

# Singing the ‘Pope’s Dregs’: The *Liber Precum Publicarum* of 1560 And its Use

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**Abstract** The passing of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity in 1559 and the publication of the Elizabethan *Book of Common Prayer* later that year returned the language of public worship to English, but a Latin translation of that prayer book issued in 1560 — the *Liber precum publicarum* — allowed certain scholastic institutions to continue using Latin liturgies. Seldom has this volume been discussed in detail, despite its important implications for composers connected to those institutions in permitting the continued composition of Latin-texted music for liturgical, rather than merely extra-liturgical or devotional, use.<sup>1</sup> This article considers the background to the *Liber precum publicarum*, assesses its contents, and examines the extent to which it was acquired and used by the few institutions for which it was produced. It finds that the volume was apparently not acquired by those institutions, owing probably to the political and religious climates of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1560s. It therefore casts light on why little (or indeed any) Latin-texted polyphony composed for *bona fide* liturgical use survives from the reign of Elizabeth I.

In 1560, the first authorized Latin translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Liber precum publicarum* (literally ‘Book of Common Prayer’) was issued primarily for the few institutions which reserved the right to use Latin in the liturgy after 1559: the public schools at Eton and Winchester, and the college chapels of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Although this volume has received some scholarly coverage at various stages since the 1840s,<sup>2</sup> only rarely has it been discussed in any detail — perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> *Liber Precum Publicarum, seu Ministerij Ecclesiasticae Administrationis Sacramentorum Aliorumque Rituum & Ceremoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana cum privilegio* (Reginald Wolfe, [1560]).

<sup>2</sup> The earliest work to comment on the Latin prayer book in detail appears to be William Keatinge Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge University Press, 1847); it is referred to in other publications of the nineteenth century, but mention is generally fleeting.

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because few copies are known to survive.<sup>3</sup> Existing historiographical work has usually focussed primarily on Elizabeth's reasons for sanctioning a Latin-texted prayer book, usually viewed as an attempt by the queen to secure a more traditional settlement than that which was provided for by the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*,<sup>4</sup> or for the purposes of edification.<sup>5</sup> The *Liber precum publicarum* does occasionally feature in musicological discourse, but is always given short shrift;<sup>6</sup> it therefore stands at odds with other prayer books published as a result of England's break from Rome, most of which have received detailed coverage both in terms of their texts,<sup>7</sup> and in terms of their implications for music and musicians.<sup>8</sup> Little is known of the book's background: the precise circumstances under which the volume was sought by the institutions for which it was produced are uncertain, and firm evidence for who translated it is wanting. Precisely how this prayer book differed from the English-texted prayer books of 1549, 1552 and 1559 — in terms of its Ordinary and Office texts, and in terms of its rubrics to indicate singing by a choir — remain largely unanswered questions. Little has been done, moreover, to contextualize the volume's impact in 1560 and the years that followed: although it has been assumed that the book was adopted by the few institutions for which it was produced, the extent to which the *Liber precum publicarum* was actually acquired and used by those institutions had not yet been addressed. The following pages seek to assess the background of the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* — its purpose, date, printer, and translator; to consider its contents in relation to the 1559 prayer book on which it was purportedly based, particularly in terms of its Ordinary and Office texts, and its provision for singers; to examine the extent to which it was adopted by the institutions for which it was produced; and to address the degree to which composers active in the 1560s appear to have used the volume as a textual source.

The publication of a Latin translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* was an important milestone in England's reformation. A key aim of the protestant reformers was for worship to be in a language that was understood by all. In the case of public worship, at parish level, this meant that services should be in English — 'the vulgar tongue',<sup>9</sup> rather than Latin, which was understood by the educated classes but

<sup>3</sup> The *English Short Title Catalogue* records that nineteen libraries possess the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560; how many copies may survive in private ownership is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> William Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 116–17.

<sup>5</sup> Norman Jones, 'Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book of 1560', *Church History*, 53.2 (1984), pp. 174–86 (p. 179), doi:10.2307/3165354.

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 2 vols (Clarendon Press, 1991), I, p. 293, and John Harley, *Thomas Tallis* (Ashgate, 2015), pp. 169 and 175.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer*; Stanley Morrison, *English Prayer Books: an Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship* (Cambridge University Press, 1949); and Brian Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> See Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1978) and Roger Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, the First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion, 1559', *Historical Journal*, 43.2 (2000), pp. 317–44, doi:10.1017/S0018246X99001107.

<sup>9</sup> See *The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the conte[n]t of al the holy scrypture, both of ye olde, and newe testame[n]t, with a prologe therinto, made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archbysshop of Cantorbury...* (Edward Whitchurch, 1540).

nobody else. It was for this reason that the liturgical use of Latin was criticized at various stages before the introduction of the first English prayer book in 1549: Cranmer wrote of ‘parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say’;<sup>10</sup> Latin was also condemned as ‘howlinge and jabberinge in a foren language’.<sup>11</sup> This criticism extended to music with Latin words also: Erasmus wrote of the three degrees of separation between polyphony and the people, achieved by their non-participation, the use of Latin rather than the vernacular, and musical textures which obscured the words;<sup>12</sup> Stephen Gardiner (1483–1555), bishop of Winchester, complained that ‘a great meany [singers] understode not what they song’.<sup>13</sup> The preface to the first *Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1549, drew attention to the fact that services ‘hath been read in Latin to the people, whiche they understode not’,<sup>14</sup> adding that, in presenting the reformed liturgies in English, it endeavoured to ‘have suche language spoken to the people in the church, as they mighte understand and have profite by hearyng the same.’<sup>15</sup> Consequently the established church was to use a single prayer book for all services, in which ‘all things shall be read and song in the Church in the English tongue’,<sup>16</sup> in order to establish ‘one uniforme conformitie’.<sup>17</sup>

The Edwardian Act of Uniformity, passed on 21 January 1549, authorized and imposed the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* as the main format for public worship — a volume in English throughout. But it did allow ‘any man that understands the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongue, or other strange tongue’ to say Matins and Evensong ‘in Latin, or any such other tongue, saying the same privately, as they do understand’ — an allowance that was printed in the 1549 prayer book, as well as in the later English prayer books of 1552 and 1559,<sup>18</sup> which retained the same concession. The same act also permitted the *public* use of those languages in university chapels, ‘being no parishes churches’, for the services of ‘Matins, Evensong, Litany, and all other prayers’, but with ‘the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, excepted’.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>10</sup> John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer* (Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1694), p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> John Bale, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande* (Joos Lambrecht, 1553), fol. 5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, 1979), I, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> James Arthur Muller, *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 488.

<sup>14</sup> *The booke of the common prayer and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England* (Edward Whitchurch, 1549), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Volume 3: 1550–1552*, ed. by John Roche Dasent (Eyre and Spottiswood, 1891), p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> For the text of the first Edwardian Act of Uniformity see Henry Gee and William Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (Macmillan, 1914), pp. 358–66. See also *The Boke of common prayer, and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England* (Edward Whitchurch, 1552); *The Booke of common praier, and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England* (Richard Juge and John Cawode, 1559), in which similar Acts of Uniformity were printed.

<sup>19</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 358–66 (p. 364).

Thus in the universities the Offices could be said in Latin, but the Communion service had to be in English — presumably because it was intended by Cranmer to be the main public service of the week, whereas the Offices were subsidiary services, mainly said privately.<sup>20</sup> (Holding public services in English would also have prevented those unlearned in Latin from confusing the new public liturgies with those of the obsolete Sarum rite.)<sup>21</sup> The *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560 consequently broke new ground in offering a permissible Latin version of the Communion rite for *public* use, albeit for use at a restricted number of institutions, and did so for the first time since the introduction of the first *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549. This ought to have had important implications for composers who in the 1560s were connected to scholastic institutions, since with the publication of a Latin-texted prayer book they were presumably permitted to continue composing settings of the Mass Ordinary and other liturgical texts in Latin. Yet there are none — none, at least, which can be proven beyond doubt to post-date 1559, and which were written for *bone fide* liturgical use.

Innovative though it may have been, the *Liber precum publicarum* does not represent the first time that a Latin version of an English prayer book had been sought or produced. A reformed Latin prayer book was under consideration as early as 1538, at least for the Offices, but was never issued;<sup>22</sup> the *Order of the Communion* (an English form of Communion for use in the Latin Mass, published in 1548) was translated into Latin by the reformer Francis Dryander, only a few weeks after the English text was published,<sup>23</sup> but this was sent to Henry Bullinger in Zurich — one of several translations sent abroad for foreign scrutiny. Cranmer himself began drafting a Latin version of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, presumably for scholastic purposes, but this was not finished.<sup>24</sup> A request that the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* be ‘drawn into Latten’ was made by the Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1550, since the English text had been ‘hard to plante in mens myndes’ in the Gaelic-speaking parts of Ireland, where English was barely understood.<sup>25</sup> (A translation was produced there by a Mr Smyth,<sup>26</sup> but this was never authorized or published;<sup>27</sup> it was in fact a version of the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* that the Irish Act of Uniformity later prescribed for use wherever

<sup>20</sup> I am grateful to Diarmaid MacCulloch for making this point in private correspondence.

