

Christ Rising Again:

Context, Function, and Analysis of an English Anthem

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ABSTRACT

The English Renaissance anthem *Christ rising again* is a valuable addition to the study of sacred English music during the first one hundred years of the English Reformation (c. 1530s-c.1630s) and provides insight into the theological and musical perspective of English reformers, humanists, and composers. The text of *Christ rising again* is the only anthem text that was set by the following prominent composers active during the English Reformation: John Sheppard (c.1515-1563), Christopher Tye (c.1505-1573), Thomas Tallis (c. 1505-1585), William Byrd (c.1540-1623), and Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656), as well as an unfinished setting by Thomas Weelkes (c.1576-1623) as well as complete settings by less prominent English composers. The anthem's text and musical settings are analyzed in terms of their place within the liturgical services of the Church of England, context within the ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre, theological interpretation of the scriptural passages that comprise the anthem's text by Renaissance humanists and theologians, and performance forces available to composers. This study found that the anthem was an integral part of the Easter sepulchre procession during the first English version of the Easter Matins service found in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. Its function later changed as the sepulchre procession was eliminated from the 1552 revised version of the Book of Common Prayer and the anthem was moved to later within the Easter Morning Prayer service. Analysis of various commentaries and interpretations by contemporary theologians and humanists who influenced the English Reformation is provided to demonstrate the interpretation and meaning associated with specific musical settings by various composers. Finally, an examination of Renaissance

English performing forces is provided, particularly centered on the institutions of the Chapel Royal and Lincoln Cathedral, both significant institutions that employed prominent English composers during the examined era.

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Introduction

English choral music is among the most established musical traditions in Western Europe, with a vast repertory that extends from the Middle Ages until the modern era. One particular set of anthems intended for Easter Matins and Morning Prayer services, entitled *Christ rising again*, is of particular importance. This set of anthems includes settings by some of the most respected and recognized composers from the English Renaissance, along with some of the most florid examples of polyphony from the early years of the English Reformation. The text of the anthem quotes Romans 6:9-10 and I Corinthians 15:20-22 and was a prescribed part of the Easter morning liturgy in all three versions of the Book of Common Prayer (1549, 1552, and 1559) from the early Reformation.

The anthem originated in the Sarum tradition of the Medieval English church from the antiphon *Christus resurgens* (see Appendix A for a detailed history of the Sarum Use and elements of the English Reformation that directly affected English musicians).¹ The antiphon contained the same passage from Romans and an accompanying versicle that was not drawn from scripture. The Sarum antiphon and 1549 Prayer Book version of the anthem (see Figure 1 for texts) functioned as part of the Easter Matins procession where the Crucifix and a

¹ The Use of Salisbury, also referred to as the Sarum Rite, includes the customs, liturgy, and chants of the Medieval cathedral of Salisbury and draws its name, Sarum, from an abbreviation of the Latin name for the city, Sarisburia. A use created a “basically Roman-but-with-local-variations” liturgy distinguished by variety in texts substituted within the Mass or Office, details in particular rituals, variant or sometimes entirely different melodies, and greater attention paid to local feasts and saints. By the fifteenth century the Sarum Use had become the principle form of Catholicism employed in Southern England, including London.

consecrated Host were symbolically “resurrected” from the sepulchre where they were “buried” on Good Friday and processed to their traditional place above the main altar.²

Figure 1. Translation of *Christus resurgens*³ and 1549 version of *Christ rising again* anthems.⁴

<u>Sarum Antiphon (Latin)</u> Antiphon [Romans 6:9-10]	<u>Sarum Antiphon (English)</u> Antiphon [Romans 6:9-10]	<u>1549 Anthem (Original)</u> Prima Pars [Romans 6:9-10]	<u>1549 Anthem (Modern)</u> Prima Pars [Romans 6:9-10]
Christus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur Mors illi ultra non dominabitur; Quo denim vivit, vivit Deo, alleluia, alleluia.	Christ rising again from the dead, now dieth not. Death hath no dominion over him; For in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Alleluia, alleluia.	Christ rysing agayn from the dead, nowe dyeth not. Death from henceforth hath no power upon him. For in that he dyed, he dyed but once to put away sinne: But in that he lyueth, he lyueth unto God. And so lykewyse, counte yourselves dead unto synne: But lyuyng unto God in Christ Jesus our Lorde. Alleluia Secunda Pars [I Corinthians 15:20-22]	Christ rising again from the dead, now dieth not. Death from henceforth hath no power upon him. For in that he died, he died but once to put away sin: But in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. And so likewise, count yourselves dead unto sin: But living unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord. Alleluia Secunda Pars [I Corinthians 15:20-22]
Versicle	Verse	Christe is risen againe: The fyrste frutes of them that slepe:	Christ is risen again: The first fruits of them that sleep:
Dicant nunc Iudaei, Quomodo milites custodientes sepulcrum perdidit regem ad lapidis positionem Quare non servabant petram iustitiae; Aut sepulchrum reddant, Aut resurgentem adorent, Nobiscum dicentes: alleluia, alleluia.	Now let the Jews say, On account of the shifted position of the stone, how the soldiers guarding the tomb made away with the king. Why did they not watch over the rock of righteousness? Let them either return him that was buried Or adore the risen one, Saying with us: alleluia, alleluia.	For seeng that by man came death: By man also cometh the resurreccion of the dead. For as by Adam all men doe die, So by Christe all men shalbe restored to lyfe. Alleluia	For seeing that by man came death: By man also cometh the resurrection of the dead. For as by Adam all men do die, So by Christ all men shall be restored to life. Alleluia

Later revisions of the Book of Common Prayer (1552 and 1559) moved the anthem to later in the Easter Morning Prayer service, eliminated the Easter

² The English spelling of sepulchre has been retained throughout this study in order to retain continuity with English sources and common practice. Also, the terms that designate the primary theological text of the English Reformation, the Book of Common Prayer and the less formal Prayer Book, are used interchangeably as per common practice by modern English historians and theologians, as well as by the reformers themselves.

³ David Mateer, ed., *Early English Church Music: The Gyffard Partbooks* (London: Stainer and Bell), 212.

⁴ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1938), 371.

sepulchre ceremony, and altered the anthem's function. The text was still designated as a powerful expression of humanist ideals, philosophy, and theology, but was devoid of mysticism and papist elements.⁵

Composers set the anthem text *Christ rising again* throughout the early Reformation, from the earliest polyphonic settings of English sacred music for the first Book of Common Prayer of 1549 at least until the late verse anthems that bridge the English Renaissance and Baroque styles in the middle of the seventeenth century. Surviving settings from the Baroque era and later are much less frequent, suggesting that preachers (as they are called in the 1552 Book of Common Prayer) may have preferred speaking the text or favored Renaissance settings. The various settings of *Christ rising again* provide insight into the compositional trends and development of the English anthem as a genre and demonstrate aspects of humanist theology that shaped the Reformation. Specific settings by John Sheppard (c.1515-1563), Christopher Tye (c.1505-1573), Thomas Tallis (c. 1505-1585), William Byrd (c.1540-1623), and Thomas

⁵ Humanism during the Renaissance was a movement of cultural and educational reform initiated in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The philosophical movement was a direct reaction to Medieval monastic scholasticism. Humanists sought to educate the citizenry in the ability to read, write, and engage in civic activities. Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) was a Dutch Catholic theologian who sought to incorporate humanistic concepts and philosophy into the Catholic faith. He criticized elements of contemporary Catholicism, challenged the abuses of clergy, and translated the Bible from original Greek and Hebrew sources for the first time in Europe. One of his principle beliefs was that the Bible should be translated into the language of the people so that they might read and understand matters of religion based upon their own understanding and rationalism. These beliefs made him a popular figure during the various Protestant Reformation movements of the Renaissance.

Tomkins (1572-1656) will be examined in depth, along with additional settings by other composers.⁶

This set of anthems is an important component within the context of English Renaissance musical history because it is the only anthem text that was set by all of these prominent English composers. The abundance of anthem texts available to composers made exact repetition rare. Reformers placed various restrictions on prescribed texts for the Anglican Service (such as the *Te Deum* or *Benedictus*) that reduced the amount of florid polyphony composers could infuse in their music. Anthem texts, therefore, provided composers with more compositional freedom to write polyphony that reflected the practice of the Sarum Use in late Medieval England and sacred Latin music by continental Catholic composers. *Christ rising again* would have been particularly familiar to English congregations since it was a prescribed part of the Easter Day Matins and Morning Prayer Service (either spoken, chanted, or sung polyphonically) from the Medieval Sarum Use through the three versions of the Book of Common Prayer during the Renaissance era. This familiarity also provided composers with a greater opportunity to include florid polyphony in their various settings when compared with other anthem and service texts. This set of anthems, therefore, offers valuable insight into the compositional trends during the first 100 years of

⁶ Critical editions were analyzed in this study where available, which were in turn derived from manuscript sources. The settings by Tallis, Tomkins, and Tye can be found in the *Early English Church Music* series, and the setting by Byrd can be found in *Byrd Studies* (Phillip Brett, general editor). The setting by John Sheppard is not available in a critical edition. The version analyzed in this study came can be found on cpdl.org, and was edited by Michael Gibson. See Bibliography for additional information.

the English Reformation and how English Renaissance composers approached a particular anthem text.

Settings of *Christ rising again* also provide insight into other aspects of English Renaissance music and the English Reformation. The anthem text is an example of humanist philosophy and theology, and also demonstrates how English reformers interpreted scriptural passages. Certain phrases of text were frequently set to homophony, suggesting that they were important theologically and therefore needed to be intelligible to the congregation. Finally, the settings provide insight into the performing forces available to English composers during the first 100 years of the Reformation. Trained musicians employed by either the Chapel Royal or another large religious institution likely performed these florid settings. The anthems likely would have been too difficult, or required too many musicians, for moderately sized or small parish churches.

A brief introduction to the five settings of *Christ rising again* by Sheppard, Tye, Tallis, Byrd, and Tomkins is provided below. Additional details will be presented in later chapters, particularly: the anthem's place within the Matins or Morning Prayer services and the Easter sepulchre ceremony, composers' approaches to the humanist text and how it reflected reformist philosophy and theology, and the voicing and performing forces for which they may have been intended.

John Sheppard (c.1515-1563)

John Sheppard is the earliest of the five composers examined and has the least amount of documented biographical information that has survived today.

His setting is probably the earliest of the five examined and reflects characteristics of the first years of the English Reformation. It was written in simple four-voice texture, with two alto lines in lieu of a soprano line. The resultant sonority is an entirely adult male ensemble (AATB) that makes Sheppard's setting unusual from the others, and one of the most difficult to perform by modern ensembles. This voicing was common among settings written between 1549-1550 when church musicians were training choirboys in an entirely new repertory, but still required functional music for services that could be sung by the adult men who were competent music readers. The two alto lines have a tessitura that is too low for most modern female altos (always staying below b-flat' and regularly written below the treble clef) and too high for tenors or baritones to sustain falsetto singing without significant training or risk of vocal fatigue.

Sheppard's setting contains musical characteristics commonly found in early English Reformation anthems. The predominantly homophonic texture and brief passages of polyphony are characteristic of music written between the release of the 1549 and 1552 versions of the Book of Common Prayer. These brief passages of polyphony are generally imitative and are reminiscent of the Franco-Flemish style demonstrated by Josquin (c.1450/55-1521) and his contemporaries a generation before Sheppard. Sheppard's setting is almost entirely syllabic, reflecting the reformers' expectation that liturgical music must be intelligible to the listener. Melismatic melodies and extremely florid polyphony blur musical material, making the text nearly impossible to decipher,

especially with more than four voices. Sheppard's simplified texture made the text of *Christ rising again* easily intelligible.

Sheppard's music is often unconventional in its use of prepared suspensions that resolve upward and unexpected harmonic progressions (at least for modern musicians).⁷ Sheppard also utilizes a rhythmic figure throughout that equals one and one-half beats and is transcribed in modern notation as either a dotted quarter note or a quarter tied to an eighth (often over the bar line). This creates a sense of rhythmic motion and blurs the metric accentuation in Sheppard's anthem. His setting is in two distinct parts, with an Alleluia at the end of each, as contained within the 1549 Book of Common Prayer (see Example 1 on page 16 for the opening measures of Sheppard's setting).

Christopher Tye (c.1505-1573)

Tye's musical talent has been well documented in contemporary sources and by historians since his death. Tye was listed among the greatest composers during the reign of Henry VIII along with Taverner and Tallis, and helped set the standard for the new church anthems.⁸ The well-known music historian Charles Burney (1726-1814) described Tye as "perhaps as good a poet as Sternhold, and as great a musician as England could then boast."⁹ Sir John Hawkins (1719-1789)

⁷ David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1985), 300.

⁸ Lord, 200.

⁹ Satterfield, 6.

described Tye’s music by saying “very few compositions for the church [are] of equal merit with [Tye’s] anthems.”¹⁰

Example 1. Sheppard, *Christ rising again*, mm. 1-11

Alto 1
Christ ri sing a gain from the dead, no di eth not, now

Alto 2
Christ ri sing a gain from the dead, now di eth not, now di

Tenor
Christ ri sing a gain from the dead, now di eth not, now di eth not, death

Bass
Christ ri sing a gain from the dead, now di eth not,

7
A 1
di eth not, death from henceforth hath no pow'r upon him. For

A 2
eth not, death from hence forth hath no pow'r up on him.

T
from hence forth hath no pow'r up on him, up on him.

B
death from hence forth hath no pow'r up on him.

Tye’s music was rarely published during his lifetime, however, and his music was not included in sixteenth century continental manuscripts, only in

¹⁰ John Morehen, “English Church Music,” in Roger Bray, *The Sixteenth Century*, vol. 2 of *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 108.

Tye's setting is also unusual in his use of sudden harmonic changes and mode mixture, often through a compositional technique referred to as either the false relation or cross relation today. Such frequently occurring false relations became a distinctly English characteristic. False relations are compositional techniques in which English composers alternated between altered and unaltered versions of the same pitch, often in direct succession. There are three types of false relations that regularly occur in English Renaissance music. The first type occurs when one voice alters a pitch, for example a B-natural, in a cadential passage while another voice begins a phrase on the flatted version of the pitch, a B-flat, at the same time resulting in a minor second instead of unison. Thomas Morley explained that it was common practice in this case to either raise or lower both scale degrees, making the two pitches the same, depending upon the resulting melodic pattern. Singers were more likely to retain the melodic pattern of the imitative head-motive at the expense of the cadential leading tone motion. Therefore in this case, the flatted pitch was generally sung to maintain the contour or intervallic relationship of the melodic pattern. The second type of false relation occurred when a single voice ends a phrase on a lowered or raised scale degree and then immediately repeats the pitch with the other version of the scale degree. This type of alteration is frequently the result of a modal shift, such as a Picardy third occurring at a cadence. Then the voice re-enters in the minor mode with the flattened third scale degree. The third type of false relation is similar to the

second, except that two or more voices alternate between raised and lowered versions of the same scale degree within a single measure.

Tye utilized all three types of false relations throughout his setting of *Christ rising again*, especially when the text refers to sin or death (see example 3). This creates a sense of uncertainty and discomfort enhanced by the dark sonority of the divided lower voices. Tye's setting is firmly based in a minor mode until the first utterance of the word "dead" in measure four where he shifts to a G-major chord, causing the word to leap dramatically from the surrounding texture, perhaps representing Christ's triumph over death. Tye immediately returns to the minor based mode until the final repetition of the word "not," where he shifts back to the major mode and remains there until the phrase "hath no pow'r upon him." The next phrases include the text "but in that he died, he died but once to put away sin," where Tye utilizes all three types of false relations in order to confuse the tonal center and represent the concepts of sin and death and the dichotomy they create in a believer who is attempting to live a life free from sin. The next phrase contains an abrupt shift into a major mode accompanying the text "but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God." This abrupt shift to the major mode signifies a dramatic shift in intention and the focus on an ideal life, free from sin. The second half of the anthem contains considerably fewer false relations, until Tye reaches the text "for seeing that by man came death, by man also cometh the resurrection of the dead." This brief passage is rife with all three types of false

relations, again creating a dark, murky atmosphere representing death before the resurrection.

Example 3. False relations in Tye, *Christ rising again* mm. 11-20

The image displays a musical score for six vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. The score is written in a dark key signature (three flats) and common time. The lyrics are: "hath no pow'r up on him. But in that forth hath no pow'r up on him, up on him. But forth hath no pow'r up on him, hath no pow'r up on him. But forth - - - hath no pow'r up on him." The score illustrates false relations, where a note in one part changes its pitch abruptly while the other parts remain stationary, creating a dissonant effect. A second system of the score begins at measure 6 and continues the lyrics: "he died, he died but once, he died but once to put a way sin, in that he died, he died but once to put a way sin, But in that he in that he died, he died but once to put a way sin, But".

Thomas Tallis (c. 1505-1585)

Thomas Tallis was one of the most respected and well-known composers of the English Renaissance and is recognized today as one of the most important composers of English music history. His career spanned the central fifty years of

the sixteenth century, encompassing all three religious upheavals. His musical style and compositional development coincides with the fundamental changes in English church music during the English Reformation.¹³ This lengthy career makes dating his setting of *Christ rising again* difficult. Tallis set a single Alleluia passage at the end of his anthem, which is not characteristic of any version of the Book of Common Prayer. The only version to contain Alleluias is the 1549 Prayer Book, which contains Alleluias at the end of both the *prima* and *secunda pars*. Tallis's setting is also one of the most florid and polyphonic of the five examined anthems; more characteristic of his Latin music than his other English anthems. Tallis's voicing (SAATB) is also more characteristic of his Latin music than his English anthems. This suggests that it may have been written during Elizabeth's reign after his monarchy on music publication was bestowed. It is also possible that the anthem might be a *contrafacta* anthem, originally composed early in his career.¹⁴

Tallis was highly regarded by the members of the Chapel Royal and the monarchy. Mary considered Tallis her principle composer and Elizabeth was so fond of his music that she granted him a monopoly on the printing and marketing of part-music and lined music paper and allowed him to publish Latin church music.¹⁵ Tallis wrote in nearly every Renaissance genre. He set texts with

¹³ Paul Doe, *Tallis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 7.

¹⁴ A *contrafacta* anthem is a sacred English song that originally contained a Latin text. It could be a direct translation from Latin into English, or a newly applied text set to a preexisting motet.

¹⁵ Doe, 7.

particular meaning or expressive value that expressed the humanistic approach to music represented by Josquin and other continental composers fifty years earlier but was a relatively new trend in England.¹⁶ His sacred English music is seen as a model of text clarity as regulated by the early Church of England and demonstrates a masterful ability to merge sections of homophony with sections of brief polyphony, blending technical mastery with personal expressiveness.¹⁷

Tallis's Elizabethan music sounds considerably more modern than earlier anthems, with a natural rhythm of words that dictates the music and a harmonic language that is rich and sonorous, often sounding deeply somber to modern listeners.¹⁸ His Elizabethan anthems show a clear distinction between simple four-voice variety for general use in English churches and cathedrals and the more elaborate music intended for the trained musicians of the Chapel Royal.¹⁹ Tallis's setting of *Christ rising again* demonstrates his mastery of the dovetailing technique of English Renaissance music in which voices cadence as others begin new phrases.²⁰ His music also contains the Flemish principles of pervasive points of imitation that are immediately repeated in order to improve text clarity.²¹ False

¹⁶ Phillips, 39.

¹⁷ Doe, 8.

¹⁸ Phillips, 42.

¹⁹ Ibid., 55.

²⁰ Ibid., 39.

²¹ Ibid., 39.

William Byrd (c.1540-1623)

William Byrd is considered the most influential English Renaissance composer, and he is often placed among the greatest composers from the continent. He spent most of his life in London or the surrounding suburbs and may have received his earliest musical training as a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral by 1554, although only his brothers' names appear in official records.²³ The choristers of St. Paul's often performed with the Chapel Royal and it is likely that Byrd's association with the Chapel Royal began early in his life through regular performances for Elizabeth after her accession in 1558. It is also possible that Byrd began his musical training at the age of seven as a chorister in the Chapel Royal where Thomas Tallis was a Gentleman. Again there is no documented evidence to confirm this hypothesis since individual choristers rarely received mention in Chapel Royal records. Instead, they were listed as a collective group.²⁴

Byrd moved to Lincoln Cathedral in 1563 and served as chorus master and organist at least until 1572.²⁵ He remained on the payroll at Lincoln after he moved back to London and continued to send compositions to Lincoln until 1581.²⁶ He probably wrote most of his Anglican Service music prior to 1581 for

²³ John Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1997), 15.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁶ Phillips, 56.

Lincoln Cathedral and the Chapel Royal, after which he focused on Catholic Latin mass settings and motets.²⁷ His early music shows considerable influence of Tallis, with whom he likely studied while at the Chapel Royal. His early music also demonstrates Tye's sense of grandeur and is characterized by considerable experimentation. He was appointed to the Chapel Royal in 1572 where he shared the organist position with Thomas Tallis.²⁸ Byrd may have officially retired from the Chapel Royal in 1591-1592 but remained on the records until 1607 in order to participate at occasional services.²⁹

Byrd tended to set texts that were particularly inspiring to him and evoked a certain emotional force, imagery, or creative impulse. He explained this in the dedication of his *Gradualia*:

In the words themselves (as I have learned from experience) there is such hidden and mysterious power that to a person thinking over divine things, diligently and earnestly turning them over in his mind, the most appropriate measures come, I do not know how, and offer themselves freely to the mind that is neither idle nor inert.³⁰

His music tended to be more polyphonic than homophonic, especially to provide variety at important cadences.³¹ Byrd showed great sensitivity to the natural rhythm of words, similar to the approach used in secular music, and was less

²⁷ Phillips, 56.

²⁸ Lord, 188.

²⁹ Ibid., 107.

³⁰ Quoted in Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), ix.

³¹ Phillips, 58.

likely to repeat phrases of text in their entirety.³² Anthem texts generally offered less dramatic potential than Latin motets, but Byrd chose texts that allowed his expressive nature to be utilized to its full potential. Byrd's approach to counterpoint and grasp of tonal trends leading toward a major/minor system of the Baroque rivals those of his continental counterparts in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries.³³ Distinctly English characteristics in his music include the "clashing third," where a melisma is composed into a single voice within a slow moving suspension that resolves it, rests written within a point of imitation, and the tendency to move into the subdominant tonal area during the final "Amen."³⁴

Byrd's setting of *Christ rising again* is a verse anthem that exists in two versions, one for organ accompaniment that was likely used in English services and another for consort of viols as accompaniment that was likely used as sacred entertainment at the Chapel Royal. Verse anthems became increasingly more popular during the Elizabethan era, blending elements from Medieval consort songs with secular Renaissance madrigals and foreshadowing Baroque techniques. Elements of word painting and rhythmic influences from secular dance styles were especially prevalent in music from the late sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century. An example occurs at the beginning of both the *prima* and *secunda pars* of Byrd's setting of *Christ rising again*. Byrd

³² Phillips, 58.

³³ Ibid., 60.

³⁴ Ibid., 63.

utilized rising motives in the opening solos to represent Christ rising from the dead. He visually and aurally represented Christ’s resurrection by setting each of the first three repetitions of “Christ rising” successively higher and with wider opening intervals. The first statement by the second soprano soloist opens with a major third as the initial interval. The first soprano soloist then enters singing a perfect fourth. The second soprano repeats the motive again expanding of the opening interval this time to a perfect fifth. Each of these repetitions begins on the same pitch, creating a quasi-canonic duet that expands with each repetition. The fourth and final repetition of the phrase begins on the upper note of the perfect fifth in the second soprano’s previous statement and rises to the highest pitch so far in the anthem. Then both soloists descend back down the staff almost back to the starting pitch on the word “dead,” creating an overall arched phrase (see Example 5).

Example 5. Byrd, *Christ rising again*, mm. 6-19

The musical score consists of four staves, each representing a different soprano part. The key signature is G minor (three flats) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first two staves (Soprano 1 and Soprano 2) enter with the phrase 'Christ ri sing, Christ ri sing a gain fromthe'. The third staff (Soprano 1) continues with 'dead, now dieth not, now di eth not, di eth not.' The fourth staff (Soprano 2) continues with 'not, no di eth not, now di eth not.' A measure rest of 8 measures is indicated at the beginning of the third staff.

Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656)

The Welsh composer Thomas Tomkins composed more music for the Anglican Church than any other composer of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but most of his music was not published until after his death.³⁵ He was a contemporary of John Amner and Adrian Batten and a pupil of Byrd.³⁶ Byrd's influence is profound, especially within Tomkins's numerous verse anthems. He first appears in registers of the Chapel Royal as a Gentleman in 1620.³⁷ It is likely, however, that he joined the Chapel Royal as a Gentleman Extraordinary as early as 1603.³⁸ In 1621 he was appointed organist of the Chapel Royal where he served until his death.

Over half of his music would be lost today were it not for the fact that his son Nathaniel published his works posthumously in a collection entitled *Musica Deo Sacra* (1668).³⁹ Tomkins's anthems demonstrate compositional fluency that rivals any other composer associated with the English Chapel Royal, with stylistic turns that anticipate the music of Henry Purcell.⁴⁰ Tomkins composed more than fifty verse anthems that contain his most innovative music defying the

³⁵ Phillips, 171.

³⁶ Caldwell, 359.

³⁷ Phillips, 171.

³⁸ Caldwell, 359.

³⁹ Phillips, 175.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 176.

compositional conventions of his contemporaries.⁴¹ Most of the verse anthems were probably intended for performance with organ accompaniment in the Chapel Royal. The choral sections in his four-voice anthems are less elaborate than settings for more voices and are characterized by short, concise sections of syllabic text settings that often echo the solo passages. Tomkins's anthems are characterized by their text declamation and careful attention to the natural rhythms and accents of the English language, several alternations between verse and choir with musical continuity and echoes between them, and varied scoring between the solos from verse to verse.⁴²

Tomkins's setting is the latest examined and sounds the most modern in terms of tonality and compositional style. By the middle of the seventeenth century composers were thinking more in terms of major or minor tonality rather than modality. Tomkins's setting demonstrates this experimentation, especially in the passages for the chorus. The settings for solos are often in a very obscured tonal region, especially the introduction and first bass solo, showing that Tomkins was not yet established in his use of the major and minor tonal system (see Example 6).

⁴¹ Caldwell, 205.

⁴² Ibid., 360.

Example 6. Tomkins, *Christ rising again*, mm. 1-14.

Bass

Christ ri — sing a gain from

Organ

6

Bs.

— the dead, Christ — ri sing a gain from the dead,

Org.

6

11

Bs.

now di eth not, now di eth not, di eth not.

Org.

11

Tomkins's setting is also a verse anthem and shares many characteristics with Byrd's setting. Both settings utilize rising motives that represent Christ's resurrection and rhythmic figures that reflect the jubilant, dance-like festivity of the anthem during Elizabeth's reign. Tomkins set solo passages for all four-voice types, giving the bass the most predominant position, rather than the two soprano

were common in verse anthems of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and functioned as a musical coda.

