactum*, *Guade gloriosa dei mater*, the attempt to elect a Roman Catholic president, the employment of a Roman Catholic organist, as well as the existence of recusant literature from Louvain all point to a strong Catholic undercurrent. The resistance at Corpus Christi was so great that it required the concerted efforts of Horne, Dudley, Humphrey, and even Queen Elizabeth to quell Roman Catholicism once and for all; with the imposition of William Cole as president in 1568, the Roman Catholic minority appears to have lost control of Corpus Christi and with it all hope for a return to the liturgy, music, and ceremony of the Latin rite.

5. 1568-1607. The harder puritan line and non-musical considerations in the chapel of Corpus Christi

The college did not fare well under the presidency of William Cole. Although Cole's talents in the realm of theological scholarship may have been considerable,¹²²³ his administrative and managerial abilities in governing a college - particularly in regard to fiscal management - were, by contrast, minimal. Cole appears to have mismanaged funds and placed the college in a precarious financial state as early as the end of the 1570s: Cole was apparently attempting to maintain a certain life style for his wife and children, funds for which were procured, at least in part, illegally.¹²²⁴ Consequently, efforts were made to remove Cole, who is rumoured to have contemplated resignation as early as 1579.¹²²⁵

Despite Cole's deplorable maintenance of college finances, he guided the college on a clear-cut Calvinist course. Numerous protestant luminaries were entertained at Corpus Christi during Cole's tenure, including Thomas Wilson, dean of Worcester,¹²²⁶ and John Kingsmill,¹²²⁷ who also became affiliated with John Rainolds. Cole maintained a close relationship with Horne, who defended him during the financial controversies; both Horne and Humphrey were entertained on numerous

¹²²³ Cole contributed to the translation of the Scriptures, which led to the so-called 'Geneva Bible'. See above, 267, nt. 1095.

¹²²⁴ According to Fowler, the rate of inflation and a 'more ambitious style of living' made the old allowances - the commons, the servants, the horses, the vests, and the modest stipend of ten pounds yearly inadequate even for a single man. Cole was married with a growing family; he apparently went to illegal means to procure the money he needed, thus contributing to the college debt left at the time of his departure. Further, Cole was accused of avarice in the *Dialogus de lustratione Geitonica, qui inscribitur Nuttus* (c. 1576/77) by Nicholas Morice (Nutt was the name of one of Morice's friends, both of whom were Roman Catholics, thus the document is tainted with a general contempt for Cole, a strong protestant). According to Morice, at Heyford, Cole's country residence, he opened a sort of shop, which 'may have been quite as much for the convenience of the inhabitants as for his own gain'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 132-3, 136.

¹²²⁵ Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹²²⁶ 'Wine for the Dean of Worcester & others with the President, 12d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 44r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1583/84, *Termino secundo*. Dr Thomas Wilson, dean of Worcester (1571-86), was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Like Cole, he had been a Marian exile; however, Wilson chose Frankfurt, not Geneva, as domicile. He became chaplain to Bishop Sandys, who had also been in exile in Frankfurt.

¹²²⁷ 'Wine for Mr John Kingesmyll with the President, 6d'; 'Wine for Mr John Kingesmyll & Mr Raynolds on St. Stephen's Day, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 43v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1583/84, *Termino primo*. The reference is probably to John Kingsmill (c. 1536-90), demy (1553) and fellow (1556) of Magdalen College and chancellor to Robert Horne of Winchester.

occasions.¹²²⁸ Cole, Horne, and Humphrey all shared the bond of Marian exile and distinct views on the protestant reordering of church and chapel interiors; Cole and Humphrey were members of 'A Commission to deface monuments of Superstition' appointed by Elizabeth in 1573 and set up to destroy any remaining 'monuments of superstition' and remove 'all Copes, Vestments, Albes, Missals, Books, Crosses, and such other idolatrous and superstitious monuments'. Robert Hovenden, warden of All Souls College, received a warning from the commission, a record of which remains in the college archives.¹²²⁹ Humphrey had already seen to the protestant cleansing and alteration of Magdalen College chapel at the outset of his tenure as president;¹²³⁰ in light of Cole's control over Corpus Christi, it is reasonable to assume that the chapel had been thoroughly devoid of such regalia at the end of the 1560s.

Although the determination that characterised the removal of furniture and ceremonial objects was extended to liturgical and musical service books and seditious literature associated with the Latin rite, Cole's firm Calvinist orientation did allow a margin for music outside the chapel. During 1568, the first year of his tenure, payments for waits (town musicians) at Corpus Christi are recorded in the accounts;¹²³¹ they continue to be employed occasionally throughout the following years, for example, at Christmas. Further, Cole appears to have encouraged singing and keyboard musical training and may have employed musicians to instruct the members. In a letter from President Cole to one 'Mr More at Loseley' on 25 June 1570 Cole asks More to have ^{SEP} a pair of virginals sent up for More's son:

¹²²⁸ Horne held of a visitation of the college during the third term of 1575/76, as the following payments indicate: 'Wine for my Lord of Winton's gentlemen, 2s'; 'For a feast for the right honourable the Bishop of Winton at his Visitation of our college, 12li, 11s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 72r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1575/76, *Termino tertio*. 'Given the bishop of Winton for visiting us, 3li, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 73r. Under 'Impensae Feudorum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1575/76, *Termino tertio*. Humphrey was entertained on many occasions with or without Horne, in 1577 for example: 'Wine for Dr Humfrey and others, 20d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 83v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1576/77, *Termino quarto*.

¹²²⁹ ASCA, MS 8, Wardens' manuscripts, 5.

¹²³⁰ At Magdalen College Humphrey gave orders for the sale of chapel plate and the 'copes, vestments and hangings'. MCA, LCE/6, fols. 87r, v; Brockliss, *Magdalen College*, 161. The chapel had been thoroughly purged and altered by the time of the Visitation of 1561 by Bishop Robert Horne. See MCA, LCE/6, fols. 16r, v. Under 'Custus Sacelli' in *Libri Computi*, 1560/61. Reference to the Horne's visitation: 'Solutum episcopo wyntoniensi pro visitatione sua, v li'. MCA, LCE/6, fol. 21r. Under 'Solutiones forinsecae' in *Libri Computi*, 1560/61.

¹²³¹ 'For wine at Christmas, 3s'; 'To the minstrels, 2s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 145r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69, *Termino primo*. 'For the musicians, 4s'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 35v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1572/73, *Termino primo*. 'Given to the musicians, 2s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 72v. Under 'Impensae Dispensatorij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1575/76, *Termino primo*.

if you will have him to do anie thing on the virginals, you must provide that he have a pair sent him. We have one that can teach him well. As for his singing and other exercises, though others shal sometimes have to do with him in those matters, yet I mind myself to prove him now than then as far as my skyl will serve me.¹²³²

This suggests that Cole may have been trained in music to a certain degree, if he were able to test More's son in singing as well as 'other exercises'. Cole, in contrast to his successor, Rainolds, also permitted plays with music,¹²³³ suggesting that the college provided an outlet other than chapel where choristers¹²³⁴ and other members could sing and perform instrumentally.¹²³⁵

Contemporary religious instability and the puritan ascendancy. The rise of John Rainolds, 1568-1580

Despite the strong protestant contingent now in power at Corpus Christi, a division of religious opinion remained alive within and without the college between 1560 and 1590. Religious flip-flopping, an element that exacerbated the tensions at Corpus Christi, occurred frequently; the example of John Rainolds converting to protestantism while his older brother, William, fellow of New College¹²³⁶ and zealous Calvinist, converted to Catholicism provides an extraordinary example. Clearly, the protestantism imposed by the Elizabethan Church had by no means convinced all of the queen's subjects, not least those among the New College and Corpus Christi fellowships. The conversion of Immanuel Tremellius, a Jew who converted to

¹²³² 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*, 222.

¹²³³ 'For links at the scholars' play, 12d'; 'For the musicians, 4s'; 'Given to the carpenters at the scholars' play, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 35v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1572/73, *Termino primo*. 'For wine given to my Lord Straunge and others at the play, 2s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 34v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1572/73, *Termino secundo*.

¹²³⁴ The *College Register* lists choristers in 1577 (two choristers), 1580 (two choristers), 1583 (one chorister), and 1592 (two choristers). Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429. The pre-Elizabethan musical requirements of choristers ceased after Cole became president; they were admitted solely on academic merit.

¹²³⁵ The performance of choristers in secular and sacred plays and dramatic productions had a long-standing tradition, particularly at St. Paul's; this is extensively addressed by Jane Flynn. Flynn, 90-2.

¹²³⁶ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 157.

Catholicism and soon after to protestantism,¹²³⁷ provides another colourful example of the instability of religion between 1540 and 1560.¹²³⁸

At Corpus Christi the *Libri Magni* indicate that after his conversion to protestantism Rainolds developed an increasing contact with Cole and important protestants like Horne and Dudley.¹²³⁹ By the late 1560s, Rainolds had emerged at the forefront of the puritan party, not only at Corpus Christi but also in Oxford. He aligned himself with Laurence Humphrey, who maintained close contact with Cole and the college,¹²⁴⁰ as well as with Cole's reforming party at Corpus. This led to Rainolds' candidacy for the presidency in 1579 while Cole was considering relinquishing the post; later in 1598 Rainolds was officially elected.¹²⁴¹

¹²³⁷ Immanuel Tremellius (Giovanni Emmanuele Tremellio, 1510 - 9 October 1580) was an Italian Jew who converted to Christianity. He was born at Ferrara and educated at the University of Padua. He was converted about 1540 to the Catholic faith through Cardinal Pole, but embraced protestantism in the following year and went to Strasbourg to teach Hebrew.

¹²³⁸ Tremellius' Latin translation of the Psalms was deployed at Corpus after 1603. See below, 335, nts 1389, 1391.

¹²³⁹ 'To Mr President riding into Devonshire with Sir Rainolds and three servants in progress, 3li, 5s, 11d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 151v. Under 'Impensae Equitantum in negotiis Collegij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69, *Termino quarto*. 'Spent in diverse journeys, by Mr Vice President and Sir Raynolds at Witney to see the bedsteads set up and the chambers appointed and other things provided, 6s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 10v. Under 'Impensae in removendo colleg' nr' ad Witney' in *Liber Magnus*, 1570/71 (Year of plague, college moved to Witney), *Termino quarto*. 'Mr Rainolds, Mr Norton and one servant riding two several journeys to the Bishop of Winchester [Horne] about the interpretation of a statute, 51s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 98v. Under 'Impensae Equitantum in negociis Collegij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1577/78, *Termino tertio*. 'Wine on Trinity Sunday for Mr Raynolds with the President, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 8v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1580/81, *Termino tertio*.

¹²⁴⁰ 'Wine for Mr Dr Raynolds with Mr Vice President, 5d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 145r. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1593/94, *Termino secundo*; Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹²⁴¹ In 1579, when it seemed likely that Cole would resign, the college was divided over two young candidates, fellows Barefoot and Rainolds, each of them aged, roughly, thirty. The contest affected the whole University. Cole never did resign, possibly waiting for a church preferment. Finally, in 1598 Cole was transferred from Corpus to the deanery of Lincoln, which was resigned by Rainolds; Rainolds, conversely, became president of the college. The situation is illuminated in a letter from Archbishop John Whitgift to Robert Cecil, dated 5 September 1598: 'I have of long time endeavoured to place Dr. Reinolds in Oxford, and the rather because he is employed in writing against the Jesuits and other our adversaries. And now with much adoe Dr. Cole ... is content to yield up his presidentship to Dr. Reinolds, so that it would please her Majesty to bestow the deanery of Lincoln on him, and which now Dr. Reinolds hath, wherewith also Dr. Reinolds is well contented. I pray you to move her Majesty to bestow the said deanery upon Dr. Cole, who is an ancient doctor of divinity and an honest, learned and grave man. The exchange is greatly for the benefit of the Church, and for God's and her Majesty's service.' Hist. MSS. Com., *Hatfield House*, viii, 332. Cited in 'Corpus Christi College', Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

Though Rainolds was highly regarded as Greek Reader of Corpus Christi and the University, a post that he assumed in 1572 at the age of 23 and held until 1580,¹²⁴² religious goals gradually came to dominate his focus; by 1580 Rainolds came to devote all his energies to theology and divinity studies. He resigned the Greek lectureship and was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Theology on 24 January 1580. His six theses for the degree demonstrated strong anti-Catholic sentiments and firm Calvinist attitudes on matters of scripture and the Church.¹²⁴³ Rainolds' theses were added to the library in 1604/05 along with the work entitled, 'de Idolatria ecclesie Romae[?]',¹²⁴⁴ further exemplification of his loathing for Catholicism.

Rainolds' disputational skills garnered him the attention of Francis Walsingham, who in 1586 subsidised a special lectureship in controversial theology with Rainolds in mind;¹²⁴⁵ in particular, it was Rainolds' invectives against Roman Catholics like John Hart¹²⁴⁶ that impressed Walsingham. In 1589 Rainolds was called upon by Sir Francis Knollys, a close friend of the college, who had been entertained in 1577/78¹²⁴⁷ and 1578/79,¹²⁴⁸ to refute Richard Bancroft's argument for the divine origin of episcopacy in the latter's St. Paul's sermon in February 1589.

An increasing intolerance of dissent and a stark anti-Catholic invective came to characterise the decade prior to Rainolds' election as president of Corpus Christi.

¹²⁴² His lectures were highly popular, especially on the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, 'which brought him fame as a scholar and a stylist'. 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

¹²⁴³ *Sex theses de sacra scriptura et ecclesia* (March 1580). Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹²⁴⁴ 'Doctor Rainolds' de Idolatria ecclesie Romae[?], 3s, 6d'; 'His Theses, 14d'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 74r. Under 'Dispensatorii et Bibliothecae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1604/05, *Termino secundo*.

¹²⁴⁵ Walsingham subsidised the lectureship with twenty pounds; the post was earmarked for Rainolds, who had received the D.Th. 14 June 1585. Rainolds accepted the offer, eager to resign his fellowship at Corpus Christi, where he was weary of the dissent inherent in the college. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹²⁴⁶ Hart was allegedly executed alongside Edmund Campion in 1581; the executions elicited national attention.

¹²⁴⁷ 'Wine for Sir Francis Knowles' man in the Vicepresident's chamber, 5d'. Sir Francis Knollys (c. 1511-19 July 1596) of Rotherfield Greys, Oxfordshire, was a courtier in the service of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I, and was a member of parliament for a number of constituencies. A man of protestant convictions, he left England for Europe under Mary I, first taking up his residence in Frankfurt, where he was admitted a church-member on 21 December 1557, but afterwards moved to Strasbourg. According to Fuller, he 'bountifully communicated to the necessities' of his fellow-exiles in Germany, and at Strasbourg he seems to have been on intimate terms with John Jewel and Peter Martyr. Knowles was close to Elizabeth I; from 1572 he was Treasurer of the Royal Household, and also M.P. for Oxfordshire from that year until his death.

¹²⁴⁸ 'Wax candles at Sir Francis Knowles' supper, 2s'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 107v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1578/79, *Termino primo*.

Irritated by lingering disunity among the Corpus Christi membership, which persisted into the 1580s, Rainolds decided to resign his Corpus fellowship in 1588. His move to Queen's College resulted in three weekly lectures, which drew large, enthusiastic crowds. The lectures provided a platform for Rainolds' aggressive anti-Catholic polemic; in part they targeted the Jesuit and future pope, Robert Bellarmine, who at the time was professor of theology at the Gregorian University in Rome.¹²⁴⁹

With the emulation and patronage of luminaries like Walsingham and Dudley, it was clear that Rainolds had become a star in the radical protestant firmament. As is often the case with zealous converts to a new religion, Rainolds' devotion was fervent, and caused him to question the very pillars of the Elizabethan Church, above all, the episcopacy, which was demonstrated in the refutation of Bancroft's sermon. His radical religious views, which verged on presbyterianism, are examined briefly in the context of his presidency (1598-1607) below. Rainolds' religious extremism and authoritarian leadership also held consequences for Corpus Christi's musical life; this will be featured in the discussion.

Richard Hooker's education and career: at the threshold of the 'beauty of holiness'

Squeezed in between the tenures of Cole and Rainolds is the career of one of England's most prolific protestant divines, and perhaps Corpus Christi's most renowned sixteenth-century alumnus, Richard Hooker. As spokesman for ceremony and music in the Elizabethan Church, Hooker challenged the anti-music and organ polemic of the 1570s. Hooker's magisterial defense of the Elizabethan Church and its music, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593-98), came to alter religious perspectives in contemporary England; it placed a religious roadblock in the way of radical nonconformists of the 1570s like William Fulke, the two authors of the notorious *An admonition to the Parliament* (1572), John Field and Thomas Wilcox,¹²⁵⁰ as well as Thomas Cartwright, who lent support to Field and Wilcox, eventually composing his own *Second admonition to the Parliament* (1572). Hooker

¹²⁴⁹ Rainolds battled Bellarmine, utilising Bellarmine's lectures as the basis for 250 lectures of his own; of the many points Rainolds attacked was Bellarmine's attempt to integrate the Apocryphal books into the Old Testament Canon. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹²⁵⁰ See above, Chapter Four, 190-2.

resented the puritan invective against musical or ceremonial beauty, which these men supported, and was keen to bolster a rich ceremonial that in his words (and later those of William Laud) should promote and celebrate 'the beauty of holiness' in the Church of England.¹²⁵¹ Reflecting on the frequent absence of liturgical music in English church services at the end of the sixteenth century, Hooker wrote, 'the efficacy of the thing itself [music], when it drowneth not utterly but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable ... They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of the Psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth.'¹²⁵² Hooker went on to augment the criticism extensively, and draw attention to the spiritual significance of both vocal and instrumental music in the Prayer Book psalms and canticles; in his support for musical and ceremonial beauty Hooker, like a number of leading English clergymen of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,¹²⁵³ relied heavily on patristic texts, allowing the 'judgement of antiquitie' to justify the fitness of musical practice.¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁵¹ Hooker criticised modern day separatists in their degeneration of churches, arguing that, 'God should be honoured with the stateliest places and things'. He continued the thought by adding, 'the very majesty and holiness of the place where God is worshipped hath in regard of us great virtue, force and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion'. Hooker sums up the sentiment quoting Psalm 96: 9: 'O worship the Lord, in the beauty of holiness'. Hooker, R., 'Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Book V', in *The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine Mr Richard Hooker containing Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (Oxford, 1820), 51. Laud drew upon Hooker's interpretation of the psalm.

¹²⁵² Hooker, *Laws*, 143.

¹²⁵³ Patristic discourse and a reliance on antiquity became frequent tools in the defence of music and ceremony. John Whitgift and Richard Mountague are but two examples of clerics who called upon the Church Fathers to support their arguments. Reliance on the founding fathers of the Church is apparent in John Whitgift's *Answere to a certen libel*, a reply to Cartwright's vitriolic attack on church music and organs expressed in his support of *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572). Whitgift cited Basil as precedent for singing of Psalms antiphonally. Whitgift, J., *An answer to a certen libel intituled, An admonition to the Parliament* (1572), isg. Aivr, 205; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 65-6 (see above, Chapter Four, 192). Richard Mountague's *Apello Caesarem* (1526), which also drew upon patristic texts as argumentative defence, supported the use of images, the sign of the cross at baptism, and a variety of ceremonial trappings. Mountague repudiated the notion that images, altars, and additional ceremonial objects were idolatrous and renounced the broad extension of the concept of idolatry by Edwardine protestants and their successors. Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 126; see also Mountague, *Apello Caesarum*, 253-265.

¹²⁵⁴ Hooker first called upon the prophet David (Psalm lv, 14), who was 'the author of adding unto poetry melody in public Prayer, melody both vocal and instrumental, for raising up mens hearts, and sweetening their affections toward God'. Hooker, *Laws*, Bk. v, 143. Hooker goes on to defend instrumental music declaring, 'They which, under pretence of the Law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental music, approving nevertheless the use of vocal melody to remain, must shew some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony and not the other'. Hooker, *Laws*, Bk. v, 143. Hooker builds his defence upon the early Church fathers such as Basil and St. Ambrose (Hooker, *Laws*, Bk. v, 146-50) and even draws upon the churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, the Arabians, Phoenicians, Syrians, and Mesopotamians, that all in a manner 'reverenced the

The development of Hooker's pro-ceremonial and music apologia, crystallised in the monumental *Laws* was preceded by a brilliant Oxford career. Hooker, who grew up in relative poverty, had been educated at Exeter Grammar School, where he showed remarkable aptitude.¹²⁵⁵ He arrived at Corpus Christi in 1567, at the age of fifteen, assuming a chorister's position; according to Thomas Fowler,¹²⁵⁶ this had been arranged by John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. Although supposedly a 'chorister', Hooker's name appears nowhere in the accounts for 1567, neither under 'Vestes' nor any other heading; it appears that Hooker may have been maintained privately at President Cole's expense between 1567 and 1570 at Corpus while attending Magdalen Grammar School. According to R.S. Stanier, 'it is probable that he came up to Corpus Christi College as chorister in 1567 and was taught by Thomas Cooper¹²⁵⁷ [at Magdalen Grammar School] in accordance with Bishop Fox's statute... but as Cooper retired in that year, some of the credit for Hooker's latinity may be due to Cooper's successor, Nicholas Balguay.' Hooker was *c.* fifteen at the time. In 1570, when Hooker was *c.* eighteen years old (too old to have been a treble), a choristership (at the time, only an academic apprenticeship) appears to have opened up, and Hooker's name is finally listed in the manner used to record choristers described

custom of singing psalms together'. Hooker, *Laws*, Bk. v, 147. Further, he makes a case for singing the canticles in Prayer Book worship: 'reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* und *Nunc dimittis* oftener than the rest of the psalms, the causes are no whit less reasonable; so that if one may very well monthly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are songs which concern us so much more than the songs of David, as the Gospel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Testament than the Old'. Hooker, *Laws*, Bk. v, 150.

¹²⁵⁵ According to Izaak Walton, his biographer, Hooker was 'an early questionist, quietly inquisitive'. Walton, I., 'The life of Mr. Richard Hooker', in Keble, J (ed.), *The works of Mr. Richard Hooker*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1888), vol. 1, 7; McGrade, A.S., 'Hooker, Richard (1554-1600)', *ODNBO*.

¹²⁵⁶ Fowler lists Hooker as 'clerk' as of 1567, though his name appears nowhere in the accounts under 'Vestes' or any other heading. The first instance of Hooker recorded as chorister occurs in the financial year 1570/71: one 'Hoke[?r]' is listed last under 'Vestes', receiving the sum of 4s, 6d (CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 7v. Under 'Vestes' in *Liber Magnus*, 1570/71). The 4s, 6d suggests that he was resident less than half a year (5s would have been the payment for half a year). He does not appear in the list of those receiving a stipend; therefore, he must have been a 'chorister'. In the following financial year, 1571/72, one 'Hoker' was the last-but-one name on the list and received the full 10s for vestments (CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 22v. Under 'Vestes' in *Liber Magnus*, 1571/72). In the year 1572/73 'Hoker' appears fifth from the bottom of the list of those receiving vestments, and the name 'Hoke' appears on the list of those receiving a stipend: this suggests that Hooker was no longer a chorister, but a full-fledged member of the college. Since Richard Hooker was admitted *discipulus* in December 1573 according to Fowler, it seems highly likely that 'Hoker/Hoke' was indeed Richard Hooker.

¹²⁵⁷ Thomas Cooper, who was a pupil of Robertson and became Master in 1549 with the exception of a brief pause (1557-8), remained master of Magdalen Grammar School until 1567. Cooper, son of a poor tailor in Cat Street, Oxford, entered Magdalen as a chorister in 1531 and became fellow in 1539, resigning in 1546. He studied medicine under Mary Tudor and received B.D. and D.D.(1567). He became dean of Christ Church, dean of Gloucester, bishop of Lincoln, and bishop of Winchester (1584). Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 82.

earlier at the outset of this chapter. His formal 'choristership' continued until the year 1572/3, the first year he is listed as *discipulus* (at the relatively advanced age of twenty-one). In Hooker's case the choristership was simply a means of subsidising Hooker's studies until he could be formally admitted as *discipulus*; the precarious state of Hooker's financial situation is illustrated by the subsidies he received from Robert Nowell (1570-75).¹²⁵⁸

What had contributed to Hooker's vigorous conformist perspectives during his time at Corpus Christi, and what led to his renouncement of puritan views on worship and music? Hooker was a product of Cole's era at Corpus Christi, which had become musically and ceremonially austere after the removal of the organ and the protestant reordering of the chapel. After becoming *discipulus* in 1573, he went on to become probationary fellow (*scholaris*) in 1577 and fellow (*socius*) in 1579; thus, Hooker witnessed the removal of the organ in 1575/76 during Horne's visit to the college¹²⁵⁹ as well as the introduction of new statutes in 1576. He would also have participated in the Prayer Book liturgy sanctioned by Cole and Horne - a liturgy expunged of all remnants of pre-Reformation ceremonial pomp and *éclat*, and one that contained no signs of musical adornment other than the possible singing of metrical versions of the Psalms in simple monody.¹²⁶⁰ Therefore, an absence of the organ in worship and the absence of harmonised versions of the psalms or any other type of four-part Elizabethan church music at Corpus Christi may have instilled the desire for the instrumental and vocal music championed in *Laws* - the kinds of music he may have encountered outside the chapel during Cole's presidency.¹²⁶¹

The pro-musical and ceremonial attitudes inherent in Hooker's *Laws* contributed to a wider movement defending music and organs in Oxford and elsewhere at the end of

¹²⁵⁸ The account of the distribution, 'The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell', was edited from one of the Towneley Hall MSS and printed for private circulation by the Rev. A.B. Gossart in 1877. Hooker was assisted five times: 29 July 1570 (xx s); 30 January 1571 (x s); 12 February 1571 (ii s, vi d 'to bringe hym to Oxforde' after a serious illness); 8 March 1573, (iii s, iii d); 28 April 1575 (v s). Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 149-50.

¹²⁵⁹ Horne also visited New College in 1576 in a final attempt to oversee compliance with the injunctions issued; he found that the religious infractions had been corrected. New College could finally 'be regarded as a protestant institution, though not one ardent in its faith or spotless in its conduct'. Williams, 'From Reformation to Reform', 51.

¹²⁶⁰ See above, 280-1.

¹²⁶¹ See above, 298-9.

the sixteenth century; this included the Latin apologia by Matthew Gwinne, of St. John's College, Oxford, the anonymous vernacular treatise *In praise of music* (1586),¹²⁶² as well as an emphatically Aristotelian defence of organs in *Apologia Musices* (1588) by another Oxford scholar, John Case.¹²⁶³ The pro-music and organ movement gathered force at approximately the same time that followers of Jacobus Arminius¹²⁶⁴ began rejecting Calvinism and its doctrine of unconditional predestination. The theories of Gwinne, Case, and most notably Hooker - who died in 1595, unable to realise the publication of *Laws* in its entirety - helped pave the way for a copious music liturgy utilising organs in chapels, churches, and cathedrals throughout England, not least at Corpus Christi College. Hooker's *Laws* also made an impact on Charles I - so much so that the king even commended the work to his children;¹²⁶⁵ the combined influence of Hooker and high church clerics like Andrewes and Laud contributed to the king's tastes in ceremony and music and were to form the backbone of Caroline worship at the Chapel Royal.

The Oxford pro-musical movement found immediate resonance at the larger choral foundations of Magdalen and New College, where organs by John Chappington were installed in 1596/97 and 1597/98, respectively, as mentioned above.¹²⁶⁶ Further, according to the research of R.S. Stanier, Nicholas Bond, who succeeded Humphrey in 1589 as president of Magdalen (1589-1608), could stand the lack of voices no longer and began admitting 'singing' choristers in 1592.¹²⁶⁷ The road to enhanced chapel ceremony and music proved more arduous at Corpus Christi; as was the case at Magdalen under President Humphrey, neither the appointment of 'singing' choristers (i.e. choristers accepted on the basis of musical talent and admitted before their voices had changed) nor the use of organs were considerations at Corpus Christi during the tenure of President John Rainolds.

¹²⁶² See above, Chapter Four, 203.

¹²⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁴ See above, Chapter Four, 201.

¹²⁶⁵ McGrade, 'Hooker, Richard'.

¹²⁶⁶ See above, Chapter Four, 202-3.

¹²⁶⁷ The age of appointment drops, and thereafter, with not infrequent exceptions, remains between ten and eleven years of age, suggesting that choristers were once again singing, not just performing ritual duties and deploying choristerships as another form of academic exhibition. Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 94-5.

The tenure of John Rainolds (president, 1598-1607)

After inheriting the fiscal dilemmas left by Cole, John Rainolds took hold of the reins, and put the college back on its feet, financially; after his election in 1598, a more equitable system of distributing college revenues was introduced, which benefited the fellows as well as the college as a whole. The improved fortunes resulted in an increase in the number of students, and large sums were spent c. 1600 on repairs and improvements to the lodgings over the gatehouse as well as a portion of the front range.¹²⁶⁸ In addition, a costly refurbishment of the hall, library, and chapel¹²⁶⁹ was undertaken in 1603. In contrast to Cole, Rainolds subjected members to rigorous academic and religious discipline; this may account for the decision of roughly half of the fellows to assume priests'/ministers' orders.¹²⁷⁰

Rainolds presided over a bleak chapel, the singers of which no longer included trained choristers; the puritan attitudes of Rainolds, like Cole, relegated chapel music to an absolute minimum: at most, metrical versions of the Psalms sung in monody.¹²⁷¹ The situation outside the chapel was not much livelier. Rainolds forbade plays and academic drama;¹²⁷² after the reference to scholars' plays during Cole's tenure no

¹²⁶⁸ 134li, 9s, 10 ½ d is the sum total of payments to 'Goodman Andrewes and his man, other carpenters, masons, and workmen for carriage of timber, sawyers, slatters, glazier' and to 'other workmen for lime, stone, timber'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 206v. Under 'Charges of timber and building of Mr President's study, gallery and other rooms and repairing the checker' in *Liber Magnus*, 1598/99, *Termino quarto*. 144li, 1s, 6 ½ d was the total spent on building (including work 'for ten pair of casements for Mr President's study') between October 1599 and September 1600. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 10r. Under 'Charges of building from the 26th of October 1599 unto the 19th of September 1600' in *Liber Magnus*, 1599/1600, *Ter'nis 1^o-3^{io}*. Fowler has erroneously attributed this work to new president's lodgings. First, the majority of the payments pertain to college buildings other than the president's lodgings. Secondly, Rainolds, a single man, would not have needed spacious lodgings. The payments in 1607 under 'Nova Structura' are those that represent new lodgings for the president, in this instance, John Spenser; as a married man with several children, Spenser was sorely in need of space.

¹²⁶⁹ The total cost for building was 94li, 12s, 5d. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fols. 52r, v. Under 'Impensae novae structurae et in primis for building of the workhouse... Sacelli et armarii 1603 Februarii 3' in *Liber Magnus*, 1602/03. 128li, 16s, 4d was the sum total for work done on the chapel, library, hall, as well as the president's lodgings and garden. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fols. 62v-63v. Under 'Impensae Novae Structurae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1603/04. Part of this extensive remodeling included inserting a window with bars in it between the library and chapel.

¹²⁷⁰ See below, 310.

¹²⁷¹ The metrical psalms recorded in 1565/66 and mentioned above were not harmonised. See above, 281, nt.1167. This does not exclude the possibility of singers, particularly ex-choristers, who may have improvised in descant or faburden on the psalm tunes. Whether or not the 1565/66 books were still extant and deployed during Rainolds' tenure remains uncertain.

¹²⁷² Rainolds had been traumatised at having to play the role of a woman (Hippolyta) just before becoming probationary fellow at Corpus in Richard Edward's *Palaemon* at Christ Church, during Elizabeth's visit 30 August - 3 September 1566. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

further record of external entertainments is recorded in the *Libri Magni*. Despite his severe attitudes toward liturgical music and drama, Rainolds may have had a soft spot for music outside of chapel; in a letter to his father in 1603, Brian Twyne (c. 25 July 1581 - 4 July 1644)¹²⁷³ reports the arrival of lute strings after having had the value of his lute appraised.¹²⁷⁴ Further, Twyne owned a copy of Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), which is still in the possession of Corpus Christi College. Rainolds also condoned the employment of the town waits (trumpeters); their playing appears to have lent élan to feasts and special events, such as the visit of King James in 1616.¹²⁷⁵

By the time Rainolds became president of Corpus Christi, his puritan views began exhibiting shades of presbyterianism, and his criticism of the episcopacy distanced him from both Elizabeth I¹²⁷⁶ and James I.¹²⁷⁷ Although Rainolds had previously ingratiated himself with Elizabeth,¹²⁷⁸ her objections to his views mounted with his religious extremism; this culminated in an outburst during her visit to Oxford in

¹²⁷³ Twyne became a renowned antiquarian and academic, publishing a history of Oxford University in 1608 and assisting William Laud (chancellor of the University and Archbishop of Canterbury) in revising the university statutes 1630-33. According to Foster: Twyne subscribed 1 June 1595-6; scholar Corpus Christi College, 13 December 1594, aged 18; B.A., 23 July 1599; M.A., 9 July 1603; fellow, 1605; B.D., 25 June 1610; Greek reader of his college, 1614; the first keeper of the archives, 1634-44; vicar of Rye, Sussex, 1614, until sequestered by the Westminster Assembly in 1644; died at Oxford on 4 July 1644 and made his will same day. 'Twyne, Brian', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹²⁷⁴ Twyne's letters were published in three installments in *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol. V; this particular reference appears in No. 58, 272. I am grateful to Julian Reid, college archivist, for directing me to this reference.

¹²⁷⁵ 'To the trumpeters, 10s'; 'Too the King's trumpeters, 20s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 59r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1615/16. 'To the King's trumpeters 11 September, 22s'; 'To the Queen's trumpeters at the Act, 5s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. Under 'Impensae Feudorum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1616/17. 'To the King's Trumpeters, 22s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 103r. Under 'Impensae Externae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1618/19.

¹²⁷⁶ The queen objected to Rainolds' participation in several presbyterian meetings during the mid-1580s and his talent for delivering radical sermons in Oxford. Further, some of his writing supported Calvinist leanings at odds with the English church; for example, he was called on to refute Richard Bancroft's argument for the divine origin of episcopacy in the latter's St. Paul's sermon in February 1589. His views, which included the lawfulness of divorce and remarriage following adultery among others, challenged John Whitgift and later Thomas Bilson. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹²⁷⁷ Representing the puritan grievances against the Church at the Hampton Court Conference 14-18 January 1604, Rainolds headed the delegation, which included Laurence Chaderton, an avid presbyterian, among others. James I listened intently, but had no intention of compromising on matters of church discipline and ceremonies. Rainolds' recommendation that the king establish a synod of bishops and presbyters to discuss contested issues in the Church infuriated James I, who abruptly closed the audience. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

¹²⁷⁸ In 1574 Rainolds presented Elizabeth his translation of Plutarch's *De utilitate ex hostibus capienda* (British Library, Royal MS 15 A. iii) and recalled her generosity to him on that occasion. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

1592, in which she 'schooled Doctor Reynalds for his preciseness, willing him to follow her lawes and not to run before them'.¹²⁷⁹

Rainolds' extremism confounded James I as much as it had Elizabeth, and his relationship with the king became increasingly strained; though James I approved of his suggestion to translate the Bible anew at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, Rainolds failed to convince James I to create a conciliatory synod of bishops and presbyters to determine controversial church affairs. This can be added to a body of evidence surrounding his interest in presbyterianism, which had already manifested itself in the 1580s when Rainolds was attending presbyterian meetings. Rainolds first began to display the hallmarks of presbyterianism in his refutation of Richard Bancroft's St. Paul's sermon of February 1589 mentioned above, in which he suggested his dislike of the episcopacy.¹²⁸⁰ Though his views may not have been as extreme as those of Thomas Cartwright and John Field,¹²⁸¹ who advocated overturning a church dominated by the episcopacy, there is enough evidence to refute the assumption of Richard Crakanthorpe (1567 - 1624), the eminent Anglican divine,¹²⁸² that Rainolds approved of episcopal government.¹²⁸³ After his rival, Bancroft, was elevated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, force was exerted upon Rainolds to subscribe to the new book of canons, which despite efforts of James I he cleverly evaded.¹²⁸⁴

¹²⁷⁹ Miller, R.H. (ed.), Harrington, J., *A Supplie or Addicion to the Catalogue of Bishops to the Year 1608* (Potomac, Maryland, 1979), 134. The rebuke did not prevent her from promoting him to the deanery of Lincoln in 1593, though he was not installed in the deanery until September 1598, and in December he resigned it to William Cole. 'Corpus Christi College', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO*.

¹²⁸⁰ See nt. 1276.

¹²⁸¹ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 77.

¹²⁸² Crakanthorpe knew Rainolds and was also tutor to Thomas Jackson. He is reputed to have defended puritan eucharistic doctrine and as a 'central churchman' presented a more moderate view of the Eucharist than Caroline 'high churchmen' like Laud and Launcelot Andrewes. He refuted the doctrine of transubstantiation most emphatically in his most famous work, *Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae contra M. Antonii de Dominis, D. Archiepiscopi Spalatensis, Injurias*. Douglas, B., *A Companion to Anglican Eucharistic Theology: Volume 1: The Reformation to the 19th Century* (Leiden, Boston, 2012), 157.

¹²⁸³ Crakanthorpe maintained that Rainolds approved of episcopal government both in light of Rainolds' works and his behaviour at the Hampton Court Conference. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 166.

¹²⁸⁴ James I visited Oxford on 27 August 1605 and was determined to force the obstinate Rainolds to comply, making it clear that Rainolds would be expelled for not cooperating; however, Rainolds dodged the king's demands in an extended series of letters. Feingold, 'Rainolds, John'.

Rainolds' efforts to foment the translation of the Bible remained a priority during the latter part of his career and represent the greatest achievement of his presidency. The task was divided among six groups, two of which were centred in Oxford at Corpus Christi College and Merton College.¹²⁸⁵ Rainolds was among those who translated the major and minor Prophets, which became part of the version of the Bible published in 1611. Officially led by John Harding, Regius Professor of Hebrew, this group met at Rainolds' lodgings at Corpus Christi three times weekly, and continued working into the last days of Rainolds' life.

During the tenures of Cole and Rainolds, pairs of chaplains cease to be recorded; Fowler records two chaplains consistently through 1567, when only one is recorded. During the succeeding tenures of Cole, Rainolds, Spenser, and part of Thomas Anyan's, Fowler only lists one member as 'chaplain' (there are two exceptions) and only during selected years. After 1619 Fowler again lists pairs of chaplains.¹²⁸⁶ Despite the inconsistency of Fowler's notes, one can assume that during the tenures of Cole and Rainolds there were in general two chaplains: one who read the services and acted as precentor and leader of the singers (i.e. one who intoned or began the singing of the Psalms); and the other, an additional minister reading services. This is indicated in the chapel accounts of the *Libri Magni*.

Evidence from the 'Stipendia' section of the *Libri Magni* demonstrates that there was a large pool of ordained ministers from which to draw at least some of the chaplains; fellows on priests' (i.e. ministers') stipends resumed in 1572/73 when they numbered three. By the end of Rainolds' life in 1607 the number rose to thirteen.¹²⁸⁷

¹²⁸⁵ The 'Second Oxford Company' was stationed at Merton College, where John Harmar of New College played a principal role in the translation of the 'Gospels', the 'Acts of the Apostles', and the 'Book of Revelation'.

¹²⁸⁶ Michael Savill, 1571; Francis Hyde, 1572; Richard Turnball, 1573; Nicholas Whittall (30 May 30), and Nicholas Gouldsborow (2 December), 1577; Gul. Cade (15 March) and Gul. Kitchin (19 June), 1580; Henry Jacob, 1586; Robert Wolphius, 1589; Edward Seridge, 1590; Thomas Tylley, 1595; Gul. Small, 1596; Rodulphus Barlow (*Decanus Wellensis*), 1599; Henry Mason, 1602; Gul. Forde, 1606; John Dewhurst, 1610; Anthony White, 1612; John Seller, 1613; Thomas Whittingam, 1615; Thomas Jackson (24 May) and Richard Anyan (8 October), 1619; Thomas White, 1623. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 426-8.

¹²⁸⁷ The number rises to nine in 1579/80 and remains at that number until 1585/86 when it dips to eight. Between 1587/88 and 1588/89 the number decreases to five. In 1591/92 the number is four but rises in 1592/93 to seven. In 1593/94 the number rises to nine, sinks to six in 1594/5, rises back up to nine in 1595/96 remaining so until 1598/99, when the number dips to eight. With the election of John

The chaplains were complemented by two clerks. Pairs of clerks continue to be listed by Fowler between 1579 and 1617 as well as by Milne,¹²⁸⁸ who tracks them further. The fact that pairs of clerks were present in chapel is corroborated by evidence in 'Stipendia'; examples occur in 1605/06, 1607/08, and 1622/23.¹²⁸⁹

Chapel personnel and their change of duties, 1568 - c. 1607

In addition to the chaplains and clerks there were up to two 'dry' choristers.¹²⁹⁰ As Jane Flynn's research has shown, a chorister's education 'had not been seriously affected by the alternation of Roman Catholic and various non-Roman Catholic forms of service in use between 1540 and 1559.'¹²⁹¹ Changes during Edward's reign had not been given enough time to take hold; much of the liturgical music was adapted from chant¹²⁹² and was performed with traditional techniques of improvisation and part was adapted from Latin Masses or motets. 'It is only after Elizabeth had remained on the throne long enough to provide some kind of stability, and after a generation of choristers had been educated without learning to sing and improvise on monophonic chant (other than psalms), that a change in education, including the philosophy behind it, was inevitable.'¹²⁹³

During Elizabeth's reign and beyond choristers were required to perform far less musical and ritual duties for substantially fewer liturgies than prior to the Elizabethan

Rainolds in 1598/99 the number increases to ten and then to eleven in 1599/1600. The number rises to thirteen in 1606/07, the last year of Rainolds' life. Under 'Stipendia' in *Libri Magni*, 1572-1607.

¹²⁸⁸ Milne, J.G., *Alphabetical List of Members of Corpus Christi College Oxford. From the Foundation to 1900* (Oxford, 1900), CCCA, 942.57 Mi.

¹²⁸⁹ See *Libri Magni* for the corresponding years. Under 'Impensae Sacelli'.

¹²⁹⁰ Choristers appointed on academic, rather than vocal skills, were generally too old to be trebles. See below, 313-14.

¹²⁹¹ Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 242.

¹²⁹² *Ibid.* Flynn cites John Merbecke as an example; Merbecke based many of his monophonic tunes in *The Booke of Common Praier Noted* (1550) on Sarum sources. Also, included in *The Psalter of David newly translated into Englysh metre* (1549) by Robert Crowley (Crowley) is a four-part faburden-like setting of the seventh Gregorian psalm tone. Further, 'even though only one psalm tone is printed...it is obvious that church choirs would have little difficulty in applying the famliar faburden technique to the metrical psalms using any other of the traditional tones'. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, 25.

¹²⁹³ Flynn, 242.

Reformation.¹²⁹⁴ Therefore, at many choral establishments during the 1570s and 80s, including King's College, New College, and Magdalen College (where various Corpus choristers were trained through 1600) boy choristers were no longer fully occupied, and, as Roger Bowers has remarked, the grammar component of their education increased.¹²⁹⁵ At King's the *informator* was replaced 'by a Master who himself possessed a broad education rather than specialist musical skills.'¹²⁹⁶ This coincides with the emergence of the 'dry chorister'¹²⁹⁷ at King's College and Trinity College, Cambridge. The 'Royal Injunctions for Salisbury Cathedral' (1559) also refer to retaining choristers after their voice had changed and placing them in the grammar school.¹²⁹⁸ At Magdalen College, Oxford, under the tenure of Laurence Humphrey choristerships became little more than additional demyships;¹²⁹⁹ this heralded the arrival of 'dry choristers' in Oxford.¹³⁰⁰ It was not until after 1589 during the tenure of Nicholas Bond (president of Magdalen College, 1589-1608), that boys were once again admitted on the merit of singing.¹³⁰¹

¹²⁹⁴ 'They had effectively been reduced to singing just two services a day. English canticles for matins and evensong, and the English anthem alongside musically bland psalmody and litany, were the sole harmonic choral diet during a period when Holy Communion, whether sung or said, was usually 'dry' (i.e., terminated after the creed) and was celebrated less and less frequently.' Mould, *The English Chorister*, 97.

¹²⁹⁵ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 274-5.

¹²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* This was a former chorister that was allowed to retain his choristership in the exclusive pursuit of academic (grammar) studies long beyond his change of voice.

¹²⁹⁸ 'Also, whereas the choristers, after their voices be changed, have not the provision to maintain them to the grammar-school, but were appointed altarists to ring the bells and to do such other service as had a yearly stipend, be it now ordered that the choristers, as soon as their voice begins to change, shall have the full stipend of the altarists, and meat and drink provided, that they may diligently and duly go to the grammar-school.' Article 25 in 'Royal Injunctions for Salisbury Cathedral' (1559), Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 32-3.

¹²⁹⁹ 'Demys' was the name given to scholars at Magdalen College. According to R.S. Stanier, the choristerships in the 1560s at Magdalen become little more than extra demyships - singing, no doubt, was looked on without favour by the puritan president, Laurence Humphrey. This can be deduced from the ages of the choristers. Today, when choristers are chosen entirely for their singing, they are appointed at the age of nine or ten, and resign when their voices break at the age of about fifteen. Before 1564, in the comparatively few cases where information is available, choristers were appointed at the average age of eleven 2/3, and resigned at the average age of fifteen 3/4. From 1564 to 1591 the average age of appointment was fifteen 1/2, that of resignation was twenty. 'The conclusion is clear: either by the Chancellor's command, or, more probably, by the wish of President Humphrey, who shared Leicester's Calvinism, from 1564 onwards the endowments of the Choristers were used, not to provide skilled musicians, but to open more gateways for scholars, like Hooker'. Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 94-95.

¹³⁰⁰ Though this particular definition of 'dry chorister' is not precisely that of Bowers or Payne, it will continue to be deployed in this study to denote boys generally too old to sing treble, who were appointed on academic apprenticeships.

¹³⁰¹ President Bond could stand the lack of voices no longer and began admitting 'singing' choristers; this is confirmed in the fact that the ages of boys dropped; Daniel Featly was admitted chorister of

After the adoption of the Prayer Book liturgy in 1559 at Corpus Christi the choristers lost their former statutory duties of performing plainchant and pre-Reformation polyphony. The functions of chapel personnel, including choristers, as well as rules for attendance at services became severely altered during Elizabeth's reign and tailored to the needs of the puritan regime. Choristerships continued to be awarded, but now took the form of academic exhibition (i.e. academic apprenticeship).¹³⁰² The president remained the individual that appointed the choristers; if he found an intelligent and talented boy he could further his early education in the prospect of later academic advancement by appointing him 'chorister'. Despite a redefining of duties, choristerships remained, as in the pre-Reformation, an opportunity for upward social mobility.

The increased age of most Corpus Christi choristers after 1560 confirms the cessation of duties as specialist singers in the liturgy,¹³⁰³ but does not exclude the possibility of ritual duties during Prayer Book services; these boys were chosen primarily to study grammar and good authors within the college or at Magdalen Grammar School, perhaps with the goal of becoming *discipuli*. R.S. Stanier has noted that Fox's statutory option to study at Magdalen School remained in force until c. 1600.¹³⁰⁴ Richard Hooker provides an excellent example of a boy too old to have sung as a boy treble, but who demonstrated extraordinary academic promise meriting support.¹³⁰⁵ His case reflects the trend at Magdalen between 1564 and 1591 of appointing older choristers, who were not formally singing in chapel and more or less demys (i.e. scholars), but who could retain their choristerships over an extended number of

Magdalen College, 27 June 1590, aged eight and became *discipulus* of Corpus Christi College in 1594, attaining D.D., 12 July 1617; thus Featly provides a rare example of a musically trained ex-chorister member rising through the academic ranks during the tenures of Cole, Rainolds, John Spenser, and Thomas Anyan at Corpus Christi.

¹³⁰² Fowler notes that although pre-Reformation choristers seldom matriculated, their functions as 'singing' choristers ceased through time, and they became ordinary students (*discipuli*). Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429.

¹³⁰³ As mentioned in nt. 1299 above, the average age at which boys' voices broke was fifteen and one half years of age. Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 94.

¹³⁰⁴ The choristers through 1600 may have studied at Magdalen grammar school or within Corpus Christi itself and those after 1600 solely at Corpus Christi. Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 84. Further consultation of Magdalen School Records is required.

¹³⁰⁵ See above, 304.

years.¹³⁰⁶ The fact that Hooker appears to have been a 'chorister' for two years between the ages of eighteen and twenty and studied at Magdalen Grammar School prior to and during the time of his official choristership, contributes to the assumption that other Corpus Christi choristers during the tenures of Cole, Rainolds, and John Spenser (president, 1607-14), Rainolds' successor, must have been 'dry' and appointed solely on the basis of academic talent. Further examination of the register of Magdalen School is needed to determine the names of other Corpus Christi choristers who may, as Stanier suggests, have studied there through 1600.

A body of choristers is recorded by Fowler between 1570 and 1607 (the year Rainolds died).¹³⁰⁷ These names can be confirmed by the method mentioned earlier in this chapter: those that remained on the foundation can be confirmed by consulting the 'Stipendia' and 'Vestes' lists. Evidence in the *Libri Magni* and the *Liber Admissorum* (used to compile Milne's list) also indicates that various choristers prior to and during Cole's tenure became undergraduates. These included: William Mann (chorister, 1564), Justinian Whiting (chorister, 1577), Thomas Tylley (chorister, 1592), Thomas White (chorister, 1593),¹³⁰⁸ and Daniel Featly (chorister, Magdalen College as of 27 June 1590, aged 8; became scholar of Corpus Christi College, 1594).¹³⁰⁹ The list of names becomes particularly relevant after 1618, when through the aid of James Montague, bishop of Winchester, college Visitor, and dean of the Chapel Royal, choristers may have resumed official duties as singers. This will be examined in greater detail below.

Although choristers at Magdalen and Corpus Christi no longer retained specific singing duties in chapel, this does not exclude the possibility of choristers, ex-choristers, and other members singing outside of chapel; evidence confirms that

¹³⁰⁶ The average age of a chorister's resignation became *c.* twenty.

¹³⁰⁷ According to Fowler's consultation of the *College Register* and Fulman's lists, the list of choristers during the tenures of Cole and Rainolds includes: Anthony Wilson, Justinian Whiting, 1577; Gab. Merry, William Webb, 1580; Giles Bamfield (Of Devon, matriculated 31 August 1582, aged 14), 1583; Thomas Tylley, (Thomas 'Tilley' is also recorded as subsacrist in the *Register* and by Fulman in 1593) Thomas Haberly, 1592; Thomas White, 1593; Richard Evans, 1595; Leonard Smith, 1597; Nicholas Evans, 1598; Pet. Turner, 1601; Francis Garbrand, 1604; William Jackson, 1605. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429.

¹³⁰⁸ *Nota bene* - there are several Whites listed by Milne as choristers: Anthony White, 1612; Thomas White, 1593; another Thomas White is listed in 1611. See Vol. II, Appendix V. Choristers remaining on the foundation of Corpus Christi College, 1528-1641, 552-3.

¹³⁰⁹ For further details see Vol. II, Appendix V, 552.

instrumental music and song were taught and performed outside the chapel during the tenures of Cole and Rainolds. That Cole encouraged the study of music outside of chapel was exemplified above in the case of Mr. More's son in 1570. Jane Flynn has shown that, traditionally, choristers and scholars played a role in secular interludes, plays, and dramatisations; these took place out of chapel and often included music. The use of virginals, which was taught at Corpus Christi by competent musicians provided for by Cole, would have suited this type of pastime. Evidence demonstrates that Cole permitted plays with music,¹³¹⁰ in contrast to his successor, Rainolds, who permitted no plays but did not prohibit playing instruments like the lute outside of chapel.¹³¹¹ This suggests that the college provided an outlet other than chapel, where choristers and other members could sing and perform instrumentally. Also, one should not rule out the possibility of sacred music (Latin or English) being performed outside of chapel by choristers or other members from 1568 to 1609 during the tenures of Cole and Rainolds; a body of Elizabethan music moving from sacred to secular includes Latin psalm settings to be sung in private chambers, as well as Godly songs and ballads, and there is body of metrical psalms not meant to be sung in church.¹³¹²

The puritan chapel, 1568-1609

Compliance with the religion of the Elizabethan regime at Corpus Christi began in earnest in c. 1570 with William Cole's arrival. The college demonstrated an outward acceptance of Elizabeth as sovereign ruler, displaying her arms in the windows of the hall and other rooms in 1571/72.¹³¹³ The furniture and ornaments of the protestant

¹³¹⁰ See above, 299.

¹³¹¹ Brian Twyne's lute provides an example. See above, 308.

¹³¹² Archbishop Matthew Parker composed a complete English metrical versification of the Psalter, initially intended for private devotional use. Parker's psalter was printed with nine harmonised tunes written for it by Thomas Tallis in 1567. Lavish provision was made for the use of Parker's psalter in both public and private worship. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 61. Further, a body of Elizabethan religious compositions aimed at catechising members of the protestant faith as well as defaming Catholic opponents emerged c. 1569-72. These included: 'godly ballads: John Barker's Plagues of northomberland (1570)' and John Philips' "'Balad intituled 'A cold Pye for the Papistes'". For further examples see Willis, 181-8, 249-50.

¹³¹³ 'Paid the glazier for mending, scouring, and making the Queen's and our Founder's arms in the hall, and other windows, ut patet...59s, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 23v. Under 'Impensae Panarii' in *Liber Magnus*, 1571/72, *Termino secundo*.

chapel were augmented during the tenures of Cole and Rainolds and included: a new frame for the Ten Commandments (1572/73);¹³¹⁴ a new communion table (1587/88); and communion cups and communion cloths. The east end of the chapel was wainscoted under the window in 1585/86,¹³¹⁵ demonstrating that a puritan chapel must not be as bare as some extremists like James Pilkington or Robert Horne may have wished.¹³¹⁶ Under the tenure of John Rainolds chapel worship reflected the firm proliferation of the Prayer Book service in its furniture and service books.¹³¹⁷

The frequency of Holy Communion during the tenures of Cole and Rainolds increased gradually. After the relegation of Holy Communion only to major feasts

¹³¹⁴ For a visualisation of the chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1576, see Vol. II, Supplement Two, Image 26, 495.

¹³¹⁵ 'For the ten commandments, 2s'; 'For a frame for the ten commandments, 2s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 34v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1572/73, *Termino secundo*. 'Paid for two communion cups weighing 35 ounces lacking half a quarter after 5s, 6d the ounce, 9li, 11s 9d, deducting 7li, 16d for the chalice, weighing 26 ounces and a half, after 5s, 4d the ounce, 50s, 5d'; 'For bringing the communion cups from London, 12d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 8r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1580/81, *Termino primo*. 'A carpet for the communion table, 17s'; 'A fine canvas cloth for the same table, 11s, 5d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 54r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1584/85, *Termino tertio*. 'For the workmanship of that wainscot standing at the upper end of the chapel under the window, 4li, 16s'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 65r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1585/86, *Termino tertio*. A communion table bought at London, 26s, 8d'; 'A carpet for the same table, 18s, 10d'; 'The carriage of them from London, 7s, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 85v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1587/88, *Termino tertio*.

¹³¹⁶ As mentioned in Chapter Four, Pilkington had the walls stripped bare and 'whited' at St. John's College, Cambridge, after 1558. Horne required that the east end of New College be plastered over and painted with passages of scripture: 'Item, ut amotis tegminibus partis orientis chori eiusdem capelle parietes ibidem obmurentur plane dealbentur et sententie sacre scripture ibidem scribantur'. Injunction 55 in 'Bishop Horne's Injunctions given to New College, Oxford, August, 29, 1567', Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 192. For a visualisation of New College Chapel, c. 1575 see Supplement Two, Image 25, 492.

¹³¹⁷ All entries below are found under 'Impensae Sacelli' unless otherwise noted. 'Three yards of blue linen at 16d the yard to line the pulpit cloth, 4s'; 'Silk to sew the fringe of the pulpit cloth & cushion, 6d'; 'To the tailor that wrought them, 18d'; 'To a joiner for mending the pulpit, 16d'; 'For a communion book in folio, 7s'; 'For two common books [*sic*] in quarto, 7s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 201v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1598/99, *Termino primo*. 'For new binding the old bible, 8s'; 'For clasping the bible and mending the communion book, 12d[?]'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 201v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1598/99, *Termino quarto*. 'For a communion book for the precentor, 4s'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 48v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1602/03, *Termino primo*. 'For a new communion book, 7s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 60v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1603/04, *Termino secundo*. 'For binding an old communion book given by Mr Cobbe, 20d'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 61r. Under 'Impensae Dispensatorii et Biblothecae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1603/04, *Termino quarto*. 'For two communion books, 8s'; 'To Sampson for colouring the great beam and iron bars, varnishing it and the lower seats, 6s'; 'Irons for the canopy over Mr President's seat, 18d'; 'For making the canopy over Mr President's seat, 4s, 4d'; 'For a curtain rod for the same, 9d'; 'Mending the communion book, 6d'; 'Rings for the president's canopy, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 73r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1604/05, *Ter'nis primo, tertio*. 'Three books for the Parliament's delivery, 15d'; 'For three yards, half, and half quarter of linen damask for the communion table, 3li, 12s'; 'For a common prayer book, 6s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 84r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1605/06, *Ter'nis primo, secundo, tertio*.

through 1571/72¹³¹⁸ the frequency of Communion increases from roughly five times a year in 1573/74¹³¹⁹ to seven in 1575/76 (the year of Horne's visitation),¹³²⁰ and to eleven in 1576/77.¹³²¹ It appears to remain at eleven times per year through 1604/05¹³²² and continues so thereafter.

The transformation of Holy Communion into a monthly service after 1604/05 was paralleled by a rise in priests (protestant chaplains); from 1558 to 1570, a lapse in payments for fellows assuming priests' orders occurs,¹³²³ which is followed by a steady increase. Apparently, it took some time before Bishop Poynt's interpretation of Fox's statute ordering fellows to become priests (now, protestant) took effect;¹³²⁴ Horne enforced Poynt's interpretation in a document of 1562,¹³²⁵ which apparently was written while Butcher was still president. The number of fellows receiving a priest's (i.e. minister's) stipend (53s, 4d) fluctuates from four in 1573/74 to ten in 1598/99, the year Rainolds was elected.¹³²⁶ This represents roughly half of the fellows; either they were driven by religious zeal instilled by Cole, Rainolds, and university theological Readers or were motivated by the added financial incentive. By

¹³¹⁸ *Termino primo*: 'Wine for the communion on Christmas Day at Witney, 9d'. *Termino secundo*: 'Wine for the communion at Candlemas, 18d'; 'Wine for the communion on Easter Day and Easter Even, 2s, 4d'. *Termino tertio*: 'Wine for a communion on Whitsunday, 18d'. *Termino quarto*: 'Wine for a communion for All Souls Day, 20d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 22v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1571/72.

¹³¹⁹ Christmas, Candlemas, Easter, Whitsunday, and Michaelmas Day. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 46v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1573/74.

¹³²⁰ First Sunday of November, Easter, Whitsunday, first sundays of July, August, September and October. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fols. 71r, v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1575/76.

¹³²¹ First Sundays of November, December; the first of January; first Sundays of February, March, and Easter; first Sundays of May, July, August, September, and October. Only in June was there no Communion. November 1577 is paid for in this account as well. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fols. 82v, 83r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1576/77.

¹³²² Communion was celebrated once per month, and, on average, eleven months of the year after 1604/05. Wine for Communion is recorded once every month except March in 1604/05. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol 73r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1604/05. 'Wine for the communion eleven months, 32s[?]'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 109r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1607/08. Both entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'.

¹³²³ With the exception of Robert Harrison in 1563/64, 1565/66, and most likely 1564/65 (the accounts for that year are missing).

¹³²⁴ '...though ye be discharged of massing, yet ye be not discharged *a ministerio Dominico*'. See above, 263, nt. 1077.

¹³²⁵ Flynn, 104.

¹³²⁶ See CCCA, C/1/1/5, C/1/1/6, C/1/1/7. Under 'Stipendia' in *Libri Magni*, 1570/71 - 1610/11.

1600 there were eleven fellows receiving a priest's/minister's stipend; in 1609/10 there were fourteen, in 1625/26, seventeen, and in 1639/40, eighteen.¹³²⁷

The purchase of English service books is recorded during the 1570s and 80s. This includes a 'bible in magno folio of the last edition' for 33s, 4d in 1571/72, most likely a reference to the 'Bishop's Bible', first published in 1568.¹³²⁸ Payments for numerous psalters, communion books, and the *Book of Common Prayer* follow.¹³²⁹ Corpus Christi remains, together with Magdalen College, one of the few Oxbridge colleges to deploy Latin in Prayer Book services during Elizabeth I's reign.¹³³⁰ The first post-Reformation Latin service book appears in 1570/71: 'A prayer book in Latin for morning prayer'; this may represent a certain concession on the part of the ruling protestants at Corpus toward any remaining traditionalists - an alternative to the morrow Mass and the Latin rite. In contrast to accounts at Magdalen College, which refer to the *Liber precum publicarum* after 1560,¹³³¹ the accounts of Corpus Christi College offer no indication of a Latin service book until 1570/71, despite Jane Flynn's assumption that the *Liber precum publicarum* was used at Corpus Christi in the

¹³²⁷ After the Interregnum starkly reduced the number of fellow ministers, numbers eventually rose again; by 1668/9 of the twenty-four M.A. fellows, seventeen were receiving a stipend of 53s, 4d (i.e. the stipend set by the statutes for an ordained fellow).

¹³²⁸ After its publication in 1568, the Bishop's Bible was re-issued in an extensively revised form in 1572. The purchase of the Bishop's Bible by St. John's College, Cambridge, is recorded during the same year. See above, Chapter Three, 130, nt. 514.

¹³²⁹ The following entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'Three psalters, 6s'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 159v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1569/70, *Termino secundo*. 'A psalter, 2s, 4d'; 'A prayer book in Latin for morning prayer, 20d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fols. 22v, 23r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1571/72, *Ter'nis secundo*, *tertio*, respectively. 'A communion book, 5s, 6d'; 'For four psalters in quarto, 16s'; 'Binding of a communion book, 3s'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fols. 94v, 95r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1577/78, *Termino quarto*. 'A prayer book for the church, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 120r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1579/80, *Termino tertio*. 'Two service books in Latin, 5s', CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 65r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1585/86, *Termino tertio*. 'For a prayer book, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 85v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1587/88, *Termino quarto*.

¹³³⁰ Elizabeth I's offer to deploy Walter Haddon's translation of the Prayer Book (*Liber precum publicarum*, 1560) was rejected by most Cambridge heads of house, including James Pilkington, William Whitaker, and Roger Goad.

¹³³¹ A logical consequence: Haddon was elected president of Magdalen College, Oxford, 30 September 1552 (and incorporated 2 December 1552) after an academic career in Cambridge: (scholar of King's College, Cambridge, 1533, from Eton; B.A., 1537-8; M.A., 1541; LL.D., 1549; vice-chancellor, 1549-50; regius professor of civil law, 1551; master of Trinity Hall, February 1551-2). He resigned the presidency of Magdalen 30 October 1553. On 20 June 1559 Haddon was appointed one of the commissioners for the Visitation of the University of Cambridge and Eton College. He was also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners and received from his friend, Archbishop Parker, the office of judge of the prerogative court. In 1560 a Latin *Book of Common Prayer*, prepared under the superintendence of Haddon, who took a former translation by Alexander Alesius as a model, was authorised by the queen's letters patent for the use of the colleges in both universities and those of Eton and Winchester. Cooper, T., 'Haddon, Walter (1515-1572)' *DBN*, 430.

1560s.¹³³² The purchase of Beza's translation of the Bible coupled with Junius' Latin psalms recorded in 1602/03¹³³³ demonstrates Rainolds' enthusiasm for the academically inspired proliferation of Latin in the chapel liturgy; this is a unique complement to his otherwise radical puritan views.

It appears remarkable that strong protestants like Humphrey, Cole, and Rainolds all sanctioned the use of Latin in Prayer Book worship;¹³³⁴ this demonstrates that puritan attitudes toward Latin in the liturgy - a characteristic deemed by extremists like James Pilkington to recall the 'olde durty dreggs of popery'¹³³⁵ - were not monochrome, even among those of a radical outlook like Rainolds or William Whitaker, master of St. John's, College, Cambridge (master, 1588-95), at approximately the same time. Further, there appears, particularly at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, an expectation to use Latin not only in studies but in worship - perhaps not so much an affirmation of Fox's humanist ethos, but simply an opportunity to utilise Latin, the principal language associated with learning. This remains an area requiring further research and investigation.

After the egregious invectives of *An admonition to the Parliament* (1572) and the succeeding programme of organ removal led by the Marian exiles, it was only a matter of time until Corpus Christi lost its organ. After 1568 the college had become the stomping grounds of Marian protestant exiles, including President William Cole, Laurence Humphrey, Bishop John Jewel, Bishop Edwin Sandys, and the college Visitor, Bishop Robert Horne, the latter four of which expressed a deep-seated opposition to the organ. Payments for the organ at Corpus Christi stopped completely after 1554, and the last reference to the organ prior to 1575/76 is in 1555/56: 'It' for makinge ye pavement by ye organs, 8d', which has been mentioned above. No

¹³³² Flynn, 10.

¹³³³ 'For a service book in Latin, Baesaes testament [Beza's Latin translation of the Bible] and Junius psalms in Latin, 3s [Junius/Tremellius psalters come with the Latin translation of the Bible [Beza] and became from a Reformed tradition]; 'For a communion book for the precentor, 4s'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 48v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1602/03, *Termino primo*. More Tremellius psalters were ordered in 1619. See below, 335, nt. 1389.

¹³³⁴ Both Magdalen and Corpus Christi became devotees of Latin service books, which were used continuously between 1560 and 1650 as well as after the Interregnum.

¹³³⁵ See above, Chapter Four, 176.

records of organ repair or maintenance occur after Cole's arrival, suggesting that it was no longer in use.

Robert Horne held a formal visitation and was entertained at Corpus Christi in 1575/76 during the third term;¹³³⁶ the organ case was pulled down at the same time,¹³³⁷ which in all likelihood is no coincidence. Clearly, Corpus Christi and New College had the misfortune of remaining under the thumb of Horne, an enemy of the organ. The fact that only the case is mentioned in the organ's removal at Corpus leads one to speculate whether the pipes could have been removed earlier, perhaps after the Horne/Ackworth visitation of 1566. It is also possible that because Cole's financial negligence brought the college to the threshold of fiscal ruin,¹³³⁸ the removal of the organ may have provided necessary funds. The most plausible grounds for the organ's removal, however, remain Horne's 1576 visitation of Corpus Christi and his intolerance of organs in chapels and churches.

6. 1607-1629. Changing attitudes toward ritual and music

Three members of the college can be singled out in this period at Corpus Christi: two presidents - John Spenser (president, 1607-1614) and Thomas Anyan (president, 1614-1629) - and fellow Thomas Jackson, who subsequently became president (1631-1640). John Spenser's advancement from fellow to Greek Reader to president appears to be the result of skillful internal maneuvering and shrewd networking among the protestant figureheads of Corpus Christi. In the accounts he is listed as clerk or '*famulus collegii*' (college servant), but in actuality he was private secretary to Cole, who married Spenser's sister. In 1578 at the age of nineteen he was elected Greek Reader under dubious circumstances;¹³³⁹ it suffices to say that Horne, the

¹³³⁶ See above, 298, nt. 1228.

¹³³⁷ 'For pulling down the case of the organs, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/5, fol. 71r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1575/76, *Termino tertio*.

¹³³⁸ It was not until the presidency of John Rainolds that Corpus Christi regained its economic footing.

¹³³⁹ He assumed the Greek Readership without holding an M.A. (Spenser received the M.A. on 16 March 1581), and the election may have been influenced through his connections with Cole. Spenser's election as Greek reader, however, was approved by the president and seniors on 9 June 1578; he had been made fellow just one day earlier. Older and better-qualified fellows protested Spenser's nomination, though after dispatching letters to Horne, the Visitor, Horne confirmed the legality of the selection. Wright, S., 'Spenser, John (1558/9-1614)', *ODNBO*.

Visitor, confirmed the legality of the selection. Rainolds, Spenser's teacher, found him inexperienced, though not necessarily incompetent.¹³⁴⁰

Spenser continued Rainolds' efforts to translate the Bible and worked with other members of the Westminster group on the translation of the Epistles of St. Paul; his sermons reflected the elegant English of the new Bible instead of the 'colloquial style common among Elizabethan puritans'.¹³⁴¹ Spenser became chaplain to James I and canon of St. Paul's in 1612, just shortly after the publication of the King James Bible; one can infer that he was cognisant of ceremonial and musical practice in the Chapel Royal as well as St. Paul's.

What influence, if any, did this have upon ceremony and music in Corpus Christi chapel? We know that Spenser, perhaps more in tune with contemporary tenor than his predecessor Rainolds, had a tremendous admiration for Hooker in regard to his perceptions of ceremony and music; he was the first editor of Hooker's *Laws*, published in 1604.¹³⁴² However, despite this, Spenser did little to enhance chapel ceremony at Corpus during his tenure, with the exception of procuring the King James Bible in 1611/12,¹³⁴³ and he did nothing to change the state of musical practice. The college did not respond to the more relaxed contemporary attitudes toward worship and music until 1616 under the tenure of Thomas Anyan, Spenser's successor. Only then through the influence of the Jacobean early 'high church' agenda did Corpus Christi begin making greater provision for musicians and music: first for its choristers' attire, and then for an organ.

It appears that the enhancement of the chapel, both physically and musically, took a back seat to other priorities of Spenser. The regained prosperity of the college is evident in the large sums he spent on new president's lodgings at the outset of his

¹³⁴⁰ Wright, 'Spenser, John', *ODNBO*.

¹³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴² Spenser was a great fan of Richard Hooker, and he married the daughter of George Cranmer, a favorite pupil of Hooker. There is 'no doubt of his sympathy with Hooker's approach' in *Laws*; in the preface of the 1604 edition Spenser laments 'this unhappy controversy about the received ceremonies and discipline of the church of England' which had 'rent the body of the church into divers parts, and divided her people into divers sects'. Hooker, *Laws*, preface; Wright, 'Spenser, John'.

¹³⁴³ 'To [Joseph] Barnes for the Great Bible [i.e. the KJV], 53s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 22r. Under 'Bibliotheca' in *Liber Magnus*, 1611/12.

tenure; the substantial sum of 295li, 13s, 5 ½ d is recorded under 'Nova Structura', in the subheading '23 Januarij 1607' in the *Liber Magnus*, 1607/08. Spenser was a married man with several children, which might explain the need for more spacious accommodation. The huge sums spent on Spenser's lodgings may have left the coffers waning: no attempts were made to beautify the chapel or expand musical resources during his tenure.

President Thomas Anyan (1583 - 1632),¹³⁴⁴ a morally bankrupt conformist, who governed the college between 1614 and 1629, has been described as 'moderately Calvinistic, but without any leaning to Puritanism'.¹³⁴⁵ He was ordained priest on 23 September 1610 and was appointed a chaplain to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, chancellor of Oxford University between 1610 and 1617. Anyan succeeded Spenser after an extremely close election against Robert Burnhill, who appeared to have been the king's candidate; only after the intervention of Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester and Visitor of Corpus Christi, was he elected and on 1 June 1614 sworn in.

Anyan's presidency was plagued by ignominy from the start. Early scandals involved his wife, who was apparently the mistress of John Williams, another of Ellesmere's chaplains as well as former protégé of Richard Vaughan, bishop of London (1604-07). This was overshadowed by further scandals regarding his administrative mismanagement and personal morality. In 1614, the year of his election, fellows already accused him of committing or tolerating bribery, electoral malpractice, financial corruption, drunkenness, adultery, and sodomy.¹³⁴⁶ In 1618 an unsuccessful appeal was made to Launcelot Andrewes, bishop of Winchester and Visitor, to eject Anyan from the presidency. Further charges were presented to both King James I (1566 - 1625) and Charles I (1600 - 1649), and in 1624 the House of Commons

¹³⁴⁴ According to Foster, Anyan matriculated from Lincoln College, November 1597, aged 16. Anyan became scholar on 9 March 1601. He received the B.A. from Corpus Christi College on 7 June 1602, M.A., 2 May 1606. He was elected fellow on 2 May 1606 and went onto receive the B.D. on 10 December 1612 and D.D. on 6 July 1614. He was elected president of Corpus Christi College in 1614. 'Anyan, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*; Hegarty, A.J., 'Anyan, Thomas (1582?-1633?)', *ODNBO*.

¹³⁴⁵ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 177.

¹³⁴⁶ Hegarty, 'Anyan, Thomas'.

petitioned to remove Anyan.¹³⁴⁷ In 1628, after Richard Neile (1562 - 1640) became bishop of Winchester and Visitor to the college, he sought to replace the scandal-ridden Anyan with Thomas Jackson, his former chaplain; Neile's ulterior motive involved making Jackson Regius Professor of Divinity in order to 'spaune yong Arminians'.¹³⁴⁸ Anyan resigned the following year, and in 1631 Jackson was made president under the recommendation of Charles I.¹³⁴⁹

Despite the turbulence surrounding President Anyan's administrative and personal scandals, Anyan must have had an eye and an ear for chapel ceremony and music. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for the beautification of the chapel (1625/26), the appropriation for choristers' liveries (1616) and the appointment of musically able choristers (who were later elected *discipuli*) during his tenure, as well as the installation of a fine organ (1618) and its extensive use and maintenance. All of this will be addressed below. In light of Anyan's bouts of absence, especially under periods of prosecution and continued journeys to London and Winchester,¹³⁵⁰ it is possible that the edification of the chapel and its music lay in other hands, in particular, those of the college Visitors: two succeeding bishops of Winchester, James Montague (bishop of Winchester, 1616-18) and Launcelot Andrewes (bishop of Winchester, 1619-26).¹³⁵¹ Both Montague and Andrewes were also deans of the

¹³⁴⁷ In 1624 Charles I was petitioned, and a select committee of the House of Commons censured Anyan: for neglecting to punish favorites (e.g. Brian Twyne); over persistent drunkenness; for paying Sir Lionel Cranfield, master of requests, £100 to hold up judgment against him; and for unnatural lust. *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1547-1629* (London, 1802), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol1>, 924. Also, recorded under 'Jovis 27 May 1624': 'Removing Dr. Anyon. Upon Question, declared, that, in the Opinion of the House, fit, that Dr. Anyon should be removed from his now Place; and that he is unfit to hold any other Place, in respect of those foul Matters, proved to the Committee, and reported to the House, against him.... upon Question, a Petition to be drawn to his Majesty, from this House, to take such a Course for removing Dr. Anyon, as his Majesty, in his Wisdom, shall think fittest.' Hegarty, 'Anyan, Thomas'.

¹³⁴⁸ Bodleian Library, Oxford Manuscripts, MS Rawl. D. 47, fol. 16r.

¹³⁴⁹ Bartlett, I., 'Thomas Jackson (bap 1578, d. 1640)', *DNB*, 526.

¹³⁵⁰ 'To the President for his expenses being sent to the Visitor ter Mich...20li, 3s, 1d'; 'To the President for his expenses being sent to the Visitor March 21 1622 ut patet...10li, 10s, 7d'; 'To the President for his expenses being sent for by the Visitor May 26 1623 ut patet per...17li, 8s, 10d'; 'Mr VP's expenses being sent out to the Visitor March 31, 51s'; 'Mr VP similiter May 26 till June 26, 5li, 7s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 151v. Under 'Impensae Equitancium' in *Liber Magnus*, 1622/23, *Ter'nis primo, quarto*.

¹³⁵¹ For more biographical material on Andrewes see Chapter Four, 200, nt. 796; for a discussion of his contribution to the 'Laudian-style' and a description of his private chapel see Vol. II, Supplement One, 401-3.

Chapel Royal,¹³⁵² where musical liturgy was enhanced by a large choir and an organ. These factors are examined below.

Thomas Jackson's brilliance during his early Oxford years had clearly been a product of the strict academic and religious climate of the Rainolds era at Corpus Christi.¹³⁵³ He received the B.A. on 23 July 1599 and M.A. on 9 July 1603, and on 10 May 1606, while John Rainolds was still president, Jackson became probationary fellow. He was highly proficient in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and oriental languages, among other studies, but devoted a substantial part of his Corpus years to the study of theology, becoming an ordained deacon and priest on 24 February and 22 September 1605, respectively. He received the B.D. on 25 June 1610 and a university licence to preach on 11 June 1611. His talent as a preacher manifested itself in divinity lectures at Corpus Christi and Pembroke.

'Jackson had a predilection for natural theology and rational exposition of faith',¹³⁵⁴ and through his own reasoning and judgment came to reject Calvinist doctrine *c.* 1605, especially the doctrine of absolute election or reprobation; as early as 1612 he was preaching against it. Jackson's theses for the D.D. in June 1622 'disputed anti-Catholic questions inoffensive to Calvinists' and remained adamantly anti-Catholic in tone, labeling the pope as Antichrist and transubstantiation as a major heresy. He did, however, allow Rome to be in one sense a true church and was indifferent to a pre-Reformation visible church.¹³⁵⁵ This characterises the fine line of demarcation that existed between various contemporary conformists.¹³⁵⁶ In his acknowledgement of Roman Catholic attributes regarding ceremony Jackson reflects the views of a group

¹³⁵² Montague was dean of the Chapel Royal from 1603 to 1618 and Andrewes from 1618 to 1626.

¹³⁵³ Thomas Jackson matriculated to Queen's College on 25 June 1596 and obtained a scholarship at Corpus Christi on 24 March 1597.

¹³⁵⁴ Hegarty, 'Jackson, Thomas'.

¹³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵⁶ Conformists in Cambridge included John Overall and John Whitgift, who held fast to Calvinist doctrine but defended elements of ceremony including the deployment of music and organs. This has been discussed in Chapter Four. Roger Goad, who is generally portrayed as a staunch protestant, did allow a relatively broad margin for music, incorporating the more complex Elizabethan choral repertory complemented by the magnificent Thomas Dallam organ of 1605/06. For greater detail see above, Chapter Four, 196, 202, nt. 805.

of 'high church' clerics, including Richard Mountague;¹³⁵⁷ these considerations may have contributed to Jackson's gradual support for ceremony and beauty in worship, which was to culminate in a programme of chapel beautification and the pronounced use of the organ during his presidency.¹³⁵⁸

Bishop James Montague and the bearing of the early 'high church' party on formality and music at Corpus Christi at the time of the college centenary

While Jackson was fellow of Corpus Christi and pursuing theological studies, William Laud was president of St. John's College, Oxford (1611-21); at this time a sort of 'high church' party had already become affiliated with the court of James I. As mentioned in Chapter Three, this was a court that had tired of radical Calvinism and relaxed its views on organs and adornments in worship, but which otherwise remained conservative. For more radical proponents of the high church party, like Laud, the installation and deployment of organs were simply part of a growing anti-Calvinist agenda.

Perhaps the defining moment that infused Corpus Christi with then still embryonic high church values - particularly regarding the solemnity of ceremony - was the college centenary. James Montague (1568 - 1618), bishop of Winchester and Visitor, figured prominently in the college's centenary, which was celebrated in March 1617; he appears to have been the driving force in the restoration of ceremonial formality and music in chapel worship at the time of the festivities. His influence resulted in two significant alterations to chapel worship at Corpus Christi: first, funds to better the college's liveries, including choristers' vestments in 1616, and second, the commission of a new organ by the most renowned builder of the era, Thomas Dallam.

Two major factors may have contributed to Montague's interest in formality and fine music. First, as dean of the Chapel Royal (1603-18) Montague would have been acquainted with opulent ceremonial and some of the finest contemporary chapel music; this included works that incorporated organs, such as those in the burgeoning

¹³⁵⁷ Mountague admonished the protestant assessment of idolatry; he contended that the notion of images, altars, and additional ceremonial trappings were not idolatrous but were elements of 'honour' (not 'worship') that edified ceremony. See above, Chapter Four, 210, nt. 847 and this chapter, 303, nt. 1253.

¹³⁵⁸ See below, 345-9.

verse-style.¹³⁵⁹ For example, Montague is likely to have heard works of Orlando Gibbons (1583 - 1625), who became member of the Chapel Royal in 1603 and organist through the remainder of his life.¹³⁶⁰ The second factor that may have contributed to his espousal of music and organs was his role as leading figure in the emerging high church party. Like other members, including William Laud, Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop of Durham Richard Neile, and Richard Mountague, Montague figured prominently in James I's court. In the summer of 1616 James I embarked on a trip to Scotland to dissuade the Scots from presbyterianism (see Chapter Four); the king was accompanied by James Montague, Laud, Andrewes, and Neile, among others, all of whom attended services in Holyrood Palace, and heard the singers of the Chapel Royal (shipped from London) and a magnificent two-manual organ by Thomas Dallam.¹³⁶¹ This occurred just months before Montague visited Corpus Christi in the fall of 1616; the organ constructed by Thomas Dallam for the college was installed a year later (1617/18). Thomas Dallam's talent and meteoric rise to the pinnacle of contemporary organ building¹³⁶² had not gone unnoticed by the members of Montague's elite circle. To serve choral services at St. John's College, Oxford, William Laud, (president, 1611-21) had a Dallam two-manual organ installed in 1619 - one year after the Dallam organ's installation at Corpus Christi,¹³⁶³ and Neile had

¹³⁵⁹ The organ no longer alternated with the choir; it acted as a substitute for canticles, anthems, and hymns, and began to accompany the choir, often in verse anthems. This evolved gradually after Edwin Sandys, bishop of Worcester, issued visitation articles restraining William Byrd's organ playing at Lincoln Cathedral (particularly the playing of more lengthy compositions) to giving only the pitch of the canticles and anthem before returning to his seat. Mould, *The English Chorister*, 97. The use of the organ as an instrument for choral accompaniment followed, in verse anthems, the earliest of which are attributed to William Mundy (c. 1530-1591) at the end of the 1580s (*Ah helpless wretch, The secret sins*). Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 86.

¹³⁶⁰ Harley, J., *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons family of musicians* (Aldershot, 1999), 24.