<sup>21</sup> Jones, ‘Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book’, p. 178.

<sup>22</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (Yale University Press, 1996), p. 223.

<sup>23</sup> *The Order of the Communion* (Rychard Grafton, 1548). The commentator Charles Wriothesley, writing in 1548, noted that ‘in Maye Poules quire with diuers other parishes in London song all the service in English, both mattens, masse, and even-songe’, suggesting that they had adopted the English *Order of the Communion*. See Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1569*, ed. by William Douglas Hamilton, 2 vols (Camden Society, 1875), II, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Cranmer’s Liturgical Projects*, ed. by J. Wickham Legg (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915), pp. 169–96.

<sup>25</sup> *Original Letters and Papers in Illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland During the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth*, ed. by Evelyn Philip Shirley (Francis & John Rivington, 1851), pp. 47–48.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48 (‘Mr Smyth to translate ye Syvice into latin, xx<sup>li</sup> reward’).

<sup>27</sup> Henry A. Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 95–96.



Figure 1. The title page to the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560. From an original in The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (call number 438000:431); image provided by *Early English Book Online* (ref. 2248508542), used by permission.

congregations understood only Gaelic,<sup>28</sup> and which included certain rites which were excluded from the scholastic version — something discussed further below). A Latin translation of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* was also made, in England, by Sir John Cheke, but this was another translation for the eyes of continental reformers abroad: the Latin prayer book of 1560 (a modified version of which was later authorised for use in Ireland), does not appear to have been published with any international appeal in

<sup>28</sup> *The Statutes at Large, Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland*, ed. by William Ball and James Goddard Butler, 21 vols (George Grierson, 1786–1801), I, p. 290. I mention the Irish version of the Latin *Liber precum publicarum* below.

**E**LIZABETH, Dei gratia Anglie, Francie & Hibernie Regina, fidei defensor, &c. Omnibus ad quos presentes literę pervenerint, saluten. Cum memores officij nostri erga Deum omnipotentem, (cuius providentia principes regnant) legibus quibusdam saluberrimis, consensu trium Regni nostri statum, sancitis, anno regni nostri primo, Regium nostrum assensu libenter præbuerimus: inter quas una lex lata est, ut Preces publicę, una, & eadem certa, & præscripta precandi forma, lingua vulgari, & vernacula, passim in ecclesia Anglicana haberentur, quo subditi nostri quid orarent, facilius intelligerent: & absurdum illum, diuq; in Ecclesia inueteratum errorem, tandem denitarent. Fieri enim non potest, ut preces, supplicationes, aut gratiarum actiones non intellectę, mentis ardorem aliquando excitent & accendant, cum spiritu & veritate, Deus qui spiritus est, non oris tantum strepitu, adorari uult. Cui rei etiam adli potest, quod hæc ecclesię oratione, sua perstitiose preces, aut res alienę, non satis idoneę que Deo profana derentur, cordium humanorum scrutatori, se penincro ore prophano offerbantur. Notum nobis esse uolumus, quod quoniam intelligimus Collegia utriusq; Academię, Cantabrigiensi & Oxoniensi: Collegium item No um prope Wintoniam, & Etonense, bonis literis dicata, supplicibus notis petere, ut quo sacrarum literarum monumenta latina, ad uberio rem Theologię fructum eis reddantur, magis familiaria, eis liceat eadem forma precum Latine uti. Omnibus Republicę nostrę membris, quantum in nobis est, consulere, & eorum necessitati, qui latina non intelligit, tum eorum uoluntati qui utraq; linguam percipiunt, consulere cupientes, constituimus per presentes, licitum esse & permissum nostra autoritate & priuilegio regali, tam Decano & Sodalitio Ecclesię Christi in Academia nostra Oxonię, quam Præsidiibus, custodibus, rectoribus, magistris & sodalitatibus, omnium & singulorum Collegiorum Cantabrigię, Oxonię, Wintonię, & Etonię, hoc modo precandi Latine, uti publice in Ecclesijs & Sacellis suis, quem nos per nostrum Typographum edicauimus in hoc præsentis uolumine, conuenientem cum Anglicano nostro Publicarum precum librorum per uniuersum nostram Regni recepto & usitato. Cui item peculiaria quedam in Christianorum sinebribus

sinebribus & exequijs decantanda adiungi præcepimus, Statuto illo prædicto de ritu publicarum precum (cuius supra mentionem fecimus) anno primo regni nostri promulgato, in contrarium, non obstant.

Prout semper, quod in eiusmodi Collegijs, quibus Laicorū parochię annexę erunt, ac in reliquis etiam, ad quorum templa laici, eorundem Collegiorum famuli & ministri, siue alij quicumque sine Latine lingue imperiti, necessario adire debent, his horę aliquot opportune, & loca in dictis ecclesijs aut sacellis, assignentur, in quibus, Festis saltem diebus, preces Matutine & Vesperine legantur & recitentur: & Sacramentorum administrationes suis temporibus Anglię, ad Laicorum edificationem celebrari possint. Eadem etiam formula Latina precandi priuatum uti, hortamur omnes reliquos Ecclesię nostre Anglię ministros, cuiuscunque gradus fuerint, his diebus, quibus aut non solent, aut non tenentur parochians suis, ad eadem sacram pro more accedentibus, publice preces uero nacula lingua, secundum formam dicti Statuti, recitare. In præmissorum autem fidem & testimonium, hæc literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Dat. apud Palacium nostrum de Westmonasterio, sexto die Aprilis. Anno regni nostri secundo.

Figure 2. The Letters Patent to the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560. From an original in The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (call number 438000:431); image provided by *Early English Book Online* (ref. 2248508542), used by permission.

mind.<sup>29</sup> Thus in terms of an officially sanctioned and published translation from English to Latin, issued for actual use in England rather than for foreign scrutiny, the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560 was the first of its type (see Figure 1).

## Background

### *The Letters Patent*

Our main source for information on the background to the *Liber precum publicarum* are the Letters Patent that introduce the publication and authorize its use, printed at the front of the volume (see Figure 2).<sup>30</sup> Dated 6 April in the second year of the reign of

<sup>29</sup> Francis Procter, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer with a Rationale of its Offices* (Cambridge University Press, 1855), p. 62. Cranmer's *Defence of the True and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament*, first published in 1550, was likewise translated into Latin by Cheke, also for foreign scrutiny, although the later Latin edition of 1553 does not name the translator.

<sup>30</sup> A transcription of the Letters Patent appears in Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer*, pp. 301–02; an English translation may be found in the [Appendix](#).

Elizabeth I (i.e. 1560),<sup>31</sup> they tell us that the prayer book was produced in response to a petition from the schools of Eton and Winchester and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. (The only university college named specifically is Christ Church, Oxford, which may suggest that the petition emanated from that college.)<sup>32</sup> The initiating petition does not survive,<sup>33</sup> but the Letters Patent make clear that a Latin prayer book had been sought by the scholastic institutions named in it ‘so that the Latin monuments of Holy Scripture may be rendered the more familiar to them, to the more fruitful profit of Theology’.<sup>34</sup> Latin remained the language of scholarship despite England’s various doctrinal oscillations; a Latin prayer book would have enabled Latin to remain as the language of worship in scholastic institutions, as it had been under the Marian restoration (1553–58), and as it was prior to the publication of the first *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 — save for the few previous experiments with English-texted liturgies.<sup>35</sup> The Letters Patent make clear that the Latin prayer book was primarily for *public* worship at the institutions for which it was produced, for use only when the whole congregation could understand Latin: otherwise services were to be in English.<sup>36</sup> But it was also published for the *private* use of priests who might wish to read the Offices in Latin when they were not publicly officiating.<sup>37</sup>

### *Date and publisher*

Apart from what they tell us about the volume’s intended purpose, the Letters Patent to the *Liber precum publicarum* are themselves an object of curiosity because they differ from other similar documents. Ordinarily, Letters Patent were petitioned from the Crown. The petition was considered first by the secretary of state (who from 1558 onwards was William Cecil, later Lord Burghley),<sup>38</sup> and then by the monarch. If the

<sup>31</sup> ‘sexto die Aprilis, Anno regni nostri Secundo’.

<sup>32</sup> Jones, ‘Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book of 1560’, p. 179.

<sup>33</sup> No trace of them has yet been found in the series of ‘Signet and other warrants for the Privy Seal’ for Elizabeth’s reign; see London, National Archives, PSO 2/11.

<sup>34</sup> ‘ut quo sacrarum literarum monumenta Latina, ad uberiores Theologiae fructum eis reddantur magis familiaria’.