***Christ rising again* Within the Context of the Early English Reformation**

Christ rising again is unique among English anthems in that it is the only anthem text that was set by all of these master composers. The abundance of scriptural options meant that composers had a wide variety of anthem texts that served as inspiration for composition and multiple composers rarely set the same text twice. The designation of *Christ rising again* as an anthem separates it from prescribed service music such as the *Te Deum* or *Magnificat*. This allowed composers more freedom in their compositional style than when they composed music for prescribed parts of the service. This particular anthem text inspired some of the most florid examples of English Renaissance composition in an era characterized by sacred music that was predominantly unadorned, syllabic homophony. These works remain relatively obscure today, especially to American choirs and conductors, perhaps because of this complexity but also due to the English Renaissance practice of using male altos and boy sopranos. These settings would be valuable additions to the concert repertory and the modern Easter liturgy, even outside the Anglican service. New performance editions must first be created that transfer and/or rewrite alto and tenor lines into an acceptable modern tessitura. The reconstruction of Thomas Weelkes's verse anthem is the only setting that has been made available as a choral octavo in the United States, and it is currently out of print. Two settings can be found in public domain versions on cpdl.org, but these contain errors and editorial markings that raise

scholarly concerns or practical performance issues. Other settings can be found in collected critical editions that are designed for study rather than performance, tending to adhere to original notation and vocal tessitura that make these anthems difficult to perform for modern American choirs.⁴³

The anthem deserves closer examination, despite these difficulties in performance. The fact that this anthem text was the only text set by all of the most prominent English composers of the early Reformation provides unique insight into the compositional developments of the anthem as a genre and the characteristics of these composers. The text of the anthem also provides considerable insight into the humanist perspective pervasive in England during the early Reformation, as well as how humanist theologians interpreted passages of scripture. This set of anthems also offers insight into how the chorus itself was utilized by English composers during the mid- and late-sixteenth century and into the first decades of the seventeenth century.

The religious reform of the 1549 Prayer Book was rather conservative when compared with continental reformation movements, largely because Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) feared that a Protestant shift that was too dramatic might cause the English laity to suspect manipulation of the child-king by his

⁴³ Alto parts were written for male falsettists, making their tessitura excessively low for female altos and extremely high for modern tenors. Transposing the anthem up or down tends to push the bass or treble/mean lines into extremes in their ranges. Therefore alto and tenor lines often need to be rewritten in order make them performable by modern choirs.

advisers.⁴⁴ The Mass was replaced with a simple Communion Service and the eight divine offices were reduced to two, Matins and Vespers. Altars and rood screens were removed, it was illegal to light candles or otherwise worship before images of saints including the Virgin Mary, and various other elements that were viewed as too papist were eliminated. The liturgies themselves, however, while greatly simplified from the Sarum versions, consisted primarily of direct translations from Latin into English.

The Easter anthem *Christ rising again* underwent similar changes in function and placement within the liturgy. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the anthem originally functioned as an integral part of the Easter sepulchre ceremony during the procession at the start of the Easter Matins service. This extremely elaborate ceremony, described in detail in the second chapter, served as the culmination of the Holy Week celebration. Reformers viewed the Easter Matins procession and Easter sepulchre ceremony as especially repugnant because of their opulence, mysticism, and participation without understanding by the English laity. Therefore the Easter sepulchre ceremony became a target for elimination by English reformers. As the following chapter explains, the ceremony was simplified and rationalized but remained largely the same with the release of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. The anthem was retained as part of the Easter procession, with the first half almost an exact

⁴⁴ Thomas Cranmer was a leader in the English Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII and was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Clement VII. Cranmer was instrumental in dissolving the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, and married the king to Anne Boleyn in secret. Cranmer continued to be an important leader in the reformation movement during the reign of Edward VI, who took the throne at the age of nine after Henry's death.

translation from the original Latin into English. The sepulchre ceremony was abolished with the revised 1552 Book of Common Prayer along with the entire Easter procession. *Christ rising again*, however, was retained and moved to a later position within the newly renamed and considerably revised Easter Morning Prayer service. The anthem's retention demonstrates its significance and importance to English humanists and reformers and partially explains why so many prominent English composers set this anthem within a fairly narrow span of time.

The revised Book of Common Prayer of 1552 represented a more significant shift toward Protestantism within the Church of England. The Matins and Vespers services were renamed Morning and Evening Prayer services and no longer resembled their Catholic equivalents. The Matins service in particular combined elements from Sarum Matins and Lauds, becoming an abbreviated version of both. All elements that were not either direct quotations of scriptural passages or based upon scripture were eliminated. In addition to the content of the services, there were other important changes in this further effort at reform. Images and liturgical furniture that reflected Catholic tendencies were destroyed or removed from churches, including stained glass windows which were generally exempt from continental reform. Music was simplified and made much less use of the organ and other instruments.

The 1559 Prayer Book is essentially a re-release of the 1552 Prayer Book with some of the wording from the 1549 version substituted in various places, especially the distribution of Communion. The 1559 Prayer Book did not create

significant further reform in the Church of England and was criticized by English reformers, especially those of the Puritan faction, as far too conservative, traditional, and even papist. Elizabeth's fondness for liturgical ceremony reinstated the use of vestments, candles, polyphonic music, and some processions, much to the dismay of those reformers who sought to emulate the reformation movements of John Calvin (1509-1564), Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), and John Knox (c.1510-1572).

The text for the English anthem *Christ rising again* was a prescribed part of the Easter Matins service in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer and the Morning Prayer service in the 1552 and 1559 revisions. The function and placement of the anthem changed with the 1552 revision although the text itself did not change. The 1549 Prayer Book and its Matins service were deeply rooted in the Catholic Latin liturgy of the Sarum Use of Salisbury where the anthem functioned as part of the Easter sepulchre ceremony during the procession at the beginning of the Easter Matins. Elements of the Easter sepulchre ceremony were retained in the 1549 Matins service as reformers attempted to intellectualize and explain the relevance of the sepulchre as a symbol of lay members' death to sin, burial of sin with Christ, and their subsequent resurrection into a Godly life with Christ's resurrection. Lay members associated mystical elements with the sepulchre ceremony that reformers viewed as overtly papist. These concerns proved to be insurmountable, so reformers eliminated the ceremony and processional from the 1552 Prayer Book and moved the anthem to later in the service.

The body of this paper outlines the development of the Easter anthem *Christ rising again* from the broad context of the anthem as part of the sepulchre ceremony within the Easter Matins and Morning Prayer service to a more focused examination of the text itself through the writings of various humanist theologians, and finally with a specific examination of individual anthem settings and English choral institutions. Chapter One begins with an examination of the Sarum Matins liturgy as part of the English Catholic tradition of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, particularly the Matins service on Easter Day. The development of the Matins liturgy is then traced through the first one hundred years of the English Reformation by examining the liturgical developments contained within the 1549, 1552, and 1559 Books of Common Prayer. Physical, spiritual, and theological aspects of the Reformation are examined in depth, with special attention given to their influence upon music, English composers, and the Easter anthem *Christ rising again* in particular. The second chapter contains a detailed analysis of the Easter sepulchre ceremony and the anthem's place and function within the liturgy. A detailed analysis of the anthem text occurs in Chapter Three and is supported with commentary and analysis from the writings of Desiderius Erasmus and other Medieval and Renaissance theologians. The third chapter also contains musical analysis that demonstrates how composers may have attempted to draw attention to passages of particular importance to humanists and theologians through various compositional devices. Chapter Four is an examination of performance considerations that become apparent when approaching these settings and the ensembles and institutions that may have

performed them, with special emphasis on the Chapel Royal and Lincoln Cathedral in comparison to churches of various sizes. This final chapter also describes various English characteristics that separate music by English Renaissance composers from their continental contemporaries.

The importance of this set of anthems will be shown through detailed analysis of the anthem's text, its function in the Easter Day Matins and Morning Prayer Service (particularly in context with the Easter sepulchre ceremonies), its importance in demonstrating humanist theology and philosophy, and analysis of compositional techniques employed by the most recognized composers of the English Renaissance. This in turn may allow choral conductors and ensembles to reintroduce *Christ rising again* into the concert and liturgical repertory.

Understanding the Renaissance perspective that English humanists and reformers used when approaching the anthem text will help conductors create a lively, more vivid performance that demonstrates the florid nature of these settings. This contextual knowledge helps performers and audience members recognize the functional nature of these anthems, therefore creating a more stimulating performance.

Chapter 1

Christ rising again within the Easter Matins and Morning Prayer Services

Christ rising again played a pivotal role in the Sarum Holy Week services. Its placement in the Easter Matins processional and its association with the Easter sepulchre ceremony meant that the anthem developed an important function within the liturgy and amongst the English laity. In order to understand the anthem's function within the Easter Matins and Morning Prayer Services it is first important to understand the roots of these services and their evolution.⁴⁵

The Matins service on Easter morning was the most important morning service of the year, taking a more prominent place than even the other liturgical services on Easter Day. The Sarum Processional and 1549 Prayer Book even allowed for a second administration of Communion to occur during the service as well as at the Mass and Communion Service later that day.⁴⁶ This made Easter one of the very few days in which Communion was administered twice in the same day. The Matins service represented the moment when Christ's followers found the stone moved away from the entrance to his empty tomb. These events

⁴⁵ An historic overview of the Sarum Use can be found in Appendix A, along with the liturgical resources required to celebrate the various Sarum liturgies and the musical reputation at Salisbury Cathedral. The appendix then traces the general liturgical reforms that occurred during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs. While this information is not necessary for understanding the placement and function of *Christ rising again*, the reader may find it valuable to understand the context of the Matins and Morning Prayer services within the larger liturgical scheme, as well as the general liturgical changes that English reformers initiated.

⁴⁶ Walter Howard Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer: With a Rationale of its Offices*. (London: MacMillan, 1941), 541.

signaled Christ's resurrection and were reenacted through the Easter processional to the church's sepulchre and the symbolic resurrection of the Host and Crucifix.

Reformers took small steps as they reformed the Sarum liturgy into the Protestant services for the Church of England. The Matins service in the 1549 Prayer Book is remarkably similar to the Matins service in the Sarum Use, except that it is translated from Latin into English. Thomas Cranmer and the English reformers had three primary goals as they separated the Church of England from the Roman Catholic Church. First, they simplified the complex liturgy of the Sarum Use and separated the English services from those of the Roman tradition. Reformers accomplished this goal by eliminating elements they viewed as papist. One such was the removal of the Easter sepulchre ceremony from the Matins Service and designating it as a Morning Prayer Service in the 1552 revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Second, reformers created an English language liturgy in which lay members could comprehend all aspects and be active participants. This was partially accomplished by translating *Christus resurgens* into English and encouraging composers to set the text syllabically and using predominantly homophonic textures and brief passages of polyphony. Finally, reformers created a religious faith and service based upon the pre-eminence of scripture through preaching, reading, and studying the English translation of the Bible, which is evident in the replacement of the *versus* from the *Christus resurgens* antiphon with a complementary passage from scripture.

From Matins to Morning Prayer

The pre-Reformation Matins service was the most elaborate liturgy apart from the Mass, and the Easter Matins service was one of the most elaborate celebrations of all. Matins generally began with an Introit and *Venite*, which were generally sung monophonically, and followed by a polyphonic hymn. On Easter Day, however, the antiphon *Christus resurgens* occurred before the Introit as part of the processional to the Easter sepulchre. This procession was the culmination of the Holy Week ceremonies and represented the procession of Christ's followers to the tomb three days after his crucifixion to find it empty. The antiphon was sung while a Crucifix and Host, which had been symbolically "buried" during the Good Friday Vespers service, were "resurrected" by being removed from the sepulchre and returned to their original place in the church. Up to nine psalms and their antiphons followed, but these were rarely set polyphonically. Up to nine lessons and their responds followed, some set to polyphony. The Matins service ended with a polyphonic *Te Deum*.⁴⁷ Figure 2 (p. 28) contains a list of the important elements found in the Sarum Matins.

⁴⁷ Roger Bray, *The Sixteenth Century*, vol. 2 of *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 31-32.

Figure 2. Liturgical changes from Matins to Morning Prayer on Easter Day.

<u>Sarum Matins</u> (All texts in Latin)	<u>1549 Matins</u> (All texts in English)	<u>1552 Morning Prayer</u> (All texts in English)
		Opening sentences from scripture General confession of sins and absolution
<i>Christus resurgens</i>	<i>Christ rising again</i>	
Introit	Lord's Prayer and responses	Lord's Prayer and doxology
<i>Venite</i> and antiphon	<i>Venite</i>	<i>Christ rising again</i> (replaces <i>Venite</i>)
Hymn		
Psalms and antiphons	Chanted psalms (without antiphons)	Read psalms
Lessons and responds	First Lesson (without responds) <i>Te Deum</i> Second Lesson (from Sarum Lauds)	First Lesson (Old Testament) <i>Te Deum</i> Second Lesson (New Testament)
<i>Te Deum</i>	<i>Benedictus</i> Creed <i>Kyrie</i> Lord's Prayer Collects	<i>Benedictus</i> Creed <i>Kyrie</i> Lord's Prayer Collects

The format of the Easter Matins service in the 1549 Prayer Book was very similar to that of the Sarum tradition. Roger Bray describes it as merely a “severe abbreviation of the pre-Reformation Matins and Lauds,” with elements of each.⁴⁸ (Figure 2 contains a comparison between the original Sarum Matins and the 1549 English version found in the first Book of Common Prayer.) The “Mattyns” Service of 1549 began with the following instructions, “The Priest beeyng in the

⁴⁸ Bray, 32.

quier, shall begynne with a loude voyce the Lordes prayer, called the Pater noster.”⁴⁹ *Christ rising again*, was still sung as a processional anthem at the beginning of the Easter Matins Service. The only official designation for the anthem in the 1549 Prayer Book was, “In the mornynge, afore Mattyns, the people beyng assembled in the Churche, these Anthems shalbe fyrste solemnely song or sayed.”⁵⁰ The Easter sepulchre ceremonies were neither officially condoned nor abolished in the 1549 Prayer Book, so it is difficult to assess the intended function of this particular Easter anthem. It is likely that some composers intended their settings to be performed as part of the sepulchre ceremony while others merely intended their settings as anthems that symbolized the Easter message.

Most of the other elements from Sarum Matins were merely translated from Latin into English and then combined with elements from Lauds (also translated into English). The Lord’s Prayer followed *Christ rising again*. The priest then read a few responses and then said or sang the *Venite* in English, which was retained from the Sarum tradition (without its antiphon).⁵¹ The nine psalms of Sarum Matins became chanted psalms (their antiphons were eliminated), which were prescribed in a table at the start of the Prayer Book. After each psalm the people responded with the doxology. Following the psalms, the priest read two

⁴⁹ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1938), 21. It is interesting to note that the celebrant was still referred to as the priest throughout the 1549 Prayer Book.

⁵⁰ Church of England, *First and Second Prayer Books*, 109.

⁵¹ Latin titles were retained, with the exception of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer, but it is important to note that all the texts were sung in English.

lessons, the first from the Old Testament and the second from the New Testament. Both lessons were also appointed in a table at the start of the book. The feast of Easter Day called for additional lessons as notated within the section for particular feasts. The first lesson was derived from the lessons and responds in Sarum Matins, but the responds were eliminated. The *Te Deum laudamus* was said or sung in English after the first lesson. The Second Lesson was derived from the lessons of Lauds (the antiphons were eliminated), marking the seam where the two Offices were combined. The opening hymn from the Sarum Lauds was eliminated, and the *Benedictus* was said or sung in English after the second lesson. After the *Benedictus*, the priest led the congregation in saying the Creed, *Kyrie*, and the Lord's Prayer in English.⁵² A few responses occurred after the Lord's Prayer and the Matins Service ended with three collects, the first for the prescribed day, the second a collect for peace, and the third a collect for grace.

Musically, the Matins service went from being a lavish occasion with complex polyphony and abundant plainchant melodies to chanted psalms, the *Te Deum*, and the *Benedictus*. The *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* were the only two places in the prescribed liturgy where simple polyphony was allowed. Therefore anthems provided opportunities for composers to include polyphony within the English Matins. *Christ rising again* provided an ideal location for polyphony since the text was a prescribed part of the Easter Day Matins, but was either said by the priest or sung by the choir (not a congregational response) so simple

⁵² It is interesting to note that the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were the only elements of the service that were referred to by their English titles, rather than their Latin titles.

polyphony that followed the rules of text intelligibility was a valid option. The rubric that allows for the performance of anthems throughout English services, stating “In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem” did not appear until the 1662 Prayer Book.⁵³

The musical elements within the Sarum Matins were much more numerous, including a hymn, up to three antiphons, up to three responds, the *Te Deum*, and another hymn with a *Benedictus*. Polyphony was generally reserved for one hymn, one antiphon or respond, and the *Te Deum*. There were fewer musical elements within the Sarum Lauds, which included monophonic lessons and their antiphons, a polyphonic opening hymn, and the *Benedictus* (which could be either chanted or set to polyphony). The combination of Matins and Lauds would have led to a lengthy service without the elimination of some of these elements.

John Sheppard utilized the text from the 1549 Prayer Book, which is evidenced by the placement of an Alleluia passage at the end of both the *prima pars* and the *secunda pars*. The concluding Alleluias were eliminated from the 1552 revision of the Prayer Book when the anthem was separated from the Easter sepulchre ceremony and placed later in the Morning Prayer Service. The removal of the Alleluia passages is also one way in which reformers further removed the English Morning Prayer Service from the Catholic Matins. Dating Thomas Tallis’s setting is difficult since he placed an Alleluia passage at the end of the *secunda pars* but not at the end of the *prima pars* of the anthem. He either drew

⁵³ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books*, 32.

from the 1549 text, setting the Alleluias at the end in order to not disrupt the continuity of the text message in the two parts of the anthem, or he drew from the 1552 or 1559 Prayer Book and intended the Alleluias in a similar manner to a concluding Amen. Since his Latin motets and English *contrafacta* are often polyphonic throughout, with few or no homophonic passages, it is possible that his setting may actually be a *contrafacta* anthem without a currently existing Latin version.

The Morning Prayer Service was significantly altered with the 1552 Prayer Book, as was the placement and function of *Christ rising again* within the Easter Morning Prayer Service. Some of these were semantic changes. First, the officiant was referred to as the minister or preacher, rather than the priest. The service was also designated as a Morning Prayer Service rather than Matins, marking a distinct separation from the Catholic Sarum Use. The 1552 Prayer Book also changed the title of Vespers, as it was called in both the Sarum Use and the 1549 Prayer Book, to the Evening Prayer Service. The 1552 Prayer Book even contains vague directive sentences that allowed for variety between churches and cathedrals based upon the physical layout of the building and their established traditions. The primary goal of these opening sentences was to remind the minister that he should turn toward the congregation in a way that they may best hear the message and speak “in a loude voyce.”⁵⁴

The 1552 Morning Prayer service provided preachers with more options than the 1549 Matins service (see figure 2 on page 29). They could begin the

⁵⁴ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books*, 348.

service by selecting one of the opening passages from scripture that coincided with the other readings or homily of the day. After the opening sentences, the 1552 Morning Prayer Service contained an exhortation by the preacher that led to “A generall confession, to be sayd of the whole congregacion after the minister, knelynge,” and then the “absolucion” of sins by the minister.⁵⁵ At this point the Lord’s Prayer (which began the 1549 Prayer Book) was said “wyth a loude voyce,” followed by the doxology as a congregational response. Generally the English translation of the *Venite* psalm occurred after the doxology. On Easter Day, however, the *Venite* was replaced with the anthem *Christ rising again*. This demonstrates how the function of the anthem was altered after as reformers attempted to strip away the mystique of the Easter sepulchre ceremonies. The sepulchre ceremony was eliminated, along with its ceremonial processional. The anthem, however, was retained, either because of its importance as a humanist text that reflected Protestant theology or because of the familiarity of its text.

With changing monarchs and the attendant changes in religion, reform took place slowly. Because Edward died so young and the country returned to Catholicism during Mary’s reign, it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the Easter sepulchre ceremony was officially outlawed in the Church of England. Christopher Tye utilized the 1552 version of the anthem text in his setting, which eliminated the Alleluia passages that were included in the original 1549 Prayer Book. The altered placement and change in function of the anthem in the 1552 revision might also explain why Tye’s setting is darker in sonority and timbre

⁵⁵ Church of England, *First and Second Prayer Books* 348.

than the other settings. Perhaps Tye set his version of the anthem with divided lower voices (SATTBB) as a dramatic aural signal that the anthem was no longer associated with the festive procession to the sepulchre, but was now a part of the solemn “high ceremony.” Tye’s voicing is quite unusual when compared with contemporary English anthems, since the tendency was to first divide the alto lines and then soprano (into treble and mean). Music written for entirely adult male ensembles tended to use the AATB voicing, rather than dividing the tenor and bass parts.

After the *Venite*, or *Christ rising again* on Easter Day, certain psalms were read (not chanted as in the 1549 Prayer Book) according to a predetermined table at the beginning of the Prayer Book. The remainder of the Morning Prayer service paralleled the 1549 Matins service. The reading of two lessons followed the psalms: the first from the Old Testament and the second from the New Testament. Both lessons were also predetermined from the table. Additional psalms and lessons were specified for Easter Day. The *Te Deum* was said or sung after the first lesson, and the *Benedictus* was said or sung after the second lesson. The Creed was said in English following the *Benedictus* and was followed by the English translation of the Kyrie and a second saying of the Lord’s Prayer. The Morning Prayer service ended with three collects: the first was a specific collect for the day (prescribed under the section for Easter Day), the second was a collect for peace, and the third was a collect for grace, after which the service concluded. Polyphony, when it was employed, was generally reserved for settings of the *Te*

Deum, Benedictus, the Jubilate Deo, when it occurred, and any anthems that were added to the service.

The Morning Prayer Service of 1559 was nearly identical to the 1552 version. The 1559 version began with the same vague description as the 1552 Prayer Book, allowing for the service to be said in the “accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel.” An addition states, “And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.”⁵⁶ This statement clearly demonstrates how Elizabeth’s administration often drew greater inspiration from the 1549 version of the Prayer Book and its reformist policies than the 1552 version. This statement also shows Elizabeth’s penchant for ceremony and validates the use of vestments and other ceremonial items during the liturgy. The only other changes were semantic, including a statement that the lessons be read “distinctly in a loud voice that the people may hear.” The order of elements within the 1559 Morning Prayer Service on Easter Day was identical to the 1552 Morning Prayer Service (see Figure 2 on page 29).

Both William Byrd and Thomas Tomkins would have been familiar with this version of the anthem text and its function within the Easter Morning Prayer service. However, their settings also reflect other changes in music within the English liturgy. Both settings are verse anthems for soloists, choir, and independent organ accompaniment. A version of Byrd’s setting also exists for

⁵⁶ John E. Booty, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 48.

consort of viols instead of organ and it is likely that a version of Tomkins's setting for consort of viols also existed. The verse anthem was based in the Medieval consort song tradition, which was a popular form of entertainment at court, often used as sacred entertainment and not exclusively tied to a particular liturgy.⁵⁷ Consort songs for one or more voices and viols became the favored form of music for amateurs by the start of the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ Verse anthems likewise became one of the favored forms of sacred English music at the end of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth century. Both settings demonstrate the secular characteristics that trace their roots to the consort song and also show the influence of the secular madrigal tradition that had become popular, especially in London. These settings are the most festive and contain compositional trends for the solo verses that foreshadow the virtuosic solos found in English Baroque opera and oratorio. The choral writing also contains some of the most florid writing of all the examined settings. The versions for viol consort have lead scholars to question whether these anthems were intended for liturgical use or as sacred entertainment. It has been documented, however, that Lincoln Cathedral maintained a consort of viols throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so it is likely that other churches also maintained such ensembles.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Phillips, 77.

⁵⁸ Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England: 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 218.

⁵⁹ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 54.

Certainly the Chapel Royal also maintained a consort of viols to accommodate Elizabeth's fondness for liturgical ceremony.

Thus the anthem *Christ rising again*, evolved from its Sarum roots in the antiphon, *Christus resurgens*. It was translated into English in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer and remained associated with the procession to the Easter sepulchre ceremony during the Easter Matins service. The revised Prayer Book of 1552 abolished the Easter sepulchre procession and other ceremonies associated with the sepulchre. The anthem, however, was retained but was placed later in the liturgy, which was renamed a Morning Prayer Service. Reformers also eliminated the Alleluia passages at the end of both the *prima pars* and the *secunda pars* of the anthem further removing it from its Catholic roots and function in the sepulchre procession. The text and function of the anthem were not altered with the 1559 revision of the Book of Common Prayer, but the verse anthem settings demonstrate a modernization of compositional practices that foreshadow the English Baroque. Because of these delineations it is possible to distinguish three distinct periods in which these anthems fall: the initial reformation with John Sheppard's setting, the increasing separation from Rome with the setting by Christopher Tye (and perhaps the setting by Thomas Tallis), and the verse anthem settings by William Byrd and Thomas Tomkins. Only Thomas Tallis's setting defies easy classification because of its florid polyphony and single Alleluia passage.

Physical Changes Within the Church of England and their Impact Upon Musicians

The institutions that employed and trained English church musicians suffered a series of significant blows during the early years of the English Reformation. In Thomas Tallis's case, we have documentation that shows how his position at Waltham Abbey was terminated with the dissolution of the large monasteries. It was likely that John Sheppard and Christopher Tye also had to find alternate employment before taking positions with the Chapel Royal. William Byrd and Thomas Tomkins were either too young to have been employed by monastic institutions during their dissolution or had yet to be born, but would have felt the subsequent shift in musical instruction that resulted from the dissolution of these institutions and the singing schools attached to them.

Henry VIII and Thomas Cranmer began their formal attack upon Rome's influence upon the Catholic Church in England in 1532 with the submission of the English clergy. Over £100,000 in annual tithes, taxes, and indulgences passed through English borders to the pope in Rome.⁶⁰ Henry, jealous of this wealth and needing money to maintain his extravagant court, sought to keep the tax money within England's borders. The following year, Parliament passed the Act of Appeals (1533), which removed England from the authority of Rome, and then the Act of Supremacy (1534), which declared the king to be "supreme head" of the Church of England. The reforms to this point had been decidedly anti-papal

⁶⁰ Karl Eby Moyer, "The Anthems of Thomas Tallis" (DMA diss., Eastman School of Music of the University of Rochester, 1980), 9.

rather than anti-Catholic and were primarily intended to restructure power within the English church rather than to revise theological concepts.

By early 1535 Thomas Cromwell (c.1485-1540), one of Henry VIII's chief lay advisers who attempted to modernize English government at the expense of the privileges of the nobility and church, had lent his official backing to increasingly open criticism of traditional Catholic devotional practices and doctrines.⁶¹ Radical preachers assailed traditional religion under the protection of three of the most prominent English theologians and reformers, Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, and Hugh Latimer (1487-1555).⁶²

Cromwell's royal visitations to smaller monasteries in July 1535 foreshadowed his early intent to destroy rather than reform these institutions. The smaller monasteries with revenues under £200 and twelve or fewer members were dissolved in 1536 with the first Act of Suppression.⁶³ The numerous small monasteries owned approximately one-sixth of all land in Britain at the time, representing a significant source of wealth and influence.⁶⁴ The second Act of Suppression (1539) targeted the larger monastic institutions, many of which housed skilled choral ensembles. The wealth, land, and artifacts held by the monasteries shifted to the crown, resulting in the loss or destruction of music manuscripts, instruments, and religious artwork. The prodigious singing schools

⁶¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 383.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 385.