¹³⁶¹ The visit sparked elaborate preparations at Holyrood Palace, including the complete redecoration and refurbishing of the chapel by Inigo Jones (1573-1652) and the installation of a Thomas Dallam organ in 1616. The double organ cost £300 (most likely excluding decoration). Bicknell, S., *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), 80. The choir, which had ceased to exist at Holyrood after the Scottish Reformation, was reconstituted in order to make possible the daily singing of matins, second service, and evensong. The Chapel Royal Gentlemen and children were also in attendance.

¹³⁶² Thomas Dallam's career was launched with the celebrated clock-organ of 1599 presented by Elizabeth I to the Turkish Sultan Mehmet III. This was followed by the large organ at King's College, Cambridge, in 1605 and organs in Westminster Abbey (1606-7), Christ Church (1607-8), Norwich Cathedral (1608-9), St. George's Chapel, Windsor (1609-10), Hatfield House (1611), Worcester Cathedral (1613), Eton College Chapel (1613-14), and the double organ for Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh (1616). Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 72-80. These were followed by Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1618), St. John's College, Oxford (1619), Wells Cathedral and All Saints, Wakefield (1620), Durham Cathedral (1621-22), and Bristol Cathedral (1629).

¹³⁶³ In Laud's diary he refers to 'the great Organ of St. John's College begun 5 February 1618 (*compt. Angl.* = 1619)'. Bliss, *Works of the Most Reverend Father of God William Laud* v. III (Diary), 136. The grandeur of the instrument is implied in a letter of Nicholas Tomkins to 'Mr Sayer' in 1665: the letter

Dallam construct an organ for Durham Cathedral in 1622.¹³⁶⁴ Dallam was clearly the preferred builder of the high church circle of clerics.

From the outset of his brief appointment as bishop of Winchester and Visitor, Montague maintained a close association with Corpus Christi¹³⁶⁵ and a profound interest in the administrative as well as spiritual well-being of its members. Formality in worship, evidently an aspect vital to Montague, had suffered under the tenures of Cole and Rainolds at Corpus Christi College. Therefore, in an attempt to remedy the drab and musically barren character of chapel worship, Montague instigated a new appropriation for vestments and liveries, which included twenty-five shillings for the 'choristers' vestments', a fund that became known as the 'Montague Vest'.¹³⁶⁶ Jackson appears to have signed the document appropriating funds for the liveries together with President Anyan in 1617.¹³⁶⁷ The personal tastes of Jackson and Anyan in regard to formality in chapel worship remain unclear at this point in time; however, the *Liber Magnus* for 1616/17 records Anyan's expenses in procuring Montague's new liveries,¹³⁶⁸ suggesting that he must have approved of the re-vamped attire.

In addition to the absence of proper chorister vestments (and proper choristers) Montague would have observed that the chapel lacked an organ. Therefore, a decision was made to install an organ, though it remains impossible to confirm if this was Montague's doing. In any event, Montague was familiar with organs built by Thomas Dallam, and it is most likely no coincidence that Thomas Dallam built, installed, and later repaired the new organ at Corpus Christi. As there are no extant records or payments for the commission of the organ, it appears to have been a gift; it is conceivable that a member of the ascending 'high church' party - perhaps someone

suggests the size and scope of the St. John's organ to be comparable with that of Dallam's 1613 two-manual organ for Worcester Cathedral. Bodleian Library, Oxford Manuscripts, MS Add.C. A 304A.

¹³⁶⁴ Bicknell, 80.

¹³⁶⁵ 'To Wilkes the glover for a pair of [gloves? partially obscured] given to Sir Sidney Montagu the Bishop of Winchester's brother, 22s'; 'To Barnard Hawe[?] for 2 pair of gloves. One to the Earl of Worcester, the other to the Bishop of Winton, 10li'; 'To William Johnson for binding the book of verses delivered to my Lord of Winchester, 3s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 74v. Under 'Deposita e cista finium' in *Liber Magnus*, 1616/17.

¹³⁶⁶ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 181-2.

¹³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶⁸ Mr President' [Anyan] expenses procuring the augmentation of liveries of my Lord of Winton [James Montague], 26s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 74r. Under 'Impensae Placitorum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1616/17.

known to James Montague - donated it. However, this, for the time being, remains speculation.¹³⁶⁹

The installation of the Thomas Dallam organ (1617/18): a manifestation of Hooker's 'beauty of holiness'?

Though the circumstances surrounding the organ's commission may appear nebulous, the evidence of its installation is clearly recorded. The construction of the organ may have been at least partially complete by the first term of 1617/18 when the following payment is recorded: 'Mr Jennings his expenses to London to view the organs, 15s, 4d'.¹³⁷⁰ The instrument's transport from London and installation in the chapel are recorded in detail in thirty-two items under 'Impensae claustrum et sacelli' in the *Liber Magnus* during the third term of 1617/18¹³⁷¹ (see Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 2. Provision for organs, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from the foundation through 1650). They appear to represent work done on a gallery with pillars, gallery rail, and back paneling prior to the organ's placement (items one through twenty),¹³⁷² as well as curtains of some sort, which were added after its installation (item thirty-one).¹³⁷³ The organ and case seem to have been constructed in London and delivered by boat *via* the Thames to Oxford. All expenses listed in the *Liber Magnus* appear to be for related work done in the chapel at the time of the organ's installation. Nowhere among the entries is a fee for the organ's construction accorded to Dallam.

The reference to the 'vestiary' in item thirty-two refers to the structure which housed copes and vestments and from which an organ gallery extended into the chapel. The

¹³⁶⁹ Archivist Julian Reid has recently noted that Dallam's Worcester organ of 1613 was paid for in part by Bishop Henry Parry 'and by other "fryndes" whom Parry persuaded to subscribe'. Parry had been admitted *discipulus* of Corpus in 1576. He was a friend of Richard Hooker and aided in rescuing his unpublished papers. Parry's son, also named Henry, was admitted *discipulus* of Corpus in January 1609 and elected probationary fellow in 1614. Reid has suggested that the two Parrys, father and son, may have been key in commissioning the organ and gathering together subscriptions for its construction. Charles-Edwards and Reid, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford: a History*, 167.

¹³⁷⁰ CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 88v. Under 'Impensae equitancium in negocijs Collegij' in the *Liber Magnus*, 1617/18, *Termino primo*.

¹³⁷¹ CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 85r.

¹³⁷² 'The frame of the Organs' mentioned in item ten appears to refer to a gallery. Items fourteen and seventeen refer to the pillars for the gallery. See Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 2, 577.

¹³⁷³ *Ibid.* 'ffor Curten rods and standerts[?] for the organs, 6s, 4d', referred to in item thirty-one completes the information concerning the organ. In later organs curtains would have concealed the organist; this appears to have been the case at Corpus Christi. The standards may have been posts to support the curtain rods.

existence of a vestry attached to the chapel at Corpus Christi can be traced to the college's early period; the presence of the structure is confirmed in several references in the *Libri Magni*, for example, in 1566¹³⁷⁴ and 1638/39.¹³⁷⁵ Further, a two-level structure abutting the chapel can be seen in the engraving by David Loggan (1634 - 1692) in 1675 (see Chapter Two, Illustration 2.3). The vestry was accessed from within the chapel through a doorway within a large gothic arch, the outline of which can be seen today on the exterior and (prior to the chapel renovation of 2016) interior northeast wall of the chapel. The vestry contained a small fireplace, the frame of which is incorporated into the outer wall.

To summarise: the *Liber Magnus* entries make it clear that the organ was relatively substantial: 'nine hundredweight' is recorded. It took over 120 working days to erect and involved the skills of the organ builder, sawyers, joiners, carpenters, and various other apprentices and labourers. Later *Libri Magni* entries confirm that it was situated on a gallery on the northeast side of the chapel, and that this loft/gallery adjoined the first floor of the vestry. A staircase from within the vestry enabled access as suggested in the repair of the vestry in 1638/39.¹³⁷⁶ It is possible that the first floor of the vestry housed the bellows. At Corpus Christi this type of placement served the dictates of space, since the stalls filled much of the chapel below the communion table. However, saving space may not have been the sole consideration: as mentioned in Chapter Four, the placement of an organ on the upper level of a vestry at the northeast end of a chapel (in some instances abutting the vestry on a gallery/loft) had enjoyed a long-standing tradition in various colleges during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Examples include the chapels of Christ's College, and St. John's College, Cambridge, as well as New College, Oxford. In 1619 Laud had the Thomas Dallam organ of St. John's College, Oxford, placed in a similar manner: abutting a vestry (in this instance made of stone).¹³⁷⁷ Exceptionally, at Magdalen

¹³⁷⁴ 'For making a key and mending a lock to a cupboard in the vestry, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 125v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1566/67.

¹³⁷⁵ 'For another partition in the vestry by the side of the organ by the staircase, 15s, 11d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 149r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39.

¹³⁷⁶ See previous note.

¹³⁷⁷ It was placed in much the same manner as at Corpus Christi - in a loft adjoining the upper level of a vestry on the north side of the chapel - albeit Laud's vestry was 'a building of stone, wherein to place a paire of Organs which are to^[SEP] be set up by the first day of [June 1619]'. In that chapel an organ loft was attached to the vestry made 'from stone from the ground'. SJCOA, St. John's *College Register*, ADM I. A. 2, 641 - January 12, 1618 (*compt Angl.* 1619).

College, Oxford, a comparable 'organ house' was built *c.* 1630 not on the north, but on the south side, since the cloister abutted the north wall of the chapel.¹³⁷⁸

The organ at Stanford-on-Avon (Robert Dallam's Chair case of *c.* 1631 for Magdalen College, Oxford)¹³⁷⁹ provides an example of an organ similar in size, scope, and style to that of the Thomas Dallam organ at Corpus Christi. When the organ was moved to Stanford-on-Avon after 1736 it was placed on a gallery mounted on pillars, in a manner similar to that at Corpus Christi in 1618; however, the pillars at Stanford-on-Avon are of stone. For a visualisation of the Thomas Dallam organ for Corpus Christi College (1618) please refer to Vol. II, Supplement Two, Image 30.

¹³⁷⁸ Harper, J., 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford: A New Account of the Milton Organ', *BIOS Journal*, 9 (1985), 51-64. For greater detail see Vol. II, Supplement One, 417.

¹³⁷⁹ Bicknell, 80-1; Harper, 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford', 51-64.



Illustration 5.2 The former Chair case of the 1630/31 Robert Dallam organ for Magdalen College, Oxford. Now the Great organ case in the church of St. Nicholas, Stanford-on-Avon, Northhamptonshire. Pictured: Great case and Chair case (with dummy pipes) with gallery and pillars.



Illustration 5.3 The former Chair case of the 1630/31 Robert Dallam organ for Magdalen College, Oxford (now the Great case of the organ of St. Nicholas, Stanford-on-Avon, Northhamptonshire).

The organ at Staunton Harold (anonymous, *c.* 1630, rebuilt *c.* 1680) provides another example of a comparable instrument; the size and surrounding work, in particular, are similar to that of Dallam's Corpus Christi organ.



Illustration 5.4 The organ of Staunton Harold Church, Leicestershire. Organ and gallery.



Illustration 5.5 The organ of Staunton Harold Church, Leicestershire. Organ and quire arch.

Considering various factors - above all the space provided for the organ - the size and scope of the Corpus Christi organ seems quite near to that of Thomas Dallam's Eton College organ.

Eton College Chapel Organ: Thomas Dallam, 1613-14¹³⁸⁰

Stop list

- 1 a diapason of Tynn five foote longe stopped
- 2 a principall of Tynn, a open stop five foote longe
- 3 a fflute unison to the principall five foote long of Tynn
- 4 an octavo to the principall of Tynn
- 5 a ffyftenth of Tynne

Cost £117, 1s, 6d

Additional £10 for the case, £24 for decoration

The modest dimensions of the Corpus Christi organ become obvious if one observes the space allowed by the outline of the old interior arch of the vestry (*c.* three meters, seventy centimeters in width). Also, the small size and scale of the Corpus Christi organ is substantiated by comparing the prices of Robert Dallam's organ for St. John's College, Cambridge (£178) and the Thomas Dallam Eton College Organ (£117, 1s, 6d); the higher price at St. John's reflects a larger space and a larger organ with a ten-foot diapason. Further, the contrast between the construction charges for the Thomas Dallam organ at King's College, Cambridge, in 1605/06¹³⁸¹ and those of his Corpus Christi organ also imply a modest instrument the size of the Eton College organ; the Eton organ, in turn, would be comparable with the surviving Dallam Chair cases at Stanford-on-Avon and Gloucester Cathedral (1641).

There is no indication in the archives of the musical and liturgical use of the organ at Corpus Christi College. On the basis of other institutions, two uses may be posited: as a solo instrument, and as an accompanying instrument. There is a substantial repertory of solo keyboard music by composers active after 1600, much of which is suitable for the organ (though rarely specified as such), notably by Byrd, Bull,

¹³⁸⁰ Clutton, C. and Niland, A., *The British Organ*, (London, 1963), 53.

¹³⁸¹ For greater detail see Thistlethwaite, 'The organ of King's College, Cambridge', 12-15.

Gibbons, Phillips, Tomkins, Weelkes, and their contemporaries. However, definitive evidence of the use of the organ as a solo instrument in church is sparse. *The Old Cheque-Book* of the Chapel Royal includes descriptions of services in which the organ played at the entry of members of the royal family (as at the baptism of James I's daughter Mary, on 5 May 1605)¹³⁸² or at the Offertory during the service of Holy Communion at the Easter service on 15 April 1593 in Elizabeth I's Chapel Royal (at St. James), when John Bull played the organ.¹³⁸³

Evidence for the organ as an accompanying instrument is more prolific: there are organ books for accompaniment from the cathedrals of Durham, Ely, York, and St. Paul's, as well as a related set of partbooks and an organ book from the small musical establishment that served the household chapel of Chirk Castle (Wales) in the 1630s.¹³⁸⁴ The Caroline repertory of Peterhouse, Cambridge, survives in a set of partbooks still kept by the college,¹³⁸⁵ and early seventeenth-century partbooks from New College, Oxford, survive in the Bodleian Library;¹³⁸⁶ at St. John's College, Oxford, there are two bass partbooks belonging to two separate sets, dating from 1630, and containing festal preces and psalms, canticles, and anthems¹³⁸⁷ - just over 150 works in all. Taken together, the contents of these books are representative of church music in use during the first half of the seventeenth century, and in the case of the books from St. John's College, local to Oxford, and from a college without a choral establishment; however, none can be used as a blue-print for practice at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Nevertheless, as the evidence from the *Libri Magni* and *Liber Admissorum* indicate, after 1620 singers in the chapel at Corpus Christi

¹³⁸² Rimbault, E.F., *The Old Cheque-book: Or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal, from 1561-1744* (Westminster, 1872), 167. See Vol. II, Supplement One, 415.

¹³⁸³ Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-book*, 150. See Vol. II, Supplement One, 415.

¹³⁸⁴ All of the church music from this period known to survive is indexed in Daniel, Ralph T., and Le Huray, Peter, (eds.), *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549 - 1660* (originally published in *Early English Church Music*, supplementary volume, parts I and II). London: 1972. An updated version is now online as part of the database: <http://www.eecm.ac.uk/sourcesdatabases/database21485-1660/>.

¹³⁸⁵ The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century partbooks have been grouped into the 'Former' (MSS 475-481) and 'Latter' (MSS 485-493) sets (they are also known collectively as the 'Caroline' sets). The 'Latter' set is indicative of the repertory of the Cosin era at Peterhouse (c. 1625-43) - specifically works from 1633 to 1643. Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse, Cambridge', 1-5.

¹³⁸⁶ *New College Chapel Choir Partbooks*. Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. c. 46-51, d. 149-69, c. 22-5, fol. 32. See below, 349.

¹³⁸⁷ SJCOA, St. John's College, Oxford, MSS 180 and 181 (Bass Decani partbooks). Contains works of Bryd, Thomas and Giles Tomkins, Parsons, Tallis, White, Weelkes, Gibbons, Giles, Hooper, Wilder, Mundy, Bull, Bevin, Stroggers, Morley, Tye, Portman, Amner, Cranford, Ferrabosco, and East.

were bolstered by a rising number of ex-choristers, thus increasing the practicality and likelihood of polyphonic full and verse-style anthems and settings of the canticles. Further, other new members may have entered the college with previous training attained in parish choirs or within their own families, and thus competent in singing and possibly other musical skills.

The proliferation of the Prayer Book service and the beautification of the chapel through 1630

Under the tenures of Spenser¹³⁸⁸ and Anyan¹³⁸⁹ chapel worship continued to be governed by the Prayer Book liturgy, which is demonstrated in furniture and service books. Communion continued to be celebrated on average once a month, eleven months of the year. Corpus Christi maintained its tradition of deploying Latin in services as indicated by the purchase of Latin service books. The purchase of Beza's translation of the Bible coupled with Junius' Latin psalms recorded in 1602/03 during the tenure of John Rainolds,¹³⁹⁰ was augmented by a Tremellius Bible for the hall in 1608/09¹³⁹¹ and Tremellius' Latin psalters, recorded in 1619/20. This suggests that alongside the new King James Bible, the Junius/Tremellius¹³⁹² Latin psalms complemented by the Latin translation of the Bible by Theodore Beza (1519 - 1605) may have become customary in certain reformed establishments; at Corpus Christi,

¹³⁸⁸ 'To Thomas White for perfumes in former years, ut patet..., 2s, 6d'; '& for perfumes at Dr Rainolds' funeral, 3s, 10d'; '& for perfumes since, and a perfuming pan for the chapel, 2s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 112r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1607/08. 'A large communion book for the chapel, 8s'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 122v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1608/09. The 'Great Bible' [i.e. the KJV] was in use after 1612. See above, 321, nt. 1343.

¹³⁸⁹ The following entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'For new clasping a Communion Book and fastening the leaves, 1s'; 'For new binding and stringing the great chapel bible, 9s, 2d'; 'For binding a little Latin book, 10d'; 'For mending a communion book in folio, 6d'; 'For Tremellius' psalter, 7d'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 114r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1619/20, *Termino secundo*. 'For a prayer book for the chapel, 7s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9. In *Liber Magnus*, 1624/25.

¹³⁹⁰ See above, 319.

¹³⁹¹ 'For Trymelius (i.e. Tremellius') bible for the hall, 8s'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fol. 123r. Under 'Impensae Aulae et Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1608/09.

¹³⁹² After Tremellius' conversion to protestantism and his experience teaching Hebrew in Strasbourg he became professor of the Old Testament at the University of Heidelberg in 1561, and remained there until he was released from this post in 1577. The translation of the New Testament by Theodore Beza, which first appeared in 1569 at Geneva, was coupled with the Old Testament translated by Tremellius from Hebrew and Syriac, which included the Psalms. The five parts relating to the Old Testament were published at Frankfurt between 1575 and 1579, and in London in 1580, as well as in numerous later editions. The work was a joint effort of Tremellius and Franciscus Junius the elder, Tremellius' son-in-law.

the deployment of English and Latin Bibles appears common to conservative and radical protestants alike.

Despite the turbulence surrounding President Anyan's administrative and personal affairs, the chapel began to show signs of beautification, in all likelihood due to college's association with the ascending high church party. An extensive group of hangings was purchased and installed in 1625/26, and a portion of the wainscot painted.¹³⁹³ The organ was in frequent use as indicated by payments for repair and maintenance between 1618 and 1629; also included is a payment for new curtains in 1626/27.¹³⁹⁴

After the installation of the organ the chapel staff consisted of six individuals, much the same as it did during the pre-Reformation: two chaplains, one a precentor, the other sacrist, the subsacrist/clerk, the clerk/organist, and two choristers. The indication that two chaplains remained in direction of services, including one acting as precentor, is clarified in the reference to Richard Anyan, chaplain/precentor, and Thomas White, chaplain in 1623/24, both of whom were paid 'for reading Evening Prayer'.¹³⁹⁵ The question arises, however, as to whether the membership attended chapel on workdays/weekdays (as was the case after the eighteenth century) or only

¹³⁹³ 'For making holes in the wall for the joiner to fasten ye crests[?] of the hangings, 1s, 6d'; 'To the embroiderer for the chapel hangings, 9li, 1s'; 'For canvas 33 yards to line the hangings, 1li, 3s, 4½ d'; 'For nails for the chapel hangings and crest, 5s, 3½ d'; 'To the joiner for making a crest for the hanging about the chapel, 10s'; 'To the painter for colouring the wainscot, 7s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 18v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1625/26.

¹³⁹⁴ The following payments are listed under 'Impensae Sacelli' unless otherwise noted. 'To the roper for a rope for the organs, 1s, 6d'; 'July 3 To Mr Stoner for repairing the organs, 1li'; 'To Yorke the instrument maker and another for their pains about the organs, 7s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 136v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1621/22, *Termino tertio*. 'To Giles Yorke for mending an organ pipe Aug 2, 2s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 148v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1622/23, *Termino quarto*. 'For two stools for the organist, 2s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 163v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1623/24, *Termino quarto*. 'To Mr Dallam for mending the organs, 1li, 10s'; 'To Thomas Richardson the Joyner for covering the organs & a desk, 4s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 8v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1624/25. 'For a cord to the organs and a bell rope, 1s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 18v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1625/26. 'To Richard Hall for stuff & hanging the curtains about the organs, 3s, 7½ d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 28v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1626/27. 'Giles Yorke for mending the organs, 3s', CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 38v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1627/28. *Termino tertio*. 'To Yorke for mending the organ, 1s'; 'Jun 12 6 yards of thread line for the organs & a broom, 1s[?]'. CCCA, C/1/1/12, fol. 38v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1628/29 (filed separately as C/1/1/12), *Termino tertio*.

¹³⁹⁵ *Termino secundo*: 'To Mr Anyan for reading Evening prayer and for precentorship, 6s, 8d'; 'To Mr White for reading Evening prayer Ter' 1, 3s, 4d'; 'To Mr White for reading Evening prayer Ter' 2, 3s, 4d'; 'To Mr Anyan similiter and for precentor, 6s, 8d'. *Termino quarto*: 'To Mr White for reading Evening prayer ter' 3 and 4, 6s, 8d'; 'To Mr Anyan for praecentor ter' 3 and 4, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 163r. Under 'Impensae Feudorum' *Liber Magnus*, 1623/24.

on Sundays and major feast days during the early 1600s, especially in light of new statutes drawn up in 1576/77. Were others present while Anyan and White read evening prayer, or was the workday service including the rendering of the Psalms conducted between themselves in alternation?¹³⁹⁶ This remains an area for further investigation. The fact that two clerks assisted in services is corroborated by their payments under 'Stipendia', for example in 1622/23,¹³⁹⁷ as well as in references to pairs of clerks in 1615 and 1617 listed by Fowler.¹³⁹⁸ The body of fellows receiving a priest's/minister's stipend (53s, 4d) grew steadily until the death of Thomas Jackson in 1640. It fluctuated between sixteen at the outset of Spenser's tenure to an unprecedented eighteen during the last two years of Jackson's life and tenure.¹³⁹⁹

In addition to two chaplains and two clerks, the personnel were augmented by up to two choristers. The number of choristers per year generally remains at two, as confirmed by the *Libri Magni*.¹⁴⁰⁰ Consultation of the 'Vestes' and 'Stipendia' sections of the *Libri Magni* demonstrates that the majority of choristers became undergraduates and went on to higher degrees. Only a minority remained choristers without returning later.¹⁴⁰¹

¹³⁹⁶ Unfortunately the statutes of 1576/77 are no longer extant, thus barring them as a source for further investigation.

¹³⁹⁷ Mr Pres.; Mr VP.; Dr. Barcroft; Dr Aisgill; thirty M.A.s; three B.A.s; eight others (i.e. two clerks and six undergraduate scholars). CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 148r. Under 'Stipendia' in *Liber Magnus*, 1622/23.

¹³⁹⁸ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 427.

¹³⁹⁹ In 1608/09 at the outset of Spenser's tenure the number rises to sixteen and in 1612/13 dips down to eleven. In 1614/15 at the outset of Anyan's presidency the number decreases to nine but rises again to thirteen in 1617/18, dipping to eleven over the next two years and rising back up to fourteen in 1620/21. In 1625/26 the number rises to seventeen, decreasing to fourteen in 1626/27 and further to thirteen in 1629/30. At the outset of Thomas Jackson's presidency the number rises to sixteen and increases to eighteen in 1637/38 and 1639/40, the last year of his life. As in earlier years, the distribution of priests'/ministers' stipends is recorded under 'Stipendia omnium ordinum' in the *Libri Magni*.

¹⁴⁰⁰ See also Vol. II, Appendix V. Choristers remaining on the foundation of Corpus Christi College, 1528-1641, 551-5.

¹⁴⁰¹ For example: Tobias Giles, Gyles (chorister, 1609/10, 1610/11). CCCA, C/1/1/8. Under 'Vestes omnium ordinum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1610/11; and Anthony Nicklis (chorister, 1626/27? 1627/28). Like Samon in 1626/27 'Nicklis' is listed under 'Vestes' and not 'Stipendia' but receives no payment. In 1627/28 his name appears only under 'Vestes' ('Nicholas'), which accords him the old pre-1616 stipend of 10s for livery, thus indicating he was a chorister. According to Foster: Anthony Nicklis s. Ralph, of Oxford (city), pleb. Corpus Christi College, matric. entry 20 April 1627, aged 13; perhaps B.A. from Christ Church, 6 February 1634-5, as Owen. 'Nicklis, Anthony', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

It is debatable whether or not a number of choristers recorded between the death of Rainolds in 1607 and the beginning of Thomas Anyan's presidency in 1614 were actually 'dry'. They later matriculated as *discipuli* and went on to attain degrees: Thomas Gorstelow (chorister, age thirteen-fourteen 1610/11, 1611/12),¹⁴⁰² Thomas White (chorister, age eleven-thirteen, 1611/12, 1612/13, and most likely 1613/14, a year for which the accounts are missing),¹⁴⁰³ and Edward Holland/Holeand, (chorister, 1612/13, and most likely 1613/14; accounts missing for this year).¹⁴⁰⁴ If Thomas White the 'chorister' (1611-15) is the same 'Mr White' the 'chaplain', who was paid 'for reading Evening Prayer' in 1623/24, and the same 'Mr White' (also a chaplain) paid 'for a Latin prayer book and a Latin testament and for binding them together with the singing psalms' in 1631, this may suggest that Thomas White was indeed a chorister with vocal duties 1611-15. And if this is the case, then Gorstelow and Holland may have been selected on the basis of vocal talent, as well. The nature of the musical training that Gorstelow, White, or Holland received, either prior to their appointments at Corpus Christi¹⁴⁰⁵ or within the college while they were 'choristers' or undergraduates, remains an area for further research. If they had been

¹⁴⁰² According to the Libri Magni, Gorstelow was chorister in 1610/11 and 1611/12. His name appears in both 'Vestes' and 'Stipendia' as of 1612/13; therefore he was *discipulus* or possibly clerk. This continued until 1616/17 when, according to Foster, Gorstelow matriculated on 18 October 1616, aged nineteen and received his B.A. on 30 October 1616. It is more likely that Gorstelow was *discipulus* between 1612/13 and 1616/17 when he received the B.A. and is styled 'Domino Gorstelow'. If he were nineteen in 1616, then his age as chorister would have been *c.* thirteen. Gorstelow received the M.A. on 28 May 1620 and B.D. on 26 July 1628. He became vicar of Farnborough, Warwickshire, in 1630 and was incorporated at Cambridge in 1634. 'Gorstelow, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹⁴⁰³ White appears to have matriculated as *discipulus* in 1614/15, according to Foster at the age of fourteen, which would make him *c.* eleven at the time of his choristership. There are no 'Stipendia' payments for White between 1616/17 and 1622/23 (when White is already styled 'Magistro', i.e. having received the M.A.). Foster records his B.A. on 12 December 1620; his stipends appear to have come from a source other than the funds allotted for 'Stipendia'. 'White, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*. Fowler states that according to the *College Register*, Thomas White had agreed provisionally to perform the duties of chaplain in 1621 for his food and clothing, receiving a payment of 6s, 8d a term; the accounts appear to confirm this, for his name does not appear under 'Vestes' in 1619/20, 1620/21, 1621/22, or in 1622/23 (the year he receives xxx s stipend and is styled 'Magistro'). In 1623/24 he received 3s, 4d 'for reading Evening prayer' each term. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 163r. Under 'Impensae Feudorum' in *Liber Magnus*, 1623/24, recorded under *Ter'nis secundo, tertio*. Later in 1631 at the outset of President Jackson's tenure 4s, 4d was 'Paid to Mr White' on 14 January 1631 'for a Latin prayer book and a Latin testament and for binding them together with the singing psalms'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 75v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1631/32, *Termino primo. Nota bene*: As there was another Thomas White (chorister, 1593 and most likely clerk, 1604) there remains some confusion as to which Thomas White the payment refers; however, both had been choristers. This Thomas White appears to have been assuming the official duties of precentor and reader at this time.

¹⁴⁰⁴ According to Foster: Edward Holland was from Berkshire, doctoris fil. matric. Corpus Christi College, 27 October 1615, aged 15 (therefore, chorister *c.* age 12); B.A., 2 December 1619. 'Holland, Edward', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹⁴⁰⁵ An investigation of the counties, towns, and schools from whence these choristers came remains necessary in order to determine possible musical training.

trained within the college during their undergraduate years, it is conceivable that they lent their voices to the membership in the years prior to and following the installation of the Dallam organ.

After the installation of the organ at Corpus Christi the ages of choristers clearly begin to drop: eighteen- to twenty-year-old choristers (like Richard Hooker) gradually disappear from the *Register*. An examination of the 'Stipendia' and 'Vestes' sections of the *Libri Magni* between 1618 and 1629 at Corpus Christi reveals a list of choristers between the ages of twelve and fifteen;¹⁴⁰⁶ if Stanier's assumption is correct and boys' voices changed on average at *c.* fifteen, these boys could conceivably have been singing and possibly training with the clerk/organist.¹⁴⁰⁷ Further, considering the familiarity of Montague with musical provision for chapel personnel including choristers at the Chapel Royal,¹⁴⁰⁸ where he was dean, he might have expected the better-dressed choristers¹⁴⁰⁹ to resume their duties as singers, in repertory that reflected contemporary Prayer Book musical worship, including psalms, canticles, and anthems (many of which were in the verse-style). Although the evidence indicates that Corpus Christi had been taken up in the rising musical tide by 1618, the situation at Corpus provides a stark contrast to that at Magdalen, where chorister's ages began dropping much earlier, no doubt under the influence of President Nicholas Bond (president, Magdalen College, 1589-1608). Evidence at Magdalen indicates that the age of appointment drops after *c.* 1592 and thereafter, with not infrequent exceptions, remains about ten or eleven years of age; by the time the John Chappington organ was installed in 1596/97 the choir was clearly up and running.¹⁴¹⁰ Once again, this demonstrates how attitudes toward chapel music and ceremony were

¹⁴⁰⁶ CCCA, C/1/1/7, C/1/1/8, C/1/1/9. Under 'Vestes', 'Stipendia' in *Libri Magni*, 1617/18 - 1629/30. See below, 340-1.

¹⁴⁰⁷ The accounts after 1600 demonstrate that the chorister positions were appointed by the president to boys ranging between twelve and fifteen. CCCA, C/1/1/7, C/1/1/8, C/1/1/9. Under 'Vestes omnium ordinum' in *Libri Magni*, 1600/01 - 1629/30. See Vol. II, Appendix V. Choristers remaining on the foundation of Corpus Christi College, 1528-1641, 551-5. Further research is required to confirm choristers' ages after 1630.

¹⁴⁰⁸ The services of the Chapel Royal were maintained by chaplains, clerks and children (i.e. boy trebles) under the reigns of James I and Charles I.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Montague's efforts are manifested in the 'Vestes' payments of the *Libri Magni*, which increased in 1616/17.

¹⁴¹⁰ As noted earlier, in *c.* 1592, President Bond, who succeeded Humphrey in 1589, could stand the lack of voices no longer and began admitting boy trebles once again. Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 94-5.

not monochrome from college to college, especially at a time when Oxford was being infused with new theological and musical impulses.

Evidence at Corpus Christi reveals that the majority of the choristers appointed following the installation of the Dallam organ became undergraduates, most going on to higher degrees and ecclesiastical appointments:¹⁴¹¹ Richard Vaughan (chorister, 1619/20 at the age of *c.* fourteen), Edmund Vaughan (chorister, 1620/21 at age *c.* twelve, according to Foster), Thomas Fryth/Frith (chorister, 1620/21, *c.* age fourteen),¹⁴¹² Thomas Disney (chorister, 1624/25, age *c.* twelve),¹⁴¹³ and Thomas Samon (chorister, 1626/27, and in 1627/28? age *c.* fourteen in 1626, according to Foster).¹⁴¹⁴ There is a possibility that Richard and Edmund Vaughan, who proceeded to clerkships a year after their respective choristerships, may have been the organist/clerks.¹⁴¹⁵ Both Disney and Samon are recorded on the foundation through

¹⁴¹¹ This list is based upon the method previously outlined (i.e. comparing livery with membership stipends in the *Libri Magni*). Volumes consulted: CCCA, C/1/1/7, C/1/1/8, C/1/1/9. *Libri Magni*, 1594-1628.

¹⁴¹² Thomas Fryth, Frith (chorister, 1620/21, *c.* age fourteen). 'ffrith' is listed only among the 'Vestes' 1621/22, 1622/23, 1623/24, and not afterwards; according to Foster: of Oxon, cler. fil; matric. Corpus Christi College, 9 November 1621, aged fourteen. 'Frith, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*. Therefore, he may have either remained a chorister after 1620/21 or became clerk.

¹⁴¹³ According to Foster: Thomas Disney was son of Henry, of Swinderby, co. Lincoln, equitis. matric. Corpus Christi College, 28 January 1630-1, aged eighteen; B.A., 19 February 1630-1; M.A., 18 March 1633-4 (perhaps sequestered to the rectory of Ninfield, Sussex, 1645); rector of Stoke Hammond, 1651, and of Maids Morton, 1665-71, vicar of Bradwell 1666-82, all in Bucks; father of Matthew, 1675. 'Disney, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*. According to Milne: Thomas Disney, Lincolnshire, chorister 1624, *discipulus* 1627, fellow 1635. Milne's records are corroborated in the *Libri Magni*, making Foster's date of matriculation three years too late.

¹⁴¹⁴ According to Foster, Thomas Samon was son of Henry Samon of Oxford, gentleman. He was admitted to Brasenose College in October 1626, aged fourteen. In 1626/27 Samon's name is listed under both 'Vestes' and 'Stipendia' but receives no payment under either. It appears that Samon may either have been under an academic apprenticeship of some sort and/or a choristership. In 1627/28 Samon receives 10s under 'Vestes', but his name fails to appear under 'Stipendia', which traditionally indicates the status of chorister. B.A., February 1631; M.A., March 1634; *scholaris* (probationary fellow), 1637. He died on 25 January 1640 and was buried in college chapel. 'Samon, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹⁴¹⁵ Richard Vaughan, (chorister, 1619/20 at the age of *c.* fourteen) became clerk according to Milne in 1620/21, a year after his choristership, therefore at age fifteen (Milne, *Alphabetical List of Members*, 55); it remains uncertain if Vaughan was the organist/clerk. At fifteen it is imaginable that his voice had changed and that he could have served the chapel musically as clerk/organist, especially in light of chorister training received prior to his appointment at Corpus. Richard Vaughan remained on the foundation until at least 4 February 1623-24 when he had earned his B.A. After this time his stipends as *discipulus* and allotment for livery cease. Foster notes that he earned his M.A. at Jesus College on 5 July 1626. According to Foster: Edmund Vaughan (chorister, 1620/21 at age *c.* twelve) came from Surrey, cler. fil.; matric. Corpus Christi College, entry, 9 November 1621, aged 12; chorister, 1621; scholar, B.A., 14 October 1628; fellow, M.A., 27 January 1631-2; B.D., 6 February 1639-40). Edmund Vaughan also became clerk, the year of his matriculation (1621/22), according to Milne. It appears rare that a thirteen-year-old would have been chosen as clerk. Might this imply he was organist/clerk?

1640, indicating the possibility of their vocal collaboration in services during Thomas Jackson's tenure. One of England's renowned protestant divines, Daniel Featly, sang as chorister at Magdalen during the tenure of Nicholas Bond (president, 1589-1608) and matriculated at Corpus in 1594.¹⁴¹⁶ To summarise: the potential body of singers that were able to lend their voices to the sung repertory yearly from 1618 to c. 1630 included: two chaplains (one, a precentor as well as reader), two clerks (one, an organist), two choristers, as well as the above-mentioned ex-chorister members.

Thomas Anyan's musical interests must be taken into consideration in light of the statutory requirement that the president appoint choristers (provided that this was not changed by new statutes in 1576/77). If he appointed choristers based on musical as well as academic abilities he would have been familiar with their previous training. For example, he might have considered appointing Richard and Edmund Vaughan in light of their organ-playing abilities. This is pure speculation; however, the Dallam organ was also installed under the authority of Thomas Anyan and played and maintained regularly throughout the rest of his tenure.

7. 1631-1658. The ascendancy of Laudian-style worship at Corpus Christi and its demise during the Parliamentary Visitations of Oxford, 1647-58

This is a period marked by an increasingly active musical environment within the chapel - one that reached a peak in the 1630s after William Laud became archbishop of Canterbury and Thomas Jackson president of Corpus Christi. After Richard Neile became bishop of Winchester and college Visitor in 1628, Thomas Anyan's resignation was negotiated; in April 1629 Anyan was succeeded by John Holt, who remained in office a brief year and nine months.¹⁴¹⁷ Neile's firing of Anyan set the tone for a new era of high church worship; as in most colleges with heads of house

Assuming that he had learned to play the organ prior to his appointment as chorister, this may have been the case.

¹⁴¹⁶ Soon after he attained B.D. in 1613 Featly became rector of Northhill, Cornwall, and received his D.D. on 12 July 1617, just months before the installation of the Dallam organ. According to Foster: after receiving D.D. on 12 July 1617 Featly became rector of Lambeth, 1618; domestic chaplain to Dr. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; one of the brethren of the Savoy Hospital; rector of All Hallows, Bread Street, 1626, and of Acton, Middlesex, 1627; member of Lincoln's Inn, 1628 until deprived in 1643; was provost of Chelsea college. 'Featly, Daniel', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹⁴¹⁷ Holt almost simultaneously ceded his rectory of Cranleigh, Surrey, to Anyan at the moment of his appointment.

associated with the Durham House group, extensive beautification of the chapel occurred in typical Laudian-style fashion. After Thomas Jackson became president in January 1631 his affinity for the Laudian-style manifested itself in a programme of chapel beautification. His attraction to and knowledge of organs, which had developed steadily after the installation of the Thomas Dallam organ at Corpus Christi in 1618, resulted in maintenance and major renovation of the Dallam organ in the 1640s.¹⁴¹⁸ Had it not been for Parliamentary intervention after the execution of Charles I, musical worship associated with Laudian-style, which included the pronounced use of the organ, would have continued to flourish at Corpus Christi.

The Durham House group,¹⁴¹⁹ of which Thomas Jackson and his mentors Richard Neile and William Laud were members, has been addressed above in Chapter Four. Like Neile and other Durham House members, Jackson adopted the tenets of church edification espoused by Howson, Hooker, Andrewes, and Laud in their campaign to revive 'the beauty of holiness' in the Church of England; the *Libri Magni* demonstrate Jackson's penchant for chapel beautification. As mentioned in Chapter Four, organs were essential elements of physical adornment, and choral music with organs intrinsic elements of spiritual edification; Thomas Dallam and his son Robert were the undisputed masters in contemporary organ building and the preferred artisans of Durham House members. Jackson, who had witnessed the installation of the Thomas Dallam organ in 1618, maintained the instrument, and in 1638/39, a year before his death, had it overhauled.

Three notable individuals appear to have contributed to Thomas Jackson's religious proclivities and tastes in ceremony and music, which in turn impacted chapel worship at Corpus Christi during his presidency. It is of note, that a trio of eminent individuals, including the king, also played a role in William Beale's religious and political outlook and in his appointment of the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge. Richard Neile, the spiritual and administrative leader of the Durham House group, was without doubt Jackson's most influential mentor. Although Neile

¹⁴¹⁸ Jackson's knowledge of Dallam undoubtedly grew from connections with his later mentor, William Laud, who installed a Dallam organ at St. John's in 1619, as well as with Bishop Neile, who after appointing Jackson chaplain, had yet another Thomas Dallam organ installed at Durham Cathedral in 1622, as mentioned above.

¹⁴¹⁹ Foster, 'Durham House group', *ODNBO*. See above, Chapter Four, 208, nt. 836.

was bishop of Rochester (1608), Lichfield and Coventry (1610), Lincoln (1614), Durham (1617), and bishop of York (1631), it was in his capacities as bishop of Winchester (1628) and Visitor to Corpus Christi and New College that he effected substantial changes in chapel worship within those foundations. Most importantly, it was through Neile's chaplain and protégé, Thomas Jackson, whom he nominated as chaplain to Charles I,¹⁴²⁰ that significant chapel alteration and beautification occurred at Corpus Christi.

Jackson's growing interest in the edification of worship was complemented by an ever-intensifying anti-Calvinist agenda. Jackson's anti-Calvinism grew markedly after 1623 when Neile placed Jackson in the strategically important vicarage of St. Nicholas, Newcastle; there he evolved into a notorious anti-Calvinist polemicist. In 1625 Jackson quit his Corpus fellowship to assume duties as Neile's chaplain in Durham, a position he held simultaneously with one at the rectory of Winston in Durham and Newcastle.¹⁴²¹

Jackson, like colleagues in the Durham House group, such as Richard Neile, William Laud, and Richard Mountague, supported the concept of free will and the refutation of unconditional predestination: the principle tenets of Arminian doctrine; however, in contrast to his colleagues, who distanced themselves from the designation

¹⁴²⁰ Bruce, J., (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1629-31* (London, 1860), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1629-31> [accessed 1 March 2017], vol. 182, 12 January 1630/31.

¹⁴²¹ Jackson was instituted on 27 November 1623 to the strategically important vicarage of St. Nicholas, Newcastle. This appears a maneuver of Neile and the anti-Calvinist movement to place anti-Calvinists in key positions; the appointment was a gift of Bishop Richard Milbourne of Carlisle, a known anti-Calvinist with local connections. It was also a move to block the appointment of Robert Jenison, a Cambridge-educated puritan and protégé of Seth Ward, who had influential relatives in Newcastle. Hegarty, 'Jackson, Thomas'. Jackson found Newcastle a puritan stronghold 'wherein Knox, Macbray, and Udall had sown their tares'. Vaughan, E., 'The life and death of the Reverend, learned and pious Dr. Jackson', in T. Jackson, *Works*, vol. 9, (1844), 550-51. Consequently he led an assault at Newcastle on puritanism and the reliance on predestination. A doctrinal dispute with Robert Jenison was the result. Jenison was assisted in upholding the synod of Dort by leading Calvinists, including Seth Ward, Thomas Gataker, and Bishop John Davenant; Jackson was also aided by his lecturer and successor at Newcastle, Yeldard Alvey. At this point Jackson had not yet attained his formal association with Arminianism. Jackson resigned his Corpus fellowship in January 1625 and lived for six years principally in the north. He was also presented the rectory of Winston in Durham and held this position together with Newcastle. John Udall, one of the puritan heavyweights at Newcastle and an enemy of church music, sought to undermine music's role in religious devotion and worship by attacking the classical discourse of comfort and healing often associated with it. Udall, J., *A commentarie vpon the Lamentations of Ieremy* (1593), 14; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 72.

'Arminian', Jackson read and appreciated Arminius' work.¹⁴²² But there were other elements now associated with 'Arminianism'¹⁴²³ that appealed to Jackson and his Durham House colleagues - above all, an interest in gleaning opulent chapel furnishings and ceremonial with a musically enhanced Prayer Book liturgy. These aspects were no doubt exposed to Jackson, not least, through John Cosin's notorious efforts to enrich musical worship at Durham Cathedral.¹⁴²⁴

In 1625 Jackson was both chaplain to Neile in Durham, and chaplain in ordinary to Charles I, the second member of the trio influencing Jackson. Though Jackson was not often at Court in light of his northern appointments, he maintained a friendship with the king, who not only recommended Jackson for election at Corpus Christi after John Holt's brief presidency (1629-31), but also presented him on 16 March 1635 with a canonry of Winchester, obtaining royal dispensation for non-residency.¹⁴²⁵ Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that liturgical music at Durham Cathedral and the Chapel Royal as well as the musical tastes of Neile and the king began to figure into Jackson's conception of chapel worship; this would achieve fruition with the patronage of William Laud.

Laud was the third of Jackson's influential mentors, who together with Charles I influenced the nature of chapel worship at Corpus Christi. According to Anthony Wood, Jackson was elected president of Corpus Christi 'partly with the helps of

¹⁴²² Arminianism is often misleadingly associated with all members of the Durham House group. See above, Chapter Four, 209, nt. 844. In contrast to Mountague, who disliked labels and in particular renounced the label 'Arminian', Jackson acknowledged Arminius as a prolific theologian, and espoused himself at least in part to Arminius' precepts. This came about gradually after 1628. According to Fowler, who tends to throw Durham House members into the same pot, Jackson became closely identified 'with Laud, Neile, and, generally, with the Arminian party in the Church'; however, Fowler fails to observe that neither Laud nor Neile appreciated being labeled 'Arminian'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 191. In 1628 Jackson was censured in the House of Commons, where his former pupil Richard Spencer was a leading figure of the minority of members defending Arminians. *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. I, 924). 1628 also witnessed the publication of Jackson's *Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes*, the sixth book of his commentaries; this work strongly argued against unconditional predestination and sided with Arminius on free will, making 1628 the point at which Jackson became publically linked to Arminianism. Jackson's Arminian proclivities were targeted later in satirical verses entitled: 'The academicall army of epidemicall Arminians' (September, 1632). Hegarty, 'Jackson, Thomas'.

¹⁴²³ See Thesis Conclusions and Afterword, 374-6, for a discussion of the overly generous usage of the anachronistic term 'Arminian'.

¹⁴²⁴ John Cosin replaced the metrical psalms with 'anthems' at Durham Cathedral, unleashing a scathing refute from prebend, Peter Smart. See above, Chapter Four, 212, nt. 853.

¹⁴²⁵ Hegarty, 'Jackson, Thomas'.

Neile, bishop of Durham [and later of Winchester], but more by the endeavors of Dr. Laud.¹⁴²⁶ Though Jackson was chaplain to Charles I, it appears to have been Laud rather than the king who lay behind Jackson's election at Corpus Christi.¹⁴²⁷

The relationship between Jackson and Laud and the interaction with Charles I (whose Chapel Royal incorporated extravagant choral music and the use of the organ, as mentioned above) may help explain the pronounced attention to music and ritual in worship during Jackson's presidency. Laud and Charles I were in agreement on the purpose and manner of worship, and Laud, particularly in his capacities as dean of Charles I's Chapel Royal (Laud succeeded Launcelot Andrewes in September 1626), altered the services there to privilege prayer over preaching¹⁴²⁸ as well as to promote music, which dispensed a prominent role to the organ.¹⁴²⁹ Ultimately, a conciliatory constellation formed by Neile, Charles I, Laud, and Jackson presided over Corpus Christi during Jackson's presidency - small wonder that Jackson maintained and obviously enjoyed the organ, particularly in light of the great interest in the instrument shown by Montague, Andrewes, Neile, Laud, and not least, Charles I.

Archival evidence of Laudian-style chapel beautification and Prayer Book services enhanced by music and the organ, 1630-1642

The nine, faction-free years of Jackson's presidency saw a restoration of formality and opulence in worship. The maintenance of copes and vestments,¹⁴³⁰ a great portion of which were pre-Reformation items still in possession of the college, demonstrates the high church realisation of Prayer Book worship associated with some Durham

¹⁴²⁶ Laud did not become archbishop of Canterbury until 1633, but held considerable sway over Oxford affairs, particularly at New College and Corpus Christi. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 189.

¹⁴²⁷ Laud's admiration for Jackson also manifested itself in the procurement of the deanery of Peterborough for him on 17 January 1639. Laud's appreciation of Jackson's talent and enthusiasm did have limits; early in 1640 Laud and the vice-chancellor prevented Jackson from publishing sermons that would have contravened the royal moratorium on controversial theology. Hegarty, 'Jackson, Thomas'.

¹⁴²⁸ Colclough, *John Donne's Professional Lives*, 199.

¹⁴²⁹ Charles I's Chapel Royal was headed by a dean and administered by a sub-dean; the Gentlemen who formed the choir included both priests and laymen. There were twelve children (choristers) and supporting officers. For a description of Henrietta Maria's chapel see Chapter Four, 211. nt. 849.

¹⁴³⁰ The following items are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'Aug 19 For a chest of miter round & revayled with lapt and pendants to put...in the vestments belonging to the chapel, 4li, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 128v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1636/37. 'For a chafing dish for the vestry, for perfumes & airing the copes, 1s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 149r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39. 'May 2 Paid then to Richard Hall for mending the copes ut patet...19s, 9d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 158v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1639/40.

House members, most notably, John Cosin and Richard Mountague.¹⁴³¹ The extensive collection of copes and vestments competed for space in the vestry with the organ, which may have resulted in structural alterations in 1638/39 to create more room for them. Rich textiles were deployed in the decoration of many objects associated with the services, for example, communion cloths, pulpit cloths, and cushions.¹⁴³² Master glazier Abraham van Linge, who also produced stained glass for Wadham, Queen's, University, and Lincoln Colleges and for Christ Church, was hired to fabricate sixty-six pieces of new glass for the chapel in 1635/36, as well as glass in the rooms of President Jackson and fellow Thomas Gorstelow.¹⁴³³ Finally, no Laudian-style chapel was complete without communion rails and a decorated pulpit; in 1635/36 at the zenith of Laudian-style refurbishment communion rails and a frame for the pulpit were added.¹⁴³⁴ Jackson's talents as royal chaplain and his affinity for Laudian-style ceremonial (which characterised worship at the Caroline court) must have pleased Charles I; the refurbished chapel was graced by the king, who visited Oxford on 29 August 1636,¹⁴³⁵ just months after he had presented Jackson with a canonry at Winchester.

¹⁴³¹ See above, Chapter Four, 210, nt. 845.

¹⁴³² The following items are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'For velvet, silk, etc, about the cushions, 11li, 13s, 7d'; 'For making the pulpit cloth & cushions before the President & Vicepres, for making of Arms[?], for gold and silver for mending the rest of the cloths, 6li, 8s, 6d'; 'To Evath, [Evatts, Evans?] for work done about the pulpit cloth, cushions & the rest & for the flock, 1li, 10s'; 'For 2 dozen galame[?] lace & frankincense, 15s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 65v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1630/31. 'Jan 31 Paid then to Edward Oldam for mats round about the chapel, 16s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 75v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1631/32. 'Mar 2 To Evatts the Upholster for two cushions, mailing of two cushions, & fringe for four, 1li, 19s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 85v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1632/33. 'For a surplice for Mr President, 3li'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 98v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1633/34. 'Mar 24 For a white damask communion cloth, 3li, 5s'; 'It[s] carriage and making of the same, 2s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 109v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1634/35.

¹⁴³³ 'Mar 26 To Mr Vanling for 66 pieces of painted glass in the chapel & hall at 4s the piece ut patet, 13li, 4s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 118v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1635/36. Nov. 25: 'Paid then to Mr Vanling for work done in the Vice-president's and Mr Gorstelow's chamber, 2li'. Under 'Impensae Internae', same year. Presumably this was Abraham van Linge, who also produced stained glass for the colleges of Wadham, Queen's, University, and Lincoln and for Christ Church.

¹⁴³⁴ 'Aug 23 For the rail before the communion table, 4li, 10s'; 'Sep 24 For altering the communion table, 3s, 6d'; 'For a frame for the pulpit & mending the pulpit, 1li, 5s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 118v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1635/36.

¹⁴³⁵ 'To the woman for washing the chapel & vestry and for herbs at the King's coming, 1s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 118v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1635/36. 'Aug 29: To the King's Trumpeters at the king's coming to Oxford, 1li'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 120r. Under 'Impensae Externae' same year. 'For a scarlet gown and a foot cloth for Mr President at the King's coming to Oxford and for the president's use at any time, 18li'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 129r. Under 'In camera Praesidentis', same year. 'Nov. 10: For mending the hangings and carpet in the hall and in the lodgings against the King's coming 1636, 6s, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 149r. Under 'Impensae Aula et Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39 (obviously, a payment in arrears).

Throughout Jackson's presidency the principal liturgical instruments of worship remained the *Book of Common Prayer*, psalters, and the Bible.¹⁴³⁶ Jackson, like his predecessors, also continued the tradition of utilising Latin service books,¹⁴³⁷ including a Latin Prayer Book and Bible. A Latin Bible was also procured for the hall in 1643/44.¹⁴³⁸ The extent to which liturgy in Latin had been engrained in the fabric of pre-Commonwealth worship at Corpus is substantial. The custom did not end after the Interregnum; the first payment of the chapel accounts in 1660/61 (18 December) lists the following: 'To Mr Elis for a Lattine Liturgie, 2s'.¹⁴³⁹

Thomas White (the chaplain and ex-chorister addressed above)¹⁴⁴⁰ procured a Latin Prayer Book and Latin Testament bound with 'the singing Psalms' in 1631/32.¹⁴⁴¹ This may once again suggest metrical but un-harmonised versions as harmonised versions at the time were generally printed in partbooks or tablebooks. When and how the Latin liturgy was deployed in chapel services and to what extent the Latin form of the *Book of Common Prayer* displaced the English texts remains a subject for further research. It may be helpful to note that settings of the preces, festal psalms, and canticles surviving in partbooks elsewhere are always set in English.

During the 1630s the chapel staff sustained the same musical function and original statutory numbers as it had in the 1620s: two chaplains (often styled 'senior' and 'junior', one a precentor, the other sacrist),¹⁴⁴² the subsacrist/clerk, the organist/clerk,

¹⁴³⁶ The following items are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'For a psalter for the chapel, 8s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 65v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1630/31. 'Feb 3 For mending the chapel bible to Wilcocks, 1s, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 75v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1631/32. 'Sept 29 Paid then to Mr Huggins for two common prayer books for the chapel, 17s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 98v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1633/34. 'Jan 23 To Elis the bookbinder for a great Chapel Bible, 2li, 12s'; 'Sept 24 For binding a book for the chapel, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 118v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1635/36. 'For two prayer books in the chapel for the fast, 2s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 128v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1636/37.

¹⁴³⁷ The following items are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'A Latin psalter for the chapel, 1s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 65v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1630/31. 'Jan 14 Paid to Mr White for a Latin prayer book and a Latin testament and for binding them together with the singing psalms [possibly un-harmonised arrangements], 4s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 75v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1631/32.

¹⁴³⁸ 'For a Latin Bible for the hall & paper, 8s'. CCCA, C/1/1/10, fol. 29r. Under 'Impensae Aulae et Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1643/44.

¹⁴³⁹ CCCA, C/1/1/13, unfoliated. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1660/61.

¹⁴⁴⁰ See above, 314, 336.

¹⁴⁴¹ See above, 338, nt. 1403.

¹⁴⁴² Two chaplains remained in charge of services, one of whom also acted as precentor. This is illustrated by the 1623/24 references to Richard Anyan, chaplain/precentor, and Thomas White, chaplain, both of whom were paid 'for reading Evening Prayer'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 163r. Under 'Impensae Feudorum' *Liber Magnus*, 1623/24. See above, 336, nt. 1395. Similar references continue

and one to two choristers,¹⁴⁴³ who were most likely appointed on musical as well as academic merit.¹⁴⁴⁴ This nucleus may have been enlarged by five to six ex-choristers,¹⁴⁴⁵ to form a choral body of up to ten to twelve singers. This would be sufficient to perform music in four and five parts in both full and verse idioms. One can only speculate as to what repertory was sung. Due to the connections between Jackson and his mentor William Laud, who also installed a fine Thomas Dallam organ at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1619, the St. John's repertory mentioned above (St. John's College, Oxford, MSS 180 and 181) becomes a possibility. Further, both Corpus Christi and New College engaged Robert Gordon to work on their organs (Gordon made extensive organ overhauls) and both colleges made improvements surrounding their instruments (i.e. vestry renovations) within a year of one another;

through 1646/47 when the following is recorded: 'Jun 5 To Mr Chydly pro stipend' as Senior Chaplain for reading Evening Prayer, 13s, 4d'; 'Jul 12 To Mr Allen for reading evening prayer ter' 1 & 2, 6s, 8d'; 'Aug 5 To Mr Allen for reading evening prayer ter' 3, 3s, 4d'; 'Aug 14 To Mr Chydly as precentor & for evening prayer ter' 3, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/10, fol. 45v. Under 'Claustri, Sacelli et Bibliothecae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1646/47. According to Fowler, William Chidley matriculated on 6 August 1638 and Henry Allen on 27 May, 1646. Edward Eales, Allen's replacement at the beginning of 1648, and Childley were both ejected during the visitation in October 1648. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 424. The 1631 reference, 'Paid to Mr White for a Latin prayer book and a Latin testament and for binding them together with the singing psalms', appears to suggest that White may have been acting as precentor and directing the singers. *Nota bene*: It remains uncertain if this is Thomas White (chorister, 1593 and possibly clerk in 1604) or Thomas White (chorister, 1611/12, 1612/13).

¹⁴⁴³ Two choristers are recorded each year in the *Libri Magni* between 1631 and 1641 (names that appear under 'Vestes' and not under 'Stipendia'). The following payments are found under 'Vestes'. 'Nicolis' and 'Platt'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 65r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1630/31. 'Plat' and 'Boden'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 75v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1631/32. 'Plat' and 'Bodin'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 86r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1632/33. 'Platt' and 'Jackson'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 98r. In *Liber Magnus*, in 1633/34. Choristers simply listed as 'Cor: sen' and 'Cor: iun'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 109r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1634/35. Choristers listed in same manner. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 118r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1635/36. Choristers listed in same manner. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 128r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1636/37. Last four names not listed under 'Stipendia' but appear at end of list of 'Vestes' [usually a sign that they were choristers]: 'Evely', 'Bagly', 'Langly', 'Slatter'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 137v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1637/38. 'Slater' [appears to have continued on as chorister] and 'Fisher'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 148v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39. 'Slatter' and 'Fisher'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 158r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1639/40. 'Slatter' and 'Fisher'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 168r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1640/41.

¹⁴⁴⁴ In light of the above-mentioned familiarity of Andrewes and Laud with the musical worship in the Chapel Royal (which Laud himself reordered together with Charles I), it is reasonable to assume that the choral force at Corpus would have included boy trebles. This could have been re-inforced through Laud's protégé, Thomas Jackson. Further investigation is required in order to determine the ages of choristers appointed by Jackson.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Anthony Nicklis (matric. Corpus Christi College, entry 20 April 1627, aged 13), Thomas Samon (remained resident until 1640 when he died), and Thomas Disney (remained resident until 1645, when according to Foster he may have been sequestered to the rectory of Ninfield, Sussex). Of the choristers established by the *Libri Magni* 1630-40, Platt (William, presumably, chorister, 1630/31, 1631/32, 1632/33, 1633/34) matriculated on 28 August 1634 and remained on the foundation until 1636 at the latest, when he became a clerk at Magdalen College (see Vol. II, Appendix V, 554). Of the group of choristers 1630-40 there appear to be a number of 'Jacksons' that matriculated: James Jackson matriculated, 1636; James Jackson (most likely the same individual) was admitted *discipulus*, 1637; Lawrence Jackson was appointed clerk, 1635 and Thomas Jackson matriculated, 1634.

might the state of awareness displayed between the two foundations extend into the realm of musical repertory? If so, it would not be unreasonable to assume that works contained in the *New College Chapel Choir Books*¹⁴⁴⁶ were performed at Corpus Christi.

The *Libri Magni* indicate that there were a great number of fellows taking a priest's (i.e. minister's) stipend of 53s, 4d; this number fluctuated between sixteen and an unprecedented eighteen in 1639/40, the last year of Jackson's life. Thus, there remained a large pool from which to draw at least some¹⁴⁴⁷ of the chaplains. After the arrival of Parliamentary Visitors in 1647 the number of fellow-priests/ministers plummeted to one, but rose again later in 1654.¹⁴⁴⁸

It is likely that Jackson enjoyed the organ. Within days of his election in January 1631 the organ was repaired.¹⁴⁴⁹ Seven years later in November 1638 a major renovation of the vestry occurred, presumably in conjunction with a restoration of (or additions to) the Thomas Dallam organ.¹⁴⁵⁰ Robert Gordon executed the work on the organ.¹⁴⁵¹ Gordon's name also surfaces at New College in a payment for organ repair (most likely for the John Chappington organ) during the same term in 1638/39;¹⁴⁵² however, his work remains obscure, and we know of no organs constructed by him.

¹⁴⁴⁶ The *New College Chapel Choir Books* contain valuable manuscripts of early seventeenth-century choral repertory sung at New College, including works of Tallis, Byrd, Batte, Gibbons, Farrant, Tomkins, Mundy, and Child. Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. c. 46-51, d. 149-69, c. 22-5, fol. 32.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Some may have continued to be externally sourced.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Numbers diminish from sixteen during the last year of Jackson's life/tenure to twelve in 1641/42, then down to one in 1648/49 and 1649/50, the period of the Parliamentary Visitation. Numbers rise again during the Interregnum. See below.

¹⁴⁴⁹ 'For mending the organs the 5 of February, 1s'; 'A line for the chapel bell and organs, 3s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 65v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1630/31.

¹⁴⁵⁰ The following entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'To the carpenter for making a partition in the vestry at the back of the Organ, 2li, 6s'; 'For another partition in the vestry by the side of the organ by the staircase, 15s, 11d'; 'To the plaisterer for work done in the vestry at the back of the organ, 1li, 4s'; 'For a chafing dish for the vestry, for perfumes & airing the copes, 1s'; 'Paid to Robert Gordon towards the making of the Organs, 32li, 6s, 9d'; *Termino quarto*: 'To the joiner for work done in the vestry, 11li, 15s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 149r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39. 'Nov 22 Paid then to the Plaisterer for work done in the vestry about the organ loft, 12s, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 158v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1639/40.

¹⁴⁵¹ 'Nov 13 [?] Paid to Robert Gordon towards the making of the Organs, 32li, 6s, 9d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 149r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39. Gordon's name is obscure, though he would not be the only organ-builder during the 1630s whose name appears only once or twice in church and chapel accounts. I am grateful to Dominic Gwynn for this observation.

¹⁴⁵² 'So[lutum] to Robert Gordon for mending the Bellowes and scowring & mending ye pipes of ye Organs, 5li, 0s, 0d'. NCA, 4202. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1638/39.

The sum of just over £32 at Corpus Christi College is modest: it is insufficient to account for a second small organ or even another division. In light of Gordon's abilities in organ repair rather than in organ building, his 'making of the Organs' at Corpus Christi could therefore be more likely interpreted as 'making [good] the Organs', and the partition made in the wall behind the organ may have facilitated access to the instrument during its overhaul. The extent of construction suggests that the organ was dismantled in order for wholesale work on the walls and roof; if so, £32 would appear reasonable for removal and re-installation. Further, the partitions made at the back of the organ and in the vestry 'by the side of the organ by the staircase' occur with a payment 'For a chafing dish for the vestry, for perfumes & airing the copes'; might the partitions also have been made with the intention of providing more air for the extensive collection of vestments and copes? Notwithstanding all this work, the active life of the organ seems to have been short. Thomas Jackson died in college on 21 September 1640; the organ remained in place, though no further payments for repair occur through the 1640s. The precise date the organ's removal is not recorded; however, evidence shows that the organ had been removed by the first term of 1649/50 when a payment of 4li, 13s, 6d is made on 18 November 1649 'To Goodman Walker for making a round table in the President's Lodging and making the new seat in the organ place'.¹⁴⁵³ This suggests that the organ must have been removed before or shortly after the Parliamentary visitation commenced in 1647.

The cessation of the post of organist is confirmed later. On 11 August 1653 according to the college 'Acts and Proceedings':

That whereas, by the statutes, the Clerks had constant employment, the one as Pulsator Campanae the other as Modulator Organorum, there being now no use of one part of their employment, it is now ordered that they shall in lieu thereof to take care for to begin in the singing of the Psalm. Ed. Staunton [the president], et al.¹⁴⁵⁴

After the organ had been removed and other service music discontinued, the clerks then assumed responsibility as cantors of the metrical psalms, just like the parish

¹⁴⁵³ CCCA, C/1/1/10, fol. 72r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1649/50.

¹⁴⁵⁴ CCCA, B/4/3/29. *Acts and Proceedings*.

clerk. Care was taken in preserving the organ during and after its removal, for an entry at the Restoration indicates that 'the materials of the organ' were bought back from 'Mrs. Carter' in 1660/61.¹⁴⁵⁵

Chapel worship after the death of Thomas Jackson

There is little to report regarding the chapel and its worship during the years immediately following the death of Thomas Jackson. Robert Newlyn (Newlyn) was elected president on 9 October 1640. The significant period of change began in 1647. The ordinance was passed by the House of Lords and Commons 'for the Visitation and Reformation of the University of Oxford and the several Colleges and Halls therein' on 1 May 1647; the visitation commenced on 17 March 1648. On 9 May 1648 the members of Corpus Christi were summoned to appear before the Visitors and submit to the authority of Parliament. With very few exceptions, Corpus Christi's members held fast to the power invested in them by their statutes, the power of the king, and that of the bishop of Winchester, and rejected submission to the Parliamentary Visitors. Representative of their replies was that of fellow Thomas Jennyns:

Whereas it clearly appeares by the Priviledges of this Universitie, that the Visitation of it is soly in the Kinges power, or in the power of those who imediately dirive their authority from him soe to do, this beinge considered, I cannot submitt to these Visitors appoynted by the Parliament: As I am a Member of C:C:Colledge, I cannot without perjury acknowledge any Visitors but the bishop of Winchester. This is my Answer to which I subscribe. THO: JENNYNGS.¹⁴⁵⁶

Regardless of such resistance, Parliamentary authority prevailed. Edmund Staunton/Stanton (1600 - 70), former fellow and avowed evangelical minister was appointed president on 22 May 1648, and served until the Restoration. Over the following twelve months, Robert Newlyn was ejected from the presidency,¹⁴⁵⁷ along

¹⁴⁵⁵ 'May 15 To Mrs Carter for the materials of the organ, 6li, 11s, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/13, unfoliated. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1660/61.

¹⁴⁵⁶ 'The Answeres of Corpus Christi Colledge, May 9th, 1648'. Excised from M. Burrows' edition of the *Visitor's Register*, 61-4 and cited in Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 205.

¹⁴⁵⁷ He was re-instated in 1660, and held the office until his death in 1688.

with the greater part of the foundation, including the chaplains, clerks, and choristers.¹⁴⁵⁸

Staunton brought strong discipline to the college, and there were great changes in the chapel, notably the substitution of the presbyterian for the Anglican form of worship by Parliamentary authority. While former members clinging to the Prayer Book sought other solutions for worship,¹⁴⁵⁹ new presbyterian forms of worship and confession,¹⁴⁶⁰ proposed by the 'Westminster Assembly of Divines'¹⁴⁶¹ of which Staunton was a member, dominated chapel services.¹⁴⁶²

Ironically, Richard Fox's provision for chapel personnel managed to remain resilient through one of the most radical and religiously inconsistent periods in English history. Albeit in a manner fully incomprehensible to Richard Fox, services at Corpus Christi during the Interregnum continue to have been led by two chaplains¹⁴⁶³ (one styled 'senior', the other 'junior', with one acting as precentor¹⁴⁶⁴) and complemented by two clerks (one who rang bells and one who intoned the Psalms and aided those singing),¹⁴⁶⁵ who are generally listed in pairs.¹⁴⁶⁶ Pairs of choristers also continue to

¹⁴⁵⁸ According to Fowler, Josiah Lane, clerk, submitted to the Visitors on 6 June 1648, subsequently became fellow, and was ejected at the Restoration; 'on a rough calculation the proportion of those who finally disappeared from the College to those who remained was probably about four to one'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 217-18.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Wood's *Annals* (December 1648) record private worship 'in the house of Mr Thomas Willis, a Physician, against Merton College Church'. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*. Under December 1648; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 216. See above, Chapter Three, 111, nt. 445 for greater detail.

¹⁴⁶⁰ For a brief explanation of the presbyterian forms of worship see above, Chapter Three, Section 1. Markers of religious change by monarch/proctor, including royal injunctions and Acts of Parliament, 111.

¹⁴⁶¹ See Chapter Three, 111, nt. 444.

¹⁴⁶² See Chapter Three, 111.

¹⁴⁶³ The Visitors removed chaplain Edward Eales on 2 October 1648 (he was later restored in 1660) and in the *Buttery Book* of 1648-9 two new chaplains, John Hartcliffe and Thomas Danson, appear on 28 September 1649. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 424. Chaplains continue to be recorded in pairs through 1660; in the *Buttery Book* of 1649-50 the chaplains are styled 'Capellanus Sen.,' and 'Capellanus Jun.,'. These titles are not consistent. For example, in 1653: Joseph Allen is called 'Sacellanus' (6 June 1653) as is Edward Fowler (14 December 1653); and in 1655 Samuel Fowler is styled 'Sacrist' (28 June 1655) and Samuel Birch 'Praecentor' (1 August 1655). Fowler, 424.

¹⁴⁶⁴ For example, Samuel Birch, 1655. Fowler, 424.

¹⁴⁶⁵ The two clerks, who had 'had constant employment' as indicated in the directions of the Visitors in 1653, were now comprised of a clerk, whose principal duties consisted in bell ringing ('pulsator campanae') and the former organist/clerk ('modulator organorum'), who should now 'take care for to begin in the singing of the Psalm'. This suggests that psalm singing had been a staple in prior services, and that the Parliamentary commission and President Staunton allowed for its continuation in chapel worship.

be recorded in the *Buttery Books* or the *College Register* or both between 1648 and 1658,¹⁴⁶⁷ and some returned as undergraduates.¹⁴⁶⁸ Choristerships were most likely academic apprenticeships of the type held by choristers during the tenures of Cole and Rainolds. Fellows receiving a priest's/minister's stipend (53s, 4d) fall to one in 1649/50, but rise again to eight in 1654/55. They remain at this number in 1655/56 and 1657/58 (1656/57 missing), and rise to nine in 1658/59 (and possibly fourteen in 1659/60).¹⁴⁶⁹

Staunton took a deep interest in chapel worship: he 'was present in publique duties of worship in the Chappel morning and evening, observing all, and reproofing any that were negligent and remiss',¹⁴⁷⁰ suggesting that the membership was required to attend services daily. Staunton also catechised 'the younger sort publicly in the Chappel every Saturday' and 'preacht once or twice every Lord's Day'.¹⁴⁷¹

Despite the radical mandates of the *Directory for the public worship*, there appears to have been room enough left in the liturgy for music, which evidently included the singing of metrical psalms. In light of the reference to the 'singing of the Psalm' in 1653, a year when the chapel and its liturgy had been fully reordered in the

¹⁴⁶⁶ With only a few exceptions pairs of clerks are listed in the *Buttery Books* between 1648 and 1659. For example: Hartcliffe and Josiah Lane, 27 October 1648; Charles Blackwell is added as of 28 September 1649; Paris as of 4 October 1650 and Edward Fowler (later bishop of Gloucester), 18 October 1650; James Gardiner is added as of 31 October 1651; Samuel Jemmat is added as of 16 December 1653; Robert Dodd, 1 May 1654; Richard Manninge, 13 November 1655 and Samuel Marner, 26 December 1655; William Bruce, 14 June 1657 and Nathaniel Cuffley, 3 October 1657. Fowler, 427.

¹⁴⁶⁷ The Visitors appointed a chorister, Nathaniel Vincent on 21 September 1648 and expelled two others, 'Horne' and Richard Lawrence, less than two weeks later on 2 October 1648. In the earliest *Buttery Book* (1648/49), choristers Lawrence and Paris (appointed clerk in 1650) are recorded. In 1650 Lawrence is succeeded by William Bruce (appointed clerk, 1657), and 4 October 1650 (when Paris was appointed clerk) he was succeeded by John Franklin. Nathaniel Cuffley was admitted chorister on 24 June 1657 and clerk on 3 October 1657. For a list of further choristers through the Interregnum see Fowler, 429.

¹⁴⁶⁸ For example, according to Foster: Nathaniel Vincent (chorister, 1648) matriculated on 28 March 1655; he received his B.A. from Christ Church on 13 March 1655-6 and M.A. on 11 June 1657. He became chaplain of Corpus Christi College and one of the original fellows of Durham College. Vincent was a nonconformist divine, ejected from the rectory of Langley Marish, Bucks, 1662; he preached at a meeting house in St. Mary Magdalen, Southwarke, about 1666. He died on 21 June 1697. 'Vincent, Nathaniel', in Foster, *AOXEN*. William Bruce (chorister, 1650; clerk, 1657) matriculated on 28 March 1655; B.A., 10 March 1658-9. 'Bruce, William', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Only stipends for *Termino quarto* are recorded; fourteen members in receipt of 13s, 4d (i.e. one quarter of 53s, 4d). CCCA, C/1/1/13, unfoliated. Under 'Stipendia' in *Liber Magnus*, 1659/60.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Fowler, 222.

¹⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 221.

presbyterian form of worship, it is reasonable to assume that chapel music at Corpus Christi College continued (in the least) with the minimum puritan/presbyterian allowance of the monophonic singing of the Psalms through the Interregnum.

8. Conclusions

The vast majority of contemporary research addressing English choral music between 1534 and c. 1650 has gravitated toward the greater institutions, including cathedrals of the Old and New Foundations and the larger collegiate chapels and university college chapels. Musical provision at less conspicuous establishments, in particular, the smaller university colleges such as Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has been, by contrast, glossed over or branded insignificant. Contemporary scholars often deem the small chapel staff of Corpus Christi (two priests/chaplains, two acolyte/clerks) exiguous and threadbare.¹⁴⁷² It does not help matters that Fox failed to include choristers in his original statutes of 1517 (a copy apparently in Fox's hand found bound together with John Fisher's 1524 statutes for St. John's College, Cambridge, SJCA, C1/2, makes this clear) and that only after John Claymond became president did he make provision for two choristers trained in plainsong and pricksong. Nevertheless, until now it has been assumed that any pre-Reformation (i.e. 1547) polyphonic music would have been extremely limited (improvised polyphony at most) or not existent, and that only plainsong was envisaged to accompany the liturgy. The evidence presented in this thesis demonstrates otherwise - numerous references to composed polyphony at Corpus Christi as well as to an organist and a body of singers that included trained ex-choristers suggest that, particularly prior to 1547 and between 1553 and 1558, relatively demanding polyphonic works were performed in the chapel. Further, evidence in the *Libri Magni*, *Liber Admissorum* (*College Register*), as well as the *Buttery Books* confirm a relatively constant number of four minsters and two choristers between 1528 and 1660; the evidence indicates a consistent reliance upon these individuals to prepare the chapel for worship, to direct the ritual, and to perform chapel music, and suggests that as Corpus Christi College weathered changes of religion and the barrage of Reformation reforms, they adapted to the musical liberties at hand.

¹⁴⁷² For example, Francis Knights. Knights, 'The Choral Foundation of Corpus Christi College', 275.

Ultimately, Fox's vision of a small college espoused to humanist learning and a small chapel maintained by a small staff outlived the Reformation(s) and burgeoning musical revival of the 1630s as well as the extremist leadership of a presbyterian regime. Although Fox would no doubt have been appalled in the changes made to his statutes through the centuries, he could be consoled in the fact that his garden and 'beehive' had retained its archaic essence, and that his vision of a humanist college devoted to producing an exceptionally educated (and musically adept) clergy would outlive the centuries.

CONCLUSIONS AND AFTERWORD

Conclusions

It has been the goal of this thesis to investigate religious change in specific foundations and to shed new light upon liturgy and music in the two selected colleges of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from the point of their inception and foundation through the opening years of the Commonwealth of Oliver Cromwell. It has demonstrated a number of important parallels between the two colleges, which began with the close relationship of their founders, Fisher and Fox, and their wish to break out of the mold of medieval scholasticism and devotion. Hence, it was vital to lay an extensive fundamental pre-Reformation (i.e. pre-1534) groundwork with which to measure liturgical and musical change in the succeeding years.

The importance of the new form of learning and the development of the humanist ethos cannot be underestimated in the intentions of both founders, particularly in their decision to reduce provision for liturgy and music, both in terms of personnel allocated to such duties, and in the focus of attendance by the whole college only on Sundays and greater feast days. Whereas at choral foundations like King's College, Cambridge, and New College and Madgalen College, Oxford, the chaplains, clerks, and choristers could sustain a full daily round even on workdays, the expectation at Corpus Christi and St. John's was more limited. Both Bishops Fisher and Fox wished to turn away from medieval scholasticism; the new curriculum, which laid down a heavy groundwork in classical languages and theology, required many hours of study and disputation. Thus, devotion (aside from the requirement of specified daily prayers and the demand that fellows and scholars attend one Mass daily) did not play as fundamental a role in the day-to-day identity of their colleges as it did in colleges based on the models of William of Wykeham. The fact that the Liberal Arts and Sciences were to take precedence over worship and devotion at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was (and is still) evident from the very moment of entering the college; the first building that comes into view is the library, while the chapel is tucked away in the north range of buildings that include the kitchens.

The drastic re-evaluation of the extensive medieval liturgy inherent in foundations following the Wykehamist model resulted in fewer daily chapel services (in particular daily Requiem Masses and chantry Masses), and consequently less personnel were required to perform them. Further, it appears the decision of both Fisher and Fox to create a small monastic-type environment with a small membership - a marked contrast to the large memberships of the Wykehamist foundations. John Fisher inherited two buildings from the Hospital of St. John (the 'labyrinth' and the chapel), which had rested under the supervision of the Augustinian clergy; his primary intention was to train a relatively small crop of exceptional priest-preachers. Fox's original plan in Oxford was to found a small monastic college devoted to the Benedictine Rule (also with the intention of training priests); however, he was persuaded by Bishop Hugh Oldham to create a secular college similar in concept to New College or Magdalen College, Oxford. Oldham's advice is highly significant in light of Fox's revised goals of the college, which placed primary focus on learning and gave a secondary role to the Church:

What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no, it is more meet a great deal, that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their learning shall do good in the church.¹⁴⁷³

It remains clear that Fisher and, in particular, Fox were originally in tune with the scale of a monastic institution rather than the larger model set by Wykehamist foundations. It is evident in Fox's original conception that he envisaged a monastic establishment in every sense,¹⁴⁷⁴ and it appears that the idea of prioritising the humanist curriculum over devotion came later;¹⁴⁷⁵ this is ironic, since Corpus Christi College eventually became renowned as the first major centre for humanism in Oxford, if not in all of England. In contrast to Fox, Fisher put learning in the spotlight from the start, of course not forgetting that it was to serve the betterment of preaching; in this regard Fisher appears to have differentiated St. John's, Cambridge, from Lady Margaret's foundation, Christ's College (which Fisher helped her found in

¹⁴⁷³ Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, III, 617.

¹⁴⁷⁴ A deed of 13 June 1513 shows us that Fox was building a college much like Canterbury College (but better endowed) for a group of eight young monks of St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester.

¹⁴⁷⁵ As Jonathan Woolfson has observed, Fox adopted the relatively new humanist methodology that had been emphasised in the statutes of Christ's and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, through the influence of Lady Margaret Beaufort and Erasmus. Woolfson, 'John Claymond, Pliny the Elder', 882.

1506), where dedication to the Church still held sway, learning being but a means to better educate her priests. Fisher came to prioritise the humanist curriculum at St. John's on a substantially greater scale than Lady Margaret had at Christ's. After all, it had been Fisher who kick-started the university humanist curriculum in England, not least in Cambridge, where he invited Erasmus to lecture in Greek, even taking tuition in Greek from Erasmus himself.

It is of note that Erasmus's invectives against English church music¹⁴⁷⁶ expressed after he left England in c. 1517 parallel, at least in part, Fisher's musical provision in the St. John's statutes of 1516. Fisher's musical provision is absent of the very musical elements that bothered Erasmus about English church music: Marian worship (there is no mention of a Lady Mass or of a Marian antiphon in Fisher's statutes), polyphony, and organs. Fisher communicated with Erasmus on various subjects: paramount remained the instruction of Greek in Cambridge; Fisher's admiration of Erasmus's paraphrase concept manifested itself in his own paraphrase and exposition of the Psalms.¹⁴⁷⁷ It remains uncertain if music had been a topic addressed by Fisher and Erasmus; this presents an area for future research.

Lady Margaret Beaufort's streamlined musical provision for Christ's College, Cambridge, appears another source of influence upon Fisher's early musical provision for St. John's; however, Fisher trimmed Lady Margaret's already condensed routine of daily worship even further, omitting three of the four daily Masses on workdays specified by her. Further, like Lady Margaret, Fisher appears to have shown more interest in the cult and Holy Name of Jesus than in Marian worship: Lady Margaret only made provision for a daily Lady Mass and omitted an evening Marian antiphon, and Fisher omitted them both.¹⁴⁷⁸

Like Lady Margaret's musical provision for Christ's College, Cambridge, Richard Fox's provision for Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is a much reduced version of that

¹⁴⁷⁶ Found in the *Annotations* to 1 Corinthians (1519) and the printed theological repartees and discourses with the Paris theologians during the 1530s. See above, Chapter Three, 114-16.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher*, 52.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Fisher, together with John Colet and William Melton, shared great interest in devotion to the Name of Jesus as well as in Carthusian devotional treatises. Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher*, 24. This may have overshadowed any enthusiasm for Marian worship on Fisher's part.

in the older colleges founded on Wykeham's model. Despite Fox's realignment with secular colleges, liturgical and musical worship at Corpus Christi remained more akin to that at a small Benedictine or Augustinian house (especially in light of the small membership). This might also be reflected in the minimal chapel staff (four outsourced chaplains and clerks). By contrast, Fisher made the decision to recruit the chapel personnel entirely from the membership, drawing upon a fellow and three scholars to celebrate the liturgy¹⁴⁷⁹ - a concept unthinkable at the larger foundations.