<sup>35</sup> In 1548 the *Order of Communion* — an English-texted supplement to the Latin Mass — was issued, although this included only sections of the service which ‘demanded popular understanding of the meaning of words’; see Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. xxv. A few churches acquired other volumes in English prior to 1549: St Botolph’s, Aldgate, for instance, purchased six books of psalms in English on 17 July 1548, so that they might ‘haue the seruyce of the church there vpon them songe to the ende that the people shulde vnderstande to prayse god the better’; see Anne Katherine Heminger, ‘Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540–1560’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 2019), p. 37.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Festis saltem diebus, preces matutinae & vespertinae legantur & recitentur: Et Sacramentorum administrationes suis temporibus Anglice, ad Laicorum aedificationem celebrari possint’.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Eadem etiam formula Latina precandi privatim uti, hortamur omnes reliquos Ecclesiae nostrae Anglicanae Ministros, cujuscunq; gradus fuerint, iis diebus, quibus aut non solent, aut non tenentur Parochianis suis ad aedem sacram pro more accedentibus, publice preces vernacula lingua, secundum formam dicti Statuti recitare’.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Blayney, ‘William Cecil and the stationers’, in *The Stationers’ Company and the Book Trade, 1550–1990*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oak Knoll Press, 1997), pp. 11–31 (p. 15).

petition was approved of, a warrant would be produced and forwarded to the Privy Seal Office, the Lord Chancellor's office, or to the Chancery; this would be authorized by the Solicitor General, and a patent would then be drafted. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper would pass the Letters Patent under the Great Seal, and the patent would be engrossed into the Patent Rolls for posterity (the main state repository in which all grants of Patents were entered following their production, authorization and sealing). The sealed Letters were then issued to the patentee.<sup>39</sup> With these Letters Patent there is no mention of any seal; nor is their existence recorded in the Patent Rolls.<sup>40</sup> Instead, the *Liber precum publicarum* appears to have been authorized by the queen as Supreme Head of the Church, and published under the terms of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, which gave the queen the authority to 'ordain and publish such further Ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His church and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments'.<sup>41</sup> Not only do the Letters Patent for the volume seem to have evaded the layers of state scrutiny that were usual for such documents, but the publication itself would not have required the usual parliamentary and synodical authorization in order to be published.

Other than the regnal date of their Letters Patent, the *Liber precum publicarum* bears no date of publication. A colophon at the end of the volume gives the words 'Excusum Londini apud Reginaldum Volfium, Regiae Maiest. in Latinis typographum Cum privilegio Regie Maiestatis', which confirms that the book was printed in London by Reyner Wolfe, a Dutch-born protestant émigré who had been active as a bookseller in London since 1530 and as a printer since 1542.<sup>42</sup> Wolfe printed the volume under his privilege for printing books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which had been awarded to him by Edward VI in April 1547.<sup>43</sup> (His patent was apparently obtained with the help of Thomas Cranmer, whose books Wolfe published.)<sup>44</sup> But the matter of the date of the publication itself, and of the sequencing of events behind it, cannot be narrowed down any further by recourse to the records of the Stationers Company because official state-sponsored publications, such as prayer books, did not need to be entered in the Stationers' Register;<sup>45</sup> nor did they require approval by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as was the case for all other volumes issued from 1559 onwards.<sup>46</sup> The print run for the volume cannot be determined: prayer books were exempted from the official

<sup>39</sup> On the procedure resulting in the issue of Letters Patent see H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1926), pp. 90–96, and W. J. Jones, *The Elizabethan Court of Chancery* (Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 119–35.

<sup>40</sup> No issue of a Patent relating to the *Liber precum publicarum* is to be found in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Elizabeth I*, ed. by J.H. Collingridge, 5 vols (H. M. Stationery Office, 1939–66).

<sup>41</sup> See Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 458–67 (p. 466).

<sup>42</sup> The words 'Cum pri(vi)legio Regie Maiestatis' ('With [Her] Royal Majesty's Privilege') also appear on the title page, but this does not give any information about the printer.

<sup>43</sup> Peter Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, 2013), II, p. 607.

<sup>44</sup> MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 487.

<sup>45</sup> Alexandra Hill, *Lost Books and Printing in London, 1557–1640: An Analysis of the Stationers' Company Register* (Brill, 2018), p. 11.

<sup>46</sup> Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 28.



print run limit of 1250–1500 copies in 1587,<sup>47</sup> although this cap could be raised on petition to 2500 or 3000 copies;<sup>48</sup> presumably the print run for the Latin prayer book of 1560 was less than *c.* 1250–1500 copies.

Determining the chronology of the *Liber precum publicarum* is not assisted by any official state paperwork. The initiating petition for the Latin prayer book does not survive, as already mentioned; nor do legislative events of 1558 and 1559 offer much help in the matter. The Elizabethan Act of Uniformity of 1558, passed in 1559, repealed the doctrinal laws made under Mary, and declared that the Edwardian prayer book of 1552 was to be reissued ‘with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute’ in order to produce the Elizabethan prayer book of 1559.<sup>49</sup> (This 1559 prayer book was to be ‘attained and gotten’ by all churches by 24 June that year; its use was obligatory.)<sup>50</sup> The Elizabethan Uniformity bill was passed by parliament on 28 April 1559, but it received Royal Assent only on 8 May 1559; only after this rubber-stamping did it officially become the Act of Uniformity, and so the petition for a Latin prayer book presumably post-dates the passing of Elizabeth’s Act of Uniformity into law.<sup>51</sup>

A *terminus ante quem* for the initiating petition is provided by a letter dated 12 August 1559 from Sir John Mason to William Cecil, Secretary of State. It records that ‘The book of common servyce in latten is now in p(er)fection. I wolde godde yow wolde so putt yow<sup>r</sup> autorite to the sett(in)g of itt to the printer, all scholars sholde be bownde to yow therfor’ (see Figure 3). Sir John Mason had served as statesman to both Edward VI and Mary I, and was reappointed as Chancellor of Oxford University on 20 June 1559, a post he held until he resigned in 1564 (he had already served a stint in the same capacity from 1552 to 1556, under Mary).<sup>52</sup> He had also been presented by the crown to the deanery of Winchester in 1549, despite being a layman. Mason therefore had a double interest in the *Liber precum publicarum*, since it was produced for use in two jurisdictions over which he had, or once had, oversight: the University of Oxford and Winchester College. William Cecil, later Lord Burleigh, was chief adviser to Elizabeth for much of her reign, but from February 1559 was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Both Mason and Cecil were therefore connected to the institutions for which the Latin prayer book was produced — a prayer book which was evidently drafted by 12 August 1559.

### *The translator*

The translation of the *Liber precum publicarum* has traditionally been attributed to Walter Haddon (1515–71), an advocate of Protestant reform and civil lawyer

<sup>47</sup> Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. x.

<sup>48</sup> Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press), p. 177.

<sup>49</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, p. 459.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 464.

<sup>51</sup> It is possible that news of the Uniformity bill’s progress through parliament reached Oxford and Cambridge in advance of its passing (Elizabeth’s first parliamentary session started on 25 January that year), but the precise chronology of the bill’s presentation and debate is uncertain.

<sup>52</sup> *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed by. Andrew Clark, 5 vols (Clarendon Press, 1885–89), II, p. 240.

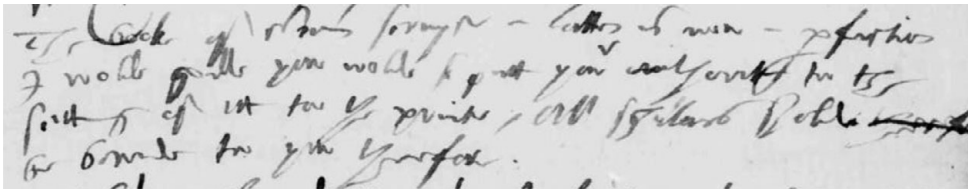


Figure 3. John Mason, letter to William Cecil, 12 August 1559, London, National Archives, SP 12, vol. 6, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>. Image reproduced by permission of The National Archives.

considered to be ‘one of the great and eminent lights of the reformation’.<sup>53</sup> Originally this attribution was made with a degree of caution: by the ‘pen and diligence of Walter Haddon (as some suppose)’;<sup>54</sup> later commentators claimed that he was ‘probably editor or one of the editors’,<sup>55</sup> or that the prayer book was ‘chiefly the work of Walter Haddon’,<sup>56</sup> although his supposed association with the volume later acquired the status of fact.<sup>57</sup> Haddon was certainly well placed to have produced the translation: he served both of the universities in a number of capacities, where the use of Latin was common;<sup>58</sup> he was a published Latinist with a ‘reputation second to none in the sphere of Latin composition’;<sup>59</sup> there was even said to be ‘no better Latine man within England’.<sup>60</sup> Haddon also had proximity to the crown via his appointment to a number of commissions from 1558 onwards,<sup>61</sup> was granted an annuity of £50 by Elizabeth in 1558 ‘for good counsel and attendance’,<sup>62</sup> and had been involved with Cranmer’s proposed revision of canon law in 1551–52 — the text of which was to be ‘drawn by that learned man Mr Doctor Haddon, and penned by that excellent learned man Mr Cheke’.<sup>63</sup> Yet Haddon is not mentioned anywhere in the *Liber precum publicarum*

<sup>53</sup> John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, 3 vols (Clarendon Press, 1821), II, p. 146.