⁶³ Le Huray, 2.

⁶⁴ Moyer, 3.

attached to these institutions were summarily abolished and singers, composers, and organists were unemployed, including Thomas Tallis. The eventual dissolution of some 600 monasteries dealt a severe blow to English cathedral music by the end of Henry's reign.⁶⁵ This first suppression also likely influenced John Sheppard and Christopher Tye. Sheppard's location in 1539 is unknown, but it was likely that he was employed at a parish church or monastic institution since he was not yet employed with the Chapel Royal. Tye's employment in 1539 is also unknown, but he was documented as organist and Master of Choristers at Ely Cathedral from 1541-1561. It is likely that Tye either left musical training or employment at a monastic institution prior to obtaining his position at the prominent cathedral at Ely.

Another important group of institutions was dissolved at the start of Edward's reign and this had a further impact upon musicians and sacred polyphony. Thomas Cranmer dissolved the English chantries, guilds, and confraternities associated with parish churches and cathedrals on Easter Day, 1548. Each individual institution was considerably smaller in scale than the monasteries dissolved earlier, but they represented a profound impact when viewed in whole. Any town of reasonable size had at least one chantry, confraternity, or guild attached to the parish church, while larger towns supported dozens and a city the size of London boasted hundreds of these institutions.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁶ Peter Cunich, "The Dissolution of the Chantries," in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, ed. Patrick Collinson and John Craig (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 159.

They were primarily intercessory organizations that played a more important role in the lives of the common people than the monasteries had done. These institutions represented a significant urban resource for both church and state and their abolition caused major structural changes in urban communities. Their dissolution constituted a major source of revenue for the court and further diminished the power of the Catholic Church in England.

The reformers scored an important theological and political victory with the dissolution of these institutions: they were closely tied to the laity and represented a significant force of resistance to the cause of reformation. The chantries provided daily prayers and masses for the souls of deceased benefactors and their families and provided valuable social and economic functions within civic centers.⁶⁷ Guilds promoted a high degree of civic pride and unity within towns and provided various civic services.⁶⁸

The dissolution of the chantries also signified the elimination of one of the final significant musical institutions within English Catholic churches, the singing and saying of the Lady or votive Mass on weekdays and the Jesus Mass on Friday.⁶⁹ These auxiliary liturgies represented a significant source of musical patronage and performance, since they were typically sung. Wealthy patrons commonly commissioned florid polyphonic settings for these Masses as a display of their wealth and faith. These additional liturgies also represented a significant

⁶⁷ Cunich, 162-163.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 168.

⁶⁹ Duffy, 465.

source of income for the parish church since patrons paid a substantial benefice to guarantee annual (or more frequently for the wealthy) remembrance masses. The role of music in these chantry liturgies can be seen in the evolution of the English word chantry, which is rooted in the Latin word, cantare, “to sing,” which led to cantariae and was later Anglicized to chantries.⁷⁰

The dissolution of the chantries also meant that parishes lost clerical and musical personnel. Chantries provided additional non-beneficed clergy to assist with parish activities and these positions were eliminated with their dissolution.⁷¹ The dissolution even caused some villages to lose their only priest, while other towns also lost schoolmasters. Larger churches and cathedrals eliminated auxiliary clergy with significant musical training whose primary duties were to administer and sing Lady Masses and Jesus Masses.⁷² The dissolution of these institutions could have been a potential deathblow to English sacred polyphony.

There was little public opposition to this final dissolution despite the impact it had upon the face of public worship and the clerical personnel employed in English towns and villages. In all, approximately 2374 chantries were eliminated throughout England.⁷³ The toll the dissolution enacted upon musical patronage and support for English musicians is impossible to estimate.

⁷⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England: 1547-1603* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 3.

⁷¹ Cunich, 172.

⁷² Duffy, 454-455.

⁷⁹ Cunich, 161-165.

Development of the English Liturgy and Vernacular Resources

One of the reformers' primary goals was the development of a vernacular English liturgy. The slow progression toward an English liturgy initially retained Latin antiphons and service music, replacing Latin scriptures, prayers, and homilies with English versions. By Edward VI's reign, the vernacular changes extended to the texts for anthems and service music, leading to the translation of *Christ rising again* from the Latin antiphon version of *Christus resurgens*. However, the translation is not exact and reflects English humanist philosophy that all anthem texts should be derived directly from scripture. Therefore the versicle associated with *Christus resurgens* was replaced with a complementary passage from scripture.

The first attempt to establish an English language resource for worship and theological reform was a primer published by William Marshall in 1535. Marshall's original version omitted the litany of saints, the "Dirige" and all prayers for the dead. It constituted an all-out attack on traditional Catholic saints and legends and called for sharp theological reform.⁷⁴ Marshall's primer was one of the first published texts by an English author dedicated to the cause of theological reform in England and not merely to altering the physical structure of the church. It was severely criticized so within a year Marshall published a second, considerably watered down edition. The second edition restored the litany and "Dirige," but still attacked collects, anthems, prayers, and petitions addressed to saints, including the *Salve regina*. Marshall's primer, even in its

⁷⁴ Duffy, 382.

revised edition, was the most comprehensive onslaught on Catholicism in England that had yet appeared.

Reformers progressed toward an entirely English liturgy during the final decade of Henry's reign. Parish churches were expected to catechize families in English versions of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in 1536.⁷⁵ Thomas Cranmer devised a revised edition of the Sarum Breviary in English, essentially a direct translation from Latin into English that was released in 1542. The following year a Royal Injunction was released that commanded, "Every Sunday and holy-day throughout the year the curate of every parish church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should openly read unto the people one chapter of the New Testament [until it] was read over, then to begin the Old."⁷⁶ This Injunction marked the first time that English scriptures were read by mandate in parishes across the country. By the end of the year all lessons during Matins and Evensong were in English and preachers were encouraged to give sermons (also referred to as homilies in the 1549 Prayer Book) in English as well.⁷⁷

Reformers published additional resources that were designed to assist preachers in the administration of English services and to educate preachers and laity in the theological concepts of the Reformation. The most important was Cranmer's English Litany (1544), which was essentially a translation of elements

⁷⁵ Duffy, 398.

⁷⁶ Frere, 31.

⁷⁷ Le Huray, 2.

from both the Sarum and Roman rites.⁷⁸ Another important resource was the King's Primer (1545), which contained English translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Divine Offices, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the English litany, the Passion according to St. John, and a large group of other English prayers, along with a calendar of English Church festivals.⁷⁹ None of these resources, however, resulted in a complete English liturgy and liturgical music was still almost entirely sung to Latin texts.

The liturgical services within the 1549 Book of Common Prayer were often little more than translations from the Sarum Use into English, with considerable emphasis upon reading scripture and preaching to elucidate scripture to the laity. The provisions within the 1549 Prayer Book ultimately expected that the Psalter was to be read in its entirety every week, the Old Testament to be read in its entirety once each year, and the New Testament to be read three times each year, except for the Apocalypse, which was only to be read once each year. The actual wording from the preface reads:

All the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once in the year, intending thereby, that the clergy, and specially such as were ministers of the congregation, should (by often reading and mediation of God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhaust other by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adverse to the truth. And further, that the people (by daily hearing of Holy scriptures read in the church) should continually profit more and more in

⁷⁸ John Caldwell, "Relationships Between Liturgical and Vernacular Music in Medieval England," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 292.

⁷⁹ Moyer, 20.

the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true religion.⁸⁰

In this way reformers attempted to restore the centrality of scripture in the worship service and increased the prominence and quantity of scripture in public worship. Simplifying the daily offices also allowed for more emphasis upon using scripture to replace non-biblical elements and for music to be based on large passages of scripture. Reformers encouraged reading entire chapters of the Bible during worship services.⁸¹

The Importance of Preaching and Sermons in the Reformation

Preaching was an important aspect of the English Reformation as a method to teach the scriptures and theological values. Cranmer published a book of homilies in 1547 that contained sermons that were officially sanctioned by the Church of England to be read on specific festivals and general days of worship. Sermons were not, however, a required part of the daily liturgy during the early Reformation beyond a minimum of four times each year especially in small towns and villages. Sermons and homilies were actually banned at least twice during the English Reformation. In late April 1548 Cranmer and his Council forbade any preaching without a special license, permitting only the reading of sermons from the Book of Homilies, unless there was special consideration from the royal

⁸⁰ Church of England, *First and Second Prayer Books*, 3.

⁸¹ John E. Booty, 359.

council or Bishop.⁸² A proclamation dated 27 December 1558 once again forbade preaching “until consultation may be had by Parliament.”⁸³

In most large towns and parishes preaching in prominent public areas was an important event. Preaching was an integral way that reformers taught core beliefs and values and was occasionally referred to as a “Protestant sacrament.”⁸⁴ Thomas Platter described a pulpit erected prominently outside St. Paul’s Cathedral “right out in the open with only a small roof over it” where the “mayor and dignitaries of London sit and hear sermons” given to audiences that were too large to be housed within the cathedral.⁸⁵ Platter also describes a scene where “every Sunday a preacher who is to take office in the country or in another town has to deliver a test sermon there” that is expected to last at least two to three hours.⁸⁶ These sermons were expected to elaborate and teach the lessons of the scripture to the lay congregation. Horatio Busino, chaplain of Pietro Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador in England, wrote about the prominence of preaching in

⁸² Duffy, 463.

⁸³ Ibid., 565.

⁸⁴ Mary Hampson Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private Devotions, and the Evolution of English Piety* (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont, 2007), 71.

⁸⁵ Thomas Platter and Horatio Busino, *The Journals of Two Travelers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (London: Caliban Books, 1995), 39. The original cathedral (commonly called “Old St. Paul’s” today) was considerably smaller than the current cathedral. Old St. Paul’s was destroyed during the great London fire of 1666.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 39.

English services and the relatively minor role of the Eucharist while visiting England in 1617, writing, “Their spiritual exercises consist in preaching perpetually to the people, who display great devotion. Occasionally, on solemn festivals, they administer the Supper to them.”⁸⁷

It is likely that English anthems served a function similar to that of sermons: they helped to teach passages of scripture to the laity and served as a kind of mnemonic device. *Christ rising again* would have served as a musical homily by espousing the Easter message of Christ’s resurrection and the humanistic parallel between Adam and Christ; Adam brought sin into the world, giving death dominion over humanity’s physical existence, and Christ brought victory over sin and death through his crucifixion and resurrection, therefore freeing humanity from the power of death. That release from death is symbolized for the faithful through the rite of baptism. The abundance of anthem texts created what Helen White, drama historian, referred to as a “mosaic of scripture” in describing a similar phenomenon created through myriad Medieval and Renaissance plays and other theatrical devotions.⁸⁸ John King, also a drama historian who specializes in morality plays and devotional drama used by the Medieval and Renaissance Church, affirmed this concept stating that such sacred theatrical pieces “integrate profuse biblical quotations, allusions, paraphrases, and marginal commentary with native literature forms, techniques, and conventions”

⁸⁷ Platter and Busino, 147.

⁸⁸ Patterson, 70.

as tools to convey and elucidate the meaning of scripture.⁸⁹ Therefore reformers encouraged composers to set numerous passages of scripture as anthems to aid the laity in memorizing large portions of the Bible.

Polyphony Within English Matins and Morning Prayer

Pre-Reformation polyphony in the Sarum Use had a reputation for being florid to the point of being overly complex, at least according to humanists and reformers. Erasmus criticized English institutions writing, “In college or monastery it is still the same: music, nothing but music.”⁹⁰ To Erasmus, Sarum services contained too much music that was so florid that it caused the text to be inaudible to the listener. He then criticized English musicians and congregations for their inability to comprehend the meaning of the Latin text in the liturgy.⁹¹ Erasmus and other humanists considered English music prior to the Reformation to have been thrice removed from the congregation: first by being in a foreign language, second by being composed in an incomprehensible polyphonic texture, and third by being non-participatory.⁹²

The first Book of Common Prayer (1549) provided very little guidance for liturgical music. However, Cranmer specifically referred to the purpose of music in worship and the ideal characteristics of sacred English music prior to the

⁸⁹ Patterson, 70.

⁹⁰ Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England c.1460-1575* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977), 1.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1

⁹² Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 10.

release of the 1549 Prayer Book. An early statement appears in a letter Cranmer wrote to Henry VIII six months after publication of the English Litany (1544). In it, he espoused the virtue of music that was syllabic, homophonic, and “sung distinctly and devoutly” because such music was easily understood. Cranmer wrote, “But in mine opinion the song, that shall be made thereunto, would not be full of notes, but as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly.”⁹³ The phrase, “for every syllable a note” occurs frequently in Cranmer’s writings, emphasizing the importance of syllabic music to English reformers.⁹⁴ A frequently cited reference to English sacred music is found in Cranmer’s Royal Injunctions for Lincoln Cathedral (1548). Again, Cranmer proposes that music should be homophonic and syllabic with “a plain and distinct note for every syllable one.” Cranmer also commanded that anthems should only be addressed with scriptural texts to God and his son, Jesus Christ, rather than to Mary or the other saints. He criticized the musicians of Lincoln Cathedral for singing and saying anthems, and presumably other portions of the liturgy, in Latin rather than English. This powerful repudiation was repeated in various forms as Cranmer addressed musical concerns within the English

⁹³ Frere, 42.

⁹⁴ Sacred English music at the end of the Middle Ages had become extremely florid, with long melismatic passages and complex polyphony. The Old Hall Manuscript contains the most complete collection of sacred English music from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. John Dunstable’s (1390-1453) Latin music is amongst the most complex and florid examples of the late Medieval or early Renaissance eras. English composers continued writing in this style of florid polyphony until the final decade of Henry VIII’s reign, as demonstrated by the complex polyphony in the Latin music by John Taverner (1490-1545), Christopher Tye, and John Sheppard.

Reformation, especially the phrase “a plain and distinct note for every syllable one.” The portion of the Royal Injunctions that deals with music bears quoting in its entirety:

They shall henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other.⁹⁵

Cranmer believed that plainsong was the ideal style of music for worship.

He believed that sacred music should be “a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same might be as plainly understood (*sic*) as if it were read without singing.”⁹⁶ This stance was reiterated in the St. George Injunction (1550), which placed considerable restrictions upon English polyphony, stating that it should adhere to the ideals of plainsong (square note plain). Plainchant was allowed as long as it remained syllabic so that every syllable may again be “plainly and distinctly pronounced” and understood by the listener:

We will and command that there be none other note sung or used in the said church at any service there to be had, saving the square note plain, so that every syllable may be plainly and distinctly pronounced, and without any reposts or repeatings which may induce any obscureness to the hearers.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Peter Le Huray and John Harper, *Grove Music Online* “Anthem.” <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/> (accessed 13 November 2009).

⁹⁶ Frere, 106.

⁹⁷ Quoted in Le Huray, 25.

Looking at one of the earliest musical sources to be associated with the Book of Common Prayer makes it clear that the early Church of England preferred chant-like musical settings. The first published “guide” to music for the Church of England was John Merbecke’s *Booke of Common praier noted* (1550), which provided monophonic, plainsong-like melodies for Matins, Vespers, the Communion Service, and important occasional services.⁹⁸ Merbecke’s book was intended to provide musical guidance to members of the Chapel Royal, mostly in the form of monophonic psalms and strict homophonic services, but was obsolete by the 1552 revision of the Book of Common Prayer.⁹⁹ Some of the melodies were pre-existing Sarum chants or psalm-tones, secular songs, or otherwise newly composed melodies with a folksong-like quality that was easily learned by English parishioners.¹⁰⁰ Some of these melodies even retained Latin titles for various sections of the Service, though the text was English.

Cranmer recognized the limitations of an entirely monophonic service and made accommodations for polyphony within the liturgy. Polyphony was permitted as a hymn or similar song that was to be sung at the beginning or end of Morning or Evening Prayers as long as the text was easily understood by listeners

⁹⁸ David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London: Duckworth, 1990), 149.

⁹⁹ Dorothy L. Murray, “The Arts in Transition: A Study of the Effect of the Reformation in England on Selected Examples of Music and Architecture During the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI” (PhD diss., Ohio University, 1980), 114.

¹⁰⁰ Temperley, 19.

and followed the syllabic model of plainsong.¹⁰¹ Cranmer recognized the value of music as a tool to enhance the liturgy encouraging composers to write anthems “in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.”¹⁰² The earliest collection of polyphonic music for the Church of England was published by John Day, commonly called *Certaine notes* (1560). The full title is:

*Certaine notes set forthe in foure and three partes, to be sung at the Mornyng Communion and Evenyng Praier, very necessairie for the Church of Christe to be frequented and used: and unto them added divers Godly praiers and Psalms in the like forme to the honor and prayse of God.*¹⁰³

The music contained within *Certaine notes* was predominantly chordal, with hymn-like motion and very brief sections of polyphony, likely intended for use in parish churches during the early Reformation. Half of the settings are for men’s voices, reflecting the need for music that could be performed immediately by those who could read musical notation. Pieces with treble and mean parts were introduced gradually since boy choristers were often taught by rote.

Cranmer’s impositions made English music during the early Reformation considerably simpler than music composed for the Sarum Use. It was predominantly homophonic, with short points of imitation over theologically unimportant passages. It was also almost entirely syllabic, with very brief melismas, generally containing fewer than five notes on unimportant words. This

¹⁰¹ Murray, 112.

¹⁰² Quoted in Frere, 106.

¹⁰³ Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music* (London: Methnan and Co., 1969), 40.

mostly homophonic, syllabic style led to music whose text easily intelligible and met Cranmer's expectation that the music be plain, distinct, and easily "understood" by the people. William Harrison, whose *Description of England* bears the subtitle "The classic contemporary account of Tudor social life" in a modern edition, described the reformed English liturgy:

The rest being read by the minister with a loud voice, saving that in the administration of the Communion the choir singeth the answers, the Creed, and sundry other things appointed, but in so plain, I say, and distinct manner that each one present may understand what they sing, every word having but one note, though the whole harmony consist of many parts, and those very cunningly set by the skillful in that science.¹⁰⁴

The liturgy that Harrison described contains an abundance of choral music that was sung either monophonically, in the manner of plainchant and psalm tones (plain and distinct), or in mostly syllabic homophony (every word having but one note). Text comprehension was of the utmost importance to English church leaders (and as a result was imposed upon composers). Harrison recognized this by stating that everyone in the congregation could understand the text that was sung due to the cunning skill of composers and their scientific approach to writing music that balanced the ability to capture the listener's attention while retaining optimal text comprehension.

Polyphony, Homophony, and Experimentation in Settings of *Christ Rising Again*

Christ rising again is unique among English anthems in that it is one of the few anthem texts that was not a part of the prescribed daily liturgy, that was

¹⁰⁴ William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life*, ed. Georges Edelen. (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1994), 34.

set by the most recognized and celebrated English composers of the Renaissance era. The settings by John Sheppard, Christopher Tye, Thomas Tallis, William Byrd, and Thomas Tomkins will be analyzed in order to demonstrate how these settings reflected musical expectations issued by reformers, especially in terms of balancing a primarily syllabic homophonic texture with passages of polyphony. The setting by John Sheppard is the most homophonic and least florid of the examined settings, reflecting the sudden implementation of a dramatically simplified musical rubric during the early Reformation. The settings gradually became more florid as composers experimented with various vocal combinations and longer and more elaborate polyphonic passages. Byrd and Tomkins composed the most elaborate settings during the Elizabethan Reformation, when composers were allowed more freedom due to the queen's penchant for liturgical formality and ceremony. Tallis's setting may have also been composed during Elizabeth's reign, but the dating of his setting is the most questionable of those examined.

John Sheppard's setting of *Christ rising again* is an excellent example of the early Reformation style. Sheppard's is the earliest setting examined and was probably composed between the issue of the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and the revised version of 1552 since it contains "Alleluia" passages after each of the two parts of the anthem. These occur in the 1549 Prayer Book but were eliminated from the 1552 revision. Sheppard's setting is for four-part unaccompanied male choir (AATB) and alternates between sections of strict homophony and brief points of imitation that unfold slowly and dovetail

seamlessly amongst the various voices.¹⁰⁵ His setting is almost entirely syllabic, and when melismas do occur they rarely occupy more than four notes, and are placed on unimportant words such as “Alleluia,” “the,” “of,” “that,” or “do.”

Composers experimented by composing music that met Cranmer’s restrictions yet continued to engage listeners. Thomas Morley explained in his treatise, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, that the function of church music was “to draw the hearer, as it were, in chains of gold by the ears to the consideration of holy things.”¹⁰⁶ Christopher Tye’s setting of *Christ rising again* demonstrates the considerable development that occurred in anthem composition after the revised Prayer Book of 1552 and the new function of the Easter anthem within the Morning Prayer Service. Tye’s setting successfully combines functionality with florid compositional style that is reminiscent of the Sarum tradition. Tye probably composed this setting sometime between the release of the revised Prayer Book (1 November 1552) and the accession of Mary I in July 1553. Tye’s setting does not contain “Alleluias” at the end of each passage that had been eliminated from the 1552 Prayer Book and there is no evidence that he wrote any music after the reign of Edward VI ended.

English music historians describe Tye’s setting of *Christ rising again* as his most remarkable setting of an English text, a shining example of his compositional mastery and more reminiscent of his pre-Reformation Latin music. Peter Le Huray described it as among his most complicated anthems, different

¹⁰⁵ Phillips, 42.

¹⁰⁶ Le Huray, 154-155.

from other settings of the anthem because of its “colorful range of sonorities.”¹⁰⁷ Peter Phillips described it as among Tye’s most elaborate and interesting anthems.¹⁰⁸ John Caldwell called Tye’s setting undoubtedly his finest extant setting of English words.¹⁰⁹

Tye’s most successful anthems were contrapuntal, florid, and tend to repeat and develop melodic motifs throughout long spans of music, all characteristics that were more common in continental music.¹¹⁰ His setting is for expanded six-part (SATTBB) unaccompanied choir and is notable for his use of contrasting sonorities and various vocal combinations throughout the anthem. Text audibility was certainly foremost in Tye’s mind his setting is almost entirely syllabic with brief melismas on unimportant words, alternating homophonic passages at theologically important sections and paired polyphony in celebratory and less theologically important phrases.¹¹¹ Tye’s setting is much more elaborate than Sheppard’s, however, and utilizes dense harmonic language and thick contrapuntal texture.

Although Elizabeth’s fondness for ceremony led to a relaxed position on polyphony and allowed for florid polyphony in anthems and other non-congregational musical items, composers were still expected to write music that

¹⁰⁷ Le Huray, 203.

¹⁰⁸ Phillips, 28.

¹⁰⁹ Caldwell, 290.

¹¹⁰ Phillips, 32.

¹¹¹ Le Huray, 201.

was syllabic and intelligible to listeners. This relaxed position is demonstrated in the Royal Injunction that accompanied the release of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, stating,

That there be a modest distinct song, so used in all parts of the common prayers of the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing, and yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning, or in the end of the common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an Hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God in the best sort of melody and music that may conveniently be devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymn may be understood and perceived.¹¹²

In keeping with this more relaxed position in the 1559 Prayer Book, Elizabethan settings of *Christ rising again* were more florid and elaborate. This is partially due to the solemn nature of the anthem within the Easter Morning Prayer Service, even after the Easter sepulchre service was abolished, and also partially due to the fact that the anthem was a prescribed text to be said or sung each Easter morning. By 1559 this text had probably become familiar to English worshippers. Joseph Kerman makes a poignant argument that prescribed texts offered composers considerable freedom because of this text familiarity:

Liturgical texts do not call for a composer's impressive or persuasive powers. The words are thoroughly known and their import has been thoroughly digested; the composer needs only to point them up with an ever freshening sense of their seriousness, and perhaps sometimes also to accord them decorous illumination. Nor are these texts to be dilated upon at will. They take their place in ceremonies with their own time scale and their own canons of proportion.¹¹³

¹¹² Quoted in Phillips, 7.

¹¹³ Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 347.

Kerman's statement applies especially well to Thomas Tallis's setting of *Christ rising again*, the most florid of the full anthem settings examined.

Musicologists have debated the date and even authorship of Tallis's setting for five-voice choir (SAATB), which survives in two seventeenth-century sources.¹¹⁴

In one of these sources Tallis's setting was presented without a composer's name and was preceded by a piece by Byrd with a slightly different text, leading to a misattribution to Byrd, while another source clearly attributes the setting to Tallis in the index.¹¹⁵ Peter Le Huray suggests that that Tallis's setting was likely

composed before 1553 due to its florid nature, possibly as an English *contrafacta* anthem.¹¹⁶ Peter Phillips, however, believes that Tallis's setting was more likely composed between 1570-1580, making it his latest extant English anthem.¹¹⁷

Tallis's setting is in an imitative texture with a binary form that is much more florid and polyphonic than Sheppard's or Tye's, coinciding with Elizabeth's relaxed view of polyphonic music and fondness for ceremony and which would argue against the earlier date. Elizabeth even allowed Tallis and Byrd to publish Latin motets that reflect the imitative, polyphonic style of their continental contemporaries, such as Orlande de Lassus (1530/1532-1594), Tomas Luis de Victoria (1548-1611), Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/26-1594) and Carlo

¹¹⁴ Caldwell, 291.

¹¹⁵ Leonard Ellinwood, critical notes to *Thomas Tallis: English Sacred Music: II Service Music*. (London: Stainer and Bell, 1971), 206.

¹¹⁶ Le Huray, 196.

¹¹⁷ Phillips, 38.

Gesualdo (c.1531-1613).¹¹⁸ English composers in the late sixteenth century tended to write for two alto parts when expanding to five-voices, which was less characteristic in music from earlier in the century. These arguments seem to support Phillips's dating between 1570-1580.

Despite the florid nature of Tallis's setting, it must have been intended for liturgical use, probably in the Chapel Royal. Tallis's setting is almost entirely syllabic with only the occasional melisma to ornament cadences. Tallis emphasized important passages of text through homophony such as "he liveth unto God, and so like-wise count yourselves dead unto sin" and "for seeing that by man came death, by man also cometh the resurrection of the dead," creating a dramatic sense of contrast from the predominantly polyphonic texture. Tallis's use of phrase repetition also increases text intelligibility and functionality. Finally, full anthems were generally reserved for use within liturgical settings, unlike verse anthems, which often fulfilled a dual role as sacred entertainment music.