Overall evidence points to Fox's intimate connection with Magdalen College and suggests that Magdalen and its provision for music lay deep in Fox's psyche. It is likely that the connection with Magdalen began during his formative years as a student there. Not only would Fox have become intimately familiar with the provision for music at Magdalen, including the provision for daily Masses and Office, he would have heard the services performed by the full college and a voluminous outsourced chapel staff comprised of chaplains, clerks, and sixteen choristers. He would certainly have been aware of every aspect of Magdalen's musical provision later in his career (prior to the founding of Corpus Christi) in his capacities as Visitor, and would have had the opportunity to hear the choral forces of both Magdalen and New College on numerous occasions, not least during visitations (for example, in 1506 and 1520).

The provision for the Marian antiphon on Saturdays in hall provides a particular example of the Magdalen influence. The provision is only found in two Oxford foundations prior to 1555: Magdalen and Corpus. This is surely no coincidence. If Fox had indeed been a student at Magdalen (as the majority of his biographers believe) he would have been required to sing the antiphon with the rest of the college; he would also have been aware of the antiphon later in his capacities as Visitor. The routine of singing the antiphon weekly instead of nightly had been ingrained upon him as a student; when it came time to found his own college he may have wished to imitate the type of provision he had known as a young man. The provision for a Saturday (as opposed to daily) Marian antiphon also fit neatly into his reduced vision

¹⁴⁷⁹ This implies that aside from the daily morrow Mass at St. John's, the celebration of workday Masses or the Office would have been difficult to negotiate as long as the fellows and scholars were attending lectures and disputations. The traditional use of the chapel for disputations may also have collided with the use of the chapel on a number of afternoons during the week.

of devotion. Further, because the Marian anthem was sung by the entire college in hall on Saturdays it would also exclude the possibility of florid five-part antiphons, the type of which are found in the *Eton Choirbook*. Although this may not have excluded the possibility of a small polyphonic ensemble performing the antiphon in hall on occasion, Fox's provision represents the preference for a less complex Marian antiphon sung by the entire membership. Therefore, Claymond and Morwen were not the only individuals that may have brought musical tradition to Corpus Christi from Magdalen; Fox himself incorporated Magdalen tradition, in this instance remembering an aspect of the Magdalen provision that made sense to him.

All this suggests that: a) Fox wished to found a radically different type of educational institution than that of New College, Magdalen, or King's; b) although he envisaged less complex music, he wished to maintain the execution of chant; and c) both the educational and musical aspects of his foundation were conceived with the goal of training exceptionally qualified priests.

In their original statutes Fisher and Fox emphasise plainchant to carry the principal body of worship both on feast days and on workdays; in this respect they were clearly distancing themselves from the extravagant liturgy of the grander Wykehamist foundations, which was, particularly on feast days and Sundays, embellished by polyphony. The emphasis on plainchant also reflects Cardinal Wolsey's directives for monks in the Augustine and Benedictine houses in 1520, which state that they should confine their singing to plainchant,¹⁴⁸⁰ while specially trained lay clerks should assume the singing of polyphony.¹⁴⁸¹ The acolyte-clerks envisaged by Fox differ in this regard: they were to be sufficiently trained to instruct the singers and choristers in plainchant at Corpus Christi, albeit one was to play the organ, which automatically inferred the ability to perform at least improvised polyphony (i.e. *faburden*, *descant*).

¹⁴⁸⁰ See Vol. II, Supplement One, 394, nt. 36. Wolsey clarified his admonition of *pricksong*: 'plain-song and the restrained dignity of the singers stirs and invites, through sweet and tranquil singing, the minds of listeners to spiritual delight and to a desire for the celestial euphony. [W]e therefore impose restraint all the more assiduously, lest *cantus fractus* or *divisus* (commonly and in English called '*pricksong*') be ever sung, or allowed to be sung in the choirs of canons in the future'. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 158; Marsh, 67.

¹⁴⁸¹ Marsh, 50-60. Wolsey's distinct musical directives enforced at the abbeys were a marked contrast to the extrovert pageantry of the musical liturgy at Cardinal College, which called for clerks and sixteen choristers to perform polyphony. Cardinal College displayed a marked contrast to Fisher's foundation of St. John's, Cambridge, where there were no singing lay clerks.

The fact that Fox's acolyte-clerks were not specialists in vocal polyphony reinforces the argument that in his early conceptions of chapel music Fox envisaged plainchant as the rule in the performance of liturgical music at Corpus Christi; this did not, however, exclude the possibility of improvised polyphony. Like Fox, Fisher provided four chapel ministers; however, in Fisher's 1516 statutes for St. John's there is a complete absence of musically trained clerks, and, in contrast to Fox's statutes, there is no reference to an organ or an organist.¹⁴⁸² Further, the omission of choristers by both Fisher and Fox in their original statutes emphasises the focus on adult voices singing plainsong and the avoidance of contemporary polyphonic textures that included boys as means and trebles. All this indicates that Fisher and Fox had made a clear decision to break away from mainstream musical devotion inherent in the large foundations of Cambridge and Oxford.

An apparent change of musical heart appears to have affected both founders within a decade of founding their respective colleges; this appears influenced by various individuals. In the case of Fisher, it was his third master, Nicholas Metcalfe, and in Fox's case it was John Claymond, his first president, and Robert Morwen, his first vice-president (eventually, the second president in 1537). Both of Fox's presidents were brought over from Magdalen College, Oxford. It is likely that Claymond and Morwen brought with them a taste for polyphony, which they would have heard at numerous points in the services at Magdalen College. Fox's decision to add two choristers to the chapel staff in 1517 (the provision was added to the two fair copies of the 1517 statutes in the archives and the later recension of the statutes in 1528) was in all likelihood influenced by Claymond and Morwen, thus enabling the performance of balanced polyphony, which was exploited at Corpus Christi during the 1530s.

At St. John's College, Cambridge, it was Metcalfe, whose influence may have resulted in the procurement of an organ in 1528, the recruitment of singers (according to letters of 1518 and 1520), as well as the later inception of the Keyton (1530) and Thimbleby (1534) benefactions, which generated a body of trained ex-choristers from

¹⁴⁸² There is a remote possibility that Fisher kept the organ of the Hospital of St. John, which was in use until 1510, a year before the foundation of the college; however, there is no reference to organ repair or an organ until the purchase of a new organ in 1528. See Vol. II, Appendix X, Table 1. Provision for organs, St. John's College, Cambridge, from the foundation (1511) to 1650, 573.

Southwell Minster and Tattershall College, respectively. Further, after reading through the original 1517 statutes of Corpus Christi penned by his mentor Fox (found bound together with Fisher's revised 1524 statutes), it is possible that Fisher - influenced by Fox's greater musical provision - incorporated provision for a precentor and choir rulers. The choir rulers at St. John's were to achieve an elevated status and were provided iron chairs, silver-capped staves, a 'forme', and two lecterns, according to the 1545 inventories. The allusion to four choristers listed in the inventories of 1545 and 1553/54 (referred to as 'children' in the 1545 inventories and as 'boys' in the 1553/54 inventories) indicates that the singers may also have included means and trebles, which reinforces the notion of a choral body with polyphonic potential.

In light of the tiny chapel staff/singers originally provided by Fox (even with the addition of two trained choristers), contemporary scholars have balked at the thought of soloist or full polyphony at Corpus Christi through 1547. However, what they have failed to consider is the body of former choristers that remained on the foundation or choristers that came from other foundations. The contribution of highly trained ex-choristers (some of whom were trained in organ playing) to the choral body, not only at Corpus Christi, but at St. John's College, Cambridge, as well, has been essential in determining choral capacities at both foundations.¹⁴⁸³ The polyphonic potential of the choral bodies at both Corpus Christi and St. John's increases dramatically when considering the fact that many ex-choristers remained on the foundation and went on to garner academic degrees. The contribution of former choristers is an area of examination begun by this study, but which can profit from further research; this will rely heavily upon examining the musical backgrounds and training of admitted choristers.

With ever-growing numbers of trained former choristers infiltrating the choral body at Corpus Christi after 1532, it came as no great surprise to uncover references to polyphonic works in the chapel accounts. Most notable is the payment in 1545/46 for

¹⁴⁸³ Magnus Williamson came to similar conclusions in his study of Eton College. Eton, it appears, lacked the numbers of singing men required to perform the elaborate music of the *Eton Choirbook* (c. 1500): there must have been a reliance on former choristers. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 385-8. Beth Ann Lee-De Amici drew out this point briefly in her study of Magdalen College, mentioning that nine of the choristers listed in the register of Magdalen College by John Rouse Bloxam proceeded to full fellowship between c. 1495 and c. 1540. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 112, nt. 36.

an antiphon for Corpus Christi Day by Thomas Knyght, the *informator choristarum* at Salisbury Cathedral (1526x29-c.1543), whose five-part Mass *Libera nos* is included in the 'The Henrician Set' of the *Peterhouse partbooks* (performed at Magdalen College and most likely copied by a Magdalen scribe); this is repertory that may have been familiar to President Robert Morwen, who had studied and assumed financial and educational duties at Magdalen (fellow, 1510; bursar, 1511-12, 1514-15, and 1516-17; junior dean of arts, 1517). Also of note is the pricking of a Jesus service in 1539/40 by John Barons, Corpus Christi's first named organist. Further references to pricksong and polyphony occur in the accounts between 1538 and 1547 (and again between 1553 and 1558). All this demands a major re-evaluation of the capacities of the choral body at Corpus Christi: it suggests that the body of singers at Corpus Christi, which included former choristers capable of polyphony and the rest of the membership (required to sing plainchant), was capable of a much wider and more complex repertory than has been previously believed. For example, this would enable the performance of a polyphonic Magnificat alternating between a small group of polyphonists, the rest of the membership (assuming plainchant sections), and the organ playing in *alternatim*. Further, it is reasonable to assume that the performance of improvised polyphony, including descant, occurred at Corpus Christi, Oxford, and St. John's, Cambridge. Descant had become so normative during the 1520s, that Bishop Fisher mentioned it in a religious metaphor at his St. Paul's sermon against Luther in 1526.¹⁴⁸⁴

Considering the small size of the group of trained singers at both foundations, it is likely that polyphonic works were executed without the expertise and training provided by an appointed conductor, *informator*, or director. Neither the precentor at St. John's nor the acolyte-clerk/organist at Corpus Christi could match the competence of a highly trained *informator* at Magdalen, New College, or King's; therefore, it is likely that the choral standards envisaged by Fisher and Fox were modest. This underlies the fact that ceremony and music at St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, were not grand - albeit certainly less meager than previously believed - and contributes to the argument that worship and music played a secondary role to the priorities and goals set by the humanist curriculums of both

¹⁴⁸⁴ For Fisher's reference to descant in his sermon against Luther at St. Paul's Cathedral (1526) see Chapter Four, 138.

colleges. Further, neither Fisher nor Fox intended their *discipuli* or choristers to go on to musical careers - but rather to careers in academia or the Church - and did not envisage their colleges as centres for the production and performance of complex polyphonic works. Both founders regarded the performance of plainsong in chapel as 'work experience' for the priesthood. Nevertheless, there is a body of composed polyphonic music from other places (including the later works of John Taverner and the early works of Thomas Tallis) which are primarily homophonic and syllabic in their text-setting - attributes which would accord with humanistic ideals, and which became paramount in directives on musical style for the new vernacular liturgy from the later 1540s onwards.

After establishing the possibility of polyphony at St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, questions arise as to the repertory sung through 1547. The paucity of surviving manuscripts and the scant clues in the archives make this a challenge. In addition to payments for pricksong and *cantus torti* in the *Libri Magni* during Morwen's tenure at Corpus Christi, other payments suggest not only the preparation (even composition) of music within the college by John Barons (a 'Jesus Service'), but also the importation of music from Salisbury (Thomas Knyght) and perhaps New College (Henry Brether); a payment for five books to Frost suggests the acquisition of a pre-existing collection of partbooks.

The situation at St. John's is more severe; there are no such clues regarding polyphonic music in the *Rentals*, despite the presence of a body of singers (which presumably included four choristers) capable of performing composed polyphony. Fisher's reference to descant may be the extent of available references to polyphony (in this case, improvised polyphony). The large collection of graduals, 'processioners', and antiphoners, including an 'antiphoner for the organs' recorded in the inventories of 1545, appears to suggest the prevalence of plainchant in services. In contrast to Corpus Christi, which appears to have enjoyed a congenial relationship with its neighbours, New College (e.g. in the employment of common artisans such as music copyist, Henry Brether, and carpenter, Henry Bolton), and Magdalen College (where Corpus choristers could be educated at the grammar school), St. John's, Cambridge, does not appear to have cultivated such allainces - shared personnel or repertory with nearby colleges appear non-existent.

The burgeoning musical capacities of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, came to an abrupt end with the religious mandates of the Edwardine regime, and the year 1547 became a true line of religious demarcation between traditionalist and evangelical factions at both colleges. Whereas Corpus Christi continued to harbour a strong group of Roman Catholics attached to the Latin rite, the evangelicals of St. John's outnumbered the traditionalists, and several rose to the pinnacles of royal and ecclesiastical power, most notably, the two leading Greek professors of the day, John Cheke and Roger Ascham, and Robert Horne (bishop of Winchester, 1560-80). This study attempts to defend the argument that Cheke and Ascham, through their capacities as royal tutors to Edward VI and Elizabeth I, respectively, exerted a great influence upon the religious as well as musical (in the case of Elizabeth I) bent of these two monarchs. This argument requires further attention and research and will need to be developed outside of the limited boundaries of this thesis.

Both colleges enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to re-establish the Latin rite and its music under Mary Tudor, which demonstrates that there were still significant numbers of Roman Catholics among the memberships of both foundations in and after 1553. The possible use of the great 'Spanish' antiphoner (SJCL, MS 263) at St. John's is significant; however it is puzzling that its ordering of chants has little to do with the ordering of the Sarum Antiphonal.¹⁴⁸⁵ Its acquisition may simply represent the attempt of Master George Bullock and the college to replenish their waning stock of choral books, even if they did not correspond entirely to the Use of Salisbury. The concerted efforts to enact the liturgy of the Latin rite and beautify the chapel of St. John's appear to have reached a zenith with Mary Tudor's visit to Cambridge in January 1557. The organ was in the spotlight, too; it appears to have regained its fundamental role in the restored Latin liturgy in light of payments for repair and organ blowing. Further, the purchase of a lectern for the organ just before the queen's arrival suggests that it was to be featured in services during the visit.

¹⁴⁸⁵ SJCL, MS 263 contains chants for five feasts; the ordering of the chants is significantly different to that of the apposite chants found in the Sarum Antiphonal. In a comparison with two Breviaries (one of 1474, the other post-Tridentine) the order of chant melodies given in SJCL, MS 263 is closer to the post-Tridentine, with only one Responsory different. See Chapter Four, 171-2.

Corpus Christi's revival of the Latin rite was no less enthusiastic. The purchase of a silk canopy with tassels and staves in 1553/54 at Corpus Christi demonstrates that processions were back in force. Extensive repairs and beautification of the tabernacle, high altar, and screen, as well as a table for the 'chaunter' (i.e. precentor) and repair of the organ in 1553/54 indicate that ceremony and music had reverted to pre-Reformation standards.

The decade following the accession of Elizabeth I demonstrates a dramatic religious and musical divide between the two colleges. Two musical events at Corpus Christi may illustrate the continuing prominence of the Roman Catholic faction: the presence of Thomas Mulliner as clerk/organist for over a year (March 1564 - Spring 1565) and the discovery of the Tallis *contrafactum*, *Gaude gloriosa dei mater* in plasterwork of the college. The decision to employ the Roman Catholic, Thomas Mulliner, as clerk/organist is likely to have been made by members of the traditionalist faction; this included chaplain, George Atkinson (charged in 1566 with harbouring seditious literature from Louvain and ejected from the college), and Robert Harrison, who was receiving a priest's stipend through 1566 and was elected president in 1568. Mulliner's appointment appears to have occurred in a period of laxity between visitations of Robert Horne. Horne had already begun his campaign of organ removal and silencing, warning Trinity College to remove its organ (and organist) in 1561; therefore, Mulliner's appointment is likely to have occurred without Horne's sanction (or knowledge). Aside from the obvious duty of playing the organ, the appointment of Mulliner may represent the motivation to train choristers and possibly *discipuli* in simple chanting and polyphony perhaps even using the permitted Latin Prayer Book services with the help of Mulliner's pedagogically oriented collection of organ works (the so-called '*Mulliner Book*', British Library Add, MS 30513). If the Roman Catholic faction was preparing for another return to the Latin rite (which appears possible), then the organ pieces of Mulliner's collection based on *cantus firmi* of established Latin liturgical repertory would have provided polyphonic organ (and most likely apposite choral) works for use in the Latin rite, either as voluntaries or in alternation with the singers. It is interesting, however, that the *Mulliner Book* also includes homophonic works for morning and evening prayer (M43, M44, M82, M85, M112), which might have made it appealing to Elizabethan protestants and enabled the singing of the accepted four- or five-part Elizabethan church music of the era; an

interest in such repertory may be indicated in the payment of 4d 'For paper to prick songs' in 1562/63. Further, the performance of the organ voluntaries (by Farrant, M20; Allwood, M17) would have represented one of the first instances of deploying the organ in a new role in worship. It appears that Mulliner was clever enough to include music that pleased both Catholics and Elizabethan protestants alike - might this have been an attempt to insure employment during the precarious first years of the Elizabeth's reign? All that said, there is nothing to directly link Mulliner's keyboard anthology with his time at Corpus Christi College; however, it will evidently have included repertory with which he was familiar and sympathetic during his residence in the college.

It is possible that the recovered Tallis *contrafactum* (*Gaude gloriosa dei mater*) may have been sung as domestic sacred music outside chapel by fellows sympathetic to the Roman Catholic cause at Corpus Christi during the 1560s. Having remembered it previously sung in Latin, its vernacular text addressing deliverance in times of adversity could have achieved a particular poignancy. Though the work is highly demanding, the nature of the recovered contratenor partbook fragment suggests that a body of trained singers could have sung it informally, most likely in confines other than the chapel. In light of David Skinner's current research, it is possible that it may have been sung at the end of Henry VIII's reign; however, it is impossible to determine whether this Marian Latin antiphon was sung at Corpus Christi prior to 1544 on Saturday in hall as stipulated by Fox's statutes, or whether the *contrafactum* was sung in- or outside chapel at some time after 1544.

Of particular note is the record of Latin texts in Prayer Book worship at Corpus Christi from 1570/71 to c. 1640. The accounts of Corpus Christi make no specific mention of the *Liber precum publicarum* (1560), Elizabeth's bone thrown to university colleges reluctant to give up the Latin rite;¹⁴⁸⁶ however, the *Libri Magni* record payments for a 'prayer book in Latin for morning prayer' in 1570/71, 'a little Latin book' in 1619/20, 'a Latin psalter' in 1630/31, and a 'Latin prayer book and a Latin testament' in 1631/32. A Latin Bible was also purchased for the hall in 1643/44. Of equal note is the purchase of Tremellius' Latin translation of the Psalms, which

¹⁴⁸⁶ There are unambiguous references to the use of this book at Magdalen College from 1560 through 1640. See Chapter Four, 180, nt. 705.

were deployed at Corpus after 1603, and the purchase of Theodore Beza's translation of the Bible coupled with Junius' Latin psalms, recorded in 1602/03. Although the Beza Bible/Junius psalms coupling had in certain circles become a tradition of the reformed Church, it demonstrates the enthusiasm of President John Rainolds for the academically inspired proliferation of Latin in the chapel liturgy and his pride in the humanist tradition of the college.¹⁴⁸⁷

The decision to retain Latin texts in Prayer Book worship separates Corpus Christi, Oxford, from colleges such as St. John's, Cambridge, where an abhorrence of Latin characterised chapel worship and where vernacular texts were the rule. The decision to deploy Latin in Prayer Book worship at Corpus Christi - at least in the 1570s - may represent some sort of compromise between the dominant Calvinists and those harbouring traditional Roman Catholic sympathies. Alternatively, it may reflect nothing more than the focus on Latin as the language of learning (and even of conversation) inherent in the humanist ethos, which continued to define the identity of the college throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not least during the tenure of John Rainolds. The contrast of the acceptance or rejection of Latin in Prayer Book worship from college to college demonstrates that interpretations of protestant reform (including the rejection to deploy the *Liber precum publicarum*) were not monochrome, and that depending on those in charge reform could take on many guises and nuances.

Both at St. John's and Corpus Christi the musical purges of returning Marian exiles took heavy tolls. Because this thesis attempts to highlight individuals who effected liturgical and musical change, this group requires special attention; highly relevant to this discussion are the returned protestants who became bishops (John Jewel, Edwin Sandys, Richard Cox, James Pilkington, and Robert Horne) and college heads of house (Laurence Humphrey, James Pilkington, and William Cole). Of equal note is the influence of their epistolary correspondent and figurehead, Heinrich Bullinger,

¹⁴⁸⁷ The humanist ethos of the college remained vibrant during the tenure of President John Rainolds (president, 1598-1607). James McConica characterised Rainolds' 'mental world' as resting on 'an erudite humanism in which the counsels of antiquity were dominated by the doctrines of Cicero and Quintilian on the formation of the wise and virtuous who would strive for the common good, and by the scriptural and patristic learning that looked to Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* as its fountainhead'. McConica, *HUO* 3, 713-14.

who may be key in the immediate and comprehensive eradication of the entire pre-Reformation liturgy as well as the removal of organs.¹⁴⁸⁸ Jonathan Willis is the first contemporary scholar to probe in greater depth the musical influence of Bullinger. However, further research into this area is needed, including an in-depth examination of the *Zurich Letters*,¹⁴⁸⁹ in order to establish the true impact of Bullinger upon the Marian exiles and the national invective against organs in England.

Whereas Corpus Christi, Oxford, was reluctant in conceding to Elizabethan reform during the decade following her accession, at St. John's, Cambridge, the reform was immediate, not least due to the election of Master James Pilkington (also Regius Professor of Divinity) in July 1559.¹⁴⁹⁰ James Pilkington and his brother and successor Leonard, while systematically purging the college of all liturgical books and regalia associated with the Latin rite, did allow a certain margin for music: in particular, 'the vernacular musical genre that would become an integral feature of parochial piety in the Elizabethan church',¹⁴⁹¹ the metrical psalm. The purchase of 'Geneva' psalters alongside traditional psalters indicates the musical tradition of deploying metrical psalms sung (at least in part) to the melodies of the Genevan Psalter.¹⁴⁹² As Jonathan Willis has observed: 'The fact that metrical psalmody formed such a key role in the public worship of the godly suggests that, in their eyes, the only value of music in public worship was to be found in its active and inclusive aspects' and that 'public worship was not the proper context for the more intricate musical forms.'¹⁴⁹³

Willis's comment appears to reflect the views of James Pilkington, who championed a liturgy devoid of 'intricate musical forms'; the communal singing of simple metrical psalms as opposed to complex polyphonic works fit neatly into his world-view of the

¹⁴⁸⁸ See below.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Full citation for the *Zurich Letters* is noted in Vol. II, Supplement One, 407, nt. 91.

¹⁴⁹⁰ During Mary Tudor's reign Pilkington stayed successively at Zürich, Basel, Geneva, and Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁴⁹¹ Marsh, 271.

¹⁴⁹² Although the 'geneva psalters' purchased by St. John's 1563-70 may refer to 'psalters from Geneva' (literally), they most likely signify 'English metrical psalters, of the kind used or published in Geneva'. The references in the *Rentals* could refer either to John Day's monophonic or polyphonic versions of the Psalms (1562, 1563). Of the 63 tunes in Day's 1562 *Whole booke* only ten tunes were imported from Calvin's Geneva psalters.

¹⁴⁹³ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 77.

Church's purpose. Nevertheless, the Elizabethan Injunctions allowed their use only before and after the service or sermon: the text of psalms sung in the service followed the text of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Even radical protestants saw a place for metrical psalms within the service; such was the view of Thomas Cartwright, who argued that the psalms in services be sung '... in a plain tune', easy enough 'to be sung by those who have no art in singing...'.¹⁴⁹⁴ It is also of note that James Pilkington contributed to the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*. Could Elizabeth's protection of church music in her Injunctions (also of 1559) have influenced the small margin Pilkington set for music, or was it his contact with Swiss trends at Geneva that spurred the decision? In the allowance for the singing of 'Geveva' psalms the Pilkingtons (and the Marian exiles) differentiate themselves from Bullinger¹⁴⁹⁵ and Zwingli, who excised music entirely from the ritual. This also contributes to the notion that only a tiny group of individuals supported the complete excision of music after Elizabeth ascended the throne. As Jonathan Willis has concluded: during the reign of Elizabeth both puritans and conformists came to a consensus on the subject of music, agreeing that it was a gift of God, and that there was some place for it in the Church.¹⁴⁹⁶

As mentioned above, the returning Marian exiles - more than any other reformers - did the most harm to organs; after assuming ecclesiastical and political power upon their return they took aggressive measures to silence, remove, and even destroy organs. The anti-organ polemic that they incited produced the most sweeping programme of organ removal and destruction that England had ever seen. In a perusal of new college heads of house and appointed Visitors after 1558 it becomes apparent that a distinct group of Marian exiles was behind the removal or silencing of organs in Oxford and Cambridge. Laurence Humphrey and Robert Horne proved integral in the Oxford campaign against organs. Humphrey, who considered organs 'blemishes which still attach to the church of England',¹⁴⁹⁷ had the organ at Magdalen College

¹⁴⁹⁴ Ayre, *Works of John Whitgift*, vol. iii, 107. See Chapter Four, 191.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Bullinger was among those who expressed outright hostility to all church music, describing it 'as a drain on resources, a waste of time, and a papist trifle'; this represents a tide of opinion reaching a zenith during the Edwardine Reformation. He remained a consiliatory figurehead to many Marian exiles throughout and after Mary Tudor's reign. Willis, 49-50, 77. Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 66.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Willis, 77.

¹⁴⁹⁷ See Vol. II, Supplement One, 407.

(installed, 1553/54) in all likelihood removed along with the *theatrum crucifixi* (pulpitum/rood loft) in 1560/61. Horne was no less adamant than Humphrey, coming to the conclusion that organs in worship were redundant, and removed or silenced them under his authority as Visitor in a number of institutions. After having warned Trinity College, Oxford, to remove its organ in 1561, he most likely contributed to the removal of the organ at Merton College in 1567, had the organs silenced at Winchester College in 1570, and induced the removal of organs at New College in 1571/72 and Corpus Christi College in 1575/76.

Casualties in the anti-organ campaign at Cambridge during the 1560s and 70s can also be attributed to the efforts of returned Marian exiles, notably, James Pilkington and Richard Cox. Pilkington had the organ at St. John's College, Cambridge, removed after his arrival in 1559. Cox, in his capacities as bishop of Ely, appears to have been behind the removal of the King's College organ in 1570/71. In the big picture, the examples of organ removal during the early 1560s in Oxford and Cambridge remain isolated incidents; these incidents contribute to the argument that reform - in this case the elimination of the organ - depended on the outlook of those with power and influence in each specific and local situation. By contrast, in the 1570s, the removal of organs in Oxford and Cambridge colleges reflects the broader national invective against organs. Despite all the evidence in Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere, ultimately, the sweep of organs throughout England after 1570 is not as ubiquitous as it might appear: as ever, it was dependent upon individuals at a local level, not least in colleges under the authority of Robert Horne, Laurence Humphrey, James Pilkington, and Richard Cox.

The Marian exiles also exerted their force outside the universities, as exemplified by John Jewel at Salisbury and Edwin Sandys at Worcester. More than any other protestant exile, it was Sandys that brought about the near demise of organs in *all* churches in England after 1563. At the Canterbury Convocation (1562-63) Sandys, together with thirty-three members of the Lower House of Convocation, submitted three of seven articles part of which called for removing organs. The final vote on the (eventually six) articles was defeated by only one vote.

The invectives against organs during the 1570s were not only fueled by the returned protestant exiles, but by the heated arguments over the role of choral music and organs after the incendiary *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572). Though radicals like Thomas Cartwright and conformists like John Whitgift appeared to agree on a role for music (i.e. congregational psalm singing),¹⁴⁹⁸ the use of the organ (along with 'curious singing') divided them; Whitgift defended organs, tempering the diatribes of Wilcox, Field, and Cartwright against them. Despite Whitgift's conservative views on ceremony, it was the attitudes of Cartwright that were to contribute to the air of austerity in ceremony and music unleashed at St. John's by his teacher, James Pilkington. The bleak state of the whited, organ-less chapel (the communion table of which was placed permanently between the stalls, c. 1561) was to remain a sore point for some, including senior fellow Everard Digby in the 1580s - so much so that it drove him to attend services at King's College (as well as to be ejected from St. John's in 1588 as a result of compiled grievances tallied against him by Master William Whitaker). At King's, Digby could enjoy ceremonial that featured surpliced choristers and repertory (still without organ) that included four- and five-part Elizabethan choral music sanctioned by Provost Roger Goad.

The attitudes of Cartwright and Whitgift toward ceremony and music, including the use of the organ, illustrate the polarity of the age - radical puritan/presbyterian vs. conformist moderates. The events surrounding the *Admonition* and the reactions of Cartwright and Whitgift might contribute to the image of a radical puritan-conformist scale developing between c. 1570 and c. 1610, with Cartwright on the left and Whitgift on the right; this also draws attention to the varying shades of 'puritanism' throughout the period.¹⁴⁹⁹ It might be added that the returned Marian exiles,

¹⁴⁹⁸ It is of note that Thomas Cartwright, though fundamentally against the use of the organ, allowed the musical margin of simple psalm singing before and after the service/sermon; this contributes to the fact that presbyterians retained a role for music in the liturgy (i.e. the monophonic singing of the Psalms).

¹⁴⁹⁹ This scale might be represented by Whitgift - the measuring stick of conformity and conservative musical agendas - on one side, and Cartwright, Field, and Wilcox - advocates of presbyterianism and musical austerity in worship - on the other. See Willis, 76-8; Lake, P., *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), 66. Durston and Eales have identified four 'types' of puritan: the ecclesiastical, religious, political, and ethical. 'Ecclesiastical Puritans wished to purge the church of Catholic ritual; religious Puritans were possessed of a transcending hatred of popery; political Puritans opposed the government of Charles I; and ethical Puritans were characterized by a remarkable moral zeal to God and truth.' Durston, C., and Eales, J., 'The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', in Durston, C., and Eales, J. (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), 14. Cited in Willis, 77.

particularly Jewel, Cole, and Humphrey, though adamant in their opposition to specialist choirs and the use of organs, had no sympathy for the rising nonconformity that manifested itself in the beliefs of Thomas Cartwright in Cambridge, and John Rainolds in Oxford.¹⁵⁰⁰

The wave of pro-music apologia produced at the end of the sixteenth century, most notably by John Case and Richard Hooker, finally caught hold of both colleges after the turn of the century. It was Corpus Christi that reacted first, procuring a quality (albeit small) organ by Thomas Dallam in 1618. One of the early movers and shakers of the 'high church' movement, Bishop James Montague, appears to have influenced the decision. Other high church members, including Richard Neile and William Laud, appear behind the move to install quality organs in churches and chapels (many constructed by Thomas Dallam).¹⁵⁰¹

It is difficult to estimate the capacities of the choral force at Corpus Christi after the organ was installed, particularly in light of the fact that those who joined as 'choristers' until that time were over the age of twelve: so-called 'dry choristers', admitted on the qualifications of academic and not of musical excellence. The functions of Corpus 'choristers' during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had been altered drastically from those prior to the Edwardine Reformation - through the efforts of Bishop James Montague, that was about to change. He directed his attention first to the choristers' formal appearance, appropriating funds for their vestments. Examination of the 'Stipendia' and 'Vestes' sections of the *Libri Magni*, 1618-29, reveals a list of choristers between the ages of twelve and fifteen receiving the increased stipend for their dress. In light of Montague's acquaintance with the formidable musical provision of the Chapel Royal, where he was dean, it appears that he intended to revive musical life at Corpus Christi; this entailed formally dressing the choristers and providing an organ. Further research is required as to the impact of the Corpus Christi choristers during the period, including an investigation

¹⁵⁰⁰ Craig, J., 'Jewel, John (1522-1571)', *ODNBO*.

¹⁵⁰¹ Laud commissioned Thomas Dallam to build an organ for St. John's College, Oxford, in 1619, as noted above; Thomas Dallam also built an organ for Durham Cathedral in 1622, while Richard Neile was bishop (1617-28).

of their musical backgrounds and training as well as an in-depth examination of the musical tastes and proclivities of Bishop James Montague.

While Corpus Christi had already awoken to the Oxford musical spring by 1620, it took St. John's, Cambridge, until 1634 to join the musical revival; it is ironic that after decades of religious turbulence, prevalent tastes in music and ceremony would bring worship at St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, back to a similar wavelength. This was the direct result of two men under the influence of Richard Neile, bishop of Durham, and William Laud, president of St. John's College, Oxford (and later archbishop of Canterbury, 1633): William Beale and Thomas Jackson. Other individuals who exerted a profound influence upon Beale and his extravagant form of worship at St. John's, Cambridge, included his friend, John Cosin, the spokesman for 'Laudian-style' in Cambridge, as well as Charles I, to whom both Jackson and Beale served as chaplain. Thomas Jackson was at the hear of the 'high church' movement as a member of Neile's Durham House group. Charles I's influence on Jackson was as significant as it was on Beale; the king's support of both Beale and Jackson and their common musical tastes figured substantially in worship and music at St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford.

The ceremonial (and musical) tastes of high church figures, particularly those who were members of the Durham House group, are often linked to 'Arminianism' and 'Laudian-style' in older as well as more recent Reformation historiography. However, throwing individuals like Beale and Jackson, and Richard Mountague, Neile, and Laud in the same pot together with terms like 'Arminian' or 'Laudian' calls for clarification. It must be noted that the frequent deployment of the anachronistic terms 'Laudian' and 'Arminian' in seventeenth-century narratives forces one to wade through a mire of erroneous and inconsistent assumptions as to their meanings and origins. Trevor Cooper has noted that although we refer to the movement that reordered the interiors and ritual arrangement in churches and university chapels *c.* 1633-37 as 'Laudian', Laud himself was not the instigator.¹⁵⁰² Cooper and Tyacke have suggested that the inspiration for chapel arrangements in the 1630s can be traced back to the

¹⁵⁰² Some of those devoted to the new reordering of chapels and churches and its principles 'disagreed with the insensitive means by which he [Laud] was seen to promote them'. Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowling*, 48-9.

private chapel of Bishop Launcelot Andrewes.¹⁵⁰³ It would be therefore, more appropriate to speak of an Andrewes/Laudian-style or arrangement. Laud did not devise this style: he simply enforced it in a comprehensive and aggressive manner, above all in his capacities as archbishop.

Equally ambiguous are interpretations of the terms 'Arminian' and 'Arminianism', labels often associated with President Thomas Jackson of Corpus Christi College. Jacobus Arminius would have been astonished at the multitude of ritual characteristics - including the deployment of opulent music and ceremonial - that by the late 1640s had come to be labeled 'Arminian'. Arminius may have been even more surprised to find his religious doctrines associated with ceremony recalling the pre-Reformation Latin rite. Could Arminius have imagined communion tables (referred to as 'altars' in some churches) placed in north-south positions at the eastern ends of churches richly decorated with exquisite fabrics and candles and tapers (forbidden after the Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559) and set upon three steps?¹⁵⁰⁴ Would Arminius have condoned the use of frankincense after the first lesson, acts of corporal worship,¹⁵⁰⁵ and the use of polyphonic music that included the organ? Arminius' religious doctrines even became linked to the divine right of kings and the divine right of bishops.¹⁵⁰⁶ All this helps explain the polarisation in religious thinking that occurred during the 1630s and 40s, including the incipient rise of presbyterianism. It is easy to understand how puritans the likes of William Prynne and William Dowsing, for example, found Andrewes/Laudian-style ritual, ceremonial, and music idolatrous, and their recollections of the Latin rite 'popish', but puzzling how they came to link Laudian-style ritual and music with 'Arminianism'. By 1630, 'Arminiansim', now a catch-term for all the 'idolatrous' and heretical practices listed above, became associated with religion and worship in most university college chapels. When the Parliamentary Visitations of 1647 got underway in Oxford, with William Prynne at the helm, an 'Arminian' school had been identified; 'Arminianism' had officially become a label linked to 'popery' and the ceremonial of the Latin rite,

¹⁵⁰³ See Vol. II, Supplement One, 401-3.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Please refer to the illustration and description of Launcelot Andrewes' private chapel, Vol. II, Supplement One, 403.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Turning toward the east, bowing to the altar on entering and leaving the quire, 'adoration' of the name of Jesus, and kneeling to receive communion. See Vol. II, Supplement One, 423-4.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Two tenets 'dear to the upper classes and the universities'. Burrows, *Register of the Visitors of The University of Oxford*, xx-xxiii.

which along with refusal to accept the power of Parliament, constituted criteria for expulsion from the university.¹⁵⁰⁷

In recent studies much emphasis has been placed on the notoriety of Peterhouse College during the 1630s and Master John Cosin's extravagant implementation of Andrewes/Laudian-style edification. However, the Commons Committee Report of 1641 (BL Harl. MS 7019) and the chapel accounts of St. John's College, Cambridge, suggest that the chapel of St. John's surpassed Peterhouse in the sheer extravagance of its decoration and furniture, which included the organ built by Robert Dallam in 1635/36. The report and the accounts describe a chapel bursting with colour and containing: sixteen paintings of the life of Christ by Simon Luttichuys (1610 - 1661), a Dutch Golden Age still life painter, an elaborately decorated altar with carved canopy set off by rails, and two angels and a 'dove of glory' that hung from a ceiling painted ultramarine blue with gold gilt stars. Although the Commons Committee Report makes no reference to it, there may even have been a second organ (removed in 1642/43); the fact that it was not mentioned in the report may contribute to the notion that it was kept in another part of the college, as mentioned in Chapter Four.¹⁵⁰⁸

The efforts of Beale to revive a choir at St. John's with trained singers and an organist is clearly indicated in the chapel accounts and reflects a strong interest in choral performance. The evidence demonstrates that at least two boy choristers and two former choristers were among the group of singers after Beale's election in 1634. The Keyton foundation was once again up and running and admitting trained ex-choristers; an examination of the individuals admitted, reveals two former choristers of Southwell Minster, William Horberey (admitted, 1632) and Edward Mason (admitted, 1634). Further research into Southwell Minster records and those of St. John's is necessary to determine the qualifications of other singers admitted as Keyton scholars. Beale's tenacity is also reflected in the attempt to procure singers through the Mountstephen's foundation, which unfortunately yielded only one singer, John Hardwar of Norfolk (admitted, 9 November 1642). A payment 'ffor a surplice

¹⁵⁰⁷ Burrows, *Register of the Visitors of The University of Oxford*, xxxi-xxxvi.

¹⁵⁰⁸ See Chapter Four, 226.

for halfehead¹⁵⁰⁹ the Chorister' in August 1636 suggests Beale's interest in achieving a balanced choral texture incorporating trebles and means. The recruitment of fifteen-year-old James Dunkin (admitted sizar, 9 September 1637), a former chorister at Canterbury (1630-37), as organist for one quarter in 1638/39 suggests that after his duties as organist Dunkin could have continued on as singer, lending his vocal skills to the choral body that Beale was assembling. Succeeding Dunkin as organist was Richard Gibbons, an innkeeper and wait, *c.* 1625 to *c.* 1635. All this could indicate that Beale expected the performance of polyphonic compositions in verse- and full-style with choristers assuming treble parts and with other members (among them Keyton and Mountstephen scholars and ex-choristers) assuming remaining parts. The confirmation of polyphonic textures occurs in the Commons Committee Report of 1641 (BL Harl. MS 7019), which records the use of 'anthems' and 'pricksong' at St. John's and other Cambridge colleges.

Perhaps not as ornate as the chapel of St. John's, Cambridge, the chapel of Corpus Christi, Oxford, thrived under President Thomas Jackson, member of the Durham House group and chaplain to both Richard Neile and Charles I. It comes as no surprise that music figured greatly in services at Corpus Christi during the 1630s, especially when considering the tastes of the conciliatory group of men that presided over the college (i.e. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, Neile, the Visitor, and Charles I). The repair of the organ in 1631 and a *c.* £40 overhaul in 1638/39 suggest its constant use and the interest of Jackson in keeping it in peak condition.

Thomas Jackson's motivation to assemble a choral force at Corpus Christi, Oxford, appears weaker than that of Beale at St. John's, Cambridge. Although evidence surrounding the singers at Corpus Christi remains difficult to obtain, certain facts have come to our aid. Evidence shows that the choral body 1631-40 was complemented by two choristers, between five and six (most likely more) ex-choristers, as well as the two clerks and one organist. This nucleus formed a choral body of *c.* ten to twelve singers; this would be sufficient to perform music in four and five parts in both full and verse idioms in addition to the singing of metrical psalms (references to which are recorded in the *Libri Magni*, 1631/32). The repertory that

¹⁵⁰⁹ See Chapter Four, 220.

was sung must be left to speculation; however, it is not unreasonable to assume that due to the relationship between Jackson and his mentor William Laud, St. John's (Oxford) repertory (St. John's College, Oxford, MSS 180 and 181)¹⁵¹⁰ could have been performed. Further, it might also be possible that works contained in the *New College Chapel Choir Books*¹⁵¹¹ were performed at Corpus Christi, especially in light of the fact that both Corpus Christi and New College employed the same organ technician (Robert Gordon) and that both colleges made improvements surrounding their organs (e.g. vestry renovations and organ overhauls) within a year of one another (Corpus Christi in 1638, New College in 1639).

Considering the religious and musical reactions at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, over the broad canvas of the Long Reformation it is of note that St. John's always remained a step ahead of Corpus Christi in its embrace of radicalism and reform. The penchant for religious extremism at St. John's College appears to have begun under the tenure of Master John Taylor between 1538 and 1546 (in particular, the decision to engage Henry VIII in the issue of new statutes in 1545). This was followed by the involvement of alumnus John Cheke (provost of King's College, 1549-53) in the 1549 Visitation of Cambridge: Cheke was among the commissioners issuing general directives for the University of Cambridge. As Edward VI's Secretary of State, Cheke was also able to influence change on a national scale. If the *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (composed by Thomas Cranmer and others and penned by Cheke in 1552) is any indication of Cheke's musical taste, then the musical provision outlined in the document (i.e. singing of the Psalms as well as the Gloria and Credo) suggests that music continued to play a role in the reformed Church in Cambridge and elsewhere, despite Cheke's otherwise fervent evangelical stance. The radical bent of St. John's continued on into the 1560s and 70s, an era in which religious and musical views became highly polarised: St. John's fellows, notably William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright, led the university and country toward religious anarchy in their support of presbyterianism.¹⁵¹² The chapel

¹⁵¹⁰ SJCOA, St. John's College, Oxford, MSS 180 and 181 (Bass Decani partbooks). See Chapter Five, 348.

¹⁵¹¹ Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. c. 46-51, d. 149-69, c. 22-5, fol. 32. See Chapter Five, 349.

¹⁵¹² The first radical moves occurred in 1570 led by Cartwright; during a course of Cambridge lectures (as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity) he called for the suppression of the entire episcopal system.

of St. John's, completely reordered between 1559 and 1561 by Cartwright's mentor, James Pilkington, remained a paragon of austere puritan taste through the 1620s. Even in the adoption of Laudian-style worship and music, St. John's, Cambridge, remained more determined than most colleges, including Corpus Christi, Oxford; not only did William Beale's chapel at St. John's exceed Thomas Jackson's chapel at Corpus Christi in sheer flamboyance, it outshone all the other Cambridge chapels of the day.

Afterword

The expectations set by this thesis, above all the intention to examine selected individuals and their influence on religious, liturgical, and musical change, have yielded outcomes far beyond those first imagined. The cumulative results of the thesis have revealed a musical engagement within the two case study colleges that considerably exceeds that reported in previous scholarly research, much of which was incomplete or misleading. As pioneer scholar Frank Harrison and, more recently, Dana Marsh found, contemporary musicological research must be complemented by investigation across the disciplines. The deployment of interdisciplinary material has yielded significant rewards, for example: the examination of the sermons of John Fisher and James Pilkington; the correspondence of John Jewel, John Whitgift, and John Cosin; and written works by New College Catholic apologists as well as those of Richard Hooker and Richard Mountague. The resulting new body of material surrounding the smaller early modern humanist foundations of St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, significantly adds to an already large body of knowledge addressing their medieval Wykehamist predecessors. More importantly, it provides us broader insight into the musical panorama of the English Reformation(s) and, specifically, into the musical life of smaller university colleges, which until now has been severely limited or neglected.

Part of the results shed light on the types of organs deployed at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, particularly the Thomas and Robert Dallam instruments; they also reflect the unique development of the English organ

Consequently, he was deprived of his post and soon afterwards fled to Geneva. Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 62.

during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The English organ, in contrast to Continental counterparts, developed in an insular manner, remaining true to its five- and ten-foot Principals.¹⁵¹³ One can argue that Henry VIII's schism with Rome and the English Reformations isolated the British Isles and cheated England out of vital new knowledge in organ building. On the other hand, it is precisely its insularity that gave the English organ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its unique timbre and voice; the subsequent adaptation of these 'transposing' organs, first as accompanying instruments before the Commonwealth and then as organs in C in the later seventeenth century, influenced British organ building for centuries to come.¹⁵¹⁴ Though precious little is known of the exact nature of choral repertory at either of the two focus foundations during the English Reformations, evidence points to the adoption of an Anglican choral style after the accession of Elizabeth I (which at Corpus Christi included polyphonic settings during the 1560s); the repertory suggested from c. 1560 through c. 1650 contributes to the tradition of English choral works that have retained a strong bond with the medieval Office (in particular through the canticles) until this day - a trait that has vanished on the Continent.

Finally, ritual, ceremony, and music within the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chapels of St. John's in Cambridge, and Corpus Christi in Oxford, have surprised us. Though secondary to the humanist ethos established by the founders, Fisher and Fox, the liturgy was embellished by improvised and composed polyphony and the use of organs during the 1540s. It is important to remember that the decision to enhance the liturgy musically was influenced by individuals other than the founders, and that these individuals convinced the founders to relinquish their earlier, simpler musical intentions. This study has demonstrated that the role of polyphony (improvised and composed) within that repertory must be re-evaluated in the context of the smaller foundations, though its execution remains a subject for further research. In the 1630s balanced choral textures were once again achieved at both colleges, and high quality organs - in their new roles as accompanying instruments (in addition to their

¹⁵¹³ The Reformation appears to have cut off English organ development from many contemporary innovations occurring on the Continent (e.g. the use of reeds and pedals), such as those described in Arnolt Schlick's *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (Mainz, 1511).

¹⁵¹⁴ See Shinn, A., 'A Mirror Obscured. The Enigma of Arnolt Schlick's *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* in Renaissance England', *The Organ Yearbook*, 41, (2012), 37-57.

established solo functions in voluntaries) - enhanced the repertory, including that in contemporary verse-style.

A key factor in achieving a full choral texture (with boys and men) at both St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, has been the acknowledgement of the participation of fellows and scholars among the membership, in both chant and polyphony - an argument that Beth Ann Lee-De Amici defended in her research at All Souls College, Oxford. Lee-De Amici briefly mentioned the potential contribution to polyphony of nine former choristers at Magdalen, c. 1490 - c. 1540, who worked their way up the academic ladder and proceeded on to fellowships, in addition to three clerks, who were later admitted as fellows.¹⁵¹⁵ The contribution of former choristers and trained musicians among the fellows and scholars at both St. John's and Corpus Christi has been of vital importance in establishing the potential of the choral forces at both foundations; the existence of former choristers, once again falls back on decisions made by individuals to expand vocal textures at St. John's, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi, Oxford (e.g. Metcalfe, Keyton, Thimbleby, and Beale at St. John's and Claymond, Morwen, and Bishop James Montague at Corpus Christi). This contributes to the underlying goal of this study, namely, to search out those responsible for religious and musical change in the chosen foundations; it is perhaps this point that has delivered the key results of the thesis. We are now forced to acknowledge St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as foundations where music and the use of organs played a much greater role than previously believed. Despite reforms in religion and the adoption of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the inspiration and efforts of various heads of house, fellows, and personalities external to the two focus colleges altered and often edified the ritual and ceremony at these foundations; although liturgical music and organs may have been less extravagant than at the larger foundations, they remained no less intrinsic to the devotional fabric and identity of these institutions.

¹⁵¹⁵ Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, vol. I, 1-10, *passim*, vol. II, 1-7, *passim*; Lee - De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem Fidei Christiani', 112.

RELIGIOUS, LITURGICAL, AND MUSICAL CHANGE
IN TWO HUMANIST FOUNDATIONS
IN CAMBRIDGE AND OXFORD, c. 1534 TO c. 1650:
ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD.

A STUDY OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL OUTLOOK,
INFLUENCE AND OUTCOMES

by

ALEX SHINN

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

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SUPPLEMENTS

SUPPLEMENT ONE

THE DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF THE ENGLISH ORGAN THROUGH 1650

A CASE STUDY OF THE NATURE, USE, AND PLACING OF ENGLISH ORGANS THROUGH 1650, INCLUDING MATTERS THEOLOGICAL AND RITUAL

Chapters Four and Five of this thesis presented discrete studies of religious change and the consequences for worship and music in two colleges founded in the early sixteenth century. In each case study, attention was paid to the presence, nature, use, and significance of the organ in relation to the narrative of change. This supplement places the narrative in the wider context of the history of the English organ through *c.* 1650. This was a period in which the presence and absence, musical function, liturgical use, and religio-political import of the organ were entwined with the larger issues of theological outlook and influence, tension between factions, and political events.

Changes in the theology and consequent ritual presentation of the Eucharist (whether called Mass or Holy Communion) also impinged on the organ. The stone altar of sacrifice of the Mass was displaced by the wooden holy table of the Lord's Supper by 1552; thereafter the tensions between altar and holy table, and between the priestly sacrifice and the shared communion of the Lord's Supper represented the polarities of the theology and ritual values within the Church of England. In a number of places, the location or relocation of the altar or holy table affected the location or relocation of the organ; during the reintroduction of organs at the end of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century, the place vacated by the altar (*i.e.* the presbytery) became a readily available space to locate an organ. Subsequent changes in ritual practice force a re-appraisal of the location of the organ. Therefore, the following chapter is devoted to a brief overview of the English organ through 1650 followed by a general discussion of the relationship between organ and altar, especially during the period *c.* 1560 - *c.* 1650, illustrated by examples from the colleges examined in this thesis.

1. The development, use, and repertory of the English organ until c. 1534 with selected focus upon the case study colleges

By c. 1534 organs had long been glimmering threads in the tapestry of English worship; they had lent solemnity, formality, and *éclat* to the liturgy from before the Norman Conquest, initially in the greater Benedictine abbeys.¹ The technical development of the late medieval organ, which included the reduction of key sizes essential in the execution of rapid fingerwork, is reflected in the style and idioms of music appearing between 1400 and 1511.² Although 1511 marked the publication of Arnolt Schlick's ground-breaking treatise, *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (Mainz, 1511), the English instrument remained isolated from most Continental innovations; this was not necessarily regrettable, for the English organ developed a unique timbre and scope that reflected the liturgy and choral polyphony with which it was closely identified.³ Stops, which had been introduced in England by 1511/12 at the very latest, came to enable the player to shut off (or 'stop') individual ranks within the previously indivisible chorus (*Blockwerk*). The English instrument, however, estranged itself from the powerful reeds and the pedals of Dutch and German organs described by Schlick, not least due to its modest size⁴ and its demure character in the English liturgy; the reticent nature of the organ became even more subdued during the Henrician Reformation, when sentiment against the organ in worship first began to nebulize.⁵

¹ During the fourteenth century organs were not only found in the abbeys, cathedrals, and priories, but in new collegiate churches such as Winchester College (by 1400) and Eton (1440), at Oxford at New College and the colleges of Queen's, Merton, and Magdalen, and at Cambridge at King's College. By the end of the century organs were recorded in important parish churches in London and elsewhere. For greater detail see Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 21-1.

² *Ibid.*, 21.

³ For an overview of the differences between English and Continental organs, c. 1511 see Shinn, A., 'The Mirror Darkened. The Enigma of Arnolt Schlick's *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* in Renaissance England', *The Organ Yearbook*, 41 (2012), 37-58.

⁴ As John Caldwell reported to us in 1973, the fifteenth-century English organ was more often than not a 'small and simple instrument'. There remains no evidence that it included a pedal-board or more than one manual. The compass may have been that of the medieval theoretical scale, commonly known as the 'gamut' (G-e"), and some of them may not have been fully chromatic. Caldwell, J., *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1973), 12. There appear to have been two exceptions to the modest size of English organs: the Saxon organ at Winchester and the organ at Exeter Cathedral (1513-14) built by Laurence Playssher. Bicknell, 38-9.

⁵ The organ became the subject of evangelical disdain; however, even though the Lower House of Convocation included organ playing among the '84 Faults and Abuses of Religion' (Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 19), no substantial decrease in organ playing occurred. The maintenance of organs in greater cathedrals and collegiate churches continued unhindered through the same period.

Most larger churches and the majority of urban parish churches owned organs by 1534, and many monasteries, cathedrals, collegiate churches, colleges, and parish churches owned two or more. Inventories and accounts often distinguish between the great or greater (*maiori*) organ and little organ. Frustratingly, such documentary evidence is far more prolific than archaeological survivals; the three surviving fragments of British pre-Reformation organs are discussed further below. Drawing on this evidence and on the surviving repertory of just over 160 liturgical organ pieces, it is possible to deduce that such instruments had three keyboard ranges: $c - a^2$, $F - a^2$, and $C - a^2$. So far as it is possible to ascertain, the sounding pitch of these instruments was different from the nominal pitch of the keyboard; keyboard C sounds F with a pipe five feet in length, or FF with a pipe ten feet in length. On the largest keyboard compass the principal rank (beginning at five-foot F) had a sounding compass of $F - d^3$; the diapason rank (beginning at ten-foot FF) had a sounding compass $FF - d^2$. One of the distinctive features of the English organ is the gradual preference for the use of the ten-foot rank as the foundation (rather than the principal); and when English organs aligned the keyboard compass to the sounding compass (i.e. where C sounds C) in the later seventeenth century, the diapason became the normal eight-foot rank (whereas in the major European organ traditions the principal remained the normal eight-foot rank).⁶

Instruments in which the bottom keyboard note was CC fa ut (i.e. two octaves below middle C) were built in All Hallows, Barking (1519) and Holy Trinity, Coventry (1526).⁷ Most often the great and little organs were designated different liturgical purposes and were situated in various locations: on a loft/screen (a common location, particularly for the 'greater' organs); next to the choir stalls in the chancel (*in medio chori*); in the Lady chapel (Lady Mass propers, particularly offertories comprise a great body of surviving Tudor organ repertory); beside a votive altar, above all those dedicated to the BVM (e.g. in the early provisional chapel at King's College,

⁶ For greater detail regarding organs of this period see Harper, J., 'Continuity, discontinuity, fragments and connections: the organ in church, c. 1500 - 1640', in Hornby, E., and Maw, D., (eds.), *Essays on the History of English Music* (Woodbridge, 2010), 215-231.

⁷ Gwynn, D., 'Two English Pre-Reformation Soundboards', *The Organ Yearbook*, 26 (1997), 13; Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 183.

Cambridge⁸ and to the Holy Name of Jesus (e.g. the Jesus altar at New College, Oxford c. 1510);⁹ and in a gallery or 'swallow's nest' (frequent in cathedrals, like Durham for example, but also in colleges such as Corpus Christi, Oxford, where space within the quire was at a premium).

2. Use and repertory

On the basis of the surviving repertory, the organ was a 'festal' instrument; in this context it was used on Sunday (beginning with first Vespers on Saturday) and feast days and octaves when the choir was ruled, and at principal services in choir (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Vespers, and Compline, as well as the Mass). The extant English repertory of composed liturgical organ music (almost all surviving in sources copied after 1560) suggests that, unlike Continental practice, the organ continued to be used throughout Advent and Lent; the extant repertory also shows that the principal items in which the organ was used were hymns, canticles, and *Te Deum* (where the organ alternated verse by verse) and antiphons at the Office and the Offertory at Mass (though there are a few examples of organ settings of the Ordinary and Proper items other than the Offertory).

Some inventories list 'organ books'; these were volumes most often of plainsong or *faburden* (monodic melodies, often in mensural notation, originating as bass counter-melodies to the original plainsong line). From the organ books the organist could improvise polyphony in alternation with the liturgical chant. It appears to have been common for such books to rest upon desks that stood beside the organ (see Supplement Two, New College, Oxford: Images 1, 2, 3, and 5; King's College, Cambridge: Image 16).¹⁰ A specific style of keyboard playing began to materialize by the later fifteenth century, which emphasised increasingly virtuosic, though predominantly improvised music (Williamson has dated the earliest surviving composed liturgical keyboard

⁸ See below, Supplement Two, Introductory commentary. Chapel interior, ceremonial regalia, and furniture, King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547, 467.

⁹ See Supplement Two, Introductory commentary. Chapel structure, ceremonial regalia, and furniture, New College, Oxford, c. 1545', 434; see also Image 5.

¹⁰ In his comprehensive examination of parish church records Magnus Williamson has encountered several illustrations of the desk, for example, at St. Andrew's, Canterbury (1493) and All Saints', Bristol (1469). See Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 182-3.

music from c. 1520);¹¹ this, too, was also played in alternation with voices. In no case before 1560 is there any indication that the organ was used to accompany singing: 'it was always used in alternation with or as a substitute for singing in the liturgy.'¹²

An illustration of the liturgical use of the organ in alternation with choir can be drawn from the seven (one for each day of the week) Lady Masses (c. 1520-30)¹³ by Nicholas Ludford (c. 1485 - 1557). It is believed that a master of the choir possessed the book containing chant melodies and nothing but the first words of texts, except in Kyries; he would probably have used it at the organ, most likely playing extemporaneous descants on them.¹⁴ Frank Harrison has sketched the following table to illustrate the performance of choir and organ of the parts of the Proper and Ordinary, according to the music contained in Ludford's books.¹⁵

Table S.1 Performance of choir and organ of the parts of the Proper and Ordinary, according to the music contained in Ludford's books of chant/organ improvisation.

Kyrie	Organ and voices <i>alternatim</i>
Gloria	Voices only on Wednesday/Friday, <i>alternatim</i> on other days
Alleluia	Organ acted as ruler-soloist, voices as chorus
Sequence	Organ acted as beginner, then <i>alternatim</i>
Credo	Voices only on Wednesday/Friday, <i>alternatim</i> on other days
Offertory	Organ only
Sanctus und Agnus Dei	Voices only
Communion	Organ only

The only example in England of the Ordinary of the Mass specifically set in organ polyphony to alternate with plainsong - commonly known as an Organ Mass - was composed by Philip Ap Rhys of St. Paul's.¹⁶

¹¹ Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 183.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ All seven settings of the Kyrie were written for *alternatim* performance. The Gloria and Credo of the Wednesday and Friday Masses are in vocal polyphony only; the Gloria and Credo of the remaining Masses are intended for *alternatim* performance, while all the settings of Sanctus and Agnus Dei are for voices alone. The Introit and Gradual (and its verse) of the Lady-Mass was altered only with the season and were normally sung in plainsong by the choir: 'In capella beatae Virginis per totum annum Gradale cum suo verso cantetur a toto choro'. *Missale Sarum*, col. 762; Harrison, *MMB*, 286.

¹⁴ Harrison, *MMB*, 286.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Harrison characterises the work as 'unpretentious', written in two and three parts, one of which is an ornamented variant of the plainsong. Harrison, *MMB*, 292-3.

Liturgical items often set to organ polyphony, improvised or composed, included: hymns such as *Bina celestis* (Feast of St. John the Apostle), *Christe redemptor* (Christmas Day), and *Primo dierum* (Sundays, Epiphany-Lent), and the *Te Deum* at Matins; hymns at Lauds, including *A solis ortus* (Christmas Day) and *Eterne rerum conditor* (Epiphany-Lent), among others; Kyrie, Gloria, (Credo), Sanctus, and Agnus Dei in the Ordinary of the Mass; in the Propers of the Mass (Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, Offertory, and Communion), for example in the incomplete Mass *In die Pasche* by Thomas Preston (1543 - 1559); Offertories on principal feasts; the Propers of Lady Mass, including *Per te dei genetrix* (Alleluia), *Felix namque* (Offertory), and *Beata viscera* (BL, MS Roy. App 56, fol. 7) for Communion; responds, hymns in the Proper of Vespers, the antiphon *Beatus Laurentius*, and Magnificat (BL, Add 29996); and psalm antiphon, Nunc dimittis antiphon, as well as diverse hymns at Compline.¹⁷ The provision for Compline in Lent is notable.

3. The fragmentary remains of Tudor organs, and three new instruments based on them

Our only tangible connection with organs from the period 1500-50 is represented by three examples: the organ case from St. Stephen, Old Radnor, Powys (Wales) and two soundboards from Suffolk (identified with the villages of Wetheringsett and Wingfield). The pre-Reformation organ has now been made manifest in three reconstructed 'Tudor' organs by builders Martin Goetze and Dominic Gwynn. These three organs have been chosen as representations of early sixteenth-century organs in Supplement Two (Chapels through the Reformations). The Old Radnor, the oldest surviving English organ case, was discovered by Sir Henry Dryden and brought to the attention of Revd. F. H. Sutton, who then published an illustrated monograph on it in 1868. The front façade corresponds to a five-foot stop.¹⁸ Sutton guessed that there were

¹⁷ For greater detail see 'Table 3: Liturgical Items set to Organ Polyphony, 1500 - 1558', in Williamson 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 208; for editions see Caldwell, J. (ed.), *Early Tudor Organ Music, I: Music for the Office* in *Early English Church Music*, 6 (London, 1966) and Stevens, D., (ed.), *Early Tudor Organ Music, II: Music for the Mass* in *Early English Church Music*, 10 (London: British Academy/Stainer & Bell, 1969), as well as Caldwell, J., *Tudor Keyboard Music, ca. 1520-1580*, *Musica Britannica*, 66 (London, 1995).

¹⁸ In early organs it is normative that the layout of the front pipes reflects precisely the mechanism inside; the pipes were usually divided into five groups, each symmetrical, and the tallest pipe was in the middle. According to Bicknell, the pipes in the upper flats originally spoke ('though later builders would

forty-five pipes on the lower level, which corresponds to the English long compass of *c.* forty-six notes; examination of the inside of the case reveals evidence of five stops operated by iron levers at the treble end of the case.¹⁹

In their three reconstructions of English sixteenth-century organs, Martin Goetze and Dominic Gwynn have confirmed that the organs dating from the reign of Henry VIII could incorporate five to eight stops. The five-foot Principals, which in their range reflect a parallel with the human voice,²⁰ illustrate the intimate relationship of English worship with choral liturgy;²¹ the five-foot Principal, which came to define the unique timbre of early English organs, was perhaps the most characteristic element of these instruments.

The Wetheringsett organ

The Wetheringsett organ is based on the soundboard found at Wetheringsett in Suffolk (hence the name). It was discovered during alterations to a farmhouse and may have been a dairy door. According to tree-ring dating, the tree from which the original soundboard was made (Baltic oak) cannot have been cut down before *c.* 1525. The likeliest local church to have used this organ was that at Debenham; the large church there bought an organ in 1525. It is likely that the Wetheringsett organ stood on the floor or against the wall in a gallery and was probably the main organ of the church.²²

The pitch and scaling of the stops are indicated by the spacing and the toehole sizes on the old soundboard. The order is that of the sliders and stop knobs, from the front.

have been more likely to leave them silent dummies'), perhaps in connection with doubled ranks. Bicknell, 57.

¹⁹ For greater detail see Bicknell, 56-9.

²⁰ The range of a five-foot principal stop is about four octaves from *F* (keyboard *C*), being approximately that covered by the human voice. Bicknell, 79.

²¹ If one considers the constructional details of the five early sixteenth-century English organs known to us and even those of early seventeenth-century instruments such as those of John Chappington and Thomas Dallam, it remains clear that the entire development of the instrument on the British Isles is linked to its interaction with choirs.

²² For greater detail see Goetze, M., and Gwynn, D., 'The Wetheringsett Organ' at [<http://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/the-new-wetheringsett-organ/>].

Stop list

- I. Short resonator reed - Regal 5ft
- II. Open metal, Principal 5ft. (*C* *C*# and *D* shared with other Principal)
- III. Open metal, Principal 5ft. (twenty-seven pipes, *D*# - *f* in the front)
- IV. Open metal, Principal 5ft. (*C* shared with other Octave)
- V. Open metal, Octave
- VI. Open metal, Fifteenth
- VII. Stopped wood, Basses 10ft. (*C* - *f*#, nineteen notes)

The outside dimensions of the organ are: 340 cm (375 cm with pinnacles) in height; height to impost, 122 cm; plan at pipe level, 170 cm wide x 78.5 cm deep; plan at ground level, 98 cm wide x 78.5 cm deep; ground plan of the wind system, 134 cm x 134 cm; staging (i.e. the total floor space required), 300 cm x 150 cm. The key compass is *C* to *a*², forty-six notes, which corresponds to the number of grooves in the Wetheringsett soundboard.²³ The nominal pitch is five ft. (i.e. a plainsong pitch a fourth above singing pitch), which is used for all three Goetze & Gwynn reconstructions.²⁴ The actual pitch is a semitone above A440 at singing pitch. Five ft. Principal ranks were the basis of both the Wingfield and Wetheringsett organs. The tuning system deployed is that recommended by Arnolt Schlick in *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten*.²⁵

²³ This compass matches the ranges needed for the surviving repertory. The two *C* organs at All Hallows by the Tower in London (1519), and Holy Trinity, Coventry (1526), would also have had an upper limit of *a*². This key compass allows for techniques of transposition by the player, which may have been quite subtle (by a fourth, a fifth, or a tone).

²⁴ For the actual pitch Gwynn has chosen the pitch of the earliest unaltered English pipes (i.e. the dummy pipes of the 1630 Dallam organ now at Stanford-on-Avon), which are about 1½ semitones above A440 at singing pitch. We have to assume that this pitch pre-dated use alongside choirs, but that it encouraged subtleties of technique in 'accompanying' which we have yet to learn.

²⁵ Schlick was the first writer to give a 'recipe' that mentions every note of the scale. It is a modified form of mean tone tuning, with good (not pure) major thirds and the wolf spread to some extent over neighbouring fifths to allow some modulation (though A^b for instance is still much closer to being a g#). For a comprehensive overview of Schlick's discussion of pitch see Barber, E.B., 'Arnolt Schlick, Organ Consultant and His "Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten"', *The Organ Yearbook*, 6 (1975), 33-41.

The Wingfield organ

The Wingfield organ is based on a soundboard found by Dominic Gwynn in 1995 at the collegiate church in Wingfield, Suffolk (hence the name); this soundboard is much smaller than that found at Wetheringsett. The surviving fragment cannot be dated accurately. There is as yet no possibility of tree-ring dating. It deploys sliders instead of stops to draw the ranks, with the exception of the Principal, which is permanently on.²⁶ It is unlikely to have been made after 1560, or during the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553); the 1530s and 1540s seem more likely. One assumes that this soundboard remained in this church through the end of the eighteenth century; the organ was seen standing on the north side of the chancel in 1796 and 1799.²⁷ It appears likely that the Wingfield organ was made by a local builder and incorporated local materials.

The pipes are all open, and made of oak. Pipes in the front (and the back) include the Principal (a five-ft. rank); the inside pipes consist of two Octave ranks and two Fifteenths. The Principal has no slider, but the other four ranks can all be drawn separately. The spacing and the toehole sizes on the old soundboard indicate the pitch and scaling of the stops.

Stop list

- I. Principal (permanently on; no slider)
- II. Octave
- III. Octave
- IV. Superoctave
- V. Superoctave

The outside dimensions of the organ are: height including pipes, 261 cm tall; ground plan of the case, 127 cm wide x 43 cm; ground plan of the wind system, 107 cm wide x 96 cm; staging, 244 cm wide x 122 cm. The key compass is *F* to *a*² without *g*^{#2}, forty

²⁶ The first reference to stops in an English organ is at Westerham in Kent in 1511/12, where the organ was 'to be made with iii stoppis after the new making'. Goetze, M., and Gwynn, D., 'The Wingfield Organ' at [<http://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/the-wingfield-organ/>].

²⁷ Gillingwater MSS, quoted in Davy, 'Church Notes: (Hoxne Hundred)', British Library, Add. MS 19092; Bicknell, 32.

notes, which corresponds to the number of grooves in the Wingfield soundboard.²⁸ The nominal pitch is five ft. (i.e. a fourth above singing pitch).²⁹ Once again, five-ft. Principal ranks are the basis for this organ. The tuning system is a modification of the Erlangen tuning, which was suggested by Annette Otterstedt; this is a Pythagorean tuning system, based on pure fifths.³⁰

The St. Teilo organ

An additional instrument to have been completed by Goetze and Gwynn is the organ made for a research project - 'The Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church' - and its proportions were designed for use in St. Teilo's Church, a medieval church now relocated at St. Fagan's Natural History Museum, Cardiff. It incorporates current reconstructive techniques and provides a superlative example of an instrument of the 1520s. Its case is a much-reduced version of the Old Radnor organ case.

Stop list

- I. Open metal, Principal 5ft. ($C - g^{\#1}$ in front)
- II. Open metal, Principal 5ft. ($c^0 - a^2$)
- III. Open metal, Octave
- IV. Open metal, Octave
- V. Open metal, Fifteenth
- VI. Stopped wood, Diapason 10ft. (full compass)

The outside dimensions of the organ are: total height, 340 cm, 375 cm with pinnacles; height to impost, 122 cm; plan at pipe level, 170 cm wide x 78.5 cm; plan at ground level, 98 cm wide x 78.5 cm; ground plan of the wind system, 134 cm wide x 134 cm; staging, 300 cm wide x 150 cm. It is fully chromatic, the key compass extending from

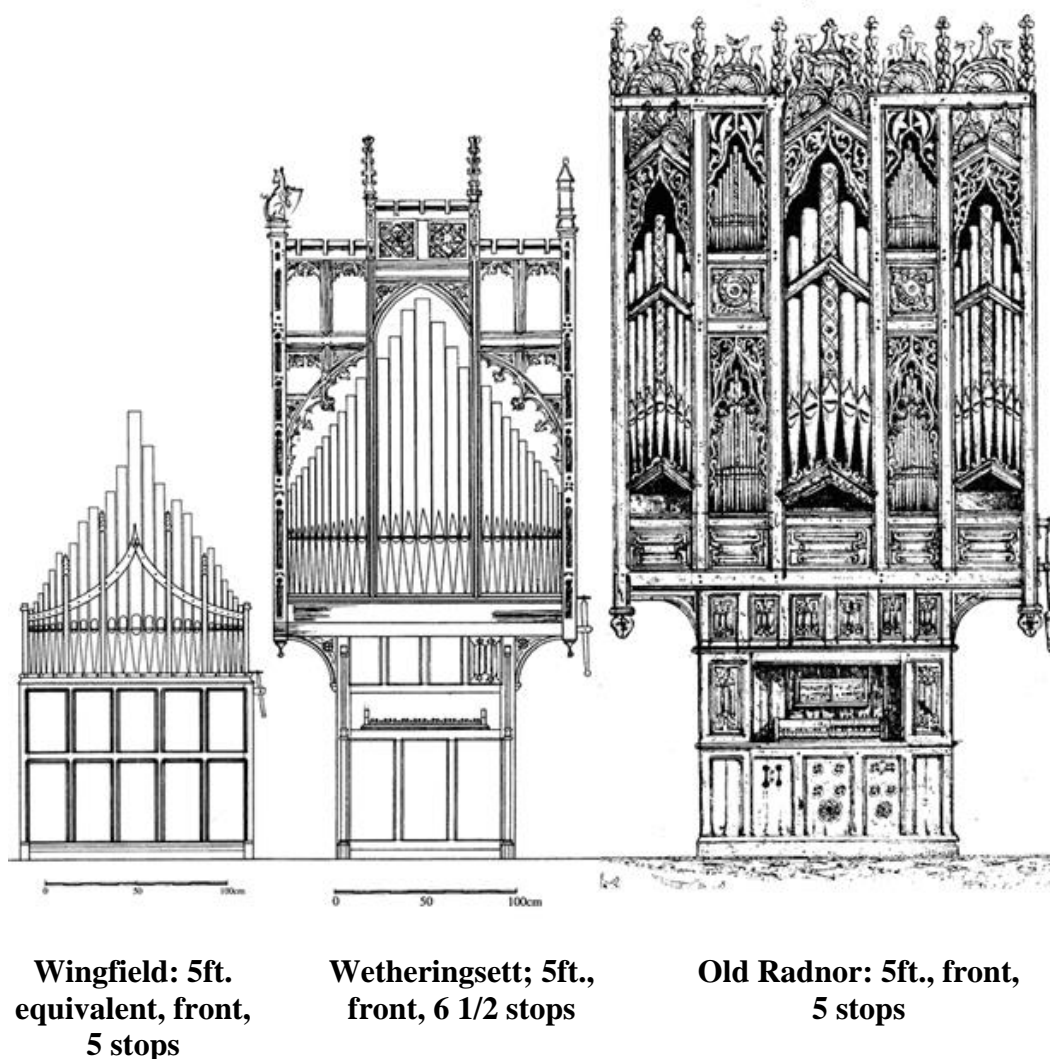
²⁸ This compass is derived from the ranges needed for the repertory.

²⁹ As in the case of the Wetheringsett organ, the actual pitch is based on the pitch of the earliest unaltered English pipes (i.e. the dummy pipes of the 1630 Dallam organ now at Stanford-on-Avon).

³⁰ The wolf fifth is placed so that there are some useful good major thirds; the effect of the wolf fifth is reduced by dividing it over two neighbouring fifths. Although there are bad fifths on d-a and a-e, there are good thirds on d-f#, a-c#, e-g#, and b-d# (in practice, the last not very useful), which influences some finals, though not perhaps to make an argument for such a modified tuning over strict Pythagorean method. Goetze and Gwynn, 'The Wingfield Organ'.

C to a^6 , forty-six notes, which corresponds to the number of grooves in the Wetheringsett soundboard and the compass recorded in the contract for the organ of Holy Trinity, Coventry (1526). In its range it is equipped to serve the surviving repertory. The key compass allows for transposition by the player, extended by the sub-octave Diapason for choral and vocal accompaniment (also for the early seventeenth-century verse style). A second keyboard can be folded down to give 'singing pitch' at F to d^3 , for demonstration purposes. As in the Wetheringsett and Wingfield instruments, the nominal pitch of five feet provides the basis for the organ; the actual pitch is a semitone above A440 at singing pitch. The tuning system is that proposed by Schlick in *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten*.

Illustration S.1a English Tudor organs to scale.³¹



³¹ I am grateful to Dominic Gwynn and John Harper for directing me to this image.

Illustration S.1b The St. Teilo organ.



4. Ritual function of English organs and altars through *c.* 1650 with selected examples from case study colleges

This section of the thesis focuses upon the nature, use, and locations of organs, particularly during the period *c.* 1560 - *c.* 1650, employing examples from the case study colleges as illustration. In considering these factors surrounding the organ, the altar, or holy table, which played a distinct role in the location and interaction with the organ becomes highly relevant to the discussion. In various cases the place vacated by the altar (i.e. presbytery) was a readily available space to locate an organ; this became apparent after the reintroduction of organs at the end of the sixteenth and outset of the seventeenth centuries. Subsequent alterations in ritual practice forced a re-appraisal of the locations of organs.

The tradition of deploying a stone altar in worship has archaic sources, among them early biblical narrative, in which the altar was the site of sacrifice; this includes, for example, the references to stone tables in the Old Testament, such as the one used in the sacrifice by Abraham. Later, stone altars became the traditional element in the priestly sacrifice of the Mass; the sacrifice of the Mass, which centred on the eucharistic elements of bread and wine, had since the time of Hippolytus and Justin in

the mid-second century remained the primary act of worship in the English Catholic Church.

As organs became increasingly connected with parts of the liturgy, c. 1200 - c. 1500,³² a role in addition to the purely decorative began to emerge; organs became practical substitutes for voices, and in this new function organs developed a spatial relationship with both the altar and the pulpitum,³³ where specific parts of the liturgy were celebrated. Cardinal Wolsey's directives for the Benedictine and Augustinian houses in 1520³⁴ acknowledged the use of organs,³⁵ and in the smaller Augustinian houses, where monks were discouraged from singing polyphony by Wolsey,³⁶ the organ could take over the plainchant of the choral force.³⁷ As John Harper observes, 'in some smaller churches organs were undoubtedly the principal source for the polyphonic adornment of the liturgy' and in others where there were fewer members of the community to sustain the full liturgy they relieved the burden on the small numbers of priests or monks committed to singing the *Opus Dei*.³⁸

Along with the transformation of the liturgy during the Edwardine and Elizabethan Reformations, came a re-definition of the Mass and the sacrament of Holy

³² Parts of the Proper and Ordinary of the Mass, for example. See above, 386.

³³ Singing and recitation of the Epistle and Gospel occurred on Sundays and feast days from the centre of the pulpitum.

³⁴ Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', 66-8.

³⁵ Monks were not to go 'out of the monastery...not to go hawking or hunting...to wear furs or shoes worn by the laity. They were to keep canonical hours...permitted the use of the organ, but they were to confine themselves to plainsong, not prick-song.' Bernard, G., *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven and London, 2005), 229; Marsh, 67.

³⁶ A notable part of Thomas Wolsey's reform programme involved a revision of the regulations governing the conduct of the Benedictines and Augustinians. In 1520, his musical directives to the Augustinians reinforced precedent: 'pricksong' (notated polyphony) was the domain of lay professionals ("clerici seculares cantores"), employed by a monastery to perform the Lady Mass and the Jesus Mass outside of the conventual choir. With the exception of one canon to act as eucharistic celebrant, none was allowed to attend such services. Elaborate polyphony evoked too closely secular religion and culture - the very matter that monasticism sought by nature to avoid. Wolsey's revisions would focus on secular elements thought most to interfere with the faithful observance of religious rule.' Marsh, 66. In 2005 Rob Wegman assessed Wolsey's musical regulations. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 158-9. [Wegman has cited Wilkins, D., *Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols. (London, 1737), iii, 686]. Wegman provides a useful explanation of 'pricksong', described in Wolsey's Latin regulations as 'Cantus fractus vel divisus', setting it in a wider rhetorical context with parallel examples coming from anti-musical polemics on the Continent.

³⁷ Cardinal Wolsey was one who discovered the practical energy-saving function of the organ, employing it especially in the smaller Augustinian houses. Harrison, *MMB*, 215-16; Williamson 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', 183.

³⁸ In parish churches their care and use were often in the hands of the clerk. Harper, 'The politics of the organ'.

Communion. Part of this re-definition during the reign of Edward VI involved challenging the belief in transubstantiation (i.e. the true presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Eucharist). Theological disputes between evangelicals and traditionalists erupted throughout the realm, not least in the universities, Cambridge in particular. Many evangelicals, including St. John's College alumni John Cheke (Secretary of State to Edward VI) and Robert Horne, defended the notion of the Eucharist as a memorial meal - the Lord's Supper; during the polemical battles over transubstantiation held in the homes of William Cecil and Richard Morison in November and December 1551,³⁹ the opposing faction included other St. John's fellows such as Thomas Watson, the first master of St. John's under Mary Tudor (master, 1553-54).⁴⁰

5. Holy table and Organ during the reigns of Edward VI, Elizabeth I, and James I

With the ritual re-definition of the Eucharist as a memorial meal, the sacrament of the Mass was no longer associated with a priestly sacrifice; thus the stone altar, which had been intrinsically linked to the priestly sacrifice, lost its significance. Stone altars, the symbol of sacrifice, were removed from the eastern ends of churches in national campaigns under Edward VI and Elizabeth I, and the tradition of the priest facing away from the congregation was excised from worship. Magnificent altars elaborately decorated with costly altar cloths, hangings, and curtains as well as a conglomeration of silver and gold ceremonial regalia were replaced by a simple holy table of wood covered only with linen cloth. In parish churches the holy table was relocated in the centre of the chancel, with short ends east and west so that the people could gather round, facing the priest; Hailes parish church in Worcestershire provides us with a rare surviving example.

According to the Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559 the 'holy table' was ordered to be set 'in the place where the altar stood' and 'so to stand' except at the celebration of communion

³⁹ For details on the debates on transubstantiation see Vol. I, Chapter Four, 156.

⁴⁰ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 48.

at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy table to be placed where it stood before.⁴¹

Whereas many Elizabethan protestants adopted this practice, other more radical protestants, in particular the Marian exiles, felt that the communion table stored in the altar position blurred the difference between old stone altars and new wooden tables. Bishop James Pilkington of Durham, for example, issued an order in 1562 that 'the lord's table should stand in the bodie of the churche, and also that common prayer should be there said and done in all places within the dioces of Durham.'⁴² This was a blatant contradiction of Elizabeth's injunction. It is therefore likely that Pilkington had the table permanently placed in the 'bodie' of the chapel at St. John's College, Cambridge, during his tenure as master (20 July 1559 - 19 October [?] 1561). By c. 1565 the location of the holy table during the service of Holy Communion remained the chancel or quire of a church or chapel. Alternatively, a communion table could be placed upon trestles, which could be stored in a chest, cupboard, or closet after the service;⁴³ this occurred at St. John's College, Cambridge, between 1575/76 and 1588/89.⁴⁴

The chapels of the case study colleges provide examples of the ritual position and storage of the holy table. References in the *Computus Bursariorum* of New College, Oxford, record a wooden table (presumably a communion table) set up by carpenter Henry Bolton in 1550/51, directly following six days of work about the high altar.⁴⁵ Though no indication is given as to its placement, vii li, iv s paid for 'altering' ('*reaedificatione*') the high altar in 1552/53;⁴⁶ this may suggest having the altar turned

⁴¹ Haugaard, W.P., *Elizabeth and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1968), 135-7; Cardwell, E., *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, vol. I, 234; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 34.

⁴² Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 46.

⁴³ See Chapter Four, 199.

⁴⁴ See Chapter Four, 199.

⁴⁵ 'So[lutum] Robarto Jacson laboranti circa sumum altar [sic] ad tres dies capienti ix d denarios [sic] pro quolibet die et pro 4 or cum illo, vij s viij d'; 'henrico bolton pro compositione nove mense in temple, xvj s'. NCA, 7518. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1550/51. This occurred shortly after the arrival of Warden Ralph Skinner, a firm evangelical.