<sup>54</sup> Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata: or The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (Printed for H. Twyford, T. Dring, J. Place, W. Palmer..., 1661), p. 131.

<sup>55</sup> Procter, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 64.

<sup>56</sup> John E. Booty, *The Book of Common Prayer, 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book* (Virginia University Press, 1976), p. 344.

<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, J. Robert Wright, ‘Early Translations’, in *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, ed. by Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 56–60 (p. 57); *Richard Mocket: Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. by M.A. Screech (Brill, 1995), p. lxiv.

<sup>58</sup> Haddon served as Vice-Chancellor, Public Orator, Regius Professor of Civil Law, and Master of Trinity Hall, all at the University of Cambridge; he was president of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1552. See Gerald Bray, ‘Haddon, Walter’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/11851.

<sup>59</sup> See Charles J. Lees, *The Poetry of Walter Haddon* (Brill, 2015).

<sup>60</sup> Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (Richard Grafton, 1553), p. 68.

<sup>61</sup> In 1558 Haddon was made one of the masters of the court of requests, and a master of the prerogative court of Canterbury; in 1559 he was appointed one of the commissioners for the visitation of the University of Cambridge, was put on the commission for administering oaths to ecclesiastics, and became one of the ecclesiastical commissioners. See Bray, ‘Haddon, Walter’.

<sup>62</sup> Norman L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (Royal Historical Society, 1982), p. 72.

<sup>63</sup> *Tudor Church Reform: The Henrician Canons of 1535 and the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, ed. by Gerald Bray (Boydell & Brewer, 2000), p. lxxix.

itself, nor in any of the (admittedly scarce) archival documentation that pertains to its preparation and production.

### **The *Liber precum publicarum* and its Text**

At first glance, the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560 appears to resemble closely the English-texted prayer books of 1549, 1552, and 1559, save for the change in language. Although it begins with the Letters Patent rather than the usual Act of Uniformity (which was printed towards the front of all three of the English-texted prayer books), what follows is more familiar. First there is a Preface ('Praefatio'), which is followed by a foreword, 'Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained ...' ('De Ceremoniis, cur aliae Quid abrogatae, aliae vero retentae ac receptae sunt ...'). Then comes the 'Index and Calendar' ('Index & Calendarium'): this lists which Psalms are to be read on which days, provides a sequence of scriptural readings to be used throughout the church's year, and which identifies major festivals and saints' days. This is followed by the actual liturgies: the orders for Matins ('Matutinae Preces'), Evensong ('Ordo Vesperarum'),<sup>64</sup> the Litany ('Sequitur Letania & Supplicationes'), the Collects and Epistles ('Collectae, Epistolae') arranged in liturgical order, and then the weekly Communion service ('Ordo administrandi Coenam Domini, sive Sacram Communionem').<sup>65</sup> This is supplemented by occasional Offices for the sick, the dead, for burial, and for Ash Wednesday, etc. Also included is a service for the commemoration of benefactors, followed by a form of Requiem Eucharist; excluded are some services such as Baptism, Confirmation, and Marriage. Otherwise, the Latin prayer book of 1560 appears to be closely modelled on an English-texted *Book of Common Prayer* — at least insofar as its key constituents are concerned.

### ***The copy-text***

The Letters Patent for the *Liber precum publicarum* claim that it is 'agreeing with Our English book of public prayers now received and used throughout the whole of our kingdom'.<sup>66</sup> This must refer to the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*. The Elizabethan Act of Uniformity of 1558, which was passed by the House of Commons on 20 April 1559, rendered all previous prayer books 'void and of none effect'; it also directed the use of an amended version of the short-lived Edwardian prayer book of 1552, which was to be reissued 'with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute'

<sup>64</sup> This simply means 'evening service' in Latin, and is not supposed to refer to the pre-reformation Office of Vespers.

<sup>65</sup> The 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* called the Communion rite 'The supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse', a title which 'came under increasing suspicion as unscriptural and redolent of Catholic doctrine' — causing it to be excised from all prayer books published from 1552 onwards. See Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 696 (The 1551 translation of the 1549 book, mentioned below, calls it 'Coena Domini, uulgo Dicta Missa').

<sup>66</sup> 'convenientem cum Anglicano nostro publicarum precum libro, jam per universum nostrum Regnum recepto & usitato'.

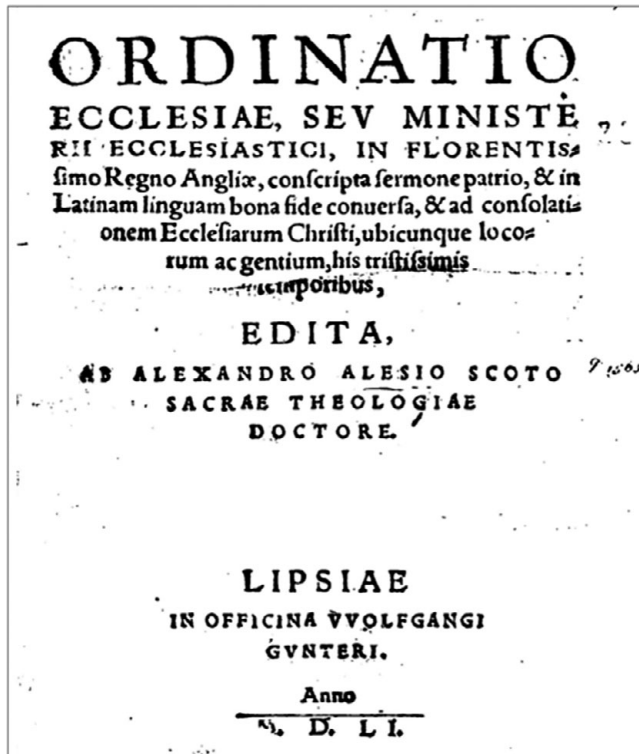


Figure 4. The title page to Alexander Alesius, *Ordinatio ecclesiae seu, Ministerii ecclesiastici in florentissimo regno Angliae* (Wolfgang Gunter, 1551), from an original in the British Library, London (General Reference Collection 221.e.5), © British Library Board; image provided by *Early English Books Online* (ref. 2240872525), used by permission.

in order to form the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*,<sup>67</sup> as already mentioned. This 1559 prayer book was in general use from 24 June 1559 onwards — well in advance of April 1560, the date of the Letters Patent to the Latin prayer book of 1560.

The *Liber precum publicarum* was not a translation of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, however, but a revision, presumably by Walter Haddon, of a Latin translation of the 1549 prayer book: *Ordinatio ecclesiae seu, Ministerii ecclesiastici in florentissimo regno Angliae* (see Figure 4).<sup>68</sup> It was produced by Alexander Alesius (1500–65), a Scotsman-turned-Lutheran who had fled England to escape the effect of the Six Articles of 1539;<sup>69</sup> the volume was published in 1551, in Leipzig, where Alesius held a chair in theology.<sup>70</sup> The *Prooemium* to Alesius's book tells us that he

<sup>67</sup> See Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 458–67.

<sup>68</sup> Alexander Alesius, *Ordinatio ecclesiae seu, Ministerii ecclesiastici in florentissimo regno Angliae* (Wolfgang Gunter, 1551).

<sup>69</sup> MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 84.