The verse anthem settings by William Byrd and Thomas Tomkins reflect the compositional development at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, blending elements from the Renaissance with elements from the Baroque. The verse anthem was a distinctly English genre without a continental equivalent. They are different from full anthems in that they feature passages for one or more soloists with instrumental accompaniment. Verse anthems were rooted in late Medieval and Renaissance English consort songs that

¹¹⁸ Phillips, 35.

were popular at court. They were often used as sacred entertainment and not exclusively tied to a particular liturgy.¹¹⁹ The first substantial verse anthems were written in the 1560s and 1570s and are closely rooted in the Elizabethan consort song. These anthems alternate between passages for a soloist or groups of soloists and passages for the entire choir. They generally contain instrumental accompaniment by viols, organ, or sometimes sackbut and cornett. The consort song for one or more voices and viols became the favored form of music for amateurs by the start of the seventeenth century, as shown by Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* (1599) and a published set of exercises for families entitled *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (1606).¹²⁰ Songs for solo voices and viols were especially popular during the second half of the sixteenth century.¹²¹ Verse anthems likewise became one of the favored forms of sacred English music at the end of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth century. The untexted viol parts frequently contain words at the end of each verse, suggesting that the viol players may have sung these portions.¹²²

Byrd's setting of *Christ rising again* exists in two versions, one for consort of viols and another with organ accompaniment. The version with organ accompaniment survives in several ecclesiastical sources that were circulated in manuscript form around ten years before the published version with viol consort,

¹¹⁹ Phillips, 77.

¹²⁰ Price, 46.

¹²¹ Le Huray, 218.

¹²² Phillips, 77.

suggesting that the anthem was used in liturgical services.¹²³ The version with viol consort is found in a manuscript (Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. E.423) that was copied around 1582. The manuscript also contains secular songs, suggesting that it was probably intended for devotional use as sacred entertainment, perhaps by the Chapel Royal.¹²⁴ This version with viol accompaniment was published in a collection entitled *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (1589), further suggesting that it was originally intended for devotional rather than liturgical use. It is unclear whether the anthem was composed for use at Lincoln Cathedral, which had its own set of viols and for which Byrd composed the majority of his sacred English music, or for the Chapel Royal while Byrd lived in London.

Tomkins composed more than fifty verse anthems, which contain his most innovative music and defy compositional conventions of his English contemporaries.¹²⁵ Most of the verse anthems were probably intended for the Chapel Royal with organ accompaniment instead of viols. His four-voice verse anthems have less elaborate choral sections than his pieces for more voices, and are characterized by short, concise sections of syllabic text settings that often echo the solo passages.

Tomkins was a student of Byrd's and was likely familiar with his setting, which may account for the similarities between the two. Both follow the typical pattern of verse anthems by alternating passages for the soloists, which are

¹²³ Le Huray, 244.

¹²⁴ Harley, 302.

¹²⁵ Phillips, 205.

marked verse, and choir, which are marked full, often repeating important phrases of text between the two groups. Both composers began the two parts of their anthem with rising melodic motives, an example of word-painting that shows the popularity of English madrigals and their influence upon English sacred music. Each composer began the *secunda pars* of the anthem in compound triple meter, which generally represented joyful occasions.¹²⁶ Thomas Ravenscroft (c.1592-c.1635), a seventeenth century English theorist and composer, described the use of triple meter saying, “the use of this perfect prolation is, in Service Divine, for Jubilees and Thanksgivings, and otherwise for Galliards and Revellings.”¹²⁷ The use of jubilant music that is reminiscent of dance music demonstrates the change in emphasis in the second portion of the text, which is filled with images of the resurrection and past tense reminders that Jesus has already risen.

There is a general sense of enlivening rhythmic figures as both Byrd’s and Tomkins’s anthems develop, culminating in each setting with the syncopated final phrase “restored to life.” Both composers set the word “restored” as a three-syllable word with the emphasis upon the second syllable, rhythmically reflecting the agogic stress by setting the accented middle syllable apart with a longer note than the surrounding unaccented syllables. The dance-like syncopations that results are similar enough to suggest a correlation between Tomkins’s and Byrd’s settings, with Tomkins’s setting reflecting the modernizing trend in notation by the seventeenth century. Both Byrd and Tomkins also utilize a dotted figure to

¹²⁶ Phillips, 144.

¹²⁷ Quoted in Le Huray, 144.

represent a similar agogic accent on the phrase “he liveth unto God” in the solo verses. Tomkins expands this dotted figure into the following choral phrase, “but living unto God,” creating a rhythmic drive that rushes headlong into a fermata. Tomkins continues the dotted figure when referencing Jesus in the final phrase of the *prima pars*, continuing the dance-like motion and drawing an association between Jesus and life through use of the words “liveth,” “living,” and “risen.”

The reduction of the divine Sarum offices to three English services (Morning Prayer, Communion Service, and Evening Prayer) caused each service to receive greater emphasis. Music was an important aspect of these services, especially the Morning Prayer service, and *Christ rising again* played a pivotal role in the Morning Prayer service on Easter Day. The anthem’s function and context changed as the Matins service evolved from a Catholic Latin service into an almost identical English version in 1549 and then a significantly reformed version in the 1552 revision. The various settings by prominent English composers reflect the philosophical role English reformers imposed upon sacred English music, requiring that the laity be able to understand the text clearly through music that was predominantly syllabic and homophonic with brief passages of florid polyphony. The focus of the anthem will narrow in the following chapter as the liturgical function within the processional ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre is examined in depth. The focus will continue to narrow in the third chapter by focusing upon the scriptural passages from which the anthem was drawn and analyzing Medieval and Renaissance biblical commentaries, paraphrases, annotations and analyses.

Chapter 2

The Easter Sepulchre Ceremony and the Context of *Christus resurgens* and

Christ rising again

Easter is one of the two most important celebrations in the Christian calendar, along with Christmas. Christ's suffering, death, and subsequent resurrection constitute the climax of the liturgical calendar and form the basis of Medieval Catholicism. The forty days of Lent that precede Easter are a time of penance and religious reflection that lead to Holy Week, the remembrance and representation of Christ's Passion and ultimate crucifixion on Good Friday. Medieval and Renaissance Christians considered Holy Week to be the most sacred period within the liturgical calendar, and this inspired composers to write numerous anthems and motets in celebration.

The ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre were particularly significant and poignant to English Catholics and as a result were frequently targeted by English reformers who were determined to eliminate all papist influences. The Easter sepulchre ceremonies, however, were practiced well into Elizabeth's reign, despite reformers' best efforts to abolish them. The *Christus resurgens* antiphon and the 1549 version of the anthem, *Christ rising again*, occurred at the climax of the sepulchre ceremony on Easter Sunday as part of a procession to the sepulchre constructed within the church, which represented Christ's burial tomb. A consecrated Host and the Crucifix from the main altar were "resurrected" from the sepulchre where they had been symbolically buried during the Vespers service on Good Friday. During the sepulchre ceremony, they

were returned to their normal place upon the altar. Later revisions of the Book of Common Prayer abolished this ceremony and moved the anthem to later in the service where its function and context were substantially altered.

The Easter Sepulchre: Reforms and Debate

The Easter sepulchre was the visual and symbolic focal point of the Holy Week celebration, designed as a dramatic representation of the traditional Catholic teaching of the saving power of Christ's cross and Passion and the doctrine of the sacramental Eucharist.¹²⁸ Every church was obliged to provide some form of sepulchre for the Holy Week celebrations. Some churches constructed permanent structures in the North side of the chancel, often sponsored by wealthy patrons doubling as their personal tombs.¹²⁹ Permanent sepulchres could be highly ornate with sculptures, gilding, and alcoves incorporated into the design. Some survived the destruction during the Reformation and can still be seen in English churches with notable examples including the sepulchre at Heckington in Lincolnshire, the Sackville monument and sepulchre at Westhampnett in Sussex, and John Clopton's tomb and sepulchre at Long Melford.¹³⁰ Less wealthy patrons arranged for the placement of their tombs as close as possible to the Easter sepulchre since proximity to the Easter sepulchre demonstrated a considerable display of status. Smaller churches with less wealth built temporary sepulchres out of wood, often a simple wooden frame adorned

¹²⁸ Duffy, 31.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 32.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 32.

with drapery or covered with painted or carved panels.¹³¹ Permanent structures were often immensely elaborate and constituted a great expense to the church. In addition to the outlay required to build the sepulchre, there was the cost of candles and personnel required to maintain constant watch from Good Friday until Matins on Easter Day. Over one hundred candles burned before the Easter sepulchre at St. Edmund's in Salisbury, kept by the Resurrection Guild, whose central function was the maintenance of the Easter sepulchre.¹³²

The *Christus resurgens* antiphon accompanied the culmination of the Easter sepulchre ceremony in the Sarum Use at Matins on Easter Day. The ceremony of the Easter sepulchre began at the end of the Good Friday liturgy. The priest removed his shoes and vestments. Barefoot and wearing only his surplice, he brought forward a third Host that had been consecrated the day before. This Host was placed in a pyx,¹³³ which was wrapped in cloth that represented the shroud that was wrapped around Jesus' body as it was placed in the tomb.¹³⁴ The pyx was then taken in procession to the North side of the chapel where the Easter sepulchre was prepared and the Host was ceremonially "buried" with a crucifix to symbolize Christ's burial in the tomb following his

¹³¹ Duffy, 31.

¹³² Ibid., 34.

¹³³ Pyx is a term applied to any vessel that contained the Blessed Eucharist, and specifically for the vessel that suspended the Eucharist permanently above the altar during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Later the term pyx was used to refer to the specific vessel used to bring the Eucharist to the sick and infirmed.

¹³⁴ Duffy, 29-30.

crucifixion.¹³⁵ During this burial the priest intoned a Psalm verse, “I am counted as one of them that go down to the pit.”¹³⁶ The sepulchre was sealed, candles were lit before the sepulchre, and watch was kept over the sepulchre continually until Matins on Easter Day.¹³⁷

The ceremony reached its pinnacle at the matins service on Easter Day. Early in the morning, before the ringing of bells before Mass, the clergy assembled in the church, lit candles throughout to create a festival of light, and formed a procession to the sepulchre. The Host was removed with dignity, but minimal ceremony, to its normal position in a hanging pyx above the high altar. The ceremonial aspects occurred as the Crucifix was then solemnly “raised” from the sepulchre and carried triumphantly around the church while all the bells were rung and the choir sang the antiphon, *Christus resurgens*.¹³⁸ The procession made its way to the rood,¹³⁹ while *Christus resurgens* was sung and then the versicle and prayers of the Matins Memorial of the Cross in Paschal Time were sung at the

¹³⁵ John Walton Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 140.

¹³⁶ Duffy, 30.

¹³⁷ Tyrer, 141.

¹³⁸ Duffy, 30.

¹³⁹ The rood was a large crucifix with statues of the Virgin Mary and St. John that was usually placed over the entrance to the choir in Medieval churches. They were generally large enough to have been seen from every part of the church and were often placed upon a gallery, screen, or beam that spanned the chancel arch.

rood.¹⁴⁰ The Commemoration of the Cross and the Virgin was then said and the procession returned to the choir in silence.¹⁴¹ The Crucifix was then placed on an altar on the north side of the church where the Good Friday ceremony of “creeping to the cross” was repeated.

Creeping to the cross was an act of veneration toward the cross that bore Jesus’ death during Holy Week. During this act, the laity crept on hands and knees, barefoot, to the foot of the cross and kissed the Crucifix. Even Henry VIII is recorded to have crept to the cross in 1539 “from the chapel door upward,” emphasizing the distance the king himself was willing to prostrate himself and creep to the cross as a display of his faith.¹⁴²

Congregations repeated the creeping to the cross ceremony on Easter Day after the Host and Crucifix had been “resurrected” and restored to their normal positions within the church. Matins and Mass were then sung, with an unusually elaborate procession that rivaled the Corpus Christi processions.¹⁴³ After this elaborate Easter procession, the empty sepulchre remained on display for the rest of the week as a focus for devotion.

¹⁴⁰ Terrence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1971), 50.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 50-51. The Corpus Christi procession was one of the most elaborate processions of the church year. The feast included a public parade of the Eucharist beneath an elaborate canopy by priests in their finest vestments. It rivaled the royal entrance processions that occurred when distinguished guests triumphantly entered the city gates.

¹⁴² Duffy, 423.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

The Easter sepulchre ceremony was an especially solemn form of public worship of the Host and was genuinely popular among the laity. Henrician reformers in 1539 recognized the sepulchre ceremony as “laudable,” one of the prominent features of English worship in every parish in England, and an importance focus of lay piety.¹⁴⁴ The Easter sepulchre and its ceremonies expressed the pathos of Christ’s passion that was especially emphasized in the late Medieval era and was also the principle medium for expressing the Easter proclamation of Christ’s resurrection.¹⁴⁵ Even the act of creeping to the cross on Easter morning after the “resurrection” of the Host and Crucifix was a celebration of the healing and redeeming power of the triumphant cross rather than an act of penitence.

The Holy Week ceremonies, especially the creeping to the cross and the veneration of the Easter sepulchre, were frequent targets of English Reformers by the 1530s.¹⁴⁶ However, the importance of these ceremonies to the lay population caused reformers to tread lightly and ultimately suffer setbacks to their attempts to eliminate elements they considered to be too fantastic or superstitious. Some of these ceremonies were recorded as late as the Elizabethan era.¹⁴⁷ One such setback was included in a conservative proclamation issued on 16 November 1538 that forbade annotated translations of scriptures and the printing and sale of

¹⁴⁴ Duffy, 422.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁴⁷ Booty, 362.

English scriptural translations without prior examination by the Privy Councillor or Bishop.¹⁴⁸ This devastating setback to the reformers' cause included a statement that ceremonies such as creeping to the cross on Good Friday and Easter Matins and the burning of candles "before the Corpus Christi" (Easter sepulchre) were to be used "without superstition...[as] good and laudable ceremonies to put us in remembrance of higher perfection and none otherwise."¹⁴⁹ This proclamation, while describing the ceremonies as good and laudable, also represents the initial progression away from the mystical superstition that surrounded the Easter sepulchre and creeping to the cross, stating that lay members were not to "repose any confidence of salvation in them but take them for good instruction until such time as his majesty doth change or abrogate them."¹⁵⁰

The Holy Week ceremonies survived early attempts at elimination to the chagrin of Cranmer and other reformers and continued as a focal point in the Holy Week celebrations throughout Henry's reign. On the one hand, reformers had to consider the needs and desires of the laity, who greatly valued the ceremonies that surrounded the Easter sepulchre and maintained its practice as an extremely important and lasting tradition, even though they may not have intellectually understood its meaning. On the other hand, reformers were intent upon eliminating all mystical elements that they viewed as excessive and overtly papist.

¹⁴⁸ Duffy, 411.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 411.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 411.

Their first step was to teach lay members the meaning and symbolism associated with the ceremony, thereby eliminating the mysticism and such flagrantly offensive elements such as creeping to the cross and venerating it as a saintly image. John Goodall, bishop of Salisbury Cathedral, witnessed people kissing the image of Christ on the Crucifix as part of the 1539 Easter sepulchre ceremonies at Salisbury Cathedral and ordered the priest to stop such practices.¹⁵¹ During the following year, however, an official committee issued the *Rationale of Ceremonial* that defended traditional ceremonies, particularly mentioning creeping to the cross and the Easter sepulchre.¹⁵² The *King's Book* (1543) contains a similar permissive attitude toward ceremonies and even the veneration of certain images.¹⁵³ These official documents reaffirmed the value of traditional ceremonies and are examples of how Henry actually thwarted further liturgical reform.

These early setbacks did not deter reformers from their crusade against papist ceremonies and veneration of images. There is evidence that by January 1546 Cranmer was preparing to try to mobilize the king against “sacrosanct ceremonies,” especially the Good Friday tradition of creeping to the cross.¹⁵⁴ Henry’s death on January 28, 1547 and the subsequent accession of the boy-king, Edward VI, provided Cranmer and the reformers with the opportunity they needed

¹⁵¹ Duffy, 422.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 427.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 429.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 443.

to eliminate the papist ceremonies surrounding Easter. However, Cranmer worried that the population at large would resist an overly aggressive shift toward Protestantism, interpreting it as a manipulation of the young king by his Protestant council.¹⁵⁵ Therefore Cranmer proceeded deliberately, focusing first on the creation of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer and an English liturgy that closely resembled the Sarum liturgy but with a greater emphasis upon scripture and preaching. This allowed the English laity to become accustomed to these relatively minor changes while the reformers worked on a more radical shift toward Protestantism with the 1552 revision.

Cranmer's coronation homily to the young King Edward on February 20, 1547 reflects his anti-papist agenda by encouraging the young king to continue the reformations begun by his father, saying, "Your Majesty is vice-regent [along with the Archbishop of Canterbury] of Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah [king of Judah from 641-609 BCE who instituted major religious reforms sometimes referred to as the Deuteronomic reform], God truly worshipped and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects and images removed."¹⁵⁶ Less than two months later, on April 11, 1547, the Chapel Royal sang an English form of Compline for the first time.¹⁵⁷ The opening convocation of Parliament in the following November was sung in English, including settings of the Gloria, Creed,

¹⁵⁵ Duffy, 448.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 448.

¹⁵⁷ Baldwin, 147.

Sanctus, *Benedictus*, and Agnus Dei.¹⁵⁸ Within six months St. Paul's Cathedral had initiated complete English settings of Matins and Evensong. The first use of the English Order of Communion occurred on Easter Day 1548 and English Matins, Mass, and Evensong went into official use on Whitsunday of the same year.¹⁵⁹ Many so-called papist practices including the ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre and creeping to the cross remained in the 1549 English liturgy.¹⁶⁰

Reformers justified the retention of the Easter sepulchre ceremonies by drawing lay members' attention away from acts of mysticism and veneration toward acts of intellectualism, devotion, and intended symbolism. The symbolism of the Easter sepulchre ceremony was drawn from the writings of Desiderius Erasmus, who taught believers to imitate Christ's death and burial by "dying" to sin at baptism, thus being "resurrected" to a new godly life. The concern for reformers was that the ceremony had progressed to a point where worshippers mindlessly followed the established traditions of the Sarum Use with no regard for their symbolism and without changing their daily lives and "dying" unto sin. Therefore parish ministers were instructed to teach lay members that the Easter sepulchre ceremony was a visual reminder of this symbolic death and burial. This attempt to rationalize the Easter sepulchre ceremonies marked a first step toward their ultimate elimination.

Erasmus's books of paraphrases, which were displayed in all English churches, provided suitable examples of symbolism that met the needs of the

¹⁵⁸ Le Huray, 10.

¹⁵⁹ Duffy, 459.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 449.

reformers.¹⁶¹ An example that is also reflected in the imagery from *Christ rising again* can be found in his paraphrase of Romans:

For when we are baptized in the name of Christ, together with him we die to our former sins which have been abolished by his death, and not only do we die together with him, but we are also buried with him, and this through the same baptism. Hence, just as Christ, who never lived for sin but died for our wickedness, was called back to eternal life, not by human strength but by the power of the Father, so we have been awakened through Christ from death brought by sins. Dead to our former sins and living now the new life, let us follow in the footsteps of piety, always progressing from virtue to greater virtue.¹⁶²

Erasmus's description of being baptized, dead, and buried together with Christ provided the ideal parallel for the Easter sepulchre ceremony, which in this interpretation represented the burial of lay members' life of sin along with the Crucifix and Host on Good Friday. This concept is echoed at the end of the *prima pars* in *Christ rising again*: "For in that he died, he died but once to put away sin: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. And so likewise count yourselves dead unto sin, but living unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord." The corresponding passage in Erasmus's paraphrase details how Christ's believers had been "awakened through Christ." This parallels the phrase in *Christ rising again* that captured the most attention by the most prominent composers: "For as by Adam

¹⁶¹ Erasmus wrote numerous religious works including a translation of the Bible that draws from the original Greek and Hebrew sources, a set of annotations and commentary designed to accompany and elucidate the meaning of biblical passages for the laity, and a paraphrase of the New Testament books where he wrote as Paul or the other apostles as if he were addressing a Renaissance audience with a fluent understanding of liturgical Latin.

¹⁶² Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, vol. 42 of *Collected Works of Erasmus*. ed. Robert D. Sider, trans. John B. Payne, Albert Rabil Jr., Robert D. Sider, and Warren S. Smith Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 37.

all men do die, so by Christ all men shall be restored to life.” The imagery of dying to the sin of the earthly kingdom initiated through Adam and being restored to the life of the heavenly realm that is free from sin through Christ’s intervention was an ideal fusion of humanism and religion. However, the inability of the English laity to separate the Easter sepulchre ceremony from the pageantry of the Sarum Use caused reformers to eliminate the ceremony altogether. The value of the anthem as a reflection of this imagery, however, meant that it could be retained and moved to a place within the liturgy that was no longer associated with the sepulchre ceremony.

Many other changes made during the first year of Edward’s reign represented a significant shift toward the Protestantism reflected in continental movements. The Royal Injunctions of 1547 forbade the burning of lights anywhere within the church except for two candles allowed to burn before the Sacrament on the altar because of the large number of candles that were burnt in honor of various saints and images that the Protestants believed were too papist.¹⁶³ This dramatically altered the physical, and subsequently spiritual, appearance of the church by eliminating the large number candles that were placed upon the rood, sepulchre, and before the images of saints, including the Virgin Mary, which were proclaimed illegal during Henry’s reign. The 1547 Injunctions also ordered the removal of all relics, images, pictures, and paintings that were deemed “monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimage, idolatry, and

¹⁶³ Duffy, 451.

superstition” including permanent Easter sepulchres which were defaced.¹⁶⁴ Finally, the 1547 Injunctions abolished all processions except those at Rogationtide (the four rogation days began with the fifth Sunday after Easter and were particularly popular among the English laity), which were retained as religious thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth.¹⁶⁵ This unprecedented change significantly altered the appearance of Holy Week services, especially Easter Matins, since processions were a distinctive feature in English churches. It also reduced the significance of *Christ rising again* by eliminating the prominent procession to which it was attached and moving it from its place as the first aural element of the Easter celebration to approximately one-third of the way into the liturgy.

Many of these so-called papist traditions continued to be practiced in English churches, despite the royal injunctions. On 6 February 1548 Edward’s council passed an order that stated that English Protestants could not be troubled by laity or clergy if they did not participate in ceremonies such as creeping to the cross on Good Friday and Easter Matins.¹⁶⁶ This strategic order appeared to protect traditional ceremonies and retained the allegiance of the English laity, while at the same time portraying them as papist practices that should eventually be abolished. Shortly thereafter, Cranmer instigated visitations to English churches enforcing the abrogation of these ceremonies that continued such

¹⁶⁴ Duffy, 451.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 568.

¹⁶⁶ Booty, 39.

practices and forbade the ceremonies of the Easter sepulchre for the first time.¹⁶⁷

Robert Parkyn, priest at Ardwickle Street near Doncaster who has been called “the last Medieval Englishman” by historians, kept a detailed narrative and recorded that all images were removed, altar lights were quenched and ceremonies including creeping to the cross and sepulchre ceremonies of Good Friday and Easter were abolished.¹⁶⁸

The ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre and creeping to the cross were re-established during the five-year reign of Mary I (r.1553-1558). It is unclear, however, if English composers wrote polyphonic settings of *Christus resurgens* during Mary’s reign or if choirs returned to singing Sarum plainchant settings. Polyphonic settings by Christopher Tye, William Parsons of Wells, and John Tailer are found in surviving sources, but dates are unspecified so it is impossible to be sure that these were unique compositions during Mary’s reign.¹⁶⁹ Joseph Kerman, however, suggests that Mary’s council deliberately attempted to establish a new musical repertory and did not merely revert back to the music from Henry’s reign.¹⁷⁰ This is partially because the choristers who were familiar with the Sarum rites during the reign of Henry VIII were too old to sing the treble parts of the liturgical music because their voices had changed. Thus, it was an opportune time for composers to create a repertoire that reflected modern

¹⁶⁷ Duffy, 461.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 462.

¹⁶⁹ Kerman, 63.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 24.

compositional practices. It is likely that new settings of *Christus resurgens* were composed to accompany the re-established Holy Week ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre but were lost during the return to Protestantism. Records at Stanford in Bershire show payments in 1553-1554 to watch the Easter sepulchre, evidence that the ceremonies had been reestablished at least in this particular parish.¹⁷¹ Other parishes were also recorded to have refused Easter Communion to parishioners who refused to creep to the cross, suggesting that ceremonies were reestablished elsewhere as well.¹⁷²

The reestablished ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre were short-lived and again abolished with Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession in 1558. The 1559 Royal Injunctions that accompanied Elizabeth's accession also restored the English Liturgy, outlawed the use of clerical vestments, abolished the cult of saints and the reverence of the dead, and eliminated all processions and papist ceremonies except those at Rogationtide.¹⁷³ The ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre and creeping to the cross were specifically noted in the Injunctions along with a directive in which sepulchres and other large items were either destroyed or put to "irreversibly profane use" by being turned into benches or other innocuous items.¹⁷⁴ It was necessary for officials to enforce the abolition of the sepulchre ceremonies throughout Elizabeth's reign, demonstrating the

¹⁷¹ Duffy, 547.

¹⁷² Ibid., 559.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 568.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 573.

reluctance of certain parishes to destroy the sepulchres and other prominent pieces of religious art. In 1565, six years after the ceremonies were officially banned, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry demanded that churches and cathedrals in his diocese surrender of holy water stocks, sepulchres, and other paraphernalia “which be laid up in secret places in your church.”¹⁷⁵

From *Christus resurgens* to *Christ rising again*

Because of its association with humanist imagery and theology, the antiphon *Christus resurgens* retained its place at the beginning of Easter Matins and was translated into English for the 1549 Prayer Book, afterward referred to by its English title, *Christ rising again*. The English anthem may have been used in similar ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre in churches where such practices continued but its official function and designation was merely to be used “In the mornyng, afore Mattyns, the people beyng assembled in the Churche, these Anthems shalbe fyrste solemnly song or sayed.”¹⁷⁶ This vague description allowed the anthem, which was described as two distinct anthems in the 1549 Prayer Book, to be either sung or said depending upon the musical facilities at the church’s disposal, either as part of a ceremony at the start of Matins or merely as a solemn call to worship without elaborate ceremony or procession. Matins then proceeded with a call to prayer and the reading of psalms, lessons, and collects in English.

¹⁷⁵ Duffy, 572.

¹⁷⁶ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books*, 109.

The 1552 Prayer Book signified a more radical reformation by eliminating all processions and ceremonies associated with the Easter sepulchre, including the “resurrection” of the Host and Crucifix and the act of creeping to the cross. The anthem moved from its place as a solemn call to worship at the beginning of Matins in 1549 to approximately one-third of the way into the liturgy after the opening sentences, an exhortation by the minister that led to a general confession and absolution, the Lord’s Prayer, and a few responses that end with the doxology. The anthem replaced the *Venite* psalm during the Morning Prayer service on Easter Day, renamed from Matins as an intentional way to distinguish this practice from Catholicism, and its function was further simplified, merely designated in the Prayer Book by saying, “At Morning Prayer, insted of the Psalm, O come let us, &c. These Anthems shalbe song or sayed.”¹⁷⁷

Transforming the Medieval Latin antiphon to a reformed English anthem involved more than a mere translation of the text. Sarum antiphons were generally derived from scripture and followed by a *versus* that commented upon the scriptural text or associated feast. *Christus resurgens*, was drawn from Romans 6:9-10 in the Latin Vulgate Bible. The English translation reflected the modern biblical translations that drew from Erasmus’s translation of the Greek New Testament and sources beyond the Medieval Latin Vulgate Bible. The *versus* was eliminated from the 1549 English version and was replaced with a second anthem with a scriptural text from I Corinthians 15:20-22. Note the comparison between the original Latin text, along with a provided English

¹⁷⁷ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books*, 371.

translation, and the version from the 1549 Book of Common Prayer (see Figure 1 on page 10).