⁴⁶ 'So[lutum] pro reaedificatione sumi altaris, vij s, iiij d'. NCA, 7522. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1552/53.

east-west in the manner prescribed by Edward's commissioners following the arrival of the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*.⁴⁷ Alternatively, it could also signify removing the stones of the altar. This occurred shortly after the arrival of Warden Ralph Skinner, a firm evangelical⁴⁸ who favoured the more radical 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* and its omission of choral provision.⁴⁹ Skinner also had at least one organ (possibly all the organs) removed in 1550/51⁵⁰ in addition to the work done around the high altar and the installation of the table set up by Bolton.

The high altar at New College assumed its pre-Edwardine location under Mary Tudor's reign and is referred to in numerous references in the chapel accounts;⁵¹ however, all the altars in the chapel⁵² were removed at the outset of the academic year 1559/60 when two labourers are paid on two separate occasions for four days work in destroying the altars.⁵³ As payments for 'communion clothes' in 1569/70 indicate, a communion table had replaced the high altar; this is confirmed in 1594/95 when a payment of xij d is

⁴⁷ 'A less obvious aspect of the 1552 inventories undertaken by the Edwardine regime is the light they throw on the unexpected complexity and richness of the emerging pattern of reformed worship, as patterns inherited from Catholic ritual customs were imposed on or adapted to the liturgy of the Prayer Book.' Communion tables set east and west in the quire or in some cases the body of the church, surrounded on four sides by long 'forms' with kneelers could be found in London and Surrey as at St. Mary Rotherhithe. Duffy, *Saints Sacrilege and Sedition*, 124.

⁴⁸ Skinner, an enthusiastic proponent of reformist legislation in Parliament, sat for Leicester in the House of Commons.

⁴⁹ Skinner was no doubt aware of the absence of musical ceremony in the 1552 *Prayer Book* and the anti-choral bent of its provisions. In March 1553 the Privy Council sent order for a disbandment of the choir at New College, Oxford; however, the death of Edward VI prevented this from happening. Brockliss, *Magdalen College* 127-8. It is possible that Skinner may have influenced the demand for disbandment.

⁵⁰ 'So[lutum] pro henrico bolton pro removendis organis ad templo, xii d'. NCA, 7518. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1550/51.

⁵¹ For example: 'So[lutum] pro compositione 4 albarum et duarum mapparum pro summo altarijs, viij d'. NCA, 7523. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1553/54.

⁵² Pre-1547 altars numbered up to seven or eight. Early references in 1455 suggest that there were already as many as six altars apart from the high altar. After a description of gifts given by Peter Hyll, including the 'Founder's Jewel', stands the following: '...in tabulis singulis deputatis sex altaribus i'fer'bus ad specialem memoriam eorum benefactorum prefati Collegij...'. NCA, 9654, fol. 15r. *Liber Albus (Registrum Primum)*, dated 1455. Yet more altars were consecrated by Bishop Anthony of Sidon in 1461: 'Et solut[um] pro ij ulnis panni linei ad mundanda altaria noviter consecrata'. NCA, 7713. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1460/61 (39 Henr. VI- I Edward IV); 'solut[um]pro j jantaclo dato episcopo Sydonis in tempore consecracionis altar' in capella una cum, xxd'. NCA, 7713. Under 'Custus necessarij fforinseca' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1460/61 (39 Henr. VI- I Edward IV). Though altars were doubtless removed under the Edwardine regime, in Mary Tudor's reign they numbered at least three (most likely more), including at least two in the antechapel.

⁵³ 'In primis Solutum duobus laborantibus pro quatuor dies destruentibus altaria (altari[?s]) capientibus quolibet die 9 denarios et ij d ultra (in toto) vj s, iiij d'; 'So[lutum] duobus destruentibus altaria laborantibus pro 4 dies...in toto vj s, viij d'. NCA, 7533. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1559/60.

made to one 'Miles' for mending the communion table.⁵⁴ Precisely when the table was set up remains uncertain; however, it is likely to have been in place following Bishop Horne's Visitations of 1566/67. By tradition, the communion table would have been stored at the eastern end and brought to the middle of the quire during Holy Communion (see Supplement Two, Image 25).

Similar turnovers between altar and communion table occurred at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. There are no specific payments for the removal of the altars under the Edwardine regime; however, payments indicate the alteration of the east end in 1549/50 and the installation of a communion table in 1550/51.⁵⁵ It must have been placed in the quire between the stalls at Holy Communion; however, it remains uncertain where the table was stored, for it appears that the pre-1547 altars remained standing. Within weeks of Mary Tudor's accession in the summer of 1553, xxii s, viii d was spent 'for setting upp [decorating, adorning?] ye altars & dressing ye churche' and v s 'for heare for ye altars'.⁵⁶ As reported earlier, payments are recorded for taking down the high altar in 1559/60⁵⁷ and the remaining two altars in 1560/61;⁵⁸ however, in 1568/69 the chapel accounts record yet again, payments for the removal of altars (three) and for 'settyng up the desks where the alters stode'.⁵⁹ This suggests that only parts of the altars may have been removed between 1559 and 1561, or perhaps that the altars had been only covered during the interim period. A payment of 2d 'for making the feet of the communion table shorter' is included with those for the removal of the altars in 1568/69, indicating that the communion table was already in place by that time. This is the last specific reference to a communion table in the *Libri Magni* before the Laudian refurbishment of the chapel in the 1630s. After the pre-Elizabethan altars had finally been removed in 1569, the communion table was most likely stored at the east end⁶⁰ and moved to the centre once a month during Holy Communion⁶¹ (see below, Supplement Two, Image 26).

⁵⁴ NCA, 7583. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1594/95.

⁵⁵ The following entries are recorded under 'Impensae Sacelli'. 'It' pro reparatione pavimenti Sacelli, 10d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 36v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1549/50. 'It' for the Communion Table, 7s'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 101r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1550/51.

⁵⁶ CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 86r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

⁵⁷ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 278, nt. 1155.

⁵⁸ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 279, nt. 1156.

⁵⁹ CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 144v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1568/69. See Vol. I, 280.

⁶⁰ Due to the extremely limited space between the stalls.

King's College, Cambridge, witnessed its own share of altar removals before and after Mary Tudor's reign and the dominance of the east-west positioned communion table after 1570. The magnificent pre-Edwardine altar of Antonio del Nunziato (constructed, 1544) was removed under the tenure of Provost John Cheke; another, simpler altar replaced it under Mary Tudor's reign. During the following tenure of Provost Philip Baker, a Roman Catholic traditionalist and opponent of protestant reform, a communion table⁶² was placed in the north-south position⁶³ of the preceding Marian altar; it was located at the junction of the first and second bays of the east end, which was most likely the location of the pre-Reformation high altar.⁶⁴ After the firm protestant Roger Goad became provost in 1570, the communion table was brought to the centre of the quire at the time of Holy Communion and may have been left there when not in use (as was most likely the case at St. John's); this is indicated in the c. 1609 drawing of Robert Smythson (Illustration S.2).⁶⁵ The space reserved for the former altar (and by Elizabethan injunction, the space now reserved to store the communion table) was now occupied by an organ. The Thomas Dallam organ, installed in 1605/06 at the end of Goad's tenure, is pictured at the junction of the second and third bays, just east of the vestry doors. John Harper's research at Magdalen College, Oxford, has shown that a similar arrangement of communion table and organ

⁶¹ The service of Holy Communion came to be celebrated once a month by 1600.

⁶² References to 'sumo altari' and 'altari' under 'Custus novi Templi' in the *Mundum Books* for 1561/62 and 1565/66, respectively, indicate an attachment to pre-Elizabethan terminology, though by 1566/67 the term 'altar' is replaced by 'communion table' in the chapel accounts: 'Stephen Wallys' is paid iiij s 'for new crestynge & joynynge ye communyon table'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/15. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1566/67.

⁶³ Evidence to support the communion table's placement is recorded in the account of Elizabeth I's visit to King's College Chapel in 1564. The chapel was appointed sumptuously. Temporary tapestry hangings were installed between the door to the north vestry 'round by the Communion-Table unto the South Vestry dore' and 'Upon the south side, about the middle between the vestry dore and the communion table (which stood north and south) was hanged a rich traves of crimson velvet for the Queens Majestie; with all other things appertaining'. According to Thomas Carter, 'the communion table and pulpit hanged richly'. The following morning at the sermon that she attended, the choir sang a Litany followed by 'in prick-song, a song'. Carter, T. J. P., *King's College Chapel: Notes on its History and Present Condition* (London, 1867), 58-59 (Baker's MSS is Carter's source); see also items under '1564', in Nichols, J., *Progresses and Public Processions*, vol. I, 7-12, 158; London, British Library, Harley MS 7033, fol. 114r, 127r.

⁶⁴ There are three predominant theories concerning the location of the pre-Reformation altar at King's. The most plausible, in light of ritual space needed to perform the Mass, would be at the junction of the first and second bays. For a summary of the three theories see below, Supplement Two, 461-3.

⁶⁵ See also Supplement Two, Image 32, 526.

may possibly have occurred at Magdalen at the outset of the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ This is highly significant, demonstrating that new considerations were being made in the position of organs in the context of the communion table's position.

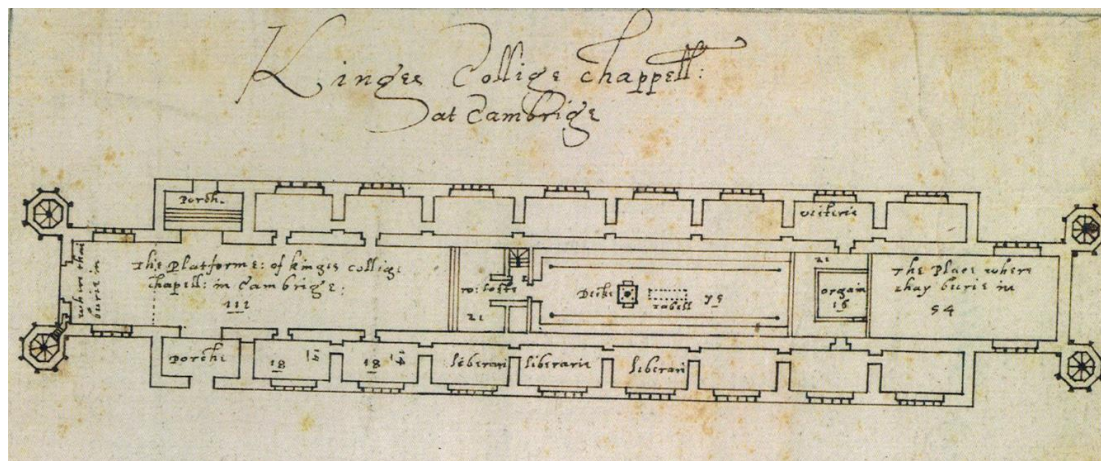


Illustration S.2 Robert Smythson, Designs by Reginald Ely (1438 - 1471) of King's College Chapel: Survey Plan, *c.* 1609 (RIBA, Library Drawings & Archives Collections).

At St. John's College, Cambridge, the high altar and six others⁶⁷ were pulled down after the arrival of Master James Pilkington in July 1559;⁶⁸ Pilkington also had twenty-one panes of glass replaced and 'altered' (i.e. removed) the crucifix (i.e. the rood).⁶⁹ The high altar was replaced with a communion table, though the first reference to it is recorded in 1562.⁷⁰ The table was by tradition placed between the stalls at Holy

⁶⁶ Harper, J., 'Magdalen and the organ, 1597-1736', unpublished paper given at BIOS conference, April 2008. For greater detail see below, 417.

⁶⁷ According to the inventory of 1545, there were six altars in addition to the high altar: one in Dr. Fisher's chantry, one in Dr. Aston's chantry, one in Dr. Keyton's chantry, one for Dr. Thompson's chantry, as well as two in the antechapel, one on the north side and one on the south. SJCA C7/2, fols. 102r-103v.

⁶⁸ 'Item to John Waller and his man for a dayes work in pulling downe the hye alter & caring it awaye, xx d'; 'Item for pulling downe ye aluter in Doctor Asthon[s] chappell, vj d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1558/59, third term. Although the altar was removed from Asthon's chapel, his tomb was maintained: 'Item to a painter for newe greninge the trees on magistro Asthonnes tombe, xvj d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 194v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1561/62. Payments in 1560/61 illustrate extensive remodeling of the upper part of the chapel after the high altar's removal: 'Item for an hundrethe and and tenne paving stone to ley in the upper parte of the Chappell, vj s, viij d'; 'Item to William barne for leying the same and for other Jobbes of worke there, xvj d'; 'Item to Waller for ix Dayes worke in whitinge the Chappell & for plastering it in manye planes after xj d the Daie & to his Laborer after viij d the Daie, xiiij s, iiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 161v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1560/61.

⁶⁹ 'Item to ye glazier for settinge xxj paines newe glasse in ye chappell & for altering ye crucifixe, ij s, ix d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1558/59.

⁷⁰ The inventory of the restry made by James's brother, Master Leonard Pilkington, and the senior bursar in March 1562 includes: 'Item one Deske of waynscott for the communion table'. SJCA C7/2,

Communion, and - in light of Pilkington's objection to storing it in the east - left there permanently.⁷¹ Between 1575/76 and 1588/89 the chapel utilised a collapsible communion table placed upon trestles; when not in use the trestles were kept in a closet with brooms, most likely in the east end of the chapel⁷² (see Supplement Two, Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1575, Image 28). In 1588/89, during the first year of Master William Whitaker's tenure, a new communion table was purchased;⁷³ there are no further references to trestles in the *Rentals*. In all likelihood it was stored in the east, and used in the between the stalls during Holy Communion.

6. Holy table and organ during the reign of Charles I

After Charles I ascended the throne in 1625 the holy table began to resume its pre-Reformation position in the east end of churches. Trevor Cooper and Nicholas Tyacke have attributed the arrangement of the communion table (now once again termed 'altar' in various chapels) to Bishop Launcelot Andrewes, who in turned inspired Laud, Cosin, and others.⁷⁴ The altar arrangement and its accompanying furniture and regalia are illustrated by a (most likely idealised) plan of Andrewes' private chapel, reproduced in Vernon Staley's *Hierurgia anglicana*⁷⁵ (see Illustration S.3). In this plan the altar is the focal point of attention: it stands east, protected by a rail and approached by three steps covered in fine carpet. According to Staley, the 'daily furniture for the altar' ('1 yard and 1/4 high, 1 yard 3/4 long, 1 yard broad') is decorated with a cushion,

fol.131r, 'Contents of the revery' (1562). The table was mended in 1562/63: the joyner is paid for vij s for 'tewe casements in the m[aster] his Chamber tweve frames hanging in the Chappell and for mendinge the Communion Table'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 265r. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1563/64.

⁷¹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 46. See above, 396.

⁷² 'for a locke and key for ye little house to keep in [bremes?] and tressles, iiij d'. SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 16r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1575/76 first term. See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 199.

⁷³ In 1588/89 x s is spent 'for a communion table'. SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 286r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1588/89, second term.

⁷⁴ Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 49.

⁷⁵ 'Chapel furninture as it was in use by the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews, Lord Bishop then of Winton: from whom the Archbishop confessed at the bar, he took his pattern of consecrating and furnishing churches, chapels and altars'. Prynne, W., *Canterburies doome, or, The first part of a compleat history of the commitment, charge, tryall, condemnation, execution of William Laud, late Arch-bishop of Canterbury containing the severall orders, articles, proceedings in Parliament against him, from his first...* (London, 1646), 122-4. Prynne itemises all furniture and objects of the chapel and goes on to chastise Laud and Andrewes for using furniture 'directly borrowed from Roman Ceremonial, Missal, and Pontifical no where to be found but Popish chapels and churches'. This passage is cited in Staley, V., *Hierurgia anglicana; documents and extracts illustrative of the ceremonial of the Anglican church after the reformation*, part one (London, 1902), 93. It is accompanied by a reproduction of Launcelot Andrewes' private chapel. See below.

'two candlesticks with tapers', a 'basin for oblations' (i.e. an alms dish or basin), as well as a 'cushion for the service book'. These items stand permanently on the altar, and the altar is opulently covered. Behind it (but not shown) are hangings and pictures. Beyond the rails is a pulpit. In the centre a 'music table' is surrounded by three 'forms'; upon this table are items to issue frankincense. Moving west, a lectern for the Bible is placed upon three steps, followed by the Litany desk. In the northwest a chair is provided for the chaplain, who reads the service, and across from him on the southwest is a chair with canopy for 'the Bishop'. Surrounding the lower portion of the chapel east and west, are benches for family members.

Intimately connected with the physical layout of the chapel was the Prayer Book service. It was wholly or partly choral, with choice music that included the organ. The instrument was often (but not always) located west of the chancel on a gallery or loft.⁷⁶ In addition to the physical set up and music of the chapel, acts of corporal worship were added to the ritual - this included turning toward the east, bowing to the altar upon entering and leaving the quire, 'adoration' of the name of Jesus, and kneeling to receive communion.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ At St. John's College, Cambridge, Robert Dallam's organ (1635/36) was situated on an organ loft in the west of the chapel; by contrast, Thomas Dallam's organ (1617/18) for Corpus Christi College, was situated on a gallery over the vestry. The northeastern position was adopted at Magdalen College (1597) and New College (1598), as well. See below.

⁷⁷ Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 49.

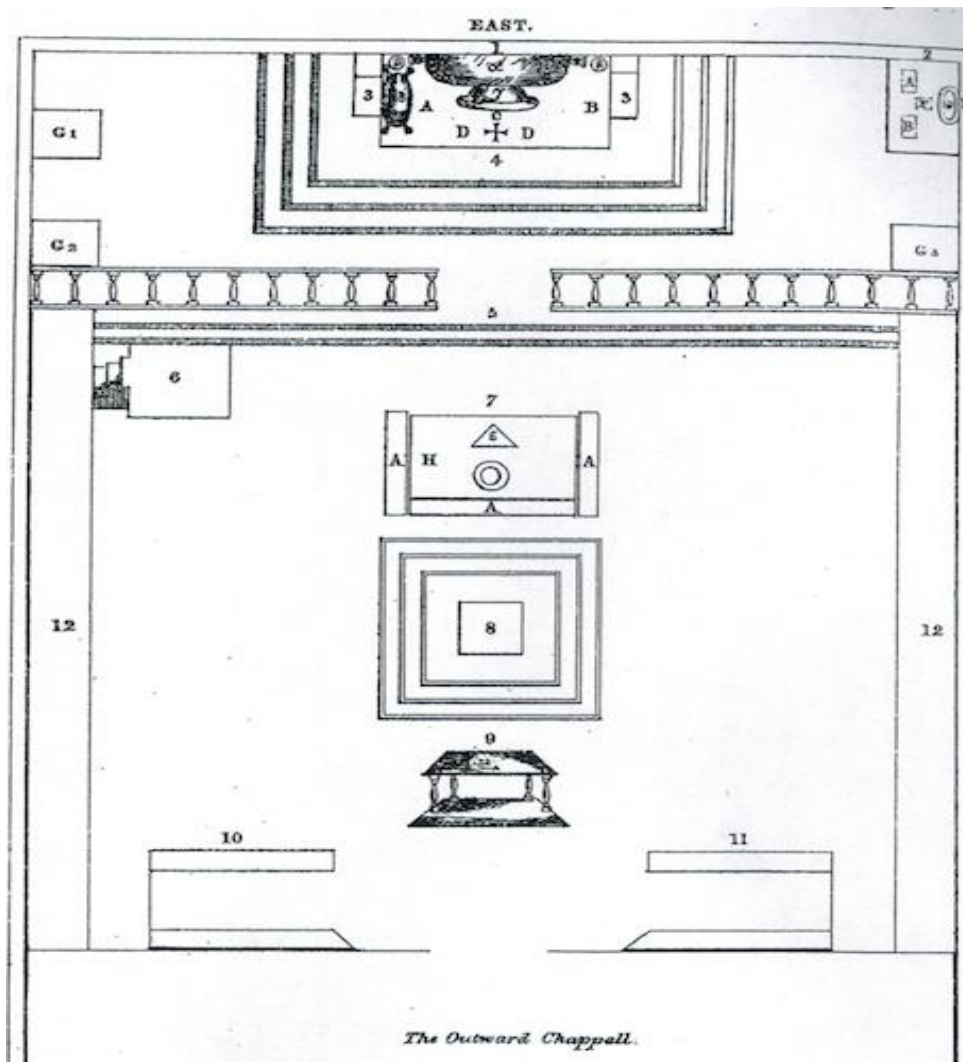


Illustration S.3 Plan of Launcelot Andrewes' chapel.⁷⁸ BL. Harl. MS 3795, fol. 18 (previously fol. 23).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Legend of items according to Prynne (reproduced by Staley): '1 (the altar and its surroundings). A. The silver and gilt canister for the wafers, like a wicker basket and lined with cambric lace. B. The Tonne, upon a cradle. C. The chalice, having on the outside of the bowl Christ with the lost sheep on his shoulders; on the top of the cover, the wisemens' star, both engraven; it is covered with a linen napkin (called the Aire) embroidered with coloured silks. DD. Two patens. The Tricanale, being a round ball with a screw cover, whereout issue 3 pipes, and is for the water of mixture. 2. A sier [side?] table, on which before the Communion, stand A and B, upon two napkins. E. A basin and ewer, to wash before consecration. F. The towel appertaining. 3.3. The kneeling stools, covered and stuffed. 4. (west beyond the rails) The foot-pace, with three ascents covered with a Turkey carpet, of fir boards. GGG. Three chairs used at ordinations, or [by] prelates communicant. 5. The septum, with two ascents. 6. The pulpit. 7. The music table with (AAA) three forms. A Triquertral censer wherin the clerk putteth frankincense at the reading of the first lesson. H. The Navicula, like the keel of a boat, with a half cover and a foot out of which the frankincense is poured. 8. A foot-pace, with three ascents, on which the lectern standeth covered, and thereupon the Great Bible. 9. The faldstory wherat they kneel to read the Litany. 10. The chaplain's seat where he readeth service. 11. A seat with a canopy over it for the Bishop; but at the Communion time he sits on G3. 12. Two long forms for the family.' Staley, *Hierurgia anglicana*, 94.

⁷⁹ First published in Prynne, *Canterburies doome*, 122-4. Reproduced in Staley, *Hierurgia anglicana*, Plate VI, 92. Laud had been sent a copy of the plan of the chapel by Andrewes' household chaplain (see Laud, *Works*, IV, 251). According to Cooper, it was thrown in Laud's face by Prynne, who claimed that Laud agreed that from it he 'took his pattern of consecrating and furnishing churches, chapels and altars'.

In a comprehensive national mandate in 1633, Charles I commanded that all communion tables be placed 'altar-wise' in the east of church chancels,⁸⁰ a move that antagonised protestants, who associated this position with pre-Henrician Roman Catholicism; Charles I's altar-wise placement of the holy table reflected the manner in which the communion tables were placed in his Chapel Royal as well as the Roman Catholic Chapel Royal of his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria. This was also the placement now championed by William Laud, who maintained a close conciliatory role to Charles I and became archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. The altar-wise placement and apposite ceremonial trappings were an effort to restore dignity, reverence, and 'the beauty of holiness' to the ritual. In addition to the Andrewes-type arrangement, in which communion rails of wood or iron merely separated the altar and its steps from the rest of the chancel, Laudian style also came to dictate enclosing the communion table (which was often referred to as an 'altar') with rails, as was the case at King's College in the 1630s.⁸¹

In the chapels of both case study colleges and the preceding model colleges (New College and King's College) the communion table assumed the Andrewes/Laudian position of the holy table. Although the position of organs was slowly drifting westwards (most often upon a loft in the west of the chapel), some organs (e.g. at New College, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and at Christ's College, and possibly King's College, Cambridge) remained situated in northeastern perches or galleries. A communion table at King's may have been already moved to the eastern position (suggested later by Charles I) as early as 1613/14,⁸² replacing the Dallam organ depicted in the Smythson drawing; this has implications for the new position of the organ, which may have remained in the presbytery upon a gallery on the northeast side

Prynne, *Canterburies doome*, 121. Andrewes apparently influenced others, including John Cosin, at the time master of Peterhouse. Cooper, *Journal of William Dowsing*, 436, nt. 9.

⁸⁰ The removal of the table to the east was most likely made in accordance with royal injunction. A report on the Cambridge colleges sent to Laud in 1636 rebuked Corpus Christi College [Cambridge] for neglecting to move its table eastward. '...the table, notwithstanding the king's pleasure declared for all colleges when himself ordered it to be set up at King's stands stil below as it did'. The placement reflects Provost Collins' willful move toward Laudian style and a blatant regression toward the unreformed church in the view of many puritans. Chainey, G., 'The East End of King's College Chapel' in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXXXIII (1994), 145.

⁸¹ See below, nt. 84.

⁸² See below, 422.

over the vestry door.⁸³ By 1633 a new table approached by a set of four steps (three followed by one under the table) was positioned against an opulent screen at King's in the position of a pre-Reformation high altar and was covered by a hanging wooden canopy. In accordance with the wishes of Charles I it was set off in typical Laudian fashion by rails,⁸⁴ and was richly adorned and covered with costly cloths bought in London in the summer of 1633⁸⁵ (see below, Supplement Two, Image 33). The reredos-screen behind the Laudian 'altar' at King's stood partially complete during a visit by Queen Henrietta and Charles I in 1632. At New College the communion table once again rested upon steps, and was also set off by rails.⁸⁶ The Andrewes/Laudian-style altar arrangement also occurred at Corpus Christi College, Oxford,⁸⁷ and St. John's College, Cambridge; of note: heads of house, President Thomas Jackson and Master William Beale, had been chaplains to Charles I. As addressed in Vol. I, Chapters Four and Five, chapel worship at Corpus Christi was enhanced with an organ by Thomas Dallam (1618) and at St. John's with an organ built his son Robert (1635/36). Though Laudian-style decoration had come to edify other Cambridge college chapels, including King's, Queen's, Jesus, Pembroke, Clare, Caius, Trinity, Christ's, and to some extent Trinity Hall by 1641,⁸⁸ the chapel of St. John's surpassed all others in its sumptuous decoration and colour; its communion table - lavishly adorned with costly textiles (altar curtains, cloths, and hangings), surrounded by painted wainscot paneling, and set off by rails - is consistently referred to as an 'altar'⁸⁹

⁸³ See below, 420.

⁸⁴ 'Item eidem [Woodrooff] pro le floare and rayles circa mensam sacram, 30li'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1633/34, *Term. Annunt.*

⁸⁵ 'Item pro Cloathes pro mensa sacra, 60li'; 'It' eidem [Lawrence Eusden, chapel clerk] portandis a Londino, 12s, 10d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1632/33, *Term. Bapt.*

⁸⁶ Laudian-style dominated chapel worship under Warden Robert Pincke. At the lavish cost of 33li William Harris (carpenter) installed 'Rails before the Communion table [*nota bene*: not referred to as an 'altar' as at St. John's and King's, Cambridge] in length 33 foote at 20 s the foote' in the summer of 1634. Harris was paid an additional 10s 'for 2 paire of Ringes for the Doares' and 3li 'for the Communion table'. NCA, 7651. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1633/34. During the third term of 1646/47 the sum of 2li, 10s is spent 'ffor taking downe ye Rayle & setting it up in ye Nave'. NCA, 7672. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1646/47.

⁸⁷ In 1635/36 at the zenith of Laudian-style refurbishment communion rails and a frame for the pulpit were added. 'Aug 23 For the rail before the communion table, 4li, 10s'; 'Sep 24 For altering the communion table, 3s, 6d'; 'For a frame for the pulpit & mending the pulpit, 1li, 5s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 118v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1635/36.

⁸⁸ Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 49-50.

⁸⁹ In the fourth term of 1633/34 a large payment of vj li, vj s, vij d is 'Payd to Betson the Joyner for two Deskes, the Altar Table and the wanscott about the table'. ix d is 'payd for a brush for the Altar' and xj s 'for a deske for the Bible'. SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 385v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1633/34, first term. The term 'altar' is used again in 1634/35 when a 'velvett cushion on the Altar' is purchased. SJCA

(in contrast to New College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where it is referred to as a 'communion table'). For visualisations of Laudian-style interiors see Supplement Two, Images 29-35.

7. Post-Reformation attitudes to the organ

Part of evangelical and protestant argumentation against pre-Reformation worship was the assertion that the sacraments and ritual of the pre-Reformation Latin rite were tinged with superstition and mysticism. This included the ritual 'superstition' implicit in texts not spoken aloud (e.g. by the priest in Mass), and in texts (in both liturgy and music) that could not be heard or understood by all present. In its energy-saving function as a substitute for vocal plainchant or polyphonic versets, the organ came to replace the often incomprehensible Latin text. As abstract sound came to replace voiced text, the inherent 'superstition' associated with the texts of the Latin rite contributed to the incipient superstition attached to the organ. Thus, if a pre-Reformation Magnificat, for example, was played on the organ and not sung or said it could still be considered superstitious and a detriment to a liturgy espoused to the *Word* of God. It cut across the essential tenet of the Reformation that words should be heard and understood.

Early evangelicals under the regime of Edward VI and his Protector, the Duke of Somerset, continued to tolerate organs in churches; only isolated instances of organ removal are recorded, for example, the removal of an organ (or organs) at New College in 1550/51 mentioned above and in Vol. I, Chapter Five. The New College organ removal occurred not long after the Royal Injunctions for St. George's Chapel, Windsor, dated 8 February 1550; Injunction thirty states that '...descant, prick-song, and organs were too much used'. Efforts were carried a step further at York Minster, where in 1550 Archbishop Holgate had implemented drastic reform that included the silencing of organs;⁹⁰ in 1552 organs were silenced at St. Paul's Cathedral. Despite

SB4/5, fol. 24v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1634/35. 'Betson' is paid 40s in 1636/37 'for the 2 rails at the ends of the Altar'. SJCA SB4/5, fol. 77r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37.

⁹⁰ Despite the ban on the organ, singing at morning and evening prayer was still permitted by the vicars choral so long the words be heard distinctly. Cross, C., 'From Reformation to the Restoration', in Aylmer, G.E. and Cant, R. (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), 201; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 146.

these incidents, college organs at Corpus Christi, All Souls, Magdalen, and Merton Colleges, as well as at Christ Church, Oxford, remained standing, as did organs at King's, St. John's, Christ's, Jesus, and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge.

In 1559, attitudes towards organs themselves became increasingly acrimonious. The suspicious nature of the organ became a fundamental tenet of exiles living in Strasbourg, Zürich, and Geneva during Mary Tudor's reign, and a prerequisite in the anti-musical polemic of their epistolary correspondent and figurehead, Heinrich Bullinger. This group included many of the future bishops and college heads of house that came to delegate ecclesiastical authority after Elizabeth I's accession, among them James Pilkington (master of St. John's College, 1559-61), Laurence Humphrey (president of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1561-89), Robert Horne (bishop of Winchester, 1560-80 and Visitor to New College and Corpus Christi, Merton, and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford), and Edwin Sandys (bishop of Worcester, 1559-70). In light of the anti-organ sentiment on the Continent, it is small wonder that Sandys, Pilkington, Humphrey, and Horne undertook campaigns to remove organs from cathedrals and college chapels upon their return to England after 1558. As Jonathan Willis has observed, Bullinger remained a lasting influence upon the protestant exiles, prior to and following their return to England: in 1566, at the height of the vestment controversy, Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson wrote to Bullinger in Zürich, complaining of the 'blemishes which still attach to the church of England', including the 'the use of organs',⁹¹ and in 1567, Bishops Edmund Grindal and Horne expressed their disapproval of the organ ('as we ought to') in a letter to Bullinger.⁹² Bullinger's tirades post-dated those of Ulrich Zwingli, who during the 1520s had not only abolished organs, but all forms of singing in church as well.⁹³

Looking over the list of new college heads of house and appointed Visitors after 1558, it quickly becomes evident that the distinct group of Marian exiles mentioned above was involved in campaigns to remove or silence organs in Oxford and Cambridge.

⁹¹ Humphrey and Sampson, 'Letter to Henry Bullinger, July 1566', in Robinson, H., (ed.), *The Zurich letters, or, The correspondence of several English bishops and others with some of the Helvetian reformers during the reign of Queen Elizabeth: chiefly from the archives of Zurich* (Cambridge, Parker Society, 1846), First Series, 163-4; Willis, 59.

⁹² Grindal, E. and Horne, R. 'Letter to Henry Bullinger and Rodolph Gualter, 6 February 1567', in Robinson, *The Zurich letters*, First Series, 178; Willis, 140.

⁹³ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 66.

Laurence Humphrey and Robert Horne led the Oxford offensive. The organ at Magdalen College, which was installed in 1553/54, was in all likelihood removed along with the *theatrum crucifixi* (pulpitum/rood loft) during Humphrey's reordering of the chapel in 1560/61;⁹⁴ the last references to its repair at Magdalen occur in 1559 and 1560,⁹⁵ and there is no further mention of an organ at Magdalen until the installation of the John Chappington organ in 1596/97.⁹⁶ Further evidence shows that Henry Bolton, who Humphrey employed to remove the *theatrum crucifixi* at Magdalen, specialised in removing and installing organs in Oxford college chapels between 1550 and 1570; two examples include the previously mentioned removal of organs at New College in 1550/51⁹⁷ as well the removal of the organ at All Souls College in 1560/61⁹⁸ (the same year that Bolton removed the *theatrum crucifixi* at Magdalen).

Through his capacities as college Visitor in Oxford, Bishop Horne could effect a more sweeping programme of organ removal and silencing than perhaps any other Marian protestant exile after 1558. In 1566 a commissary of Bishop Horne remarked that Trinity College, Oxford, had heeded Horne's 1561 warnings to remove the organ and that 'no reform' was needed: the last payment to an organist (20s) at Trinity is recorded in 1566/67.⁹⁹ Horne was also Visitor to Merton College, and, as the *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis* indicates, the organ there was sold in 1567.¹⁰⁰ It is of note that other wealthy churches such as St. Edmund's and St. Thomas', Salisbury, were installing organs at the very same time¹⁰¹ - notwithstanding the fact that John

⁹⁴ As mentioned earlier (Vol. I, Chapter Five, 283, nt. 1177), the work done by Henry Bolton in the removal of the *theatrum crucifixi* at Magdalen College between October and December 1560 may have included the organ.

⁹⁵ In 1559 Browne (active at Corpus Christi College in 1553/54. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 265, nt. 1090) receives 3s, 4d for mending the organ, and the following year Magistro Ball (*informator choristarum*) receives the same sum for the same work on 26 October, just days before the removal of the *theatrum crucifixi* is begun. MCA, LCE/6. Under 'Custus Sacelli' in *Libri Computi*, 1559/60 and 1560/61.

⁹⁶ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 202-3, nt. 809.

⁹⁷ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 264, nt. 1083.

⁹⁸ 'pro removenti organa nobis imposita, x s'; 'pro Bolton et famulus pro removentibus organa, ij s'. ASCA. c.283. Under 'Capellae' in *Accounts*, 1560/61.

⁹⁹ TCA. Under 'Pensiones celebrantium pulsanti organa et lectorum' in *Accounts*, 1566/67.

¹⁰⁰ 'Consensum etiam est de follibus organicis vendendis ad usum et commodum collegii per vicecustodem' [The bellows - and presumably the rest of the organ - were sold to the use and good of the college]. MCR, 1.3, fol. 348v. Under 'Dispensatio' in *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis*, Anno domini 1567, Aprilis 3^o.

¹⁰¹ St. Edmund's hired Hugh Chappington to build a modest instrument in 1567 (the quantities and costs suggest an instrument of around six stops), which was maintained by John Chappington; St. Thomas followed suit in 1568 employing Hugh Chappington to build and John to maintain. Willis, 37.

Jewel was diocesan bishop.¹⁰² This confirms the fact that Elizabethan attitudes to the organ in church were not monochrome despite stark puritan attitudes at large. After concluding that the organ was superfluous in church music, Horne silenced the organs at Winchester College in 1570;¹⁰³ he was also most likely responsible for the removal of the organ from New College in 1571/72¹⁰⁴ as well as the dismantling of the organ at Corpus Christi College in 1575/76.¹⁰⁵

Cambridge University tallied its own list of organ removals during the 1560s and 70s, many of which can also be attributed to the efforts of Marian exiles. James Pilkington, whose opposition to 'piping' and 'singing' (expressed in his sermon *Aggeus the prophet declared*) has been addressed in Vol. I, Chapter Four,¹⁰⁶ had the organ at St. John's College, Cambridge, removed after his arrival in July 1559. Bishop Richard Cox, who incidentally refused 'to minister in Elizabeth I's chapel, on account of the continued presence of crucifix and lights there',¹⁰⁷ appears the malefactor behind the removal of the King's organ in 1570/71;¹⁰⁸ this has also been addressed in Chapter Four.

While Horne took charge of organ removal and silencing at the university level, Edwin Sandys, another of the Marian exiles (and sometime guest of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, during the early 1560s)¹⁰⁹ spearheaded an anti-organ campaign that hoped to take on national proportions. Sandys made his vehement opposition to organs known as soon as he was appointed bishop of Worcester (1559), taking the opportunity to destroy the Worcester Cathedral organ in 1560.¹¹⁰ His admonishment of the organ

¹⁰² Jewel, the bishop of Salisbury, was adopting a tougher protestant stance at Salisbury at the time.

¹⁰³ Injunction 27 in 'Bishop Horne's Injunctions for Winchester College' (1571), Frere, *Visitation articles*, 330-31; Willis, 140. See Vol. I, 283-4, nt. 1180. The year of the Winchester injunction coincides with the removal of the organ and rood loft at New College, suggesting Horne's continued dominance over New College.

¹⁰⁴ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 284, nt. 1181.

¹⁰⁵ The dismantling of the organ coincided with a visitation by Horne during the same term. See Vol. I, 320. For the reference regarding the removal of the organ, see nt. 1337.

¹⁰⁶ All references to an organ cease after the arrival of Master James Pilkington. Given Pilkington's resentment of the organ expressed in his sermon on *Aggeus*, the organ was doubtless removed during his tenure (1558 - 1561). See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 183.

¹⁰⁷ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 406.

¹⁰⁸ The organ was removed in 1570/71 and xx s was spent 'for setting tharmes in thorgan lofte' just afterwards. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71.

¹⁰⁹ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 267, nt. 1099.

¹¹⁰ According to John Steynor in 1560: '13 May the bishop began his visitation in the cathedral church. The 17th day, the cross and the image of Our Lady were burnt in the churchyard after noon'. MacCulloch, D., 'A Bailiff's List and Chronicle from Worcester', *Antiquaries Journal*, 75 (1995), 235-

extended to organ music as well (such as that played by William Byrd at Lincoln Cathedral).¹¹¹

Sandy's actions contributed to an incipient national campaign against organs. The objection to the organ was reflected most prominently in the lower house of Convocation,¹¹² which met with the upper house¹¹³ in the Convocation of Canterbury between November 1562 and April 1563 to propose and vote upon new ceremonial alterations to the liturgy.¹¹⁴ It may come as no surprise, but Sandys may have been linked to the propositions, including those prohibiting organs. In conjunction with Sandy's own submission of three articles, thirty-three members of the lower house led by the deans of St. Paul's, Christ Church, Lichfield, and Hereford, and including twelve archdeacons, fourteen proctors in convocation, and the provost of Eton College, made seven propositions (i.e. articles).¹¹⁵ The very first article of the seven-article set relates entirely to music, including the organ:

That the Psalms appointed at common prayer be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or said with the other prayers by the minister alone, in such convenient place of the church, as all may well hear and be edified; and that all curious singing and playing of the organs may be removed.¹¹⁶

53; also cited in MacCulloch, D., 'Worcester: a Cathedral City in the Reformation', in Collinson, P., and Craig, J., (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, (London, 1998), 94-112, this citation, 110. After the images were burnt the organ followed. Sir John Bourne reported: 'The pipes of a great pair of organs, which cost £200 the making, being one of the most solemn instruments of the this realm, are molten into dishes, and divided amongst the prebendaries' wives; the case hath made bedsteads; the like is done and become of certain timber and wainscot which Queen Mary gave for the new making of the choir'. MacCulloch, 'Worcester: a Cathedral City in the Reformation', 110-11. Sandys appears to have softened his attitudes on the organ. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 283, nt 1179.

¹¹¹ Although Byrd was allowed to play the organ at Lincoln in the 1560s, he was forced to stop playing in 1570 by Dean Mallet. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 326, nt. 1359.

¹¹² The ecclesiastical equivalent to Parliament. The members of the Canterbury Convocation, like those of its sister assembly in York consisted of the archbishop, his suffragan diocesan bishops, dignitaries such as archdeacons and deans, and elected representatives to the lower clergy. Crankshaw, D.J., 'Preparations for the Canterbury Provincial Convocation of 1562-63: A Question of Attribution', in Wabuda, S., and Litzenberger, C., (eds.), *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson from his Students* (Aldershot, 1998), 61.

¹¹³ The upper house consisted solely of bishops. Crankshaw, 'Preparations', 61.

¹¹⁴ After a plenary session held in the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, the two houses divided, meeting in a further thirty-four sessions until 14 April 1563; the Upper House (consisting of the bishops) mostly gathered at Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey, while the Lower House (consisting of all other members of the convocation) met in St. Mary's Chapel at St. Paul's. At one occasion the bishops met at Lambeth in Archbishop Parker's absence. Crankshaw, 'Preparations', 62.

¹¹⁵ These articles sought to surpress the signing of the cross at baptism, kneeling at communion, copes and surplices, wearing of cap and gown, named saints and holy days, and the mitigation of the article of ceremonies (thirty-third of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*). This information is taken from John Harper's forthcoming monograph on the organ.

¹¹⁶ Strype, J., *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and other Various*

A more diplomatic re-wording of the articles was put to vote on 13 February 1563; in a new six-article reordering of the seven articles, the article on music now came last, and 'curious singing' was omitted. The last article now read: 'That the use of organs be removed.'¹¹⁷

In the short period between 1560 and 1563, a significant transition in the politics of the organ appears to have occurred.¹¹⁸ Sandy's sanctioning of the destruction of the Worcester organ linked the instrument with the superstition of the Roman Catholic Church and the altars and images of the suppressed Latin rite. The six articles of Convocation, on the other hand, linked the organ with the permitted customs of the reformed Elizabethan Church of England's forms of vernacular service.¹¹⁹ Finally, the six articles, including that prohibiting the use of organs, were defeated by one vote,¹²⁰ which illustrates the gravity of the anti-organ polemic. After the isolated incidents of organ destruction, removal, and silencing during the 1560s and the close call of the Canterbury Convocation, animosity toward the organ grew further still until a veritable outburst of anti-organ bias in the 1570s.

Though a certain ambiguity surrounding music 'allowed for plurality in worship practices' during the following decade, the Calvinist ascendancy of the 1570s incorporated a general opposition to choirs and organs and in particular to the practices of the Roman Church, which were characterised by John Foxe as decadent and 'intisementes of the senses'.¹²¹ *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572)¹²² and Thomas Cartwright's *A Second Admonition to the Parliament*, written the same year, presented

Occurrences in the Church of England, during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign: Together with and Appendix of Original Papers of State, Records, and Letters. A New Edition., vol. I, Part i, Chapter 29 (Oxford, 1824), 500-2.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 502-6.

¹¹⁸ Taken from John Harper's forthcoming monograph on the organ.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Fifty-eight for and fifty-nine against, with twenty-seven who failed for one reason or another to vote. Deans Nowell of St. Paul's and Sampson of Christ Church were at the forefront of those demanding the abolition of organ playing. Supporters for the organ included Matthew Parker; as has been mentioned earlier Archbishop of Canterbury Parker was no enemy of organs or formal ceremonial in worship and had a grand organ by Henry Langford installed in his metropolitan London church at his own expense. See vol. I, Chapter Four, 193; Willis, 142.

¹²¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1570), 1436; Willis, 64.

¹²² See vol. I, Chapter Four, 190-93.

the most acerbic sentiments against choirs and organs, eliciting the anger of John Whitgift; Whitgift not only rebuked the challenges to the episcopacy issued by both *Admonitions*, but criticised the admonishment of singing and organs, as well. Despite the attempted tempering of Whitgift, the authors of the first *Admonition*, Field and Wilcox, remained implacable in their rebuke of 'singing, piping, surplesse, and copewearing' and of 'organs and curious singing...proper to popish dens'.¹²³ As the anti-organ polemic gathered momentum, a campaign succeeded in the widespread disuse and removal of organs throughout England; some were left to decay and the pipes of others sold for scrap metal value. The most notable organ removals of the 1570s recorded at Cambridge and Oxford have been mentioned above.

The 1590s saw the decline of radical protestants like Horne, Humphrey, and Dudley and the rise of a new outlook expressed in the apologia of Case, Hooker, and others. This coincided with a revival of choirs, liturgical repertories, and organs in the larger choral foundations. The expansion of repertory¹²⁴ and the organ¹²⁵ at King's College has been mentioned above in Vol. I, Chapter Four. Similarly, in Oxford, the choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, was once again making use of boy choristers as singers after 1589, as already noted.¹²⁶ A performance before King James I in 1605¹²⁷ suggests that the choir of New College was performing at peak level, and the works contained in the *New College Chapel Choir Books*¹²⁸ as well as those alluded to in archival references in 1638/39 indicate the type of repertory that was sung.¹²⁹ The installation of organs by John Chappington at Magdalen College (1596/97) and New College (1597/98) and by Thomas Dallam at King's College, Cambridge (1605/06),¹³⁰ is well

¹²³ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 190.

¹²⁴ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 202, nt. 805.

¹²⁵ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 202, nt. 807.

¹²⁶ As mentioned earlier Nicolas Bond, president of Magdalen College (1589-1608), began admitting choristers in vocal and ritual capacities as soon as he succeeded Laurence Humphrey in 1589. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 312, nt. 1301.

¹²⁷ In 1605/06 King James I and his entourage 'went to New College where they were entertained with a royal feast and incomparable music'. Wood-Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. ii, 286.

¹²⁸ Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. c. 46-51, d. 149-69, c. 22-5, fol. 32.

¹²⁹ For greater detail, including the association with Thomas Weelkes see below, Supplement Two, 505, nts. 401, 402.

¹³⁰ For references to the John Chappington organs of Magdalen College and New College, as well as for the Thomas Dallam organ at King's see Vol. I, Chapter Four, 203, nts. 809, 810 and 202, nt. 807, respectively.

established. Less well known is Dallam's work at Christ Church, Oxford (1607/08).¹³¹ These examples provide indications of the new climate that fostered organs in church around 1600 - at least in some quarters.

The reintroduction of organs that began at the end of the sixteenth century reached a peak at the outset of the seventeenth century with the ascendancy of the so-called 'high church' movement. Two ringleaders of the early 'high church' movement, Bishops James Montague and Launcelot Andrewes, presided over the music of the Chapel Royal as deans (Montague was dean, 1603-18 and Andrewes, 1618-26), and their influence certainly contributed to the revival of polyphonic church music and organs in early seventeenth-century England. The installation of the college organs mentioned above, including King's College, Cambridge (1605/06),¹³² and Christ Church (1607/08), Corpus Christi College (1618), and St. John's College (1619), Oxford, represent only a small part of the early high church musical spring. For visualisations of the Corpus Christi College and King's College Thomas Dallam organs please refer to Supplement Two, Images 30 and 32.

Aside from the pro-church music and organ apologia emanating from Oxford after 1580, a post-Armada (1588) relaxation of concerns over Roman Catholic resurgence may also have contributed to an overall relaxation in attitudes toward organs and choral music. The planned *coup* to depose Elizabeth from the throne, which was in part organised by New College alumnus Nicholas Saunders (fellow, 1548-61)¹³³ and involved Philip II of Spain, was no longer a concern; the redundancy of the threat of Spain quelled the fear that the superstition and mysticism of the Latin rite would re-infiltrate English worship. Singers could even pursue the polyphonic practice of

¹³¹ 'Given to Mr Dalla[m] at his first cominge downe to take order & give direction for the placinge of the Organs by Mr Subdeans consent, xx s'; 'Given to Mr Dalla[m] at his second coming down for placing & setting up the Organs by Mr Deans consent, iij li, v s, viij d'; 'Given to Samsly for gildinge of five organ pipes + his paynes, xij s, iij d'; 'Given to Mr Dallam by Mr Deane for a payre of Organs, xx li'; 'Given to Toolye for ye carriage of ye organs for ye carriers to the church & papers to takinge in lifting of it in [these words are written over the line]'. CChCA, MS xii.b.52. Under 'Expenses extraordinary' in *Disbursement Book*, 1607/08, 3rd quarter (Lady Day to Midsummer). I am very grateful to Dominic Gwynn for providing me with his transcriptions of organ references from the ChChC disbursement books taken 2005 to 2007.

¹³² For a comprehensive account see Thistlethwaite, 'The organ of King's College, Cambridge', 4-42.

¹³³ As mentioned earlier, Nicholas Saunders (Sawnders, Sanders) rose to international prominence with his major work, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*; as John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* paid tribute to the martyrs of the evangelist/protestant faith, Saunders' work lauded martyrs to the Catholic faith and supported the papal excommunication of Queen Elizabeth. Williams, 'From Reformation to Reform', 47.

repeating phrases (now in English) in more than one voice¹³⁴ without the stigma of superstition attached to it by critics of pre-Reformation polyphony, and the organ was freed of the angst that it might once again replace the texts of the Latin rite.

The organ in England survived the Elizabethan Reformation, at least in part, by changing its fundamental premise in the late sixteenth century. It underwent a transformation from an instrument for ritual within liturgy to a) an accompanying instrument in choral repertory and b) an instrument to be played at points of transition in worship. In the musically propitious climate of late sixteenth-century England, the organ now acted as a substitute for canticles, anthems, and hymns, and began to accompany the choir, often in verse services and anthems, first initiated by William Byrd (1543 - 1623),¹³⁵ in the early 1570s and William Mundy (c. 1530 - 1591)¹³⁶ at the end of the 1580s. After the Reformation, the size of the choral body sustaining worship in cathedrals and other choral foundations was reduced; at the same time, the musical demands (especially on the boys) were increased with two daily choral services. The organ (as in Wolsey's Augustinian provisions) offered assistance; but now that all the words of the liturgy had to be sung, it functioned as a supporting, accompanying instrument. The role of the organ as accompanying instrument is defined as essential by the appearance of independent organ parts.¹³⁷ Although none of these accompaniments is found in sources dating from before 1600, and some verse anthems may have been adapted from domestic sacred music accompanied by viols, the existence of verse-style settings of canticles makes the use of the organ as accompanying instrument in church indisputable. This innovation must have occurred before 1600. On stylistic grounds, Byrd's undated Verse (or Second) Service was

¹³⁴ Willis observes that the author of the anonymous *The praise of musicke* (1586) contended that polyphony actually aided understanding through the repetition of the same text many times by many voices. *The praise of musicke* (Oxford, 1586), sigs. Ivir-Iviiv; Willis, 70.

¹³⁵ It remains uncertain if William Mundy or William Byrd initiated this style, but Byrd has as good a claim as any other Elizabethan composer to it; it seems likely that he wrote the invitatory Psalm 119, *Teach me, O Lord*, for example, while organist and master of choristers at Lincoln (1563-72). Williamson, M., liner notes to *More Sweet to hear. Organs and Voices of Tudor England*, Audio CD, OxRecs Digital (2007).

¹³⁶ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 326, nt. 1359.

¹³⁷ For example, the eighty-one anthem accompaniments of the so-called 'Henry Loosemore Organ Book' (1627-30). For greater detail see Supplement Two, 521.

probably composed at Lincoln before 1572 when he moved to the Chapel Royal;¹³⁸ and Morley's substantial Verse (or First) Service must date from before his death in 1602.

At least by the time James I had ascended the throne, the instrument was also played in solo at points of transition in worship, such as at the Offertory or in Royal baptisms:¹³⁹ two passages from the *Old Cheque-book* of the Chapel Royal (at St. James Palace) illustrate the use of the organ at the Offertory. The first example occurs during the Easter service on 15 April 1593 in Elizabeth I's Chapel Royal, and features the playing of John Bull at the organ:

The moste sacred Queen Elizabeth upon Estre day, after the Holy Gospell was redd in the Chapele at St. James, came downe into Her Majestes Travess: beffore her highness came the gentlement pencioners, then the Barons, the Bushopps [*sic*] London and Landaffe, thErls, and the ho: Councell in their colors of State, the Harolds at Arms, the Lord Keeper bearinge the Great Seal himselfe, and the Erle of Herefford bearinge the sword beffore her Majestie. Then her Majesties Royal person came moste chearfully, havinge as noble supporters the Right Honorable thErl, Master of her Majestes horse, on the right hande, and Right Hon. the Lord Admyral on the lefte hand, the Lord Chambrelen to her Majestie (also nexte beffore her Majestie) attendante al the while. Dr. Bull was at the organ playinge the Offertorye.¹⁴⁰

Another passage provides an example of the organ being used at the Offertory on Whitsunday, 19 May 1605, during the reign of James I:

The Order of the Queen's Highnes Churchinge, which was...May 19. Chappell, uppon Whitsondaye 1605.

First at the Kinges cominge to his Closett to here the Sermon, ther was a full Anthem songe, and after the sermon was ended then was songe an Anthem for a Childe. Immediatlye after that, began an Offertorye to be played, in which the Kinges Matie

¹³⁸ It may represent the kind of organ playing for which he was censured by the dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

¹³⁹ 'The order and manner of the service performed in and by the 1605, May 5. Chappell at the Christninge of Marye the daughter of the Mightie Kinge, James, &c. the fyfte of Maye, Anno 1605. [The ceremony was held at Greenwich]. At the tyme when the Royall Infant should be brought to the Chappell, the gentlemen of that place (after many companies goinge before) went out of the Chappell two and two in ther surplusses unto the nurserie doore, there following them the Deane of the Chappell, next after came the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, bothe in rich copes of Needellworke. Then all returninge, came the noble Babe, who was carried under a cannapee of cloth of goold, and all the waye as it came towardes the Chappell ther was a generall scilence, neither voyce nor instrument was heard in the waye. When the Royall Infant was thus brought unto the lower Chappell doore, there did the Archbishop and the Deane of the Chappell receive the Babe and came next before it into the higher Chappell. At the same instant did the Organest begine and continew playinge aloude untill the Child was placed in the Traverse...' Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-book*, 167.

¹⁴⁰ 'The Princelye comminge of her Majestie to the Holy Communion at Estre [Easter] in 'XV. Royal Ceremonies', Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-book*, 150.

came downe and offerred, and then went in to his Travase: forthwith certaine Knightes of the Garter and other honorable persons went up and did fetch the Queen's highnes downe in to the Chappell, she beinge supported by the Duke Vanhulston and the Duke of Lynneox, and the Lady Arbella bearinge her trayne, who also did there betake her selfe to her travase, all which tyme the Organest continued the offertory. When the Kinge and Queene weare so seated, then ended the offertory, and a full Anthem (beginninge Blessed art thou that fearest God) was songe.¹⁴¹

A subsequent reintroduction of organs and enlargement of organs as part of the enrichment of worship occurred, particularly during the reign of Charles I. The Chapels Royal of Charles I¹⁴² and Queen Henrietta Maria¹⁴³ provide vivid examples of just how rich ceremony and music had become. The type of musical provision favoured by Charles I was emulated by Archbishop Laud and practitioners of Caroline-Laudian worship, including President Thomas Jackson of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Provost Samuel Collins of King's College, Cambridge, and Master William Beale of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Organs of increasing size became essential to worship during the reigns of James I and Charles I, and builders who could deliver the requisite quality and grandeur rose to prominence. Two families, in particular, moved to the forefront of organ building at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries: the Chappingtons (Hugh and John)¹⁴⁴ and the Dallams (Thomas and Robert). The instruments of John Chappington for Magdalen College (1596/97)¹⁴⁵ and New College, Oxford (1597/98),¹⁴⁶ and the glittering string of organs constructed between 1600 and c. 1628 by Thomas Dallam¹⁴⁷ - perhaps the most renowned builder of the age - for King's College, Cambridge (1605/06), Christ Church (1607/08), Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh (1616), Corpus Christi College (1618), and St. John's College Oxford (1619), have been addressed above and in Vol. I, Chapters Four and Five. Organs attributed to Robert Dallam, Thomas's son, include those at Magdalen College, Oxford (c. 1631), and St. John's College, Cambridge (1635); both of these instruments have also been

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹⁴² Charles I's Chapel Royal establishment included dean, sub-dean, Gentlemen, twelve children, and supporting officers. See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 212, nt. 851.

¹⁴³ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 211, nt. 849.

¹⁴⁴ The Chappingtons of South Molton, Devon were active organ builders between 1536 and 1620.

¹⁴⁵ See above, nt. 130.

¹⁴⁶ See above, nt. 130.

¹⁴⁷ For background on Dallam's career see Vol. I, Chapter Five, 326, nt. 1362.

discussed in Chapters Four and Five. The Great case of the Magdalen College instrument (with ten-foot Diapason stop) exists today at Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire and the Chair case (with five-foot Principal stop) at St. Nicholas, Stanford-on-Avon, Northamptonshire.¹⁴⁸ Of note is the pitch of the instrument: when G is played the sound that emerges in Choir pitch is D. The original location of the Great organ at its original home at Magdalen College has become a point of debate: Stephen Bicknell states that it stood on the north side of the chapel, built partly into an 'organ house' made specifically for it;¹⁴⁹ John Harper's narration (1985) of his discovery of the direction to the mason to build an organ house (c. 1630) and the visual evidence of that house on the south side of the chapel in Loggan's later seventeenth-century print, suggest that Robert Dallam built the Great and Chair organs for that organ house around 1630. This followed the construction of a stone altar at the east end of the chapel, part of the beautification of the chapel by another of Laud's friends, Accepted Frewen, president of the college, 1626-44. Taking note of the difference in pipe markings between Great and Chair organs, and the extent of decoration found on the Great front pipes (almost invisible in the organ house), in 2008, Harper subsequently questioned whether the Great organ was built earlier, and located at the east end of the chapel; and that only when the chapel was reordered with eastern altar was it moved to the organ house.¹⁵⁰

The John Chappington organs at Magdalen College (1596/97) and New College (1597/98) were single manual instruments. Not much more can be said of them, for no details of any Chappington organs survive; however, the construction accounts for the Hugh Chappington organ at St. Edmund, Salisbury (1567) survive in full. Though they give no details of the organ, they do reveal the purchase of two hundred pounds of lead, tin, and bismuth; this suggests a small ten-foot instrument, which according to Stephen Bicknell was highly decorated.¹⁵¹ The total cost of Hugh Chappington's

¹⁴⁸ For detailed descriptions of Robert Dallam's Great and Chair cases to the Magdalen instrument see Harper, J., 'The Origin of the Historic Organ at Stanford-on-Avon: Connections with Magdalen College Oxford and the surviving Dallam Case at Tewkesbury Abbey', *The Organ Yearbook*, 23 (1992), 37-90; Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 80-83.

¹⁴⁹ Bicknell, 82.

¹⁵⁰ Harper, J., 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford: A New Account of the Milton Organ', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 9 (1985), 51-64; *idem*, 'Magdalen and the organ, 1597-1736'.

¹⁵¹ Bicknell, 56.

instrument was £37, 12s, 10d. John Chappington's organ for Magdalen College in 1596/97 cost £33, 13s, 8d and that for New College in 1597/98, £40.¹⁵² Bicknell believes this suggests a degree of uniformity; comparing these prices with the Howe and Clynmowe organ at Coventry (1526), which cost £30, it could suggest instruments of c. seven stops.¹⁵³ For a visualisation of the New College Chappington organ and its site in the chapel see Supplement Two, Image 29. The small 1618 Thomas Dallam organ at Corpus Christi has been discussed in detail in Vol. I, Chapter Five. As mentioned earlier, it was probably an instrument with a five-foot Principal, comparable to the five-stop Eton College organ built in 1613/14. For a visualisation of the Thomas Dallam organ and its site in the chapel see Supplement Two, Image 30.

Thomas Dallam's organs for King's College (1605/06), Worcester Cathedral (1613), and Holyrood Palace (1616)¹⁵⁴ were double organs with Chair cases. The Great cases contained ten-foot Principals. Robert Dallam's organ at St. John's College, Cambridge, was single manual with a ten-foot Diapason stop.¹⁵⁵ The charges list five stops with forty-nine pipes each.¹⁵⁶ The specification of forty-nine pipes serves as a reminder that while the pre-Reformation organs had a compass of up to forty-six notes, organs by this time had a compass of four octaves (forty-nine notes), or even fifty-one notes (as at Magdalen). For a visualisation of the Robert Dallam St. John's organ and its location in the chapel please refer to Supplement Two, Image 35. The cost of the St. John's instrument was £185. In contrast to the larger double organs that Robert Dallam built at the cathedrals of York (1632-24), Lichfield (1639-40), and Gloucester (1641), as well as the organ for Magdalen College in c. 1631, the St. John's organ was modest and comparable in size and scope to the organ he built for Jesus College in 1634 for £200.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² In the following year, 1598/99, a plasterer and his assistant are paid ij s, vi d for 'one day and half in seeling the orgaines'. A carpenter is paid ijs 'for 2 days worke' and a joyner xxvii s, ix d 'for the deskes and seeling under the stayres of the organes'. The payments for the organ conclude with one for iiij d 'for making the cloth to save the orgaines', suggesting perhaps a cover for the manual. NCA, 7587. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1598/99.

¹⁵³ Bicknell, 56.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 72-80.

¹⁵⁵ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 222.

¹⁵⁶ According to the charges for the organ: 'one payre of organs or Instrument to conteyne six seuerall stoppes of pipes every stoppe counteyning fortynine pipes'. See below, Appendix VIII, 570.

¹⁵⁷ Bicknell, 86.

8. Locations of organs in King's College and St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College and New College, Oxford, 1618-1640

In the following examinations of organ location both the space available in the chapel and the interaction with the ritual and altar appear to be factors. It is tempting to assume that organs after the Elizabethan Reformation were built on the redundant pulpitum at the west end of the quire. This was not normally the case until the later seventeenth century; the Dallam organ in York Minster, for example, stood on the north side of the choir until it was relocated on the former pulpitum in 1688. In fact, of the four examples presented here, only one organ (that at St. John's College, Cambridge) was sited in a western position with prospect pipes facing east.

John Chappington's organ at New College was placed on the northeast side of the chapel in a gallery 'joining to the vestry door'.¹⁵⁸ No organ is recorded as having been placed upon on the new screen built in the summer of 1636 at New College.¹⁵⁹ Thomas Dallam's 1618 organ at Corpus Christi was placed on a gallery over the vestry door as indicated in the charges for the organ;¹⁶⁰ this was primarily a space-saving consideration in the tiny chapel. By contrast, the Robert Dallam Magdalen College organ was placed in the specially built 'organ house', which because of the cloister on the north had to be placed on the south side of the chapel.¹⁶¹ The 1635 Robert Dallam organ at St. John's, Cambridge, was placed on an organ loft at the west end of the quire; this is reported in the Commons Committee Report to Parliament in 1641,¹⁶² and confirmed by chapel photographs contained in the college archives¹⁶³ and a watercolour by Daniel Wood painted in 1868.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ See below, Supplement Two, 508. Precedents include Durham Cathedral (according to the Rites of Durham, one of Durham's five organs, the so-called 'cryers', was placed on the north wall and was played only on Sundays and feast days that were not principal feasts. Harrison *MMB*, 212, image, 188-9). Other examples include Winchester College and Christ's College, Cambridge, and St. John's College, Oxford, where William Laud had a Thomas Dallam organ installed in 1619 as mentioned earlier. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 326, nt. 1363.

¹⁵⁹ 'So[lutum] to the Joyner for the new Screene in the Church the wainscot ffringe [eidem] ut per billiam, 22li, 4 s'. NCA, 7655. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1635/36, 4^{to} *Termino*.

¹⁶⁰ See below, Appendix X, Table 2, 576-7.

¹⁶¹ See above, 417.

¹⁶² BL Harl. 7019, fol. 74r; Thistlethwaite, *The Organs of Cambridge*, 102.

¹⁶³ See below, Appendix IX. Extant images of the altered Robert Dallam organ for St. John's College, Cambridge, Illustration A.1, 571.

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix IX, Illustration A.2, 572.

The location of the King's College Thomas Dallam organ is of great significance to the discussion of the organ's spatial relationship with the ritual and will be elaborated upon here. Between 1537 and 1560 three locations are possible for the great organ: in a northeastern location upon a gallery/loft; upon the great screen in a central position; and upon the great screen adjacent to the north wall of the chapel.¹⁶⁵ The small organ may have stood in *medio chori* or at a Lady altar, as was the case at Butley Priory, Suffolk. The great and small organs used prior to 1560 were removed in 1570/71, after which xx s was spent 'for setting tharmes [either the college or the royal arms] in thorgan lofte'.¹⁶⁶

It is worth noting that at the outset of Provost Roger Goad's tenure, organs were removed (1570/71) and at its end installed (the Thomas Dallam organ of 1605/06). Contemporary Reformation historiography has tended to portray Goad as a vehement, authoritative protestant and puritan;¹⁶⁷ however, an analysis of archival material paints him in a more tolerable light in regard to music. The slackening of puritan reins during the 1590s and early 1600s appears to be reflected in Goad's attitudes toward chapel music: as mentioned earlier in this thesis,¹⁶⁸ his empathy for choral music with organs is reflected in the acquisition of four- and five-part repertory, the installation of probably the most important English organ to date (1605/06), and the inclusion of his own son, Robert, among the choristers (1588/89 - 1593/94).¹⁶⁹ Such inclinations were highly uncharacteristic of staunch puritans during the puritan zenith of the 1570s and 80s; they would have been unthinkable to Cambridge hardliners like Whitaker at St.

¹⁶⁵ See below, Supplement Two, 461-3.

¹⁶⁶ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71. The 'organ loft' may not necessarily refer to the great Tudor screen, though that would have been a prominent location to display the college arms.

¹⁶⁷ Various authors label Goad a strong protestant: Peter Murray Jones and Roger Bowers, for example. Jones, P.M., 'The College and the Chapel', in Massing, J.M., and Zeeman, N., (eds.), *King's College Chapel 1515-2015. Art Music and Religion in Cambridge*. (London, 2014), 161-80: 165; Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 273. Graham Chainey styles Goad 'puritan'. Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 144. The most opinionated characterisation comes from John Saltmarsh, who describes him as 'the great patriarchal Puritan Provost of Elizabethan times, who ruled the College with an iron rod from 1570 to 1610...'. Saltmarsh, J., *King's College Chapel. A History and Commentary*, Montith, P., and Vaux, B., (eds.), (Peterborough, 2015), 307.

¹⁶⁸ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 196, 202, nt. 805.

¹⁶⁹ Robert, one of Goad's six sons, five of whom five went on to become fellows of King's, died while scholar in college in 1596. KCA, KCHR/3/1/13/3. 'Rob Goad' is listed under 'choristers' in 1593/94 (fol. 396r) and 'scholars' in 1593/94 and 1594/95 (fols. 396r, 366r) in *Year Lists of Members on the Foundation*, 1550-99, vol. III; see 'Goad, Robert', in Venn, *ACANTA* for further details.

John's and extremists like Cartwright (at St. John's/Trinity). The valuable addition of John Tomkins as 'master of the quire' in 1606 as well as the acquisition of a substantial body of polyphonic music incorporating the new Dallam organ further illustrate the efforts of Goad to revamp chapel music in general.¹⁷⁰ Further, the maintenance of music books through an appointed curator insured the well-being and continuation of this new repertory.

The decision to install not just any organ, but the most magnificent instrument in Cambridge (if not in all of England) is also significant and raises questions surrounding the motives of Goad and the college. The move to install such a splendid organ in 1605/06 almost suggests overcompensation on the part of Goad: was this a reaction to the fellows' anger over the lack of an organ, which they voiced in a list of grievances presented to the bishop of Lincoln (the Visitor) during the Visitation of 1603?¹⁷¹ Goad denied the accusation that he was responsible for the organ's removal in 1570 in a now lost paper of 1576, which expresses Goad's protest to the charges and his placement of the blame on Richard Cox, bishop of Ely.¹⁷² It is also worth noting that the installation of a grand organ like Dallam's was making a political statement: it indicated that the maneuvers of some radical puritans to rid the liturgy of music had been trumped by the desire for a new liturgy enhanced by polyphonic music in the verse style, which required the use of the organ. Tomkin's employment and the installation of the organ appear to confirm this. The installation of Dallam's organ at King's falls into the selective reintroduction of organs by the Jacobean government; Robert Cecil, a leading figure behind the organ's commission, was sending out a clear message to Cambridge

¹⁷⁰ In addition to material in Vol. I, Chapter Four (see nt. 168) see below, Supplement Two, 516-7.

¹⁷¹ On 5 May 1603 fellow John Griffin delivered a list of the fellows' grievances addressing Provost Goad's governing of the college and infringements against specific statutes. The fellows' complained that under statute a clerk or chaplain should play the organ, of which there was none. Article 3 stated: 'This Statute requiereth also Organs in Divine Service: we have none'. Article 13: 'Choristers should have allowance for all apparell & Bedding. They have not'. KCA, KCV/38/1 (Visitations) 'Mr John Griffin his presentment 5 May 1603', 119.

¹⁷² Goad replied robustly to the accusation: 'If my lord of Elye's flat commandement openly in our chapple...charging mee to make away the organs maye stand for my reason, then I hope I have both reason and warraunt for my doing in that behalf. Whereuppon I willed the bursers to sell them to the most benefit they could for the College...'. Williams, G., 'Ecclesiastical vestments, books, and furniture in the Collegiate Church of King's College, Cambridge, in the fifteenth century', *The Ecclesiologist*, 20 (1859), 304-15: 314; Thistlethwaite, 'The organ of King's College', 7.

University in regard to the national government's new policy on ceremonial and music.¹⁷³

We know from the Smythson drawing that Goad installed the organ at the junction of the second and third bays of the chancel. The charges for the organ, recorded in the *Mundum Books* in 1605/06, indicate a double organ; though we have no precise idea of how the organ looked, we must assume that an organ of the size indicated by the charges would require a gallery of some sort to support the Great and Chair cases. Some historians, including Graham Chainey¹⁷⁴ and Nicholas Thistlethwaite, have supported the theory that the 30li paid to Dallam and the 7li, 10s paid to joyner Andrew Chapman at Michaelmas Term 1613/14¹⁷⁵ suggest moving the organ from such a gallery to its current position on the great screen. However, a body of evidence suggests otherwise.

The payments for the organ in 1613/14 coincide with payments for the marble repaving of the east end and the purchase of a green velvet covering for the communion table, which suggests that the table may have been moved to the site in the third bay, where the Dallam organ stood. Further, King James I visited the chapel that year and would have seen (and ostensibly approved of) the communion table in this eastern north-south position.¹⁷⁶ While it is tempting to accept the Thistlethwaite/Chainey theory that the organ was moved to the screen, the modest sum of c. £40 pounds would not have been

¹⁷³ Thistlethwaite, 'The organ of King's College', 7.

¹⁷⁴ Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 145.

¹⁷⁵ 'Solut' Magistro Dallam in partem soluciones pro opere circa Organ, xx li'; 'Solut' Magistro Dallam in plena solis pro opere circa Organ, x li'; 'Solut' pro Scala [stairs] in usum Organiste, ij s'; 'Solut' Anderew Chapman in partem soluciones pro opere circa Organ, iiij li'; 'Solut' Andr[ew] Chapman in plena solis pro opere circa Organ, iij li, x s'. KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1613/14, *Term. Mich.* 'Solut' pro 64 li plumbi ad 2d le lib in usum Organ, x s, viij d'; 'Solut' Magistro Jordan pro lodging & use of his quarters 8 weekes for Magistro Dallam & his man...xxviij s'. KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1613/14, *Term. Nat.* See Appendix. X, Table 4. Provision for organs, King's College, Cambridge, from c. 1450 through c. 1644, 588.

¹⁷⁶ The fact that a workman was paid for laying 90 feet of marble and 220 feet of ragstone in the chapel floor shortly after which a green velvet covering was purchased for the communion table, may suggest that a table no longer stood between the stalls as shown by Smythson (c. 1609), but had been moved east. This move may reflect the tastes of clerics like Launcelot Andrewes, Richard Neile, and William Laud, forerunners of the 'high church' movement, as well as the proclivities of James I, who visited King's in 1614 and who was becoming accustomed to the eastern placement of the table. Further, college plays held for the king's entertainment may have been impeded by the table. Thistlethwaite, 'The organ of King's College', 22-3. Fincham and Tyacke have found unequivocal proof that communion tables were being moved eastwards long before the 1630s; often, they were placed in railed enclosures but still in an east-west position so that they would be perceived as communion tables and not altars. Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars restored*, 74-125.

sufficient to move a double organ of this size to the great screen at King's. It may, however, have been enough to move the organ gallery upon which it stood to a northeastern position, much in the manner of the organs mentioned above. Such a position would have accommodated the placement of the communion table at the junction of the first and second bays, a location confirmed again in 1634.¹⁷⁷ It is more likely that the Great case (which eventually became double-sided, though much slimmer than the current case) and related Chair case rested on the great wooden pulpitum only in the later seventeenth century, after the Restoration; from that point onwards the organ developed into the iconic instrument we know today.¹⁷⁸

9. The removal of organs after 1640

After Charles I's ten years of 'Personal Rule' came to an end in 1640, radical puritans once again gained the upper hand. During the years of Personal Rule college heads like William Beale (St. John's), John Cosin (Peterhouse), and Samuel Collins (King's) in Cambridge, and Thomas Jackson (Corpus Christi) and Robert Pincke (New College), in Oxford, had been allowed to run rampant by Charles I and Laud and modify ritual and music at will. The grievances accrued in Cambridge and Oxford by April 1640 were so vast that they required special attention; when the Short Parliament met again a proposed conference in the House of Lords was called on 29 April to address the liturgical changes in churches and 'University chapels'.¹⁷⁹ Once again, it appears to have been the superstitious nature of services and the role of music and organs that set off alarm bells. The elements that perturbed the Parliamentarians most centred around the pre-Reformation character of the ritual, including: the use of frankincense; the acts of corporal ritual (i.e. bowing and 'curtsying'); the use of Latin in services; the lavish

¹⁷⁷ See below, Supplement Two, 464. Although the chapel reconstruction is purely speculative, it illustrates the argument.

¹⁷⁸ A Great organ and Chair organ were set on the eastern side of the great screen after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The Chair organ can be dated with reasonable surety to 1661, and was built by Lancelot Pease in a case by George Woodroffe. Additional work was undertaken on the Great organ by Thomas Thamar (1673-7) and Renatus Harris (1686-8). By 1688 the case of the Great Organ was ca. 48" deep - much slimmer than the box-like case we know today. The receding perspective of the west front reflected a design deployed by Thomas Dallam's son, Robert, between 1630 and 1660; it is also reflected in the case designs of Robert's successors, Thomas and Renatus Harris. See Thistlethwaite, N., 'The organ of King's College, Cambridge, 1605 - 1802', *BIOS Journal*, 32 (2008), 4-42; 'Boris Ord and the reconstruction of the organ in King's College, Cambridge: 1932-4', *BIOS Journal*, 31 (2007), 6-39; 'Dr Mann and the organ of King's College, Cambridge: 1857-1912', *BIOS Journal*, 29 (2005), 19-44.

¹⁷⁹ Hoyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity*, 196.

adornment of the communion table (or 'altar', as it was referred to in various chapels); the use of ornate copes and vestments; as well as the deployment of formally dressed choral bodies and polyphonic music that included the organ. This resulted first in a Parliamentary investigation at Cambridge and the Commons Committee report¹⁸⁰ mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Four, followed by the systematic removal of all Laudian ceremonial regalia and furniture (including organs) in both Cambridge and Oxford.

In almost all the colleges mentioned here, organs were removed (but in some instances not destroyed)¹⁸¹ by Parliamentary force. The earliest wave of removal occurred in December 1640 during William Dowsing's purge of Cambridge. The removal of the Dallam organ and possibly a smaller organ at St. John's occurred in 1642/43 as mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Four. At King's the choir was disbanded after 1642, and the Thomas Dallam organ taken down during Christmas Term 1642/43;¹⁸² the (empty) case was removed at Baptist (i.e. summer) Term 1643/44.¹⁸³ Bowers infers that due to the nominal wages received by the workmen, they were allowed to keep the lumber as part of their recompense.¹⁸⁴ Despite these references, there remains uncertainty as to what exactly was dismantled and sold and what was restored after 1660. There is a body of evidence at King's to suggest that the elements of the organ after 1660, including the Great case of Thomas Thamar and the Chair organ of Launcelot Pease, have very little if anything of the original organ in them.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ BL Harl. MS 7019, fols. 74-6.

¹⁸¹ The Chair case of the St. John's Robert Dallam organ reputedly survives at Old Bilton, near Rugby. The old Dallam case was purchased by the late Rev. H. O. Assheton, Rector of St. Mark's, Old Bilton, where it was fitted with a new organ by Messrs. Nicholson and Company, of Worcester. See <https://sites.google.com/site/stmarkbiltonorganhistory/thamer-case>. According to Corpus Christi College chapel accounts in 1660/61: 'the materials of the organ' were bought back from 'Mrs. Carter' for 6li, 11s, 3d'. CCCA, C/1/1/13, unfoliated. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1660/61. As is mentioned below, parts of the Thomas Dallam organ may have survived the removal at King's. New College opted for a new Robert Dallam organ after 1661.

¹⁸² 'Solut' Magistro Comynge pro taking downe le Organ, 2li; 'Item solut' le Joyner et diversis Laborantibus circa eidem ut patet, 1li, 1s'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Reparaciones novi templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1642/43, *Term. Nat.*

¹⁸³ 'Solut' eidem [Wardall] for mending lock of organ lock doore, 1s, 2d'. *Term. Annunt.*; 'Solut' Martin et Cowen pro opere circa Le Organ case, 2s; 'Solut' Ashley pro taking downe the Orgaine case, 3s, 4d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/28. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1643/44, *Term. Bapt.*

¹⁸⁴ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 283.

¹⁸⁵ During limited investigation of the woodwork of the Great case during the rebuilding (2016), the wood-conservation expert, Hugh Harrison (unrelated to the organ builders), identified portions of different date, suggesting a case made of several elements, some of it much earlier in style and possibly representing parts of the original Thomas Dallam case. I am grateful to Nicholas Thistlethwaite for bringing this to my attention.

The organs in Oxford appear to have been removed later, not under a purge like Dowsing's, but during formal Parliamentary visitations of Oxford held between 1647 and 1658.¹⁸⁶ The John Chappington organ at New College was removed shortly after 'an. 1646', according to Anthony Wood;¹⁸⁷ any reference to organs ceases completely after 1641/42 according to my research, which corroborates Wood's report. Explicit evidence of the removal is impeded in the fact that accounts for 1642/43 and those for 1644 through 1646, and 1647 to 1652 are missing. Unusually, the organ at Magdalen College remained *in situ* until 1654, possibly because it could be curtained off from the main body of the chapel. During that year, it was played by Christopher Gibbons, and subsequently moved to the great hall of Hampton Court Palace, for Oliver Cromwell, where it was used for domestic music-making and reputedly played by the poet John Milton, Cromwell's secretary (hence its nickname the 'Milton' organ).

It is doubtful that the organ at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, had been in use after 1640, for there are no further payments for repair; as mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Five, it is apparent that the organ had been removed by 1649/50 when a payment of 4li, 13s, 6d is made on 18 November 1649 'To Goodman Walker for making a round table in the President's Lodging and making the new seat in the organ place'.¹⁸⁸ President Edmund Staunton's observation in 1653 that there was no longer a need to employ a '*Modulator Organorum*'¹⁸⁹ attest to his organ-less presbyterian chapel.

¹⁸⁶ In May 1647 Parliament issued an ordinance establishing a board of twenty-five Visitors to be supervised by a parliamentary committee in London. Three sets of Visitors were appointed: the first from September 1647 until April 1652; the second from June 1652 to January 1654; and the third from January 1654 until c. 1658, after which their activities ended. The primary goal of the Visitors was to expel those who opposed the new regime and regulate the general conduct of university business. For a thorough account of the Visitations see Burrows, M., *The Register of the Visitors of The University of Oxford from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658* (London, 1881), xxxv-cxxi.

¹⁸⁷ Wood-Gutch, *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, 199.

¹⁸⁸ CCCA, C/1/1/10, fol. 72r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1649/50.

¹⁸⁹ Dated 11 August 1653. CCCA, B/4/3/29. Acts and Proceedings. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 350.

SUPPLEMENT TWO

CHAPELS THROUGH THE REFORMATIONS

RECONSTRUCTIONS OF CHAPEL INTERIORS, c. 1540 - c. 1641: NEW COLLEGE AND CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND KING'S COLLEGE AND ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

The images in the following appendix have been composed in collaboration with the artist Eva Lilienfelde (Newark-on-Trent) over a three-year period. Though speculative, they are based on exterior and interior detail gleaned from archival documents and photographs of the two focus colleges of the thesis as well as those of their Wykehamist predecessors. In the case of New College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge, the existing shell of the chapel remains the basis for the images with interiors changing through the period of the Reformation(s). In the case of St. John's College, Cambridge, the images of the now non-existent early chapel were reconstructed to scale based upon architectural details provided by Alec Crook (*From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott. A History of the Buildings of St John's College, Cambridge 1511 to 1885*) and Charles Babington (*History of the infirmary and chapel of St. John*), as well as by the 1848 painting of the chapel by Daniel Wood, and archival photographs. The images depict the respective chapels during three periods: 1. c. 1535-1547; 2. c. 1575; and 3. c. 1610 - c. 1641. An introductory commentary discussing archival sources is provided before each respective section in order to illuminate and explain the structure, interior, ceremonial regalia, and furniture of the chapels; special emphasis has been placed upon organs and their sites in the respective chapels. The images are works in progress, to be continued and improved over time.

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Introductory commentary

Images 1, 2, and 3. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Quire, facing east.