<sup>70</sup> Gotthelf Wiedermann, 'Alesius, Alexander', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/320.

was translating the 1549 prayer book in order to ‘make it known as widely as possible’, since it represented a ‘shining example of British diligence and virtue in the ordering of Christ’s church’.<sup>71</sup> Translating the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* into Latin would have made its text intelligible to continental readers, since English was barely read or spoken beyond England’s shores in the sixteenth century. Alesius’s 1551 translation is just one of several translations of English prayer books and other liturgical texts that were made for the scrutiny of continental reformers abroad.<sup>72</sup>

Haddon’s apparent reliance on the 1549 prayer book should have produced a conservative Latin prayer book, since the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* was in many respects a conservative volume. It retained all sections of the Mass Ordinary, in the same formula and sequence as they had appeared in the Sarum Rite: the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus with Benedictus, and the Agnus Dei. Cranmer had translated these sections of the 1549 prayer book directly from the Sarum *Missale*;<sup>73</sup> consequently they closely resembled the Roman liturgy on which they were based, save for the change in language. Thanks to the work of Roger Bowers, we also know that the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* included numerous rubrics to indicate singing by a choir, both optional and obligatory: ‘shalbe song or sayd’, ‘In the communion tyme the Clearkes shall sing’, etc. (see [Figure 5](#)), which allowed for music to take the place of spoken words in various liturgies, including the Communion service. This meant that the Mass Ordinary could continue to be sung by a choir, as it had been in the Roman liturgy;<sup>74</sup> the only difference was that it had to be sung in English rather than Latin. It was for this prayer book and its singing rubrics that John Merbecke produced his *Book of Common Praier Noted*, containing monophonic plainsong-like settings of 1549 prayer book texts.<sup>75</sup>

The more intensely protestant 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* made a number of changes to the 1549 prayer book’s text.<sup>76</sup> The more significant alterations for our

<sup>71</sup> Gotthelf Wiedermann, ‘The First Latin Book of Common Prayer: English Reformation in a Continental Perspective’, *Reformation & Renaissance Review* (2002), 190–216 (p. 205), doi:10.1558/rrr.v4i2.190.

<sup>72</sup> Alesius had already translated Cranmer’s *Order of Communion* of 1548 (mentioned above) into Latin, which was published as *Ordo distributioni sacramenti altari sub utraque specie, et formula confessionis faciendae in regno Angliae* ([Wolfgang Gunter], 1548); he also translated the 1547 *Book of Homilies*, though this work is not thought to have been published. It has been suggested that Alesius’s 1551 translation of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* was commissioned by Cranmer expressly for the reformer Martin Bucer; yet although both Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer were commissioned to comment on the 1549 text, Bucer’s response, *Censura*, was delivered in January 1551 — the same date that Alesius’s 1551 translation was published, making this possibility unlikely. (Bucer probably saw the translation of the same text by Cheke.) See Richard Paul Blakeney, *The Book of Common Prayer, in its History and Interpretation* (J. Miller, 1866), p. 182, and Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 721.

<sup>73</sup> Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 700.

<sup>74</sup> Bowers, ‘The Chapel Royal’, p. 341.

<sup>75</sup> John Merbecke, *Book of Common Praier Noted* (Richard Grafton, 1550).

<sup>76</sup> These various alterations are succinctly summarized by Cummings: the 1552 text saw the addition of ‘confession and absolution to Morning and Evening Prayer, turning these services into a collective act of penitential Protestant devotion; a radical transformation of Communion, with the Canon

Then shall he saye a Psalm appointed for the Introite: to which  
 Psalm ended, the Priest shall saye, or els the Clerkes shall saye.

- iiij. Lorde haue mercy vpon vs.  
 iij. Christ haue mercy vpon vs.  
 iiij. Lorde haue mercy vpon vs.

Then the Prieste standing at Goddes boorde shall begin.  
 Glory be to God on high.

**The Clerkes.**

And in yearth peace, good will to wardes men.

We praye thee, we blesse thee, we worship thee, we glorifie thee, we geue thanks to thee for thy greate glory, O Lorde God heavenly kyng, God the father almightie.

O Lorde the only begotten sonne Iesu Christe, O Lorde God, Lambe of God, sonne of the father, that takest away the synnes of the worlde, haue mercie vpon vs: thou that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde, receyue our prayer.

Thou that sittest at the righte hande of God the father, haue mercie vpon vs: For thou onely art holy, thou onely art the Lorde. Thou onely (O Christe) with the holye Ghoste, arte mooste highe in the glory of God the father. Amen.

**Holy, holy, holy, Lorde God of hostes: heauen and earth are full of thy glory: Danna in the higheste. Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lorde: Glory to thee, O lorde, in the highest.**

**This the Clerkes shall also saye.**

I beleue in one God.

**The Clerkes shall saye the rest.**

The father almightie maker of heauen and yearth, and of all thinges visibill, and inuisibill: And in one Lorde Iesu Christe, the onely begotten sonne of god, begotten of his father before all worldes. God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, beeyng of one substance with the father, by whom all thinges were made, who for vs men, and for our saluacion, came downe from heauen, and was incarnate by the holy Ghoste, of the Virgyn Mary, and was made manne, and was crucified also for vs vnder Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried, and the thirde daye he arose again accordyng to the scriptures and ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hande of the father: And he shall come again with glory, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

And I beleue in the holy ghost, the Lorde and gener of life, who proceedeth fro the father and the sonne, who with the father and the sonne together, is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophetes. And I beleue one Catholike and Apostolike Churche. I acknowlege one Baptisme, for the remission of sinnes. And I loke for the resurrection of the deade: and the life of the worlde to come. Amen.

**In the Communion tyme the Clerkes shall saye.**

ii. O Lambe of God that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde: haue mercie vpon vs.

O Lambe of God that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde: graunt vs thy peace.

Figure 5. The various sections of the Mass Ordinary as printed in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, with rubrics, shown in red, to indicate optional singing of the Kyrie, but obligatory singing of the Gloria (following the intonation by the priest), as well as for the Sanctus and Benedictus, and for the Agnus Dei. Images from an original in Cambridge University Library; image provided by *Early English Book Online* (ref. 2240953826), used by permission.

purposes were to the Mass Ordinary — not only to its texts, but to their positions in the Communion rite. The words of the Kyrie were incorporated into responses to the commandments ('Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law');<sup>77</sup> the words 'Osanna in the highest' were omitted from the Sanctus;<sup>78</sup> the Benedictus was entirely cut from the Communion service (although it did feature in the Litany);<sup>79</sup> also excised, completely, was the Agnus Dei.<sup>80</sup> The Gloria, which had traditionally followed the Kyrie, early in the service, was relegated to a post-Communion position;<sup>81</sup> a repetition of the words 'Thou that takest awaye the Sinnes of the worlde, have mercy upon us' was also introduced into the Gloria, perhaps to compensate for the removal of the Agnus Dei from the 1552 text.<sup>82</sup> The 1559 prayer book included most of these alterations, although the words 'Osanna in the highest' were restored to the Sanctus. As well as the various changes to the Ordinary texts themselves, the 1552 prayer book also removed all but one of the rubrics relating to choral performance in the Communion service (only the Gloria bears an instruction that it may be sung), and most others elsewhere. The 1559 prayer book, which was essentially a reissue of the 1552 volume with a few alterations, maintained this position.<sup>83</sup>

Alesius's 1551 translation may have been based on the more conservative 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, but his translation was not exact. Rather than produce a literal translation of Cranmer's 1549 text, he excluded some texts, offering only their first lines;<sup>84</sup> some

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removed, reference to the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist severely reduced, and stone altars replaced by a wooden "Lord's table"; the excision of anointing and other bodily actions in Baptism and the Visitation of the Sick; and a drastic reduction in the Burial of the Dead. Vestments and ceremonies were reduced or effaced throughout.' Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 721.

<sup>77</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch has suggested that this may have been influenced by the worship followed by a French refugee congregation set up by the Duke of Somerset in Glastonbury, although the practice there was metrical. See MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, pp. 505–06.

<sup>78</sup> According to Cummings, 'Osanna in the highest' was an English rendering of 'Hosanna in excelsis', which was itself based on the Hebrew word 'Hoshana', meaning help or save; these words may have been omitted because they conveyed some sort of 'special reverence'. Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 701.

<sup>79</sup> This was perhaps due to the tradition of turning to the altar and making the sign of the cross at this point in the liturgy; see Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 701.

<sup>80</sup> The Agnus Dei was removed from the 1552 Communion rite so as to 'avoid any suggestion of transubstantiation'; see J. Robert Wright, 'The First Prayer Book of 1549' <<http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/wright/1549.pdf>> [accessed 18 June 2024]; this is a revised version of a paper originally published in *But One Use: An Exhibition Commemorating the 450th Anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer* (The Library, 1999).

<sup>81</sup> The Gloria was apparently moved from its original position near the start of the service to the end, in order to 'give greater prominence to the Kyrie'; see Francis Procter and William Howard Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, with a Rationale of Its Offices* (Macmillan, 1910), p. 464.

<sup>82</sup> Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 733.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 124–25, 196, 234, and 286. Cummings has also pointed out that the 1559 book was a 'close relation' to the one of 1552, but 'with small yet significant changes, e.g. to the words of distribution of the Eucharist and to the Litany'; *Ibid.*, p. 722. Other changes relate to liturgical dress and the eucharist; see Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation on the map', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), pp. 75–95 (p. 88), doi:10.1017/S0080440105000319.