The first half of the antiphon and the *prima pars* of the anthem are derived from the same passage of scripture, but they reflect two distinctly different translations into the English vernacular. The antiphon was derived from the Latin Vulgate Bible, which was the standard source in Catholic churches and cathedrals during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The anthem text is derived from the Great Bible (also known as the Cranmer Bible, since Thomas Cranmer officially commissioned and sanctioned this version), which was derived from among the most ancient sources of Christian text available during the Renaissance, including Erasmus's translation of the Greek New Testament and other Greek and Hebrew sources, and contained both the Old and New Testaments. As a result the anthem text is somewhat more modern and contains two additional phrases that are not found in the Latin Vulgate version, but reflect the humanist theological perspective of the reformers. The first of these phrases states, "he died but once to put away sin," which was intended as a reminder to English laity that Christ's sacrifice was singular and final and that each believer can only be baptized once as a symbol of Christ's cleansing. This brief musical homily encouraged the laity to turn away from their sinful life and live by Christ's heavenly example or risk being eternally bound to sin. The other passage found in the anthem, but not the antiphon, expands upon the earlier phrase, stating, "and so likewise, count yourselves dead unto sin: but living unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord." These

passages, along with the other verses that compose the anthem, are analyzed in more detail in the following chapter.

The *versus* was likely removed for a variety of reasons. English reformers emphasized the role of scripture within the English service, reducing the role of non-scriptural music, texts, and commentary except in the case of prayers, sermons, and collects. Therefore it was logical that reformers replaced the non-scriptural *versus* with a second anthem that contained a scriptural text. The *versus* would also have been a likely target of humanists who wanted to eliminate elements retained from the Medieval Catholic practice, such as placing the blame of Jesus' death upon the Jews and demanding that they return his body as proof that he did not resurrect from the dead. Humanist philosophies and theologians were also attracted to the comparison between Christ and Adam found in I Corinthians 15:20-22 and Romans 5:12-21. The imagery of Adam initiating life in the earthly kingdom where sin abounds and Christ initiating a heavenly domain where his followers were restored to life, thus overpowering sin and death, directly represented a fusion between humanism and theology that appealed to reformers.

Polyphony for the Easter Sepulchre

The placement of the *Christus resurgens* antiphon at the climax of Holy Week demonstrates its theological and musical importance. The only other time that the Sarum Use prescribed the singing of *Christus resurgens* was at the Vespers procession of the Feast of the Discovery of the Cross.¹⁷⁸ The chant is

¹⁷⁸ Bailey, 65.

found in the Sarum antiphoner and processional and inspired polyphonic settings by English composers of the early- to mid-sixteenth century such as John Redford (d.1547), Thomas Knyght (fl. 1525-1550), and William Pasche (fl. 1513-1537) along with the settings by Christopher Tye, William Parsons (fl. 1545-1563), John Tailer (d. after 1569) that may have been written during Mary's reign. The settings by Redford and Knyght can be found in the Gyffard Partbooks (*GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 17802-5), which is arguably the most important source for Latin music for the Mass and Office from the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary I and has been published in modern times as part of the Early English Church Music series. The other settings are still only available in manuscript.

The chant melody and its importance to the Easter liturgy inspired polyphonic settings of the English version during the early years of the Reformation as well. The Wanley Partbooks, copied at the end of Henry VIII's reign (c.1546-8), contain three English settings of *Christ Rising Again*, two of which retain the Latin title *Christus resurgens* and are based upon the Sarum chant.¹⁷⁹ The abundance of extant polyphonic settings is significant since Sarum services primarily reserved polyphony for important feasts and devotional services where composers set liturgical texts of particular interest in order to create a sense of ceremonial distinction.¹⁸⁰

Even settings of the psalms, prayers, collects, or other texts prescribed for advent, Christmas, and other important feast days were not doubled with this sort

¹⁷⁹ Caldwell, 279.

¹⁸⁰ Benham, 8.

of consistency, let alone set by all of these prominent composers. Therefore, something about this text must have been particularly inspiring to English composers beyond its prescribed nature as part of the Easter Matins or Morning Prayer Service since it was allowed to be said or sung. A less inspiring text would have been relegated to a spoken passage by the preacher that was occasionally set to music, instead of the highly florid and elaborate settings that exist by master composers of the English Renaissance.

Chapter 3

Analysis of Scriptural Passages: Romans and I Corinthians

The Sarum antiphon *Christus resurgens* was inextricably linked to the procession to the Easter sepulchre and the returning of the consecrated Host and Crucifix to their place of reverence upon the main altar. However, the English version of the anthem was retained even after reformers abolished the sepulchre ceremony from the significantly reformed version of the Morning Prayer service found in the 1552 revision of the Book of Common Prayer. What was so significant about this anthem and its text to warrant its retention even after its associated ceremony was abolished? The answer lies in the humanistic elements contained in the revised English text that was drawn from Erasmus's Greek New Testament and other ancient Greek and Hebrew sources. This chapter provides a verse-by-verse analysis of the scriptural passages that constitute the anthem text, drawing from writings by Medieval and Renaissance theologians and humanists. The predominant voice is that of Erasmus, since his Paraphrases were expected to be on display in every English parish church and his Annotations and Commentaries were widely available in English translations.

Erasmus and the Use of Anthems as Scriptural Tools

Protestant reformers created significant theological changes in worship services beyond the creation of a vernacular liturgy and the elimination of elements and ceremonies deemed papist. Protestants, and especially English reformers, believed that even uneducated lay members should have the ability and resources to read and analyze scripture outside of public worship services.

Erasmus appealed to Catholic leaders in *Paraclesis*, the introduction to his 1516 edition of the Greek New Testament, for complete translations of the Bible into vernacular languages so “even the lowliest” could read and understand the scriptures for themselves. He mused, “Would that, as a result, the farmer sing some part of them at the plow, the weaver hum some part of them to the movement of his shuttle, the traveler lighten the weariness of the journey with stories of this kind.”¹⁸¹

Erasmus recognized that for most lay members it was difficult to understand the complexities of scriptural writings, since even trained clerics struggled with certain passages. Therefore, Erasmus and other biblical scholars published annotations, paraphrases, and commentaries to help preachers and lay members comprehend the scriptures. These supporting documents also helped preachers compose sermons to elucidate the meaning of scriptural passages and messages, especially the Epistles and parables. This allowed English reformers to present the Bible in three ways: first through direct translation into English, second with English paraphrases and commentaries that accompanied the English Bible in every church and were available for use in private homes, and finally through sermons and homilies by trained preachers to interpret the word and instruct the laity in reformed theology, philosophy, and ideology.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Christian Humanism and the Reformation: Selected Writings*. ed. John C. Olin. (New York: Harper, 1965), 97.

¹⁸² John N. Wall, “Godly and Fruitful Lessons: The English Bible, Erasmus’ Paraphrases and the Book of Homilies,” in *The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: Great Books of the English Reformation*, ed. Booty, John E., David Siegenthaler, and John N. Wall Jr. (Wilton, CN: Morehouse-Barlow, 1981), 47.

Erasmus printed his first exhortation that the laity read scriptures and engage in daily Bible study in 1501 with the preface to his text, *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (translated by Tyndale as *The Manuell of the Christen Knyght* and published in English in 1503).¹⁸³ The Tudor monarchs viewed this text as a basic guide to Christian life and a model for Christian humanism.¹⁸⁴ Erasmus's translation of the Greek New Testament into Latin was the first Bible in Renaissance Europe to refer to the original Greek text and was an attempt to present the Bible and Christianity in a way that would be recognizable by the earliest Christians. Erasmus began translating the Greek New Testament in 1506, and it was first published in 1516 with commentary and annotations.¹⁸⁵ William Tyndale and other English theologians and humanists translated Erasmus's writings into English shortly thereafter.

Erasmus was a frequent visitor to England and a significant influence upon English reformers, including Henry VIII. Erasmus espoused the use of vernacular translations to understand the scriptures. He also proposed that preachers be properly trained to elucidate them through sermons and homilies. Erasmus published volumes of paraphrases, annotations, and commentaries on the scriptures that helped preachers and lay members comprehend their meaning. A Royal Injunction of 1549 declared that all churches must have an English translation of the Bible and Erasmus's paraphrases available for public use.

¹⁹⁶ Wall, 58.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 67.

¹⁸⁵ Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, , xiv.

Erasmus's annotations and commentaries were also available in English translation but were not displayed in every church.

Other Theological and Philosophical Influences

Other late fifteenth and early sixteenth century philosophers and theologians influenced English reformers to a lesser degree than Erasmus, but none of their texts were required to be purchased and displayed in English churches. Thomas Cranmer was greatly influenced as he developed the English Litany by the reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quiñones (1535). Quiñones's Breviary rearranged the Psalter, reduced the daily lessons within the Divine Hours to three (an Old Testament lesson, a New Testament lesson, and a lesson on the life of the saints), inserted a homily or read passage from the Epistle or Acts of the Apostles, and focused on singing the Psalter and reading the Bible.¹⁸⁶ However, Quiñones's Breviary was designed to help individual clergymen engage in private recitation of the Divine Hours, not for public services with a choir and full complement of clergy or for private household devotion. Quiñones's Breviary was widely disseminated, with over one hundred editions printed before its suppression in 1568.¹⁸⁷ Cranmer's preface to the first prayer book of 1549 contains a literal translation from the preface of Quiñones's own work.¹⁸⁸ While Quiñones's Breviary reformed the content of the Divine Offices, the laity's role remained passive during worship, which did not satisfy Cranmer and other

¹⁸⁶ Frere, 27.

¹⁸⁷ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books*, vii.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, viii.

English reformers. Various elements of the Lutheran Church orders, reformist policies of the Calvinist church, and to a lesser extent Cranmer's study of Eastern liturgies, particularly that of St. John Chrysostom, also exerted considerable influence upon Cranmer's English liturgy.¹⁸⁹

The Great Bible was not the first English translation printed, however, and drew on a variety of prior sources. William Tyndale published the first printed English translation of the New Testament in 1526. Tyndale's translation was also the first to draw from Hebrew texts and Erasmus's Greek New Testament.¹⁹⁰

Tyndale had also translated considerable portions of the Old Testament before he was burned alive as a heretic in 1536. Nearly eighty percent of the Authorized Version of the Bible, commonly referred to as the King James Bible (1611), draws from Tyndale's translation.¹⁹¹ Henry VIII and members of the English clergy deemed Tyndale's translation inadequate, however, due to unacceptable elements in his vocabulary and appended notes. Myles Coverdale worked with Tyndale in 1529-1530 on his translation while in Hamburg and expanded and to print the first complete Bible in England, referred to as the Coverdale Bible (1535).¹⁹² Coverdale's additions and expansions were based upon Luther's German New Testament, the Latin Vulgate Bible, and other Latin texts. This was

¹⁸⁹ Booty, 342.

¹⁹⁰ John N. King, *Voices of the English Reformation: A Sourcebook* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 19.

¹⁹¹ John Nielson & Royal Skousen, "How Much of the King James Bible is William Tyndale's?" *Reformation* 3 (1998), 49-74.

¹⁹² King, 19.

the first English Bible that Parliament ordered to be read and displayed in all churches, chapels, and cathedrals in 1536.¹⁹³ In 1539 Cranmer commissioned an officially licensed revision of Coverdale's bible, known as the Great Bible or the Cromwell Bible after its patron. This version was the basis for all official prayer books between 1549 and the King James Authorized Version of 1611.¹⁹⁴ By 1540 an inexpensive version of the Great Bible was freely printed and available throughout England.¹⁹⁵

The Importance of St. Paul in England

English translations of Erasmus's Paraphrases and Annotations were displayed in English churches to assist lay members in their personal reading and study of scripture and to aid preachers in preparing sermons and homilies. Erasmus became interested in interpreting scripture when he heard John Colet lecture on the teachings of Paul at Oxford in 1499.¹⁹⁶ Paul's Epistles were particularly important to English theologians as evidenced by the frequency with which they are quoted in sermons and homilies. Paul is also the patron saint of London, and St. Paul's Cathedral has been the cathedral church of London since at least 604, when it was founded by St. Mellitus as a focal point in the conversion of what was then Anglo-Saxon England to Christianity.¹⁹⁷ Paul was important to

¹⁹³ Moyer, 17.

¹⁹⁴ King, 19.

¹⁹⁵ Patterson, 59.

¹⁹⁶ Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, , xiii.

English reformers because of his association as the apostle to the Gentiles, fulfilling Christ's commission to carry the Gospels, in Old English *Godspell* or "Good News," to the farthest corners of the earth. The reformers viewed their cause as continuing Paul's mission by spreading the Gospels to the English laity. John Colet wrote in his commentary on I Corinthians that "the teaching of Paul is in harmony also with that of Christ and with the Gospels."¹⁹⁸ Erasmus referred to Paul as "the supreme interpreter of our religion" in his dedicatory letter to his *Paraphrases on Corinthians*.¹⁹⁹

Paul's letters to the Romans and Corinthians (especially the first letter) were among the most important theological guides for English reformers since they were written to members of early Christian churches in prominent locations and were models for the most ancient, and therefore unadulterated, form of Christianity. Humanist reformers held the conviction that the most ancient style of worship was best and strove to create a form of worship that the earliest Christians would recognize; one that was simple, scriptural, intelligible to all who

¹⁹⁷ Francis Sheppard, *London: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 51.

¹⁹⁸ John Colet, *Commentary on First Corinthians: A New Edition of the Latin Text, with Translation, Annotations, and Introduction*, ed. Bernard O'Kelley and Catherine A. L. Jarrott (Bingham, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985), 37.

¹⁹⁹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases the Epistles to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Phillipians, Collossians, Thessalonians*, vol. 43 of *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. Robert D. Sider, trans. John B. Payne, Albert Rabil Jr., Robert D. Sider, and Warren S. Smith Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 3.

attend, and in the language of the people.²⁰⁰ According to Paul, and English reformers as well, faith is the key theological principle uniting Jews and Gentiles and anyone with faith in Jesus is welcome within the Christian community.²⁰¹ Paul's letters to the Romans and Corinthians touch on a wide range of subjects concerning the lives of the early Christians, which reformers also related to the members of the newly reformed Church of England, and provide practical implications for living a Christian life.²⁰² Erasmus viewed the Epistles as "fertile ground in which to clarify scriptural texts to his contemporary world."²⁰³

Analysis of Scriptural Passages

Both Romans and I Corinthians contain complementary passages that compare Christ with Adam, with Adam as the one who ushered sin into the world and Christ as the one who set the path for resurrection and freedom from sin, making them ideal chapters for Easter. The *prima pars* of *Christ Rising Again* contains text from Romans 6:9-11 that deals with the death of Christ, particularly his sacrifice to save humanity from sin. According to Ambrose there are three kinds of death within the scriptures: the physical departing from this life and world, death to sin that results in life with God, and what the scripture refers to as "letting the dead bury their dead."²⁰⁴ The second type of death is the focus for

²⁰⁰ Booty, 361.

²⁰¹ Gerald Bray, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament Vol. VI: Romans* (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), xviii.

²⁰² Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases the Epistles to the Corinthians*, xii.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, xii.

this passage and will be analyzed in detail below. The *secunda pars* is a passage from I Corinthians 15:20-22 and focuses on Christ's resurrection as a pre-eminent part of the gospel's teaching, preparing the way for the resurrection of all members of Christ's church.

The following analysis of the scriptural passages in *Christ rising again* is primarily drawn from Erasmus's paraphrases, commentaries, and annotations since these were specifically required in each English church during the Edwardian and Elizabethan reformation. Examples of supplemental commentary from ancient and Medieval theologians that influenced Erasmus as well as commentary from Erasmus's contemporaries provide supporting evidence for the interpretation and importance of these passages within the Easter Matins service. The commentaries of Origen, Ambrosiaster, and Ambrose, the homilies of St. John Chrysostom, and the exposition of Theophylact were the most significant influences on Erasmus's theological perspective and therefore receive the most attention.²⁰⁵ Erasmus wrote his paraphrases using Paul's voice and perspective conveying what Paul might have written if he had been addressing mature Christians and not recent converts.²⁰⁶

Erasmus's paraphrase of Romans was the first volume in the series of paraphrases published in November 1517 and was immensely important in his

²⁰⁴ Gerald Bray, 161.

²⁰⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *Annotations on Romans* vol. 56 of *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. Robert D. Sider, trans. John B. Payne, Albert Rabil Jr., Robert D. Sider, and Warren S. Smith Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), xii.

²⁰⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases the Epistles to the Corinthians*, xviii.

development as a biblical scholar.²⁰⁷ His paraphrase of Corinthians was next in the project, begun sometime in 1518 and printed in late February 1519. English translations of Erasmus's paraphrases were published largely through the influence of Henry VIII's sixth wife, Catherine Parr, and Thomas Cranmer and were officially mandated for all parish churches in 1548 in an effort to infuse the English Reformation with humanist and Erasmian philosophy.²⁰⁸ Myles Coverdale edited the second volume, which was more Protestant in tone than previous volumes lacking Catherine Parr's moderating influence in the translation process. Coverdale also contributed to the translations of the paraphrases of Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians.²⁰⁹ The princess Mary was also involved in the translation of the paraphrase of John as an exercise with the help of her chaplain, Francis Malet.²¹⁰ Even during the somewhat modernized Sarum Catholicism of Mary's reign, Erasmus's influence persisted: his writings were never banned or outlawed, despite their Protestant tendencies. Erasmus's annotations were published as notes that accompanied his editions of the New Testament. They served to clarify (and at times justify) his translation from Greek sources.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, , ix.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, xxx.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, xxxiii

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, ix.

Verse by Verse Analysis of Text and Musical Settings

Prima Pars

The *prima pars* of *Christ rising again* begins with Romans 6:9: “Christ rising again from the dead, now dieth not. Death from henceforth hath no power upon him.” The attention is immediately focused upon Jesus’ power over death, celebrating the victory of his resurrection and promise to prepare for the resurrection of his followers.

In his *Annotations on Romans*, Erasmus translated the verse in the present tense, not future, as in “shall no more rule” or “no longer rules” meaning that Christ’s power over death continues. For Erasmus, this verse related not only to the physical body of Christ, but also to the mystical body of Christ and the members of the Christian faith. Christ’s resurrection represented his physical and spiritual triumph over sin and death and promised the same for all of Christ’s followers, since as Erasmus stated, “death has no authority over him who, by dying, brought forth immortality for himself and his own.”²¹² English sermons and homilies written for Easter Day, including the Easter Sermon (1616) by the renowned English theologian Lancelot Andrewes frequently utilized the phrases “Christ rising again,” “Christ is risen again,” and even the Latin phrase “Christus resurgens.”²¹³ This exclamation functions in a manner similar to the use of the

²¹² Desiderius Erasmus, *Annotations on Romans*, 177.

²¹³ Lancelot Andrewes, *Sermons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 349.

phrases, “He is risen! He is risen indeed!” by pastors, priests, and the congregation as an Easter greeting.

Early musical settings reflect the solemn nature of the Easter procession, as envisioned by the Catholic service, almost presenting the opening phrase as an intonation calling the laity to attention that Easter Matins has begun. John Sheppard’s (c.1515-1563) setting is presumably the earliest, and begins with a strict homophonic statement of the opening phrase before transitioning to brief polyphonic lines that converge upon the word “him.” Perhaps the opening homophonic intonation represents an exclamation by the entire procession as they witnessed the empty tomb for the first time and the polyphonic section represents the chatter of excitement and disbelief as the word spreads among the disciples. It is significant that the only phrase that is repeated is the phrase “now dieth not” as the followers attempted to comprehend Jesus’ resurrection and to reiterate the theological importance to modern worshippers. Certainly the use of homophony at the beginning of an anthem also immediately draws the listener’s attention to the familiarity of the text. Polyphony was then more common later in the setting as listener’s were drawn into the recognized text.

Tye’s setting, likely the next chronologically in the progression of important settings, begins with a similar homophonic intonation, expanding the vocal parts to six and emphasizing the lower sonorities. Tye retains the predominantly homophonic texture through the entire verse and echoes all but the opening phrase, alternating between high and low voices in dramatic contrast.

Tallis's setting is predominantly polyphonic throughout, demonstrating how the anthem's function changed within the Morning Prayer service during Elizabeth's reign. It is likely that by the time Tallis set the text, English parishioners were already familiar with this Easter text that was read or sung every year on Easter morning. Therefore parishioners merely needed to hear the first statement of a phrase in order to comprehend the meaning and place within the anthem. However, Tallis set theologically important passages and phrase endings homophonically to emphasize certain concepts and provide clear cadences. One such cadence occurs on the final statement of "now dieth not," a concept central to the theology of Easter. The upper three voices cadence together as the lower two voices dovetail into the next phrase, creating a moment of text clarity (see Example 8). The second homophonic phrase occurs at the end of the first verse with the text, "no pow'r upon him," where the final cadence is made more distinct through the use of what is known today as the Picardy third. This musically represents Christ's victory over death by shifting to a major mode from a predominantly minor mode (also contained in Example 8).

The settings by Byrd and Tomkins represent another shift in the way *Christ rising again* and other anthems functioned within English services. Both are verse anthems, which were rooted in secular consort songs and sacred entertainment anthems, genres that were popular at court during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Byrd's setting survives in two versions: one accompanied by organ and another by consort of viols. Tomkins's setting only survives in a single version with organ accompaniment. Both begin with soloists,

a significant shift away from the strictly solemn nature of the Easter ceremony toward a more celebratory or festive nature and an emphasis upon the artistic merit of the soloists. The first choral entrance in both settings is a homophonic declamation of the text, “Death from henceforth hath no pow’r upon him.” This powerful entrance unquestioningly delivers the theological message, celebrating Christ’s victory over death.

Example 8. Tallis, *Christ rising again*, mm.11-13 & 19-22.

The image shows a musical score for five vocal parts: Soprano, Alto 1, Alto 2, Tenor, and Bass. The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "now dieth not. Death from hence-forth hath no pow'r up on him." The Soprano part begins with a rest, followed by a melodic line. The Alto 1 part begins with a rest, followed by a melodic line. The Alto 2 part begins with a rest, followed by a melodic line. The Tenor part begins with a rest, followed by a melodic line. The Bass part begins with a rest, followed by a melodic line. The lyrics are written below each staff, with some words underlined to indicate phrasing.

The second phrase of the *prima pars* carries more theological weight and discourse for Renaissance Christians than modern worshippers might attach to it. This phrase states, “For in that he died, he died but once to put away sin: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.” Erasmus paraphrased this verse by saying, “The death that he died to sin was a death once and for all; but the life he now lives, he lives to God by whose power he has been called to immortal life.”²¹⁴ In

²¹⁴ Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, , 38.

his Annotations Erasmus stated that Paul is urging the Romans, “Just as Christ died once to sin and remains forever immortal, so we, having died once to sin, and having been reborn in him through baptism, should not thereafter fall back into sin.”²¹⁵ Erasmus also stated in the Paraphrase of Romans, “When we are baptized in the name of Christ, together with him we die to our former sins which have been abolished by his death, and not only do we die together with him, but we are also buried with him, and this through the same baptism.”²¹⁶ The comparison is that lay members die to sin with Christ during the sacrament of baptism and are reborn with Christ’s power over death. This is the intended symbolism of the Easter sepulchre, though its meaning was somewhat obscured by the pageantry of the Sarum Use.

Medieval and Renaissance theologians emphasized that Christ only died once for the sins of humanity and will not be sacrificed again. Likewise, Christians were baptized only once for the remission of their sins and from thenceforth must live their lives free from sin. St. John Chrysostom interpreted this passage in *Homilies on Romans II* by saying:

What does *died to sin* mean? It means that he was not subject to sin, but that in order to destroy it and remove its power, he died for our sin. Do you see how Paul frightens them? For since Christ does not die twice, there will be no second washing, so you had better steer clear of any inclination toward sin!²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *Annotations on Romans*, 178.

²¹⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, 37.

²¹⁷ Quoted in Bray, 161.

Pelagius, in his Commentary on Romans wrote, “Or it may mean: *You cannot be baptized a second time because Christ cannot be purified for you a second time*, as Paul writes to the Hebrews. He does not say that these people cannot repent, but he does not allow them to repeat their baptism (original emphasis).”²¹⁸

Diodore, in *Pauline Commentary from the Greek Church*, expanded upon this concept:

Paul is saying that if Christ had died for sinners two or three times, there would be no danger in going back to our old sinful ways. But as he only died once, we who have been buried and risen again with him will not die to sin again. There will be no second baptism, no second death of Christ. Therefore we must be careful to stay alive.²¹⁹

All of the examined musical settings set this portion of Romans polyphonically, with certain phrases set homophonically for emphasis. Each setting contains a clear, homophonic cadence on the final repeat of the phrase “to put away sin,” emphasizing the importance of Christ’s sacrifice for humanity and providing a place for dramatic contrast when the text shifts to emphasize Christ’s new life lived with God rather than sin. This also reminded the laity that they promised to live a life free from sin with the sacrament of baptism, constantly renewed through the sacrament of Communion, and that there would be no second chance if they fell back into sin. Sheppard’s setting contains the most dramatic textural contrast with a dramatic shift to pure homophony for the entire phrase, “but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.” This choral motion in block chords is the first passage of significant homophony after the opening phrase. It

²¹⁸ Quoted in Bray, 161.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 161.

is reminiscent of congregational hymn writing and psalm tunes that were popular among English reformers. The cadence on the previous phrase on the final repetition of “to put away sin” drew the attention of the listener to this important theological passage. The presentation of the Easter message of Christ’s triumph over death and his resulting new life with God is perfectly intelligible to the listener in this hymn-like passage (see Example 9). In turn, Sheppard may be encouraging his listeners to also “liveth unto God” in order to lead a more godly and holy life.

Example 9. Sheppard, *Christ rising again* mm.17-23

Alto 1
to put a way sin a way sin, but in that he liveth, he liveth un to God.

Alto 2
once, but once to put a way sin, but in that he liveth, he liveth un to God.

Tenor
to put a way sin, to put a way sin, but in that he liveth, he liveth un to God.

Bass
a way sin, to put a way sin, but in that he liveth, he liveth un to God.