The interior of the chapel today, though magnificent, is a pale successor to the vibrantly coloured building of the Tudor era, in which both stonework and woodwork were brilliantly painted. In 1411/12 the **Purbeck marble floor** of the chapel was laid out. Finishing touches were still being carried out in 1418 when the **altar steps** were completed. References to the **high altar** (*'magnum altare'*, *'summum altare'*) are frequent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (with the exception of the years during Edward VI's reign and those after Elizabeth I's accession). The high altar was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as was the entire college, and Lady Mass was celebrated there daily *'cum nota et cantu'*. Images of the Virgin were found in numerous locations throughout the college: in the glass, in the main gatehouse (over the entrance), and, not least, in the frieze containing **five scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary** placed directly over the high altar. A statue of the BVM placed in a prominent niche in the reredos above the high altar completed the Marian adornment of the presbytery. Today the five scenes of the BVM survive badly mutilated in the song room on the north side of the chapel - a tangible example of Edwardine iconoclasm.¹⁹⁰

Of all the architectural detail and devotional figurative art that compete for visual attention upon entering the quire of New College Chapel, it is the **reredos** that first catches the eye. The painted statues of the reredos had been gradually filled into the brilliantly painted and gilt niches in the first half of the fifteenth century. Following the visitation of Bishop Robert Horne in 1566/67 the entire reredos was plastered over and the wall painted with passages from Scripture; evidence of the destruction and removal of the reredos statues is recorded in 1559/60.¹⁹¹ During the gothic transformation of the roof, choir stalls, organ screen, and organ case between 1779 and 1789, James Wyatt

¹⁹⁰So[lutum] quator famulis magri plummer laborantibus circa frangendas et Deponendas imagines in sumo altari et reliquis partibus Templi, x s, viii d'. NCA, 7513. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursaiorum*, 1547/48.

¹⁹¹ See below, 489, nt. 338.

reported finding 'deep ultramarine blue' paint on the backs of the reredos' niches and their carved work (crocketed canopies and pedestals) 'richly gilt'.¹⁹² Although the blue niches and gilt pedestals are depicted in **Images 1, 2, and 3**, one must envisage painted statues within them. An indication of the chapel's kaleidoscopic colour, in particular the colour of images (including those of the reredos), comes from Wykeham himself, who describes images adorned 'in many colors';¹⁹³ this gives us only a hint of the plethora of images and paintings that adorned the medieval chapel.

Further ceremonial elements of the pre-Reformation presbytery included the pyx and sedilia. The **pyx** lacks references prior to Mary Tudor's reign, during which there are several.¹⁹⁴ It is reasonable to assume that it hung from the ceiling in the manner customary of contemporary English churches. The wall south of the high altar in the presbytery still contains the **sedilia** with its three descending niches for priest, deacon, and subdeacon.

Hugh Herland's low-pitched timber **roof** was found rotting under James Wyatt's shallow plaster vault (constructed between 1779 and 1789) before work on Gilbert Scott's ceiling began. Herland's low-pitched roof - nothing like Gilbert Scott's present hammer-beam roof or James Wyatt's vaulted roof - was brilliantly painted, as were the **stalls**.¹⁹⁵ Rubric 46 of the New College Statutes (1400) specifies the order of seating within the stalls. Wykeham envisaged the warden on the right side upon entering the quire (below the screen, facing east) and the subwarden opposite him on the left side of the quire. In the upper stalls sat Masters and Doctors of Theology, who were followed

¹⁹² Chalmers, A., *A History of the Colleges...of Oxford* (1810), vol. I, 135; Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', 172.

¹⁹³ Included in a warning against violent games or throwing stones that would injure the chapel or hall, is Wykeham's indication of the colourful images, paintings, and glass within the chapel: '...imago sanctissimae ac individuae Trinitatis, patibulum sanctae Crucis cum imagine crucifixi, beatissimae Mariae Virginis, sanctorumque aliorum plurium imagines sculpturae, fenestrae vitreae, ac picturae variae, nonnullaque alia opera sumptuosa ad Dei laudem, gloriam et honorem, ipsiusque matris praedictae subtiliter fabricata variisque coloribus perornata...'. Rub. 63, Statutes of New College, Oxford (1400), 99-100; NCA, 3584, 26v, 27r. Rub 63, *Founder's Statutes of New College* (c. 1386).

¹⁹⁴ The academic year 1555/56 appears to have seen much alteration and beautification in the chapel, including that of the pyx. Several payments refer to red silk for the pyx, for its veil with cloth, four tassels for the veil of the pyx, as well as fringe for it: 'So[lutum] pro rubeo sasinet pro pixide, v s'; 'So[lutum] pro compositione eiusdem velaminus et buckeram, xij d'; 'So[lutum] pro 4 tassels ad idem velamen pixidis, vj s'; 'So[lutum] pro ly frenge, xx s'. NCA, 7526. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1555/56. Sometime in August 1556 a payment of xvij s is made to Bolton 'pro tabernaclo ad pixidem'. NCA, 7526. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1555/56.

¹⁹⁵ Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', 172.

eastward by Doctors of Law and of Medicine, Bachelors of Theology, Masters of Arts, and Bachelors of Canon and Civil law; undergraduates came next. The chaplains were placed strategically among the fellows in the top row, in part so that they could assist with the singing of the chant.¹⁹⁶ Others of lower status, including clerks and choristers and probationary scholars would, by tradition, have stood in front of the upper row; it is possible that forms (i.e. benches) were added with time.¹⁹⁷

Various decorative elements and additional objects are missing from our representations. The chapel accounts contain numerous references to **statues and pictures** - many more than are depicted here. Also, some forms of **lighting** frequently referred to in the accounts (e.g. **candelabras, both standing and hanging**), have been omitted.

¹⁹⁶ As Beth Ann Lee-De Amici noted: 'as musical specialists, the chaplains scattered throughout the stalls would be able to support and guide the singing of the fellows and scholars who, presumably less well trained, might otherwise have had difficulty singing the necessary chants at Mass and Office'. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem Fidei Christiani', 110.

¹⁹⁷ In contrast to other Wykehamist college statutes and those of Richard Fox for Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1517), there is no mention of scholars, clerks, or choristers standing before the stalls or of setting benches or forms before them. Rub. 42, Statutes of New College (1400) in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford: with Royal Patents of foundation Injunctions of Visitors...* vol. I (Oxford, 1853), 68; Rub. 46, *ibid.*, 79-80.

Organs and organ placement

The earliest references to an organ occur in 1448/49 when 'Thoma[s] Wutton' [*sic*] (Wotton) bought and overhauled an organ.¹⁹⁸ The instrument was most likely placed on the original screen (pulpitum).¹⁹⁹ Thomas Wotton may be a relation to William Wotton, who - despite differences in opinion - appears to have built the Magdalen and Merton College organs in 1487 and 1488, respectively.²⁰⁰ In **Image 4** we have used the Old Radnor organ (Powys, Wales) as a representation of the **Thomas Wotton organ**.

Images 1, 2, and 3 depict the second organ acquired by the college: '**Porte's** organ'. It was given as a gift in 1458 together with liturgical books, including an antiphoner, psalter, and gradual, as well as copes and altar coverings by William Porte (fellow, 1417-23).²⁰¹ Porte described the organ as '*orgona [sic] magna pro choro*'. It is possible that it was placed on a gallery abutting an opening or arch adjacent to the vestry door (**Image 1**), as was the John Chappington organ in 1598;²⁰² however, since

¹⁹⁸ 'Et d[omino] Thoma Wutton' [*sic*] pro antiquis Organis sibi venditis una cum viij denariis pro tabul' [most likely pro tabulatis = for the boards, a covering of some sort?] eorundem venditis domino Clement', x s, viij d'. Under 'Recepcio forinseca'; 'Et solut[um] Thome Wutton' pro factur' magn' Pip' Organorum una cum x solidis solute[um] per eum pro pip' [pro pipa or pro pipis] antiquorum Organorum xv solidos viij denarios'. NCA, 7410. Under 'Custus Capelle' in the Bursars' college account roll, 1448/49 [Roll 27-28 Henry VI] (1449). For greater detail see Hale, P., *The Organs of New College Oxford* (Oxford, 2015), 9-10.

¹⁹⁹ In colleges and collegiate churches the pulpitum (upon which an organ was often placed) was regarded as essential for carrying out the Sarum rite according to the custom of larger churches like Lincoln, Lichfield, Chichester, Exeter (screens and large organs installed 1513/14), Durham Cathedral, Ottery St. Mary (organs on three different screens/lofts in 1545), New College and Winchester College, and Magdalen College (organ by William Wotton [relation to Thomas?], 1486/87) and Merton College (rood loft 1486/87, William Wotton organ 1488), Oxford. Harrison *MMB*, 169, 209.

²⁰⁰ Andrew Freeman assumes that Thomas Wotton built the Magdalen and Merton College instruments. According to Freeman, Thomas Wotton (Wutton), who reputedly rebuilt an organ for the pulpitum of New College in 1449, was active during the 1480s and built the organs of Magdalen College (£ 13-0-0 part payment only) and Merton College, Oxford (£28-0-0). Freeman, A., 'Records of British Organ Builders' (First Series), in *The Dictionary of Organs and Organists* (London, 1921), 19 and nt. 2197; Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 22. However, Harrison attributes the construction of the modest-sized organs at Magdalen (1487) and Merton (1489) to William Wotton. In 1486 Warden Richard Fitzjames (later bishop of London) and the fellows of Merton College authorised the construction of a new rood loft; after its completion in 1488 they commissioned a new organ. In their contract it was agreed that 'Wylliam Wotton off the seyde Town off Oxefforde organmaker...schall make or cawse to be made a goode and suffycient payr of organs lyke on to the new payr off organs wych he promysyd to make and sett up withyne Maudelene College off Oxefforde aforesayde' for the sum of twenty-eight pounds. MCR, 1.3, fol.109. *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis*; Harrison, *MMB*, 167.

²⁰¹ A deed (inventory) which also lists liturgical books (manual, missal, legend in two volumes, processional, gradual), copes, silver, and altar coverings given by William Porte includes 'It[em] orgona [*sic*] magna pro choro'. NCA, 9654, fol. 8r, v. *Liber Albus*, 1458.

²⁰² A carpenter is paid ij s 'for 2 dayes worke' and a joyner xxviiij s, ix d 'for the deskes and seeling under the stayres of the organes'. NCA, 7587. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1598/99.

there is no specific reference to the organ on a gallery prior to 1598, one cannot exclude the possibility that it rested on the floor of the presbytery east of the vestry door (**Image 2**). Alternatively, it may have stood on a gallery (**Image 3**) independent from the wall just east of the vestry door; such a gallery is also depicted in the King's College images below. We have represented Porte's organ with the Goetze & Gwynn St. Teilo organ. Repairs were carried out on 'the smaller organs' (presumably, the Porte organ in the quire) in 1488/89 by William Wotton,²⁰³ who had recently built organs at Magdalen College (1486/87) and Merton College (1488), as mentioned above. Others who worked on the chapel organs included 'Thurlby' in 1496/97²⁰⁴, Nicholas Kendall and Richard Borrow in 1500/01,²⁰⁵ and Robert Horne in 1524/25.²⁰⁶

Apparently a new organ was bought and gilded during the academic year 1536/37;²⁰⁷ the 25li, 7s, 11d paid reflects a modest organ, similar in price (and perhaps size) to the instrument built by William Wotton at Merton College in 1488 for 28li. By 1539, there were four organs in the chapel, including one in a Jesus chapel.²⁰⁸ All four organs appear to have been repaired in 1539.²⁰⁹ It remains unknown where in the chapel the **1536 organ** was placed; however, it is not unreasonable to assume that it may have been positioned near the high altar or in *medio chori* as is depicted in **Images 1, 2, and 3**. We have used the Goetze & Gwynn Wingfield organ as a representation. Alongside the payments in 1539/40 for work done on the four organs (which includes one for commons for the two workmen) is a payment for canvas for covering the organs.²¹⁰ In 1540/41 another payment for a canvas covering is recorded, in this instance for the

²⁰³ NCA, 7448. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1488/89.

²⁰⁴ NCA, 7457. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1496/97.

²⁰⁵ NCA, 7462. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1500/01.

²⁰⁶ NCA, 7478. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1524/25.

²⁰⁷ 'So[lutum] pro organis confectis hoc Anno et anno preterita, xxv li, vij s, xi d'; 'So[lutum] pro Anno ad deauranda organa, xvij d'. NCA, 7493. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1536/37.

²⁰⁸ 'So[lutum] pro reparatione organorum in capella Jhesu, vii s, vi d'. NCA, 7480. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1527/28. In the years preceding the Henrician Reformation a personalised cult of Jesus began to rival that of Mary, and 'Jesus-altars' and 'Jesus-chapels' materialised and involved the use of a separate organ. Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century*, 11. Lady Margaret Beaufort was one of the most prominent advocates of the Jesus Mass. See Vol. I, Chapter One, 44, nt. 145 and Chapter Two, 69, nt. 263.

²⁰⁹ 'So[lutum] confectori organorum pro emendatione 4or organorum, xxvi s, viii d'; 'So[lutum] pro communis duorum concutrintium ad dictam emendationem organorum ut pro pillam per septimanum, ij s, viij d'. NCA, 7498. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1539/40.

²¹⁰ 'So[lutum] pro pictura dimid' ulnae ly canvasse ad tecturam super organs [*sic*], iii d'. NCA, 7498. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1539/40.

'small organ' (*pro ly canvase ad minora organa*).²¹¹ It remains unclear which organ is meant; however, this most likely refers to an organ other than the potentially substantial Wotton or Porte instruments.

Image 4. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Quire, facing west.

This image depicts the quire facing west. The Wotton organ (represented by the Old Radnor organ, Powys, Wales) rests upon the screen, which also contains **two lecterns for recitation and singing** on Sundays and feast days when the choir is ruled. **Chairs and a lectern for the choir rulers**²¹² are placed between the stalls. **Rood figures** were placed upon the original medieval rood **screen**, which was carved with figures of saints. The screen was most likely painted, but there is no indication as to the choice of colour. The **rood beam** was gilded in 1470.²¹³ The original medieval screen was removed along with the organ in 1571/72,²¹⁴ and only its **arched doors** remain extant today. Of the pre-Commonwealth **stalls** only the **sixty-two misericords** and some of the elbow-rests have survived.²¹⁵

Image 5. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Antechapel, north. Jesus chapel and organ.

As has been briefly addressed in Supplement One, the antechapel of New College contained between six to eight (and possibly more) altars.²¹⁶ The accounts for 1509/10 record the repair/alteration of candlesticks on three altars dedicated to the Trinity, the Angels, and the Apostles: '*So[lutum] emendatione candelabrorum Stant*' [sic] *coram Altaribus Trinitatis Angelorum & Apostolorum ad diversis viaes* [sic] *hoc Anno, xx d'*

²¹¹ NCA, 7500. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1540/41.

²¹² The statutes of King's College, Cambridge, and New College, Oxford, refer to feast days when the choir is ruled/not ruled (i.e. greater/lesser feasts and *feria*). For example, the 'Statutes of New College (1400)' require that every day 'regardless of being a feasts when the quire is ruled or not ruled' ('*reliquis vero festis, cum regimine vel regimine chori*') the chaplains shall lead /celebrate/sing at Matins, processions, Masses...and Office hours '*cum cantu et nota*' (in at least plainsong) with the clerks. 'Statutes of New College (1400)', 70.

²¹³ '*pro j quarta de auro optimo pro tigno in navi capelle deaurando*'. NCA, 7719. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1469/70 (the roll is badly mutilated and may be that of 1470/71).

²¹⁴ See below, 490.

²¹⁵ Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', 171.

²¹⁶ See above, 397, nt. 52.

as well as for altar cloths '*pro tribus altaribus inferioribus*' (presumably, for the same three altars).²¹⁷ By tradition, the altars were of stone.

The location of the antechapel altars must be left to pure speculation; however, Gervase Jackson-Stops and Christopher Woodforde have suggested that altars rested under each of the four eastern lights flanking the screen in the antechapel.²¹⁸ One of the antechapel altars was located in a Jesus chapel, which also contained an organ.²¹⁹ In our depiction of the Jesus chapel the altar is situated under the two northeastern lights of the antechapel. There would have been little or no space for two altars as Jackson-Stops and Woodforde suggest: the door in the northeastern corner, which was extant since the fourteenth century,²²⁰ impinges significantly on the space for an altar under the northern most east-facing light. Therefore, we have suggested only one altar under the northeastern lights and a chapel to surround it - **the Jesus altar and chapel**. We have used the Goetze & Gwynn Wingfield organ as a representation of the **Jesus chapel organ**, and have placed a **music desk** next to the manual. All the altars in the chapel were removed at the outset of the academic year 1559/60 when two labourers were paid on two separate occasions for four days work in destroying the altars.²²¹

The ten chaplains of New College were required to celebrate ten Masses weekly *per rota*; the numerous antechapel altars facilitated this task, enabling the simultaneous celebration of Masses or the Office in different parts of the chapel. For example, one chaplain could celebrate a Mass '*cum nota et cantu*' at the high altar, during which a commemorative Mass could be 'said' or 'recited' (i.e. intoned) quietly at one of the antechapel altars.

²¹⁷ NCA, 7726. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1509/10.

²¹⁸ Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', 174-5. The twelve lower lights of the two eastern windows of the antechapel contain the crucifix with the attendant figures of the BVM and St. John the Evangelist repeated four times. Woodforde contends that although the crucifixes have been largely destroyed, their repetition suggests in part that 'four altars were in place below these roods'. Woodforde, *The Stained Glass of New College*, 67.

²¹⁹ See above, 434, nt. 208.

²²⁰ The architectural plan of the college through the centuries in the fold-out plate (unnumbered, unpaginated) in Jones, A.H.M., 'New College, Oxford', in Salter and Lobel, *HCO* dates the door and the staircase to the rood screen in the northeastern wall of the antechapel from the fourteenth century.

²²¹ See above, 397, nt. 53.

Image 6. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Antechapel, south. Marian image/altar.

Holes in a pillar west of the screen could indicate points at which a '*tabula*' hung. The *tabula* was a large waxed board deployed in secular cathedrals during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; every Saturday the precentor wrote upon it in due order the names of those members of the foundation who were to take individual parts in the performance of the *Opus Dei* during the following week. In some cases words and music of a particular votive antiphon were written upon the *tabula*; this appears to be the case at Magdalen College²²² and New College. Evidence shows that a *tabula* hung in the antechapel of New College (referred to as '*navi ecclesie*' in the *Computus Bursariorum*); it was specially intended for the nightly Marian antiphon service, a focal point of daily devotion.²²³ John Corneysch and his son repaired the *tabula* in 1509/10.²²⁴ According to Rubric 45 of the New College statutes, chaplains and clerks (and most likely choristers) were to perform an antiphon to the Virgin every day after Compline.²²⁵

Often a Marian altar or image, or both, as well as an organ stood nearby; this was the case at Eton College in the late fifteenth century, as the research of Magnus Williamson has shown.²²⁶ Although many altars filled the antechapel of New College, none is specifically designated as an altar dedicated to the BVM; however, images (i.e. statues) of the Virgin are recorded in the *Computus Bursariorum*, 1534/35.²²⁷ In **Image**

²²² At Magdalen, the statutes mandated an antiphon of the BVM sung in hall after compline by chapel ministers, fellows, and scholars every Saturday and on vigils of Marian feasts. The antiphon was written out on boards and hung on the wall of the hall. Harrison, *MMB*, 85. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 236, nt. 967.

²²³ The Marian antiphon had special significance at New College, a foundation dedicated to the BVM. Payments are made in 1444/45 to the master of choristers for teaching it: 'Et in stipendio Informatoribus Choristarum ad xx s. per annum una cum, vi s, fiiij d. Allocatis eidem pro supervisione Antiphone beate Marie cum precibus adiunctis pro bono et salubri statu domini Regis, xxvj s, viij d'. NCA, 7409. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum* 1444/45.

²²⁴ 'Et so[lutum] Joanni Cornenysch et filio eiusdem laborantibus pro xliij dies circa reparationem librorum jacent[orum] in choro et... emendatione tabule deservient' Antiphon' ca'ta' in navi ecclesie in toto xlix s'. NCA, 7726. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum* 1509/10.

²²⁵ Rub. 45, 'De numero presbyterorum et aliorum ministrorum servientium in capella, ac de officiis, servitiis et stipendiis, eorundem', in Statutes of New College, Oxford (1400), 78.

²²⁶ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 123-4.

²²⁷ 'So[lutum] eidem pro duabus imaginibus beate marie et duobus Sancti Johannis Evangeliste, iij s'; 'So[lutum] pro imagine crucifixi, ij s, viij d'; 'So[lutum] pro duabus imaginibus crucifixi, beate Marie et

6 we have situated an **image of the BVM** near an **altar**, which could have been deployed in Marian worship. **Two eyelets** in the south wall of the antechapel provided the warden the opportunity to view services or disputations (which were held by statute in the antechapel) from his quarters opposite the chapel.

Sancti Joh[annis] evang[eliste], xiiij s, iiii d'. NCA, 7489. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum* 1534/35.

Image 1. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Quire, facing east. Organs: (William Porte, 1458) northeast gallery (perch), *medio chori*.



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Image 2. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Quire, facing east. Organs: northeast gallery (freestanding), *medio chori*.



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Image 3. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Quire, facing east. Organs: presbytery floor, *medio chori*.



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Image 4. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Quire, facing west.
Organ (Thomas Wotton, 1449): pulpitum/screen.



Image 5. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Antechapel north, Jesus chapel and organ.



Image 6. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1545. Antechapel south, Marian image/altar.



CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, c. 1540

Introductory commentary

**Image 7. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540. Quire, facing east.
Organ: vestry gallery (perch).**

**Image 8. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540. Quire, facing east.
Organ: presbytery floor.**

Though it may have been smaller than the library - an obvious physical manifestation of the college's humanist focus - the chapel still remained the spiritual centre of daily life at Corpus Christi. Between Fox, Claymond, and Morwen great sums were spent to build and appoint it, and by 1540 it was resplendent in a colourful array of glass, furniture, textiles and religious imagery. According to the Corpus Christi building accounts (1517-18), the **high altar** may have been bordered by curtains (on riddle posts),²²⁸ as were many contemporary altars. In **Image 7** the altar is covered with altar cloths and hangings of red and gold. There is no record of a reredos of any kind, though the length of the east window was considerable and may have approached the top of the altar. In 1546/47 a wooden canopy for the high altar was constructed for xxviiij s, iiij d,²²⁹ perhaps the last attempt at beautification before the accession of Edward VI. A **pyx** is referred to in the *Liber Magnus*, 1531/32.²³⁰ It may have been hung over the altar in the traditional English manner. A **tabernacle**, which can be construed as a covering or place of storage for the Sacrament, is referred to in 1529/30.²³¹ The altar steps are not mentioned in the early accounts, but it can be inferred from the Use of Salisbury that **three steps** for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon were extant as well as a **presbytery step**. The remnants of a stone **sedilia**,

²²⁸ 'It' m ffor to dosyn courtyn rynges for hangynges to the altarys [*sic*], iiij d'. CCCA. *Building accounts 1517-18*, 65/fol. 33v.

²²⁹ 'It' pro canapeo ligneo [wooden canopy] altaris summi, 28s, 4d '. CCCA, C/1/1/2, fol. 118r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1545/46? (see 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xx).

²³⁰ 'It' pro pixidibus, viij d'. CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 88r. Under 'Impensae internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1531/32.

²³¹ 'It' clavis eneis et ferreis pro tabernaculi, 6¼d'; 'It' lapicidae pro tabernaculis uno die cum dimidio, 7d'. CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 66v. Under 'Impensae sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1529/30.

which contained seats for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, can be found today in the stone work at the southeast end of the chapel. **Copes** for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon are recorded in the inventory of 1558/59.²³² As mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Five, the 'Founder's Textile', until recently thought to have been an altar cloth, is actually a **pulpit cloth (Images 7, 8)**. It is made of red cloth of gold embroidered with pelicans and was crafted in Florence during the 1520s.²³³

The length of the original **east window** of the chapel was greater than that of the present window. Part of the east window was blocked up in order to receive Guido Battoni's copy of Reni's *Annunciation*, presented to the college in 1796. The original east window as well as the north and south side windows may have been glazed by the Flemish artist Barnard Flower (d. July or August 1517) with whom Bishop Fox had collaborated on the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge,²³⁴ or James Nicholson, who is known to have worked for Cardinal College in 1528.²³⁵

The eagle lectern, given to the college by John Claymond, is inscribed '*Joannes Claymond, primus praeses*'. It may have been used in the recitation of the Gospel, which would have been done facing north. The principal membership consisted of twenty fellows and twenty *discipuli* (scholars and probationary fellows); in Fox's statutes of 1517, six fellow-commoners are also mentioned.²³⁶ The **stalls** of the top row seated the fellows and graduates by order of their degree: D.D., B.D., M.A., and B.A. Upon entering the quire, the president sat to the right and the vice-president to the left of the arch under the rood screen in east-facing return stalls (by 1535, traditional features of collegiate church/chapel seating). The top row of stalls traditionally incorporated a desk, below which were forms, or benches, for *discipuli*.²³⁷

²³² 'Item, the best red of purple velvet for Priest, Decon, and Subdecon, And all other necessities savinge one told lackinge'. Recorded in 'A partial list of the vast amount of chapel ceremonial regalia and furniture owned by 1558. Recorded by Fowler as 'Inventory of Secured Church Goods'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 113-15.

²³³ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 271, nt. 1119.

²³⁴ See Vol. I, Chapter Two, 67.

²³⁵ It is possible that the glass was made for Cardinal College and may have been passed on to Balliol in 1529 when all of Wolsey's property was forfeited to the Crown. Davis, *A History of Balliol College*, 69.

²³⁶ Cap. 34, 'De extranis non introdicendis', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 80.

²³⁷ That no one may 'struggle for place' Fox stipulated that the president shall occupy the first place on the right side of the quire ('in dextra parte chori primum locum teneat'). The vice-president shall claim the first place on the left side ('in sinistra parte Vicepraesidens primum vindicet'). Next, on the upper step on both sides, both the fellows and the scholars during their two years probation; if graduates, the

The two-storey vestry is visible in the Loggan engraving of 1675.²³⁸ It filled nearly half of the north side of the chapel, leaving only one window to provide light into the quire. The vestry was entered from the quire by way of a door; the upper level was most likely accessed by a staircase within the vestry.

The disposition and size of the early organ are difficult to determine; however, the surviving partial outline of the vestry arch in the stonework of the outer northeast wall of the chapel as well as the arch's outline within the chapel interior suggest that the arch was *c.* 3.7 meters in width; the space could have accommodated a small instrument, comparable in size and scope to the St. Teilo organ constructed by Goetze & Gywnn.

There are two possibilities as to the site of the **organ**: a) in the upper level of the vestry (**Image 7**) or b) on the floor of the presbytery north of the altar (**Image 8**). Due to the extremely limited space within the quire of the chapel, it is likely that the organ was placed on the upper level of the vestry, as was the Thomas Dallam organ of 1618; however, in contrast to the 1618 arrangement, the gallery may not have had pillars. No reference to supports for a gallery or loft can be found in the accounts; in fact there are no references of any to kind to an organ until 1536/37. It remains unclear if the organ gallery extended outwards from the upper level or if the organ remained wholly enclosed within the vestry's upper level. There is one marginal piece of evidence that could suggest that the organ was on the floor; this might be suggested in payments for work done on the east end in 1555/56: 'It' for makinge ye pavement by ye organs, 8d'.²³⁹ However, as mentioned in Vol. I Chapter Five, there are indications later in 1574/75 to suggest that the organ may not have rested on the floor of the presbytery.²⁴⁰

Doctors of Divinity, then the Bachelors of Divinity, followed by Masters of Arts, Bachelors of Arts. Lastly, all fellows and scholars during their first two years probation were to take places on the higher or lower step, at the discretion of the president; all non-graduate students '*discipuli*' are to be placed on the second bench, the graduates on the higher step, at the 'pleasure' (i.e. discretion) of the president. The two chapel priests ('duo sacelli sacerdotes, praecentor videlicet et sacrista') are to be placed after the Masters and before the Bachelors. The two remaining ministers ('duo sacelli ministri') are to have seats at the discretion of the president. The above order is to be followed during processions ('Quem ordinem volumus observari etiam in processionibus'). Under Cap. 18, 'De divinis officiis et feriis observandis', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 44.

²³⁸ See Vol. I, Chapter Two, Illustration 2.3, 67.

²³⁹ CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 156v. Under 'Impensae sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1555/56.

²⁴⁰ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 251.

We have depicted both sites: the organ upon a gallery (or perch) extending from the vestry (**Image 7**); and the organ on the floor of the presbytery (**Image 8**). In **Image 7** the organ is represented by the Goetze & Gwynn St. Teilo organ, and in **Image 8** by the Goetze & Gwynn Wingfield organ.

The **ceiling** of the chapel was low pitched; the **bosses** were carved by Thomas Russell²⁴¹ and gilded at great expense by Humphrey Coke. They can be counted among the treasures of the college; their imagery of Christ represents Fox's core inspiration in the founding of the college as well as the growing popularity of the cult of Jesus and the Holy Name at the outset of the sixteenth century, particularly during the reign of Henry VIII.²⁴²

The accounts list payments for **images**²⁴³ as well as a picture of the founder.²⁴⁴ The inventory of 1558/59 lists a large collection of chalices of gold and silver, cruets of gold and silver, a censer of silver and seven (more) of 'silver and guilte', a bell of silver, two paxes set with perles, silver, and gilt, and a holy water stick of silver, among other items.²⁴⁵ During Mary Tudor's reign a **canopy** with tassels and staves was purchased, suggesting the formality of processions.²⁴⁶ **Lighting** (with the exception of altar candles) has been omitted from our images, though numerous payments for candlesticks, both silver and wooden, candelabras, tapers, candles, and wax are recorded in the *Libri Magni*.

²⁴¹ Thomas Russell was associated with the King's Works; he worked at Westminster Abbey between 1490 and 1516, and on the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, 1509-15. See Vol. I, Chapter Two, 69.

²⁴² See Vol. I, Chapter One, 44, nt. 145 and Chapter Two, 69, nt. 263.

²⁴³ 'It' pro 4or imaginibus pictis, 19d'. CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 123v. Under 'Impensae sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1533/34.

²⁴⁴ 'It' pro picture carmi[?] fundatoris, 6d'. CCCA, C/1/1/1, fol. 103v. Under 'Impensae sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1532/33.

²⁴⁵ 'Inventory of Secretd Church Goods', 1558/59. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 113-15.

²⁴⁶ 'It' silck for ye kanapie, 10s, 8d'; 'It' for tassiles for ye canapy, 6s, 8d'; 'It' for linyng and making thearof, 3s, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 126r. Under 'Impensae sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1553/54. 'For silke for the canapie, 6d'; 'For coloringe of stavis for ye canapie, 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 146v. Under 'Impensae sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1554/55.

Image 9. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540. Quire, facing west.

In the west facing image the **chairs for the choir rulers**²⁴⁷ are placed in *medio chori* on either sides of the lectern upon which a great antiphoner or choirbook rested. The early **rood and figures** may have been damaged or removed during Edward VI's reign: after the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553 the rood was painted and set with the royal arms.²⁴⁸

Image 10. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540. Antechapel, facing east.

The original antechapel was nearly the same size as the quire, thus leaving more space for college members and officiants at daily services and for the altars required. According to statute Cap. 18, 'De divinis officiis et feriis observandis', the antechapel contained **two altars**: the **altar of St. Cuthbert** and the **altar of the Holy Trinity**. The morrow Mass was celebrated at the **altar of St. Cuthbert**, and the fourth Mass of the day (for the souls of William Frost and his wife) was celebrated at the **altar of the Holy Trinity** (later, '**Frost's altar**'). The panels of the **screen** would have been painted (in our image, with images of the saints)²⁴⁹ as was most of the chapel woodwork, including the stalls. For the moment, we have left the stalls of the quire unpainted for lack of specifics on original colour.

²⁴⁷ References to the rulers of the choir ('rectores chori') are made in the statutes, for example, in Cap. 18, 'De divinis officiis et feriis observandis', in Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 41.

²⁴⁸ 'It' for ij newe armes Arms [of the Queen?] and paynting ye roode, 6s, 8d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 125v. Under 'Impensae sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1553/54.

²⁴⁹ The examples here are based on the fifteenth-century screen of the parish church of St. Helen, Ranworth, Norfolk.

Image 7. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540. Quire, facing east. Organ: vestry gallery (perch).



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Image 8. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540. Quire, facing east. Organ: presbytery floor.



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Image 9. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540. Quire, facing west.



Image 10. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1540, antechapel, facing east.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, c. 1547

Introductory commentary

Structural details and ritual furniture/objects of the chapel, c. 1547

The monumental chapel of King's college was intended to manifest the piety of Henry VI. Devotion was of such importance to Henry that he diverted vast sums away from the war effort with France toward the construction and appointment of his capacious 'royal' chapel at King's. Fitting out the chapel lay finally in the hands of succeeding monarchs, who at great expense deployed nothing but the finest materials. **Grey English marble** was deployed in the **paving** of the quire and antechapel. According to Henry Carter, the marble floor was mentioned by John Caius during the reign of Henry VIII, who noted that it was still being completed in 1546 and 1547.²⁵⁰ This flooring extended into the **antechapel** through the door of the great screen until the junction of the two doors on the north and south sides. On either side of this grey marble band through the antechapel, the **floor** was paved in brick.²⁵¹ The marble band was extended to the western door in 1614; the fact that the area west of the north/south doors of the antechapel was strewn with **rushes**²⁵² during Elizabeth I's visit in 1564 may suggest that this portion of the floor remained unpaved.

²⁵⁰ 'Dr. Caius mentions, among the benefactions of Henry VIII a marble pavement, which was no doubt laid in the quire. Among the muniments are three receipts, amounting to 28 shillings of moneys paid in 1547 and the year following to John Bere, free-mason, for hewing, squaring, and polishing of marble stone. It was transferred to the antechapel in 1702, when the present quire pavement of English marble (in white and black squares) was set down.' Carter, *King's College Chapel*, 29.

²⁵¹ 'The quire bays from the screen door to Bay 2 is known to have had a floor of English grey marble. The antechapel had a brick floor flanking a central alley of marble stretching from the screen door to Bay 11, from whence a marble processional path crossed from the north and south porches. This central alley was extended to the west door in 1614/15 again in marble and Ragg (Ragge of Kent). Bay 1 was paved or repaved in 1611, but in tile, not marble. This may suggest that the in the original arrangement of the sanctuary area: the high altar stood in Bay 2 and not against the east wall; in 1643 [this date is incorrect: it should be 1633] a wooden screen was removed from Bay 3, evidently a post-Reformation fitting [shown in the Smythson drawing], and a new screen extended across Bay 2. This is another indication that the primitive arrangement featured an altar in Bay 2.' Woodman F., *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel and its Place in the Development of Late Gothic Architecture in England and France* (London, 1986), 237-241.

²⁵² At the reception of Queen Elizabeth in 1564 it is recorded that 'the place between the north, south, and west doors of the Church was strewed with rushes, being not paved'. This quarter of the chapel floor remained unpaved until 1614/15.

The overall scheme of the building and the arrangement of ritual steps were to lend grandeur to the Mass and Office, particularly on great feast days. However, recreating the original plan of floor and steps remains elusive; one must field through a large body of evidence. A remarkable discovery was made after the removal of wainscot panels in the second bay of the chapel in 1968. The stonework behind the panels revealed the remnants of **two sets of ritual steps**.²⁵³ Their arrangement (west to east) consisted of three steps followed by a space of *c.* ten feet and one step (upon which the altar had stood). This poses one possible arrangement of the steps; however, a wealth of evidence collected from the archives and elsewhere indicates that other configurations of the ritual steps existed from the completion of the chapel in 1537 to the twentieth century.

But before discussing these arrangements, let us consider the grand scheme of the space envisaged by Henry VI and clues he left as to the potential step configurations. In the plans for Eton in his will Henry 'devised and appointed six greces [i.e. steps] to be before the high altare, with the grece called Gradus Chori, every of them conteynning in heigth 6 ynches...'.²⁵⁴ In the plans for King's Henry is less precise and calls for 'the pavement of the church to be enhansed [i.e. raised] four feete above the ground without, and the height of the pavement of the quier one foote di. above the pavement of the church, and the pavement of the altare 3 feete above that.'

This leaves the arrangement of the ritual steps open to interpretation; future configurations display a variety of execution. The Smythson plan of 1609 depicts the **choir step** (the *gradus chori*) immediately east of the stalls and one additional step behind the organ. What appears common between Smythson's plan and the ensuing chapel ground plans from 1705,²⁵⁵ 1728,²⁵⁶ 1756,²⁵⁷ and 1805²⁵⁸ is that the area east of

²⁵³ Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 471-2, nt. 137.

²⁵⁴ 'Will of King Henry VI', in Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 177.

²⁵⁵ Stuckeley, W., *North Elevation of Chapel Seen from Within*, 1705, pen and ink on paper. KCA, KCC/279.

²⁵⁶ 'Survey of King's College Chapel'. Detail of James Gibbs, *The Quadrangle of Kings College as its now begune*, engraving 25.5 x 38 cm. In Gibbs, J., *A Book of Architecture: Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (London, 1728); Musson, 'King's College Chapel: Aesthetic and Architectural Responses', 42.

²⁵⁷ Essex, J., *Ground Plan of King's College Chapel*, *c.* 1756, drawing on India ink. London, British Library, Cartographic Items, BL Add. MS 6776, fol. 10b.; Musson, 26.

the lateral choir doors was raised. In the plans of 1728, 1756, 1805, as well as the plan of the chapel in John Saltmarsh's history there appear to be three steps at the junction of the second and third bays just east of the doors. In the 1728 and 1805 plans the altar rests on an additional three steps; however, in the eighteenth century William Cole described the altar standing on one step, with three others 'at a good distance [to the west]'. In Malden's guide book, published a little later, he commented that 'you ascend it [the altar] by four steps.'²⁵⁹

One point remains vital to consider: all these impressions reflect the arrangement of c. 1633, which survived the Civil War and Commonwealth. Though Trevor Cooper and others conclude that the post-1633 arrangement reflected the arrangement of steps prior to 1547, this is unlikely. According to the Use of Salisbury (in effect until the death of Henry VIII in 1547) three steps rested under the altar for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, followed (westward) by one presbytery step; there is no reason to believe that the situation was different at King's. This arrangement was most likely altered in 1633 when the Laudian-style altar/communion table and reredos were placed in the second bay: 'Item Tompson & Brent free mason pro reparatione le steps in orientale parte novi templi ut patet, 18s, 2d'.²⁶⁰ May this have been the point in time in which the three/one or three/three configuration of chancel steps occurred? In any event, we have configured the arrangement of steps to reflect the arrangement set out in the Use of Salisbury: one step ('*gradus chori*') followed by three, from west to east.

The function of the chapel as a chantry was of enormous importance to Henry VI. To accommodate the numerous commemorative services required Henry provided not only the vast presbytery, quire and antechapel: by the time Henry died in 1471 eighteen **side chapels** had been added to his original scheme, albeit only two had been constructed. After their completion in 1547 three had become chantry chapels for the souls of fellow William Towne (d. 1495) and Provosts John Argentine (provost, 1501-08) and Robert Hacumblen (provost, 1509-28) and were known to contain altars.²⁶¹ A fourth

²⁵⁸ Roffe, J., after Bond, J. L., after Wilkins, W., *Ground Plan with the Groining & c. of the Roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge*, 29 September 1805. In Britton, J., *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, vol. I (London, 1807); Musson, 52.

²⁵⁹ Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 471-2 nt 137.

²⁶⁰ KCA, KCAR 4/1/4/50. Under 'Reparaciones Novi Templi' in *Bursars' Particular Bk.*, 1633/34.

²⁶¹ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 486.

chantry was added for Provost Robert Brassie (provost, 1556-58) in 1558. **Images 17 and 18** depict Provost **Hacumblen's chantry** with its altar and original desk.

The ritual furniture of the chapel c. 1547 was highly decorative and adorned with precious objects and textiles. In **Images 11, 12, 13** the **high altar** and two **lower altars** (**Image 16**) are covered with white silk **altar cloths** and blue damask **altar hangings** referred to in the above-mentioned inventories; Turkish carpets - also referred to in the inventories - are laid before them. Although **altar frontals and curtains** of blue damask are depicted here, the inventories also record others of white, red, purple, green, and black, most likely reflecting specific liturgical seasons; the majority of these were richly embroidered and decorated with a myriad of allegorical and religious images.²⁶² In **Image 16** the lower altars are adorned with two of the **golden altarpieces** recorded in the inventories.

In the eastern facing views of the quire (**Images 11-13**) the **pyx**, referred to in the *Mundum Books* and in the inventories of 1506 and 1529,²⁶³ hangs from the altar canopy. The **high altar** was covered with a **baldachin**, thus prohibiting the traditional manner of hanging the pyx covered in a veil from the ceiling by a chain and pulley. The inventories of 1506 and 1529 list a magnificent collection of silver and gold regalia, including **silver crucifixes**; a silver crucifix adorns the altar (**Images 11, 12, 13**) along with six **silver candlesticks**, all of which are set before a **golden altarpiece**.

A body of evidence suggests that a **reredos** stood behind the high altar at King's (though this is not explicitly mentioned in Henry's Will): first, we know that the screen/rood loft at King's was to act as 'a reredos [most likely for votive altars on the west]... departyng the quere and the body of the chirch...';²⁶⁴ we also know that a reredos stood behind the high altar at Eton;²⁶⁵ further, a reredos behind the high altar at

²⁶² KCA 22. Inventories of chapel regalia and service books, 1506, 1529.

²⁶³ 'Item sol[utum] pro ij pixid' pro Altaribus beate Marie et sancti Nicholai, xjiij d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/7. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1476/7. Four pyxes are listed in the 1506 inventory, including one of gilded silver ('de Argento deaurato') and one a gift of John Dogget (Provost, 1499-1501). KCA 22. Inventarium...Jocalum, Religinarum, Vestimentarum & Caparum....Capelle Collegij Regalis beate marie & Sancti Nicholai de Cantebrigia facit xvjo Die mensis Julij Anno regni Regis henrici Septime Vuesimo primo (1506). The same four are recorded again in 1529. KCA 22. Inventarium xvjo die mensis Julij Anno Regis Henrici octavi vicesimo Dmo (1529), fol. 30r.

²⁶⁴ 'Will of King Henry VI', in Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 180-1

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 176; Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 442.

King's is reported in the account of Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1564.²⁶⁶ Therefore, it is likely that a reredos stood behind the high altar from 1547 onwards.

The three obligatory **chairs for priest, deacon, and subdeacon**, though not specifically mentioned in the *Mundum Books* or in the inventories, were most likely free-standing and situated in their traditional location south of the altar; although the ritual seats were often found in a stone **sedilia** built into the southeastern wall - as was the case at St. Stephen's Westminster, New College, and numerous other medieval chapels and churches - no provision was ever made for a sedilia at King's nor for the **piscina**, which traditionally neighbored it.²⁶⁷

Cloth of gold **wall hangings** covered the sanctuary of the early chapel, and similar hangings hung on the walls and reredos in the quire of the new chapel;²⁶⁸ hangings for the new chapel are mentioned under 'Custus novi edificii' in 1536/37.²⁶⁹ Hooks uncovered in 1969 revealed that wall hangings were hung from the bottom of the sills of the great windows to the top of the upper stalls prior to their seventeenth-century transformation (see below). Alternatively, or additionally, the walls at King's could have been painted as they were at Eton.²⁷⁰

On the eastern side of the great **Renaissance screen** facing the quire, 'not only the screen itself but all that stands against it is the work of the original craftsmen of the 1530s.'²⁷¹ The **screen** was decorated with the college arms of Eton and King's (on

²⁶⁶ See below, 496.

²⁶⁷ Carter, *King's College Chapel*, 26.

²⁶⁸ We have extended the wall hangings to cover the reredos in a manner shown in fifteenth-century books of hours. The reredos was also covered with hangings during the visit of Elizabeth I in 1564. Musson, 'King's College Chapel: Aesthetic and Architectural Responses', 40.

²⁶⁹ 'Item sol' septimo die Septembris Georgio Herman pro lotione ly hangyns veteris templi, ij s, iiij d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/11. Under 'Custus novi edificii' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1536/37.

²⁷⁰ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 120-25.

²⁷¹ Saltmarsh clarifies this to mean: 'the return stalls, their canopies, the armorial cresting which surmounts them'. Saltmarsh, *King's College Chapel*, 285.

either side of the eastern door) in c. 1605;²⁷² the arms of Charles I were added to the **tympanum over the door** in 1636.²⁷³

One row of **choir stalls** - thirty-six on either side of the quire (in addition to eight under the pulpitum/screen) - was envisaged and statutorily provided by Henry VI.²⁷⁴ The building estimates for 1515 record the addition of twenty-eight lower stalls with desks. The **return stalls** of the great screen²⁷⁵ are highly ornate and exhibit the work of 1536. The original **Tudor stalls**, by contrast, were much simpler and absent of the extensive seventeenth-century embellishment seen today:²⁷⁶ until 1633 the back of the upper stalls extended to the shoulder of a seated man.²⁷⁷ The stalls and substalls (and altars) of the temporary chapel were relocated to the new chapel after 1536, according to Roger Bowers (according to Graham Chainey there were no substalls until after 1538).²⁷⁸ By October 1544 choir stall seats and desks had been fitted and '**formes** for the choristers' - a new consideration - placed in front of the substalls.²⁷⁹ The ten

²⁷² 'King's College', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge* (London, 1959), 98-136. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/cambs/pp98-136> [accessed 24 August 2016].

²⁷³ Also, the central door of the screen has pierced work panels topped by the arms of Charles I, dated 1636. 'Woodruffe, le Joyner' was paid £32 for the new doors to the quire. They are a remarkable copy of the adjoining work of the 1530s. Woodman, *Architectural History of King's College Chapel*, 273-41.

²⁷⁴ Under Cap. XLV, 'De modo standi in choro', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 122.

²⁷⁵ 'The will of the founder provides for a Rood loft with thirty-six stalls on each side. In Henry VIII's time there were only sixty and they were not equipped with canopies, except those adjoining the screen...'. <https://archive.org/.../kingscollegecamb00fayciala/kingscollegecamb>, 88. Appendix: The windows of King's College Chapel. The panel work east of them was executed by Cornelius Austin between 1675 and 1679. Fay, C.R., *King's College, Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1907), 26.

²⁷⁶ 'In the seventeenth century the stalls were transformed from low seats to tall canopied thrones: original Tudor work was more prosaic and consists of the return stalls and two tiers of the side stalls with their thoroughly English misericordes. Their upward extensions are a rich mixture of balusters, cornices, and coats of arms. The paneling dates from 1633, made by William Fells'. Woodman, *Architectural History of King's College Chapel*, 273-41.

²⁷⁷ Saltmarsh, 297. The stalls north and south were devoid of the heraldic paneling added in 1633, and devoid of the canopies and armorial carving atop them added by Cornelius Austin between 1675 and 1678 to replicate those of the 1536 return stalls. The total cost of the canopies was £305. Woodman, *Architectural History of King's College Chapel*, 273-41.

²⁷⁸ Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 144.

²⁷⁹ The composition of the stalls recorded in Henry VI's Will did not include a lower range of stalls (this is also indicated in Cap. 45, 'De modo standi in chori', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 122); this seems an additional consideration in 1544. Though Henry's original plan was for thirty-six stalls on either side (for seventy fellows and ten conducts) and an inferred four on either side against the screen /rood loft, later records included five headstalls (against the screen), thirty-two principal stalls (after 1678 with canopies over them), and twenty-eight lower stalls with desks, making a total of 130 stalls. Today, the number of stalls is 118: thirty principal stalls, twenty-five lower stalls. Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 516-17; KCA, KCAR 4/1/1/11. Under 'Reparaciones facit circa novum Templum' in *Mundum Bk.*,

chaplains were interspersed between the fellows in the upper stalls, the six clerks between the scholars in the substalls, and the choristers were placed in the forms in front of the substalls.²⁸⁰ **Images 14 and 15** depict four seats for the **rulers of the choir**²⁸¹ set between the stalls; two are placed on either side of the Hacumblen lectern, which stands ready for large choirbooks of plainsong or polyphony.

Chapel **lighting** has been omitted from the images. However, inventories of 1506 and 1529 list candelabras; payments under 'Custus ecclesie' in the *Mundum Books* record substantial expenditures on candles, candlesticks, candelabras, wax, and ceremonial torch staves.²⁸²

Images 11-16. The high altar and the organs of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547

The high altar: possible sites, c. 1547

The high altar of King's chapel was to be as monumental as the building itself. Like Henry VII's altar in his chapel at Westminster Abbey, the **high altar** of King's College, according to the *Mundum Book* for 1544/45, was topped by four figures carved by 'Master Antonio' for viij s and gilded for x s, iiij d.²⁸³ Though the two outer figures were probably angels as at Westminster, it remains uncertain who or what the inner two figures represented. They may have duplicated the crowned Tudor arms of Torrigiano's sovereign, Henry VIII (supported by lion and dragon) as on the Westminster altar, or the arms of the founder, Henry VI (supported by crowned lion and antelope or two antelopes). Alternatively, they may have represented the Virgin

1541/42; KCAR 4/1/1/12. Under 'Reparaciones apud Cantabrigiam' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1547/48; Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 268; Saltmarsh, *King's College Chapel*, 296-8.

²⁸⁰ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 260.

²⁸¹ Reference is made to days when the choir is and is not 'ruled', for example: 'Reliquis vero diebus vel festis cum regimine vel sine regimine celebrandis, et aliis ferialibus diebus per totum annum, capellani ecclesiae nostrae praedictae Matutinas, processiones, Missas, cum collectis et memoriis especialibus superius et inferius intitulatis, et alias Horas canonicas cum cantu et nota secundum usum ecclesiae Sarum, cum clericis et chorustis praedictae ecclesiae ad hoc specialiter deputatis, devotione debita dicant, celebrant, atque cantent'. Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 113.

²⁸² For example in 1544/45, the year Master Antonio's altar arrived. See KCA, KCAR 4/1/1/11.

²⁸³ KCA, KCAR 4/1/1/11. Under 'Custus novi templi' in *Mundum Book*, 1544/45.

Mary and St. Nicholas to whom the college and the altar were dedicated (see **Images 11-13**).

Theories regarding the site of the high altar, 1536-1547

Throughout the history of King's College Chapel, attempts have been made to perceive the arrangements of the east end prior to the Reformation. One controversial discussion surrounds the placement of the pre-Reformation high altar. There appear to be three theories.

Theory 1

Though Henry VI mentions the high altar of King's College in his Will of 1448, he did not provide details as to its location; several theories have arisen. According to one theory, the high altar at King's was situated at the first bay,²⁸⁴ near the eastern window. This reflects a similar placement at Eton College, where, according to Henry's Will, the high altar lay eight feet from the east end.²⁸⁵ The site of the altar at King's today gives an impression of this type of arrangement. Various historians have come to support the theory that the altar rested at the first bay, including John Saltmarsh;²⁸⁶ the principal evidence has been drawn from verses commemorating the laying of the foundation stone in 1446. The verses clearly indicate that the altar stone was placed fourteen feet from the east end.²⁸⁷ Unfortunately, no altar stone was ever recovered during excavations in the east end of the chapel, giving little substance to the argument.

Jeremy Musson is another scholar who believes that the high altar was sited in the easternmost bay. Not only does it reflect Henry's precise instructions for Eton, Musson

²⁸⁴ Each bay at King's college is approximately twenty-four feet long. See Smythson's drawing in Supplement One (Illustration S.2, 400) for an impression of the floor plan.

²⁸⁵ 'Will of King Henry VI', in Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 175.

²⁸⁶ Saltmarsh does not commit himself entirely to the this theory, acknowledging that it could have been placed in the eastern most bay, where apparently Henry VI intended it to be. Saltmarsh, *King's College Chapel*, 298.

²⁸⁷ The first stone was laid at the altar by the king himself on St. James Day (25 July) 1446 and placed fourteen feet from the east wall: 'Altaris petram quam Rex superedificauit/Henricus. vj^{ius} his sacrificando dicauit/ Annis . M. CCCC. sexto quater . x . d. /Regis et . h . regni quarto iungendo viceno/In festo sancti Jacobi sanctam stabiliut/Hic vnctam petram Regia sacra manus /Ex orientali medio si bis septem pedimentim/Mensurare velis inuenies lapidem...'. Cited in Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 59.

argues, this position would have contributed to the grandeur and drama of the Mass on great feast days.²⁸⁸ Such an arrangement would, on the other hand, place the priest, deacon, subdeacon, and others celebrating the Mass at a very great distance from the music of the ritual, occurring in the quire nearer the great screen.

Theory 2

Documentary evidence is not conclusive to support this first theory, and as Musson also acknowledges, some historians like William Cole and Henry Malden²⁸⁹ in the eighteenth century and Willis and Clark in the nineteenth argue that the 1544 altar might have been sited in the second bay from the east end. Support for this theory is drawn in part from the fact that the further most point of the east end or 'orientale fine' was re-floored with white paving in 1611.²⁹⁰ Francis Woodman and Willis and Clark interpret the payment for the flooring (listed under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in the *Mundum Book*, 1611/12) to mean that only the first bay was paved in white tile in 1611; they argue that the second bay was already paved in the same grey English marble as the rest of the quire through 1611.²⁹¹ The position at the junction of the first and second bays was identical to that of the altar/communion table built under the wishes of Charles I in 1633; that table was enhanced in Laudian style during the tenure of Provost Samuel Collins and backed by a carved wooden reredos.

Finally, the site at the first and second bays would have fulfilled not only aesthetic, but practical considerations: the distance separating the altar from the choir step and stalls could still lend the Mass grandeur and pomp, but more importantly, it provided the space needed for the up to seven individuals required by the rite of Salisbury to

²⁸⁸ Musson, J, 'King's College Chapel: Aesthetic and Architectural Responses', in Massing, J.M., and Zeeman, N., (eds.) *King's College Chapel 1515-2015. Art Music and Religion in Cambridge*. (London, 2014), 25-58: 40.

²⁸⁹ See Malden, H., *An Account of King's College-Chapel: In Cambridge; (embellished with a Plate of the Chapel: and a Print of the Author ...)* Including a Character of Henry VI. ... To which is Added, a List of All the Provosts, Bishops, ... who Were Formerly Members of King's College (Cambridge, 1769).

²⁹⁰ 'Sol' Symes le Mason pro le new footpace Saxi albi in oreintali fine templi ad 12 d le Foot xvij s'; 'Sol' Wright et Crosland et tribus laborantibus in paving le East en ad 3s, 4d le C., iiij li, iij s, iiij d'; 'Solut' Ayres de Ely pro 25c de white paving tile ad 12s le C., xv li'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1611/12.

²⁹¹ Part of the current black and white marble floor was added in 1701 and part in 1774.

celebrate the Mass on great feasts (priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte,²⁹² thurifer, and two candlebearers). Further, this arrangement would have provided room for the required chairs for priest, deacon, and subdeacon on the south side of the altar and for an organ, if so required (see **Images 11, 12, and 14**).

Theory 3

A third theory places the altar at the third bay adjacent to the two lateral doors on the north and south. This was the position of the Thomas Dallam organ (1606) in the Smythson drawing of *c.* 1609.²⁹³ Scholars who support this theory include Roger Bowers²⁹⁴ and Graham Chainey;²⁹⁵ their arguments rely on the supposition that *both* the first and second bays remained unpaved until 1611. Supporters of this theory also argue that Willis and Clark had not yet seen the 1609 Smythson drawing, where both the first and second bays are marked for burials; however, there is a possibility that Smythson didn't bother to draw remnant steps of the pre-Reformation altar with the exception of one just behind the back of the organ, and that when the Laudian altar/communion table was installed in 1633 it 'reclaimed' the pre-Reformation space. Burials in the east end could have been occurring since the chapel was completed in 1537.

The problem with a placement in the third bay is that it would allow practically no room for the individuals celebrating the service on Sundays and great feast days according to the Use of Salisbury or for the three chairs for priest, deacon, and subdeacon. Further, if a great organ were placed on a gallery on the north side of the presbytery or a smaller organ at the south end of the stalls, they may well have obstructed participants in the Mass or claimed the space intended for the ritual chairs (see **Image 13**). Therefore, in light of the ritual space required, the most logical location for the high altar remains the junction of the first and second bays.

²⁹² 'Acolyte' was the highest of the four minor orders of clergy. There are seven clerical orders in two groups: lower, or minor (lector, proter, exorcist, acolyte) and higher (subdeacon, deacon, and priest).

²⁹³ See Smythson drawing in Supplement One (Illustration S.2, 400).

²⁹⁴ Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 142.

²⁹⁵ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 268.

The great and small organs of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1536-1547. Spatial relationships with altars and possible sites, c. 1547

The *Mundum Books* reveal that there were two organs in the early and new chapels of King's: one great²⁹⁶ and one small. Both organs were in constant use in the new chapel as indicated in the accounts from 1536 to 1547.²⁹⁷ Despite these references, there is a complete lack of information as to *where* the two organs stood from their move into the new chapel in 1537 through c. 1609, when the Smythson drawing appeared.

Site of the large organ in the context of ritual practice, c. 1547

Based on the evidence (or lack of evidence, as it were) in the *Mundum Books* and clues gleaned from the Will of Henry VI, there are several possible locations within the chapel for both organs. Three arrangements appear plausible for the placement of the great organ. The magnificent Renaissance **screen** was completed in 1536. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century eyes would tend to envisage the great organ placed in the centre of the screen; however, there is not a shred of evidence in the *Mundum Books* prior to Elizabeth I's reign that can support the claim that the greater organ was placed anywhere upon the screen. There is one reference to an organ *loft* at King's; it occurs in 1570/71 after the organ was removed that academic year: xx s is spent 'for setting tharmes (either the college or the royal arms) in thorgan lofte'.²⁹⁸ Though it is tempting to assume this 'loft' refers to the great screen, this reference may allude to a loft placed elsewhere - in the northeast of the chapel, for example.

As has been addressed earlier in Supplement One, a frequent location for either great or small sixteenth-century organs was the northeast side of the quire in a loft, gallery, or perch - often a space-saving feature in smaller chapels. Examples include the 1598 John Chappington organ at New College, and the 1618 Thomas Dallam organ at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Saving space in the 1537 chapel of King's College was certainly no priority; however, a northeastern position would have been a viable

²⁹⁶ Most likely constructed by Thomas Browne in 1507/08 at a cost of £48. KCA, KCAR 4/1/1/10. Under 'Restitutio creditorum' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1507/08. See below, Appendix X, Table 4. Provision for organs, King's College, Cambridge, from c. 1450 through c. 1644, 586.

²⁹⁷ See Appendix X, Table 4, 586.

²⁹⁸ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71.

site for the organ. Assuming the altar was placed at the junction of the first and second bays, a northeastern location would still have allowed space for the c. seven individuals celebrating Mass on Sundays and great feast days. We have depicted the organ placed upon a loft/gallery based on that at St. Savin en Lavedan Abbey Church in France (**Images 12, 13**). The Goetze & Gwynn Wetheringsett organ has been used to represent the instrument.

Although there is no concrete evidence for either a northeastern position in the presbytery or a western position on the screen, placement upon the great screen cannot be ruled out. The position of organs upon transverse screens had developed a tradition in cathedrals and university colleges by 1540.²⁹⁹ Further, according to the Use of Salisbury there would have been singing and recitation from the centre of the pulpitum, facing east, on at least one hundred days of the year (i.e. Sundays and other great and lesser feast days when the choir was ruled). This would have included the lessons and solo parts of the responds at Matins and the Epistle as well as the solo portions of the Gradual and *Alleluya* at Mass; the *Alleluya* and parts of the Gradual were, of course, occasions for polyphonic elaboration in alternation with the organ. Henry VI envisaged the screen at Eton (and possibly King's) 'for redyng and syngyng and for the Organs'.³⁰⁰ **Image 14** depicts the greater organ (representation, Old Radnor organ) upon the screen at King's College in a central location with desks for reciting/singing on either side of the organ.

A large organ placed in the centre of the screen at King's poses logistical problems. The soloists and other ritually involved participants together with the music desks as well as the organ and its bellows, if all placed in the centre, would have created very cramped conditions, even considering the generous fourteen-and-a-half-foot width of the screen. One solution that solved this problem was to build a niche extending east

²⁹⁹ Organs upon transverse screens or rood lofts prior and up to 1530 are recorded at Durham, Lincoln, Lichfield, Chichester, Exeter (screens and organs installed 1513/14), Ottery St. Mary (organs on three different screens/lofts in 1545), Winchester College, as well as New College, Magdalen College (William Wotton organ, 1486/87), and Merton College, Oxford (rood loft 1486/87; William Wotton organ, 1488). Harrison, *MMB*, 167.

³⁰⁰ In Henry VI's third building plan for Eton he describes: 'a wey into the Rodelofte for redyng and syngyng and for the Organs and other manere observance there to be had after the Rewles of the Church of Salesbury' and states that this passage or staircase was located 'be hynde the Provostes stall unto the qwere dore vi fote'. Harrison *MMB*, 209; Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 350-65.

from the screen. Such a niche may have been planned at King's, for the 1515 building estimate mentions 'a pulpyt over the doorre at the comyng in to the same quere' in addition to '5 stalls on either side of the eastern side of the screen'.³⁰¹ Unfortunately, as with many details concerning the great screen, we have no way of confirming that this pulpit or niche ever materialised at King's. In any event, the niche would have been removed when the screen was altered to accommodate the Chair case of Lancelot Pease in 1661. The alternative to deploying a niche to hold music desks and soloists would be to place the desks/lecterns for the Gospel and Epistle to the sides of the organ (see **Image 14**). Such an arrangement is described in the *Rites of Durham*.³⁰²

Although this happened at Durham, does Henry's instruction for Eton actually imply that the organ was in a central location? Both liturgically and practically speaking, it would make greater sense to place the great organ on the screen, not in the centre, but in a northern position; this would free space in the centre of the pulpitum to accommodate the singing and recitation that occurred there on Sundays and feast days (see **Image 15**).³⁰³ In addition to the singing done on the screen facing east, space was also required for the singing of the Gospel, which was sung facing north. This is specified by the Use of Salisbury; it was recited³⁰⁴ by the deacon, with the subdeacon, thurifer, and acolytes standing around a lectern.

Site of the small organ and its spatial relationship with altars, c. 1547

Based on historiographical tradition as well as tangential evidence at Eton College and elsewhere, there may be two possibilities for the placement of the smaller organ: in the antechapel or in the quire. In the recent history of King's College Chapel published in

³⁰¹ 'Item for the workemanship in karving and ioynnyng for x hedstalles with their tabernacles [i.e. canopies] of them, That is to say v stalles vpon the oon side of the quere, And other v on the other side, with a pulpyt over the doorre at the comyng in to the same quere'. Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 483-4.

³⁰² '...there was a lecterne of wood like unto a pulpit standinge and adioyninge to the wood organs over the quire dore, where they had wont to singe the 9 lessons in the old time on principall dayes standinge with theire faces towards the high altar'. Fowler, J. T., (ed.), *Rites of Durham, being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, & customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression* (1593). Published for the Surtees Society. (Durham, 1903), 34, 43; Harrison *MMB*, 212.

³⁰³ At Durham, another organ (the so-called 'cryers') was placed on the north and used in such a manner on Sundays and selected feast days (e.g. Doctors of the Church).

³⁰⁴ The Gospel was recited by the deacon to a psalm-tone as was the Epistle by the subdeacon.

2014 Roger Bowers suggested that the **smaller organ** in the early chapel was placed near a Marian altar; he has substantiated this by references in the *Mundum Books*.³⁰⁵

The tradition of placing an organ near a Marian altar had been established by the late Middle Ages and can be exemplified by the Galilee chapel off the nave at Durham Cathedral. There is a substantial repertory of Lady Masses in which the organ and polyphonic choir alternate in the Ordinary of the Mass; King's College and New College repertory included numerous Lady Masses, such as those by Nicholas Ludford addressed in Supplement One.³⁰⁶

By the late Middle Ages small organs were also placed in a nave or antechapel, near or at the location at which the Marian antiphon was sung; this was often situated before an image (i.e. statue) of the BVM. This occurred not only at Durham, but at New College, Oxford. Magnus Williamson has shown that this was also the case at Eton College, where an organ was sited near the altar dedicated to the BVM; an image of the BVM stood not far off.³⁰⁷ Archival evidence confirms that an organ was situated in the antechapel above the south door at King's College, Aberdeen, after its foundation by Bishop Elphinstone in 1505. There the three evening antiphons were sung '*solemnitur cum organis et cantu*' (solemnly with organs in at least plainsong) by the whole college community.³⁰⁸

But how did the sites of small organs (and votive altars) at King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547 compare with ritual and musical practice elsewhere? As Bowers reported, the early chapel of King's College contained a Marian altar with an organ nearby. Another

³⁰⁵ Bowers, 'Chapel, Choir, Liturgy and Music', 261.

³⁰⁶ See above, Supplement One, Table S.1, 386.

³⁰⁷ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 123-4.

³⁰⁸ From the foundation document of Bishop Elphinstone (founder of St. Mary's College [King's] Aberdeen), dated 1505, it is apparent that daily at 6 p.m., after Vespers and before the evening meal, three antiphons to the BVM (with versicles and collects) were sung '*solemnitur cum organis et cantu*' by the whole college community. The inference is that the organ played at these antiphons, most likely in alternation with the voices. The organ stood above the south door in the antechapel; it is likely that this ceremony took place there. No written-down organ music for Marian antiphons survives, but this is a clear indication of possible practice in a new and musically ambitious foundation. Cited in 'King's College Chapel, Aberdeen: Music and Liturgy before the Reformation' in John Harper's forthcoming monograph on the organ.

lower altar in the early chapel was dedicated to St. Nicholas; the inventory of 1506 refers to both altars and their coverings and curtains.³⁰⁹

It is not unreasonable to assume that the deployment of high and low altars continued in the new chapel after 1537, particularly in light of the extensive volume of daily Masses celebrated. At least one altar may have been dedicated to the BVM and placed on the western side of the great screen. Evidence points to altars on the western side of the screen at Kings: in his Will Henry mentions an 'altare at the quiere door'.³¹⁰ Further, Henry refers to the great screen of King's as 'a reredos beryng the Rodeloft departyng the quere and the body of the chirch...'.³¹¹ This may suggest that the screen was to serve as a reredos for altars on its western side. John Saltmarsh defends this argument: he suggests that the relief of the good and fallen angels in the central lunette on the south acted as a reredos for the altar on the south side of the screen gates.³¹² The siting of votive altars on the western sides of screens also occurred at St. Stephen, Westminster (see Vol. I, Illustration 1.1), a building well known to Henry VI, and at Eton College. Williamson's research has shown that at Eton a votive altar dedicated to the BVM was placed before the screen/rood loft north of the central arch, and that an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas was situated south of the arch.³¹³

There is further evidence to support the existence of votive altars at King's. The high altar at King's was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, in that order, and the daily Lady Mass was celebrated there '*cum nota*' (i.e. sung in at least plainsong); however, the sixth Mass of the day was the 'Mass of the Annunciation', another Marian Mass not specified to be celebrated at the high altar. It is conceivable that the Mass of the Annunciation at King's was celebrated at a lower votive altar dedicated to the BVM (as it was in the early chapel) and that this altar could have been placed before the great screen/rood loft (as at Eton). Further, according to the statutes of Henry VI, the nightly evening Marian antiphon was sung by the choristers with their *informator* before an image (i.e. statue) of the BVM lit by candles. It is therefore possible that both Marian

³⁰⁹ KCA 22. Inventory 1506, fols. 19r, 41r.

³¹⁰ 'Will of King Henry VI', in Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 180.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 180-1.

³¹² Saltmarsh, *King's College Chapel*, 283-4.

³¹³ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 123-4.

services occurred at a Marian altar in the antechapel with a Marian image (and possibly an organ) placed nearby (**Image 16**).

Alternatively, Marian antiphons could have been sung without organ, and the Mass of the Annunciation could have been celebrated at the high altar '*sine nota*' or 'said' (i.e. intoned), not sung. Therefore, another plausible location for the smaller organ may have been in the quire in *medio chori*, where it could have served other daily workday services, including at least four Masses celebrated '*cum nota*'. Because the pulpit would traditionally have stood on the north side of the quire beyond the stalls, the smaller organ could have been placed on the south side at the end of the stalls - a site that Magnus Williamson suggested at Eton College.³¹⁴

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Image 11. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Quire, facing east. High altar at second bay.



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Image 12. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Quire, facing east. High altar at second bay. Organ: northeast gallery (freestanding).



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Image 13. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Quire, facing east. High altar at third bay. Organ: northeast gallery (freestanding).



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Image 14. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Quire, facing west. Organ: screen (centre).



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Image 15. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Quire, facing west. Organ: screen (north).



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Image 16. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Antechapel, facing east.



Image 17. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Provost Hacumblen's chantry, facing east.



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Image 18. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1547. Provost Hacumblen's chantry, facing west.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, c. 1546

Introductory commentary

The demolition of the old college chapel, adapted from that of the preceding hospital, presents a different challenge from the other examples considered here: their chapels survive - albeit with some alterations. The plan and disposition of St. John's College chapel has been set out in Vol. I, Chapter Two and discussed further in Chapter Four.

Images 19-22

Though modest in proportions, the presbytery, quire, and antechapel of St. John's were brimming with furniture and adorned with a wealth of precious materials and objects, some inherited from the bequest of Lady Margaret. **Images 19-21** show the **high altar** adorned with **curtains** and **altar cloths** and **hangings**, which are mentioned in the chapel inventories of 1545.³¹⁵ In addition to the high altar, there were altars in the chantry chapels of Fisher, Hugh Ashton, Thomas Thompson, and John Keyton, as well as two **lower altars** located in the nave flanking the screen, north and south.³¹⁶ The **pyx**, according to various sources, hung from the ceiling; one enraged evangelist cut it down in 1547.³¹⁷ It was preserved, however, for inventories of the revestry through 1562 record the broken pyx.³¹⁸ In Plate 4 of Charles Babington's *History of the infirmary and chapel of St. John*, an **aumbry** and **double piscina** are clearly shown in the southeast corner.³¹⁹ We have added the obligatory **chairs for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon** south of the altar and the **pulpit** on the north. Ideally, or traditionally,

³¹⁵ 'The Invetorye of the vestments & copes pertenninge to ye said colledge Die et Anno (Supradicti)' to which is added in another hand in darker ink : 'and that all thes boks followyng were sold and delyvered a.D. 1551 et a.D 1552'. SJCA C7/2, fols. 104r-108v.

³¹⁶ Mass books for the chantry altars and for 'the south aulter in the bodie of the chapell' as well as 'the north aulter in the bodie of the chapell' are among the substantial collection of service books listed in the inventories of 1551, 1552. SJCA C7/2, fols. 102r-103r.

³¹⁷ On Thursday 22 September 1547 'the rope which suspended the pyx above the altar was cut in a calculated insult to the consecrated Eucharist wafer that it contained'. A French protestant fellow-commoner of St. John's was the perpetrator. Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 46.

³¹⁸ 'A trew Inventorie of all the stufte belonginge to the Revestrie made the xth day of Marche Ann^o Dmi 1562 of Regni Regine Elizabeth quinte By M^r Leondarde Pilkinton M^r [Master] and Mr Baronsdale The Senior Bursar'. SJCA C7/2, fols. 130v-131r.

³¹⁹ Babington, *History of the infirmary and chapel of St. John*, Plate 4.

the three ritual seats would have been enclosed in a sedilia, which often borders the piscina, as mentioned above. In the case of St. John's College an arch divided into five panels with fine tracery bordered the piscina: this was the **altar tomb of Thomas Thompson**,³²⁰ one of the early benefactors of the college. Additional furniture included a **sepulchre box**, used between Good Friday and Easter Sunday to house the Sacrament,³²¹ which we have placed north of the high altar. Bishop Fisher had the high-pitched medieval roof replaced with an almost flat, **low-pitched roof** in c. 1512.³²² The slender central **tower** was most likely removed at this time.

In an early glazing contract dated 17 December 1513 Master Robert Shorton provided Richard Wright of Bury St. Edmunds with expensive Normandy **glass** to glaze the windows of the hall, master's lodgings, and chapel.³²³ The new Perpendicular-style windows in the eastern part of the chapel (three on the north and three on the south) were completed and glazed by 1514.³²⁴ Barnard Flower glazed the new library of Christ's College for Lady Margaret in 1507, and Symon Symondes (Symond) or Thomas Peghe continued Flower's work at Christ's after Lady Margaret's death in 1509.³²⁵ Wright was commanded to execute the glass of St. John's chapel with 'roses and portculisses' and with 'colors and pictures', to match or 'better' the quality of glass

³²⁰ Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, 20.

³²¹ 'a sepulchre of timber' and 'a standerd of wood about the same' is recorded in 'The Inventorye of the books pertennyng to the Colledge taken die et anno Supradicti'. Written in another hand later: 'in that all thes boks followyng were sold a^o D. 1599'. SJCA C7/2, fol. 103v. In the adjoining 1551/1552 inventory: 'It' a clothe for the sepulcre of red bawdekin with flowers with silk fringes of diverse color'.

³²² Crook, 16.

³²³ Wright was commanded to 'Glaze with good and hable Normandy Glasse...all the Wyndowes belongyng to the Chappell within the Colledge aforesaid with Imagery Werke and Tabernaclis suche as the said Maister Robert Shorton shall appoynte and assigne for the same after his discession...'. He was also to glaze 'ij Wyndowes atte the Weste ende of the said Chappell within the said Maisters loggyng also with Rosez and purcholious all thyse premyssez with as goode and hable normandy Glasse of colourz and pyctourz as be in the Glasse Wyndowes with the Colledge called Cristes Colledge in Cambrigge or better in euery poynte'. The contract for the glass records Wright's payment: 'for the foresaid Wyndowes within the said Chappell paid xlv li of good and lawfull money of yngland'. SJCA, Contract between Robert Shorton, Master of S. John's College, and Richard Wright of Bury St. Edmund, Glazier. 17 December, 1513.

³²⁴ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, 283.

³²⁵ Lady Margaret had Barnard Flower glaze the new library at Christ's in 1507 with allegorical figures representing the arts and sciences. Flower might also have supervised the glazing of the chapel windows; these included panels depicting herself, her son (Henry VII), and her father and mother. After Lady Margaret's death in 1509 Symond the glazier continued the work and Thomas Peghe reset some of the original windows; this garnered Symond the attention of King's College, and an important contract there. Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, 283. Therefore, the glass of St. John's c. 1513 must have been of a comparable artistic and qualitative caliber, perhaps finished by Symond or Peghe or one from their workshop.

at Christ's. Therefore, he would have been heavily influenced by the circle of Flemish glaziers that included Flower, Symondes, Peghe, and James Nicholson.³²⁶

Since the original chapel glass was destroyed,³²⁷ we have chosen period glass attributed to James Nicholson to fill the **east window (Images 19-21)**. The pre-foundation east window consisted of six lights (enlarged to seven lights during the renovation of the building in the early seventeenth century).³²⁸ Nicholson's glass depicts the crucifixion and was originally intended for Cardinal Wolsey's college in 1526 but ended up at Balliol College, Oxford, c. 1529 as payment for a debt held by Cardinal College to Balliol at the time of Wolsey's death.³²⁹ Examples of period Barnard Flower glass fill the windows on the north and south in **Images 19 to 21**. Flower, Symond, Peghe, and Nicholson went on to employment at King's under Henry VII, and Flower or perhaps Nicholson, both of whom assumed the title of 'King's glazier', were most likely employed by Bishop Richard Fox (who is responsible for the iconography of the glass at King's College) to glaze the windows of his own newly founded institution, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1517. Sources of **lighting** apart from the windows are recorded frequently in the accounts; the 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in the *Rentals* list extensive payments for candles, candlesticks, candelabras, and wax as well as ceremonial torches.³³⁰ However, with the exception of altar candles, artificial forms of light have been omitted from our images.

A great collection of service books, including, 'processioners', antiphoners, graduals, Mass books, among others, as well as an antiphoner for the organ are recorded in the inventories of 1545 and 1551/1552. The inventories also list four **iron chairs** and silver-capped **staves**, as well as **two desks** (see **Image 22**) and a 'forme' for the **four 'rectores chori'** (choir rulers).³³¹ Remaining objects include a vast collection of **altar**

³²⁶ Nicholson was employed at Cardinal College by Thomas Wolsey. See Vol. I, Chapter Two, 67.

³²⁷ With the exception of various roses and portculisses removed to the hall windows.

³²⁸ According to Alec Crook, the original window had six lights. See Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, Plate I.

³²⁹ See above, 446, nt. 235.

³³⁰ Two torches were bought in 1543/44 for ii s, iiij d. See SJCA, D106/17, fol. 168r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Bursars' Book I*, 1543/44. An additional three were bought in 1544/45. SJCA, D106/17, fol. 217r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Bursars' Book I*, 1544/45. The accounts for 1556/57 record 'three greate torches bought at the visitation [i.e. Mary Tudor's visitation of Cambridge, January 1557]...weighing 73 poundes...'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 44r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1556/57.

³³¹ Inventory of 1551/1552. SJCA C7/2, fol. 103v.

cloths, hangings, vestments, copes, as well as **amices** for four boys (also referred to as 'children').³³²

Fisher provided no statute addressing seating in the chapel. The only reference to seating can be found in the Henrician Statutes of 1545 under Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', which states that members ('fellows and students') are to take the same places in the quire according to seniority;³³³ however, the order of seating established by foundations following Wykeham's model may be inferred. The woodwork of the domestic buildings as well as that of the chapel stalls were constructed by carpenter Thomas Loveday of Sudbury, Suffolk, between 1512 and 1515. All of his work was to be 'of good substanciall and hable Tymber of Oak and waynescot'. Loveday's stallwork in the chapel consisted of **twenty-four stalls** on either side of the quire, half on each side being **double stalls**. The **stall ends** had a fish and an ear of wheat carved on them (Fisher's rebus: 'Fish-ear').³³⁴ Loveday was also responsible for the **low-pitched roof** of the chapel. The original stalls were moved into the new Gilbert Scott chapel after 1868. The **rood** west of the stalls was removed sometime after 1547, for in 1555/56 during the restoration of the Latin rite under Mary Tudor 'ye Joyner' was paid ij d 'for setting up ye Roode'.³³⁵

Images 23, 24: the chantry chapels of John Fisher and Hugh Ashton

Of the four chantry chapels built within just over two decades of the foundation (1511), the chantries of John Fisher (built 1525-33) and Hugh Ashton remain the most significant. Throughout the ebb and flow of doctrinal differences and temporal authority 1534 - c. 1642 these rooms were altered from sacred to secular use. **Fisher's chantry** was accessed by three arches decorated with various symbols, including fish (dolphins) together with ears of wheat - a continuation of the symbols mentioned above. The arches divided the chantry from the chancel. The arch over the chantry chapel, in which the front of any organ placed there would have stood, was evidently part of the scheme for new Perpendicular windows in the eastern part of the chapel, as

³³² Most likely, choristers. See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 135.

³³³ 'Statutes of Henry VIII (1545)'. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 91, L. 25-30.

³³⁴ Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, 20.

³³⁵ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 17r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1555/56, first term.

reported earlier. The chamber was altered during periods of disuse and use; sometime after 1670 the arches of Fisher's chantry and the large arch above were filled in.³³⁶ Fisher's chantry contained an altar over which tablets with the names of benefactors hung (**Image 23**) as well as Fisher's tomb, which was defaced after his execution. According to Babington, the arch and door of Ashton's chantry flanked the antechapel; in the arch stood Ashton's monument (**Image 24**), which is now found on the north side of the antechapel in the Gilbert Scott building. The chantry, which contained Ashton's altar, was provided light by a window on its eastern side (see Vol. I, Chapter Four, Illustration 2.2).

The walls of the **antechapel** (and possibly those of the quire/presbytery) prior to Fisher's renovation were decorated with **frescos**; this included a large image of St. Christopher in the secularised part of the 'nave' (antechapel).³³⁷ Traces of such paint, which antedate Fisher's renovation, have survived and are found today on the wall containing Fisher's arches in the antechapel of the Gilbert Scott structure.

³³⁶ 1635-37 the chantry was beautified by Master William Beale with additions of a new roof and a window in the east wall, and during the tenure of Master John Arrowsmith (1644-53) it was desecrated and converted into a chamber for the chapel clerk. At a subsequent period the arches were completely blocked. Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, 284-5.

³³⁷ Babington, *History of the infirmary and chapel of St. John*, 20.

Image 19. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1546. Quire, facing east. Organ: vestry gallery.



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Image 20. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1546. Quire, facing east. Organ: presbytery floor.



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Image 21. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1546. Quire, facing east. High altar and ritual chairs.



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Image 22. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1546. Quire, facing west.



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Image 23. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1546. Fisher's chantry, facing east.



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Image 24. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1546. Ashton's chantry, facing east.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, c. 1575

Introductory commentary

Image 25. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1575. Quire facing east at the time of Holy Communion.

The smashing of various figures incurred during the reign of Edward VI was only a precursor to the comprehensive destruction inflicted during Elizabeth I's reign. The barbarity of Elizabethan iconoclasts was responsible for the destruction of images and paintings depicting saints or the BVM in 1559/60³³⁸ as well as the entirety of the painted reredos statues following Bishop Horne's 1566/67 visitation. After the reredos had been destroyed the east end was covered over with **plaster** upon which, Horne commanded, 'let **sentences of Holy Scripture** be inscribed'.³³⁹ Horne's injunctions also ordered 'the altar (i.e. communion table)³⁴⁰ reduced to the level of the stalls' (i.e. the removal of the pre-Elizabethan ritual steps under the altar) as well as the destruction of any remaining images.³⁴¹

Payments in the chapel accounts evince the maintenance of the communion table and pulpit. Payments for 'communion clothes' are recorded in 1569/70; in 1594/95 a payment of xij d is made to one 'Miles' for mending the **communion table**.³⁴² Precisely when the table was set up remains uncertain; however, it was most likely in place

³³⁸ 'Dolye' or 'Doly' was a local joyner or carpenter employed by both Corpus Christi College and New College to enhance chapel regalia and organs during Mary Tudor's reign. Ironically, he was hired during Elizabeth's reign to destroy images and pictures. 'So[lutum] Doly destruentibus imagines, vj d'; 'So[lutum] tollentibus picturas, vi d'. NCA, 7533. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1559/60.

³³⁹ 'Item, ut amotis tegminibus partis orientis chori eiusdem capelle parietes ibidem obmurentur plane dealbentur et sententie sacre scripture ibidem scribantur'. Injunction 55 in 'Bishop Horne's Injunctions given to New College, Oxford, August, 29, 1567'. Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 192.