<sup>84</sup> For most texts, Alesius provided only their first lines, even though full texts were provided in his 1549 exemplar. He also instructed that they be 'sung in the English tongue' ('canitur Anglica lingua'), when his text is otherwise rendered in Latin — presumably because his 1549 exemplar, which might,

concluding formulae in collects and prayers were either omitted or abbreviated, and a number of rubrics were truncated.<sup>85</sup> Some sections were also paraphrased, while others were interpreted rather than translated.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, in producing his version of the 1549 prayer book, Alesius was said to have drawn upon literary sources that were ‘both more Roman and more evangelical than the English liturgy’:<sup>87</sup> for instance, at times he ‘adopted the more elaborate text of the Sarum missal’ over Cranmer’s reduced English text, or ‘slipped into the language of the Latin rite or preferred it deliberately’; in other sections he took a more staunchly protestant position, omitting the various prayers and rubrics relating to chrism in Baptism, Visitation of the Sick, and Communion of the Sick.<sup>88</sup>

Because Alesius’s translation was based, albeit with its deviations, on the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, it consequently included some material which had been included in the 1549 prayer book, but which was excluded from the later editions of 1552 and 1559. For instance, it included provision for an epistler and gospeller, vested in copes at the Communion, and also reservation of the sacrament for the sick — elements of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* that had been abolished in the subsequent texts of 1552 and 1559.<sup>89</sup>

None of these deviations should have had particularly negative consequences for musicians. Alesius included the Kyrie, Gloria and Creed in the usual sequence, although he did not provide their full texts (only their incipits); but he did so for the Sanctus with Benedictus, and the Agnus Dei, all of which appear in the traditional order. A number of singing rubrics from his 1549 exemplar were likewise retained. The Kyrie is prefixed with the words ‘Sacerdos dicet, aut Clerici canent’ (‘The priest will say, or the Clerks will sing’); the ensuing Gloria incipit is prefixed with the words ‘Sacerdos stans ad medium altaris canet’ (‘The priest stands before the altar and sings’), with the word ‘chorus’ appearing after the intonation. The word ‘Chorus’ also appears before the Sanctus with Benedictus, while the Agnus Dei is prefixed with the rubric ‘Tempore communionis cantet Chorus’ (‘At the time of communion the choir sings’). In Alesius’s translation, only the Credo appears to have lacked any instruction as to the possibility that it might be sung.

### *The Mass Ordinary*

Haddon’s apparent adoption of Alesius’s 1551 translation of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* as his copy-text for the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* was, in turn, not exact.

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for example, give a Latin title (or first line) of a Psalm, then directing that it should be sung in English: ‘Then shalbe sayed or song without any Inuitatorye this Psalme, *Venite exultemus*, &c. in Englishe, as followeth’, for instance.

<sup>85</sup> Wiedermann, ‘The First Latin Book of Common Prayer’, pp. 196–99.

<sup>86</sup> Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer*, p. xxx.

<sup>87</sup> Wiedermann, ‘The First Latin Book of Common Prayer’, p. 190.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 200 and 203.

<sup>89</sup> Bryan Spinks, ‘Liturgy and Worship’, in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, ed. by Anthony Milton, 5 vols (Oxford University Press, 2017–8), I, pp. 148–67 (p. 158); Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer*, pp. xxx–xxxii. Rubrical continuities and deviations between the prayer books are charted in Procter and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 119–24.



**C**redo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem cœli & terræ, uisibiliū omnium & inuisibiliū. Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum filium Dei unigenitū, & ex Patre natum ante omnia sæcula. Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine: Deum uerum de Deo uero, genitum non factum, consubstantialē Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines & propter nostrā salutem, descendit de cœlis. Et incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto, ex Maria uirgine & homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus & sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas, & ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum uenturus est cum gloria, iudicare uiuos & mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum & uiuificantem, qui ex Patre Filioq; procedit. Qui cum Patre & Filio simul adoratur & conglorificatur, qui loquutus est per Prophetas. Et unam, Sanctam, Catholicam, & Apostolicā Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma, in remissionem peccatorum. Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum, & uitam uenturi sæculi. Amen.

**I** Deo cum angelis & archangelis, cū thronis & dominationibus, cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus, hymnum gloria tuę canimus, sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus Deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli & terra gloria tua. Ofanna in excelsis, Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini. Ofanna in excelsis.

**G**loria in excelsis Deo, Et in terra pax, hominib; bonæ uoluntatis. Laudamus te, Bñ, dicim; te, Adoram; te, glorificamus te, Gratias agimus tibi, propter magnam gloriam tuā. Dñe Deus rex cœlestis, De; pater omnipotens. Domine fili unigenite, Iesu Christe. Domine Deus agnus dei, filius Patris, Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Iesu Christe. Cum sancto spiritu, in gloria Dei patris, Amen.

Figure 6. Mass Ordinary texts in the Communion service of the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum*, with the words ‘Deinde dicatur au canatur’ (shown in red) appearing before the Gloria only. Images from an original in The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (call number 438000:431); image provided by *Early English Book Online* (ref. 2248508542), used by permission.

Some sections of the Mass Ordinary — although they are present elsewhere in the book, in different services — do not appear together in the Communion rite. The words of the Kyrie appear at several points (in Matins, in the Litany — where it is responsorial, and in the Offices for the Visitation of the Sick, the Dead, for Burial, and for Ash Wednesday), but they are *not* part of the actual Communion service. The Gloria does feature in that service, but it comes towards the end rather than the start — as it had done in the prayer books of 1552 and 1559. The Credo also appears in the Communion service, as does the Sanctus with Benedictus, in the usual sequence, but the Agnus Dei does not (it appears only in the Litany). Thus, although all of the Ordinary texts are present in the *Liber precum publicarum*, they do not all appear together in the Communion rite; nor are they in the same sequence as they had been in the Latin Mass, and as they were in the first English prayer book. Consequently, in terms of the Mass Ordinary, the *Liber precum publicarum* had more in common with the prayer books of 1552 and 1559 rather than the 1549 text on which it had apparently been indirectly modelled.

Moreover, whereas Alesius's 1551 translation of the 1549 prayer book retained most rubrics to indicate singing by a choir, the Latin prayer book of 1560 whittled them down substantially. In the Communion service, only the Gloria bears a rubric of 'Deinde dicatur aut canatur' (Then shall be said or sung') to indicate that it might be sung (see Figure 6); those for the Credo and the Sanctus with Benedictus were excised. Thus, in terms of singing rubrics also, the *Liber precum publicarum* book had more in common with the prayer books of 1552 and 1559, in which choral provision was severely sapped, rather than the 1549 prayer book text on which its translation had been (indirectly) based.

Because the *Liber precum publicarum* was an authorized Latin translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, it has often been assumed that the scholastic institution for which it was produced could continue to use Latin-texted Communion settings. Hugh Benham has suggested that, with the publication of the Latin prayer book in 1560, the 'Holy Communion service was now available in Latin, and performances of pre-Reformation Latin settings were possible in theory at least'.<sup>90</sup> This would not have been possible within the Communion service of the *Liber precum publicarum*, however, since the traditional sequence of the Mass Ordinary sections, available to composers from the earliest cyclic mass settings until the publication of the first *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, were displaced. Only the Gloria, Credo and the Sanctus with Benedictus were included in that Communion rite, with the Gloria towards the end rather than the start of the service; the Kyrie and Agnus Dei were excluded.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, whereas the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, according to its rubrics, permitted English-texted music to take the place of spoken word at several junctures in the Communion service, similar instructions in the Communion rite of the *Liber precum publicarum* are limited to a single occasion (the Gloria). Thus music could not, it would appear, feature in the liturgy to the same extent as it had done in the first Edwardian prayer book. The sections of the Mass Ordinary and their rubrics for choral performance, as they are presented in the various editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, are shown in Table 1.

### *The Calendar*

Another important difference between the *Liber precum publicarum* and the 1559 prayer book on which it was purportedly based was its Calendar — the section of the book which designates major festivals and saints' days, and which sets out the appointed scriptural readings and Psalms. The Sarum calendar, used before the Reformation, was complex: it catered for the commemoration of a large number of saints. Feasts were classified as either double or simple, and then further subdivided as

<sup>90</sup> Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (Ashgate, 2003), p. 263 This view is shared by others; see below.

<sup>91</sup> The Kyrie was not usually set polyphonically by English composers active prior to 1549, owing to the insertion of a trope text — at least not in Masses of festal proportions.

TABLE 1.  
 MASS ORDINARY SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE AND THEIR  
 SINGING RUBRICS, AS PRESENTED IN THE VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE  
*BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*

Prayer book	Comment	Rubric for choral performance
<i>1549 Book of Common Prayer</i>		
Kyrie		'The Priest shall saye, or els the Clearkes shal syng'
Gloria		'The Clearkes' [after intonation]
Creed		'The Clearkes shall syng the rest' [after intonation]
Sanctus		('This the Clearkes shall also syng')
Benedictus	follows straight on from the Sanctus	'This the Clearkes shall also syng'
Agnus Dei		'In the Communion tyme the Clearkes shall syng'
<i>1551 translation (Alesius)</i>		
Kyrie		'Sacerdos dicet, aut Clerici canent'
Gloria		'Sacerdos stans ad medium altaris canet'; 'Chorus'
Creed		
Sanctus		'Chorus'
Benedictus	follows straight on from the Sanctus	('Chorus')
Agnus Dei		'Tempore comunionis cantet Chorus'
<i>1552 Book of Common Prayer</i>		
Kyrie	responsorial: 'and incline our hearts to keep this law' etc.	
Creed		
Sanctus	omits 'Osanna in the highest'	
Gloria		
<i>1559 Book of Common Prayer</i>		
Kyrie	responsorial: 'and incline our hearts to keep this law' etc.	
Creed		
Sanctus	omits 'Osanna in the highest'	
Gloria		
<i>1560 Liber precum publicarum</i>		

*(continued)*

Table 1 (cont.)