Tye’s setting is unique in terms of sonority and Tye provides considerable tonal contrast to emphasize his theological message. The opening of the *prima pars* is in a dark, somber minor-based mode and is enhanced by the four-part, divided lower voices. Tye breaks from this somber tonal scheme only occasionally, first with a Picardy third on the word “not” of the phrase “now dieth not,” demonstrating Christ’s triumph over death. The next phrase that corresponds with the emphasis on Christ’s triumph of life over death occurs

abruptly at measure 26 when Tye shifts to an F-major tonality on the text “but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God,” which also begins in strict homophony and homorhythm before returning back to a mode that centers around C-minor tonality and polyphony (see Example 10).

This section of text contains two other passages that Tallis considered theologically important enough to set homophonically. The first occurs with the final repetition of “to put away sin.” Surprisingly Tallis set the word “sin” as a strong cadence on a D-major chord, that is jarring to modern listeners (see Example 11). It is unclear whether Tallis is representing the triumph of Christ over sin, thus stripping sin of power by setting it in a major mode rather than minor. This also can be used as evidence that the anthem may be a contrafacta motet that originally contained a Latin text that was emphasized by the major chord. The next passage that Tallis set to homophony was the phrase “he liveth unto God,” which occurs interspersed as homophony at least twice within an extended polyphonic passage. This alternation between homophony and polyphony is one of the characteristics that distinguished Tallis as a master composer of the English Renaissance.

Byrd’s setting of this passage is typical of the verse anthem style that continues to alternate between solo verses and choral passages. One of the most unusual passages occurs in the interplay between the two soprano soloists during the repetition of the phrase, “he liveth unto God.” Byrd playfully alternates these two solo lines in a manner that celebrates Christ’s resurrection and represents the

changed perspective of Easter that is now more festive and less solemn (see Example 12).

Example 10. Tye, *Christ rising again* mm. 24-31

Soprano

Alto
he died but once to put a way sin, but in that he

Tenor 1
but once, he died but once to put a way sin, but in that he liv eth,

Tenor 2
to put a way sin, to put a way sin, but in that he

Bass 1
to put a way sin, but in that he liv

Bass 2
to put a way sin, but in that he liv

5

S

A
liv eth, he liv eth un to God.

T 1
he liv eth un to God, un to God. And

T 2
liv eth, he liv eth un to God. And so like wise count your selves

B 1
eth, he liv eth un to God. And so like wise count your

B 2
eth, he liv eth un to God, un to God.

Example 12. Byrd, *Christ rising again* mm. 35-43

Soprano 1

Soprano 2

Sop. 1

Sop. 2

but in that he liveth, he

but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God,

liveth unto God, he liveth unto God, unto God.

he liveth unto God, he liveth unto God.

The final phrase of the *prima pars* of the anthem is a continuation of the previous verse that reminded lay members of their commitment to live their lives according to the sacrament of baptism by turning away from sin and living a Godly life. The 1549 Prayer Book contained an Alleluia at the end of both the *prima* and *secunda pars* of the anthem, but this Alleluia was eliminated from the 1552 revision when the anthem was also moved to later in the Morning Prayer service. The verse from Romans 9:11 reads, “And so likewise, count yourselves dead unto sin; but living unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord (Alleluia).” Quotes similar to this are common in sixteenth century English sermons and homilies, both for Easter and general use.

Death to sin and a religious rebirth through baptism are important tenets in Christian faith, and are physically represented by the “burying” of the Host and Crucifix as part of the Easter sepulchre ceremonies. Erasmus and English reformers encouraged lay members to “die” symbolically to their sins and bury them along with the Host and Crucifix in the sepulchre, to be reborn into a godly life even in the liturgy of the 1549 Prayer Book. However, the pageantry associated with the earlier Sarum practice proved too difficult to eliminate, so the entire Easter sepulchre ceremony was abolished with the 1552 Prayer Book. In the Annotations to Romans, Erasmus reminded his readers that “Paul is urging that just as Christ died once to sin and remains forever immortal, so we, having died once to sin, and having been reborn in him through baptism, should not therefore fall back into sin.”²²⁰ In his Paraphrase of Romans, Erasmus even encouraged believers to imitate Christ’s death “not by actually seeking death or doing violence to our bodies, but, as you know, if we so completely lose feeling for our former desires that we seem dead to them.”²²¹ He continued by stating, “Like Christ we have died once for all to sin, former sins and desires have been snuffed out and you have become new...likewise you must struggle so that sin, once destroyed, does not recover its lost tyranny over you and renew the authority of death.”²²² It is only through constant diligence and study of the scriptures that lay members could remain dead to sin and live a Godly life. In his Annotations

²²⁰ Desiderius Erasmus, *Annotations on Romans*, 178.

²²¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases the Epistles to the Corinthians*, 37.

²²² *Ibid.*, 38.

Erasmus states, “as often as we think that we are dead along with Christ, the desires of the flesh are checked and disappear.”²²³ This concept refers back to the teachings of Origen who wrote in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, “Whoever thinks or considers that he is dead will not sin.”²²⁴ England was frequently referred to as a godly kingdom, and this designation seems to have aroused a great sense of pride amongst English laity.

The anthem *Christ rising again* served as a musical reminder that English believers should consider themselves dead to sin and live a Godly life and the final phrase of the *prima pars* contains the most festive music thus far. Each composer set this section of text polyphonically, with only Byrd and Tomkins setting the opening words as a brief homophonic choral entrance before they too expand into florid polyphony. Composers also tended to set the syllables of the text with dotted figures, like a fanfare, that enhanced the florid, festive nature of a life lived unto God (see Example 13).

Example 13. Sheppard, *Christ rising again* mm. 28-31

²²³ Desiderius Erasmus, *Annotations on Romans*, 179.

²²⁴ Quoted in Bray, 162.

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Alto 1, Alto 2, Tenor, and Bass. The music is in common time (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "but living unto God, unto God, in".

Alto 1: but liv ing un to God.

Alto 2: but liv ing un to God, un to God, in

Tenor: but liv ing un to God, but liv ing un to God, in

Bass: but liv ing un to God, un to God,

Even Tallis's setting, though it is the most rhythmically restrained and solemn setting examined, contains dotted rhythms on the phrase "living unto God" making it jump with life from the smooth texture surrounding it (see Example 13). Tomkins's setting is perhaps the most celebratory at this point, with dotted rhythms accompanying the word "living" and notes shorter duration setting the rest of the phrase. The first declamation of the phrase "living unto God" was set in three-voice homophony and nearly each subsequent utterance is in paired voices (see Example 15).

Example 14. Tallis, *Christ rising again* mm. 50-53

Soprano
but liv ing un to God.

Alto 1
but liv ing un to God, but liv ing un to God.

Alto 2
but liv ing un to God, but liv ing un

Tenor
but liv ing un to God, but liv ing un to God.

Bass
but liv ing un to God, but liv ing un to God in Christ

Example 15. Tomkins, *Christ rising again* mm. 46-52

Soprano
but li ving un to God, but li ving un to God, but

Alto
but li ving, li ving un to God, but li ving un to God, but

Tenor
but li ving un to God, un to God, un to God, but

Bass
but li ving un to God, but li ving un to God,

S
to God, but li ving un to God, but li ving un to God.

A
li ving un to God, un to God, but li ving un to God.

T
li ving, but li ving un to God, un to God, li ving un to God, but li ving un to God.

B
un to God, li ving un to God, un to God, but li ving un to God, to God.

Secunda pars

The *secunda pars* was sometimes conceived as a separate anthem that was usually sung in with minimal pause. It complements and expands upon the previous verses from Romans through challenging theological imagery and meaning. The verses from I Corinthians begin: “Christ is risen again, the first fruits of them that sleep,” focusing on the resurrection of the dead, a pre-eminent aspect of the gospel’s teaching but one that the Corinthians had particular trouble believing because of their intellectual tradition rooted in Greek philosophy. There

was likely a Renaissance parallel among European intellectuals within the humanist movement that challenged the concept of resurrection of the dead due to its lack of scientific objectivity and rationalism. According to Erasmus, Paul posed a challenge to the Corinthians, and ultimately believers from all eras, saying:

You must hold that not only did he truly die, but that he [Christ] also was buried, and on the third day returned to life...[if you] don't believe in the resurrection of the dead then you don't believe in the resurrection of Jesus since he was going to prepare the resurrection of members [of the church] and open a way for all.²²⁵

Paul and Erasmus ultimately wanted to convince believers that Christ was the first to return to life after death, “as a kind of first fruits of all who die with the hope of resurrection... If you believe that Christ has risen – and every godly person does believe this – it follows necessarily that we also shall rise again.”²²⁶ This imagery of Christ as first fruits was appealing to theologians and composers. John Colet, an English theologian who lectured upon Paul's Epistles at Oxford while Erasmus was in attendance, wrote a similar passage in his *Commentaries on First*

Corinthians:

Jesus our Christ rose and was seen by a great number. In him therefore, will all men rise again. He is the first-fruits, life itself, now giving life to the rest. Otherwise Christians are the unhappiest of all peoples, since they profess that the evils of time are to be borne for the achievement of a kingdom of good in eternity.²²⁷

²²⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases the Epistles to the Corinthians*, 175-178.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 180.

²²⁷ Colet, 279.

Colet's work was undoubtedly known to Erasmus and was a significant influence upon his theology since it was Colet who convinced Erasmus to translate the Greek New Testament into Latin with commentary.

The *secunda pars* is musically more florid than the *prima pars*, reflecting the festive celebration of Christ's resurrection and the anticipation of humanity's own resurrection as Christ's followers. Each of the examined settings begins the second part of the anthem with a continuation of the florid polyphony that marked the end of the first part. Only Tomkins's and Tallis's settings contain brief sections of homophony within the first phrase of the *secunda pars*. Tallis's setting aligns on the final repetition of the phrase "of them that sleep," perhaps as a musical challenge to his listeners that they risk being "asleep" or even dead in their faith and risk falling back into a life of sin. The first choral entrance in the *secunda pars* of Tomkins's setting reiterates the phrase "Christ is risen again" twice in strict homophony as a strong declaration of combined faith and belief in Christ's resurrection.

Byrd and Tomkins enhance the florid nature of this section by shifting to a triple meter, which generally represented joyful occasions, as stated earlier by Thomas Ravenscroft.²²⁸ The use of jubilant music that is reminiscent of dance music demonstrates the change in emphasis in the second portion of the text, which is filled with images of the resurrection and past tense reminders that Jesus has already risen.

²²⁸ Quoted in McCarthy, 144.

Each composer continued the rhythmic representation of life over death through dotted rhythms on the words “risen again” in a manner that is directly similar to the penultimate phrase of the *prima pars*, “living unto God.” Composers also demonstrated awareness of syllabic text setting by setting the first syllable of the word “risen” to a longer duration that is dotted, with a note of short duration on the less important syllable. This practice is mirrored on the following word, “again,” with the short pitch on the first syllable and the emphasis and length placed on the final syllable of the word. This creates a feeling of syncopation in the duple meter settings by Sheppard, Tye, and Tallis, and a swung nature in the triple meter settings by Byrd and Tomkins (see Example 16).

Example 16. Tye, *Christ rising again* mm. 46-47 and Byrd, *Christ rising again* (secunda pars) mm. 4-5

The image shows a musical score for two sopranos. The top staff is for Soprano 1 and the bottom staff is for Soprano 2. Both staves are in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature (C). The music is divided into two measures. The first measure is in common time (C) and the second measure is in 6/8 time. The lyrics for Soprano 1 are: "Christ — is ri sen again: the firstfruits Christ is ri sen a gain". The lyrics for Soprano 2 are: "Christ is ri sen again the first fruits of Christ is ri sen a gain". The notation shows dotted rhythms on the words "risen" and "again", with longer notes on the first syllable of "risen" and the final syllable of "again".

The final verses must be examined as a single unit since they directly relate and elaborate a common meaning. The anthem ends with the following verses from I Corinthians: “For seeing that by man came death, by man also cometh the resurrection of the dead. For as by Adam all men do die, so by Christ, all men shall be restored to life (Alleluia).”

The comparison between Christ and Adam is a theological concept that resonated with English humanists because of Adam’s representation of earthly sin

and Christ's presence on earth to redeem his followers of this sin. Paul also makes this comparison in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, uniting the chapters of the two parts of this anthem and making the passage from I Corinthians a natural replacement for the versicle that was not based upon scripture in the original Latin antiphon. The passage from Romans 5:12-21 reads:

Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned – sin indeed was in the world before the law was given, but sin is not counted where there is no law. Yet death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who was a type of the one who was to come.

But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if many died through one man's trespass, much more have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of that one man Jesus Christ abounded for many. And the free gift is not like the effect of that one man's sin. For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation, but the free gift following many trespasses brings justification. If, because of one man's trespass, death reigned through that one man, much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ.

Then as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all men, so one man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by one man's obedience many will be made righteous. Law came in, to increase the trespass; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more, so that, as sin reigned in death, grace also might reign through righteousness to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.²²⁹

It is interesting to examine late Medieval and early Renaissance commentaries on these two passages and their comparison between Adam and Christ. Erasmus, writing as Paul, paraphrases the passage from I Corinthians by saying:

For we should picture two bodies, one subject to death and deriving from Adam as its head, the other destined for immortality and deriving from Christ as its head. Therefore, just as death once crept in through one man

²²⁹ Quoted in Bray, 134.

who sinned, spread, as it were, from the head through the members, and now advances against all the rest, so also through one man, free from all sin whatsoever, the resurrection of the dead has been ushered in. Since on account of the offence of Adam alone all we who are descended from him are subject to death, so on account of the innocence of Christ alone all who have deserved to be in his body will be restored to immortality. All will come back to life, but in the order proper for each; the first of all is Christ, then those who cling to Christ as members to their head.²³⁰

Erasmus taught that Adam was the head of the human race and Christ the head of the church. Sin entered the world through Adam and led to the destruction of the entire human race. Thus, Christ's presence on earth and subsequent sacrifice and resurrection were necessary in order to redeem the human race. Christ's gift, in turn, was the gift of salvation and eternal life that was greater than Adam's sin. Gerald Bray described this humanist view as two spiritual kingdoms in the world. The first is under the control of sin, but in the second, the grace of God has overcome sin and given his followers the promise of eternal life.²³¹ Ambrosiaster took this view further by speaking of Adam and Christ as progenitors of those who have been granted resurrection through their faith in Christ and those who are still subject to death by living in sin, Adam's domain.²³²

Erasmus expanded upon a similar theme as Ambrosiaster in his paraphrase of Romans 6 when he explains that there are two men within each believer; an old, base man that reflects the earthly realm through its likeness to Adam and another that is new and eager for heavenly things and traces its origin from the

²³⁰ Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases the Epistles to the Corinthians*, 180-181.

²³¹ Bray, 135.

²³² Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases the Epistles to the Corinthians*, 180.

heavenly Christ. He explains that this old man with Adam's roots has been killed along with Christ on the cross along with the desire for perishable things and the body of sin. Erasmus taught that a believer who could kill passions would no longer be a slave to sin.²³³ John Colet took a different perspective, describing the part of human nature that resulted from Adam's transgression as the "animal part of man" suggesting that faith in Christ elevates humanity above barbaric, bestial nature rooted in the pursuit of sin, a concept that would have appealed greatly to humanists.²³⁴ Lancelot Andrewes, in a sermon on I Corinthians 15:22, also compared Christ with a "second Adam" as a comparison with marriage. In this comparison Adam gained his spouse (Eve) "out of his side" and Christ redeemed his spouse (the Church) through his Passion and the wound he received from the spear in his side. George Abbot confirmed that this comparison is rooted in Augustinian teachings in *An Exposition upon Jonah* (1600): "By the dying of Christ, the Church is made, as Eve was made by Adams [sic] sleeping which is Saint Austens [sic] comparison."²³⁵

Other Medieval and Renaissance theologians compared Christ and Adam, and they influenced Erasmus and his teachings. Constantius wrote in *The Holy Letter of St. Paul to the Romans*, "Adam was the type of the one who was to come, viz., Christ. For just as Adam was the first to transgress the commandment

²³³ Erasmus, *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, 37.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

²³⁵ Note in Lancelot Andrewes, *Sermons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 349.

of God and thereby to give an example to everyone who wanted to follow suit, so also Christ, by fulfilling the will of God, is an example to those who wish to imitate him.”²³⁶ Peagius expanded on this comparison in his commentary on Romans, saying, “Adam was a type of Christ either because he was made by God without sexual intercourse, just as Christ was born of a virgin by the aid of the Holy Spirit, or he was an antithetical type, that is, as Adam was the source of sin so Christ is the source of righteousness.”²³⁷ Origen, whose writings significantly influenced Erasmus, wrote in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, “Paul starts to explain how Adam may be regarded as a type of Christ... The judgment on Adam was that through his one condemnation, sin came to all men. But in sharp contrast to this, through Christ justification is given to all for the many sins in which the entire human race is bound up.”²³⁸ Ambrosiaster’s interpreted this comparison in his Commentary on Paul’s Epistles by saying, “Paul said that Adam was a type of Christ, but in order to assure us that they were not alike in substance, he says that the gift is not like the trespass. The only similarity between them is that just as one man sinned, so one man put things right.”²³⁹

The passage containing the comparison between Adam and Christ was regularly accentuated in settings of the anthem. Only Tallis set the phrase “For as by Adam all men do die” to polyphony. Each of the other settings shifts abruptly

²³⁶ Quoted in Bray, 143.

²³⁷ Ibid., 143.

²³⁸ Ibid., 143.

²³⁹ Ibid., 143.

to strict homophony for this phrase, a dramatic contrast that draws the listener’s attention to the theological comparison being made. Tallis’s setting, however, contains a dramatic cadence upon the final repetition of the word “die,” restarting the polyphony on the following phrase “so by Christ” in a much less dense texture, in order to draw the listener’s attention back to Christ (see Example 17). Perhaps Tallis also intentionally created a distinction between Adam’s kingdom of sin and Christ’s heavenly domain.

Example 17. Tallis, *Christ rising again* mm. 93-96

The musical score for Example 17 shows five vocal parts: Soprano, Alto 1, Alto 2, Tenor, and Bass. The music is in G minor (one flat) and common time (C). The lyrics are: Soprano: "men do die, for as by A dam al men do die."; Alto 1: "am all men do die, by A dam all men do die."; Alto 2: "die, for as by A dam all men do die."; Tenor: "for as by A dam all men do die."; Bass: "as by A dam all men do die." The score illustrates a dramatic cadence on the final "do die" in each part, followed by a restart of the polyphony on the following phrase.

Tallis ended his setting with strict homophony for the text “all men shall be restored to life” before including a polyphonic section on “Alleluia” as a coda. This final homophonic passage again draws dramatic attention to the ultimate message of Easter, the restoration to life from sin by Christ’s death and resurrection. The Alleluia coda creates a problem dating Tallis’s anthem since only the 1549 Prayer Book contains Alleluias and these are found at the end of

both the *prima* and *secunda pars*. Tallis, however, only set an Alleluia at the end of the anthem. The 1552 and 1559 Prayer Books do not contain Alleluias at all, suggesting that if Tallis composed his setting after the 1552 revision, which is most likely, then he set the Alleluias intentionally as a coda, similar to an “Amen” passage.

Each of the other composers began the final verse with a homophonic statement of the comparison between Christ and Adam. This passage is the most humanist-oriented section of text and a reminder that humanity is doomed to live a life of sin without the intervention of Christ and the promise of everlasting life. This promise of restoration to an eternal life free from sin inspires some of the most florid, festive music of the anthem. This was achieved primarily through polyphony, but also through rhythmic variety, especially dotted rhythms and syncopation on the words “restored to life.” But anthems were still expected to be syllabic and intelligible.

Tye addressed this concern by setting phrases in paired voices throughout the polyphonic ending, alternating groupings to retain the variety of sonorities created in the earlier portion of the anthem while maintaining text intelligibility. Tye’s rhythmic variety occurs by setting the words “restored to life” in modern editions as eighth notes with agogic accents occurring on the important syllables “-stor-” of restored and “life” on beats one and three (see Example 18).

Example 18. Tye, *Christ rising again* mm. 77-83

The musical score is for a six-part vocal setting. It is written in G minor (three flats) and common time (C). The lyrics are: "life, so by Christ all men shall be re stor ed re", "by Christ all men shall be re stor ed to", "stor ed to life, re stor ed to life", "all men shall be re stor ed shall be re", "life, re stor ed to life, re", "be re stor ed to life, re stor ed to", "stor ed to life, re stor ed to life.", "life, re stor ed to life, re stor ed to life.", "shall be re stor ed to life.", "stor ed to life, shall be re stor ed to life, to life.", "stor ed to life re stor ed to life.", "life, shall be re stor ed to life."

Byrd took a unique approach to this dilemma using characteristics found in verse anthems. The first statement of “so by Christ all men shall be restored to life” was set for the soprano soloists who alternate in beautiful, florid polyphony

(see Example 19). The second statement begins with a forceful declaration by the full chorus in strict homophony that expands into florid polyphony. Byrd's rhythmic variety occurs with each setting of the word "restored" in syncopation that sounds like the clarion call of a trumpet welcoming saved souls into eternal life, especially when it occurs in the upper tessitura of the soprano and tenor voices. Byrd recovers from this florid celebration by returning to a sense of solemnity with an "Amen" coda in augmented rhythms.

Example 19. Byrd, *Christ rising again* (secunda pars) mm. 30-36

Soprano 1

so by Christ, so by Christ, all men shall be re stor

Soprano 2

so by Christ, so by Christ all men shall be re stor ed, all

Sop. 1

ed, shall be re stored to life, shall be restored to life, shall be re stored to

Sop. 2

menshall be restored, shall be restored to life, shall be re stored to life,

Sop. 1

life, re stor ed to life, to life, to life, to life.

Sop. 2

re stor ed to life, to life, to life, to life, to life.

Tomkins took a similar approach as Byrd, maintaining the homophony throughout the entire verse in the choral repetition. Tomkins's rhythmic notation reflects musical practices of the early seventeenth century, foreshadowing further developments during the Baroque era. Tomkins also set the word "restored" with

a strong sense of syncopation, generally beginning each repetition of the word either with an eighth note following an eighth rest or an eighth note following a dotted quarter (see Example 20). Tomkins also wrote vocal ornamentation in the form of sixteenth note neighbor or passing tones on certain repetitions of the word “to,” enhancing the fanfare-like nature of the florid polyphony. Tomkins then returned to a sense of solemnity with an augmented “Amen” coda. Such “Amen” codas were introduced to the verse anthem tradition at the end of the sixteenth century, and were commonplace by the middle of the seventeenth century. These codas became a staple in Baroque anthem, hymn, and oratorio composition.

The humanist theology and perspective in the scriptural passages of *Christ rising again* attracted the English reformers’ attention and transmitted their interpretation of the Easter message to the English laity. It was originally retained as part of the opening procession of the Easter Morning Prayer Service to the Easter sepulchre and was considered significant enough to have been retained after the sepulchre procession and ceremony were abolished and the anthem was moved to later in the service. *Christ rising again* would have been eliminated along with the sepulchre ceremony had the anthem text not reflected the philosophical viewpoint of the English reformers.

respectively. This passage of text contains some of the most intricate and florid polyphony of all the settings but is also balanced by sections of strict homophony that assist in the comprehension and clarity of the text. The other two passages that significantly captured the attention of these composers were the passages that stated, “Death from henceforth hath no power upon him,” and “And so likewise, count yourselves dead unto sin: but living unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord.” These passages conveyed the message of Easter from a humanistic point of view. The concept that death had no more power over Christ after his resurrection is a central tenet of Christianity as is the challenge posed to believers that they turn their lives from sin as though they were dead to it and live their lives fully in Christ’s image. These passages also reflect the balance composers struck between functional homophony that aided text comprehension and florid polyphony that represented the solemn and festive nature of Easter.

Chapter 4

Performing Forces

The details and context of the previous chapters provide a convenient starting point for conductors and choir members when performing any of the *Christ rising again* anthems. The anthem's context within the Easter sepulchre ceremony is inseparable from the versions prior to 1552 when the sepulchre ceremonies were abolished. The sepulchre ceremony should even be considered when performing Christopher Tye's setting, since it was likely composed within five years of the procession's abolition. The humanist perspective and interpretation of the anthem's text provided in Chapter Three is also an invaluable resource that will assist modern conductors and singers in their ability to understand the viewpoint that Renaissance reformers and composers considered when approaching the anthem text.

Further information adds another layer to the contextual understanding of these anthem settings: the character and makeup of the ensembles that likely performed these anthems and the nature of the institutions and churches for which they were written. Unfortunately there is little documentation that states which ensembles these various settings were composed for and how they might have been performed. Therefore it is necessary to examine the general characteristics of English ensembles and the specific characteristics of institutions where these master composers were employed. All of the composers examined served as Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal at some point during the duration of their musical careers. Most of these composers also worked in various English churches and

composed functional anthems for ensembles with less musical training than the musicians of the Chapel Royal. One benefit of serving in the Chapel Royal was that members were also allowed to hold official positions at another church as long as the duties did not conflict. For example, Christopher Tye was Master of Choristers at Ely Cathedral while also a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from at least 1553 until 1561 and William Byrd continued to compose for Lincoln Cathedral and remained on their official payroll until at least 1581 while also serving as organist of the Chapel Royal.²⁴⁰

The Chapel Royal and Lincoln Cathedral serve as excellent models for examining English choral ensembles during the Renaissance: all of the examined composers served as Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and likely set their most florid compositions for the trained musicians in this ensemble, and enough records survive at Lincoln Cathedral to recreate a satisfactory record of the performance ensembles during the first hundred years of the Reformation. Ely Cathedral was also a prominent institution in Renaissance England, but unfortunately accurate records were unavailable for comparison with Lincoln.

The English were highly regarded by foreign visitors and dignitaries for their musical tradition and performing ensembles. Venetian ambassadors considered English musicians at all levels amongst the highest order of European musicians.²⁴¹ A Danish ambassador described a worship service at Greenwich as being “so melodiously sung and said, as a man half dead might thereby be

²⁴⁰ Phillips, 56.

²⁴¹ Emma Gurney Salter. *Tudor England Through Venetian Eyes*. (London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 1930), 124.

quicken,” and a French envoy claimed, “In all my travels in France, Italy, and Spain, I never heard the like: a concert of music so excellent and sweet as cannot be expressed.”²⁴² Giustinian’s secretary reported in 1515 that the voices of the King’s choristers “are really divine rather than human...as for the counter-bass voices, I do not think they have their equals in the world.”²⁴³

English cathedral choirs consisted exclusively of male singers. Adult men performed the alto parts in falsetto and tenor and bass lines in full voice, while boy choristers performed the treble lines. Five-voice texture was the most common in English sacred music prior to the Reformation, though this was generally simplified to four-voice texture during the early Reformation.²⁴⁴ Composers experimented with various voicing after the release of the 1552 Prayer Book and five-voice texture again became the most common expanded texture. Alto lines were interchangeably labeled countertenor or alto and male altos were considered the most proficient musicians. Therefore the alto section was the first to be divided when expanding to five or more voices.²⁴⁵ As a result, the ideal sixteenth century English choir contained twice as many altos as tenors.²⁴⁶

The use of male altos in English Renaissance anthems poses a significant problem for modern mixed choral ensembles. English alto lines tend to sit in the

²⁴² Alison Weir, *The Life of Elizabeth I* (New York: Ballentine Books, 2008), 252.