³⁴⁰ Altars had been destroyed in 1559/60 (see above, 397, nt. 53). The use of the term 'altar' and not 'communion table' in this instance may suggest the storage of the communion table in the former altar's position while not in use during Holy Communion; this reflects Elizabeth I's directive to store altars in the east ends of churches.

³⁴¹ Injunction 54 in 'Bishop Horne's Injunctions given to New College, Oxford, August, 29, 1567'. Frere, *Visitation articles*, vol. III, 192.

³⁴² NCA, 7583. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1594/95.

following the destruction of the altars in 1559/60. The **pulpit** was repaired at the cost of *ij s, vi d* in 1569/70,³⁴³ perhaps a further consequence of Horne's visitation.

As addressed in Vol. I, Chapter Five³⁴⁴ and above in Supplement One,³⁴⁵ Bishop Robert Horne admonished the use of organs and was responsible for the silencing or removal of organs at Winchester College (1570/71), the twin foundation of New College, as well as in the Oxford colleges of Trinity (after 1561) and Corpus Christi (1576). The **organ on the rood screen** (possibly the Wotton organ) at New College was removed during the academic year 1571/72³⁴⁶ (see below). Due to the fact that Horne had the organ(s) at Winchester College only silenced, it is conceivable that at least one of the other New College organs was left standing.

During the same year that the organ in the pulpitum was taken down, the **rood loft** was removed. In 1571/72 two workmen were paid *ij s* for 'a daie and a halfe' to take down the 'roode lofte'.³⁴⁷ This was followed by many days devoted to work 'circa reparationem ly roode lofte'. Consequently, *ij s* is recorded for 'one daie for payntinge the roode lofte'. Later, *vi s* is recorded 'for polinge downe the partijon' and *iiij s, vij d* for 'duobus ly sawyers ij daies & a halfe'. Significant work was done not only in conjunction with the rood loft and the partition below it, but in the quire as well, where **seats** at 'thaltars end' were removed.³⁴⁸

One payment may allude to the destruction of **medieval glass** in the antechapel. A payment in 1563/64 records the purchase of new glass and the repair of '*scripturarum et imaginum*'.³⁴⁹ Woodforde suggests that it may have been in the second half of the sixteenth century that the four images of the cross in the windows of the eastern lights

³⁴³ 'emend[ati] pulpit, ij s, vj d'. NCA, 7545. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1569/70.

³⁴⁴ Vol. I, Chapter Five, 366, 371.

³⁴⁵ See above, Supplement One, 408-9.

³⁴⁶ 'Solutum: to a Joyner taking downe the organes, ij s'. NCA, 7548. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1571/72.

³⁴⁷ NCA, 7548. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1571/72.

³⁴⁸ 'Solutum Barnardo ...pro poolinge owte yrons, cutting the seates at thalters ende & wasshinge the quire, x s'. NCA, 7548. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1571/72. Of note is the use of the term 'altar' by the scribe.

³⁴⁹ 'Solut[um] vitario pro novo vitro et pro reparatione scripturarum et imaginum, xxix s'. NCA, 7538. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1563/64.

of the antechapel were smashed, and that this entry may indicate their destruction.³⁵⁰ Jackson-Stops also assumes that the four images of the crucifix were smashed as a result of the 'sixteenth century visitations';³⁵¹ however, the fact that they were being repaired in 1563/64 may suggest that they had been damaged earlier. The Edwardine Injunctions of 1547 mandated the removal of crucifixes from all buildings in England, including those in glass; the destruction of the four images in the antechapel windows may have conceivably occurred at the same time as the destruction of the images around the high altar in 1547. It has been suggested that the iconoclasm 'surrounding the high altar and other parts of the chapel' of 1547/48 (*'circa frangendas et Deponendas imagines in sumo altari et reliquis partibus Templi'*) was carried out under the authority of the warden and fellows in an attempt to appease Edwardine reformers.

By a stroke of luck, medieval glass salvaged during the reign of Edward VI was allowed to remain in place during that of Elizabeth I.³⁵² This is arguably the result of shrewd negotiation on the part of the fellows: not only could they claim the insolvency of the college if met with the tremendous costs of replacing painted glass with uncoloured glass,³⁵³ they could also argue that the chapel would be exposed to the elements of weather during the destruction of the medieval glass. Numerous pleas were registered throughout England during Edward's reign to retain old glass and spare churches and chapels from the elements (which would pour in during glass replacement). Eventually, Elizabethan injunctions added the practical stipulation that windows were not to be destroyed if this resulted in subjecting the buildings to wind and weather;³⁵⁴ thus, the fellows of New College could rest assured that their windows would be saved - at least for the time being.

³⁵⁰ Woodforde, C., *The Stained Glass of New College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1951), 12.

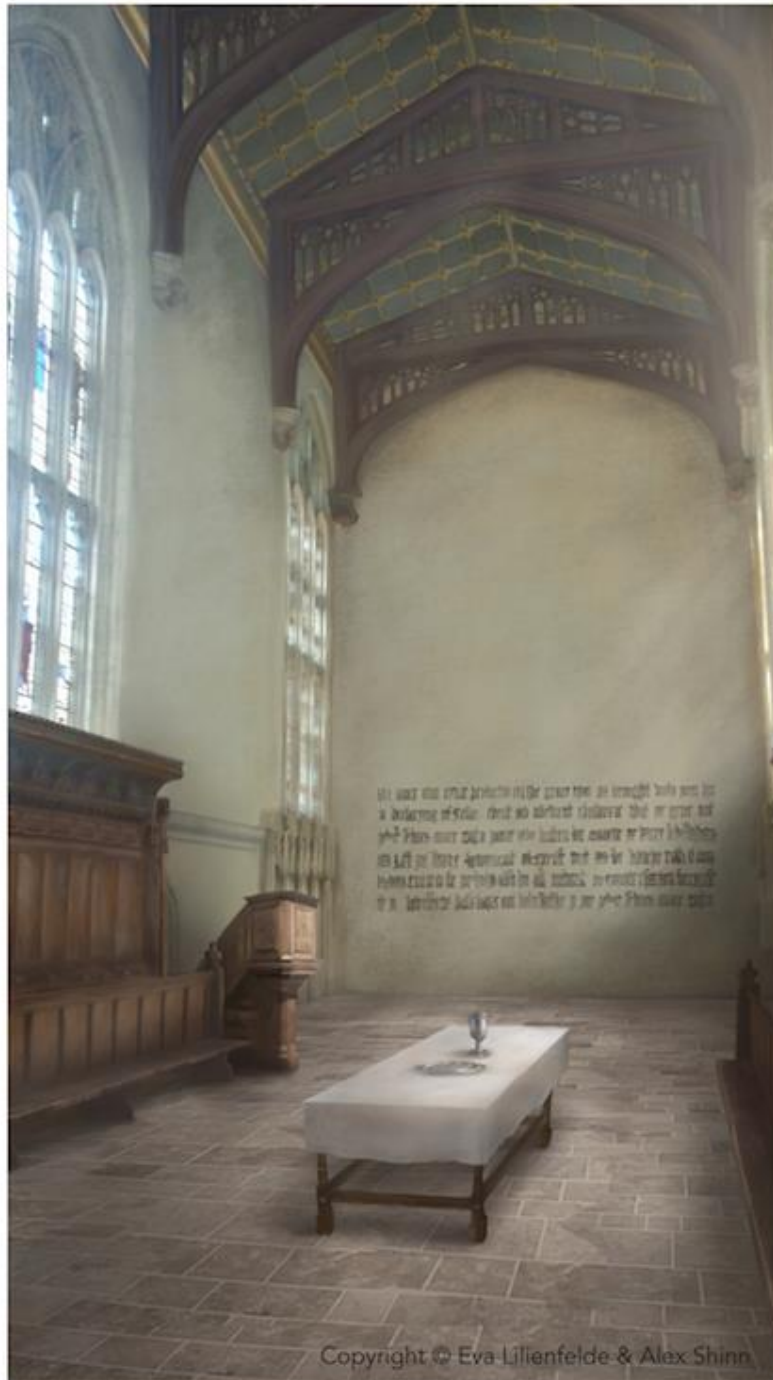
³⁵¹ Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', 174.

³⁵² *Ibid*; Unfortunately, the glass saved during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was lost during the eighteenth; this included the entirety of the main lights.

³⁵³ Williams, 'From Reformation to Reform', 47; Woodforde, *The Stained Glass of New College*, 12.

³⁵⁴ Article 23 of the 1559 Injunctions, repeated article 28 of the 1547 Injunctions, adding that the walls and glass must be preserved or repaired. This point was re-emphasised later in a royal proclamation. Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*, 242.

Image 25. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1575. Quire, facing east at the time of Holy Communion.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, c. 1576

Introductory commentary

Image 26. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1576. Quire, facing east with communion table in storage.

Despite the shrewd maneuvering of its strong Catholic arm, Corpus Christi College endured its share of protestant iconoclasm. The chapel's early **Tudor glass** was among the first casualties, removed most likely during the reign of Edward VI; its removal is confirmed later in 1635/36 in the commission of 66 pieces of new glass by master glazier Abraham van Linge.³⁵⁵ The inquietude caused by a quick succession of presidents (1558-61) and the unremitting Roman Catholic faction did little to impede Elizabethan reform, which was dutifully implemented under the watchful eyes of Bishops Robert Horne and John Jewel.³⁵⁶ A **communion table** replaced the high altar (at the latest in 1562/63),³⁵⁷ and a **table for the Ten Commandments** (i.e. panel/s) was erected in 1560/61.³⁵⁸ The **communion table** depicted in **Image 26** is placed in the storage position suggested by the 1559 Injunctions of Elizabeth I.³⁵⁹ Though the **pulpit** is not mentioned in the accounts prior to 1630 when payments for pulpit cloths and cushions are recorded, it is reasonable to assume that it was included in the furniture of Prayer Book worship after 1558.

During the early years of Elizabeth's reign the chapel may have given the appearance of a reformed house of worship; however, a quietly persistent Catholicism lurked behind the protestant façade. Though the altars were presumably taken down between 1560 and 1562,³⁶⁰ at least part of them must have remained in tact, perhaps converted

³⁵⁵ 'Mar 26 To Mr Vanling for 66 pieces of painted glass in the chapel & hall at 4s the piece ut patet, 13li, 4s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 118v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1635/36.

³⁵⁶ Both men visited Corpus Christi in 1558/59 and 1560/61, as evinced by entries in the *Libri Magni*. See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 267, nt. 1099 and 279, nt. 1157.

³⁵⁷ For entries relating to the communion table and its tablecloths 1562-66 see Vol. I, Chapter Five, 279, nts. 1159.

³⁵⁸ 'It for the table of commaundements, 10d'. CCCA, C/1/1/4, fol. 75v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1561/62.

³⁵⁹ See above, Supplement One, 395-6.

³⁶⁰ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 279, nt. 1156.

into a desk of some sort, for in 1568/69 a payment is recorded for the 'pulling downe of three aulters in the church and carrying away the stones' followed by one 'for setting up the **deskes where the alters stode**'.³⁶¹ Further, a substantial collection of vestments and ceremonial regalia³⁶² was being retrieved in 1561/62 (at the same time altars were being removed!); shortly afterwards in 1563/64 Thomas Mulliner (a Roman Catholic) was hired as organist (at a time when Bishop Horne and Laurence Humphrey were silencing and removing organs). All this contributes to the argument that the Roman Catholic faction - perhaps believing that another monarchical change of gears was imminent - may have been preparing for a return to the Latin rite.

After William Cole was imposed as president in 1568 the Catholic resistance was finally crushed and all remaining traces of the Latin rite wiped out; however, one provocative object lingered: the **organ**. The organ remained *in situ* for seven years; as mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Five, it took a visitation by Bishop Robert Horne in the third term of 1575/76 to induce its removal.

³⁶¹ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 280.

³⁶² See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 271, nt. 1118.

Image 26. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1576. Quire, facing east with communion table in storage.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, c. 1575

Introductory commentary

Image 27. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1575. Quire, facing east at the time of Holy Communion.

At the accession of Elizabeth I King's College, Cambridge, dutifully complied with the protestant reordering of the chapel; however, as at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a taste for the Latin rite and its ceremonial objects lingered. Before his death in 1558 Provost Robert Brassie bequeathed x li 'to be bestowed...upon paving about the high altar';³⁶³ however, Mary Tudor died a week after Brassie, and not long afterward viij d was spent 'for destroying the high altar'.³⁶⁴ Provost Philip Baker, who clung as best he could to Roman Catholicism and its ritual paraphernalia, was no doubt perturbed by the removal of the high altar and its replacement by a modest **communion table**. Baker - who hoarded a substantial collection of copes and pre-Reformation ceremonial regalia - could as consolation at least store the communion table 'in the place where the altar stood', as directed by the Elizabethan injunction of 1559. The altar-wise, north-south position of the holy table is reported in the account of Elizabeth's visit to King's College in 1564 (see below). References to '*sumo altari*' and '*altari*' under 'Custus novi Templi' in 1561/62 and 1565/66, respectively, indicate an attachment to pre-Elizabethan terminology - perhaps a reflection of Baker's religious and ceremonial proclivities. During the queen's visit in 1564 the sanctuary was 'hanged with fine tapestry, or arras of the queen's from the north vestry door, round by the communion table, unto the south vestry door'.³⁶⁵ This may suggest that a **reredos** still backed the holy table: if the 'arras' was not hung along the east wall, 'some type of altar-screen must have existed behind the table to support it'.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ KCAR/3/3/1/1/1. Muniments, *Ledger book*, vol. 1, fol. 414; Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 143.

³⁶⁴ Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 144.

³⁶⁵ Under '1564', in Nichols, J., *Progresses, Public Processions and etc., of Queen Elizabeth in Three Volumes* (London, 1823). Reprinted in Goldring, E., Eales, F., Clarke, E., Archer, J. E., (eds.) *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, vol. I, 1533 - 1571 (Oxford, 2014), vol. I, 158.

³⁶⁶ Chainey, 144.

After 1564, the year the queen visited Cambridge, the holy table is gradually referred to as a 'communion table': Stephen Walls, who built the original choir stalls at Trinity College, is paid xxx s 'for the communion table' and xvij d for two cushions for it in 1564, and a further iiij s in 1566/67 for 'for new crestynge & joynynge ye comunyon table'.³⁶⁷ The cresting and joining of the table occurred a year after repairs were made 'where the altars stood'.³⁶⁸ Other early concessions Baker made to the new regime - in addition to relinquishing the altars - included placing the **Ten Commandments** upon/above the altar in 1561/62.³⁶⁹

After the appointment of Roger Goad as provost in 1570 all remnants of pre-Reformation ceremony, regalia, and terminology disappeared, and the chapel assumed the appearance of a staunch protestant house of worship. One of Goad's first measures was to remove '**the partition**' (most likely an altar-screen, perhaps the original altar reredos/screen placed behind the pre-Edwardine high altar at the junction of the first and second bays).³⁷⁰ Goad's personal tailoring of the chapel also included replacing the pulpit: apparently Goad was not satisfied with the pulpit already in place³⁷¹ and had a **new pulpit** installed at Michaelmas Term in 1570/71.³⁷² Completing Goad's initial chapel alterations was the removal of the organ. The great and 'less organs' of King's College, which were in use through Baker's tenure, were removed under the authority of Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, and Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker. As mentioned in Supplement One, **the great organ** was taken down from the rood loft during the first year of Goad's tenure in 1570/71,³⁷³ and xx s was spent 'for setting tharmes in thorgan lofte'.³⁷⁴ Goad later passed the blame for removing the organ to Bishop Cox.³⁷⁵

³⁶⁷ 'Stephen Wallys' is paid iiij s 'for new crestynge & joynynge ye comunyon table'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/14. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1566/67.

³⁶⁸ Chainey, 144.

³⁶⁹ 'Imprimis sol' pro tabula preceptorum Dei pro summo altari, xij d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/14. Under 'Custus novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1561/62.

³⁷⁰ Chainey, 144.

³⁷¹ A pulpit is also mentioned in the report of the queen's visit in 1564: 'the communion table and pulpit hanged richly'. Nichols, *Progresses*, vol. I, 158.

³⁷² KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71.

³⁷³ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Receptio forinseca' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71.

³⁷⁴ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.* 1570/71.

³⁷⁵ Thistlethwaite, 'The Organ of King's College, Cambridge', 7.

Various clues point to the arrangement of the chapel furniture during Goad's tenure. First, a reference in 1575 alludes to the '*mensam sitam in choro*',³⁷⁶ indicating that the communion table stood in the quire. Whether or not this was the permanent location of the table remains unclear; however, Robert Smythson's drawing of 1609 suggests that the position '*in choro*' had indeed become its fixed location.³⁷⁷ This appears to contradict the Elizabethan injunction suggesting that the table be placed in the east when not in use;³⁷⁸ however, the dotted lines drawn by Smythson may suggest the table's movability, perhaps inferring that the table could have been stored elsewhere when not in use at Holy Communion. Goad's interest in the proper appearance of the table may be reflected in the i li, xviiiij s, iiij d spent on a **cloth for the communion table** made from '8 yards of Holland [cloth]' in 1572.

³⁷⁶ Chainey, 144.

³⁷⁷ See above, Supplement One, Illustration S.2, 400.

³⁷⁸ See above, Supplement One, 395-6.

Image 27. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1575. Quire, facing east at the time of Holy Communion.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, c. 1575

Introductory commentary

Image 28. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1575. Quire, facing east at the time of Holy Communion.

James Pilkington's attempt to create an 'honest place of worship' is manifested in his demolition of chapel furniture and imagery at the outset of his tenure. Shortly after his arrival in July 1559, the high altar was pulled down and replaced by a **communion table** (possibly with desk);³⁷⁹ all remaining altars, including the altar in Hugh Ashton's chapel³⁸⁰ and one on the south side of the lower chapel, were likewise removed. The holy table may likely have been kept between the stalls,³⁸¹ which suggests Pilkington's objection to Elizabeth I's 1559 injunction directing communion tables to be stored at the east ends of churches. **Image 28** depicts the table set for the service of Holy Communion. Destroying the altars was merely the start of Pilkington's purge; evidence in the *Rentals* demonstrates that he wasted no time in replacing **twenty-one panes of glass** (with clear glass) and 'altering ye crucifixe'.³⁸² Curiously, although the high altar had been removed, the **altar steps** remained intact for a number of years.³⁸³ Following the 'whitinge' of the walls in 1560/61,³⁸⁴ the chapel stood bleak and bare and ready for Calvinist worship.

³⁷⁹ The inventory of the revestry made by Leonard Pilkington and the senior bursar March 1562 includes 'Item one Deske of waynscott for the communion table'. SJCA C7/2, 'Contents of the revestry' (1562), fol. 131r. See below, Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-64, 565.

³⁸⁰ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 177, nt. 693.

³⁸¹ After leaving St. John's Pilkington was appointed bishop of Durham, where he left the table in the 'bodie of the churche'. See above, Supplement One, 396.

³⁸² 'Item to ye glazier for settinge xxj paines newe glasse in ye chappell & for altering ye crucifixe, ij s, ix d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 104r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1558/59.

³⁸³ The altar steps remained in place until the outset of Richard Longworth's tenure; under William Fulke's advice the steps at the east end of the chapel were removed, erasing any memory of the altar that had stood over them.

³⁸⁴ 'Item to Waller for ix Dayes worke in whitinge the Chappell & for plastering it in manye planes after xj d the Daie & to his Laborer after viij d the Daie, xiiij s, iiij d'. SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 161v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1560/61.

Prior to William Whitaker's tenure, the chapel remained so bare that it involved using a collapsible, **trestle communion table**; in 1575/76, iiij d is paid 'for a locke and key for ye little house to keep in [bremes, broomes?] and tressles serving for ye comunion table at the same time for broomes to sweep it'.³⁸⁵ It remains unclear if it was deployed under the authority of the Pilkingtons or of succeeding masters prior to Whitaker. Whitaker may have desired a traditional table, for during the first year of his tenure (1588/89), x s is spent 'for a communion table'.³⁸⁶ References to the protestant **pulpit** first occur in 1593/94; during that year large sums were spent on 'mending ye pulpitt for hinges dore & stairs' and 'mattes for ye pulpit'.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 199 and above, Supplement One, 401.

³⁸⁶ SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 286r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1588/89, second term.

³⁸⁷ SJCA, SB4/2, fol. 392r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1593/94, first term.

Image 28. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1575. Quire, facing east at the time of Holy Communion.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, c. 1640

Introductory commentary

Image 29. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1640. Quire, facing east.

Chapel furniture, c. 1587 - c. 1630

The chapel as depicted in **Image 29** represents the culmination of a dynamic programme of refurbishment and beautification that began in 1587 and peaked with the adoption of Laudian style in 1634. This commentary first addresses enhancements made between c. 1587 and c. 1630. This is followed by a discussion of the John Chappington organ (1598) and its site in the chapel. The commentary ends with a consideration of the Laudian-style chapel, c. 1633-1638.

Payments recorded during the academic years 1586/87, 1617/18, and 1618/19 evince substantial modifications, though they remain indicative of mainstream protestant worship. First, the chapel acquires a **new pulpit**;³⁸⁸ during the same year, thirty-three yards of wainscot are purchased for iij li, and an additional eight yards of wainscot is purchased for **pews**. In the same year iiij d is paid for setting up a 'seate' in the church. Later, in 1616/17 **another pulpit** is constructed during the second term for the sum of vj li, and 'iron work about the pulpit' is also carried out. In the third term xiiij s, ij d is paid 'for altering the pulpit & making an addition to the pue'.³⁸⁹ In 1618/19 a payment is made for attaching the lid of the pulpit to a column in the chapel.³⁹⁰ This may have been attached to the pillar adjacent to the vestry door (a similar arrangement occurred at Winchester Cathedral).³⁹¹ The pulpit played an integral part in the ritual, especially in an age when the preaching of sermons was paramount to worship; its importance is reflected not only in these payments, but also in those for its continued maintenance

³⁸⁸ Robert Mallet is paid iiij li for 'making a newe pulpit'. NCA, 7570. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1586/87.

³⁸⁹ NCA, 7619. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1616/17, 2^o *Termino*.

³⁹⁰ 'So[lutum] pro appendendo pulpiti operculo ad columnam'. NCA, 7623. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1618/19, 4^o *Termino*.

³⁹¹ Depicted in the painting by James Cave (1801), which also shows the organ standing on the north side in the arch of the tower crossing. See Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 118.

and decoration. In the second term of 1620/21 payments are recorded for 'a matt for the pulpitt' and 'for mending the Cushions'.³⁹² In 1622/23 another 'matte for the Pulpitt' was purchased for 1s, 4d,³⁹³ and in 1623/24 the sum of 3d is paid toward 'mending the pulpitt Cloth'.³⁹⁴

The academic year 1597/98 marks a turning point: the chapel appears to be moving away from puritan severity and heading toward 'high church' opulence, particularly in considerations made for music and musicians. In addition to the installation of a new organ, a payment of iij s, ix d is made towards 'bordes to make the **long desks for ye Choristars**'; this suggests the importance of the choristers in the newly revived choir. The payment for the choristers' desks is followed by a payment of x s 'to Blyth mending and scowring the **brazen deske**', which may refer to the **principal lectern** in the quire. In the third term of 1613/14 '[R]yme' the joyner is paid iij li 'for making 10 formes'.³⁹⁵ 'vj **Candlestickes for the desks** before the quier' are purchased in 1614/15 for ij s, vj d; the joyner added a 'newe **pue** in the Church' in 1617/18. A '**Lanterne for the choristers**' is purchased in the first term of 1624/25.³⁹⁶

Provision for the choristers' desks parallels other endeavours made at New College to rejuvenate the choir and bring back pre-Elizabethan standards; this included the acquisition of contemporary repertory, much of it in verse and full style. This also parallels efforts made at approximately the same time to revive chapel choirs and repertory at large choral foundations like King's College, Cambridge, and Magdalen College, Oxford, as reported in Vol. I, Chapter Four³⁹⁷ and in Supplement One.³⁹⁸ The works of the *New College Chapel Choir Books*³⁹⁹ suggest that the choir of New College was indeed active; repertory included verse services and anthems by a variety of composers, including Thomas Weelkes,⁴⁰⁰ whose illusive affiliation with New

³⁹² NCA, 7626. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1620/21.

³⁹³ NCA, 7631. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1622/23, 2^o *Termino*.

³⁹⁴ NCA, 7633. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1623/24.

³⁹⁵ NCA, 7614. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1613/14.

³⁹⁶ NCA, 7635. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1624/25, 1^o *Termino*.

³⁹⁷ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 202, nt. 805

³⁹⁸ See above, Supplement One, 412.

³⁹⁹ MSS. Mus. c. 46-51, d. 149-69, c. 22-5, f. 32, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

⁴⁰⁰ The *New College Chapel Choir Books* contain valuable manuscripts of its early seventeenth-century choral repertory, including works of Tallis, Byrd, Batte, Gibbons, Farrant, Tomkins, Mundy, and Child.

College⁴⁰¹ spurs speculation as to the type and sophistication of repertory sung there.⁴⁰² The installation of organs by John Chappington at Magdalen College (1596/97)⁴⁰³ and New College (1597/98)⁴⁰⁴ indicate that quality organs were deployed in this repertory.⁴⁰⁵ The 'incomparable music' heard by James I during his visit to New College in 1605⁴⁰⁶ suggests that the choir was not only up and running, but that it had regained a high standard.

The John Chappington organ, 1597-98

Image 29 depicts the John Chappington organ (representation, St. Paul Parkend, Gloucestershire)⁴⁰⁷ at New College in a gallery adjacent to the vestry door. Anthony Wood, a distinguished alumnus of New College School, reported seeing an organ in 1641 'standing in a loft supported by wooden pillars, joining to the vestry door, on the north side of the upper end or high altar; which organs were remaining and in being till the city was surrendered to the Parliamentary forces, an. 1646, but were soon after

⁴⁰¹ On 13 July 1602 Weelkes was admitted B.Mus of Oxford University, having been matriculated at New College. New College would have been a logical choice for standard supplication since Weelkes had been affiliated with Winchester College, Wykeham's twin foundation. Choristers of Winchester had often been given the favour of supplicating for a degree through New College, and though Weelkes was organist, not chorister, he received the same privilege. It is made clear, however, that Weelkes was not a foundation member of New College; to the supplication the Oxford Registrar added: 'Intelligendum est quod nec dictus Thomas Weelkes nec quisquam alius est ex fundatione Sociorum in Collegio Novo si gratiam proponat aut in Congregatione aut in Convocatione'.

⁴⁰² The possibility that Weelkes' compositions were sung at New College rests not only in the work included in the *New College Chapel Choir Books*; because Weelkes was required to compose a choral hymn of six parts for his exercise (*Oxford University Congregation Register*, 1595-1606, M. II, fol. 128), David Brown, Weelkes principal biographer, suggests the strong possibility that Weelkes' six-part *Laboravi in gemitu meo* might have been written as the examination exercise and might have been sung at New College. The work remains Weelkes' only setting of a complete Latin text and incorporates the broad, 'more truly polyphonic technique' of earlier Latin church music. Brown, D., *Thomas Weelkes. A Biographical and Critical Study* (London, 1969), 22.

⁴⁰³ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 203, nt. 809.

⁴⁰⁴ See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 203, nt. 810.

⁴⁰⁵ At New College a later entry at the outset of the fourth term of 1638/39 confirms the differentiation of service partbooks by gilded book marking. 'So[lutum] to Barnes for gliding ye Quire bookes to distinguish them for Parts, 9s'. A further 2li, 10s was paid 'to Hensman for 10 large Service bookes And 8 lesser Antheme bookes at 2s, 6d the first term and 2s a peece for ye 8 smaller, a Quire of Royall paper and 6 sheetes at 2s ye Quire ut billam'. This may indicate a set of five-part service books and a set of four-part anthem books. Both entries recorded in NCA, 4202. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1638/39, 1^o Termino.

⁴⁰⁶ Wood-Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. ii, 286. See above, Supplement One, 412, nt. 127.

⁴⁰⁷ For more concerning St. Paul, Parkend, Gloucestershire see plate number 1098, Freeman/837 (1930). Digital archive of Andrew Freeman glass plate negatives. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections: <http://calmview.bham.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=XFreeman%2f837&pos=1>. I am grateful to Dominic Gwynn for the representative suggestion.

taken down.⁴⁰⁸ **Stairs** accessed the organ, though it remains unclear where precisely they were located; it is possible that the stairs and desks under the organ were located in the presbytery at the time of the Chappington installation.⁴⁰⁹ Later, after the wall was opened to remove (and replace) the organs during the vestry renovation of 1639/40, it is likely that the organ was accessed by stairs from within the vestry: in Anthony Wood's 1641 description there is no reference to stairs, only to 'pillars' under the organ gallery.

Payments for repair during the first decades of the seventeenth century show that the organ was in constant use (see Appendix X, Table 3). Among the builders and craftsmen that repaired and refurbished the organ was Thomas Dallam: Dallam was paid to repair the organ in 1614/15. During the same year, he was working at Magdalen College; this indicates that Dallam had been in Oxford prior to building the Corpus Christi (1618) and St. John's College (1619) organs. Dallam returned to Oxford in 1622/23 to repair the New College organ.⁴¹⁰

As mentioned above, a tremendous project involving the renovation of the vestry and the removal and reinstallment of the organ began in the third term of 1639/40. The apparent removal of the organ is indicated in the payment of 9d paid 'to 3 Labourers helping to take the organes' and a payment of 1s, 6d 'to Gramball for a dayes work a[nd] a half, cutting the Ledge, and opening the wall for the Organs'. The carpenters are then paid 1li, 10s, 11d 'for a Weekes work, in removing the Organs ut per Billam'.⁴¹¹ This may suggest opening the wall between the back of the organ and the vestry to accommodate refurbishments made to the instrument.

The work began in earnest during the fourth term of 1639/40 when the carpenters/sawyers were paid 1li, 8s, 3d 'for taking downe ye Timber of the Vestry, and for sawing ut per Billam'. Then Giles Yorke is paid 1li, 12s, 6d 'for his work about

⁴⁰⁸ Wood-Gutch, *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, 198-9. The organ seen by Wood would had to have been the John Chappington organ, not the Porte organ, as he appears to think.

⁴⁰⁹ A carpenter was paid ij s 'for 2 dayes worke' and a joyner xxviii s, ix d 'for the desks and seeling under the stayres of the organes'. NCA, 7587. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1598/99.

⁴¹⁰ See below, Appendix X, Table 3, 581.

⁴¹¹ NCA, 4203. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1639/40.

ye Organs and for Materialls'.⁴¹² Work was done in and around the organ in conjunction with its reinstallation. During the fourth term, 11li, 4s was paid to the Painter (Richard) Hawkins 'for gilding and painting the **ffreeze of wainscott seates** and the **5 false Organepipes** [*sic*] with the **ffringeover the Organ**'. During the organ work, substantial alteration of the vestry continued; the vestry roof was also apparently altered.⁴¹³

The Laudian reordering of the chapel, c. 1633-1638

A substantial amount of work done in the summer of 1634 commences the tremendous Laudian refurbishment of the chapel. The first significant purchase is that for a **communion table and altar rails**.⁴¹⁴ In 1633/34 the joyner William Harris (who would work on the organ in 1640/41) is paid 3li 'for the **Communion table**' and 33li 'for the **Rails before the Communion table** in length 33 foote at 20 s the foote'. During the same year, rails were installed around the altar at King's College Chapel.⁴¹⁵ In the first term of 1637/38, 3 s, 4 d is spent for 'for mending the **Communion Cloathe & ye velvet Cushions**'.⁴¹⁶

In 1633/34, 15li, 3s, 1d is paid to 'Richard Hawkins the Painter' for 'gilding and painting 65 foote of Crest on the Transverse wall [i.e. west wall] in the Chappell at 4s, 8d the foote'; Hawkins receives an additional 1li, 10s 'for gilding the 2 kings heads at the upper end of the Quire'.⁴¹⁷ Between 1635 and 1637 'Davis the Slatter' is paid 5s 'for whiting the Church and the hall'.⁴¹⁸ Many chapels of the Laudian era decorated their walls with hangings and tapestries, including King's in Cambridge and Corpus Christi in Oxford (see below). Although wall hangings are not recorded in the chapel accounts

⁴¹² NCA, 4203. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1639/40, 4^{to} *Termino*.

⁴¹³ 'So[lutum] for Pitch and tallowe for ye Beames over ye Vestry, 5s, 2d'; 'So[lutum] for nayles for the Vestrie roofe ut per billam, 1li, 5s'; 'So[lutum] to ye Plumber for 1200 three quarters and 22 pounds of Lead at 12s the hundred, 7li, 15s, 4d'. Payments for casting sheets of lead for the vestry follow. NCA, 7661. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1639/40, 4^{to} *Termino*.

⁴¹⁴ William Harris installed 'Rails before the Communion table in length 33 foote at 20s the foote' at the lavish cost of 33li in the summer of 1634, reflecting contemporary Laudian style. Harris was also paid 3li 'for the Communion table'. NCA, 7651. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1633/34.

⁴¹⁵ 'Item eidem [Woodroof] pro le floare and rayles circa mensam sacram, 30li'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26, Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1633/34, *Term. Annunt*.

⁴¹⁶ NCA, 7657. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1637/38, 1^o *Termino*.

⁴¹⁷ NCA, 7651. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1633/34, 4^{to} *Termino*.

⁴¹⁸ NCA, 7655. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1635/36, 4^{to} *Termino*.

of New College after 1600, we have added **religious tapestries** to the eastern wall: in a chapel so richly decorated the bare eastern wall would have called out for some sort of adornment. Of course, this is pure speculation.

During the summer of 1636, at the height of Laudian reconfiguration and adornment, a **new screen** 'with wainscot ffringe' is installed at the substantial cost of 22li, 4s, 0d.⁴¹⁹ The total spent on the chapel during the fourth term alone was 62li, 12s 11½d. The screen was improved and adjusted the following year and work done on the stalls (the eastward facing stalls, most likely).⁴²⁰ According to Rashdall and Rait, the very fine screen was 'curiously painted and sumptuously gilt'.⁴²¹ The construction of the screen suggests that there had been no division between the antechapel and quire after the removal of the 'partition' in 1570/71. This supports the idea that the Chappington organ was sited on the gallery adjoining the vestry door, further confirmed by the mention of stairs.

After the addition of choristers' desks in 1597/98 a gradual augmentation and decoration of **chapel seating** occurs. **Benches** are purchased in 1627/28⁴²² and again in 1636/37 (a particularly large order).⁴²³ The extravagant sum of 55li is paid to Francis Doone⁴²⁴ the following year (1637/38) for the painting of 64 seats, 62 of which were

⁴¹⁹ 'So[lutum] to the Joyner for the new Screene in the Church the wainscot ffringe [eidem] ut per billam, 22li, 4s'. NCA, 7655. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1635/36, 1^o *Termino*.

⁴²⁰ 'So[lutum] to Harris for worke done for work done by himself in mending the Carving of the lower part of the screene and for timber and glewe, 2li, 4s, 8d'; 'So[lutum] to Harris the joyner for xx dayes works Done by his man to stop the old joyntes in the screene & the backs of the stalles, 1li, 6s, 8d'. NCA, 7657. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1637/38, 1^o *Termino*.

⁴²¹ Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, 68.

⁴²² 'sixteene yards of benching at 2s, 8d yard' is purchased from '[P]ynne' for 2li, 2s, 8d, as well as 6d for 'nayles for the benching'. He is paid 9s for '9 dayes worke in the Chappell', as well as 1li, 8s, 4d 'for 17 foote of finishing for the Chappell'. NCA, 7640. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1627/28.

⁴²³ 'So[lutum] for 2 benches being 24 foote in length at 3s the fote, 3li, 12s'; 'So[lutum] for 3 benches at ye lower end in length 38 foote at 12d the foote, 1li, 18s, 0d'; 'So[lutum] for 24 dayes worke to the joyner and mending some other things, 2li, 1s, 4d'; 'So[lutum] for mending 38 foote of crest and 8 dayes worke [eidem] ut per billam, 17s, 10d'. NCA, 7656. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1636/37, 3^{io} *Termino*.

⁴²⁴ During the massive scheme of chapel beautification that occurred during the academic year 1637/38, the artist Francis Doone was engaged to paint 64 paintings for the great sum of 55li. The number 64 corresponds to the number of stalls/desks at the time with the addition of two; the paintings, which apparently depicted saints and other religious figures, were most likely placed over each seat/stall, which, as in pre-Reformation years, had been designated for fellows. The additional two paintings may have been placed over the seats of the warden and subwarden on either side of the quire.

decorated and gilded by Richard Hawkins.⁴²⁵ William Harris is paid the extraordinary sum of 70li, 15s, 4d in 1638/39 (and an additional 100li in three installments during the fourth term of 1639/40 and first of 1640/41) for a large order of **new seats**, which was approved by the warden and thirteen seniors.⁴²⁶ The seats of 1638 appear to represent a **second range of fifty-eight stalls** (see **Image 29**) set before the sixty-two seats of the upper stalls decorated by Doone and Hawkins (these stalls remain unpainted in our image); the old desks were cut up and new desks made 'with pummels on the toppe like globes'. The work was executed in the 'heart of Poland Oake of the best'.⁴²⁷ The seats of the second row currently line the walls of the antechapel, 'having been removed thither by Wyatt' in the late 1700s.⁴²⁸ Numerous **brass candlesticks** with screws purchased between 1636 and 1639 suggest they were attached to stalls and desks.

What motivated the college to order so many new, beautifully crafted seats? Had the membership grown? The accounts indicate that membership had not grown; it continued to comprise a warden and seventy fellows and scholars ('*Dmo Custodi et 70 socijs et scholaribus*') plus the choral force and chapel staff from 1600 through 1647. It therefore appears that the augmentation of seating and the extravagant nature of its decoration reflect an interest in both comfort and aesthetics; chapel seating appears simply part of the extensive programme of edification that contributed to the 'beauty of holiness'.

A '**litany desk**' completes the Laudian configuration of the chapel. It arrived (prior to the altar and rails) during the second term of 1632/33 when the joyner received 17s 'for a Letany Deske'. The litany desk is a special feature of the Andrewes/Laudian-type chapel (see Supplement One, Illustration S.3); though litany desks figure prominently in the Laudian chapel configurations of New College and King's College (see below), they are not found at St. John's College, Cambridge, or Corpus Christi College,

⁴²⁵ 'So[lutum] to Richard Hawkins painter for gilding and painting 62 seates at 4s, 6d the foote each seate contayning 9 foote & each buttresse at 2s, 12li, 13s, 0d'. NCA, 7657. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1637/38, 1^o Termino.

⁴²⁶ 'So[lutum] to William Harris towards the Newe seates of ye Chappell cum approbationem Domini Custodis et 13 Seniores in parte Solutionis'. NCA, 4202. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1638/39.

⁴²⁷ Salter and Lobel, *HCO*, vol. 3, 144-162.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.* James Wyatt also constructed the plaster-vaulted ceiling that was later removed by Gilbert Scott and replaced at the end of the nineteenth century by the current hammer-beam roof.

Oxford. The litany desk is referred to again at New College in the chapel accounts for 1637/38: amidst the plethora of payments recorded that year is 5s paid 'for mending a bottom and Dore to the 'Letanie box', and 4s is paid 'to the smith for a Locke to the Letanie box' as well as 'hookes and staples for the Quier dore ut per billam'; in the second term, 6d goes towards '2 matts for ye Letanie box'.⁴²⁹ It becomes obvious that this piece of furniture played a significant role in chapel worship.

At the peak of Laudian refurbishment in 1636/37, '82 foote of Blothington stone at 8d ye foote' was purchased for 2li, 14s, 8d.⁴³⁰ The following year (1637/38) the great sum of 80li is paid 'to Jackson ye Mason for whyte and black Marble brought into ye Stable yard which upon Computation 951 foote according to Covenante made in that behalfe in writing'.⁴³¹ The installation of **diamond pattern black and white marble flooring** also occurred at Magdalen College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, after 1633; however, in contrast to the current chapels of Magdalen and Corpus Christi which retain the diamond pattern flooring, the chapel of New College does not. John Jackson's work in cutting and fitting the large body of marble and stone is documented in 1638/39,⁴³² 1639/40,⁴³³ and 1640/41⁴³⁴ in a series of large payments.

⁴²⁹ NCA, 7657. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1637/38.

⁴³⁰ NCA, 7656. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1636/37, 1^o *Termino*.

⁴³¹ NCA, 7657. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1637/38.

⁴³² 2^{do} *Termino*: 'So[lutum] to Jackson ye stonecutter for worke done Jan[uary] 12^o, 40li'; 'So[lutum] more to John Jackson ye stone Cutter for his worke March 1^o, 5li'; 'So[lutum] to the Masons for laying ye broken stones which were taken up for working, 8s, 4d'; 3^{io} *Termino*: 'So[lutum] to Magistro Jackson to provide stone for ye lower part of ye Chappell, 40li, 0s, 0d'; 'So[lutum] Delivered to Magistro Jackson April: 20. towards the pavement of ye Chappell, 5li'; 'So[lutum] to Magistro Jackson for his marble for ye Chappell, 25li, 0s, 0d'; 'So[lutum] to Magistro Jackson toward his marble for ye lower part of ye Chappell, 10li, 0s, 0d'. 4^{to} *Termino*: 'So[lutum] to Magistro Jackson ex consensu Domini Custodis ect towards the providing of Brabant marble for other parts of ye Church vizt South Isle [] Aug[gust] 3^o, 50li, 0s, 0d, received by Mr John Jackson'. NCA, 4202. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1638/39.

⁴³³ 1^o *Termino*: 'So[lutum] to John Jackson 9^o November 1639 for 650 foote of black Brabant marble bought & brought in after ye rate of 2s ye foote (having formerlie received Aug[ust] 8^o 50li) the remainder nowe payd, 15li, 0s, 0d'; 'So[lutum] more to John Jackson for laying ye gravestones in ye North Isle, 4li, 4s, 4d'; 'So[lutum] more to the said John Jackson towards the working & laying of all sortes of marble in the Quire and without, 40li, 0s, 0d [received] John Jackson'. 2^{do} *Termino*: 'So[lutum] to Mr Jackson toward the paving of the Chappell (Jan. 24), 20li, 0s, 0d (received by mr John Jackson)'; 'So[lutum] to Mr. Jackson for paving the Chappell, Feb.3, 20li, 0s, 0d (Received by mr John Jackson)'; 4^{to} *Term[ino]*: 'So[lutum] to Mr Jackson towards the paving of the chappell, 4li'. NCA, 4203. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1639/40.

⁴³⁴ 1^o *Ter[mino]*: 'So[lutum] to John Jackson for the Paving of ye Church and Porch, and all belonging therto, this being the last and full payment therof, according to his Covenante, 19li, 5s, 6d (received by mr John Jackson)'; 'So[lutum] to Jackson for Granite, and work in leveling and raising the Floor of the Chappell, ut per Billam, 10li, 15s, 6d (Received by mr John Jackson)'. NCA, 4203. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1640/41.

Image 29. Chapel of New College, Oxford, c. 1640. Quire, facing east.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, c. 1640

Introductory commentary

**Image 30. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1640. Quire, facing east.
Organ (Thomas Dallam, 1618): vestry gallery.**

Image 31. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1640. Quire, facing west.

Efforts to restore music and beautify the chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, occurred during the controversial tenure of Thomas Anyan (president, 1614-29). As mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Five, the renewed interest in chapel music may have been inspired by the Visitor, Bishop James Montague (bishop of Winchester, 1616-18), who was also dean of the Chapel Royal (1603-18). Montague figured prominently in the college's centenary, which was celebrated in March 1617; the funds to better the college's liveries, including choristers' vestments in 1616, and the installation of a **new organ** by Thomas Dallam in 1617/18 can be attributed to his influence. In **Image 30** the organ, fitted out with **curtains**,⁴³⁵ rests on a gallery, the materials of which are recorded in the charges for the organ in 1617/18. The **organ gallery**, which was supported by pillars, extended out from the second level of the vestry and was accessed by stairs from within the **vestry**; this is suggested by a payment for the repair of the vestry in 1638/39.⁴³⁶

Beautification of the east end of the chapel had already begun under the tenure of William Cole; **the east end was wainscoted** under the window in 1585/86.⁴³⁷ President John Rainolds felt compelled to dignify his seat in chapel in 1604/05, adding

⁴³⁵ 'For curtain rods and standerts[?] for the organs, 6s, 4d', referred to in item thirty-two of the charges for the organ. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 85r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1617/18, *Termino tertio*; 'To Richard Hall for stuff & hanging the curtains about the organs, 3s, 7½ d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 28v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1626/27.

⁴³⁶ 'To the joiner for timber about the Pillars, and for 2 days work, 16s, 9d'; 'For turning the pillars for the organs, 5s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 85r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1617/18, *Ter'nis secundo, tertio*. 'For another partition in the vestry by the side of the organ by the staircase, 15s, 11d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 149r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39.

⁴³⁷ 'For the workmanship of that wainscot standing at the upper end of the chapel under the window, 4li, 16s'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 65r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1585/86, *Termino tertio*.

a **canopy with curtains** to it, as the following payments suggest: 'Irons for the canopy over Mr President's seat, 18d'; 'For making the canopy over Mr President's seat, 4s, 4d'; 'For a curtain rod for the same, 9d'; 'Rings for the president's canopy, 2d'.⁴³⁸ Rainolds also had a **window** added **at the end of the library** (overlooking the chapel) in 1604/05.⁴³⁹ Whereas Rainolds' additions appear more functional than beautiful, those during President Anyan's tenure tend to reflect the incipient edification of churches and chapels during the early high church movement: an extensive group of embroidered **hangings** was purchased and installed in 1625/26, and a portion of the wainscot was painted.⁴⁴⁰

President Thomas Jackson oversaw the Laudian reordering of the chapel. The **communion table/altar** was set at the east end in typical Laudian fashion; in 1635/36, at the zenith of Laudian-style refurbishment, **communion rails** and a frame for the **pulpit** were added.⁴⁴¹ Opulent textiles were deployed in the decoration of many objects, for example, **communion clothes**, **pulpit cloths**, and **cushions**.⁴⁴² As crowning glory, 66 pieces of **coloured glass crafted by** master glazier Abraham van Linge were added to the windows in 1635/36.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁸ CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 73r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1604/05.

⁴³⁹ 'For 61 foot of Normandy glass for the window in the end of the library, 45s, 10d'; 'For painting the bars in the window between the chapel and the library, 2s'. CCCA, C/1/1/7, fols. 73v, 74r. Under 'Impensae Dispensatorii et Bibliotecae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1604/05, *Termino primo*.

⁴⁴⁰ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 336, nt. 1393.

⁴⁴¹ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 346, nt. 1434.

⁴⁴² See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 346, nt. 1432.

⁴⁴³ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 346, nt. 1433.

Image 30. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1640. Quire, facing east. Organ (Thomas Dallam, 1618): vestry gallery.



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Image 31. Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1640. Quire, facing west.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, c. 1610 - c. 1644

Introductory commentary

Image 32. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1610. Quire, facing east at the time of Holy Communion. Organ (Thomas Dallam, 1606): centre, second bay.

Image 33. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1641. Quire, facing east. Organ (Thomas Dallam, 1606): northeast.

The chapel at King's experienced two periods of refurbishment between c. 1590 and 1640 - similar in time and character to the renovations at New College. The first period paralleled the revival of the choir and the installation of the Thomas Dallam organ (1605/06), and the second encompassed the comprehensive integration of Laudian furniture and ceremonial regalia. The first of these images presents the chapel of King's College just years after the Thomas Dallam organ had been installed (1606), and the second depicts the chapel at the height of its Laudian glory. The first part of this commentary addresses the period of renovation between c. 1590 and c. 1615; central to the discussion is the choral revival and the Dallam organ and its site. The second part of the commentary illuminates the Laudian reordering of the chapel.

The expansion of choral music and installation of the Thomas Dallam organ (1606), c. 1590 - c. 1615

Like the choirs of New College and Magdalen College, Oxford, the choir of King's College, Cambridge, was revitalised during the 1590s; by the time Provost Roger Goad ended his tenure in 1609, the choir was performing four- and five-part repertory, including verse services and anthems with organ. The standards of chapel music first made a leap after Annunciation Term 1591/92 ⁴⁴⁴ when the twenty-four-year-old

⁴⁴⁴ 'Mr. Gibbins Edw, 20 %; pro informand' Chorist' at *Term. Annunt.*, 11/8 at *Term. Bapt.* He is styled 'Do' [dominus] in 1593. KCA, KCHR/3/1/13/3, fol. 351r. Under 'Clerks' in *Year Lists of Members on the Foundation*, 1550-99, vol. III.

Edward Gibbons was appointed 'informand [o] chorist [arum]'.⁴⁴⁵ During his period as *informator*, polyphonic music for four and five voices was acquired;⁴⁴⁶ choristers included Edward Gibbons' younger brother,⁴⁴⁷ Orlando (chorister, 1596-99; sizar, *Term. Annunt.*, 1598),⁴⁴⁸ and Roger Goad's son, Robert (chorister, 1593/94; scholar, 1593/94 - 1594/95).⁴⁴⁹ Edward Gibbons received his final payment as *informator* at Baptist Term 1597/98 (summer 1598)⁴⁵⁰ after which the state of chapel music wobbled through a number of years until the arrival of another high-caliber musician, John Tomkins, in 1606/07. Tomkins, whose arrival overlapped the installation of the Thomas Dallam organ, brought the choral repertory and standards of the choir to new levels as 'Master of the Quire'.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁵ At the outset of Michaelmas term (September) 'Dno Edwardo Gibbins' is listed under 'Conductes et Clericis' and was paid the xxxj s, viij d salary of clerk and 'informand(o) chorist(arum)'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/19. Under 'Pensiones et vadia' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1592/93.

⁴⁴⁶ 'Item: solut' Magistro Gibbins pro a sett of [?secular] song bookes ad usum Collegii, v s'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/20. Under 'Expense necessarie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1592/93; 'Item: solut' Magistro Gibbins for pricking 3 churche bookes of ten partes, x s'; 'Item: solut' Gibbons pro 4 grace bookes, x s'. KCAR/4/1/1/20. Under 'Expense necessarie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1594/95; 'Item: solut' pro Libris ad usum Chori, xl s' (*Term. Mich.*); 'Item: solut' pro Libris ad usum Chori, xxx s' (*Term. Nat.*); 'Item: solut' pro 26 Libris canticis ad usum Chori, iij li, vj s, iij d (*Term. Nat.*). KCAR/4/1/1/20. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1597/98.

⁴⁴⁷ According to college records, Edward Gibbons' younger brother, Orlando, entered King's as chorister in February 1596, while Edward presided over the choir. Assuming his baptism (25 December 1583) occurred shortly after his birth, Orlando would have been just over twelve. Roger Bowers has noted that Orlando would have been by statute too old for admission as chorister; this contradicts the contentions of other scholars like John Harley, who believe that Orlando was a chorister at King's. Harley, J., *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons family of musicians* (Aldershot, 1999), 24; Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 394, nt. 110. Bowers argues that Orlando appears unlikely to be identifiable with the chorister admitted in 1596 and recorded solely as 'Gibbins'. However, Orlando had three other known brothers, all older: Ellis, Edward (baptised 21 March 1567/8), and Ferdinando (born 1581 or 1582). In the King's College *Lists of Members* for 1596/7 next to 'Gibbins' and under 'Choristers' is written: '? son brother of the Master of Choristers'. The 'son' of the Master of Choristers would have been impossible as Edward's first-born child was baptised at Holy Trinity Church in 1597. Therefore, the 'Gibbins' referred to as chorister must be his brother, Orlando. Orlando may have been allowed to sing in the choir or to observe and learn from his older brother while a 'dry chorister'; alternatively, Orlando may have sung as boy treble, if, according to R.S. Stanier, boys' voices in the 1590s broke at approximately fifteen and one half years of age (Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 94). What remains certain is that Orlando matriculated in the university as a student of Arts and was accepted to King's as sizar (i.e. a student paying reduced fees and having certain menial duties) in *Term Annunt* (Easter) 1598; this would have been a logical progression for a 'dry chorister'. After a year Orlando left his studies at King's. Little is known of his activities between 1599 and 1603 when he was appointed to the Chapel Royal and commenced a brilliant career there.

⁴⁴⁸ 'Gibbins' is listed as chorister 1596/97, 1597/98, and 1598/99. KCA, KCHR/3/1/13/3. Under 'Choristers' in *Year Lists of Members on the Foundation*, 1550-99, vol. III, fols. 393r, 401r, and 409r.

⁴⁴⁹ KCA, KCHR/3/1/13/3. 'Rob Goad' is listed under 'Choristers' (fol. 396r) and 'Scholars' (fols. 396r, 366r) in *Year Lists of Members on the Foundation*, 1550-99, vol. III.

⁴⁵⁰ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/20. Under 'Pensiones et Vadia' (*Term. Bapt.*) in *Mundum Bk.*, 1597/98.

⁴⁵¹ With the Tomkins' appointment in June 1606 the new office of organist became wed with that of the master of choristers; he is in certain instances styled 'Master of the Quire' as in lists of members dated October 7 1608 and in others 'Organist'. KCA, KCV/49, fols. 325r, 347r. 16 December 1609. Under

The Thomas Dallam organ, 1605-6

The repertory of this dynamic period was complemented by the double organ of **Thomas Dallam**, installed between 1605 and 1606; the notoriety reflected in acquiring perhaps the most magnificent organ in England to date put King's College in the local and national limelight, and showed that its chapel and its vocal and instrumental resources stood at the forefront of contemporary music. The Robert Smythson drawing (see Supplement One, Illustration S.2) provides the basis for our reconstruction of King's College Chapel during this period (**Image 32**).

The organ in **Images 32 and 33** is represented by the double organ built c. 1631 by Robert Dallam for Magdalen College, Oxford.⁴⁵² As mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Five, the Great case is found today at Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire,⁴⁵³ and the Chair case at St. Nicholas, Stanford-on-Avon. That original organ (Great and Chair) had one front only as did the Thomas Dallam organ at King's; 'the presence of the two Open Diapasons on the Great (parts of which survive at Tewkesbury) is not to be explained by the organ standing on a screen with both front and back façades'⁴⁵⁴ like the present organ of King's College. We know that the Great case of Thomas Dallam's organ was constructed by joiners Chapman and Hartop and had a 'middle tower', 'round towards', and 'finishing or square towards'. This suggests five towers, a design quite different from the present case at King's, and one that is more comparable to the Great case of the Robert Dallam organ for Magdalen College. Also, the pipes of the Thomas Dallam organ, especially the front pipes, would have been elaborately embossed (like those of his son's for the Magdalen College instrument). The embossing is formed by rubbing the pipe metal in a channelled wooden mould while it is still in sheet form; 'such moulds appear in the accounts for the Thomas Dallam organ at King's, Cambridge.'⁴⁵⁵

'Queyre Men': 'Master John Tomkins Master of the Queyre'; under 'Singing Men': 'Magistro John Tomkins Master of the Quire'. On other lists of singing men he is described as 'organist' only, as on the list dated 30 January 1609/10 (fol. 349r); and in May 1610 (fol. 351r); or 5 Oct 1610 (fol. 352r).

⁴⁵² For greater detail concerning the disposition and possible locations of this organ see Harper, J., 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford: A New Account of the Milton Organ', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 9 (1985), 51-64; *idem*, 'Magdalen and the organ, 1597-1736'.

⁴⁵³ See also Supplement One, 417.

⁴⁵⁴ Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 82.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 70, 82.

All this makes the Robert Dallam organ for Magdalen College, c. 1631, plausible as a representation of the Thomas Dallam organ at King's.

Eva Lilienfelde and Dominic Gywnn have collaborated on finishing the incomplete colouring of the pipes of the Robert Dallam Magdalen organ begun by Martin Goetze. The unembossed pipes of the Robert Dallam Magdalen instrument were originally decorated in gold and colours; this concept, initiated by Goetze, has been continued by Lilienfelde to produce the façade shown in our images.

The organ of Magdalen College, Oxford: attributed to Robert Dallam, c. 1631.

*Stop list*⁴⁵⁶

The Great Organ:

two Diapasons 10ft.

two Principals

two Fifteenths

two Two-and-twentieths

On the Chair Organ:

one Stopped Diapason

two Principals

one Recorder

one Fifteenth

The Thomas Dallam organ is depicted on a **gallery**, which sits upon a square platform (16 ft. x 16 ft.) shown in the Smythson drawing; Smythson has drawn a step behind the platform. The **communion table**, placed between the stalls, is set for Holy Communion; it is draped with a simple covering, reflecting the 'Kent canvas' purchased in 1603 for just iij s, viij d;⁴⁵⁷ **Hacumblen's lectern** is placed in its pre-Reformation position between the stalls, ready for a Bible from which to read the Gospel.

The revival of music and musical standards was complemented by the gradual beautification of the chapel. At least one of the two bays to the east marked for burials in the Smythson drawing (1609) remained unpaved⁴⁵⁸ until 1611, when payments record work for laying '**white tiles**' at the east end.⁴⁵⁹ **90 feet of marble and 200 feet of 'Cliff ragg'** were purchased in 1613/14, and Henry Thorp, freemason, was paid to

⁴⁵⁶ Stoplist recorded by Renatus Harris in 1686. Bicknell, 82.

⁴⁵⁷ KCAR/4/1/1/21. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1602/03.

⁴⁵⁸ Unlike the opulently paved body of the quire.

⁴⁵⁹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/ 23. Under 'Reparationes novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1611/12.

lay the marble.⁴⁶⁰ It is likely that during the same year (1613/14) the communion table replaced the organ in the Smythson drawing. The removal of the **communion table** to the east reflects the practice of Richard Neile (bishop of Lincoln 1614-17 and college Visitor during that time). All this appears to coincide with a visit by James I in 1614.

The payments for work on the organ made to Thomas Dallam and Andrew Chapman (c. £38) at Michaelmas Term 1613/14⁴⁶¹ are too small to signify a move to the great screen;⁴⁶² however, they could suggest moving the **organ** to another location such as the northeast corner over the vestry door - the possible location of the King's pre-Reformation organ (see **Image 33**). Further, one of the tasks for which Dallam and Chapman were paid was the construction of stairs '*in usum Organiste*'.⁴⁶³ There would be no need to construct stairs to the loft in the great screen: they had been extant since the screen's construction in 1536. Therefore, the reference to stairs for the organist may refer to another loft to which the organ was relocated.

With the election of Samuel Collins (provost, 1615-45) choral standards remained high as long as Tomkins remained 'Master of the Quire'. Music acquisition continued, albeit not as pronounced as during the tenure of Roger Goad (by this time the chapel was well-stocked); instruments and repertory found in the college are indicative of the musical life of the college and include a lute, viol, and bass viol, as well as virginal and organ books.⁴⁶⁴ During this period Henry Loosemore assumed duties as master of choristers and organist; the impact of this extraordinary musician was demonstrated in the quality and quantity of music acquired.

The so-called 'Henry Loosemore Organ Book' (1627-30)⁴⁶⁵ represents a significant effort on Loosemore's part to build up repertory and utilise the organ as accompanying

⁴⁶⁰ KCAR/4/1/4/38. Under 'Reparaciones novi templi' in *Bursars' Particular Bk.*, 1614/15.

⁴⁶¹ See below, Appendix. X, Table 4, 588.

⁴⁶² See above, Supplement One, 422-3.

⁴⁶³ 'Solut pro Scala [stairs] in usum Organiste, ij s'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1613/14.

⁴⁶⁴ An organ book, together with scholarly books, a collection of lute books and an eighteen-string lute, a bass viol, a great bass viol, and a collection of virginal books, was found in the possession of James Weaver (1605-18), a recipient of the Mus.B. KCA, KCAR/3/3/1/1/3. *Ledger Book*, vol. 3, 513-15. For more on King's musicians under Tomkins see Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 279.

⁴⁶⁵ 'It' Magistro Loosmore Organistae consideracione novi Organ book, 5li' (Term Mich). KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1627/28; 'Solut' pro carta in

instrument.⁴⁶⁶ The book, which includes accompaniments to eighty-one anthems, demonstrates the variety and breadth of the polyphonic repertory deployed at King's, c. 1628. Thurston Dart⁴⁶⁷ and John Morehen⁴⁶⁸ have undertaken a detailed analysis of the works of this collection, which contains compositions in four, five, and six parts,⁴⁶⁹ a significant number by Loosemore himself;⁴⁷⁰ through their examinations, Ian Payne and Roger Bowers have drawn significant conclusions as to the implications of these works on the expertise and size of the choral force at King's College.⁴⁷¹

An exuberant programme of chapel refurbishment complemented the extraordinary music and organ of the chapel. Collins continued the chapel edification begun by his predecessors Fogge Newton (provost, 1610-12) and William Smith (provost, 1612-15); an extravagant Laudian-style refurbishment occurred during his tenure, reaching a peak between 1633 and 1637. Significant sums were spent on opulent adornments to the chapel during the first two years of Collins' tenure, including sumptuous **cushions** and **communion clothes**.⁴⁷² A 'doare as y^u get upp to y^e roodloft & other things there, 3s,

augmentacionem Librorum Cantionum, 7s, 8d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1629/30, *Term. Mich.*; 'Solut' pro binding le Organ booke, 6s'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1630/31, *Term. Mich.*

⁴⁶⁶ Loosemore included his own accompaniments to originally unaccompanied works of Byrd and Tallis. Further compositions include works by Byrd, Hooper, Tomkins, Morley, Bull, John Luge, John Ward, Weelkes, Orlando Gibbons, Anmer as well as sixteen anthems by Loosemore.

⁴⁶⁷ Dart, T., 'Henry Loosemore's Organ Book', *Cambridge Bibliographical Society, Transactions*, 3 (1959-63), 143-51.

⁴⁶⁸ Morehen, J., 'Sources of English Cathedral Music, c.1617-c. 1644', 3 vols, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, (University of Cambridge, 1969), vol. I, 201-13.

⁴⁶⁹ The majority of the repertory in Loosemore's book appears to have been in five parts; there are also some in four and a few in six, seven, and eight parts. In total thirty-eight were in verse style and forty-three in full. Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 281.

⁴⁷⁰ Loosemore's own body of work includes two services, two Latin litanies, and twenty-nine anthems (ten full, nineteen verse). With this body of work he obtained the Mus.B degree. For further details on the works included in Loosemore's organ book see Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 281.

⁴⁷¹ Payne has characterised the four- and five-part textures of the collection as relatively demanding (e.g. Loosemore's five-part anthems, 'O God my heart is ready' and 'Tell the daughter of sion' as well as the even more sophisticated verse compositions included in the 'Caroline Set' of the *Peterhouse part-books*); however, Bowers concludes that the overall technical character remains moderately challenging with only one work requiring the division of boys' voices. Bowers notes that a key group of singers could have assumed solo sections of works in verse style, however, the full anthems remained in four or five parts. Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 115; Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 281.

⁴⁷² Payments during *Term. Nat.* 1615/16 at the outset of Collins' provostship include: 'Solut' pro 3 quarters of black velvet at 21s, 6d ye yard for the pulpit Cushion, xvij s, vj d'; 'Solut' pro a yard of mixt damask for lynynge for the same at 12s the yard, xij s'; 'Solut' pro a yard of Crimson Chamlet at 9s, 6d & a yard of crimson damask at 15s, 4d (total, xxiiij s, x d); 'Solut' pro 3 yard of green velvet for the Communion table at 24s ye yard, xvij s'; 'Solut' pro 2 yards of wrought grogeran at 10s, 6d the yard, xxj s'; 'Solut' pro a yard & quarter of green carpyt at 5s the yard, vj s, iij d'; 'Solut' Magistro Prior for dormix & other necessities for the Cushions & making them, iiij li, viij s, x d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1615/16.

4d'⁴⁷³ suggests a small addition to the great screen (which, in anti-puritan fashion, is styled 'roodloft'). In 1628 provision is made for **candelabras** and an opulent **communion cloth** in purple velvet with silk and gold fringe,⁴⁷⁴ and in 1629/30 Collins himself donated a **velvet cushion** for the **communion table**.⁴⁷⁵ Characteristic of contemporary ritual practice at most colleges are payments for **incense and 'perfuming'** as well as books for the fast.⁴⁷⁶

The Andrewes/Laudian-style arrangement of King's College Chapel, c. 1625 - c. 1641

Provost Collins' programme of chapel beautification entailed hiring Thomas Weaver to enhance the bare walls behind the stalls with **heraldic arms placed upon the upper choir stalls** between 1629 and 1633. A great part of the refurbishment occurred, as in many colleges, after Laud became archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Great attention was focused upon the communion table (which closely resembled a pre-Reformation altar) **and the wooden screen** behind it; the placement of **the eastern reredos-screen** between the first piers from the east was completed by Lady Day 1634 and entailed the employment of Edward Woodruffe.⁴⁷⁷ Sumptuous and costly decoration of the screen and the east end is reflected in a number of payments for **hangings**, notably, one for the enormous sum of 73li, 7s, 6d for damask for the hangings and other adornments at the east end.⁴⁷⁸ At least part of the hangings covered the walls between the stalls and

⁴⁷³ KCA, KCAR/4/1/4/39. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Bursars' Particular Bk.*, 1615/16.

⁴⁷⁴ In 1628/29 four cushions were purchased for 13s, 4d as well as six candelabras, and 27 li, 6s, 8d was spent on 'a purple velvet Communion cloth with silk & gold fringes', partly financed by donations, including those of Collins and 'Doctor Singleten'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1628/29, *Term. Bapt.*

⁴⁷⁵ 'Solut' pro quibusdas involucris pro le velet Cushion pro le Communion table et dono Magistri Prepositi, 4s'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1629/30. *Term. Mich.*

⁴⁷⁶ 'Solut' pro les fast Books'. KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1636/37.

⁴⁷⁷ Edward, not his son George, though both were working at the time. Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 145, nt. 32. 'Solut' Woodrofe le Joyner pro timber ad conficiend' skreen in pte' orientali novi Templi ...20li'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1632/33, *Term. Bapt.* 'Solut' Woodroof le Joyner in part pro le screene, 60li'; 'Item Woodroff pro le screen in novo Templo ultra: 80li: primo solute pro eadem: 20li'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1633/34, *Term. Mich.*, *Term. Annunt.*, respectively. Queen Henrietta Maria viewed 'the wondrous and stately structure' in 1632. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. III, 250. The screen's construction was accompanied by work on the altar step: 'Item Tomson & Brent free masons pro reparand' les steps in orientali parte novi Templi ut patet, 18s, 2d'. KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1633/34.

⁴⁷⁸ 'Solut' magistro Tolly le upholster [er] ...pro hanging le screen in novo temple una cum protagio, 5li, 14s, 8d'; 'Sol' Magistro Tolly le upholster [er] pro diversis in novo Templo..., 19li, 1s, 6d'. KCA,

the eastern altar screen/reredos; this is suggested by hooks, which remained attached to the walls until 1968.⁴⁷⁹ In accordance with the wishes of Charles I the **communion table** was placed against the opulent eastern screen in the position of a high altar⁴⁸⁰ and covered by a (hanging) wooden canopy. The college arms may have rested upon it (see William Cole's description of the chapel below), though the date of this addition remains debatable. The communion table was richly adorned, covered with costly cloths bought in London in the summer of 1633,⁴⁸¹ and enclosed by **rails**.⁴⁸² A '**litany desk**' stood before the high altar as mentioned in the Commons Committee report below.⁴⁸³

Image 33 depicts the chapel at the height of the Laudian era. A wealth of items were purchased in 1633 in addition to the hangings, expensive coverings, and communion rails. These included a gilt '**bason**' (alms-dish) costing 50li, 13s, 4d and **two books for use at the communion table** ('*duobus libris in mensa sacra* in quire') for 2li, 4s, 6d. A further 23li, 4s was spent for 'claspes and bosses' for them and 1li, 13s, 6d 'pro velvet pro le covers ut patet'.⁴⁸⁴ At Christmas term 1636/37 'chappell cloaths' and '**pulpit cloaths**' were repaired and fabricated for 16s, 3d,⁴⁸⁵ and matts for the provost and

KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1633/34, *Term. Nat.*, *Term. Annunt.*, respectively. 'Item Magsitro Tolly le upholster [er] pro conficiend' les hangings & foot stools in novo Templo ut patet, 7li'; 'Item Woodroofe le joyner pro setting up les hangings in parte orient' novi temple, 2s'; 'Solut' magistro Harris mercatori pro le damask in parte orientali novi templi...73li, 7s, 6d'.

KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1634/35.

⁴⁷⁹ Chainey, 'The East End of King's College Chapel', 145-6.

⁴⁸⁰ The removal of the table to the east was most likely made in accordance with royal injunction. A report on the Cambridge colleges sent to Laud in 1636 rebuked Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for neglecting to move its table eastward. '...the table, notwithstanding the king's pleasure declared for all colleges when himself ordered it to be set up at King's stands stil' below as it did'. The placement reflects Collins' willful move toward Laudian style and a blatant regression toward the unreformed church in the view of many puritans. Chainey, 145.

⁴⁸¹ 'Item pro Cloathes pro mensa sacra, 60li'; 'It' eisdem [Lawrence Eusden, chapel clerk] portandis a Londino, 12s, 10d'. KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1632/33, *Term. Bapt.*

⁴⁸² 'Item eidem [Woodroof] pro le floare and rayles circa mensam sacram, 30li'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1633/34, *Term. Annunt.* Fortunately, the original rails installed in 1633/34 may be those found today in Millton church; Eva Lilienfelde has based the rails in our image upon a photograph of them reproduced in Trevor Cooper's monograph, *The Journal of William Dowsing*. Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, Plate 30b, 167.

⁴⁸³ This item, though not ubiquitous in college chapels, is recorded at New College during the 1630s as mentioned above, and at Jesus College, Cambridge, where the original desk still exists today. Lilienfelde has based our depiction of the litany desk in the New College and King's images upon the photograph reproduced by Cooper. Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, Plate 30a, 167.

⁴⁸⁴ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1633/34, *Term. Bapt.*

⁴⁸⁵ KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1636/37.

vice-provost were purchased in 1637 during Annunciation Term.⁴⁸⁶ Candelabras, candlesticks,⁴⁸⁷ **'2 great Tapers** pro le Communion Table',⁴⁸⁸ and **crucifixes** completed the Laudian beautification of the chapel. There are no payments for the **organ** through 1640 that suggest a move to the great screen; we have situated the **Dallam organ** and its **loft/gallery** on the northeastern side of the presbytery (**Image 33**) - the possible site of the pre-Reformation organ.

The chapel accounts in the *Mundum Books* illustrate only part of Collins' lavish refurbishment; as is the case with St. John's College, an even more descriptive account of the furniture and ceremonial regalia acquired during Collins' tenure is recorded in the 1641 Commons Committee Report to Parliament (BL Harl. MS 7019). This is complemented by the description of local eighteenth-century historian, William Cole. According to the Commons report:

An high altar with steps which have been erected of late years upon which the college hath been at great expense. Over the altar is an hanging canopy of wood. Behind the altar are hangings of red and blue taffety. The altar hath two or three coverings, one to the ground, a foot pace. On the altar stand two fair books richly embossed, one the Bible, the other the liturgy. A gilt basin on the altar. Two gilt candlesticks and two tapers which they sometimes light; sometimes four tapers burning upon the altar. A rail enclosing the altar. Turnings toward the east. Adoration towards the altar used by some...A litany desk below the high altar, at which they kneel that sing the litany with their faces towards the east. Many things in their service not easily understood.⁴⁸⁹

According to William Cole:

the High Altar is not erected immediately under the E. Wall or Window, but at a pretty distance from it, against a fine Wainscote Screen for that purpose which runs quite across the Chapel from the division of the 1st and 2nd Window, which has a kind of Canopy over it adorned with fine carv'd work: and in the middle directly over the Altar are the Arms of the College royally crowned. There were two doors to enter the area behind the altar and screen, one with the arms of James I, the other with those

⁴⁸⁶ KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1637/38, *Term. Annunt.* For an explanation of King's College academic terms see Appendix XI. Notes on College Bursarial Accounts, 594.

⁴⁸⁷ 'Item pro sex candelabris in usum sacelli'. KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1634/35. 'Solut' pro : 6 tyn candlesticks in usum Altaris, 5s'; 'Solut' pro : 6 : candleabris pro novo temple, 2s'. KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1636/37, *Term. Mich.*

⁴⁸⁸ KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1638/39, *Term. Annunt.*

⁴⁸⁹ 'Innovations in religion and abuses in government in the University of Cambridge'. BL MS Harl. 7019, No. 11; Chainey, 146.

of Henry VIII. Elegantly carved as is all what is about the Screen of the Altar...The back of the Altar is hung with a rich silk Damask of Purple and Crimson. The altar stands on an Eminence of one step above the rest all round and railed in about it with neat wainscot & rails, kneeling cushions in a 'blew Cloth'. Cole believed this to be the original site of the 1544 high altar.⁴⁹⁰

Collins' acquiescence to puritan criticism shortly following the puritan report of 1641 resulted in his decision to place the communion table in an east-west position within the rails (which remained in place), to remove the candlesticks and tapers and other items and furniture, and to forbid adoration toward the east and turning eastwards during the doxology and creed.⁴⁹¹ Unfortunately, this was too little and came too late; Collins was forced to resign in 1645.

⁴⁹⁰ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 525-30.

⁴⁹¹ 'The Mr of this College Dr Collins, hath since this information was drawne, removed the Altar and placed it table wise within the rayles, taking away the candle stickes and bason, He hath likewise prohibited adoration towards the East, and standing that way at the Doxologie and Creed'. 'Innovations in religion and abuses in government in the University of Cambridge'. BL MS Harl. 7019, No. 11; Chainey, 146.

Image 32. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1610. Quire, facing east at the time of Holy Communion. Organ (Thomas Dallam, 1606): centre, second bay.



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Image 33. Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, c. 1641. Quire, facing east. Organ (Thomas Dallam, 1606): northeast.



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CHAPEL INTERIOR, CEREMONIAL REGALIA, AND FURNITURE, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, c. 1641

Introductory commentary

Image 34. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1641. Quire, facing east.

After extensive refurbishment, the chapel of St. John's became the archetype of Andrewes/Laudian-style in Cambridge, even eclipsing the notorious chapel of Peterhouse in its lavish decorative details, liturgy, and music.⁴⁹² Huge sums were spent on refurbishing the chapels of St. John's and Peterhouse during Charles I's 'Years of Personal Rule'; the costs of realising Beale's Laudian-style chapel, excluding the £185 spent on the Robert Dallam organ, were well over £435.

As mentioned in Vol. I, Chapter Four, our impression of Beale's chapel can be gleaned from three sources: extracts from the *Rentals* (particularly 1633/34 to 1636/37), the 1641 Commons Committee Report to Parliament (BL Harl. MS 7019), and the 1642 college inventory of chapel furniture and goods. The *Rentals* record the cost of ceremonial regalia, furniture, and overall renovation of the chapel. All the items listed in the following paragraphs have been cited above in Chapter Four⁴⁹³ together with their references in the *Rentals*. In the fourth term of 1633/34 a large payment of vj li, vj s, vij d is 'Payd to Betson the Joyner for **two Deskes**, the **Altar Table**⁴⁹⁴ and the wanscott about the table'; ix d is 'payd for a brush for the Altar' and xj s '**for a deske for the Bible**'. In 1634/35 a '**velvett cushion on the Altar**' is purchased. An enormous sum (xxvliij li, iiij d) was spent on beatification in the fourth term of 1636/37 and included '40s' paid to 'Betson' 'for the **2 railes at the ends of the Altar**'. A number of items were donated by benefactors, including a '**new pulpit cloath & cushion** above 4li bewstowed by Mr Redding, 3li, 12s, 6d' in 1636/37 and gifts of **silver, religious paintings, and an altar cloth** given in 1637/38 by Francis Dee, former St. John's scholar and bishop of Peterborough (1596).

⁴⁹² See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 216-9.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ The use of the term 'altar table' and 'altar' in place of 'communion table' at St. John's appears to reflect the tendency in certain 'high church' circles to discount the puritan view that images, altars, and ceremonial regalia related to Roman Catholic worship were idolatrous. See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 210-11.

Major structural details and large objects of adornment included: a **new 'great window'** in the east built on 15 May 1636 (consisting of seven lights, presumably utilising pre-Reformation glass conserved from the major glass removal of 1558-61); the **roof of Ashton's chapel** was covered with new leading in 1634/35 at a cost of x li, xiiij s, iij d as was 'the **vestry** in the upper end of the chappell' for viij li, js, iiij d; payments also record an opulently **painted ceiling** 'in a skie colour and set full of gilt starrs'.

The stalls were provided with lighting and beautified between 1635 and 1637. Payments in 1635/36 record '**34 brass Candlestickes** to be fastened in the fellows and schollars seates' and **brass candlesticks** to adorn the **master's and president's stalls**. The carver, Edward Woodruffe, was hired for the carving of **four new statues in the fellows' seats** and **twelve new heads** 'for the old statues' in 1636/37,⁴⁹⁵ as well as **angels and wings 'at the east'**, which were fastened to the roof by plates. The same year Woodruffe was also paid the large sum of 23li, for 'the wainscot worke at the east end' and an additional 25s for 'the **Dove and [of?] glory**'.

The chapel was radiant with colour. One 'Luttiehuis'⁴⁹⁶ received tremendous sums for painting the east end wainscot and for **sixteen opulent pictures** depicting the life of Christ from conception to ascension. The pictures were hung around the sides of the chapel in gilt frames. Another painter, one 'Knuckells' was paid 32li, 17s, 10d 'for the rooffe' (most likely the ceiling in 'skie colour...full of gilt starrs') and 20li, 10s 'for painting the seates' as well as 48li, 14s, 7d' and 'more to him for the rooffe for Bish: Fishers Chappell, for Dr Asthons Chappell & Tombe'. The chapels of Fisher and Dr. Ashton were also decorated with **wall and altar hangings** of 'red and green serge'.

The Parliamentary Commons Committee report⁴⁹⁷ provides a few more details. We learn from the report that the altar at St. John's was decorated similarly to that at Peterhouse, and that it was covered by a frontal illustrating Christ prepared for the sepulchre. A **reredos** with a large crucifix set between the crosses of the two thieves

⁴⁹⁵ The 'statues' are visible today in the eastern stalls of the Gilbert Scott chapel.

⁴⁹⁶ See Chapter Four, 219, nt. 888.

⁴⁹⁷ BL Harl. MS 7019, fols. 74-6.

was adorned by angels and finished and painted with gilt. The blue of heaven in the roof was not only strewn with gilt stars, but with the words '*Jesus Christus Dominus Noster*', as well. Painted over the altar/communion table - complementing the gilt 'dove of glory' that hung from the ceiling - was the sun, which radiated beams of light. The report also suggests that the 'two little chapels' (i.e. the chapels of Fisher and Ashton) had 'altars', which in Trevor Cooper's opinion, would be 'very surprising in an Anglican church of the period'.⁴⁹⁸ The deployment of the term 'altars' in their report may suggest an attempt by the Parliamentarians to link Beale and his chapel with objects and attributes of the Latin rite. In the 1642 college inventory the altars are referred to as 'tables'.

Image 35. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1641. Quire, facing west. Organ (Robert Dallam, 1636): screen/loft.

The focal point of the western portion of the chapel was the five-stop **Robert Dallam organ** of 1635/36. A watercolour by one Daniel Wood painted in 1868⁴⁹⁹ prior to the chapel's demolition depicts an organ whose case is at least in part that of the Dallam organ of 1635 and whose pipe-work was possibly replaced by Dallam's son-in-law, Thomas Thamar in 1661.⁵⁰⁰ The case in the painting is recognisably of seventeenth-century vintage. Our image is based upon the case shown in the Wood watercolour.⁵⁰¹

St. John's may have owned a second, **smaller organ**. At the same time that the Dallam organ was removed in 1642/43, Henry Jennings received 4s 'for taking downe the little organ'.⁵⁰² Ian Payne considers this a reference to a second instrument situated on the floor of the chapel;⁵⁰³ however, since the payment is found not under chapel expenses ('*Expensae Ecclesiae*') but under '*Expensae necessariae*', it may refer to an instrument in another part of the college as mentioned in Chapter Four.

⁴⁹⁸ Cooper, *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 470, nt. 125.

⁴⁹⁹ The painting is now in the possession of Roger Bowers.

⁵⁰⁰ The Chair organ shown in the painting was added by Thamar in 1669 and the Great organ amplified with six new stops by Renatus Harris in 1711. Further modifications were made in order to insert a new organ into the old case by Hill & Sons in 1838.

⁵⁰¹ Appendix IX. Extant images of the altered Robert Dallam organ for St. John's College, Cambridge, Illustration A.2, 572.

⁵⁰² SJCA SB4/5, fol. 230r. Under '*Expensae necessariae*' in *Rentals*, 1642/43, fourth term.

⁵⁰³ Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 165.

Image 34. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1641. Quire, facing east.



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Image 35. Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, c. 1641. Quire, facing west. Organ (Robert Dallam, 1636): screen/loft.



Appendix I. Opening sequences of selected Wykehamist statutes.

All Wykehamist statutes place priority first and foremost on the exaltation of the Christian faith and advancement of the Church. Secondary emphasis is placed on the study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences. The opening sequences of the New College, Magdalen College, and King's College statutes have been cited below; passages placing priority on the Church are highlighted in red.

1. Opening of William of Wykeham's statutes for New College, Oxford (1386).⁵⁰⁴

In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, necnon Beatissimae Mariae Virginis gloriosae, omniumque Sanctorum Dei. Nos Willielmus de Wicham, permissione divina Wintoniensis Episcopus...cognoscit, dirigit et disponit, de bonis fortunae...unum videlicet collegium perpetuum pauperum et indigentium scholarium clericorum, in studio Universitatis Oxoniae, Lincolnensis dioeceseos, in diversis scientiis et facultatibus studere ac proficere debentium, Saint Mary College of Winchester in Oxenford, vulgariter nuncupatum; et quoddam aliud collegium perpetuum aliorum pauperum et indigentium scholarium clericorum grammaticam addiscere debentium, prope civitatem Wintoniae, Saint Mary College of Winchester, similiter nuncupatum; **ad laudem, gloriam et honorem, nominis Crucifixi ac gloriosissimae Mariae matris ejus, sustentationem et exaltationem fidei Christianae, Ecclesiae sanctae profectum, divini cultus,** [followed by] liberaliumque artium, scientiarum et facultatum augmentum...ect.