Prayer book	Comment	Rubric for choral performance
Credo		
Sanctus	incudes ‘Osanna in excelsis’	
Benedictus	follows straight on from the Sanctus; incudes ‘Osanna in excelsis’	
Gloria		‘Deinde dicatur aut canatur’

principal, major, minor and inferior; feasts could also be assigned either three or nine lessons — a system which was not always concordant with that of that Sarum Breviary.<sup>92</sup> (Cranmer complained that it took ‘more business to fynd out what should be read, then to read it when it was founde out.’)<sup>93</sup> The Calendar in the first prayer book of 1549 was an ‘exercise in censorship of the saints’:<sup>94</sup> the *Temporale*, the seasonal calendar, survived largely unscathed; but the *Sanctorale*, the calendar for feast days of saints, was substantially reduced.<sup>95</sup> Restricted to the apostles, evangelists, and other New Testament figures, these were whittled down to only twenty-five — a position largely maintained in the prayer books of 1552 and 1559.<sup>96</sup> Alesius, in his 1551 translation, largely followed the suit of his 1549 exemplar (his miscellanea are, according to Peter Blayney, translated with ‘no additions or subtractions’).<sup>97</sup>

The Calendar of the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum*, however, designated more than 300 days as saints’ days, leaving only some 40 days vacant — it is the fullest calendar ever to be published in a Church of England prayer book (for the month of February see Figure 7).<sup>98</sup> According to Clay, it ‘brought back very many names of saints, which had for some years been authoritatively banished’.<sup>99</sup> It cannot, therefore, have been a mere mechanical translation of Alesius’s 1551 re-working of the 1549 prayer book text, since it had more in common with the obsolete calendar of the Sarum use than the reformed liturgies of the *Book of Common Prayer*. This ought to

<sup>92</sup> Shawn Strout, ‘Thomas Cranmer’s Reform of the *Sanctorale* Calendar’, *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 87.3 (2018), pp. 307–24 (p. 310).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>94</sup> Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. xxvii.

<sup>95</sup> Leonel L. Mitchell, ‘Sanctifying Time: The Calendar’, in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 476–83 (p. 477).

<sup>96</sup> Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, pp. xxvii, 690, and 752–54. The Calendar of the 1549 prayer book was only lightly revised in the 1552 version: the introit Psalm during the Communion was removed (as a result it was not listed in the propers for Sundays), and the feast of Mary Magdalene in July was excised, but four feasts were reintroduced. In the 1559 prayer book, 58 saints’ days were restored as ‘black-letter days’, printed in black type (major festivals appeared in red). See Shawn Strout, ‘Thomas Cranmer’s Reform of the *Sanctorale* Calendar’, p. 320, and Mitchell, ‘Sanctifying Time: The Calendar’, p. 478.

<sup>97</sup> Peter Blayney, *The Printing and the Printers of The Book of Common Prayer* (Cambridge University Press, 2022), p. 182.

<sup>98</sup> Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, p. 114.

<sup>99</sup> William Keatinge Clay, *An Historical Sketch of the Prayer Book* (J. W. Parker, 1849), p. 36.

Februarius habet xxviii dies.							
		Matutina.			Vesper.		
		ps.	Leſt. 1.	2	Leſt. 1.	2	
1	d	Brigide virginis.	2	Exo. 10	Maici. 1	Exo. 11	1. Co. 13.
2	e	Purificatio Marie.	3	12	2	13	14
3	f	Blasii episc. & marty.	4	14	3	15	15
4	g	Gilberti confessoris.	5	16	4	17	16
5	A	Agathe vir. & mar.	6	18	5	19	2. Co. 1.
6	b	Vedasti & Amandi.	7	20	6	21	2
7	c	Augusti episcopi.	8	22	7	23	3
8	d	Pauli episcopi.	9	24	8	32	4
9	e	Appoloniae uirginis.	10	33	9	34	5
10	f	Scholastica vir.	11	35	10	40	6
11	g	Sol in piscibus.	12	Leui. 18	11	Leui. 19	7
12	A	Eulalie uirginis.	13	20	12	Nu. 10.	8
13	b	Vlfranni episcopi.	14	Num. 11	13	12	9
14	c	Valentini episcopi.	15	13	14	14	10
15	d	Fauftini.	16	15	15	16	11
16	e	Iuliane uirginis.	17	17	16	18	12
17	f	Policronij episcopi.	18	19	Lu. di. 1	20	13
18	g	Simeonis episc.	19	21	di. 1.	22	Galat. 1.
19	A	Sabini & Iuliani.	20	23	2	24	2
20	b	Mildredæ uirgin.	21	25	3	26	3
21	c	Sexaginta noue mar	22	27	4	28	4
22	d	Cathedra Petri apo.	23	29	5	30	5
23	e	Policarpi episcopi.	24	31	6	32	6
24	f	Matthæ apostol.	25	33	7	34	Eph. 1.
25	g		26	55	8	36	2
26	A	Alexandri episcopi.	27	Deut. 1	9	Deu. 2.	3
27	b	Augustini episcopi.	28	3	10	4	4
28	c	Oswaldi episc. & conf.	29	5	11	6	5

Figure 7. The Calendar for the month of February, as printed in the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560. From an original in The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (call number 438000:431); image provided by *Early English Book Online* (ref. 2248508542), used by permission.

have put it firmly at odds with the doctrinal ambitions of protestant reformers, who condemned the veneration of saints and their relics.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the short introduction to the Calendar states that reference to Psalms in the volume is in terms of the vulgate numbering,<sup>101</sup> rather than the Hebrew numbering system that had been adopted in the great English Bible of 1539 and in all subsequent English-texted prayer books. To those users who bothered to read that introduction, this must have further strengthened the connection of the *Liber precum publicarum* to the redundant Sarum liturgies rather than to the reformed English-language services promulgated in

<sup>100</sup> Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 119–20.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Hoc autem considerandum est, quod in hac tabula, & in tota ordinatione, ubi mentio fit de numero psalmodum, sequuti simus supputationem veteris translationis, quia Hæbraei, a nono psalmo usque ad 146, aliter numcrant quam Latini in vulgata aeditione.’

the prayer books of 1549, 1552 and 1559. Why that statement was made, however, is uncertain: reference to the Psalms in the prayer book *is* according to the Hebrew system.

The inclusion of such a substantial calendar in the Latin prayer book connects it with a further publication also issued in 1560: the *Orarium*,<sup>102</sup> a Latin-texted book of hours. Ironically published in tandem with the Metrical Psalter, this volume preserved the old structure of the liturgy, providing the texts of the eight hours, with their original titles (Matins, Lauds, Prime, etc.),<sup>103</sup> although prayers and invocations to Our Lady, such as the Angelus and the Ave Maria, are omitted. It also had a full calendar, though not in exactly the same format as that of the *Liber precum publicarum*. The *Orarium* used the Vulgate numbering,<sup>104</sup> presumably because it was based on the 1551 *King's Primer* — a volume issued under Edward VI,<sup>105</sup> but which was itself modelled on a conservative primer issued in the reign of Henry VIII, when the vulgate system was in force.<sup>106</sup> (A primer is essentially a Book of Hours — the term Primer is usually used for English-texted books.)<sup>107</sup> Perhaps it was the calendar to this publication that was originally envisaged for use in the *Liber precum publicarum*.

The publication of the divergent Calendar in the 1560 *Liber premium publicarum* pre-empted a revision of the Calendar for use in prayer books more generally. In a letter to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners (which names Walter Haddon as one of her Masters of Requests), dated January 1561, Elizabeth I orders some 'new calendars to be imprinted, whereby such chapters or parcels of less edification may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their rooms'.<sup>108</sup> This new 1561 calendar, which was included in impressions of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* from 1562 onwards,<sup>109</sup> was not a new production, but was, as with the *Orarium* of 1560, a reworking of the Calendar from the 1551 *King's Primer*. However, it removed reference to most of the Catholic saints who had appeared in the *Liber precum publicarum*, while retaining some fifty-five saints for black-letter days.<sup>110</sup> The

<sup>102</sup> *Orarium Seu Libellus Precationum Per Regiam Maiestatem* (William Seres, 1560).