²⁴³ Salter, 124.

²⁴⁴ Phillips, 58.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁴⁶ Wulstan, 242.

extremely low range and tessitura for female altos. This is particularly noticeable in the Sheppard's and Tallis's settings, which consistently sound below middle C. Transposing these anthems into an acceptable range for female altos is not ideal since this results in an extremely high tenor range and tessitura, and sometimes an uncomfortably high bass tessitura. One possible solution is to blend male tenors and female altos on both all divided tenor and alto lines that rest in these extreme tessituras. This will create a blended tone in which neither male nor female tone is dominant and where the women can play a more significant role in the higher tessitura and the men can play a more substantial role in the lower tessitura. Another solution is to have some baritones sing falsetto with the altos since baritones and basses tend to have stronger falsetto tessitura than tenors. A third option is to rewrite the tenor and alto lines so that the polyphonic lines are redistributed into the comfortable tessituras of the singers' modern vocal range.

English scribes labeled vocal parts for boy choristers as either treble or mean. Typically lines labeled treble were the highest and tend to lie in the upper tessitura of the modern soprano register, generally an octave above the alto.²⁴⁷ Treble lines went out of fashion prior to the Reformation and were replaced by lower lines labeled as mean, but they received a brief revival toward the end of the sixteenth century, often combining treble and mean lines in expanded texture.²⁴⁸ Lines labeled mean are generally lower than treble lines and rarely

²⁴⁷ Wulstan, 241.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 240.

utilize the full modern soprano range.²⁴⁹ Mean lines were gradually raised during the sixteenth century into a blend of the old treble and mean qualities, into what was sometimes called a “high mean.”²⁵⁰ The boys were the second most commonly divided section after the altos, either into treble and mean voices prior to the Reformation, or two mean voices after.²⁵¹ Prior to the Reformation the most common scoring for five-part music was for treble, mean, alto, tenor, and bass, while after the Reformation five-voice texture was more commonly scored for mean, divided altos, tenor and bass.²⁵²

The lower voices tended to receive considerably less attention by English composers, making Christopher Tye’s setting of *Christ rising again* for SATTBB choir quite unusual. English tenor lines were the least likely to be divided and least likely to be given solos in verse anthems. In 1634 Archbishop Land wrote that tenors had the “most ordinary” voice of all English singers.²⁵³ Thus English tenor lines tend to be narrower in range and less virtuosic than other vocal parts. The “singing priests” or clerks that were musically less skilled probably sang sacred tenor lines.²⁵⁴ English bass lines were the second least likely to be divided in choral music, although bass solos are much more common in verse anthems

²⁴⁹ Phillips, 58.

²⁵⁰ Wulstan, 242.

²⁵¹ Phillips, 57.

²⁵² Wulstan, 247.

²⁵³ Phillips, 57.

²⁵⁴ Wulstan, 244.

than are tenor solos. Seventeenth century bass lines saw considerable downward expansion in range, often below the staff on the modern bass clef and resting in the lower tessitura.²⁵⁵ This downward expansion suggests that English basses sang with a full, rich tone in the lower register that accounts for the comment by Giustinian's secretary when he wrote, "as for the counter-basses, I do not think they have their equals in the world."

English choirs were usually arranged in parallel rows with choristers in the front row of stalls and the adults in the additional rows facing one another in antiphonally arranged choirs, labeled the *decani* and the *cantoris*. The *cantoris* referred to the precentor's side of the choir, which was on the north end of the choir or to the left when facing the altar, and the *decani* referred to the dean's side of the choir, which was on the south end or to the right when facing the altar. This is an extension of the traditional Catholic practice of singing psalms antiphonally, alternating verses between the left and right sides of the choir. Most continental motets and liturgical music did not continue this trend, retaining it primarily for psalm singing, making the English tradition unique from the continental practice. The closest continental equivalent could be the Venetian antiphonal technique for multiple choirs and instrumental ensembles, although these pieces generally alternate brief phrases, not complete verses, between two or more distinct ensembles. Sometimes the *decani* and *cantoris* performed *alternatim* between verses, while at other times they were set in equally voiced ensembles similar to the Venetian tradition at St. Mark's Basilica. Still other

²⁵⁵ Wulstan, 246.

composers, including Christopher Tye in his setting of *Christ rising again*, set high voices against low voices in regularly contrasting combinations.

Prior to the Reformation almost all church musicians were official clerks or clergymen employed by the church, with the exception of the organist, who was often a layperson.²⁵⁶ Most of these church musicians were members of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas, the parish clerk's guild in London whose primary concern was the composition of functional music for the liturgy. By the early 1540s there may have been over two hundred professional liturgical choirs in England for the purpose of singing choral polyphony.²⁵⁷

The dissolution of the monasteries and the chantries, along with the suppression of English clergy had a significant impact on the English sacred choral tradition. Prior to the Reformation choristers were typically trained at monasteries and singing schools attached to prominent cathedrals. Erasmus criticized the English system: "Boys are kept apart in English Benedictine monasteries solely and simply to sing hymns to the Virgin. If they [those who worshipped in English monasteries] want music, let them sing psalms like rational beings and not too many of them."²⁵⁸ The dissolution of the monasteries also abolished the singing schools that trained choristers in sacred music. Secular institutions that were independent from monastic institutions like the Magdalen

²⁵⁶ Doe, 7.

²⁵⁷ Robert Bowers, "To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resources for English Church Polyphony c.1390-1559," in *English Choral Practice: 1400-1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 32.

²⁵⁸ Quoted in Price, 49.

College School founded by Thomas Moore in 1480 continued training choristers and kept the English choral tradition alive.²⁵⁹ The abolishment of the singing schools and suppression of the clergy also meant that there were fewer members of the clergy who received musical training. Therefore, during the early Reformation there was a shift as churches relied on professional and amateur singers to take a prominent role as members of English church choirs rather than clergymen singing portions of the liturgy. Individual churches paid singers until Elizabeth's reign when church incomes decreased and amateur singers took prominent positions in parish and collegiate cathedrals.

Lincoln Cathedral

William Byrd wrote the majority of his sacred English choral music for Lincoln Cathedral, where he served as organist from 1562-1572. He continued to send compositions to Lincoln until 1581. Lincoln Cathedral boasted one of the largest and most proficient choirs in England during the Renaissance with as many as fifty to sixty singers. Lay members were invited to join the choir, but those who were unable to read music were only offered provisional membership.²⁶⁰ Provisional members had six months to become proficient in “playnsong, prycksong [an English term for polyphony], discant et faburdon” in order to maintain membership status. Instruments held an especially prominent position in services at Lincoln Cathedral, which owned consorts of viols, cornetts,

²⁵⁹ Lord, 6.

²⁶⁰ Bowers, 33.

and sackbuts owned by the cathedral.²⁶¹ Cornetts and sackbuts were the most frequently used instruments in English churches often to augment or double vocal parts until the seventeenth century when viols took a more prominent position as independent accompaniment to voices.²⁶²

The music at Lincoln Cathedral was exceptional for the size of the forces employed. While similar situations might have existed at other major churches (such as St. Paul's Cathedral in London, Salisbury Cathedral, and Yorkminster), smaller churches could not maintain such large musical ensembles. At these more typical parish churches, the organist often had to double vocal parts or even replace missing ones. Church musicians, even those at large cathedrals and the Chapel Royal, were often unable to make a living solely through music. Some had other sources of income: some owned property and rented it out, others held "moonlighting" jobs such as renting multiple properties, performing maintenance and security duties around the church, teaching grammar school, performing in the city waits band, or even taking a part-time trade as an innkeeper, apothecary, barber, or various other positions.²⁶³

English Organs

Organs were prominent in English churches and organists were among the most highly paid church musicians. At least 78 of the most prominent parish

²⁶¹ Price, 54.

²⁶² Le Huray, 127.

²⁶³ James Saunders, "Music and Moonlighting: The Cathedral Choirmen of Early Modern England 1558-1649," in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 160-163.

churches in London had two or more organs by the 1540s.²⁶⁴ The use of organs within the liturgy was restricted during the early years of the Reformation, but they returned to common use during Elizabeth's reign. In 1552 Archbishop Holgate ordered the musicians at Yorkminster "to stop the playing of the organ for both solo and musical accompaniment, while the chorister's music was to consist only of 'square note plain [plainchant].'"²⁶⁵ While visiting England in 1599 Thomas Platter described a service at St. Paul's Cathedral where he "saw and heard the canons, in white surplices and square birettas similar to the Popists at home, conducting the services in English, with music and organ accompaniment just as if they were celebrating Mass."²⁶⁶ Platter also described the use of organ and other instruments while attending an Evening Prayer Service led by the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court: "Then we heard some glorious music in the chapel at English Vespers, choir with organ, cornet, and fife accompaniment, for as stated above, in outward ceremonies they much resemble the papists."²⁶⁷

These original accounts suggest that organs were frequently used in English services, both as solo instruments and as accompaniment for the choir. Certainly the organ plays a critical role in the verse anthem settings of *Christ rising again* by William Byrd and Thomas Tomkins, which both contain

²⁶⁴ Price, 49.

²⁶⁵ Baldwin, 150.

²⁶⁶ Platter and Busino, 38.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 79.

independent accompaniments for organ. It is not inconceivable that organists doubled the choir or even supplemented missing vocal parts in some Renaissance churches and cathedrals, especially those in small towns and villages, although it is possible that this practice may have even occurred in larger institutions like Lincoln Cathedral, especially at festive celebrations such as Easter morning. This practice would have allowed most parishes to have performed the more difficult settings such as Christopher Tye's, which is especially challenging because of the divided parts for the lower voices and the challenging sonorities.

The Chapel Royal

The Chapel Royal was the central musical and liturgical institution in Medieval and Renaissance England and was ultimately responsible for demonstrating the expectations and standards of music within the liturgy during the early years of the Reformation. At least through the reign of Henry VIII the Chapel Royal was a "portable chapel" that traveled with the monarch and administered liturgical services and secular entertainments as required, even on the field of battle. Many of the most important Medieval and Renaissance English composers were associated with the Chapel Royal, designated by the official title of Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Approximately two-thirds of the members of the Tudor-era Chapel Royal were laypeople and made up the musical staff of the chapel. The remaining one-third were members of the clergy who were ordained to perform liturgies at court. The Chapel Royal also hired additional singers,

called Gentlemen Extraordinary, for important feast days like Easter and for special events.²⁶⁸

Membership in the Chapel Royal was a distinct honor that offered considerable benefits, including the freedom to simultaneously hold other prestigious positions around the country while they served in the Chapel Royal. Members of the Chapel Royal received, on average, at least twice the annual pay that other church musicians at local churches or cathedrals received.²⁶⁹ The average rate of pay for singers in the Chapel Royal was £30 per year, increased to £40 per year after 1604.²⁷⁰ Members of the Chapel Royal received additional fees and benefices for special ceremonies and were able to freelance at the funerals and weddings of important court officials. A description of the designated duties between 1603 and 1619 stated that all Chapel Royal members “shall attend [the services] uppon Sondayes, Principall tymes at Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday, uppon holy dayes at bothe services, uppon festival and offerynge daye eves, at evening prayer, uppon sermon days at morning prayer.”²⁷¹

Members of the Chapel Royal had great flexibility within their schedule of appointed duties. Only half of the choir was required to attend weekday ferial services, remaining on duty for alternate months as appointed by the sub-dean. By the late-sixteenth-century singers were not expected to perform in services

²⁶⁸ Baldwin, 287.

²⁶⁹ Lord, 80.

²⁷⁰ Le Huray, 72.

²⁷¹ Baldwin, 288.

outside the palaces of Greenwich, Whitehall, Richmond, Hampton Court, and Windsor Castle, reducing their duties even further.²⁷² Considerable time off was provided between the end of June and the end of September and around important holidays including the weeks following Epiphany, Candlemas, Easter, St. George's Day, and the week before Christmas.²⁷³ In total, most Chapel Royal musicians had at least one hundred days off each year and prominent musicians may have been able to arrange for as many as three hundred free days per year.²⁷⁴ This allowed distinguished members of the Chapel Royal to hold positions at major cathedrals in London and other parts of England so long as they maintained their duties to the Chapel Royal. Christopher Tye, William Byrd, and Thomas Tomkins were documented as serving in such dual positions at prominent cathedrals while they served in the Chapel Royal.

It is likely that John Sheppard composed for in his setting of *Christ rising again* for the men of the Chapel Royal (AATB). Sheppard's setting represents the challenge composers faced at the end of Henry's reign and the beginning of Edward's when new English music had to be taught in a very short period of time. Many of the pieces during the transition years of the Reformation are for the adults of the choir, since these were the trained musicians who could read musical notation. The boy choristers were mostly taught by rote. The more intricate vocal lines tend to occur in the alto lines, which were sung by male falsettists who were

²⁷² Le Huray, 73.

²⁷³ Ibid., 73.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 73.

considered the most proficient musicians in England.²⁷⁵ The lower parts are less intricate and tend to utilize a narrower range, signifying that they were likely sung by the clerical singers.

Men sang the alto, tenor, and bass parts in the Chapel Royal, and boy choristers performed the treble and mean vocal lines. Boys were admitted as choristers in the Chapel Royal around the age of seven and received considerable education that included reading, writing, and grammar in English and Latin in addition to their musical studies. Choristers were taught the repertory of plainsong, harmonization techniques of descant, *faburden*, and singing “upon the square note,” and the ability to read “pricksong,” the English term for polyphony.²⁷⁶ There is little distinction between the *faburden* practice and the practice of singing “upon the square.” The square refers to monophonic, measured melodies common in the fifteenth century, often derived from *basse-danse* melodies and polyphonic *chansons*.²⁷⁷ Choristers received instrument training, especially after 1565, and were hired out to perform in plays, and eventually oratorios, throughout London.²⁷⁸ While their voices changed, which was around the age of eighteen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they were no longer able to serve the Chapel Royal, although some may have returned to the Chapel Royal after their voices settled into adult range. At eighteen, they were

²⁷⁵ Phillips, 57.

²⁷⁶ Lord, 80.

²⁷⁷ Caldwell, 182.

²⁷⁸ Lord, 84.

older than most students at universities, but were provided with additional education (funded by the Crown) at colleges in Oxford or Cambridge.²⁷⁹ This practice was abandoned sometime prior to Elizabeth's reign.

During Elizabeth's reign the Chapel Royal included thirty-two Gentlemen and twelve choristers.²⁸⁰ This number fluctuated according to the affluence and interest of the court it served, but by the middle of the sixteenth century the regular number of Chapel Royal members settled at thirty-two.²⁸¹ Honorary members, designated as Gentlemen Extraordinary, augmented the Chapel Royal on special occasions and important festivals, including Easter Day. These honorary positions carried high prestige, but were unpaid, and were often given to musicians from the choirs at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral. Normal weekday services, however, rarely required more than sixteen singers.²⁸² Unlike the royal chapels of continental Europe, the English Chapel Royal was entirely homegrown, especially by the time of Elizabeth's reign.

Serving the Chapel Royal was often a long-term commitment for some of the most prominent English composers during the Renaissance. Christopher Tye served for thirty-five years from around 1537-1572, Thomas Tallis served for

²⁷⁹ Baldwin, 156 & 322.

²⁸⁰ Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 663.

²⁸¹ Baldwin, 287.

²⁸² Atlas, 663.

forty-five years from around 1540-1585, and William Byrd remained on the Chapel Royal payroll for over fifty years from 1569-1623.²⁸³

The influential composers of the Chapel Royal appear to have been genuinely interested in the new forms and genres and the challenges during the early years of the English Reformation, setting syllabic texts with musical substance and limited polyphony.²⁸⁴ It is impossible to determine for certain which of the settings of *Christ rising again* were composed exclusively for the Chapel Royal and which were intended as functional anthems for church and cathedral choirs with more limited means. It is likely that all of these settings were performed at the Chapel Royal at some time, since these anthems tend to be more florid than other representative anthems that were intended for general use in English churches.

The settings by Sheppard, Byrd, and Tomkins were likely accessible for average English church choirs, since Sheppard's setting is predominantly homophonic with very brief passages of imitative polyphony and the choral passages in the verse anthems by Byrd and Tomkins are supported or doubled in the organ accompaniment. The divided alto voices in Sheppard's setting might have posed a problem for small churches, but could have been successfully performed by a quartet or with two men on each part. The solo verses in Byrd's and Tomkins's settings showcased the (usually) professional organist and allowed choirs to feature two or three skilled soloists, respectively. The choral parts in

²⁸³ Baldwin, 417-420.

²⁸⁴ Doe, 50.

these two settings would be quite accessible with the support of the organ. The settings by Tallis and Tye would likely have been too challenging for all but the most skilled choirs, especially due to the florid and intricate polyphony in Tallis's setting and the four-part divided lower voices in Tye's setting. All of these settings are representative of what Peter Phillips referred to as the "Chapel Royal style," which was distinctly unique from the music by continental composers.²⁸⁵ A thorough understanding of the English characteristics that constituted this "Chapel Royal style" will help conductors and choirs create a vivid and exciting performance of these anthems that performers and audiences enjoy.

²⁸⁵ Phillips, 58.

Conclusions and Applications for Future Research

The five *Christ rising again* anthems demonstrate the significant variety of sacred English music during the first one hundred years of the English Reformation. This set of anthems have been neglected from both the liturgical and concert repertory of American choral ensembles, partially because affordable performance editions are unavailable, but also due to the lack of familiarity with the ceremonies associated with the Easter sepulchre and the humanist connotations and meaning present in the text. This anthem was an indispensable part of the Easter Matins Service during the early English Reformation. It retained its importance after the Easter sepulchre ceremony and procession were abolished from the revised Prayer Book of 1552 and the anthem's function within the liturgy shifted. Reformers considered the humanist imagery and theological perspective in the scriptural verses of the anthem valuable enough to be retained. The text was a prescribed part of the Easter Morning Prayer service and was profound enough to inspire multiple settings of the anthem by the most prominent composers of sacred English music during the Renaissance. It is important to note that the text for *Christ rising again* was the only anthem text set by all of these composers. The only other texts that received this type of attention were those that were required within the daily English liturgy.

Humanist elements were emphasized during the English Reformation and these elements influenced composers profoundly. The comparison between Christ and Adam in the *secunda pars* that was added with the 1549 Prayer Book as a replacement for the non-scriptural *versus* was one of the most inspirational

passages that attracted the attention of each composer. The other passage that inspired the attention of most composers occurred at the end of the *prima pars* when the text states, “And so likewise, count yourselves dead unto sin: but living unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord.” The focus on life and resurrection inspired composers to write florid passages with dotted rhythmic passages that celebrated the Easter message. These two passages also received significant attention from humanist theologians and philosophers, reinforcing their importance to reformers.

Composers were also inspired by the dual concepts of solemnity and festivity found in the text and function in the Easter Matins and Morning Prayer Services. The earliest settings reflected the solemn elements that were associated with the Easter sepulchre ceremony in the 1549 Prayer Book. These settings tend toward minor based modes, dissonance, and frequent use of false relations. Settings from 1552 and later, which were removed from the context of the Easter sepulchre ceremony, tend to reflect festive elements associated with a more modern, Protestant perspective of Easter. These later settings also reflect the influence secular music played upon sacred anthems, particularly the verse anthem which was strongly rooted in secular consort songs and foreshadowed Baroque characteristics.

These settings span a turbulent era of religious upheaval from the beginning of the English Reformation and the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, through the two major revisions of 1552 and 1559, and well into the seventeenth century. As a result this anthem offers the unique perspective that encompasses at least one hundred years of compositional development. These anthems

demonstrate distinctly English characteristics such as the frequent use of false relations, the unique genre of the verse anthem, which was only found in England, and the various vocal combinations that were more commonly found in English music than contemporaneous music of continental composers. These settings represent some of the most florid settings of sacred English polyphony from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. During this period of time reformers expected most music for the Church of England to be simplified to the point where pieces often resemble homophonic hymns and Psalm tunes that are of limited interest in modern performances. Because these anthems were intended for the solemn and festive celebrations of Easter, composers could include more florid polyphony in them. These anthems merit a permanent place in the choral and even liturgical repertory, especially by ensembles that specialize in Renaissance music.

Unfortunately editors and publishers of performable editions have been equally neglectful of these settings and most can only be found in critical or collected editions, which are designed primarily for scholarly study and are less suitable for practical performance.²⁸⁶ Performance editions of the settings by Byrd and Sheppard can be found on cpdl.org, but they contain mistakes and editorial decisions that create scholarly concerns for accurate performance. These include interpretations of *musica ficta* that create unnatural dissonance, alteration of text underlay that creates unnatural phrasing, inclusion of suggested dynamic

²⁸⁶ A choral octavo reconstruction of Thomas Weelkes's setting was published by Shawnee Press, but is currently out of print and unavailable.

and articulation markings that can be unnatural in performance, and transposition into a key that dramatically alters the sonority of the piece.

There are other practical concerns that make the current editions unsuitable for modern performance ensembles and have kept these anthems out of the current repertory. The original voicing of these anthems create problems for American choirs, especially the English use of alto voices. The alto lines in Sheppard's and Tallis's settings in particular tend to be too low for modern female altos since they were composed for adult men to sing in falsetto or higher head range than modern tenors utilize. These alto lines are also too high for most modern men to sing in falsetto without risking vocal fatigue or damage, or without significantly altered training than most American male singers receive.

The complexity of these anthems has also limited their use by many performance ensembles. The full anthems by Sheppard, Tye, and Tallis are composed as unaccompanied anthems that take approximately five to seven minutes to perform.²⁸⁷ Many choirs find it difficult to maintain proper intonation, vocal technique, and aural ability while singing unaccompanied music with duration beyond three minutes. The polyphonic passages can also be challenging for choirs with limited experience singing Renaissance music. Finally, the frequent false (or cross) relations can make these anthems more challenging than other English anthems or Latin motets.

²⁸⁷ Whether Renaissance motets, anthems, liturgical music, and secular music were actually performed unaccompanied or with instruments doubling some or all of the vocal parts is beyond the scope of this study.

The lack of performable editions and professional-quality recordings may be the most formidable, yet easily remedied, obstacle to allowing these anthems to reenter the modern choral repertory. Further research should be conducted to complete and publish performable editions of these settings as individual octavos for the performance and study. Recordings can be obtained of the settings by Tallis, Tye, Byrd, and the reconstructed version of Weelkes's setting, but these are often semi-professional recordings by English parish choirs, not professional choirs, and therefore reflect editorial decisions with potential errors and neglect scholarly concerns. It would be valuable to have professional level recordings for each of these settings to demonstrate the value of these anthems.

Further research should also be conducted to examine settings after those by Tomkins and Weelkes, since this study only examined complete settings composed during the first one hundred years of the English Reformation. It would be valuable to extend this study to examine the duration in which the anthem remained a part of the Easter Morning Prayer service and how composers set the text from the middle of the seventeenth century into the modern era.

Finally it would be valuable to approach other well-known and important anthem texts from a similar theological and contextual background.

Unfortunately, since two or more composers rarely set the exact same anthem text, it will be difficult to discover equivalent relevancy and inspiration across a broad spectrum. However, it would be valuable to conductors to have such an analysis of important English anthems such as Tallis's *If Ye Love Me* or Byrd's *Sing Joyfully*.

The set of *Christ rising again* anthems should be a regular part of the concert and liturgical performance repertoire. The resources to understand the anthem's context, function, and meaning are now available to conductors and singers to assist in the comprehending the importance and intention of these anthems. The text is relevant to modern perspectives of Easter and the later settings by Byrd, Tomkins, and Weelkes will appeal to choirs that regularly perform English Baroque music by Handel and Purcell and their audiences. Early music ensembles will benefit from the performance of these settings by including a valuable Easter anthem in the English language, through a comparative study that examines how multiple composers approached the same text over a span of approximately one hundred years, and by programming florid anthem settings amidst more traditional anthem settings that tended toward syllabic homophony. The availability of affordable performance editions or public domain editions would be of substantial benefit in closing the gap created by the current neglect of this set of anthems.

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APPENDIX A

A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND ITS RELEVANCE TO ENGLISH COMPOSERS

The Sarum Use and Reformers' Need for Simplification

The Use of Salisbury, also referred to as the Sarum Rite, includes the customs, liturgy, and chants of the Medieval cathedral of Salisbury and draws its name, Sarum, from an abbreviation of the Latin name for the city, Sarisburia.²⁸⁸ A use created a “basically Roman-but-with-local-variations” liturgy distinguished by variety in texts substituted within the Mass or Office, details in particular rituals, variant or sometimes entirely different melodies from those in Roman sources, and greater attention paid to local feasts and saints.²⁸⁹

The history of the Sarum Use is locked in the history of Salisbury Cathedral. The remains of the original Norman cathedral and hill-fort built in 1075 by William the Conqueror, still referred to as “Old Sarum,” are located one mile north of the modern city center.²⁹⁰ Sarisburia became overpopulated and suffered a shortage of water by the twelfth century so the cathedral and city were moved to a new site by the River Avon, two miles south. The new cathedral of Salisbury, sometimes called New Sarum, was built between 1220 and 1265 and

²⁸⁸ David Durston and Roy Dixon, *Salisbury Cathedral* (Andover, UK: Jarrold Publishing, 2005), 2.

²⁸⁹ Tabitha Phillips, “Historical Summary” in *The Use of Salisbury: The Ordinary of the Mass* (Amersham, UK: Halstan & Co. Ltd, 1984), viii.

²⁹⁰ Durston and Dixon, 2.

the tower and spire were added between 1297 and 1320.²⁹¹ One of four surviving copies of the Magna Carta has been housed in Salisbury Cathedral since it was written in 1215, a testament to the importance of the city and its religious contributions.²⁹²

The resettlement of New Sarum coincided with the creation of an ordinal and consuetudinary for the Salisbury Use.²⁹³ The ordinal provided a directory of services celebrated at Salisbury as well as a complete list of the elements to be said or sung in each service and a brief description of each item.²⁹⁴ The consuetudinary contains the customs of the particular church, including the numbers, precedents, and duties of each member of the clergy. The consuetudinary also contains comprehensive, detailed accounts of how the services were to be carried out with an analysis and handbook of the ceremonies for specific occasions.²⁹⁵ The ordinal and consuetudinary demonstrated the proper method and use of the many other service books and resources required to celebrate the various services within the liturgical calendar including a Missal, Sacramentary, Epistle Book, Gospel Book, Cantatorium, Gradual, Processional,

²⁹¹ David L. Edwards, *The Cathedrals of Britain* (Andover, UK: Pitkin Pictorials, 1994), 136-138.

²⁹² Durston and Dixon, 22-23.

²⁹³ Nicholas Sandon, *Grove Music Online*, "Salisbury ("Sarum"), Use of." <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/24611> (accessed 13 November 2009).

²⁹⁴ Phillips, vi.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, vi.