2. Opening of William Waynflete's statutes for Magdalen College, Oxford (1479).⁵⁰⁵

IN the name of the Holy, and Undivided Trinity, the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, WE, William Waynefflete...ordain, institute, found, and establish a perpetual College of poor and indigent Scholars, being Clerks, bounden to study, and make progress in the School of the University of Oxford in sundry Sciences and Faculties; which College is commonly called Seynte Mary Magdalyn College in the Universite of Oxon.; in order to the praise, glory, and honour of the name of the Crucified One, and Mary his most glorious Mother, the blessed Marie Magdalene, and all Saints; **for the Support of the afore-mentioned Persons, the Exaltation of the Christian Faith, the Advancement of the Church, and the Increase of Divine Worship** [followed by] and the liberal Arts, Sciences, and Faculties...ect.

⁵⁰⁴ Introductory page, NCA, 3584. *Founder's Statutes of New College* (c. 1386).

⁵⁰⁵ Ward, G.R.M., 'The Statutes of Magdalen College Oxford' in *tr. The Statutes of Corpus Christi College, All Souls, College and Magdalen College, Oxford*. (London, 1843) vol. I, 1-2. The text printed by Ward with Visitor's Injunctions added is derived from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library; corrections have been made consulting BL Harleian MS 1235 and the Hargrave MS 148 in the British Museum.

3. Opening of Henry VI's statutes for King's College, Cambridge (1453).⁵⁰⁶

In nomine Sanctae ac Individual Trinitatis, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus S., necnon beatissimae Mariae Virginia gloriosae, omniumque Sanctorum Dei. Nos Henricus Dei gratia Anglias et Franciae rex, ac dominus Hiberniae, post conquestum Sextus, de summi rerum opificis bonitate confisi, qui vota cunctorum in eo fidentium cognoscit, dirigit, et disponit, de bonis quae Deus in hac vita nobis de suae plenitudinis gratia tribuit abundanter, duo perpetua collegia, unum videlicet perpetuum collegium pauperum et indigentium scholarium clericorum in studio universitatis Cantebrigiae, Eliensis dioceseos, in diversis scientiis et facultatibus studere ac proficere debentium, Collegium Regale Beatae Mariae et Sti. Nicholai Cantebrigiae, vulgariter vero, The King's Colledge of our Lady and St. Nicholas in Cambridge, nuncupatum, et quoddam aliud collegium perpetuum aliorum pauperum et indigentium scholarium clericorum grammaticam addiscere debentium in villa nostra de AEtona juxta Windesoram, Lincolniensi dioceseos, Collegium Regale Beatae Mariae Virginia, vulgariter vero, The King's Colledge of our Lady of Eaton beside Windesore, nuncupatum, **ad laudem, gloriam, et honorem Domini nostri nominis et Christi ac gloriosissimae semper virginis Mariae matris ejus, sustentationem et exaltationem Christianae fidei, ecclesiae sanctae profectum, divini cultus** [followed by] liberaliumque artium, scientiarum, et facultatum augmentum, apostolica et nostra regia autoritatibus ordinavimus, instituimus, fundavimus, et stabilivimus, prout in bullis apostolicis et literis nostris patentibus super ordinationibus, institutionibus, et foundationibus ipsorum collegiorum confectis plenius continetur.

⁵⁰⁶ Taken from BL Harl. MS No. 7323.

Appendix II. Portions of the Mass and Office set to vocal polyphony, c. 1500-1558.

By c. 1500, various segments of the Mass and Office had become traditional moments in which to deploy polyphony. These included: the responds after the lessons at Matins; the *Te Deum* at Matins exemplified in settings by John Taverner (d. 1545), John Sheppard (d. 1557), Hugh Aston (d. 1558), and Christopher Tye (d. ca. 1572); a hymn (Christmas) at Lauds; the Ordinary of Lady Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, & Agnus Dei), for example, weekly settings by Nicholas Ludford (d. 1557); the Gradual, Alleluia, and Sequence of the Lady Mass, exemplified in settings by Ludford and Taverner, among others; as well as processional antiphons and hymns at processions. The most commonly set items were: the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei of High Mass; the Magnificat at Vespers; the Devotional motet in the Salve ceremony; and the evening Marian antiphon.⁵⁰⁷ In addition, if approved by local authority, polyphony performed by voices or the organ could replace the *Benedicamus domino*, *Deo gratias* at Vespers and Matins (and Lauds) and be deployed after the Sanctus at Mass.⁵⁰⁸ At the conclusion of High Mass on feast days celebratory motets composed on specific texts might also be added.⁵⁰⁹

How these items were performed remains speculation; however, several solutions have been suggested. Lee-De Amici has illustrated possible performance practice with one of the most important points for polyphony, the Magnificat at Vespers. Some settings of the Magnificat were set in *alternatim* between solo polyphonic choir - which stood around a great lectern with a large choirbook - and a larger body that sang plainchant sections; this is exemplified in Magnificats from the *Eton Choirbook*.⁵¹⁰ Although such settings might have been deployed on greater feast days, alternatively, other combinations of plainsong and polyphony proliferated on less important days. *Alternatim* sections could have been sung: in pricksong (composed polyphony) and chant; in faburden or descant (i.e., extemporised polyphony) and chant; improvised

⁵⁰⁷ For greater detail see Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish', Table 4: Liturgical Items set to Vocal Polyphony, 1500-1558, 209.

⁵⁰⁸ Harrison, *MMB*, 109-111.

⁵⁰⁹ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 260.

⁵¹⁰ The Magnificat settings contained both plainsong and polyphonic sections, which might have been sung in *alternatim* by the polyphonic choir placed *medio chori* around a great choirbook; the rest of the singing body sang from chant books such as graduals and smaller antiphoners in the stalls. Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 120.

organ polyphony and chant; composed organ music and chant; or combinations of the above. There remains little evidence to confirm when exactly a particular setting or combination thereof was performed.

Other works containing plainsong sections alternating with polyphonic ones occurred during Masses, for example, the Lady Mass cycle composed by Nicholas Ludford *c.* 1530 mentioned above in Supplement One.⁵¹¹ The Marian votive antiphon attained a special place in the polyphonic repertory, especially after 1460 when settings came to include unbroken boys' voices. The frequent use of three-part textures for mens' voices (alto, two tenors)⁵¹² came to be enhanced by boys' voices, creating a balanced five-part texture (treble, alto, two tenors, bass);⁵¹³ this extravagant style, exemplified abundantly in the *Eton Choirbook*, became favoured in performances of the ordinary of High Mass and Lady mass, the Marian antiphon, and the Magnificat at festal Vespers.

⁵¹¹ Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 120. See above, Supplement One, Table S.1, 386.

⁵¹² For example, during the Ordinary of Lady Mass and the stanzaic texts for its sequence (sung between the Epistle and Gospel), for the evening Marian antiphon, and for celebratory motets sung at the conclusion of high Mass. Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 260.

⁵¹³ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', 5076-77; *idem*, 'To Chorus From Quartet', 33.

Appendix III. Daily services at New College, Oxford,⁵¹⁴ and King's College, Cambridge.⁵¹⁵

Table 1. A suggested order of daily services at New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge: Sundays, greater (principal and double) feast days, feasts of nine lessons, and other specified solemnities.

New College, Oxford		King's College, Cambridge	
Service	Where celebrated/ with or without music	Service	Where celebrated/ with or without music
Matins	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Matins	Quire (' <i>in choro ecclesiae</i> ')/ ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
Lauds	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Lauds	Quire (<i>in choro ecclesiae</i>)/ ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
Prime	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Prime	Quire (<i>in choro ecclesiae</i>)/ ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
		Matins of the BVM	Quire (<i>in choro ecclesiae</i>)/ ' <i>sine nota</i> '
Lady Mass with special intercessory prayers	High altar/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Lady Mass with special intercessory prayers	High altar/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
Requiem Mass with collects	High altar/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Requiem Mass with special collects	High altar/ <i>cum nota</i>
(Terce)	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	(Terce)	Quire (<i>in choro ecclesiae</i>)/ ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
Procession	No designation, incorporated cloister and chapel/ <i>cum cantu et nota</i>	Procession	No designation/ <i>cum cantu et nota</i>
Principal Mass of the Day	High altar/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Principal Mass of the Day	No designation, most likely high altar/no designation; most likely <i>cum cantu et nota</i>
(Sext)	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	(Sext)	Quire (<i>in choro ecclesiae</i>)/ ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
(None)	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	(None)	Quire; quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
Fourth Mass (for John de Scures and Thomas de Foxle with special	No designation; high altar or antechapel altar/ no designation; <i>cum cantu et nota</i> or <i>sine nota</i>	Fourth Mass with prayer	No designation, high altar or possibly at an antechapel altar /no designation; <i>cum cantu et nota</i> or <i>sine nota</i>

⁵¹⁴ Based on the William of Wykeham's Statutes of New College (1400).

⁵¹⁵ Based on Henry VI's Statutes of King's College (1453).

collects)			
Fifth Mass (for Ralph de Sutton with special collects)	No designation; high altar or antechapel altar/ no designation; <i>cum cantu et nota</i> or <i>sine nota</i>	Fifth Mass (Chapter Mass) with prayer. Against the plague in times of plague, ' <i>sine nota</i> '	In chapter (<i>in capitulo</i>) at high altar or possibly in the antechapel / ' <i>sine nota</i> '
Sixth Mass with special collects	No designation; high altar or antechapel altar/ no designation; <i>cum cantu et nota</i> or <i>sine nota</i>	Sixth Mass (of the Annunciation of the BVM) prayer	No designation, high altar or possibly at the altar and image of the BVM in the antechapel ⁵¹⁶ no designation; <i>cum cantu et nota</i> or <i>sine nota</i>
Seventh Mass with special collects	No designation; high altar or antechapel altar/ no designation; <i>cum cantu et nota</i> or <i>sine nota</i>	Seventh Mass (<i>ad libitum</i> for arbitrary intentions) with prayer	No designation, high altar or antechapel altar/ no designation; <i>cum cantu et nota</i> or <i>sine nota</i>
		Vespers/Compline of the BVM	No designation; quire/ ' <i>sine nota</i> '
Vespers (<i>primis</i> or <i>secundis</i>)	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Vespers (<i>primis</i> , <i>secundis</i>)	Quire (<i>in choro ecclesiae</i>)/ ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
Compline (<i>primis</i> , <i>secundis</i>)	Quire/' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Compline (<i>primis</i> , <i>secundis</i>)	Quire (<i>in choro ecclesiae</i>)/ ' <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '
Marian Antiphon	No designation; antechapel ⁵¹⁷ / <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '	Antiphon of the BVM with collects	Before an image of the BVM, at the altar of the BVM in the antechapel/ ⁵¹⁸ <i>cum cantu et nota</i> '

⁵¹⁶ See above, Supplement Two, Image 16, 475.

⁵¹⁷ New College, like Eton College, was dedicated to the BVM; the singing of the Salve at New College took place in the nave (antechapel) at least by 1509. 'Et so[lutum] Joanni Cornenysch et filio eiusdem laborantibus pro xliiij dies circa reparationem librorum jacent[orum] in choro et... emendatione tabule deservient' Antiphon' ca'ta' in navi ecclesie in toto xlix s'. NCA, 7726. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1509/10. See above, Supplement Two, Image 6, 444.

⁵¹⁸ See above, Supplement Two, Image 16, 475.

Table 2. Principal and major double feasts/minor double and simple feasts at New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge, according to the college statutes.

Greater feast days (principal and major double feasts) at New College	Greater feast days (principal and major double feasts) at King's College
Nativity of Our Lord, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, the five Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, All Saints Day, dedication day of the college chapel, the nativity of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul.	Nativity of Our Lord, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, <i>Reliquiarum</i> (Feast of Relics), the five Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, dedication day of the college chapel, Feast of the Translation of St. Edward King and Confessor, Feast of St. Nicholas.
Lesser feasts (minor doubles and simple feasts) at New College	Lesser feasts (minor doubles and simple feasts) at King's College
St. Stephen, St. John the Apostle, the Holy Innocents, St. Thomas the Martyr, the second, third and fourth <i>feria</i> of the weeks of Easter and Pentecost, the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Andrew and St. Thomas the Apostle, Saints Matthew, Mark, Philip and James, St. James the Apostle, Saints Bartholomew, Matthew, Michael, Luke, Simon and Jude, Catharine, Mary Magdalene, Martin, Nicholas, and the Translation of St. Swithin.	St. Stephen, St. John the Apostle, the Holy Innocents, St. Thomas the Martyr, the second, third and fourth <i>feria</i> of the weeks of Easter and Pentecost, Saint John the Baptist, the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Saints Andrew and Thomas the Apostles, and Saints Matthew, Gregory, Mark the Apostle, Philip and James, James the Apostle, Anne, Lawrence, Bartholomew, Matthew, Michael, Luke, Simon and Jude, Catharine, and Mary Magdalene.

Table 3. Intercessory Prayers at Daily Lady Mass at New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge.

	Statutes of New College (1400)	Statutes of King's College (1453)
Prayer	- To the Virgin Mary with:	- To the Virgin Mary with:
	- <i>Rege, quaesumus</i> for founder	- Prayer for founder's family followed by:
	- <i>Omnipotens Deus</i> for king	- <i>Omnipotens Deus</i> for king
	- for the Church or peace	- for the universal church
	- <i>Fidelium Deus</i> for founder's parents, all faithful departed	- for peace
		For the souls of Henry V and Catherine his consort:
		- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>
	After death of founder (1404)	
Prayer	- to the Virgin	-
	- for the bishop of Winchester	
	- for king or Church	
	- <i>Deus, qui inter Apostolicos</i> for founder	
	- for all faithful departed	

Table 4. Special Collects at Daily Requiem Mass (second Mass) at New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge.

	Statutes of New College (1400)	Statutes of King's College (1453)
Intention	For Edward III and Queen Philippa; Edward, Prince of Wales; Richard II and Queen Anne; Wykeham, founder; John and Sybil, founder's parents; Ralph de Sutton; John de Scures; Thomas de Foxle; all faithful departed and benefactors.	For the soul of Henry VI and his parents, all the benefactors
Prayers	- <i>Deus, qui inter Apostolicos</i>	- <i>Deus, cui proprium est</i>
	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>
	- <i>Fidelium Deus</i>	- <i>Fidelium Deus</i>

Table 5. Morning, day, and evening prayers⁵¹⁹ at New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge.

	Statutes of New College (1400)⁵²⁰	Statutes of King's College (1453)⁵²¹
Prayers	Invocations in honour of the Holy Trinity ⁵²²	Invocations in honour of the Holy Trinity
	- Antiphon of the Trinity, <i>Libera nos</i>	- Antiphon of the Trinity, <i>Libera nos</i>
	- with its versicle <i>Benedicamus Patrem et Filium</i>	- with its versicle <i>Benedicamus Patrem et Filium</i>
	- Customary oration of the Trinity <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus</i> ⁵²³	- Customary oration of the Trinity <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus</i> ⁵²⁴
	- <i>Rege, quaesumus, Domine, Willielmum Pontificem Fundatorem nostrum</i> ⁵²⁵	- Psalm <i>De profundis</i> with Kyrie, <i>Pater noster et Ave Maria</i> for souls of the founder and his parents with the versicle:
	- <i>Deus, qui inter Apostolicos</i> after founder's death	- <i>Absolve quaesumus Domine animam famuli...regis Henrici Sexti</i> ⁵²⁶
	- <i>Rege, quaesumus Domine</i>	
Said by	Warden, fellows, and scholars	Provost, fellows, scholars, choristers
When	Daily: morning upon rising (' <i>cum de lecto surrexerint</i> ') or at hours during the day or night ⁵²⁷	Daily: morning upon rising (' <i>mane cum de lectis</i> ')
Where	No designation; in quarters or other places, day or night	No designation; in quarters
Prayers	For Benefactors: King Edward III, his consort Philippa, his son, his parents; for the soul of Wykeham and his parents after his death; the	Hours of the BVM (abridged)

⁵¹⁹ For English translations of most major prayers and collects see: Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 83-93; Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', Appendix 2, Trans. of selected collects, 230-31.

⁵²⁰ Rub. 41, 'De precibus, orationibus, horis et aliis suffragiis, per dicti collegii socios et Scholares dicendis', in Statutes of New College (1400), 67-69.

⁵²¹ Stat. XLI, 'De precibus, et orationibus, et horis, et aliis suffragiis per dicti Regalis Collegii, praepositum, socios et scholares dicendis', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 107-9.

⁵²² The three invocations to the Trinity were also said at Winchester College. Kirby, T. F., *Annals of Winchester College* (London, 1892), 500.

⁵²³ Combining the antiphon (*Libera nos*), versicle (*Benedicamus* or *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*), and collect (*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*) was traditionally included in books of hours as a composite suffrage after Lauds, for use throughout the year. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 84.

⁵²⁴ At Eton and King's this also served as a collect at Lauds of the BVM. Stat. XLII in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 107, 552. The collect at Mass: *In Commemoratione Sancte Trinitatis* (*Breviarium*, 2, col. 50). See also Dewick, E. S. (ed.) *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English MSS. of the Eleventh Century* (HBS, 21, London, 1902), col. 20: collect at Lauds of BVM; Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 83-82.

⁵²⁵ The prayer was taken from the Mass *Pro episcopo* in the Sarum Missal. Legg, J.W., *The Sarum Missal: edited from three early sources* (Oxford, 1916), 396.

⁵²⁶ *Quesumus omnipotens Deus*, the royal equivalent of *Rege quesumus*, taken from the Mass *Pro rege* in the Sarum Missal (at King's and Eton the founder was a king not a bishop as at New College). Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 397. The prayer evolved into *Absolve quaesumus* [*Commendatio animarum*]. Collins, A. J., *Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (HBS, London, 1960), 121; Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 85.

⁵²⁷ 'aut aliis horis diei vel noctis...'. Rub. 41, 67 in Statutes of New College (1400).

	soul of King Richard II and his consort Anne, and souls of the faithful departed	
	- Psalm <i>De profundis clamavi</i>	
	- oratione <i>Dominica, cum salutatione angelica</i>	
	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>	
	- <i>Fidelium Deus</i>	
	- <i>Deus, qui inter Apostolicos</i> after death of founder	
Said by	Warden, fellows, and scholars	Fellows, scholars
When	Daily, at time of choice	Daily, at time of choice, Vespers, and Matins suggested (most likely while choristers said the full version in chapel); dinner followed said Vespers of the BVM in the evening. At Vespers and Matins of the Feast of Saint Nicholas (while choristers recited the full Hours of the BVM) with the following:
		- the antiphon, <i>O per Omnia laudabilem</i> with:
		- the versicle, <i>Ora pro nobis Bte. Nicholae</i> with:
		- the prayer, <i>Deus qui Beatum Nicholaum pontificem</i>
Where	No designation; privately	No designation; privately
Prayers	For the founder and souls of all the faithful departed	For founder after death:
	- Psalm <i>De profundis</i>	- Psalm <i>De profundis</i>
	- oratione <i>Dominica, cum salutatione angelica</i>	- <i>Kyrie eleeson</i>
	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>	- <i>Pater noster</i>
	- <i>Absolve quaesumus</i>	- <i>Ave Maria</i> with its versicle
		- <i>Absolve, quaesumus Domine animam famuli...Henrici Sexti</i>
	After the death of founder:	
	- <i>Deus, inter Apostolicos</i> ⁵²⁸	
	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>	
	- <i>Absolve quaesumus</i>	
	- ending with 'Anima Fundatoris nostri Willielmi...r.i.p' said by ruler of the choir before the congregation	
Said by	Chapel ministers (chaplains, clerks) in unison with those present (' <i>in communi</i> ')	Whole college: provost, fellows, scholars (chaplains, clerks, choristers)
When	Daily after the principal Mass, None (' <i>horam diei nonam</i> '), and Compline before leaving the quire	Daily after the principal Mass, None, and after Compline, while standing before the stalls in the quire
Where	In quire	In quire
Prayers	All the above	Sung antiphon of BVM for Henry V and his consort Catherine ⁵²⁹ with:

⁵²⁸ The collect for bishops from the Mass of the Dead. Collins, *Manuale Sarisburiensis*, 45.

⁵²⁹ Stat. XVIII in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 72-3.

		- Psalm <i>De profundis</i> with:
		- Absolve, quaesumus, Domine...Henrici Quinti et etiam famulae tuae Katherinae
		- Absolve, quaesumus Domine...Henrici Sexti...
Said by	No designation; by all with designated member leading?	Sung/said by all (i.e., provost, fellows, scholars) and (after the year 1500) chaplains, clerks, choristers ⁵³⁰
When	After grace at lunch, supper	After the grace at lunch, supper
Where	In hall	In hall
Prayers	In honour of the BVM, fifty Hail Marys	
Said by	Warden and all fellows	
When	at a Mass, daily, if possible; if not at a chosen time of the day	
Where	Chapel or place to be convened	
Prayers	Invocations in honour of the Holy Trinity	Abridged form of Compline:
	See above	- Hymn Salvator with its
		- versicle, <i>Custodi nos</i>
		- Psalm <i>Nunc dimittiis</i> with its
		- antiphon, <i>Salva nos</i>
		- Psalm <i>De profundis</i> with its versicle
		- Absolve quaesumus Domine...Anima regis Henrici Sexti
Said by	Warden, fellows, and scholars	Provost, fellows, scholars
When	Before bed (' <i>de sero antequam lectum</i> ')	Before bed (' <i>antequam lectos</i> ')
Where	By bed	By bed, privately

⁵³⁰ With slight variations ten chaplains, *informator choristarum*, and sixteen choristers received commons weekly. Although not mentioned under the recitation of lunch and dinner prayers in the statutes of 1453 (choristers needed to serve fellows and scholars), they achieved an elevated status in the 1480s, when the choristers began dining with members of college at their own table. They were fed quite well and at times, extravagantly. KCA, KCAR 4/1/1/9. Under 'Expense necessarie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1499/50; Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 263.

Table 6. Commemorative services at New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge.

	Statutes of New College (1400)⁵³¹	Statutes of King's College (1453)⁵³²
Service	<i>Exequias mortuorum</i> (Office of the Dead) and Requiem Mass the following day 'in crastino Commendationem eorundem animarum, missa de requiem' for king, queen, and the Prince of Wales, the founder, his parents and benefactors of the college, and all the faithful departed with prayer and collects:	<i>Exequias mortuorum</i> (Office of the Dead) and Requiem Mass the following day for souls of founder, his parents, and all benefactors with prayer:
	- <i>Deus qui inter Apostolicos</i>	- <i>Deus cui proprium</i>
	- <i>Deus qui soli competit</i>	- <i>Deus cui soli competit</i> for the founder's parents with the prayers:
	- <i>Miserere, quaesumus</i>	- <i>Miserere quaesumus, Domine</i> for the souls of all benefactors
	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>	- <i>Inclina, [Domine]</i>
	- <i>Fidelium Deus</i>	- <i>Fidelium [Deus]</i>
When	Four times a year at end of each quarter	Four times a year at end of each quarter
Officiated by	Warden or senior fellow	Provost (or vice-provost or priest-fellow if absent)
Attended by	Officers, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, (<i>informator choristarum</i> , choristers) ⁵³³	Provost, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, choristers ⁵³⁴
Sung or said	No designation, however, in light of the presence of chaplains and clerks, sung	No designation, however, in light of the presence of chaplains, clerks, choristers, and <i>informator</i> , sung
Service	Obit for the founder	Obit for the founder. Office of the Dead, 'in crastino commendationes animarum, Missa de Requiem' for the souls of the founder with prayers and collects:
		<i>Deus cui proprium est</i> said with name of founder
		- <i>Deus cui soli competit</i> for the founder's parents with the prayers:
		- <i>Miserere quaesumus, Domine</i> for the souls of all benefactors

⁵³¹ Rub. 43, 'De exequiis et distributionibus faciendis in iisdem', in Statutes of New College (1400), 72-76.

⁵³² Stat. XLII in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 116-18.

⁵³³ The presence of choristers is not mentioned in the statutes or listed among the warden, seventy fellows and scholars, three clerks, and ten chaplains paid for assisting/attending the services under 'Solutio obituum domini fundatoris' of the New College account rolls (for example, NCA, 7489. 1534/35). It can be assumed, especially if parts of the Requiem Mass were polyphonic, that the choristers and *informator* were also present. They are mentioned in the Statutes of King's College for the king's obit and all other commemorative services for benefactors; payments for their services are recorded throughout the *Mundum Books* and *Bursars' Particular Books*.

⁵³⁴ The chaplains, clerks, and choristers were accorded penalty payments for not attending.

		- <i>Inclina</i> , [<i>Domine</i>]
		- <i>Fidelium</i> [<i>Deus</i>]
When	27 September, his anniversary	21 May, anniversary of the death of founder (' <i>in die obitus nostri</i> ')
Officiated by	Warden or senior fellow	Provost (or vice-provost or priest-fellow if absent)
Attended by	Officers, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, (<i>informator choristarum</i> , sixteen choristers)	Provost, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, choristers
Sung or said	No designation	No designation
Service	Obit (Requiem Mass) for John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln with prayer <i>Rege, quaesumus</i>	Obit for Henry V, the founder's father
When	10 March, his anniversary	31 August
Officiated by	Warden or senior fellow	Provost (or pice-provost or priest-fellow if absent)
Attended by	Officers, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, (<i>informator choristarum</i> , choristers)	Provost, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, choristers
Sung or said	No designation	No designation
Service	General obit for the bishop of Lincoln	Obit for Catharine, consort of Henry V, the founder's mother
When	Five days within John Buckingham's obit	3 January
Officiated by	Chaplains	Provost (or pice-provost or priest-fellow if absent)
Attended by	No designation	Provost, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, choristers
Sung or said	No designation	No designation
Service		Obit for Margaret of Anjou, the Queen
When		4 August
Officiated by		Provost (or vice-provost or priest-fellow if absent)
Attended by		Provost, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, choristers
Sung or said		No designation
Service		Office of the Dead, ' <i>in crastino commendationes animarum, Missa de Requiem</i> ' for souls of all benefactors
When		Within twelve days of Christmas
Officiated by		Provost (or vice-provost or priest-fellow if absent)
Attended by		Provost (or vice-provost or priest-fellow if absent)
Sung or said		No designation
Additional Service (non-statutory)	Missa Regia ⁵³⁵	
When	No designation	
Officiated by	Warden or senior fellow	

⁵³⁵ Celebrated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as indicated in the accounts (for example, NCA, 7490. Under 'Solutio pro missa Regia' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1535/36).

Attended by	Officers, fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks, <i>informator choristarum</i> , (choristers) ⁵³⁶	
Sung or said	Most likely sung due to the presence/payment of the <i>informator choristarum</i>	

⁵³⁶ Throughout the 1530s and 40s payments are made to the warden, varying numbers of fellows and scholars (fifty to seventy), three clerks, varying numbers of chaplains (eight to ten), and *informator choristarum* for the *Missa Regia*. The presence of the *informator* suggests that at least some choristers were present. The absence of any remuneration suggests that this was an unpaid duty.

Appendix IV. Daily prayers and other expected requirements and statutory commemorative services at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Table 1. Morning, day, and evening prayers at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, according to Bishop Richard Fox's statute⁵³⁷ and St. John's College, Cambridge, according to Bishop John Fisher's statute and that of Henry VIII.⁵³⁸

	Bishop Richard Fox's statute (1517)	Bishop John Fisher's statute (1530)
Prayers	Morning/evening prayers: Invocations in honour of the Holy Trinity	Morning prayers
	- Antiphon of the Trinity, <i>Libera nos</i>	- <i>Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens</i>
	- with its versicle <i>Benedicamus Patrem et Filium</i>	
	- Customary oration of the Trinity <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus</i> ⁵³⁹	
Said by	By all, including: president, fellows, scholars, <i>discipuli</i> , precentor, sacristan (acolytes, choristers by inference)	Master, fellows, and <i>discipuli</i> (scholars)
When	Morning upon rising and evening before bed (' <i>mane cum de cubili surrexerint, et iterum sero antequam lectum</i> ') or other hours of the day or night (in the event of forgetting them at the above times)	Each day, in the morning before leaving their rooms ⁵⁴⁰
Where	Privately next to bed	Privately in room, kneeling
Prayers		Evening prayer
		- <i>O Rex Glorioso, qui inter sanctos Tuos semper es laudabilis....</i>
Said by		Master, fellows, and scholars
When		Each day, in the evening before bed, kneeling ⁵⁴¹
Where		Privately in room
Prayers	For benefactors: Fox and his parents Thomas and Helen, King Henry VII	For foundress, benefactors: Lady Margaret of Richmond and Derby, and her parents

⁵³⁷ Cap. 19, 'De precibus et aliis suffragiis a singulis privatim vel publice dicendis aut canendis', Statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1517), 44-45.

⁵³⁸ Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', Bishop Fisher's Statutes (1530) and Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', Henry VIII's Statutes (1545). Fisher's Statutes (1530) and the Statutes of Henry VIII (1545) are reprinted side by side in Mayor, *Early Statutes of the College of St. John's*, 88-95. Various alterations made by Henry VIII and the college under Master John Taylor are noted.

⁵³⁹ Fox followed the tradition of combining the antiphon (*Libera nos*), versicle (*Benedicamus* or *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*), and collect (*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*), which was commonly included in books of hours as a composite suffrage after Lauds, for use throughout the year. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 84.

⁵⁴⁰ '...singulo quoque die priusquam egressi fuerint cubicum procumbentes in genua dicant hanc oratiunculam'. Cap. XIX, 'De Cultu Dei', Bishop Fisher's Statutes (1530) and Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', Henry VIII's Statutes (1545). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 88-95.

⁵⁴¹ 'Sub noctem vero, priusquam lectum ingrediantur, flexis genibus seipsos cum toto collegio devote Deo commendent, dicentes hanc oratiunculam'. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 88.

	and his consort Elizabeth, Margaret Beaufort of Richmond, Hugh Oldham (Bishop of Exeter) his parents and his benefactors, for the souls of all the faithful departed	John of Somerset and his wife Margaret, Henry VII and his consort Elizabeth, Henry VIII and his consort Katherine and the princess Mary, Edmund of Richmond, James Stanley (bishop of Ely), Henry VI and Margaret [of Aquitaine] his consort, the benefactors of the hospitals of Ospringe, Higham and Bromhall, Cardinal Wolsey, and Bishop Nicholas West
	- Psalm <i>De profundis clamavi</i>	- Psalm <i>De profundis clamavi</i> with suffrages established by the church ⁵⁴²
	- oratione <i>Dominica, cum salutatione angelica</i>	
	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>	
	- <i>Fidelium Deus</i>	
	- <i>Deus, qui inter Apostolicos</i> after death of founder	- <i>Absolve quaesumus, Domine, animam famulae Tuae Margaretae fundatricis nostrae...</i>
Said by	By all members above	All fellows and scholars
When	Daily, at time of choice	Every day
Where	Privately or with another (<i>privatim aut cum alio</i>)	No designation
Prayers	For Sundays, feasts days	
	- Psalm <i>De profundis clamavi</i> with:	
	- Lord's prayer, salutation of the angels (<i>oratione Dominica, cum salutatione angelica</i>)	
	For Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, college benefactors:	
	- <i>Rege, quaesumus, Domine</i> and:	
	- <i>Inclina, Domine</i>	
	- <i>Absolve quaesumus</i>	
	After the founder's death:	
	- <i>Rege, quaesumus</i>	
	- <i>Deus, qui inter Apostolicos</i> ending with:	
	- versicle: 'For the souls of our Founder Richard and those of the faithful departed by God's mercy r.i.p'; ⁵⁴³ this versicle also to be repeated after grace at lunch, supper	
Said by	By all members above	
When	After divine service in the morning (i.e., Principal Mass of the day), after Compline	
Where	In ' <i>medio chori</i> ', standing (<i>'extra subsellia'</i>)	
Prayers		Fisher Foundation prayers for Fisher and

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 92.

⁵⁴³ 'Anima Fundatoris nostri Ricardi et animae omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant'. *Ibid.*, 88.

		benefactors
		- Psalm <i>De profundis clamavi</i> with suffrages
		- <i>Fidelium Deus</i>
Said by		The four fellows and two scholars of the foundation
When		Daily, and in the case of the fellows before they have become priests at the four (or more) weekly Masses
Where		Privately, or at the Requiem Masses

Table 2. Statutory commemorations (*exequiis*, Requiem Masses) at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, according to Bishop Richard Fox's Statutes (1517) and St. John's College, Cambridge, according to Bishop Fisher's Statutes (1530).

	Bishop Richard Fox's Statutes (1517)	Bishop John Fisher's Statutes (1530)
Service	<i>Exequias mortuorum</i> (Office of the Dead), commemorations and Requiem Mass (' <i>commendationem animarum et missam de requiem, more Sarensis ecclesiae</i> '). First <i>exequies</i> (prior to Christmas) for Henry VII his consort Elizabeth and Lady Margaret, Henry VIII his consort Catherine (after their deaths); second <i>exequies</i> (in Holy Week before Easter) for Richard Fox, his parents, and benefactors; third <i>exequies</i> (near the feast of St. John) for bishop of Exeter, his parents, and benefactors; ⁵⁴⁴ fourth <i>exequies</i> (c. Michaelmas in September) for souls of all benefactors of the college and the faithful departed.	<i>Defunctorum exequias</i> (Office of the Dead) and Requiem Mass the following day for the foundress, Lady Margaret
Celebrated by	President, vice-president, or a distinguished fellow at the discretion of the dean	No designation; master assisted by sacrist, fellow-priest
Attended by	President, fellows, scholars, students, ministers of the chapel	All members, including scholars, who are to be penalised if tardy or absent
When	Every quarter on a convenient day	Every quarter at a convenient time
Sung or said	Solemnly sung (' <i>solemniter cantent</i> ')	No designation; celebrated solemnly (' <i>solemniter celebraturi</i> ')
Service		<i>Exequies</i> on the anniversary of Bishop Fisher's death and Requiem Mass on morrow following ⁵⁴⁵
Celebrated by		Master, fellows, and scholars
Attended by		Master, fellows, and scholars
When		Yearly on the anniversary of Fisher's death
Sung or said		No designation

⁵⁴⁴ The first three *exequiis* and Requiem Masses were to be celebrated in the manner of anniversaries ('Et hae tres exequiae ad modum anniversariorum celebrabuntur') and the fourth in the manner of the commemoration of All Souls ('more commemorationis omnium animarum'). Cap. 19. 'De precibus et aliis suffragiis a singulis privatim vel publice dicendis aut canendis', Statutes of Corpus Christi College (1517), 46.

⁵⁴⁵ Cap. XVII, 'De Cultu Dei', Bishop Fisher's Statutes (1530). Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's*, 92.

Appendix V. Choristers remaining on the foundation of Corpus Christi College, 1528-1641.

Choristers identified from <i>Libri Magni</i>	<i>Discipuli</i>, Clerks, and Fellows identified from Emden,⁵⁴⁶ Foster,⁵⁴⁷ Fowler⁵⁴⁸ and Milne⁵⁴⁹
Garrett, John (chorister, 1529/30? (1530/31?) 1530/31)	John Garrett, from Lincolnshire; <i>discipulus</i> , 27 April 1532, aged 16 years, 2 months; <i>scholaris</i> , 14 February 1536; <i>socius</i> , 1538; vacated, 1544. A supporter of the reforming party who made representation to Archbishop Cranmer against those fellows who keep 'the youth of the College from the knowledge of God's Word', 1538. Possibly vicar of South Benfleet, Essex, admitted, 15 March 1561 till death, by December 1584. ⁵⁵⁰
Lynche, Gervase (chorister, 1531/32, 1532/33)	Gervase Lynche, born 7 July 1515, Kent; <i>discipulus</i> , 26 March, 1534; <i>socius</i> , 26 Sept 1537; vacated by 1539; member of the reforming party in college; ⁵⁵¹ B.A. admitted 15 February 1539; M.A., 3 August 1541; canon and prebendary of Oseney appointed 1542 until its dissolution in May, 1545; rector of Witton by Droitwich, Worcestershire, 1546; rector of Elmstone and Preston by Wingham, Kent, November 1550, vacated by June 1560; rector of Little Hinton, Wiltshire, admitted 1565, vacated by 1570. ⁵⁵²
Elys, Florentine (chorister, 1536/37)	Florentine Elys, from Oxfordshire; <i>discipulus</i> , admitted, 7 May 1538, aged 15 years, 2 months; vacated by 1542. ⁵⁵³
Batte, John (chorister, 1540/41, 1541/42)	John Batt(e), from Devonshire; <i>discipulus</i> admitted 12 May 1543; vacated, 1547; supplicated for B.A., July 1546. ⁵⁵⁴
Dolber, John (chorister, 1544/5, 1545/46)	John Dolber, from Devonshire; <i>discipulus</i> , 1546; <i>scholaris</i> , 1549; M.A., 4 July 1553; rector of Duntisbourne Rouse, Gloucestershire, 1559. ⁵⁵⁵
Gyll, Christopher (chorister, 1547/48,	Christopher Gill, from Somerset. Fellow, 1552(?); B.A., 21 February 1554; M.A., 30 June 1558. One of this name

⁵⁴⁶ Emden, A. B., *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974).

⁵⁴⁷ Foster, J., *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-171*, Vol. IV (Oxford, 1892). After this point noted: *AOXEN*.

⁵⁴⁸ Fowler, T., *The History of Corpus Christi College with lists of its members* (Oxford, 1893). After this point noted: *History of Corpus Christi*.

⁵⁴⁹ Milne, J.G., *Alphabetical List of Members of Corpus Christi College Oxford. From the Foundation to 1900* (Oxford, 1900). CCCA. 942.57 Mi.

⁵⁵⁰ Emden, *Biographical Register*, 228.

⁵⁵¹ Milne, *Alphabetical List*, 28-9.

⁵⁵² Emden, *Biographical Register*, 369.

⁵⁵³ 'Elys, Florentine' in Foster, *AOXEN*. Florentine 'Eyles' returned to the college to be entertained with President William Cole in 1580: 'Wine for Mr Florentine Eyles, Gregory Mathew our bailiff and others with the President, 12d'. CCCA, C/1/1/6, fol. 8v. Under 'Impensae Panarij' in *Liber Magnus*, 1580/81, *Termino primo*.

⁵⁵⁴ Emden, *Biographical Register*, 31.

⁵⁵⁵ 'Dobler, John', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

1548/49, 1549/50)	canon of Lichfield 1575, where he was also chancellor (1578) and treasurer (1581). ⁵⁵⁶
Roche, Walter (chorister, 1552/53)	Walter Roche, from Devonshire (according to Fowler or Lancashire, according to Foster); <i>scholaris</i> , 1558; B.A., 1 June 1559. ⁵⁵⁷
Fenn, James (chorister, 1554/55)	James Fenn, from Somerset, admitted, 31 July 1554; <i>scholaris</i> , 1558. Admitted to Corpus from New College, where he had been a chorister, according to Foster. ⁵⁵⁸
Chaff, Thomas (chorister, 1555)	Thomas Chaff, from Devonshire; <i>scholaris</i> (according to Fowler), 1557. Not listed by Foster. <i>Nota bene</i> : A Thomas Chaffe was appointed clerk 25 April 1560. ⁵⁵⁹
Man (Mann), William (chorister, 1564/65)	William Mann, chorister 1564. ⁵⁶⁰ According to Foster: chorister, Corpus Christi College, 1564; B.A., 15 November 1570. ⁵⁶¹
Whiting, Justinian (chorister, 1577/78)	Justinian Whiting, from Oxfordshire. According to Foster: <i>scholaris</i> , 1579; B.A., 29 May 1583; M.A., January 1587. ⁵⁶²
Featley, Daniel ⁵⁶³ (chorister, Magdalen College, 1590)	Daniel Featley, of Oxon. According to Foster: chorister of Magdalen Coll. 27 June 1590, aged 8; <i>discipulus</i> of Corpus Christi College, 1594; B.A., 13 February 1601-2; fellow, 1602; M.A., 17 April, 1605; B.D., 8 July 1613; D.D., 12 July 1617; of Lincoln's Inn, 1628; one of the assembly of divines; rector of Northill, Cornwall, 1613; rector of Lambeth, 1618; domestic chaplain to Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; one of the brethren of the Savoy Hospital; rector of All Hallows, Bread Street, 1626 and of Acton, Middlesex, 1627, until deprived in 1643; provost of Chelsea college. ⁵⁶⁴
Tylly (Tilley), Thomas (chorister, 1592)	Clerk/subsacrist, 1593. ⁵⁶⁵
White, Thomas (chorister, 1593) ⁵⁶⁶	Most likely the Thomas White listed under clerks by Fowler ⁵⁶⁷ and the <i>College Register</i> .
Gosteloe (Gorstelow), Thomas (chorister, c.1610)	Thomas Gorstelow, from Oxfordshire. According to Foster: matric. Corpus Christi College, 18 October 1616, aged 19; B.A., 30 October 1616; M.A., 28 May 1620;

⁵⁵⁶ 'Gyll, Christopher', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁵⁷ 'Roche, Walter', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁵⁸ 'Fenn, James', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁵⁹ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 426.

⁵⁶⁰ Milne, *Alphabetical List*, 35; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429.

⁵⁶¹ 'Mann, William', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁶² 'Whiting, Justinian', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁶³ Featly developed a keen interest in music and played the lute; in a letter of 1607 to Sir Walter Raleigh, Featly informs him that his son, a gentleman commoner, is diligently practicing the instrument.

⁵⁶⁴ 'Featly, Daniel', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁶⁵ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 427.

⁵⁶⁶ Milne, *Alphabetical List*, 58.

⁵⁶⁷ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 427.

	B.D., 26 July 1628; incorporated at Cambridge, 1634; vicar of Farnborough, Warwickshire, 1630. ⁵⁶⁸
White, Thomas , ⁵⁶⁹ (chorister, 1611/12 1612/13, 1614/15, 1616/17), ⁵⁷⁰ 1617/18, 1618/19 ⁵⁷¹	Listed in the <i>Libri Magni</i> as fellow 1622/23. ⁵⁷² White was chaplain and singer in 1623/24, ⁵⁷³ which may have continued 1624/25, 1625/26, 1626/27, 1627/28. According to Foster: Of Oxon, gent., Corpus Christi College; Matric. entry, 27 October 1615, aged 14; B.A., 12 December 1620; M.A., 25 June, 1623; proctor, 1633; perhaps created B.D., 1 or 2 November 1642; rector of Witney, Oxon, 1637. ⁵⁷⁴ 'Jan 14 Paid to Mr White ⁵⁷⁵ for a Latin prayer book and a Latin testament and for binding them together with the singing psalms, (i.e. metrical psalms), 4s 4d', 1631/32, <i>Termino primo</i> . ⁵⁷⁶
Holland (Holeand), Edward (chorister, 1612/13, ⁵⁷⁷ 1614/15) (<i>discipulus</i> ? 1615/16, 1616/17, 1617/18, 1618/19)	According to Foster: Of Berks, doctoris fil. Corpus Christi College. Matric., 27 October 1615, aged 15; B.A., 2 December 1619. ⁵⁷⁸
Vaughan, Richard ⁵⁷⁹ (chorister, 1619/20, ⁵⁸⁰ clerk, 1621/22)	According to Milne: chorister, 1619; clerk, 1621. ⁵⁸¹ According to Foster: may have been chorister aged c. 13-14. Of Surrey, cler. fil. Corpus Christi College. Matric., 9 November 1621, aged 15; B.A., 4 February 1623-4; M.A.,

⁵⁶⁸ 'Gorstelow, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁶⁹ There are three entries for Thomas White. Milne appears to identify another Thomas White. Milne, *Alphabetical List*, 58. 'White' is listed under 'Vestes' in *Liber Magnus*, 1611/12. White was c. eleven years old according to Foster; he therefore could have been admitted in a singing capacity. John Spenser was president. For greater detail see Vol. I, Chapter Five, 338.

⁵⁷⁰ A rise from x s to xlv s to White in the 'Vestes' payments may reflect the new appropriation for choristers' vestments initiated by Bishop James Montague together with President Anyan and Thomas Jackson.

⁵⁷¹ These dates are confirmed by the record of the choristers under the 'Vestes' and 'Pensiones' sections of the *Libri Magni* for the corresponding years.

⁵⁷² 'Magistro White, xxx s'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 148r. Under 'Stipendia' in *Liber Magnus*, 1622/23.

⁵⁷³ 'To Mr White for reading Evening prayer Ter 1, 3s 4d'. CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 163r. Under 'Impensae Feudorum' *Liber Magnus*, 1623/24, *Termino quarto*.

⁵⁷⁴ 'White, Thomas' in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁷⁵ This payment, along with the previous payment to White for reading Evening Prayer in 1623/24, appears to confirm that the chorister White remained at Corpus Christi, in part assuming duties as chaplain before earning his B.D. in 1642.

⁵⁷⁶ CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 75v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1631/32, *Termino primo*.

⁵⁷⁷ Listed under 'Vestes' in *Libri Magni*. Confirmed by Foster, Milne.

⁵⁷⁸ 'Holland, Edward', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁷⁹ Richard Vaughan (chorister, 1619/20) and Edmund Vaughan (chorister, 1620/21, 1621/22) provide the first examples of choristers that remained on the foundation after Bishop Montague's appropriation for choristers' vestments in 1616 and the installation of the Dallam organ in 1618. Both became clerks according to Milne (Richard Vaughan in 1619, age fifteen and Edmund Vaughan in 1622, age thirteen). In light of the new organ, it is likely that one or both acted as organist, either while chorister or as clerk.

⁵⁸⁰ Confirmed by the *Libri Magni* and Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429.

⁵⁸¹ Milne, *Alphabetical List*, 55.

	from Jesus College, 5 July 1626?; rector of Coddington, Cheshire, 1642. ⁵⁸²
Vaughan, Edmund (chorister, 1620/21, ⁵⁸³ 1621/22, clerk 1622/23)	According Milne: chorister, 1621; clerk, 1622; <i>discipulus</i> , 1627 (listed clerk between 1622-27, at the time <i>discipulus</i>); fellow, 1633. ⁵⁸⁴ According to Foster: was 12 when admitted chorister. Of Surrey, cler. fil. Corpus Christi College. Matric., entry 9 November 1621, aged 12; chorister, 1621; scholar, B.A., 14 October 1628; fellow, M.A., 27 January 1631-2; B.D., 6 February 1639-40; rector of Pitsford, Northants, 1640, ejected, 1644, restored 1660, until his death on the day of the Purification of the BVM. ⁵⁸⁵
Frith (ffrith, Fryth) Thomas (chorister, 1620/21 ⁵⁸⁶ 1621/22, 1622/23, 1623/24)	According to Foster: chorister, age 13. Of Oxon, cler. fil. Corpus Christi College. Matric., 9 November 1621, aged 14. ⁵⁸⁷ ('Fryth', 'ffrith') is listed only among the 'Vestes' through 1623/24 and not afterwards, therefore, he appears not to have proceeded on to <i>discipulus</i> .
Thomas Disney , (chorister, c. 1624)	According to Foster: Thomas Disney, Lincolnshire. <i>Discipulus</i> , 1627; <i>scholaris</i> , 1637. ⁵⁸⁸
Nicklis, Anthony (chorister, 1626/27 ⁵⁸⁹ 1627/28)	According to Foster: s. Ralph, of Oxford (city), pleb. Corpus Christi College. Matric., entry, 20 April 1627, aged 13; perhaps B.A. from Christ Church, 6 February 1634-5, as Owen. ⁵⁹⁰
Samon, Thomas (chorister, 1627/28)	Thomas Samon, Oxfordshire. According to Foster: son of Henry Samon of Oxford, gent., Brasenose College. Admitted Corpus Christi College, October 1626, aged 14; 1637; B.A., February 1631; fellow, 19 February 1631; M.A., 18 March, 1634; died, 25 January 1640 and buried in college chapel. ⁵⁹¹
Platt (William, presumably) (chorister, 1630/31, 1631/32, 1632/33, 1633/34) ⁵⁹²	According to Foster: of Shillingford, Herts, pleb; matriculated to Corpus Christi College, 28 August 1634, aged 19; clerk Magdalen College, 1636-41; B.A., 28 May, 1636; M.A., 2 May 1639. See Bloxam, <i>Magdalen Register</i> , vol. II. 63. ⁵⁹³

⁵⁸² 'Vaughan, Richard', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁸³ Confirmed by the *Libri Magni* and Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429.

⁵⁸⁴ Milne, *Alphabetical List*, 55.

⁵⁸⁵ 'Vaughan, Edmund', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁸⁶ Confirmed by the *Libri Magni* and Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 429.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Frith, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁸⁸ 'Disney, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁸⁹ Confirmed by the *Libri Magni*.

⁵⁹⁰ 'Nicklis, Anthony', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁹¹ 'Samon, Thomas', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁵⁹² The *Libri Magni* list pairs of choristers each year (names that appear under 'Vestes' and not under 'Stipendia'). CCCA, C/1/1/9. Under 'Vestes', 'Stipendia' in *Libri Magni*, 1630/31-1633/34. In 1630/31, 'Nicolis' and 'Platt', fol. 65r; in 1631/2, 'Plat' and 'Boden', fol. 75v; in 1632/3, 'Plat' and 'Bodin', fol. 86r; in 1633/4, 'Platt' and 'Jackson', fol. 98r.

⁵⁹³ 'Platt, William', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

Fisher, (presumably John) (chorister, 1638/39, 1639/40, 1640/41)	According to Foster: of Queen's; matriculated 20 October 1637, aged 15 to Queen's College; B.A. from Corpus Christi College, 22 May 1641 and perhaps created M.A., 1 November 1642. If he were a 'chorister' at Corpus Christi for the years in which 'Fisher' is recorded under 'Vestes' he would have been aged 16-18, too old to sing as treble. It is also unlikely that he could proceed to a B.A. directly after three years as (presumably) exhibitor. ⁵⁹⁴
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⁵⁹⁴ 'Fisher, John', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

Appendix VI. Chapel inventories of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1513-1564 (1513, 1517, 1545, 1553/54, 1556, 1562, 1563, and 1564).

A series of early inventories provide us an account of the quantity and quality of chapel ceremonial regalia owned by St. John's after its foundation in 1511. They are recorded in the so-called 'Thin Red Book'.

Inventory 1) 'Jocalia recepta ad magistro henrico horneby uno excentor' excellentissime principisse margarete rychmondie p Darbey ac' fundatricie... prima die novembrie anno regni regis henrici octavi quarto [1 November 1513]'.⁵⁹⁵ Lists plate and jewels. All items on the list are crossed out, indicating the intention for removal after the reign of Edward VI.

Inventory 2) 'certain plate and other Juels belonging to the Colege of Saynte Johns in Cambrige [*sic*] and deliverde to the custody and charge of master Alan Percy⁵⁹⁶ master of the saide Colege...the xxvijth day of July the viij^{bus} yer of Kyng henry the viijth [27 July 1516], under which reads: the 'Plate and Juels of the gift of the noble Princesse margarete late Countesse of Richmond and Darby and ffundatrice of the said Colege'.⁵⁹⁷ A large list of vestments and copes of the revestry.

Inventory 3) 'Plate belongynge to the saide Colege whych was laide in pleyge to Doctor Robynson and now redemyd...'.⁵⁹⁸

Inventory 4) 'Vestimenta & alia ornamenta Recept'...per....episcopo Reffensis. Domino Regs henrico octavi tertio [1511], p^{io} die Julij'.⁵⁹⁹ List of copes.

Inventory 5) 'Sequent' Apparat' Sacerdotales Recept'...' and 'It Recept' ornamenta pro altaribus'.⁶⁰⁰ Lists various albs and paraphernalia for deacon and subdeacon; over twenty altar cloths.

⁵⁹⁵ SJCA, C7/11. 'Thin Red Book', fols. 1r, v.

⁵⁹⁶ The Roman Catholic, Alan Percy, was second master, 1516-18. A noted composer, he would have taken interest in the formation of a choir at St. John's. Unfortunately, none existed at the time.

⁵⁹⁷ SJCA, C7/11. 'Thin Red Book', fols 6r, v.

⁵⁹⁸ SJCA, C7/11. 'Thin Red Book', fol. 7r

⁵⁹⁹ SJCA, C7/11. 'Thin Red Book', fols. 42r, v.

Inventory 6) 'Certain ornaments belongynge to the chapel of Saynte Johns in cambridge of the olde founders' (undated).⁶⁰¹ Lists vestments and copes, some for the deacon and subdeacon, as well as altar clothes, other cloths 'a old myghter of Sanyt Nicholas', and 'an table of Saynte Johne lyedd of Alabaster'.

Inventory 7) 'Ffyrst the Reverend ffather in God John Bysshope of Rochester hathe geevyn to thys college of Sanct john the evangeliste in Cambrege for ye ffoundacyon of iiij ffellowys and ij dyscipylls for end in the sayd College and for the mortemaign of Ospryng to ye Sayd College' (6li written to left).⁶⁰² Chalices, 'pix of Sylver & gylte', 'a standyng Cuppe gylt', 'ij Grett Saltts'. Notably: 'Item iij Rector stavys...cappyd wythe Sylver', which refers to the *rectors chori*, or choir rulers. Continues with vestments, copes, and 'panelys for the hye alter'. 'Money payd for thes by ye sayd Reverende ffather in god, Cxxviiij li, x s'.

Further inventories are found in **SJCA C7/2**:

Inventory 8) 'The inventorie off the Revestrie within the College of Saynte Johns the evangeliste' (early sixteenth century with a later addition in 1547. Undated).⁶⁰³

A vast list of items bought by the college, including vestments, copes canopies, tunicles, and chesables. Some are listed as gifts of the founders. At the end written in later in another hand: 'It an vestment with al ye belong with to ye decon & subdecon of Red Silke...wrought with Swans of gold, & flowers greneyellow, & blew White, the crosse in the middle embroiderd with venes gold & Imagerie Worke of doctor Dais gift bishop of Che[?]ster. 1 Maij. Anno 1547'.

Inventory 9) 'The gifts of all the benyfactors to the College of saynt Johns in the universitie of Cambrige [sic].'⁶⁰⁴ Undated, most likely the 1520s. Gifts of the benefactors are listed and include: many jewels and ornaments given by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; the four hundred pounds for four foundation fellowships

⁶⁰⁰ SJCA, C7/11. 'Thin Red Book', fols. 43r-43v.

⁶⁰¹ SJCA, C7/11. 'Thin Red Book', fols. 44r-45v.

⁶⁰² SJCA, C7/11. 'Thin Red Book', fols. 65r, 66r.

⁶⁰³ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 10r-38v.

⁶⁰⁴ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 43r-44v.

established by Ashton; and other large endowments by James Bereforde and Dame Anne Brokerby, as well as gifts of 'Katherin the most gracious Quene of Englande' and Doctor Metcalfe Archdeacon of Rochester and Master of this Coll[ege], who gave xxiiij li in 'redy money'. The largest endowment was made by Robert Lupton, provost of Eton College, who had garnered immense wealth through a lifetime of royal service and ecclesiastical pluralism.⁶⁰⁵ In total he sponsored two fellowships and eight scholarships. 'Merchants of London' are listed as benefactors, giving x li 'towards the byeing of the newest Organynes', which is a reference to the organ of 1528.⁶⁰⁶

Inventory 10) The most extensive list of vestments, copes, albs, alter cloths and hangings, liturgical books, gold and silver, and various wooden items is found in three inventories made following the evangelical re-structuring of the college and re-assessment of college goods after 1545.

a) 'A true Inventorie of all Juells, goods ornaments' made in 'a° Dm. Regis henrici octavi xxxvj et xv Die Januarij (15 Jan 1545)'.⁶⁰⁷

The list includes ten chalices, two candlesticks, cruetts, two paxes, a crosse, and a 'book of the gospells'.

b) 'The Inventorye of the books pertening to the Colledge taken die et anno Supradicti. Written in another hand, later presumably: 'in that all thes boks followyng were sold a° D. 1599'.⁶⁰⁸ A vast inventory of liturgical books and wooden objects and an adjoining inventory of textiles, including vestments and chapel furnishings. It appears written in the same hand (at the same time?) as the previous 1545 inventory.

Fols. 102r - 103r

One 'great antiphoner', fourteen additional antiphoners, one antiphoner 'for the Organs'

Two 'great grale's, fifteen additional 'grales'

Four psalters

Two 'mareologies'

⁶⁰⁵ Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', 16.

⁶⁰⁶ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 44v.

⁶⁰⁷ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 101r, 101v.

⁶⁰⁸ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 102r-103v.

One 'great legende', 'an olde legend'
 One 'goodlie & great englissh bible
 One 'ordinaria'
 Two 'manuells'
 'It' a masse booke for the hye aulter'
 'It' a masse booke for Doctor fisshers chapell'
 'It' a masse booke for Doctor thomsons chapell'
 'It' a masse booke for Doctor Ketons chapell...'
 'It' a masse booke for Mr Asshtons chapell...'
 'It' a masse booke for the south aulter in the bodie of the chapell'
 'It' a masse booke for the north aulter in the bodie of the chapell'
 Thirteen 'pressionalls'

'Imprimis iiij Rectors stavs with viij capps of silver whereof iiij are gilded with arms of our foundres...'

'It' iiij laken candelsticks standers wherof ij be great & ij be lesse'
 'It' iiij litle candel sticks whereof ij be bigger & ij lesse'

Fol. 103v

'xvij Candelsticks', 'ij crosses', 'ij basens', 'ij payer of sensors', 'ij great paxes',
 'a great redde cheste covered with black lether', 'a chest of waynscote', 'another great & olde chest of waynscot', 'a great olde chest of ok', 'another chest of Ok', 'a great chest of waynscote', 'a litle chest for tapers', 'a great almyry for cops'.

Also listed among these wooden items is 'a sepulchre of timber' and 'a standerd of wood about the same'. In the adjoining 1551/1552 inventory: 'It' a clothe for the sepulcre of red bawdekin with flowers with silk frenes of diverse color'.

Notable is the mention of a canopy and textiles for it: 'It' iiij stavs for the canopie whereof one is now brok'.⁶⁰⁹ This entry can be coupled with items in the adjoining inventory of items 'sold and delyvered a.D. 1551 et a.D 1552', which contains textiles: 'It' a Canapie of grene buckeram painted with a frenge of red';⁶¹⁰ 'It' ye canapie that

⁶⁰⁹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 103v.

⁶¹⁰ A canopy with fringe is also recorded in the chapel account at Corpus Christi in 1553/54. These were most likely used during processions.

hunge over ye pix with iij peces of gold'; 'It' a pece of clothe a gold which hung about ye pix'.⁶¹¹

Of note are references to the 'Rectors' (*rectores chori*, or choir rulers):

'one short forme for the Rectors of the quere'; 'ij old chayers of yron for the Rectors'; 'ij great new yron chayers'; 'iij standinge heigth lectors for the Rectors'; 'ij lectrens for the rectors'.

These are followed by:

'a lectren for the hye aulter, Another for doctor fisshers aulter, another for d Keyton'.

And lastly:

'It' a payer of Organes'

and 'It' a new covering to lye before the high aulter'.

c) 'The Invetorye of the vestments & copes pertenninge to ye said colledge Die et Anno (Supradicti)' to which is added in another hand in darker ink: 'and that all thes boks followyng were sold and delyvered a.D. 1551 et a.D 1552'.⁶¹² An enormous collection of chesables (ten) and other vestments (*c.* twenty-eight), copes (over 100) and other cloths, tunicles, albs, canopies, altar cloths, and hangings. They were richly decorated and contained finely crafted floral and religious imagery. Other exceptional vestments appear in later inventories, and some appear to have been saved.

The following item is notable: 'It' iij albs for Children & viij amises' and 'It' a biggar albs'.⁶¹³ The reference to 'children' suggests choristers (means and trebles).

Altar curtains are also listed: 'It' ij curtens of red sarniset' and 'It' viij hangings for aultrs of white fustian & blew bukeram'; 'It' ij long curtens of ye same' 'It' ij smale curtens of ye same'.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹¹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106r.

⁶¹² SJCA, C7/2, fols. 104r-108v.

⁶¹³ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106r.

⁶¹⁴ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106r.

Seven altars are confirmed in the inventory: 'Imprimis 6 hangings for altars of red and yelow'; 'It' 6 hangings for altars of green and white satten'; 'It' 6 hangings for altars of blewe satten in two peces'. Some groups of hangings and covers pertain to the high altar alone, for example: 'It' 6 hangings for an altar of white and blew satten brayed'; 'It' 6 olde painted cloths with fringes that hung before the hie altar' as well as two more groups of six coverings for the 'hie altar'.⁶¹⁵

Inventory 11) 'Certain Stuff of lakn mettall In the revestry a° d 1552'.⁶¹⁶

Fol. 109r.

'It' iij large & great candelsticks of Lakn iij broken in two peces'; 'It' ij old Candelsticks that stoode on the high ault'; 'It' a pece of an old lesse candelstike'; 'It' a great hanging candelsticke conteining vj candelstiks'. Other items include two Lakn basons, iij lakn crosses, six round pieces of lakn about 'ye cross staves', and two sensers of lakn. Notably: 'It' iiij stols for Rectores chori of yron'. This confirms that there were four rulers of the choir. Altar cloths of linen, amices, albs, tunicles, and 'ij curtans of sylk old' are mentioned on the second half of fol. 109v.

Fol. 109v

'in ye grete Chyst': Textiles, seven corporas, a stole, three lecterns, cope, two communion books, xvj psalters 'in inglyshe', alb and aulter clothe of diaper, a vestment.

'Books bought' include: '7 antiphoners, 7 graills, ij messe books, a legende book, ij old psalters, an new hymnall', a stole of gold lynyd with blew', 'an antiphonar & one graile', and '6 pressionars iiij bought ij reusd' and 'a book to rede ye gospels on'.

Fol. 110r

Chesables, 'sewts', copes, 'ij curtens...'

⁶¹⁵ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106v.

⁶¹⁶ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 109r.

Inventory 12) 'A trewe inventorie of all Jewells & ornaments belonging to ye chapel of S. Johns Colidge in cambridge maid ye xxti day of Januarye in ye first & second yere of Philip & mary [1553/54, 1554/55] by ye grace of god kynge & quene of Englande Fra[n?]ce &'.⁶¹⁷ The inventory begins with an extensive list of richly decorated copes (over eleven) and vestments (seven) for deacon and subdeacon as well as stoles (including 'one stole of gold lyned with blew sylke'), corporas and corporas cases, altar cloths, and other ecclesiastical textiles. Notable: 'iiij albs & iij amyses for boys'⁶¹⁸ suggests that the boys' albs and amices had been kept from the previous reign. The copes are often richly decorated with angels, griffins, flowers, and images, for example: 'Item one fare red velvet cope with angels of golde & other flowers with ye scripture in ye angels da gloria Deo'. Also mentioned are 'a pycks off sylver at the hye alter' and 'a holy watter stocke ladyd [*sic*]'.

A note on the bottom of fol. 119v ('restored 22 Julij 1559') is written over three items at the bottom of the page beginning with: 'It[em] on fare vestment of red velvet with a grene crosse with the albe & all therto belongyng' and ending with 'It[em] a holie suyt of blewe with angels bought...with ye text da Gloria Deo...'. This suggests that items had been salvaged through the reign of Edward VI.

Fol. 120v

Liturgical regalia includes: 'ij chalices with patens'; 'ij paxes of cap with sylver crucyfexis'; 'iij other comon paxis'; 'vj cruetts'; 'iij [sowring] bells'; 'ij crosses; one hole staffe & vj long pecis for crosse staves'; 'a fote for a crosse to stand upon'; 'a canlestycke with vj branches'; 'to peces of wood for ye ende of ye crosse staves'; 'ij latyn basyns'; 'a halowatersalt'; 'a chupp for frakensens'; 'ij pare of sensers'; 'vj great candelstycks of laten'; 'a lytel candelstyke'; 'iij peces of old sensers'; 'woode candelstycks for ye quere xij'; 'iij chars of yron for rectors & a forme wherof ij lye broken in ye revestrye'; 'a frame for ye sepulcre'; 'a long crosse of woode'; 'fowre lectorns for ye alters'; 'ij old clothes to ly before ye hye alter'; 'an yron for ye tinderbox'; 'iij rectors staves'; and 'one staff for ye canipe'.

⁶¹⁷ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 119v-121v.

⁶¹⁸ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 119v-120r.

Fol. 121v

A list of liturgical books: 'Imprimis ix antyphoners viij large & ij smale for ye rectors'; 'It' grales ix, prosessioners xiiij, hymnalls iij'; 'It' [number blocked by spot] mess boks of pap[er] & one of parchment in ye m^r [masters] kyping'; 'It' a legend boke'; 'It' for a marteologe booke'; 'It' one manuell'; 'It' ij sawlters of parchmente'; 'It' five (?) evangeliorum'; 'It' an yngleshe byble'; 'It' xv englishe salters' (crossed out); 'It' iij communion books' (crossed out) followed by 'burnt'.⁶¹⁹

Fol. 121r

Of special note are a group of items pertaining to the altars: 'It' for ye hye alter ij curteyns with ye yrons'; 'It' iiiij coverings for iiiij aulters'. These are followed by hangings: 'a hangyng for ye hye alter of white & blew fustyen & one of paynted cloth beneyth'; '?it' a lamp'; 'It' a hangyng for o^r [our] m^r [masters?] aultr of whit & blew Damaske beneth whit & blew bokeram'; 'It' hangyng of yelow & red saten', which is followed by 'It' ij lectorns for ye rectors...'. 'It' ij [crossed out] a panted cloth for a hangyng in ye low chapell & whist [*sic*] & blew bokerery benenth'.⁶²⁰

This inventory is particularly illustrative of the extent to which the chapel embraced the Latin rite during Mary Tudor's reign. 'iiiij albs & iij amyses for boys' suggests that choristers may have been involved, as they may have been during the reign of Henry VIII (indicated by: 'It' iiiij albs for Children & viij amises' and 'It' a biggar albs' in the 1551/1552 inventory);⁶²¹ however, from whence the boys came remains a mystery.

⁶¹⁹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 121r.

⁶²⁰ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 121r.

⁶²¹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 106r.

Inventory 13) A note dated 'The xvth Daie of Aprill a° Dm 1546' lists richly decorated broken copes to be left in the custody of 'Magistro Cheke Sacristan'.⁶²²

The inventories of the Revestry in 1562, 1563, and 1564 record the contents of ceremonial regalia, vestments, and liturgical books, those of 1562 and 1563 containing items pertaining to the Latin rite. The 1562 inventory apparently resulted in the sale of items referred to as 'popishe Trashe'.⁶²³

14) 'A trew Inventorie of all the stuffe belonginge to the Revestrie made the xth day of Marche Ann° Dmi 1562 of Regni Regine Elizabeth quinte By M^r Leondarde Pilkinton M^r [Master] and Mr Baronsdale The Senior Bursar'.⁶²⁴ A substantial collection of vestments, copes, altar cloths, ij coprporas, and old corporas⁶²⁵ is followed by:

Fol. 130v

'The Bokes 1562': 'It[em] a mysale in parchment'; 'It[em] an [di?] mysall in parchemt; a graduale in parchment new'; 'It[em] a new antiphon in parchment with a leather covinge'; 'It[em] one antiphoner in bordes...'; 'It[em] a boke of epistles and gospels in borde covering without Leather'; 'It[em] an antiphoner in bordes with long claspes'; 'It[em] an Himnal with a psalter bound with it in a blacke covering...'; 'It[em] a great Himnal...'; 'It[em] a great antiphoner with a new covering of Leather...'; 'It[em] a great Himnal...'; 'It[em] another of the same in black with longer claspes'; 'It[em] a boke of Lesons in parchment'; 'It[em] an other antiphoner'; 'It[em] a graduale in parchment new with a blacke covinge'; 'It[em] an other antiphoner with a blacke covinge'; 'It[em] an [di, dozen?] Respons?'; 'It[em] a [legend] in parchment with ...psalters...'; 'It[em] an newe psalter...'; 'It[em] an other in blacke covering'; 'It[em] ij snyaltares?'; 'It[em] ...psalters in parchment'; 'It[em] a marliloginer (book of martyrs)'; 'It[em] ix little bokes pro cehionalis? and other. all with bokes together in and chest being in ['minnsr',

⁶²² SJCA, C7/2, fol. 111r.

⁶²³ In 1563 xxvj s, x d is 'Received for certain old Albes and other popishe Trashe, sold out of the Revystry the last yere'.

⁶²⁴ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 130r-131r.

⁶²⁵ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 130r.

measure?'] xxxv [inches?']'.⁶²⁶ This is followed by other 'stuff' including: ' a cheste for the copes'; 'vj chestes'; '4 great brassen candlesticks'; and '3 lesse candlesticks'.

Fol. 131r

Includes: ' a lamp of brasse'; 'ij broken paxes'; 'iij paier of sensers of brasse'; 'a broken pixe'; and 'a broken crosse'.⁶²⁷

A section at the end of the page is headed: 'A note of the boks and stuffe in the clarke of the chappls kepinge' and contains protestant liturgical books, including: '26 psalters'; 'a bible in Englishe'; 'ij Communion boks'; '16 candlesticks'; 'two cloths for the Communion table with a covering for the same of stayned cloth with fringe lyned with blew buckeram'; 'ij lecturnes'; 'one deske of waynscott for the communion table'; 'a Lytle forme'; and 'the deske for the catechysm'.

Inventory 15) Another 'trewe Inventorie of all the stuffe belonging to the Revestrie made the viij Day of March Anno Dm 1563 Et Regine Elizabeth sexto. By Magistro Longworthe presydant Magistrs Baronsdale et winter the bowsers [bursars]. Magisters Troydall & Dawbney the Deans. and 'delyvered to Magistro Dawbney sacrista'.⁶²⁸

Fol. 134r

Includes vestments of a deacon and subdeacon among others, as well as copes and altar cloths. The books 'noted in the Last yere' still remain listed at the time the items above were delivered for purposes of inventory.

Fol. 134v

Makes note that 'the boks remayne all as they are noted in the last yere'. Items 'delyvered to Magistro Dawbney sacrista the 8 martij 1563. 6^o Regno' Elizabeth'.

⁶²⁶ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 130v.

⁶²⁷ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 130v-131r.

⁶²⁸ SJCA, C7/2, fols. 134r, 134v. William Baronsdale (Barnesdale) acted as senior bursar from 1560/61 to 1564/65. John Daubney succeeded him as senior bursar in 1565/66. Howard, *An Account of the Finances of the College of St John the Evangelist*, 282.

'Under which Per mr Johanni Dawbney Sacrista. All these...were founde in ye Revestri and deliverd to Mr. fulke sacrista 18^o Januari 1564. 7o Regne' Elizabeth Then present Magistro Longworth ye Master of the colledge and Willm Baronedale bowser Willm ffulke'. This is followed by 'A note of the bokes and other sutffe in ye clarke of ye chapples custody taken the same time by the persones afore sayde'.

The list suggests the protestant reform of the chapel and includes:

'vij new psalters of one bindinge...20 old ones...

18 geneva psalters. 6 greate & 12 litler ones...

23 Candlestickes...

ij Communion table clothes with a coveringe for ye same of stained clothe with an fringe Lyned with blew burkeram...

ij lecturnes And iiij new ones of a laste fashion...

one Deske of waynscott for ye communion table...

a litle forme for pastion [passion?]...

the Deske for ye Cathechysme...

a greater bible in englyshe [*sic*]...

vj new formes for ye schollars to sitt on'.

'All these...were founde in ye clarke of the chapples kepinge and were Delyverd to William holday then clarke. 18 Januarii 1564. 7^o Rgine Elizabethe. Magistro Longworthe then master being present and William Baronsdale burser'.⁶²⁹

'All these...were found in ye Clarke of ye chappels custody saving [seven?] of the geneva psalms with seven off ye fellowes save, and deliverd to nicholas bawdwine keper off ye chappell the 28 Januarij 1565 . 8^o Regine Elizabetha... by me Nycholas Bawdwine'.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 134v.

⁶³⁰ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 134v.

Appendix VII. An inventory of the church goods at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1558/59.

A partial list of a vast amount of chapel ceremonial regalia and furniture owned by 1558.⁶³¹

'Schedulae indentatae Jocalium subtractorum copia sequitur et est talis':

'Imprimis, iii chalices, one of gold,⁶³² with the Patesies'

'Item ii crewets of gold, one lacking a Cover'

'Item, ii crewets of silver with kivirs [covers] the one in the box'

'Item, one whole sencer of silver'

'Item, a bell of silver'

'Item, ii paxes set with perles silver and guilt'

'Item, a holly water sticke of silver'

'Item, vii olde sensors of silver guilte, one lacking the fote'

'Item, ii great clapses silver and guilte, with other smale peces of silver to the value of half an ounce, all in a little box'

'Item, one challice of silver and guilt with a patent also silver and guilt'

'Item, one other challice of silver and guilt with one Mr Wotton had with a patent silver and guilt and a corporis case and ii corporis clothes'.

The College goodes brought in by Joyner:⁶³³

'One payer of hangings of the best blewe and vestements with Decon and Subdecon of the same, and a canapye for the sacrament of the same and two hangings of cloth of tissue for the highe aulter'

'Item, the best red of purple velvet for Priest, Decon, and Subdecon, And all other necessities savinge one told lackinge'

⁶³¹ Recorded by Fowler as 'Inventory of Secreted Church Goods' Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 113-15.

⁶³² According to Fowler (1892): 'This is probably the beautiful gold chalice (date 1507-8), supposed to have belonged to the founder, which is still in use in the College chapel. The corresponding paten, of exquisite workmanship, has now (1892) become so thin that it is used only on Trinity Sunday, as being the Sunday nearest to Corpus Christi day. It is said that these are the only chalice and paten of pure gold, dating from pre-Reformation times, still existing in England'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 113-14.

⁶³³ 'Itm for the redeeming of other vestments that he also pledged at Joyners, 40s'. CCCA, C/1/1/4. Under 'Impense sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1561/62.

'Item, one payer [i.e. set] of vestments more being the second best red velvet spanged with golde and perle, decon and subdecon, lackinge a stole'

'Item, one payer of vestements of colth of golde wrought with grene velvet with decon and subdecon of the same'

'Item, ii best white hangings for the high aulter called bodkin'

'Item, one payer of vestements of blew silke with crownes and miters, decon and subdecon for the same, lackinge a stole'

'Item, one canapye for the sepulchre of red silke braunched with golde'

'Item, a sepulchre clothe of red and blew braunched with golde'

'Item, ii payer of grene copes, one with spanges of gold'

'Item, ii other copes of blew silke with miters and crownes'

'Item, ii other copes of purple velvet with braunches having the pellicanes of golde'⁶³⁴

'Three corporas cases, viz, ii of clothe of golde and one of blewe velvet with a percullis [i.e. ornamented with the figure of the portcullis] and iii clothes'.

In the statement of the charges against Reynolds, Atkinson, and Joyner (fol. 20a of the MS), it states that aside from these articles there were 'praeterea alia multa et diversimoda bona et catalla'. This was confirmed in a document from the early part of Charles II's reign concerning a vast collection of copes and vestments formerly in the possession of the college. They were discovered during a trial at the Oxford Assizes, Michaelmas 1666 'of three persons at Burford in unlawful possession of sixty copes, four hundred other vestments, two carpets, &c', belonging to Corpus Christi College, the value of which was at the time £3200.⁶³⁵

At the end of Thomas Jackson's tenure, during the height of Laudian-style worship, copes were indeed in use again.⁶³⁶ Fowler, citing James Rogers,⁶³⁷ states that Rogers

⁶³⁴ 'The College is still, as already noticed, in possession of a cloth for a small communion table, composed of fragments of copes ornamented with pelicans wrought in gold tissue. The pelicans are medieval, but the cloth might be of Elizabeth's time, or perhaps, later'. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 114. Archivist Julian Reid has recently discovered that the cloth referred to by Fowler, the so-called 'Founder's Textile' is actually a pulpit cloth, crafted in Florence during the 1520s and purchased for the college by Bishop Fox. Reid, J., 'The Founder's Textile', *The Pelican Record*, 48 (2012), 24.

⁶³⁵ CCCA, MS 22e; Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 244-5.

⁶³⁶ 'For a chest of miter round & revayled with lapt and pendants to put...in the vestments belonging to the chapel, 4li, 10s'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 128v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1636/37; 'May 2 Paid then to Richard Hall for mending the copes ut patet... 19s, 9d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 158v. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1639/40.

determined that only two colleges submitted to Laud's instructions: Corpus Christi, Oxford (under Thomas Jackson), and St. John's, Cambridge (under William Beale). 'In these two, and in these two only, for a few years an ornate ritual was adopted - Copes, wax candles, and other furnitures'.⁶³⁷ Corpus Christi appears to have been one of the few colleges (perhaps the only college) in Oxford to still possess copes during the 1630s.

⁶³⁷ Rogers, J.E.T., *A history of agriculture and prices in England: from the year after the Oxford parliament (1259) to the commencement of the continental war (1793)*, (Oxford, 1866), vol. v, 33.

⁶³⁸ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi*, 246.

Appendix VIII. Charges and materials for Robert Dallam's organ for St. John's College, Cambridge (1635/36). Drawn from SJCA C8/2. *Lease Book* containing items for 1635.

Sealed Aug 1

Articles & Covenants of Agreement indented made & agreed upon ye eight & twentieth day of July Anno domini 1635. Amog [Among?] Regni Regis Caroli Anglia ...Betweene William Beale Doctor of Divinity & Master of the Colledge of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge the ffellowes & schollars of the same Colledge on the one pt [part?] & Robert Dallam of the Citty of Westminster organmaker on the other pt [part?] as followeth viz:

Imprimis ye [said] Robert Dallam for him his executors & admonrs [administrators?] doth covenant and grant to & with the [said] Master ffellowes & schollers & theyr successors by the so puts [points?] in manor & forme following. That is to pay [ye said] Robert Dallam his executors & [assignes?] for the consideration [hereafter] approffed shall & will at his & theyr owne [pg?] costs & charges make & finish one payre of organs or Instrument to conteyne six seuerall stoppes of pipes every stoppe counteyning fortynine pipes (viz) one diapason most part to stand in sight one Principall of Tynne one Recorder of wood one small Principall of Tynne one two & twentieth of Tynne with sound boords [Couveyantes?] Conducts Roller boord Carriages & keyes two bellows & wind trunkes with the case & carving [onely?] with all other necessities thereunto belonging finding all maner of stuffe both of iron brasse Tynne Timber & wainscoate [incident?] to the making & finishing of the [said] Instrument which the [said] Robert Dallam shall make by & finish & sett up in the Chappell of St Johns Colledge a for [said] betweene the day of the date of these [points] & the first day of July now next ensuing 1636.

In consideration of which work & organs to be made finished & sett up as is afor[said] the [said] Master ffellowes & schollers doe [covenant?] grant & agree for him & theyer successors to & with the [said] Robert Dallam his executors adm[inistr]rs & Assignes by these [puts] that they the [said] Master ffellowes & schollers shall & will well and truly pay or cause to be payd unto the [said] Robert Dallam his executors [admors] or Assignees the summe of Nine score & five pounds of lawfull money of England in maner & forme following (viz) ffower score pounds at the scaling & delivery of the [said] these [puts, puth] & fforty pounds more at the delivery of the materials belonging to the [said] Instrument And the rest at the full Conclusion & finishing of ye [said] worke And also [ye they ye] [said] Master ffellowes & schollers & theyr successors [of] all beare & defray the charges of Carriage of the [said] Organs & materials therof from the Citty of Westminster to St Johns Colledge afor[said] & all tooles incident thereunto & al Recarriage of the same from [hence] backe againe to Westminster In witnesse whereof [aswell] the [said] Master ffellowes & schollers theyr Common seale as also the [said] Robert Dallam his [seale?] to these puts [points?] [Interchangeably] have putte the day & yeare first [abovewritten].

Appendix IX. Extant images of the altered Robert Dallam organ for St. John's College, Cambridge.

Illustration A.1 SJCA, Arch: III.4. The Old Chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge. Copied (from an old and faded silver print) by F.J. Allen.



Illustration A.2 The chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge. Painting by Daniel Wood, dated 1868. Watercolour. Painted shortly before the demolition of the chapel.



Appendix X. Provision for organs at King's College and St. John's College, Cambridge, and New College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, c. 1534-1650.

Table 1. Provision for organs, St. John's College, Cambridge, from the foundation (1511) to 1650. Unless otherwise noted, extracted from SJCA, *Rentals*.

Period	Nature of reference	Reference/source
Pre-foundation		
c. 1500, and c. 1505 - 10	References to organs belonging to the Hospital of St. John	SJCA D106/2 (c. 1500): fols. 5v, ⁶³⁹ 6r. ⁶⁴⁰ SJCA D106/10 (1505-10): fols. 5r, ⁶⁴¹ 12v, ⁶⁴² 20r, ⁶⁴³ 25v, ⁶⁴⁴ 31v, ⁶⁴⁵ and 39r. ⁶⁴⁶
1520	Need of organs	President John Smith convinces twenty nobles 'to bye a payer of organs'. ⁶⁴⁷
1520	Need of organs	'I pray yow let them [the organs] be good what so ever thei [<i>sic</i>] cost'. ⁶⁴⁸
1528-1560		
1528	Purchase of new 'organs'	'Sondry and divers marchannts of London gave emongist theyme [<i>sic</i>] x li towards the byeing of the newest Orgaynes' ⁶⁴⁹ for the college, 1528.
1540/41	Repair	'ffor mendyng of the organs, x s'. ⁶⁵⁰
1545	Inventory reference, January 1545	A 'payer of Organs'. ⁶⁵¹
1545	Inventory reference, January 1545	'Antiphoner for the Organs' listed in the inventory taken on 15 January 1545. ⁶⁵²
1547/48	Overhaul	'Item: [paid] to John how, organmaker of London, for mendyng the organes and for glew, skynes and gymawys [<i>sic</i>], & for 4 yeres fo[llowing] (after 12 d ye yere) and to hys sone that was with hym, vj s, x d'. 'Item to ye Joyner that made a roole off woode for the organs, viij d'. ⁶⁵³

⁶³⁹ 'Item to the orgynmaker for [sawing?, sodering]of the pypys & [storyng?] of them, viij s'.

⁶⁴⁰ 'Item to ffred? Gaytin for mendyng of iij pypes of the organys & playeng them at oftyn tymes, xx d'.

⁶⁴¹ 'Item for the wag of ye orgon [*sic*] player & ye clarke, xi s' (1505).

⁶⁴² 'Item for the wag of ye orgon [*sic*] player & ye clarke, xij s' (1506).

⁶⁴³ 'Item for the wag of ye ye clarke & ye orgon [*sic*] player, xv' (1507).

⁶⁴⁴ 'Item for the wag of ye orgon [*sic*] player & ye clarke, xij s'. (1508).

⁶⁴⁵ 'Item for the wag of ye orgon [*sic*] player & ye clarke, xiiij s, iiij d'. (1509).

⁶⁴⁶ 'Item for the wag of ye orgon [*sic*] player & ye clarke, xxxij s' (1510). The organist and clerk received a steady raise over the course of the five years.

⁶⁴⁷ From a letter dated 5 May 1520 from President Smith to Nicholas Metcalfe, master.

⁶⁴⁸ From a letter dated 12 May 1520 from President Smith to Nicholas Metcalfe, master. Malcolm Underwood, former Archivist of St. John's, has dated these letters based on complex internal evidence.

⁶⁴⁹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 44v.

⁶⁵⁰ SJCA, D106/17, fol. 56r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Bursars Books*, I, 1540/41.

⁶⁵¹ SJCA, C7/2, fol. 103v.

⁶⁵² SJCA, C7/2, fol. 102r.

⁶⁵³ SJCA D106/18, fol. 32r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1547/48.

1557/58, third term ⁶⁵⁴	Repair	Repairs to the bellows of the organ under 'Reparationes tenementorum Cantabrigiae et Domi'.
1555/56	Organists or organ blowers	'Diall' is paid x s in the first and in second terms ' <i>pro organis</i> '. ⁶⁵⁵
1556/57	Organists or organ blowers	'Domino Woode' ⁶⁵⁶ is paid ' <i>pro organis</i> ': vj s, viij d for the first term, xij s, iiij d for second and the same for the third term. ⁶⁵⁷
1557/58, third term ⁶⁵⁸	Lectern	'Item for making a lecturne for ye orgaines in the quere, iij s'. ⁶⁵⁹
1557/58, third term ⁶⁶⁰	Repair	'Item for iiij Irons for ye bellows of ye orgaines, xvj d'. ⁶⁶¹
1635-1644		
August 1635- July 1636	Construction/installation of the Robert Dallam organ. Cost: £185	See Appendix VIII.
December 1636	Arrival of organs	
1635/36, first term	Organ loft	'payd Henry Man for worke about the Organ loft from Jan: 29 to Aprill 2, ixli, xix, s'. ⁶⁶²
1635/36, first term	Preparation for organ	'Sawyers billes for the Organs to March 19, xxxij s, vi d'. ⁶⁶³
1635/36, second term	Organ loft	'Henry Mans billes of worke in the Organ loft & staires to it from Aprill 9. to June 27, x li, iij s'. ⁶⁶⁴
1635/36, second term	Stairs	'Mytons bills for the Organ Staires from Aprill 9 to May 14, x li, vj d'. ⁶⁶⁵
1635/36, second term	Stairs	'Item to the Smith for worke about the Organ staires & the parlour, ix s, vj d'. ⁶⁶⁶
1636/37, first term	Covering (while roof was being painted)	'Item for four haire' ⁶⁶⁷ to cover the Organs from Christmas to Easter, xvij s'. ⁶⁶⁸
30 Aug 1637	Tuning, repair (Dallam)	for 'tuning and repaying the Organs, xl s'. ⁶⁶⁹
1637/38, first term	Repair/maintenance	'a latch for the dore at the Organ Staires foote, xvj d'. ⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁵⁴ Coincides with the visit of Queen Mary to Cambridge. Mass was held in chapel for the Visitors, no doubt deploying the organ, plainchant, and possibly polyphony (extemporised in the least).

⁶⁵⁵ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 16r. Under 'Stipendia Servientium' in *Rentals*, 1555/56.

⁶⁵⁶ Neither Diall nor Woode are listed in the *College Register* SJCA C3/1, suggesting that they were not members of the fellowship or scholarship. No payment is recorded for the fourth term of 1556/57.

⁶⁵⁷ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 43r. Under 'Stipendia Servientium' in *Rentals*, 1556/57.

⁶⁵⁸ Coincides with the visit of Queen Mary to Cambridge.

⁶⁵⁹ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 80v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

⁶⁶⁰ Coincides with the visit of Queen Mary to Cambridge.

⁶⁶¹ SJCA, SB4/1, fol. 80v. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1557/58.

⁶⁶² SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 49v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1635/36.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁷ Cloth made of 'haire'.

⁶⁶⁸ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 76v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1636/37, first term.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

1638/39, first term	Tuning, repair (Dallam)	'Paid to M ^r . Dallam Mar.6 for his journey from Lond. to repair & tune y ^e Organ. 2li, 6s, 8d & his entertainment 1s, 4d, [Total] ij li, viij s'. ⁶⁷¹
1638/39, first term	Organist (ex-chorister)	'To Dunkin ⁶⁷² his 1. q ^{ter} , xxx s'. ⁶⁷³
1639/40, second term	Tuning	'To Hen[rey] Jennings Apr. 23 for dressing and tuning the Organ in the Chappell, xxx s'. ⁶⁷⁴
1640/41, third term	Repair	'To ye Organist for cords & wires to ye Organs, ij s, vj d'. ⁶⁷⁵
1641/42, first term	Organ loft	'for 3 pesses [pieces?] for ye organ loft, 2s, 8d; 2 for ye Communion table, 2s, [Total] iij s, viij d'. ⁶⁷⁶
1641/42, second term	Organ loft	'for a pess for ye organ loft, ij s, vj d'. ⁶⁷⁷
1642/43, first term	Organist	'payd to Gibbons the organist for his quarterage, 4li, 10s'. ⁶⁷⁸
1642/43, first term	Organ removal	'Item payd by Mr. Heron the Ju. Bursar for taking down the pictures and the organs and whiting the walls, 2li, 8s, 6d'. ⁶⁷⁹
1642/43, fourth term	Organ removal	To Jennings 'for taking downe the little organ, 4d'. ⁶⁸⁰
1643/44, third term	Organ removal (case)	'Paid to old Dowsy when the Organ case was taken away, 6s, 8d'. ⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁰ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 102r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1637/38, first term.

⁶⁷¹ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 127r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1638/39, first term.

⁶⁷² James Dunkin, who was fifteen years old at the time of his admission as a sizar on 9 September 1637, was born in Canterbury, educated at Uppingham School, and served as chorister at Canterbury between 1630 and 1637. After the first quarter of 1638/39 his quarterage at St. John's ceases to be recorded in the 'Expensae Ecclesiae'.

⁶⁷³ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 127r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1638/39, first term.

⁶⁷⁴ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 151r. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1639/40, second term.

⁶⁷⁵ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 177v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1640/41, third term.

⁶⁷⁶ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 203v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1641/42, first term.

⁶⁷⁷ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 203v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1641/42, second term.

⁶⁷⁸ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 226v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1642/43, first term.

⁶⁷⁹ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 226v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1642/43, first term.

⁶⁸⁰ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 230. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Rentals*, 1642/43, fourth term.

⁶⁸¹ SJCA, SB4/5, fol. 252v. Under 'Expensae Ecclesiae' in *Rentals*, 1643/44, third term.

Table 2. Provision for organs, Corpus Christi College, Oxford from the foundation through 1650. Unless otherwise noted, extracted from 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Libri Magni*.

Period	Nature of reference	Reference/source
1521-1547		
1536/37	Maintenance and Repair	'It' pro recertione foll' (<i>folli</i> : bellows) orga', 3d'; 'It' pro coreo pro organis, 18d'; 'It' pro reparacione organorum, 23s, 4d'.
1544/45	Maintenance and Repair	'It' pro tri' loris ⁶⁸² pro organis, 3d'; 'It' pro reparacione organorum, 10s, 4d'.
1545/46	Repair	'It' pro reparacione organorum, 2s'.
1547/48	Maintenance	'It' pro corio pro organ', 4d'.
1548/49? ⁶⁸³	Maintenance	'It' pro 2bus campane et organorum, 6d'
1553-1558		
1552/53	Tuning/maintenance	'It' for setting ye orgyns in tune, 5s'; 'It' for glewe, 2d'; 'It' for lether h.ng' for ye orgyns, 12d'; 'It' for mending ye organs, 12d'. ⁶⁸⁴
1553/54	Repair/maintenance	'It' for mending ye organes to Browne, 13s, 4d'; 'It' for lether hunger ⁶⁸⁵ for ye organs, 12d'; 'It' to Mr Baynton for mending ye organs, 40s'; 'It' for a key to ye lock by ye organs, 4d'.
1555/56	Extraneous	'It' for makinge ye pavement by ye organs, 8d'.
1574/75, third term	Extraneous	'For 27 dozen of bricks to pave the higher part of the choir, 24s, 6d'; 'For paving the higher part of the choir, 10s, 10d'.
1575/76, third term	Removal	'For pulling down the case of the organs, 6d'.
1617/18, first term, second term, third term	Construction/installation of the Thomas Dallam organ	'Mr Jennings his expenses to London to view the organs, 15s, 4d'. Under 'Impensae equitancium in negocijs Collegij '. Second term <i>The payments for material, transport, and installation are itemised below</i> 1. 'To Mr Dallam for his charges and his man's up and down from London, 36s, 8d'. 2. 'And for packing up the organs and to porters and for other necessities, 3s, 8d'. 3. 'To the porters for carriage from the carriers to the College, 16d'. 4. 'And for carriage of them from London being 900 weight, 36s'. 5. 'For carriage of two load of timber, 2s'. 6. 'For timber for the organs, 24s'. 7. 'For sawing of it, 7s'. 8. 'For timber and a 100 foot of oaken boards, 14s, 3d'.

⁶⁸² *Lorus*: leather strap, thong.

⁶⁸³ See Vol. I, 'Contents of *Liber Magnus* 1537/38-1548/49', xix-xx.

⁶⁸⁴ Occurs shortly after 'It' for setting upp ye altars & dressing ye churche, 22s 8d'; 'It' for heare for ye altars, 5s'; 'It' for hooks, 2d'. CCCA, C/1/1/3, fol. 86r. Under 'Impensae Sacelli' in *Liber Magnus*, 1552/53.

⁶⁸⁵ Rope.

		<p>9. 'To the carpenter for 4 days work in the chapel. 10. 'To the carpenter: 6 days for making the frame of the organs, 6s'. 11. 'To a pair of sawyers half a day, 12d'. 12. 'To the joiner: 4 days'. '13. To Parris and his man: 4 days and a half apiece, 7s, 10d'. 14. 'To the joiner for timber about the Pillars, and for 2 days work, 16s, 9d'.</p> <p>Third term 15. 'To the joiner for 5 days work, 5s, 10d'. 16. 'To his boy for 4 days, 3s, 4d'. 17. 'For turning the pillars for the organs, 5s'. 18. 'For iron to the turner, 10d'. 19. 'Communion wine February and March, 5s, 6d'. 20. 'Too Parris and his man 5 days apiece in the chapel, 8s, 4d'. 21. 'To Mr Dallam for setting up the organs and for his charges otherwise, 6li'. 22. 'To his man, 5s'. 23. 'To Bolton: 6 days, 6s'. 24. 'To his son: 6 days, 6s'. 25. 'To his man a day and a half, 18d'. 26. 'To Bolton for yards of wainscot for the organs at 13s, 4d the yard, 6li, 4s'. 27. 'To him for 7 days work et dimid about the top of the organs, 7s, 6d'. 28. 'To his son and his man: 30 days and an half about the same work, 30s, 6d'. 29. 'To the carpenter for bringing two pieces of timber out of St. Thomas's parish, 6d'. 30. 'To the carpenter for 3 days work and an half and for 24 foot of boards, 6s, 4d'. 31. 'ffor Curten rods and standerts[?] for the organs, 6s, 4d'. 32. 'for two new keys for the vestiary, & mending the locke, 3s'.</p>
1621/22, third term	Repair	<p>'To the roper for a rope for the organs, 1s, 6d'. 'July 3 To Mr Stoner for repairing the organs, 1 li'. 'To Yorke the instrument maker and another for their pains about the organs, 7s'.</p>
1622/23, fourth term	Repair	'To Giles Yorke for mending an organ pipe Aug 2, 2s 6d'.
1623/24, fourth term	Organ stools	'For two stools for the organist, 2s'. ⁶⁸⁶
1624/25	Repair/cover/desk	<p>'To Mr Dallam for mending the organs, 1 li, 10s'; 'To Thomas Richardson the Joyner for covering the organs & a desk, 4s'.⁶⁸⁷</p>

⁶⁸⁶ CCCA, C/1/1/8, fol. 163v. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1623/24.

⁶⁸⁷ CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 8v. In *Liber Magnus*, 1624/25.

1625/26	Maintenance	'For a cord to the organs and a bell rope, 1s, 6d'.
1626/27	Curtains	'To Richard Hall for stuff & hanging the curtains about the organs, 3s, 7½ d'.
1627/28	Repair	'Giles Yorke for mending the organs, 3s'.
1628/29, third term	Repair/maintenance	'To Yorke for mending the organ, 1s'; 'Jun 12 6 yards of thread line for the organs & a broom, 1s[?]'. ⁶⁸⁸
1630/31	Repair/maintenance	'For mending the organs the 5 of February, 1s'; 'A line for the chapel bell and organs, 3s'.
1638/39	Expansion/overhaul	'To the carpenters for making a partition in the vestry at the back of the Organ, 2li, 6s'; 'For another partition in the vestry by the side of the organ by the stayre case, 15s, 11d'; 'To the plaisterer for work done in the vestry at the back of the organ, 1li, 4s'; 'For a chafing dish for the vestry, for perfumes & airing the copes, 1s'; 'Paid to Robert Gordon towards the making of the Organs, 32li, 6s, 9d'. ⁶⁸⁸
1639/40	Work on loft	'Nov 22 Paid then to the Plaisterer for work done in the vestry about the organ loft, 12s, 3d'.
1649/50	Removal/replacement	'Nov 18 To Goodman Walker for making a round table in the President's Lodging and making the new seat in the organ place, 4 li, 13s, 6d'. ⁶⁸⁹
1652/53	Cessation of organist's post	'That whereas, by the statutes, the Clerks had constant employment, the one as Pulsator Campanae the other as Modulator Organorum, there being now no use of one part of their employment, it is now ordered that they shall in lieu thereof to take care for to begin in the singing of the Psalm (Ed. Staunton, et al)'. ⁶⁹⁰
1660/61	Re-purchase of parts	'May 15 To Mrs Carter for the materials of the organ, 6li, 11s, 3d'.

Organists of Corpus Christi College as recorded in the *College Register*:

John Barons (Barone). 'Pulsator Organorum'. 29 September 1538.

Leonard Fitzsymons. 'Pulsator Organorum'. 6 November 1556.

John Redinge. 'Pulsator Organorum'. 3 January 1558.

Thomas Mulliner. 'Modulator Organorum'. 3 March 1564.

⁶⁸⁸ This payment was the largest expense in chapel, hall, library, or kitchen; it occurs in November 1638, during a major renovation of the vestry, which presumably occurred in conjunction with a restoration of (or additions to) the Thomas Dallam organ. The extent of construction suggests that the organ was dismantled in order for wholesale work, including work on the walls and roof. If this were the case, the £32 spent on removal and reinstallation seems reasonable; the construction of a second organ appears unlikely. Robert Gordon, a local builder, also repaired the New College organ (most likely the Chappington) during the first term in 1638/39. See below, Table 3. Further, A tremendous project involving the renovation of the vestry and the removal, reinstallation, and refurbishment of the organ at New College began in the third term of 1639/40.

⁶⁸⁹ CCCA, C/1/1/10, fol. 72r. Under 'Impensae Internae' in *Liber Magnus*, 1649/50.

⁶⁹⁰ Dated 11 August 1653. CCCA, B/4/3/29. Acts and Proceedings.

Table 3. Provision for organs, New College, Oxford, from the foundation through c. 1647. The references have been extracted from 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis* (noted here as *Computus Bursariorum*) and the *Bursars' Long Books*, though a few items have also been found under 'Receptio forinseca'.

Period	Nature of reference	Reference/source
1446-1541		
1448/49	Acquisition/installation	Under 'Receptio forinseca': 'Et d[omino] Thoma Wutton' [<i>sic</i>] ⁶⁹¹ pro antiquis Organis sibi venditis una cum viij denariis pro tabul' [most likely pro tabulatis = for the boards, a covering of some sort?] eorundem venditis domino Clement', x s, viij d'. 'solut[um] Thome Wutton' pro factur' magn' Pip' Organorum una cum x solidis solute[um] per eum pro pip' [pro pipa or pro pipis] antiquorum Organorum xv solidos viij denarios'. ⁶⁹²
1458	Gift/installation	A deed (inventory) which also lists liturgical books (manual, missal, legend in two volumes, processional, gradual), copes, silver and altar coverings given by William Porte includes: 'It[em] orgona [<i>sic</i>] magna pro choro'. ⁶⁹³
1484/85	Maintenance and Repair	In 1484/85 both the organ <i>in choro</i> and the organ <i>in pulpitu[m]</i> were repaired. ⁶⁹⁴
1488/89	Repairs	Repairs were carried out on 'the smaller organs' by William Wotton (possibly a relation to Thomas). ⁶⁹⁵
1496/97	Repairs	Repairs on the chapel organs by Thurlby. ⁶⁹⁶
1500/01	Repairs	Repairs on the chapel organs by Nicholas Kendall and Richard Borrow. ⁶⁹⁷
1524/25	Repairs	Repairs on the chapel organs by Robert Horne. ⁶⁹⁸
1527/28	Repair	'So[lutum] pro reparatione organorum in capella Jhesu, vii s, vi d'. ⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹¹ Thomas Wotton (Wutton), who rebuilt an organ for the pulpitu[m] in 1449, may have been a relation to William Wotton, who was active during the 1480s at Magdalen College and Merton College, where he constructed modest-sized instruments in 1487 and 1489, respectively. MCR, 1.3, *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis*, fol.109; Harrison, *MMB*, 167.

⁶⁹² NCA, 7410. [*Computus* Roll 27-28 Henry VI] (1449). Apparently, Wotton bought an old organ for x s and purchased a board, perhaps a sort of covering for it, for an additional viij d. The organ was in turn sold to 'domino Clement', apparently a member of New College. Wotton was then paid x s for making 'the great pipes of the organs'. He was also paid for the pipes of the old organs, perhaps signifying that he replaced the old pipes with the new, or added new pipes and renovated the old pipes. The grand total of his payment was xv s, viij d, making him a profit of v s. The organ was most likely large and placed on the screen (pulpitu[m]).

⁶⁹³ NCA, 9654. *Liber Albus*, 1458, fol. 8r, v. There is no indication in the accounts where the Porte organ was placed, though it was most likely paced against the northeast wall of the presbytery, either on the floor adjoining the vestry door or upon a gallery in the same location.

⁶⁹⁴ NCA, 7443. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1484/85.

⁶⁹⁵ NCA, 7448. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1488/89.

⁶⁹⁶ NCA, 7457. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1496/97.

⁶⁹⁷ NCA, 7462. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1500/01.

⁶⁹⁸ NCA, 7478. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1524/25.

⁶⁹⁹ NCA, 7480. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1527/28. The organ in the Jesus-chapel, which was situated in the nave, or antechapel, may have been a modest instrument placed on the floor.

1536/37	Installation	A new organ appears to have been bought for xxv li, vij d, xl d and gilded. ⁷⁰⁰
1539/40	Maintenance and Repair	By 1539 four organs are accounted for, one in a Jesus-chapel: 'So[lutum] confectori organorum pro emendatione 4or organorum, xxvi s, viii d'; 'So[lutum] pro pictura dimid' ulnae ly canvase ad tecturam super organs [sic], iii d'. ⁷⁰¹
1540/41	Accessories	'So[lutum] pro ly canvase ad minora organa'. ⁷⁰²
1541-1558		
1545/46	Organist	'So[lutum] gustinian clerico pulsanti organa primo et secundo termino, vi s, viii d'. ⁷⁰³
1550/51	Removal	'So[lutum] pro henrico bolton pro removendis organis ad templo, xii d'. ⁷⁰⁴
1553/54	Repairs	'So[lutum] pro plumbo ad organa: xij d'; 'So[lutum] browne reparanti organa in choro, x s'; 'So[lutum] bolton pro assere ad organa, viii d'; 'So[lutum] browne reparanti organe in cruciferario, xxvj s, viij d'. ⁷⁰⁵
1554/55	Repairs	'So[lutum] fabro ferraio pro ferris ad organa, xi d'; 'So[lutum] 6 July Browne emendenti organa, x s'. ⁷⁰⁶
1556/57	Repairs	'So[lutum] pro ferro ad organa'; 'pro 5 pellibus ovinis pro corrigendis organis'; 'Dolye pro glutino, filo et alijs et pro labore eius in emendandis organis, ii s, x d'; 'pro compositione cathenarum ad organa'. ⁷⁰⁷
1557/58	Repairs	'So[lutum] pro novis fistulis organorum, vi s, viii d'; 'So[lutum] pro ferro et retinaculis ad organa'. ⁷⁰⁸
1558-1597		
1565/66	Organist	'So[lutum] organista, vi s, viii d'. ⁷⁰⁹
1571/72	Removal	'So[lutum]: to a Joyner taking downe the organes, ⁷¹⁰ ij s'. ⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁰ 'So[lutum] pro organis confectis hoc Anno et anno preterita, xxv li, vij d, xl d'; 'So[lutum] pro Anno ad deauranda organa, xvij d'. NCA, 7493. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1536/37. Most likely a small, portable instrument, perhaps for use near the high altar or in *medio choro* for use on workdays.

⁷⁰¹ NCA, 7498. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1539/40.

⁷⁰² NCA, 7500. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1540/41.

⁷⁰³ NCA, 7508. Under 'Custus Capelle' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1545/46.

⁷⁰⁴ NCA, 7518. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1550/51. Bolton may removed one or more organs; this occurred not long after the Royal Injunctions for St. George's Chapel, Windsor, dated 8 February 1550; Injunction Thirty states that '...descant, prick-song, and organs were too much used'. Efforts were carried a step further in 1552 when organs were silenced at St. Paul's Cathedral and at York Minster.

⁷⁰⁵ NCA, 7523. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1553/54.

⁷⁰⁶ NCA, 7525. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1554/55.

⁷⁰⁷ NCA, 7528. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1556/57.

⁷⁰⁸ NCA, 7529. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1557/58.

⁷⁰⁹ NCA, 7540. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1565/66.

⁷¹⁰ Most likely the Wotton organ and perhaps others.

⁷¹¹ NCA, 7548. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1571/72. This follows payments on the same page 'circa reparationem ly roode lofte'. Subsequently, iij s is recorded for 'one daie for payntinge the roode lofte' and is followed by: 'So[lutum] Oven et 3^{ibus} alijs for poolinge down the partityon, vj s'; 'duobus ly sawyers ij daies & a halfe ..., iiij s vij d'; 'for ij workemen a daie & a half to take downe the roodelofte, iij s'. The joyners worked for c. 30 days in the chapel: 'to the Joyner for one worker, vj s'; 'to the joyner and his man for 14 days xij d a daie xxvij s'; 'one to the Joyners for xiiij

1597-1600		
1597/98	Installation	'So[lutum] Johanni Chappington for making the orgaines, lx li'; 'So[lutum]' guilding the orgaines, x li'; 'So[lutum]' for wainescote for the frame of the orgaines, xj li'. ⁷¹²
1598/99	Maintenance and repair	'So[lutum] to the parietter [plasterer] et adiuuanti [assistant] for one daj and di [a half] in seeling the orgaines, ij s, vj d'; 'So[lutum]' for naylinge [makeing?] the cloth to save the orgaines, iiij d'; 'So[lutum] the ioyner for the desks and seeling under the stayries of the orgaines, xxvij s, ix d'. ⁷¹³
1599/1600	Repair	'So[lutum] Lawrance ⁷¹⁴ for mending the Organs, viij d'. ⁷¹⁵
	Repair	'So[lutum] Chappington for mending the Organs xiiij s, iiij d'. ⁷¹⁶
1600-1647		
1602/1603	Repair	'So[lutum]: to Keys man ye Joyner for mending the Organs and other worke, v s'. ⁷¹⁷
1603/04	Maintenance	'So[lutum] for lether & glew for the organs, x d'. ⁷¹⁸
1604/05	Repair	'So[lutum] Joanni Warcopp emendanti organa, x s'. ⁷¹⁹ ; 'So[lutum] Johnanni Warcopp emendanti organa, x s'. ⁷²⁰
1609/10	Repair	'So[lutum] to Roy the Joyner for mending the organ case et alijs ur per billam, viijs'. ⁷²¹
1614/15	Maintenance and repair	'So[lutum] for xlvj [46] li of new lead at ij d the pound to make a waight for the Orgaine bellowses, vij s, viij d'; 'So[lutum] to Mr Dallam ⁷²² for mending the Organs, v li'. ⁷²³
1618/19	Repair	'So[lutum] pro emendandis follibus [bellows] Organorum, x s'. ⁷²⁴
1622/23	Repair	'So[lutum] to Magistro Dalla ⁷²⁵ for mending ye Organs, lli, 10s'. ⁷²⁶

[daies] xij a daie, xxvij s'; 'to the Joyners for [an additional] 14 daies, xxvij s'; 'to the Joyner for ij daies & a halfe, ij s, ij d'.

⁷¹² NCA, 7586. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1597/98.

⁷¹³ NCA, 7587. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1598/99.

⁷¹⁴ Lawrance may have been a joyner or carpenter, for in the fourth term of 1599/1600 he is paid xxij s 'for the wainscot in the Church'.

⁷¹⁵ NCA, 7588. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1599/1600.

⁷¹⁶ NCA, 7588. Under 'Custus ad Extra' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1599/1600.

⁷¹⁷ NCA, 7593. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1602/1603.

⁷¹⁸ NCA, 7595. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1603/04.

⁷¹⁹ NCA, 7596. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1604/05, second term.

⁷²⁰ NCA, 4190. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1604/05.

⁷²¹ NCA, 7606. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1609/10.

⁷²² The payment refers to Thomas Dallam, who was to construct organs for the colleges of Corpus Christi (1618) and St. John's (1619); this marks the first acquaintance of New College with the Dallam family.

⁷²³ NCA, 7615. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1614/15.

⁷²⁴ NCA, 7623. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1618/19, fourth term.

1628/29	Repair and tuning	'So[lutum] to Yorke ⁷²⁷ for mending the Organ Bellowes & Pipes & tuning them ut per billam, xij s'. ⁷²⁸
1631/32	Repair	'So[lutum] to Yorke for mending the Organnes, 1li, 10s'. ⁷²⁹
1632/33	Repair	'So[lutum] to Yorke for mending the Organ, 2s'. ⁷³⁰
1633/34	Repair	'So[lutum] to Yorke for mending the organ bellowes, 3s'. ⁷³¹
1637/38	Organ book, partbooks	'So[lutum] for a sett of service bookes with Choire services and Anthemes in numbr Eleven with the Organ booke, 2li, 10s'. ⁷³²
1638/39	Maintenance and repair	'So[lutum] to Robert Gordon ⁷³³ for mending the Bellowes and scowring & mending ye pipes of ye Organs, 5li, 0s, 0d'. ⁷³⁴
1639/40	Restoration and beautification ⁷³⁵	The following payments are recorded under the third and fourth terms of 1639/40 in the <i>Bursars' Long Books</i> : ⁷³⁶ Under the third term: 'So[lutum] to 3 Labourers helping to take the organys [<i>sic</i>] ⁷³⁷ , 9d'; 'So[lutum] to Gramball for a dayes work a[nd] a half, cutting the Ledge, and Opening the wall for the Organs, 1s, 6d'; 'So[lutum] for a Weekes work, in removing the Organs ut per Billam, 1li, 10s, 11d'. Under the fourth term: 'So[lutum] to Yorke for his Work about ye Organs and for Materials, 1li, 12s, 6d'; 'So[lutum] to the Painter Hawkins ⁷³⁸ for Guilding and

⁷²⁵ The reference to 'Magistro Dalla' might refer to either Thomas or Robert, though as Thomas was still quite active, building organs for Durham Cathedral (1621-22) and Bristol in 1629, it was most likely Thomas that repaired the organ.

⁷²⁶ NCA, 7631. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1622/23, Term 1.

⁷²⁷ The Revd Andrew Freeman concluded that 'This Yorke, whose Christian name will seem to have been Giles, would be a relation of John Yorke, who, in 1619, made "a new chaire orgaine" for Trinity College, Cambridge. One or both of them - for no Christian name is given - also executed work at Magdalen College, Oxford several times between 1616 and 1641.' Freeman, A., 'The Organs of New College Oxford', *The Organ*, Vol. IX, No. 35 (January 1930); Hale, P., *The Organs of New College Oxford* (Oxford, 2015), 10-11. Giles Yorke maintained the organ until Parliamentary visitations in 1648.

⁷²⁸ NCA, 4200. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1628/29.

⁷²⁹ NCA, 7647. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1631/32, fourth term.

⁷³⁰ NCA, 7650. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1632/33.

⁷³¹ NCA, 7651. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1633/34.

⁷³² NCA, 7657. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1637/38. This may indicate two sets of five-part service books, one for either side of the choir (decani and cantori), together with an organ book, which in turn may indicate the performance of verse singing with organ accompaniment exemplified by works in the *New College Chapel Choir Books*.

⁷³³ Gordon did extensive work at Corpus Christi College; in November 1638 a major renovation of the vestry occurred, presumably in conjunction with a restoration of (or additions to) the Thomas Dallam organ. 'Payd to Roberte Gordon towards the making [good?] of the Organs, 32li, 6s, 9d'. CCCA, C/1/1/9, fol. 149r. In *Liber Magnus*, 1638/39. See above, Table 2.

⁷³⁴ NCA, 4202. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1638/39.

⁷³⁵ The work of 1639/40 shows that the organ, which stood on the gallery adjoining the vestry door, appears to have been moved back into the wall. Hale, *The Organs of New College Oxford*, 10.

⁷³⁶ NCA, 4203. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1639/40.

⁷³⁷ 'organes' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 'Custus Capellae'.

⁷³⁸ Richard Hawkins.

		painting the Frieze ⁷³⁹ of Wainscott seates and the 5 false Organepipes [<i>sic</i>] with the fringe ⁷⁴⁰ over ye Organ, 11li, 4s'. During the organ work, substantial alteration of the vestry continued; the vestry roof was apparently altered. ⁷⁴¹
1640/41	Refurbishment, blowing	The following payments are recorded in the <i>Bursars' Long Book</i> for 1640/41 ⁷⁴² during the first term: 'So[lutum] to Yorke for Leather and other Materialls, and for 4 dayes worke about the Organ, 6s, 6d'; 'So[lutum] to Giles Yorke for 7 days work and for soddering in mending the Organ, 8s'; 'So[lutum] W ^m Harris ⁷⁴³ for altering the Windpipes of the Organ, 18s'; 'So[lutum] to W ^m Harris for work done about the Organs and for making 2 wainscot doores and for ye Borders ⁷⁴⁴ over the Organs and other carving ut per billam, 11li'; 'So[lutum] to Willm Harris for hinges skins & worke done about mending the organ bellows ut per billam, 11s, 4d'; 'So[lutum] to Cotterell ⁷⁴⁵ for 5 dayes work, blowing the Organ Bellows, at 8d ye day, s, 4 d'; 'So[lutum] to Cottrell for blowing the Organ's 5 dayes worke at 8 ^d the day, 3s, 8d'; 'for bloweing the Organs 2 dayes in the Church at 8d ye day, 1s, 4d'; 'So[lutum] Mr Ellis, Organist of St John's for Tuning the Organs, 2li, 10s'. The following payments are recorded in the <i>Bursars' Long Book</i> for 1640/41: Under the second term: 'So[lutum] to Wicheloe ⁷⁴⁶ for silke and Laboure of sowing the Calicoe about the Organ, 1s, 6d'. ⁷⁴⁷ Under the third term: 'So[lutum] to M ^{ro} Bowman ⁷⁴⁸ for 6 yards & di of Callico for ye Organ, 7s, 1d'. Under the fourth term: 'So[lutum] to ffarr for blowing the organs for 3 termes, 7s, 6d'; 'for blowing the Organs pro hoc term[ino], 2s, 6d'.

⁷³⁹ 'ffreeze' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 'Custus Capellae'.

⁷⁴⁰ 'ffringe' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 'Custus Capellae'.

⁷⁴¹ 'So[lutum] for Pitch and tallowe for ye Beames over ye Vestry, 5s, 2d'; 'So[lutum] for nayles for the Vestrie rooffe ut per billam, 1li, 5s'; 'So[lutum] to ye Plumber for 1200 three quarters and 22 pounds of Lead at 12s the hundred, 7li, 15s, 4d'. Payments for casting sheets of lead for the vestry follow. NCA, 7661. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1639/40, fourth term.

⁷⁴² NCA, 4203. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1640/41.

⁷⁴³ According to Freeman, 'William Harris was a joiner and not an organ builder, though he is here shown as executing certain specific internal repairs to the College organ, presumably under the direction of Yorke...The name crops up again in connection with work done at New college at the Restoration, some of it relating to the making of a new organ case. He is definitely (and frequently) referred to as "Mr Harris ye joyner"'. Freeman, 'The Organs of New College Oxford'; Hale, *The Organs of New College Oxford*, 11. William Harris was paid 3li 'for the Communion table' and 'for the Rails before the Communion table in length 33 foote at 20s the foote, 33li' in 1633/34. He was also paid two payments of 50li and 30li in 1639/40 and an additional 20li in 1640/41 'for the Seates' in the chapel.

⁷⁴⁴ 'bodies' in Hale, *The Organs of New College Oxford*, 11.

⁷⁴⁵ Cotterell was a labourer, whose work also entailed 'removing the Lumber out of the Vestry' and cleaning the chapel.

⁷⁴⁶ 'Wicheloe' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 'Custus Capellae'.

⁷⁴⁷ NCA, 4203. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Bursars' Long Book*, 1640/41, second term.

⁷⁴⁸ 'Mrs. Bowman' in Hale, *The Organs of New College Oxford*, 11.

1641/42	Repair, blowing	The following payments are recorded in the <i>Computus Bursariorum</i> , for 1641/42. ⁷⁴⁹ First term: 'So[lutum] to ffarr for blowing ye Organs for hoc termino, 2s, 6d'. Second term: 'So[lutum] for mending ye Organ bellows and for a skinne ut per billam, 3s, 9d'; 'So[lutum] to Farr for blowing ye Organs, 2s, 6d'. Third term: 'So[lutum] to ffarr for blowing the Organs, 2s, 6d'. Fourth term: 'So[lutum] to Farr blowing ye Organs, 2s, 6d'.
Sometime after 1646/47	Removal	

New College masters of choristers/organists

From 1379 the posts *informator choristarum* and organist appear one in the same, with the possible exception of 1542/43 and 1545/46 (see below).

John Schete, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1394 /95.⁷⁵⁰

John Robert, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1423 (two terms).⁷⁵¹

Walter Raynold, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1423/24 (two, possibly three terms), 1427.⁷⁵²

Thomas Wheler, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1425/26 (two terms).⁷⁵³

John Francis, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1427-29, 1436-43.⁷⁵⁴

Thomas Synet, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1434/35.⁷⁵⁵

Bell, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1484/85.⁷⁵⁶

Robert Barber, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1541/42.⁷⁵⁷

Robert Godwin, *informator choristarum*, Robert Mos (Moose), organist, 1542/43.⁷⁵⁸

'gustinian', clerk/organist, 1545/46.⁷⁵⁹

Serrel, (John?), ⁷⁶⁰ *informator choristarum*/organist, 1549-1553?

Paul Amerson, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1553-71.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁴⁹ NCA, 7665. Under 'Custus Capellae' in *Computus Bursariorum*, 1641/42.

⁷⁵⁰ Harrison, *MMB*, 462.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, 462.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, 464.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 158, 455.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 463.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 455.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁹ See table above.

⁷⁶⁰ Fellow of New College, 1549-53, from Droxford, Hants; B.A., 23 January 1552-3. 'Serrel, John', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

Anthony Gudgeon, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1571-77.
 Edmund Hackluyt, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1578-87.
 Simon Vincent, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1588-92.
 Hathwat, (Alexander?),⁷⁶² *informator choristarum*/organist, 1594-96.
 (Accounts for 1592/93, 1596/97 missing)
 William Wigthorpe, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1597-1611.
 William Meredith, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1611-37.
 Hosier, (William?),⁷⁶³ 'Clerico Inform[atori] in Musica' as of second term 1637/38
 through third term of 1638/39.
 'Magistro Pinck',⁷⁶⁴ 'organistae et Infor[matori] Ch[oristarum] in Mus[ica]', as of fourth
 term 1638/39 through 1639/40.
 Simon Coleman, *informator choristarum*/organist, 1640-June 1649 (ejected).
 'Magistro Miles' (William?),⁷⁶⁵ *informatori choristarum in musica*/organist, 1650-57.
 'Magistro Crouch' (Robert?),⁷⁶⁶ *informatori choristarum in musica*/organist, 1658-60.

⁷⁶¹ Oddly, there appear to be no matriculation records for him at New College. Paul Amerson, *informator choristarum*, is mentioned frequently during Bishop Horne's visitations in 1566. He had been in possession of seditious literature by New College recusants Harding, Saunders, and Marshall. 'The Visitation of 1566', in *Bishop Horne's Register 1560-1579*, copied by Parker, A. (March 2, 1901), BOD MS Top Oxon. c.354, 26-8. After the Visitation of 1566 he remained another five years. Edmunds, J., *New College Brats* (Oxford, 1996), 18, 79; Mould, *The English Chorister*, 98. According to Foster, Amerson could have been chaplain at New College in and before 1564 after leaving Magdalen College. Amerson was: clerk of Magdalen College, 1557-8; received his B.A. there, 28 April 1559; became fellow, 1559-60; chaplain at Magdalen, 1558-9 or 1560-2. See 'Amersone, Paul', in Foster, *AOXEN*. See also Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, vol. II, 39.

⁷⁶² Hathwat, Alexander? Of Cumberland, pleb. Queen's College, matric. New College, 18 July 1589, aged 18; B.A., 13 December 1593; M.A., 14 June 1596; B.D. from New College, 26 March 1618; vicar of Harwell, Berks, 1602; rector of Weybridge, Surrey, 1610, and of Uphill, Somerset, 1619. 'Hathwat, Alexander', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁷⁶³ Chorister Magdalen College, 1630-37; B.A. from New College, 13 June 1638. 'Hosier, William', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁷⁶⁴ It is unlikely that the reference is to Warden Robert Pincke (Pink, Pinck); however, there are three members by the name of 'Pincke' that could be 'Pincke' the organist/*informator*: Francis Pincke (s. Robert, of Alresford, Hants, pleb., matric. New College, 12 November 1624, aged 16; B.A., 17 December 1630; vicar of Vowchurch, co. Hereford, 1637); John Pincke ('s. John, of Gloucester (city), pleb. New College matric., 4 July 1623, aged 15; B.A., 28 January 1629-30; M.A., 17 January 1632-3; sometime vicar of Whaddon, Bucks, and probably ejected. See BL Add. MSS. 15,670, p. 158, and 15,671, p. 107) or Henry Pincke ('s. Walter, of Kempshott, Hants, pleb. New College, matric., 10 December 1630, aged 18). 'Pincke, Francis', 'Pincke, John', and 'Pincke, Henry', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁷⁶⁵ William Miles would have been uncharacteristically young, a teenager most likely, making appointment as *informator* unlikely: Cler. fil., matric. New College, 9 December 1650; B.A., 7 April 1655; perhaps vicar of West Deane, Sussex, 1661. 'Miles, William', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

⁷⁶⁶ 'cler. fil.' matric. Balliol College, 27 November 1652; B.A., 16 October 1655; M.A. from New College, 11 June 1658; vicar of Hannington, Wilts, 1660; rector of Ewerne Courtney, Dorset, 1668, and vicar of Tarrant Monachorum, Dorset, 1678; father of James, 1696. 'Crouch, Robert', in Foster, *AOXEN*.

Table 4. Provision for organs, King's College, Cambridge, from c. 1450 through c. 1644. The majority of the references are extracted from the 'Custus ecclesie' in the *Mundum Books* and the *Bursars' Particular Books*; however, references have also been found under the headings 'Expense necessarie', 'Feoda et regarda', 'Restitutio creditorum', 'Recepta fforinseca', 'Custus novi templi', and 'Reparaciones novi templi'. For clarification of the academic terms (*Term. Mich.*, *Term. Nat.*, *Term. Annunt.*, and *Term. Bapt.*) see Appendix XI. Notes on College Bursarial Accounts, 594.

Period	Nature of reference	Reference/source
1450-1549		
1450/51	Repair	For repair of the 'great organs', v s. ⁷⁶⁷
1507/08	Installation and repair	New organ built by Thomas Browne (London), xlvii li (£48); ⁷⁶⁸ '...uno emendanti nova organa ix s, viij d'. ⁷⁶⁹
1508/09	Repair and maintenance	To Thomas Browne for making (new?) 'great organs'. ⁷⁷⁰
1509/10	Repair (great organ)	'...pro emendacione magnorum organuorum, xl s'. ⁷⁷¹
1533/34	Repair	Repairs carried out by John Howe. ⁷⁷²
1541/42	Maintenance (rope)	'It' xmo Die decembris pro...corderum pro campanis et organis, ij s, ij d'. ⁷⁷³
1545/46	Repair and maintenance (rope)	'It' pro emendacione organorum, vj d'; 'It' pro corio pro organis, viij d'; 'It' xiiij Feb[ruarius] pro 6 lli [corderis?] pro organis, x d'. ⁷⁷⁴
1553-1559		
1553/54	Repair and maintenance	'It' payd to William Wells for mendynge both the payres of organs, & for wyer to mend them with, viij s, vj d'. ⁷⁷⁵
1554/55	Repair and maintenance	'It' paid to William Wells for mendyng the organs, xvj d'; 'It' paid for cordys [for the bellows most likely] for the organs, viij d'; 'Item solut pro chords pro Organis, vij s, vj d'. ⁷⁷⁶
1555/56	Maintenance (rope)	'It sol' Carleton for roobs[i.e. ropes, cords] for ye organs, iiij d'. ⁷⁷⁷
1556/57	Repair and maintenance	'It' sol' harrisson de Royston emendacione organorum, xv s'; 'Item for too [two?] pullyes for the organs, ij d'. ⁷⁷⁸
1557/58	Maintenance	'Item sol' Carleton ⁷⁷⁹ pro cordis pro organis, xij d'. ⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁶⁷ Thistlethwaite, *The Organs of Cambridge*, 57.

⁷⁶⁸ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/10. Under 'Restitutio creditorum' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1507/08; cited in Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 263.

⁷⁶⁹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/10. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1507/08.

⁷⁷⁰ Thistlethwaite, *The Organs of Cambridge*, 57.

⁷⁷¹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/10. Under 'Custus ecclesie', in *Mundum Bk.*, 1509/10.

⁷⁷² Thistlethwaite, *The Organs of Cambridge*, 57.

⁷⁷³ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/11. Under 'Custus ecclesie', in *Mundum Bk.*, 1541/42.

⁷⁷⁴ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/11. Under 'Custus ecclesie', in *Mundum Bk.*, 1545/46.

⁷⁷⁵ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/13. Under 'Custus ecclesie', in *Mundum Bk.*, 1553/54.

⁷⁷⁶ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/13. Under 'Custus ecclesie', in *Mundum Bk.*, 1554/55.

⁷⁷⁷ KCAR/4/1/1/13. Under 'Expense necessarie', 'Custus Novi Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1555/56.

Carleton also repaired the clock and procured oil for the chapel; he was not an organ builder. See below.

⁷⁷⁸ KCAR/4/1/1/13. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1556/57.

1558/59	Maintenance (rope)	'Item sol' pro funie [rope] pro organis, iij d'. ⁷⁸¹
1559-1571		
1561/62	Maintenance	'Item sot' Wilelmo Randall of Pulham in com' norfolc for mendynge the lesse organs xvj September, xl s'. ⁷⁸²
1562/63	Maintenance	'Item sot' pro manus Johannis Carleton for ij payres of lynes for the organs, viij d'; 'Item solut Roberto Tatam for an elme of canvas delyveryd to Carleton, x d'. ⁷⁸³
1563/64	Maintenance (cord)	'Item sol' pro manus Johannis Carleton pro funiculis [cords] pro organis, iij d'. ⁷⁸⁴
1564/65	Maintenance	'Item sol' for ij lynes for the great organs and ij lynes for the lesser organs, viij d'. ⁷⁸⁵
1566/67	Maintenance (rope)	'Item: sol' for two ropes for ye organs, vj d'. ⁷⁸⁶
1567/68		'Item: for two pullies for the organs, viij d'. ⁷⁸⁷
1568/69		'It' sol' pro ij ^{bis} funibis [ropes] pro organis, vj d' (<i>Term. Mich.</i>); 'It' sol' for mending the bellows of ye organes, viij d' (<i>Term. Annunt.</i>). ⁷⁸⁸
1570/71	Organ removal	<i>Bursars' Particular Bk.</i> records: 'Rec pro organis, v li' (<i>Term. Mich.</i>); 'Imprimis rec for the owld organ pipes, xlv s, x d' (<i>Term. Nat.</i>). ⁷⁸⁹ <i>Mundum Bk.</i> records: 'It' pro Organis, [c?] s'; 'It' rec for thold organ pipes xlv s, x d'. ⁷⁹⁰ 'It'...for setting tharmes in thorgan lofte, xx s'. ⁷⁹¹
1605-1644		
1605/06	Installation	Installation of Thomas Dallam's organ. ⁷⁹²
1605/06	Maintenance	'Item solut' Pro Diversis circa le Organ ut patet pro billam, xxlj, xvij s, j d' (<i>Term. Bapt.</i>). ⁷⁹³

⁷⁷⁹ John Carleton, listed among the conducts and lay clerks under 'Pensiones', was also involved in organ repair on numerous occasions, for example, in the fall of 1563 (ostensibly for the bellows). Nicholas Thistlethwaite argues that the repairs undertaken by Joshua Carlsley (or Carleton) refer to Carleton, 'a local workman of some sort'. Thistlethwaite, 'The Organ of King's College, Cambridge', 5. This appears unlikely. Payments to John Carleton, the conduct (i.e. chaplain), are recorded under 'Pensiones'; more often he was paid for procuring baudricks and bell ropes or oil or for mending the clock, according to the 'Custus ecclesie', hence his payments for organ cords and 'lynies' from 1555 through 1563.

⁷⁸⁰ KCAR/4/1/1/13. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1557/58.

⁷⁸¹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/14. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1558/59.

⁷⁸² KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/14. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1561/62. This is a substantial sum, indicating frequent use.

⁷⁸³ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/14. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1562/63.

⁷⁸⁴ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/14. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1563/64.

⁷⁸⁵ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/15. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1564/65.

⁷⁸⁶ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/15. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1566/67.

⁷⁸⁷ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/15. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1567/68.

⁷⁸⁸ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/15. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1568/69.

⁷⁸⁹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Recepta fforinseca' in *Bursars' Particular Bk.*, 1570/71.

⁷⁹⁰ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Recepta fforinseca' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71.

⁷⁹¹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/16. Under 'Custus ecclesie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1570/71.

⁷⁹² KCA, KCAR 4/1/1/22. Under 'The charges about the organs &c. Augusti XIII. a Junij 22. 1605. ad August 7. 1606' in *Mundum Bk.* 1605/06. For detailed transcription and analysis see Thistlethwaite, 'The Organ of King's College, Cambridge', 4-42.

⁷⁹³ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/22. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1605/06.

1607/08	Tuning	'Item solut' Magistro Dallam pro tuning le organs, vj s, viij d' (<i>Term. Bapt.</i>). ⁷⁹⁴
1608/09		'Imprimis solut' pro mending le Communion Table et le frame of the Organs, iij d' (<i>Term. Nat.</i>); 'Item solut' Magistro Dallam...pro opere diversis in reficiendis les Organs, xxij s, vj d' (<i>Term. Annunt.</i>). ⁷⁹⁵
1610/11		'Item solut' magistro Dallam pro reparandis organis xx s' (<i>Term. Annunt.</i>). ⁷⁹⁶
1613/14	Overhaul/moving the organ	Under <i>Term. Mich.</i> : 'Solut' Magistro Dallam in partem soluciones pro opere circa Organ, xx li'; 'Solut Magistro Dallam in plena solis pro opere circa Organ, x li'; 'Solut pro Scala [stairs] in usum Organiste, ij s'; 'Solut Anderew Chapman in partem soluciones pro opere circa Organ, iij li'; 'Solut Andr[ew] Chapman in plena solis pro opere circa Organ, iij li, x s'. Under <i>Term. Nat.</i> : 'Solut' pro 64 li plumbi ad 2d le lib in usum Organ, x s, viij d'; 'Solut' Magistro Jordan pro lodging & use of his quarters 8 weekes for Magistro Dallam & his man...xxviij s'. ⁷⁹⁷
1615/16	Tuning and maintenance	'Solut' Magistro Ward Londinensi pro tuning le organs et supplement corii circa le bellowses, 4li'. ⁷⁹⁸
1616/17	Repair and maintenance	'Solut' Magistro Dallam pro Organ reparandi...x li' (<i>Term. Annunt.</i>); 'Item dixon pro 18 foot de bord ne ingressus fiat in organa, ij s vj d'. Tr: 'Item [to] Dixon for 18 foot of board, so that entry may not be made to the organ 2s, 6d'. ⁷⁹⁹
1624/25	Repair	'Sol' Magistro Jordan et Magistro Tomkins pro reficiendis Organis 50 s' (<i>Term. Bapt.</i>). ⁸⁰⁰
1626/27	Repair	'Solut' Magistro Dallam pro reparandis organis, 2li, 1s'. ⁸⁰¹
1634/35	Repair and maintenance	'Imprimis solut' pro skines et glue in reparatione le Organ, 1s' (<i>Term. Mich.</i>); 'Item Magistro Dallam pro reparandis organis ut pt, 22li' (<i>Term. Annunt.</i>); 'Item pro le padlock in le organ loft, 1s, 6d' (<i>Term. Bapt.</i>). ⁸⁰²
1636/37	Repair	'Sol: Magistro Dallam pro reparand' le organ bellowses, 4li, 7s'. ⁸⁰³
1642/43	Maintenance/organ blowing ⁸⁰⁴	'Item solut' Magistro Comyng pro reparand' le Organ, 1li' (<i>Term. Nat.</i> , 1642). ⁸⁰⁵ 'Item solut' Martin ...pro inflandis

⁷⁹⁴ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1607/08.

⁷⁹⁵ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Reparationis nostri Templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1608/09.

⁷⁹⁶ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1610/11.

⁷⁹⁷ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1613/14. The extensive work on/around the organ occurs just prior to a visit by King James I in 1614. Though the 64 pounds of lead suggest new pipes, the amount paid to Thomas Dallam and Andrew Chapman (total, c. £38), which includes payments for stairs, is not enough to signify a move to the great screen; it may, however, suggest moving the organ to a gallery/loft (e.g. on the northeast side of the presbytery). A communion table now replaced the Dallam organ in the centre of the presbytery. Please refer to Robert Smythson's drawing, Supplement One, Illustration S.2, 400.

⁷⁹⁸ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1615/16.

⁷⁹⁹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/23. Under 'Reparaciones novi templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1616/17.

⁸⁰⁰ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1624/25.

⁸⁰¹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/4/45. Under 'Reparaciones novi Templi' in *Bursars' Particular Bk.*, 1626/27.

⁸⁰² KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/26. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1634/35.

⁸⁰³ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1636/37.

		Organis, 6s, 8d'. (<i>Term. Mich.</i> and <i>Term. Nat.</i> , 1642/ <i>Term. Annunt.</i> , <i>Term. Bapt.</i> , 1643). ⁸⁰⁶
1642/43	Organ Removal	'Solut' Magistro Comynge pro taking downe le Organ, 2li'; 'Item solut' le Joyner et diversis Laborantibus circa eidem ut patet, 1li, 1s' (<i>Term. Nat.</i>). ⁸⁰⁷
1643/44	Organ Case Removal	'Solut' eidem [Wardall] Solut' for mending lock of organ lock doore, 1s, 2d' (<i>Term. Annunt.</i>); 'Solut' Martin et Cowen pro opere circa Le Organ case, 2s'; 'Solut' Ashley pro taking downe the Orgaine case, 3s, 4d' (<i>Term. Bapt.</i>). ⁸⁰⁸

Organists 1507-1643

Henry Cole (lay clerk, organist, 1544/45)

Although Henry Cole, a lay clerk, appears to have been appointed to play the organ during the final quarter of 1544/45, there is no payment recorded for his services, only his stipend as clerk.⁸⁰⁹

Robert Redyng (organist, 1544/45)

Robert Redyng appears more consistently as organist.⁸¹⁰ Redyng is the last individual to be designated in this manner for playing the organ until 1606, when John Tomkins received the title of organist and *informator*.⁸¹¹ This is the first instance of the combined duties of organist and *informator choristarum* at King's College. The task/post of playing the organ is never mentioned specifically until that time, perhaps indicating that it was executed by a clerk or member of the choir without recompense.⁸¹² By contrast, the *informator choristarum* at New College always assumed the duties of organist as well as training the boys.

⁸⁰⁴ Consistent payments for the organ blower are found from 1606 to 1642/43 in the 'Feoda et regarda' section of the accounts. 'Martin' continues to receive his payment for two terms (*Ter'nis. Annunt.*, *Bapt.*) after the organ was taken down in *Term. Nat.*, 1643.

⁸⁰⁵ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1642/43.

⁸⁰⁶ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1642/43.

⁸⁰⁷ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/27. Under 'Reparaciones novi templi' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1642/43.

⁸⁰⁸ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/28. Under 'Expensae necessariae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1643/44.

⁸⁰⁹ 'henricus cole, xviii s, iiij d (payment as clerk); 'Item jubilanti in organis' (no payment seems to be made). KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/11. Under 'Pensiones' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1544/45 (final quarter). The wording of the payment to Cole reflects the terminology in the first statute ('jubilare in organis'). See Stat. I, 'De Numero Scholarium sudentium particulariter in diversis scientiis', in Statutes of King's College (1453). Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 20.

⁸¹⁰ 'It' pro Roberto Redyng pulsanti organa ad ffesto...ad natale..., v s'; 'It' Roberto Redyng pulsanti organa pro festo Santa Maria...v s'; 'It' Roberto Redyng pulsanti organa pro festo Annuntione v s'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/11. Under 'Expense necessarie' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1544/45.

⁸¹¹ 'Magistro Johanni Tomkins organist (50s) and *informator* et informand(o) Choriste, 11s, 8d, total iij li, xx d'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/22. Under 'Pensiones' in *Mundum Bk.* 1606/07.

⁸¹² Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 269.

John Fido (organist, 1606/07)

Payne attributes the brief nine-week employment of the highly competent 'Fido' for playing⁸¹³ and repairing⁸¹⁴ the organ in 1606 as a means to assist John Tomkins during his strenuous first year as *informator*.

Matthew Barton (organist, 1622-24)

It would appear that the chapel lacked continuous and dependable musical leadership after Tomkin's departure in 1618/19. The post of precentor was no longer apparent, and the combined post of organist and *informator* or 'master of the quire' was split in two once again; Laurence Eusden was appointed as master of choristers. The chapel languished in the absence of an appointed organist until Matthew Barton was employed at Michaelmas Term 1622.

Like Tomkins before him, Barton's salary was raised after what appears to have been a period of probation; he received 50s plus commons during *Term. Mich.* 1622/23⁸¹⁵ and 58s, 4d plus commons in *Ter'nis Nat., Annunt., and Bapt.* 1623.⁸¹⁶ During the same year he received viij li '*pro labore in pulsandis organis ac tempore recessus Magistri Tomkins*',⁸¹⁷ which suggests a provisory employment in the gap left by Tomkins. Barton's final payment as organist is recorded at Michaelmas term 1623/24;⁸¹⁸ however, in 1625 he received a lay clerk's livery allowance of ix s (though his name does not appear with the lay clerks, nor is he paid a lay clerk's stipend).⁸¹⁹

⁸¹³ Fido was paid xxx s 'pro libris [in usum chori et organi] et playing upon the organs pro 9 septimanis' (*Term. Bapt.*). KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/22. Under 'Custus ecclesiae' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1606/07. Payne has attributed Fido's short stay at King's to a leave of absence from Worcester Cathedral, where Thomas Tomkins, John's half-brother, was *informator*. By 1610 Fido was appointed organist at Worcester, and his period there as Thomas Tomkin's assistant may be significant. For more on Fido see Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 75-7, 272.

⁸¹⁴ Apparently Fido helped repair the organ possibly under the guidance of Thomas Dallam, who may have already begun work on the Norwich Cathedral instrument - his next great instrument. Fido was paid xx s 'in regardis pro operibus circa le organs'. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/22. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.* 1606/07.

⁸¹⁵ Most likely for service in the preceding quarters.

⁸¹⁶ 'Magistro Matheus Barton' received: (*Term. Mich.*) 50s plus commons=iiij li, x s; (*Term. Nat.*) 58s, 4d plus commons=v li, j s viij d; (*Term. Annunt.*) 58s, 4d plus commons=v li j s, viij d; (*Term. Bapt.*) 58s, 4d plus commons= v li, v s. KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/24. Under 'Pensiones' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1622/23.

⁸¹⁷ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/24. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.* 1622/23.

⁸¹⁸ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/24. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1623/24.

⁸¹⁹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Soluciones pro Liberatura' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1625/26.

Giles Tomkins (lay clerk, organist, 1624-26)

Several entries indicate the employment of Giles Tomkins, the younger brother of John. Beginning in *Term. Nat.*, 1624/25, he is paid 50s as organist ('Magistro Egidio Tomkins Organistae'), which continues through *Term. Annunt.* At *Term. Bapt.* he received 58s, 4d'.⁸²⁰ Tomkins' payment of 58s, 4d continues through *Term. Annunt.* 1625/26, but during *Term. Bapt.* there appears to have been no replacement found for there is no payment recorded. At the outset of 1626/27 he appears to have received an arrears of his salary: '*Item Magistro Egidio Tomkins nuper Organista, 1li, 10s*' (*Term. Mich.*). John Tomkins also appears to have received an arrears at this time: '*Sol' Magistro Johanni Tompkins nuper Organistae in plenam Solurorum omnium arreragiorum ei debit[orum], 10li*'. (*Term. Bapt.*).⁸²¹

George Marshall (organist, 1624-26)

At *Term. Mich.* 1626/27, George Marshall was paid x s '*pro pulsandis organis*'. Payne suggests that he was employed on a temporary basis; nowhere do the accounts refer to him as a conduct, lay clerk, or any other member of the chapel staff.⁸²² Bowers has alluded to his talent in composition as well as organ playing,⁸²³ and according to H. Watkins Shaw, he may have been a pupil of John Bull.⁸²⁴ Apparently, Marshall later received arrears in salary or aided the college in festive music, for he was paid 2s, 6d - the same salary as the waits - at the feast of the Purification in 1627/28.⁸²⁵

John Silver (organist, 1627)

There was apparently no organist paid during *Term. Nat.* and *Term. Annunt.* 1626/27; however, at *Term. Bapt.* 1626/27 '*Magistro Loosemore organistae*' received xxv s '*pro dimidio termini*' (for half a term).⁸²⁶ John Silver, possibly the John Silver of Wimborne

⁸²⁰ L s plus the additional salary of lay clerk (viiij s, iiij d). Most likely a raise.

⁸²¹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1626/27.

⁸²² Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 274.

⁸²³ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music', 280.

⁸²⁴ Shaw, H.W., *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford, 1991); Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 274.

⁸²⁵ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1626/27.

⁸²⁶ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Pensiones' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1626/27.

Minster,⁸²⁷ may have covered the first half of Baptist Term. Payne suggests that he apparently made a trip to Winchester to look for choristers.⁸²⁸

Henry Loosemore (organist, 1627-43, master of choristers, 1640-51)

Loosemore began full time at *Term. Mich.* 1627/28, however, at the customary lower salary of 50s, with Eusden as *informator*. The extant *Mundum Books* for 1628/29 and 1632-34 confirm the continuation of the division of duties. Beginning with *Term. Mich.* 1628/29 he is referred to as '*henrico Loosmore organistae*', and his salary is raised significantly to 3li. After the following term (*Term. Nat.*) it was raised further to 3li, 6s, 8d.⁸²⁹ This sum is recorded through 1634/35 when Loosemore's salary as organist is raised to 5li; although Eusden ceases to be paid as *informator* as of *Term. Mich.*, Payne and Bowers agree that this need not imply Loosemore had taken over Eusden's duties as *informator*.

⁸²⁷ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 368.

⁸²⁸ 'Item Magistro Silver organistae' is paid 1li, 10s 'pro expensis in itinere de Winton' (*Term. Bapt.*). KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Feoda et regarda' in *Mundum Bk.*, 1626/27; Payne, *The Provision and Practice*, 274.

⁸²⁹ KCA, KCAR/4/1/1/25. Under 'Pensiones' in *Mundum Bk.* 1628/29.

Appendix XI. Notes on College Bursarial Accounts.

Cambridge, King's College Archives (KCA)

Structure of accounting

The *Mundum Books*, the college's nearly unbroken sequence of annual account books, have recorded the income and expenditure of King's College, Cambridge, from 1447 to the present with very few lacunae. Not only do they present stipends and individual duties of fellows, payments for goods and services, and wages for college employees, they hold the key to the construction of the chapel and other college buildings. They also represent a 'register' of Kingsmen, college staff, and tradespeople and offer an insight into the lives of scholars from the fifteenth century onwards.⁸³⁰ More importantly, they provide a bevy of musical references, indicating the assiduous copying and acquisition of musical manuscripts between 1529 and c. 1630 and the payments to clerks and other musicians who organised or made them.

Volumes 1-51 were bound in the mid-eighteenth century. Some accounts found missing at the time were replaced with *Bursars' Common* or *Particular Books*; some accounts were bound in the wrong order. The existing *Bursars' Common* or *Particular Books* are in general a draft (i.e. rougher copy) made by the three bursars of the more finely executed *Mundum Books*.⁸³¹

Before 1752 the calendar year began on 25 March in England (and after 1752 on 1 January); however, as in many colleges, the accounting year at King's College ran

⁸³⁰ When Henry VI founded King's College in 1441 he wrote statutes governing the foundation and its accounting practices; these statutes remained in force until 1862. The king endowed the college with manors to provide its income; the money from the foundation-granted estates paid room, board, and some incidentals as long as members were resident in college or, if away, on college business. It paid these expenses for fellows, scholars, certain servants (statute 57), choristers, fellows in holy orders, conducts (i.e. chaplains/priests), and lay clerks (i.e. the adult male members of the choir). Individuals for whom the above-mentioned expenses were paid are called 'members'; thus the phrase 'being on the foundation' refers exclusively to these people. Only fellows and scholars are considered *sociis* or members of the society. Other people associated with the college - for example, extra servants and students/fellows who paid their own way (i.e. fellow commoners) and sizars (i.e. poor undergraduates willing to work their passage by doing menial tasks such as waiting in hall and subsisting on leftovers) - were not considered members. Statute 14 makes the provision for the three bursars, and statute 27 concerns paying degree fees for poor students.

⁸³¹ The *Mundum Books* were drawn up by a specialist clerk, whose expenses are reflected within them. I am grateful to Patricia McGuire, archivist of King's College, for directing my attention to this.

from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (29 September). Payments in the *Mundum Books* and *Bursars' Particular Books* are, as in most college accounts, grouped under the four academic terms; however, rather than designate the quarters simply as *1^o Termino*, *2^o Termino*, *3^o Termino*, and *4^o Termino*, the *Mundum Books* divide the year into quarters by certain feast days. At King's College the feasts used for this purpose were: Michaelmas, 29 September; Nativity (of Christ), 25 December; Annunciation or Lady Day, 25 March; and Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 24 June. The term began on the day or the day after the feast day;⁸³² the academic terms are designated: *Term. Mich.* (Michaelmas Term), *Term. Nat.* (*Termino Nativitas*, or Christmas Term), *Term. Annunt.* (*Termino 'annunciatio dominica'*, or Annunciation Term), and *Term. Bapt.* (*Termino 'Johannes Bapt.'*, or Baptist Term).

Volumes consulted:

KCAR 4/1/1/9 - KCAR/4/1/1/29. *Mundum Books*. 1500/1501 - 1649/50.

Headings consulted: 'Custus ecclesie' (after 1600, 'Custus ecclesiae'), 'Expense necessarie' (after 1600, 'Expensae necessariae'), 'Pensiones et Vadia',⁸³³ 'Receptio forinseca', 'Custus equitancium', 'Reparaciones facit circa novum Templum' (also listed as 'Reparaciones novi Templi' and 'Custus novi edivicii'), 'Exhibitio chorustarum', 'Solut' pro exequiis',⁸³⁴ and 'Reparaciones apud Cantabrigiam'.

KCAR 4/1/4/1, KCAR/4/1/4/3 - KCAR/4/1/4/61. *Bursars' Particular Books*. 1547/48, 1569/70 - 1649/50.

Headings consulted: same as above.

KCHR/3/1/13. *Year Lists of Members on the Foundation*, 1441-1834. Six volumes. Volumes consulted: vol. III (KCHR/3/1/13/3).

⁸³² For example, the calendar year 1610 was divided into four terms abbreviated (in chronological order): Annunt 1610 (25 March to 23 June, 1610) ('annunciatio dominica', the annunciation to Mary); Bapt 1610 (24 June to 28 September, 1610) ('Johannes Bapt. nativitas', the birth of John the Baptist); Mich 1610 (29 September to 24 December, 1610) (Michaelmas, St. Michael the Archangel); Nat 1610 (25 December to 24 March 1610) ('nativitas' or 'natale domini', Christmas). The year 1611 began on 25 March. The days between 31 December and 24 March are nowadays sometimes disambiguated as being in the year 1610/11 (for this example). I am grateful to archivist Patricia McGuire for providing me the documentation on King's College calendars/dating.

⁸³³ Lists fellows scholars, conducts, lay clerks, and officers with the amount for each member, including that for any services he performs. Listed by person and his offices (no dates) by term, naming individual 'capellanis et clericis', servants, and 'officiaris et ministris'.

⁸³⁴ Lists payments (per term, by seniority group each term) made to each fellow in association with the commemorative services for the founder and benefactors; payments are made to chaplains, choristers (not listed separately), and lay clerks (listed separately) in addition to members. This provides an invaluable record of yearly choral numbers.

Cambridge, St. John's College Archives (SJCA)

Structure of accounting

Henry Fraser Howard has catalogued and analysed the financial accounts of St. John's College, Cambridge, from the foundation through 1926.⁸³⁵ Though not complete, yearly statements are extant from a very early period (c. 1510-1539), three of which (1534/35, 1535/36, and 1537/38) are designated as *Bursars' Accounts*. This is followed by the 'old Bursars' Book' (now *Bursars' Books I*, 1539-46 and *Bursars' Books II*, 1547-50), which contains accounts for most of the years from 1540 to 1555; there is, however, a major lacuna between 1549/50 and 1554/55. From 1555 bound volumes of the annual accounts, usually called the 'Rentals' run consistently to the present day; these are classified statements of the rents due from the various estates and of other receipts as well as of expenditure. Although the earliest accounts - those of the masters - run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, in the year of the first annual Bursars' accounts (1535/36) the date was changed to Christmas (i.e. Christmas 1535 to Christmas 1536, or rather St. Thomas to St. Thomas, 21 December).⁸³⁶ In contrast to other college accounts examined in this study, the date assigned to the college year is misleading; the date is that of the calendar year *from* the December of which the accounts nominally run. Thus, the *Rental* for 1642 includes accounts running from December 1642 to December 1643 (actually from 31 January 1642/43 to 1 January 1643/44).⁸³⁷ *Nota bene*: there is a problem in the chronology of the *Bursars' Books* set out at the beginning of volume D106/17, which makes the dependability of the dating during the last years of Henry VIII's reign tenuous.⁸³⁸

Volumes consulted:

D106/14. *Bursars' Accounts*, 1534/35.

D106/15. *Bursars' Accounts*, 1535/36.

D106/16. *Bursars' Accounts*, 1537/38.

⁸³⁵ Howard, H.F., *An Account of the Finances of the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge 1511-1926* (Cambridge, 1936, repub., 2010).

⁸³⁶ Howard, *An Account of the Finances of St. John the Evangelist*, 18-19.

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁸ The table of contents for D106/17 lists the last eight years of Henry's reign (An:31 Hen 8 - An: 38 Hen 8); however, these years do not correspond with those contained in the book: they are a year off. This has caused ambiguity in the dates given by Ian Payne. See Vol. I, Chapter Four, 139, nt. 543.

D106/17. *Bursars' Book*, I, 1539-46.
 D106/18. *Bursars' Book*, II, 1547-50.
 SB4/1. *Rentals*, 1555-74.
 SB4/2. *Rentals*, 1575-99.
 SB4/3. *Rentals*, 1600-19.
 SB4/4. *Rentals*, 1620-33.
 SB4/5. *Rentals*, 1634-49.

Headings consulted: 'Stipendia capellanorum', 'Stipendia servientium', 'Expensae ecclesiae', 'Expensae necessariae', 'Reparationes tenementorum Cantabrigiae et Domi'.

Oxford, New College Archives (NCA)

Structure of accounting

The account rolls of New College were catalogued by Francis Steer in 1974,⁸³⁹ and it is his numbering that is used at present to identify the rolls. The rolls are kept in boxes and stored in the muniment tower. Several types of account rolls survive: of the two main types, one records rents and other income received from estates (*Computus Bursariorum de Receptis*) and the other details the college accounts as expenditures with a summary of estate receipts at the top (*Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*). These rolls, both receipts and expenses, are catalogued sequentially in chronological order; however, certain years are missing. Evidently, each of the three bursars was responsible for receipts at different times of the year; surviving receipt rolls are recorded by one bursar only, but the expense rolls bear the names of all three officers. In addition, the so-called '*Bursars' Long Books*' ('long' on account of their long, narrow format) provide a second, rougher copy of the expenses contained in the *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*, but only after 1602/03 with gap years. In this study the college account rolls (*Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*) as well as the *Bursars' Long Books* provided a large body of evidence; the receipt rolls were not consulted.⁸⁴⁰ The *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis* and *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis* at New College were each recorded on a single roll (comprised of parchment pages sown together) yearly. The accounting year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (29 September). Payments in the chapel accounts

⁸³⁹ Steer, F.W., (ed.), *The Archives of New College, Oxford: A Catalogue* (London, 1974). An outline description of the main series of accounts is provided on pp. 13-14.

⁸⁴⁰ These usually consist of little more than a list of placenames and the rents taken by the bailiffs in each location.

('Custus Capelle'; after c. 1550, 'Custus Capellae') begin being grouped under four academic terms⁸⁴¹ beginning c. 1540/41 and more consistently after 1558/59.

Documents consulted:

7410. *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*. 1448/49.
7713. *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*. 1460/61.
7726. *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*. 1509/10.
7480. *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*. 1528/29.
7489 - 7681.⁸⁴² *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis*. 1534/35 - 1659/60. In total, 100 rolls of *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis & Expensis* consulted.

4189 - 4206. *Bursars' Long Books*. 1602/03 - 1647/48. In total, 25 rolls consulted.

Headings consulted: '[Comina, Commune] Sociorum Scholari: capell': infor': chor': quilibet recipit pro communis suis...', 'Custus capelle/capellae', 'Recepcio forinseca', 'Custus ad extra', 'Custus domorum', 'Custus necessarie/necessariae', 'Recepta a bursariis', 'Solutiones: solutio facta informatoribus choristar', 'Solutio facta pro exequiis', 'Portio pro exequiis et missa regia'.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College Archives (CCCA)

Structure of accounting

The *Libri Magni* are the financial accounts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; they contain records of payments made to and by the college. The accounting year ran from 1 November to 31 October. The financial/academic year begins generally with income, such as rent from estates, followed by expenditure, which commences with stipends ('Stipendia omnium ordinum'), including those for fellow-priests, and those for clothing ('Vestes omnium ordinum'). Commons and chapel expenses ('Impensae claustrum et sacelli')⁸⁴³ normally follow. These headings are typically succeeded by: 'Impensae panarij', 'Impensae coquinae', 'Impensae internae', 'Impensae externae', 'Impensae feudorum', 'Impensae placitorum', 'Impensae progressus', 'Impensae equitanti in negotijs collegij', 'Impensae in exequijs Mri Frost', 'Impensae domus dispensat',

⁸⁴¹ After 1600 noted as 1^o, 2^o, 3^o, 4^o, *Termino*. 1^o *Termino*: Michaelmas Term, 10 Oct-17 Dec; 2^o *Termino*: Hilary Term, 14 Jan-eve of Palm Sunday; 3^o *Termino*: Easter Term, 10th day after Easter to Thursday before Whitsunday; 4^o *Termino*: Trinity Term, Wednesday after Trinity Sunday to Saturday after the ACT. For greater detail see, Hibbert, C., *The Encyclopedia of Oxford* (London, 1988).

⁸⁴² NCA, 7489 - 7681 *passim*: excludes the interspersed NCA nrs./years of *Computus Bursariorum de Receptis*.

⁸⁴³ Other variations of the heading: 'Impensae sacelli', 'Impensae sacelli et claustrum'.

'Solutio forinseca', and 'Impensae stabuli'.⁸⁴⁴ The heading 'Stipendia omnium ordinum' lists all members receiving stipends: the majority are identified by name, however, a few, like the president, vice-president, and servants, or *famuli*, are identified by their office. The amount each individual received is recorded as well as specific circumstances surrounding the payment. The accounts include payment for clothing ('Vestes omnium ordinum') for all those receiving stipends as college members with the exception of chapel choristers, who received a clothing allowance but no stipend. This is of significance to this study in the identification of choristers, as discussed in Vol. I, Chapter Five.⁸⁴⁵ The order in which name and office/rank are listed under the 'Stipendia' and 'Vestes' sections reflects a rough hierarchy within the college from the president at the top to the servants at the bottom;⁸⁴⁶ the position of chapel personnel in this sequence is of particular importance to this thesis.

Like King's College and St. John's College, Cambridge, as well as Magdalen College, Oxford, the parchment booklets of the accounts were collected and bound in large volumes (*Libri Magni*) during the twentieth century (1930-32). I am greatly indebted to Julian Reid, the college archivist, who has provided me his own extensive transcription of the *Libri Magni* for the period of the Long Reformation: a very useful complement to my own findings. The *Libri Magni* are extant from 1521 with various gap years until 1866, when a new system of accounting was introduced. *Nota bene*: the chronological order of the *Libri Magni* is at certain times unreliable, for example, at the end of the 1530s and at certain instances in the 1540s (see Vol. I xix-xxi); citations in Julian Reid's transcription are made in part from the year of the accounts given by J.G. Milne, former archivist of Corpus Christi. Milne's notes are recorded in: CCCA, K2/2.

⁸⁴⁴ Example taken from *Liber Magnus* which includes 1538-41 (CCCA, C/1/1/1).

⁸⁴⁵ See Vol. I, Chapter Five, 248-50.

⁸⁴⁶ For example, the lists of stipends and clothing allowances employ the following order of sub-headings: president, deans, bursars, lecturers in Greek and Logic, fellows, sacristan and clerks, probationary fellows and undergraduates, and lastly servants. Jeffries, "But a Musician", 25.

Documents consulted:

College statutes:

A/4/1/2. Statutes of Corpus Christi College, Date: 1517.

CCCA, A/4/1/6. Statutes of Corpus Christi College, with annotations in the hand of President Claymond. Date: c.1517.

A/4/1/1. Statutes of Corpus Christi College, signed and sealed by Bishop Fox. Date: 13 February 1527 (modern dating: 1528).

A/4/1/1A and B. Two copies (the Bishop of Winchester's copies) of the statutes of Corpus Christi College, signed, but not sealed, by Bishop Fox. Date: 13 February 1527/8.

A/4/1/4. Statutes of Corpus Christi College: the vice-president's copy. Date: 13 February 1527/8.

C/1/1/1 - C/1/1/12. *Libri Magni*. Domestic accounts. 1521/22 - 1647/48.

Headings consulted: 'Impensae claustrum et sacelli', 'Impensae panarii', 'Impensae internae', 'Impensae equitantium in negotiis collegij', 'Impensae cubiculorum', 'Impensae novae structurae' (1603/04), and in regard to tracing former choristers, 'Stipendia omium ordinarum' and 'Vestes omium ordinarum'.

Oxford, All Souls College Archives (ASCA)

Structure of accounting

Charles Trice Martin catalogued all the muniments and accounts of All Souls College in 1877,⁸⁴⁷ and they are now retained in the Codrington Library (the college library). As at New College, the accounts are recorded on a single roll of parchment for every year. For some years only a paper draft survives. For others only parchment formal copies remain; rarely do both the draft and the formal copy survive. In the last instance, the two versions generally differ little.⁸⁴⁸ The two bursars drew up the accounts at the Feast of All Saints (1 November), which marked the beginning and end of the fiscal year at All Souls. None of the accounts have individual shelf marks: instead, large boxes contain consecutive sets of accounts for ten or fifteen years (with the exception

⁸⁴⁷ Trice Martin, C., *Catalogue of the Archives in the Muniment Room of All Souls College* (London, 1877).

⁸⁴⁸ Lee-De Amici, 'Ad Sustentacionem', 242-3.

of Box c.275) with a shelf mark for each box. A modern hand⁸⁴⁹ endorsed many of the rolls with dates, which, unfortunately, are not always reliable.

Volumes Consulted:

c.282 Account rolls. 1539/40 - 1554/55 (lacking 1548/49; 1554-55 misdated?)

c.283 Account rolls. 1554/55 - 1560/61.

Headings consulted: 'Capella', 'Recepta intrinsica et extrinsica', 'Liberata'.

Oxford, Magdalen College Archives (MCA)

Structure of accounting

The Magdalen College calendar of muniments was compiled and catalogued by Christopher M. Woolgar.⁸⁵⁰ The *Libri computi* (college domestic accounts) are listed in the section of Woolgar's catalogue headed 'General College Accounting Records'. The college accounts were recorded yearly, either at Michaelmas (29 September) or, frequently, at Martinmas (11 November). They were written on large books of parchment (*Libri computi*), and were bound in a series of volumes in the nineteenth century. The layout of the accounts closely resembles that of New College: payments are organised under headings for commons for the year followed by expenses of various departments such as the chapel, hall, and stables.

Volumes consulted:

LCD/1. *Libri computi*. Accounts 1552/53 - 1578/79. Years examined: 1552/53 - 1568/69.

Heading consulted: 'Custus sacelli'.

LCE/6. *Libri computi* (formerly *Libri computi* 6, 7). Accounts 1558/59 - 1568/69. Each year examined.

Headings consulted: 'Custus sacelli', 'Solutiones forinseca'.

⁸⁴⁹ The hand is believed to be that of Charles Trice Martin. I am grateful to Norma Aubertin-Potter, the college archivist, for directing my attention to this as well as for updating information on the state of the archives.

⁸⁵⁰ Woolgar, C. M., *A Catalogue of the Estate Archives of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, ten vols. (Oxford, c.1981). Photocopy of typescript in the Bodleian Library.

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BL Add. MS 30513. *The Mulliner Book*.

Cotton MSS:

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BL Harl. MSS 426. Cranmer, Thomas. *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (1552).

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BL Harl. MS 7033.

BL Harl. MS 7047. Thomas Baker's mid-eighteenth-century account of the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, under Master William Beale (1634-42).

BL Harl. MS Mus. Brit. 7050. Book of Statutes in the possession of Thomas Baker, including Statutes of Elizabeth I for St. John's College (1580).

Lansdowne MSS:

BL Lansdowne MS 20. Cox to Cecil, 29 June 1575.

BL Lansdowne MS 57. 'The answers of William Whitaker to the objections offered by Everard Digby' (1588).

Royal MSS:

BL MS Royal 15 A, iii. John Rainolds' translation of Plutarch's *De utilitate ex hostibus capienda* presented to Elizabeth I (1574).

BL MS Royal, App 56. Includes liturgical organ music.

University of Oxford, Bodleian Library

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Mus.Sch.e. MSS 420-22. *Wanley partbooks*.

Mus.Sch.e. MSS 376-81. *Forrest-Heyther partbooks*.

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Peterhouse MSS 471-4 (formerly MSS 40,41,31 and 32). Henrician set of partbooks belonging to Peterhouse.

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⁸⁵¹ Original MSS in the National Archive, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU.
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D105/305. Letter from Master John Taylor to William Butts, dated 31 October 1545.

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Biography

After Masters and Professional Studies in piano at the Juilliard School in New York Alex Shinn continued studies with Rudolph Buchbinder at the Basel Conservatory under the auspices of a Fulbright Grant. He completed Bachelors and Masters degrees in 2011 in organ and harpsichord at the Conservatoire de Lausanne/Fribourg under Maurizio Croci in addition to performing in organ master classes given by Maurizio Croci, Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, and José Luis Uriol.

His career as pianist has led to appearances with orchestras in Los Angeles, New York, Basel, Fribourg, Geneva, Luzern, and Zürich as well as concerts in Spain, Italy, England, and Germany. As chamber musician he has performed with members of the Tonhalle Orchester, Zürich, and Orchestre de la Suisse Romande, Geneva. He has appeared in organ recitals in Los Angeles (Cathedral), Milano (S. Alessandro), and Oxford (Queen's College), and in conjunction with the 200th anniversary of Franz Liszt's birth in the Hofkirche in Luzern. He was invited to present his piano transcription of Nicolaus Bruhns' *grosses Praeludium in e moll* live on Espace 2, Lausanne, and presented the Swiss premiere of Judith Bingham's 'Annunciation IV' at the Leonhardskirche, Basel in 2013.

Alex Shinn's research into the effects of the English Reformation on musical practice and organs in Cambridge and Oxford University chapels has resulted in a series of articles published in *Choir & Organ*, 15, Nr.2 (September/October, 2007), *Acta Organologica*, 30 (2008), *The Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 36 (2012), and *The Organ Yearbook*, 41 (2012). He has been guest lecturer at the Faculty of Music, Oxford (2007), and has given papers presenting his musicological research and findings at conferences of the British Institute of Organ Studies held in Oxford (2009) and Cambridge (2016).

Declaration of Honour

I declare on my honour that I have written my dissertation independently, without inadmissible external aid, and have not submitted it to any other faculty.

Alex Shinn

Fribourg, 5 May 2018