Sequentiary, Antiphonal, Troper, Psalter, Legend, and Collectar.²⁹⁶ The Processional contained information regulating the Easter Matins Processional and the ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre. The Antiphonal contained the chants for the various antiphons that colored individual feasts within the Sarum Use.

The rubrics within the ordinal disseminated throughout most of England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and simplified and revised during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Ordinal was adopted in Dublin in 1220, in the Scottish dioceses of Moray and Glasgow in the mid-thirteenth century, and as far away as Portugal.²⁹⁷ The only dioceses in England that remained relatively uninfluenced by the Salisbury Use were York and Hereford.²⁹⁸ The London diocese, led by St. Paul's Cathedral, was even relatively independent until 1414 when it officially adopted the Salisbury Use.

The Medieval Use of Salisbury was renowned throughout England and was officially recognized and admired on the continent, especially in Rome. Bishop Giles de Bridport wrote in 1256, "Among the churches of the whole world, the church of Sarum hath shone resplendent like the sun, in respect of its divine services."²⁹⁹ John Wilson published the following account of the standing of the Salisbury Use in his *English Martyrology* (1608), "In ancient tymes the

²⁹⁶ Frere, 15.

²⁹⁷ Bailey, viii.

²⁹⁸ Phillips, viii.

²⁹⁹ Bailey, ix.

Catholicke Bishops of Salisbury obtayned the Titles of the Pope's Maister of the Cerimonyes, and had their places always assigned them in the Pope's Chappell and other solemnities at Rome, according to that dignity."³⁰⁰

Music at Salisbury

The Cathedral of Salisbury was renowned for its elaborate sense of ceremony, prominent role it placed upon music, and its use of florid polyphony.³⁰¹ Music in the Sarum Use tended to be more elaborate than music in the Roman Use, especially music for Matins and Vespers.³⁰² Polyphony functioned as an ornament to the liturgy that distinguished and ordered ritual elements on a scale of greater or lesser solemnity.³⁰³ Therefore polyphony was primarily reserved for important feasts and devotional services where composers set liturgical texts of particular interest to create a sense of ceremonial distinction.³⁰⁴ The Sarum plainchant repertory was the principle source of liturgical music until the Edwardian Reformation and remained largely unchanged since the Middle Ages.³⁰⁵ Large quantities of music books were required to celebrate the various services within the Sarum Use including a Cantatorium that contained graduals

³⁰⁰ Bailey, ix.

³⁰¹ Frank Lloyd Harrison, *Music of Medieval Britain* (Buren, Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1980), 5.

³⁰² Moyer, 39.

³⁰³ Kerman, 344-5.

³⁰⁴ Benham, 8.

³⁰⁵ Caldwell, 175.

and alleluias, a Sequentiary that contained the sequences, a Troper that contained the numerous troped Kyries found in the Sarum Use, and an Antiphoner that contained the numerous antiphons, which were the closest ancestors to the English anthem. These books contained different chant melodies from those found in Roman sources, which along with the order and importance of local feasts, and the texts used in various antiphons, sequences, spoken ceremonial items, and parts of the Divine Offices form the greatest discrepancy with the Roman, York, and Hereford rites.³⁰⁶

The 1549 Book of Common Prayer and the First English Liturgy

The First Act of Uniformity was passed by Parliament in 1549 and represented the official shift toward a Protestant state religion. The subsequent Book of Common Prayer was the first published resource to aid in the creation of a single, unified form of worship throughout England. The ultimate goals of the First Act of Uniformity were threefold: to restore the Bible, which the reformers viewed as the Word of God, to what they deemed was its rightful preeminent place in public worship, to simplify the liturgical service itself, and to unify liturgical services throughout England.³⁰⁷ It contained everything needed for regular weekday and Sunday worship, including Morning and Evening Prayer as well as the Communion Service, and occasional services to meet pastoral needs and emphasize the great events of life: birth, marriage, sickness, and death.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ Caldwell, 63.

³⁰⁷ Le Huray, 18.

³⁰⁸ Booty, 355.

The 1549 Prayer Book was considerably simpler than the Sarum Use and essentially contained a Breviary, Missal, Manual, Sacramentary, Lectionary, Epistolary, Evangeliary, and Directory all in one book.³⁰⁹ Everything was presented in English, but there were provisions for the use of Latin, Greek, Hebrew “or other strange tongue” where it is understood, especially “for the further encouraging of learning in the tongues in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford to use and exercise in their common and open prayer in their chapels.”³¹⁰

The 1552 Book of Common Prayer – Further Reforms

It appears that Cranmer intended the 1549 Prayer Book to be a first step in religious reform and immediately began working on a revised version. The revised Book of Common Prayer was published in 1552 and represented a determined attempt to break once and for all with England’s Catholic past, leaving nothing in the official worship of the Church of England that could provide a foothold for traditional ways.³¹¹ The 1552 Prayer Book conforms more closely to the expectations of continental Protestants but received a relatively short use in England before Edward’s untimely death in July of 1553.³¹² The revised Prayer Book was continually used by English Protestants exiled on the continent during Mary’s reign where they were pressured to reform their worship

³⁰⁹ Le Huray, 19.

³¹⁰ Quoted in Hugh Benham, “Latin Church Music under Edward VI,” *The Musical Times* 116, no. 1587 (May 1975): 477.

³¹¹ Duffy, 472-473.

³¹² Booty, 341.

further in accordance with those of Zurich and Geneva.³¹³ There is evidence that suggests that Cranmer had drafted another revision of the Book of Common Prayer before his death and perceived the 1552 book as merely another step toward a more perfect, reformed order of worship.³¹⁴ Such seemingly small steps were designed to make the process of religious reform more palatable to the English laity.

Simplification of the Liturgy and Theological Reform

Henry VIII's Reign

English reformers published a document entitled the Ten Articles (1535) that marked one of the first important theological documents specifically designed to end “diversity of opinion” on matters of religion.³¹⁵ The Ten Articles affirmed a form of justification by faith alone and reduced the number of sacraments from seven to three: baptism, penance, and the Eucharist. It indicates a shift away from practices deemed but still allowed the English laity to practice the veneration of images, the cult of saints, and the intercession for the dead. Article Nine specifically addressed elements of popular devotion including ceremonies surrounding the Easter sepulchre, among them creeping to cross.³¹⁶ These practices remained but were supplemented with didactic and symbolic explanations to be impressed upon the laity, stating that “none of these

³¹³ Booty, 343.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 342.

³¹⁵ Duffy, 392.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 393.

ceremonies have the power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God.”³¹⁷ Eight days after the articles were signed, an act for the “Abrogation of Certain Holy Days” was issued, which wiped out a multitude of local festivals and removed numerous major landmarks from the Sarum calendar, causing a public uproar. The act marked the first overt attack of the Henrician regime on traditional patterns of religious observation.³¹⁸

Early English reformers made considerable progress in the cause of reform during Henry’s reign, but also suffered significant setbacks. One example was a conservative proclamation released on 16 November 1538 that forbade the import of English books and annotated translations of scriptures without special license, and required prior examination by the Privy Councillor or Bishop before English scriptural translations could be printed or sold.³¹⁹ The proclamation also stated that ceremonies that include elaborate processions, creeping to the cross, or setting lights before the Easter sepulchre were to be used “without superstition...[as] good and laudable ceremonies to put us in remembrance of higher perfection and none otherwise.”³²⁰ Worshipers were warned that they should not “repose any confidence of salvation in them but take them for good instructions until such time as his majesty doth change or abrogate them.”³²¹ This

³¹⁷ Duffy, 394.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 395.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 411.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 411.

was a devastating blow to reformers since even though the proclamation attempted to limit the mysticism associated with such ceremonies and taught the meaning and significance of them to the English laity, it did nothing to limit or reduce their frequency. The only provision that reflected the value of the reformers was that candles were not allowed before images of saints, but lights were allowed at the Easter sepulchre.³²²

Edward VI's Reign – The 1549 Book of Common Prayer

The English laity generally withstood the mostly cosmetic changes in religion during Henry's reign, the most significant of which was the shift toward English language elements within the liturgy. Henry's death and the nine-year-old Edward's ascension to the throne in 1547 put England in the hands of a council of advisors. Cranmer therefore had more freedom to put further reforms in place, though he was sensitive to the political climate. Cranmer balanced the desire for more substantive theological reform with fear that too rapid a progression toward Protestantism would be resisted by the people at large as manipulation of the child-king, Edward VI, by a Protestant clique within the Council.³²³ Further reform within the Church of England progressed almost immediately, albeit gradually, but despite Cranmer's best efforts the English laity were more resistant to the significant theological reforms instituted during

³²¹ Duffy, 411.

³²² Ibid., 413.

³²³ Ibid., 448.

Edward's reign, which represented a significant shift toward a style of Protestantism more aligned with continental reformations.³²⁴

The 1549 Prayer Book also simplified the service itself as reformers attempted to create an order of worship that was more scripturally based and therefore more “modern;” one that the first Christians might recognize and accept.³²⁵ According to humanist and Protestant convictions the traditions and teachings from when the scriptures were written were ideal. Therefore reformers set out to create a service that was simple, scriptural, intended for the edification of the laity, audible, and in the language of the people. Audibility and worship for the edification of the laity were equally important to English reformers since Sarum services were held behind a rood screen, which effectively excluded the laity from participating in worship or even viewing the Host at Communion. Reformers also condemned “secret” whispered prayers by Sarum priests during the service and intentionally included phrases in the Prayer Book denoting that all prayers, responses, and passages of scripture should be read, said, or sung “in a loude voyce.”

Critics during the early Reformation challenged the Book of Common Prayer as being too radical. Cranmer retaliated, claiming that it was the same service that the Church of England had used for 1500 years, just purified, condensed, simplified, and in English. In a Royal Message, Cranmer wrote, “It seemeth to you a new service, and indeed it is none other but the old: the selfsame

³²⁴ Duffy, 462.

³²⁵ Booty, v.

words in English which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out.”³²⁶

However, many ceremonial elements were eliminated from English services during the year including the ceremonies of the Easter sepulchre and creeping to the cross. Eventually saintly images were removed from churches and chapels, even stained glass windows, which were commonly exempt from destruction during continental reformations.³²⁷ By 4 November 1550 all altars were removed and replaced with wooden communion tables as a visual reminder that reformers had shrugged off the cumbersome trappings of so-called papist religion in favor of simplicity.³²⁸ Despite these somewhat controversial elements the 1549 Prayer Book was basically conservative when compared with later revisions and continental equivalents.³²⁹

Edward VI’s Reign – The 1552 Book of Common Prayer

The English services underwent a tremendous transformation between the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books. First, the central service was referred to as a Service of Holy Communion, severing the final visible ties with the Catholic Sarum Mass. A reading of the Ten Commandments replaced the introits at the start of the service. The most significant changes occurred in the Communion sacrament, which was designed to place the emphasis “now on the communicants, who, approaching the holy table with penitence are changed through the

³²⁶ Quoted in Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books*, xii.

³²⁷ Booty, 39.

³²⁸ Frere, 66.

³²⁹ Booty, 341.

indwelling presence of the Spirit through the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving” in remembrance of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross.³³⁰ There was no mixing of water and wine during Communion and all references to the real presence and sacrifice of Christ during the Lord’s Supper were omitted. Instead the focus was upon the communicants, not the transubstantiation of the elements. Cranmer explained that Christ was present in a spiritual, rather than physical nature, writing, “His true body is truly present to them that truly receive Him, but spiritually.”³³¹ The sacrament of Communion was not a recreation of the sacrifice of Christ through the elements by the priest, but a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving through the offering of the worshippers’ bodies, souls, and hearts.³³² Reformers believed that Christ was not physically present in the sacrament but spiritually in the hearts of the believers.

Mary I’s Reign – Return to Sarum Catholicism

Edward’s untimely death at the age of fifteen (six and one-half years after his ascension) created a struggle for the throne between the Protestant faction which championed Lady Jane Grey, great-niece of Henry VIII, and the Catholic faction who championed Henry VIII’s eldest daughter, Mary I. Jane Grey was initially proclaimed queen and ruled from the Tower for just over a week before the Privy Council switched allegiance to Mary and imprisoned Lady Grey for high treason, for which she was summarily executed. Mary’s reign returned

³³⁰ Booty, 358.

³³¹ Ibid., 369.

³³² Ibid., 369.

England to a somewhat modernized and more humanist version of the Sarum liturgy. Altars were restored along with images of certain saints. Protestant Bibles and copies of Erasmus's Paraphrases were collected from churches, but were never officially condemned.³³³ In fact English Bibles may have been encouraged as long as they were not bent toward the Protestant cause. Marian Catholicism even retained some of the service elements said in English, including the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and other passages of scripture.

Mary's government, however, took a strong stance against practicing Protestants. She ordered all aliens, many of whom were Protestants from Calvinist or Zwinglian regions, to leave England within twenty-four days of her accession.³³⁴ She also exiled all reformist booksellers and printers. Many prominent English Protestants went into voluntary exile to avoid persecution. Hundreds of Protestants who remained in England were executed as heretics, giving Mary the nickname "Bloody Mary." The term "Protestant" did not become naturalized in England until Mary's reign.³³⁵ Rather, those who desired change in worship referred to themselves as "reformers." The monasteries and chantries were beyond the point of re-establishment within Mary's brief reign, so there were no formal "factories" of traditional prayer or sung auxiliary Masses in the restored Catholic England.³³⁶ C. FitzSimons Allison, the twelfth Bishop of

³³³ Duffy, 530.

³³⁴ Patterson, 63.

³³⁵ MacCulloch, 5.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

South Carolina, suggests in his preface to Thomas Cranmer's *Collects* that Mary's reign may have been seen as a symbolic Good Friday for English Protestants comparing the country's return to Catholicism with Jesus' death.³³⁷ Thus in hindsight Elizabeth's reign would represent Easter and resurrection of the Protestantism along with Jesus' resurrection.

Marian authorities established a mostly new musical repertory divorced from the Catholicism of Henry's reign. This was partially from necessity since the choirboys during Henry's reign had aged and their voices had changed. Training new choirboys in a new repertory took considerable time since they were primarily taught by rote. Catholic musicians wrote new music that reflected artistic trends and humanistic elements that had crept into English Catholicism prior to the continental Counter-Reformation. Mary's ascension to the throne occurred at a time when sacred English music had been reduced to predominantly chordal homophony similar to Genevan Psalm singing. The return to the florid polyphony associated with Catholic worship may have served to halt further restriction and possible elimination of music in English worship, as sought by the most conservative factions, especially the Puritans. Had the reforms continued, it is possible that the whole tradition of English sacred choral music would have died out; the return to Catholicism under Mary, combined with Elizabeth's love of ceremony, ensured that English composers could continue to write elaborate music.

³³⁷ Thomas Cranmer, *The Collects*, ed. C. Frederick Barbee and Paul F. M. Zahl. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), xvii.

Elizabeth I's Reign – The 1559 Book of Common Prayer

Elizabeth's accession to the throne meant the third major religious transformation in England within a dozen years. Parliament issued a proclamation on 27 December 1558, just over a month after she took the throne that forbade "contentious preaching" and required the continued use of the Sarum liturgy, modified by readings of the Epistle and Gospel in English, along with English recitations of the Lord's Prayer and Creed "until consultation may be had by Parliament." Use of Cranmer's English Litany was encouraged, but remained optional.³³⁸ The official return to Protestantism occurred with the Act of Uniformity and release of the somewhat revised version of the Book of Common Prayer on 24 June 1559. The Mass was officially abolished and replaced with an English service that closely resembled the one found in the second Prayer Book of 1552. Elizabeth's accession also marked the final abandonment of the Sarum Use.

Most of the changes contained in the 1559 Prayer Book were cosmetic when compared with the rather dramatic revisions in the 1552 Prayer Book. One such change was that the queen's title changed from the "Supreme Head of the Church" to the "Supreme Governor of the Church," reflecting the opposition church officials had to a female head of religion. The 1559 Prayer Book also allowed for the use of vestments within the service and again replaced the altar in favor of a communion table and removed the rood screens. Additional destruction of images and liturgical furniture was not addressed.

³³⁸ Duffy, 565.

Many of the 1559 modifications demonstrated an official desire to soften some of the most starkly Protestant religious stances. For example, the 1559 Prayer Book added words to the administration of bread and wine during Communion, suggesting a real, physical presence to those who wished to find it. The official position was that Christ's presence was in memorial only, as in the theological style of Zurich. Also omitted from the 1559 Prayer Book were both the petition within the litany for deliverance from the tyranny of the Bishop in Rome and the "Black Rubric," which explained that in kneeling at Communion no adoration of the sacrament was specifically intended or allowed.³³⁹

In many ways the 1559 Prayer Book was less revolutionary than the 1552 Prayer Book, reverting to the wording of the 1549 version in places, and the Elizabethan Primer was closer to Henry's than Edward's.³⁴⁰ Elizabeth's relatively traditional religious nature enraged the growing Puritan faction that sought to eliminate all ceremony and so-called papist influences from English services. Puritans sought further simplification and reform of the liturgy including further restrictions on music, preferring simple monophonic psalms with no instrumental accompaniment, even from organ. Paul Hentzners, a German traveler in Elizabethan England, described the Puritans by writing, "We must note here, that there is a certain sect in England, called Puritans: these, according to the doctrine

³³⁹ Duffy, 567.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 567.

of the church of Geneva, reject all ceremonies antiently [sic] held, and admit of neither organs nor tombs in their places of worship.”³⁴¹

Elizabeth’s preference for ceremony in worship, especially polyphonic music, clerical vestments, and candles upon the communion table, was well documented. Thomas Platter described a service at St. Paul’s Cathedral where he “saw and heard the canons, in white surplices and square birettas similar to the Popists at home, conducting the services in English, with music and organ accompaniment just as if they were celebrating Mass.”³⁴² Elizabeth’s coronation was conducted in the conservative style of her predecessors, except that the service was in English rather than in Latin. She approved a Latin version of the 1559 Prayer Book for use at universities and by learned laity who could comprehend the language.³⁴³ She granted William Byrd and Thomas Tallis a monopoly on printed music and lined music paper, allowing them to publish Latin motets and even Mass movements. Elizabeth believed Christian humanism required personal devotion, moderation, and delighting in beauty during worship, linking the observance of religion to orderly ceremony and natural sentiment.³⁴⁴ Elizabeth was a “Protestant-humanist” who read Isocrates and Cicero and was well acquainted with the works of Erasmus, reportedly having read from his

³⁴¹ Paul Hentzners, *Travels in England, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London: 1797, repr., Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1977), 41.

³⁴² Platter and Busino, 38.

³⁴³ Booty, 340.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 332.

Greek New Testament daily.³⁴⁵ She was no religious zealot: she disapproved of John Knox's brand of Protestantism and the influence his Scottish followers exerted upon English Protestants.

The English Reformation was neither as liberal nor as radical as its continental counterparts because the reformers' momentum was quelled by Edward's death and Mary's intervention. Elizabeth's relatively traditionalist view of religion and ceremony hindered further reform but was a considerable boon for polyphonic music. Services in the Renaissance Church of England appeared dangerously close to Catholicism from the perspective of radical Protestants, certainly demonstrating less reform than those of the movements led by Calvin, Zwingli, and Knox. English Catholics, however, viewed even these relatively moderate reforms as too radical and heretical. This created considerable turmoil as the Puritan faction gained power throughout the country. The defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588 helped secure Elizabeth's position and supported her reforms. The victory over the naval power of one of the most devoutly Catholic kingdoms in Europe portrayed evidence that God was on the queen's side and supported the Church of England. Partially as a result, the 1559 Book of Common Prayer has been the primary resource for the Church of England, remaining relatively unaltered until 1965.³⁴⁶ The Prayer Book was continually used until 1604 when it underwent minor revisions, none of which affected the general tone of its contents. The Prayer Book underwent further revisions in

³⁴⁵ Booty, 332.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 327.

1661/1662, some of which did alter the tone, but few of which were of great importance. The Prayer Book was even used in North America until 1789 when the American church became the Protestant Episcopal Church.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁷ Booty, 329.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL SETTINGS OF *CHRIST RISING AGAIN* BY LESS PROMINENT COMPOSERS DURING THE EARLY ENGLISH REFORMATION

The Wanley Part-Books

The earliest surviving settings of *Christ rising again* are anonymous examples found within the Wanley Part-Books (c.1546-8). The part-books are named after Humphrey Wanley, an early eighteenth century collector of music manuscripts, and are the most valuable source of extant music from Edward VI's reign.³⁴⁸ The tenor book has been lost, however, making this an incomplete source. The Wanley Part-Books may have been copied for a small parish church or a private chapel and were likely completed around 1552. Most use texts from the 1549 Prayer Book and at least one utilizes text from the 1552 edition.³⁴⁹

The Wanley Part-Books contain seventeen pieces labeled "antems" (sic) and at least twelve more pieces that contain English texts and are considered anthem-like compositions today. Three are settings of the 1549 Prayer Book's version of the *Christ rising again* text, two of which retain the Latin title *Christus resurgens* and are based upon the Sarum chant.³⁵⁰ These anthems were probably composed during the experimental years of the early Reformation before the

³⁴⁸ Le Huray, 172.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 173.

³⁵⁰ Caldwell, 279.

publication of the revised Prayer Book of 1552, but unfortunately the names of their composers are not provided.³⁵¹

The following composers also set the anthem text for *Christ rising again*, but are not recognized at the same stature as the other composers examined in this study, with the exception of Thomas Weelkes. Weelkes is included here because his setting is incomplete. None of these settings can be found in modern editions, but are only available in manuscript.

John Amner

John Amner (1579-1641) was Master of Choristers at the cathedral at Ely from 1610 until his death.³⁵² He succeeded such notable composers as Christopher Tye, Robert White (c.1538-1574), and John Farrant (1575-1618). He received his B.Mus from Oxford University in 1613 and a Mus.B from Cambridge in 1640.³⁵³ His only publication was *Sacred Hymnes* (1615) during his early years at Ely Cathedral, which includes some flamboyant compositions representative of the High Church movement.³⁵⁴

Amner's compositional style contains a mixture of secular madrigal and sacred cathedral styles, similar to the style of Thomas Weelkes and Thomas Tomkins.³⁵⁵ Amner's setting of *Christ rising again*, a full anthem for four voices

³⁵¹ Caldwell, 180.

³⁵² Phillips, 279.

³⁵³ Ibid., 279.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 279-280.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 280.

(MATB) was not included in *Sacred Hymnes* and is relatively constrained in style compared with his other anthems and especially compared with other settings of *Christ rising again*.

Adrian Batten

Adrian Batten (1591-1637) was born in Salisbury and moved to London in 1614 to become a lay vicar at Westminster Abbey and worked as a music copyist for such notable composers as Thomas Weelkes and Thomas Tallis.³⁵⁶ He was never employed by the Chapel Royal, but sang with the choirs at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral.³⁵⁷ He composed a considerable number of anthems and services, but his music does not appear to have been regularly sung by the Chapel Royal, since only two of his anthems appear in the more than three hundred anthems compiled in the Chapel Royal anthem book (1635), and *Christ rising again* was not one of those included.³⁵⁸ This lack of performance by the Chapel Royal suggests that Batten composed primarily for functional church musicians who were less skilled than the Chapel Royal. Batten's setting of *Christ rising again* is a verse anthem for soloists (AATBB) and five-part choir (MAATB). Peter Phillips describes the solo writing as impressive at times but

³⁵⁶ Maurice Bevan, "Batten, Adrian" *Grove Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/> (accessed 9 March 2010).

³⁵⁷ Phillips, 262.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 262

says that the opening of the second part shows some muddled thinking and is unfocused.³⁵⁹

George Juxon

Very little is known about composer George Juxon except that he was organist at Canterbury Cathedral between 1590-1599 and was succeeded by George Marson (c. 1573-1632). His only known compositions are a set of Preces and a setting of *Christ rising again*, both for six-part choir (TrMAATB).³⁶⁰ Juxon is an anomaly among English Renaissance composers because it seems that he was never attached to a London-based choral institution (where the majority of English composers were based at some point in their careers) and does not appear in the records of the Chapel Royal. London composers experienced a brief revival of writing for the treble voice around the turn of the seventeenth century, most notably with Tallis's only treble anthem, *Blessed are those that be undefiled*.³⁶¹ This may be due to an increased number of singing schools established during Elizabeth's reign, which led to more trained choristers available for choirs. Juxon's voicing and distance from London suggests that this trend was more widespread than just among London composers.

Most pre-Reformation music for treble voices made regular use of introductory duets and trios. By contrast, Juxon's setting of *Christ rising again*

³⁵⁹ Phillips, 267-268.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 305.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 306.

begins with strict imitation.³⁶² The treble writing displays a certain brilliance that reflects the text. Juxon's setting alternates between homophonic and polyphonic passages possibly reflecting the influence of Tallis. Juxon's setting is also similar to the settings by Tye and Tallis in the way he set upper voices against lower voices in a quasi-antiphonal manner.

Thomas Weelkes

Thomas Weelkes (1576-1623) was an important composer of English madrigals and sacred cathedral music. He began composing at an early age and published his first volume of madrigals in 1597 when he was only 21 years of age.³⁶³ He was appointed organist at Winchester College in 1598 where he worked while studying music at New College, Oxford.³⁶⁴ He composed his finest madrigals while at Winchester, which were released in two volumes (1598 and 1600). The second volume contains music for five and six voices and is among the most important surviving volumes in the English madrigal tradition.³⁶⁵

Weelkes joined the choir of Chichester Cathedral in 1601 or 1602 and was awarded a B.Mus degree from New College, Oxford in 1602.³⁶⁶ He described himself as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on the title page of his fourth and

³⁶² Phillips, 306.

³⁶³ Lord, 201.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 201.

³⁶⁵ David Brown, "Weelkes, Thomas" *Grove Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/> (accessed 9 March 2010).

³⁶⁶ Phillips, 145.

final book of madrigals (1608), but his name does not appear in the official records of the Chapel Royal, suggesting that at most he was a Gentleman Extraordinary.³⁶⁷ Weelkes had a history of disorderly conduct including a charge of unauthorized absence from Chichester Cathedral in 1609, a charge of public drunkenness in 1613, and his eventual dismissal from his position as organist at Chichester in 1617.³⁶⁸

Weelkes composed a large number of English anthems and service music, but his most important contributions to English sacred music are his verse anthems. Verse anthems allowed Weelkes to compose elaborate, florid music during the solo passages and direct, functional music for choirs with limited musical ability like those that might have served at Chichester Cathedral. Weelkes's verse anthems show Byrd's influence, although his choral passages are generally briefer and simpler than Byrd's. Weelkes's setting of *Christ rising again* is an unfinished verse anthem that displays a hybrid of musical elements from his madrigals and other sacred music. It is highly expressive and reminiscent of Byrd's setting. The Tewkesbury Abbey Schola Cantorum recorded a performance of a reconstruction of Weelkes's setting, and a published version was available through Shawnee Press, but is currently out of print and unavailable for purchase.

³⁶⁷ David Brown, "Weelkes, Thomas" *Grove Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/> (accessed 9 March 2010).

³⁶⁸ Phillips, 145.