<sup>103</sup> Stanley Morison, *An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship* (Cambridge University Press, 1949), p. 109.

<sup>104</sup> See for instance Clay, *Private Prayers*, pp. 133–34.

<sup>105</sup> *The Primer and catechism set furthe by the Kyniges hightnes and his Clergie to be taught, learned and read, of all his louyng subjects* (Richard Grafton, 1551).

<sup>106</sup> *The Primer, in Englishe and Latyn, set fourth by the Kyniges maiestie and his Clergie to be taught, learned and read: and none other to be used thoroughout all his dominions* (Thomas Petyt, 1545).

<sup>107</sup> Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, p. 147. See also Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>108</sup> Queen Elizabeth, letter to Archbishop Parker and others, 22 January 1560/1, in *Correspondence of Matthew Parker D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by John Bruce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), pp. 132–34 (pp.133–34).

<sup>109</sup> Natalie Mears and Philip Williamson, 'The 'Holy Days' of Queen Elizabeth I', *History*, 105 (2020), pp. 201–28 (p. 207), doi: [10.1111/1468-229X.12971](https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.12971); it was also included in a psalter of 1563, in Welsh translations of the *Book of Common Prayer* from 1567 onwards, and in early editions of the new 'Bishops' Bible' first published in 1568. The text of the 1561 calendar is given in Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer*, pp. 435–56.

<sup>110</sup> See Dennis Taylor, *Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Reformation Literary Negotiation of Religious Difference* (Lexington Books, 2022), p. 306.

position was perpetuated when further saints appeared in the calendar of the *Preces Privatae* of 1564 (a book of private prayers),<sup>111</sup> which, like the *Liber premium publicarum*, included various saints' days that had been suppressed at the Reformation, although it did offer an explanation as to why. The book's 'Admonition to the Reader', printed at the rear of the volume, states that its Calendar includes 'notes and evidence of certain things whose times and seasons are greatly helpful to know, ignorance of which can be harmful to people of our own time'.<sup>112</sup> In other words, it was included for antiquarian purposes,<sup>113</sup> for the purposes of edification. Presumably the same rationale was behind the divergent calendar in the Latin prayer book of 1560,<sup>114</sup> even though the renewed prominence of Saints in these new calendars could have easily been viewed as a revival of Catholic traditions, especially by the more radical reformers.<sup>115</sup> (Phebe Jensen has pointed out that the 'larger roster of Sarum saints' in the *Liber precum publicarum* was perhaps 'thought to pose less religious danger to the academic audience for this scholarly version of the official prayer book'.)<sup>116</sup>

### *The Offices*

The main Offices in the *Liber precum publicarum* are those of Matins and Evensong, which appear as 'Matutinae Preces', and 'Ordo Vesperarum' respectively (the 1549 prayer book called them 'Matins' and 'Evensong', but these were changed to 'Mornynge prayer' and 'Euenynge prayer' from 1552 onwards). As with the Mass Ordinary texts, various texts belonging to the Offices were prefixed or suffixed with rubrics to indicate that they could be sung by a choir. In the 1549 prayer book, Matins permitted the singing of the *Venite* ('shalbe sayed or song'),<sup>117</sup> the Lessons (which 'in such places where they doe syng' could be 'songe in a playne tune after the maner of distincte readyng'), and, on certain feast days, the *Quicumque vult* ('shall be song or sayed'),<sup>118</sup>

<sup>111</sup> *Preces Priuatae in Studiosorum Gratiam Collectae, & Regia Autoritate Approbatae* (William Seres, 1564).

<sup>112</sup> 'ut certarum quarundam rerum, quarum stata tempera nosse plurimum refert, quarumque ignoratio nostris hominibus obesse possit, quasi notae quaedam sint atque indieia'; translation taken from Kerry McCarthy, 'Evidence of Things Past', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 135.2 (2010), pp. 405–11 (p. 409), doi:10.1080/02690403.2010.506274. The full text of the *Preces Privatae* appears transcribed in William Keatinge Clay, *Private Prayers, Put Forth by Authority During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge University Press, 1851), pp. 209–428.

<sup>113</sup> McCarthy, 'Evidence of Things Past', p. 409.

<sup>114</sup> See Jones, 'Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book of 1560', pp. 182–23.

<sup>115</sup> Blayney, *The Printing and the Printers of The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 178.

<sup>116</sup> Phebe Jensen, *Astrology, Almanacs, and the Early Modern English Calendar* (Routledge, 2021), p. 48.

<sup>117</sup> Both the 1549 and 1552 prayer books include the texts of the Easter anthems *Christ rising again from the dead* and *Christ is risen again the firstfruits of them that sleep*. The former directs that they be said or sung before Matins on Easter Day; the latter directs that they should be said or sung within the Matins service itself, in lieu of the *Venite*, on Easter Day.

<sup>118</sup> The *Quicumque vult* is a profession of faith often referred to as the Athanasian Creed: it was printed in the 1549 prayer book, to be sung on six permitted feasts — feasts which increased in number in the ensuing prayer books. See J. Neil Alexander, 'The Shape of the Classical Book of Common Prayer', in *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 64–72 (p. 70). (The *Quicumque vult* is printed

TABLE 2.  
 THE OFFICES OF MATINS AND EVENSONG AND THEIR SINGING RUBRICS,  
 AS PRESENTED IN THE VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE *BOOK OF COMMON  
 PRAYER*. THE RESPECTIVE OFFICES IN EACH PRAYER BOOK ARE SEPARATED  
 BY A DOTTED LINE

Prayer book	Comment	Rubric for choral performance
<i>1549 Book of Common Prayer</i>		
Preces & responses I		
Venite	'Psal. XCV.' [Hebrew numbering]	'Then shalbe sayed or song without any Inuitatorye this Psalme, <i>Venite exultemus</i> , &c. in Englishe, as followeth'
Psalm		
Lesson		'And (to the ende the people maye the better heare) in such places where they doe syng, there shall the lessons bee songe in a playne tune after the maner of distincte readyng: and lykewyse the Epistle and Gospell.'
Te Deum (or Benedicite)	The Benedicite takes the place of the Te Deum in Lent	
Lesson		[As for the first lesson]
Benedictus dominus deus Israel		
Creed (or Quicunque vult)	The Quicunque vult was for use on certain feast days	('... shall be song or sayed, immediately after <i>Benedictus</i> , this confession of our Christian fayth')
Preces & responses II		
Preces & responses	Only one versicle and response, followed by the Gloria	
Psalm		
Lesson		
Magnificat		
Lesson		
Nunc dimittis		
Preces & responses II	The reader is referred back to Matins for the text	
<i>1551 translation (Alesius)</i>		
Preces & responses I		
Venite	Incipit only	'Deinde sine Inuitatorio Anglica lingua canatur Psalmus Venite Exultemus [sic.] Domino &c.'
Lesson		'Et ut populus melius intelligat in his locis, in quibus Musica Figuralis cani

(continued)



Table 2 (cont.)

Prayer book	Comment	Rubric for choral performance
Te Deum (or Benedicite)	Incipit only; the Benedicite takes the place of the Te Deum in Lent	solet, Lectiones, Epistolae, & Euangelia simpliciter uno tono in modum perpetuae dictionis distincte legantur' 'Post primam Lectionem cantitur, Te Deum Laudamus, Lingua Anglica per totu annum, praeter quam in Quadragesima, in qua loco eius cantabitur hymnus, Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino'
Benedictus dominus deus Israel	Incipit only	'Post alteram lectionem per totum annum canitur Hymnus Zachariae Benedictus dominus deus Israelis.'
Creed (or Quicunque vult)	Incipit only; the Quicunque vult was for use on certain feast days	('Ad Matutinas immediate post hymnum Benedictus, canitur Symbolum Anthanasii, lingua Anglica, Quicunque vult saluus esse &c.')
Preces & responses II		
Preces & responses	Only one versicle and response, followed by the Gloria	
Psalm		'Postea canuntur Psalmi praemonstrati in Tabula...'
Lesson		
Magnificat	Incipit only	'Deinde canitur Anglica lingua, Magnificat anima mea Dominum.'
Lesson		
Nunc dimittis	Incipit only	'Post hunc hymnum legitur caput aliquod noui Testamenti pro altera lectione, & continuo canitur hymnus, Nunc dimittis seruum tuum Domine, Anglica lingua.'
Preces & responses II	The reader is referred back to Matins for the text	
<i>1552 Book of Common Prayer</i>		
Preces & responses I		
Venite		'Then shalbe sayd or song thys Psalme folowinge.' The Easter anthems <i>Christ rising again from the dead</i> or <i>Christ is risen again the firstfruits of them that sleepy</i> be sung or said in lieu of the Venite on Easter Day.
Psalm		
Lesson		And (to tend the people may the better heare) in such places where they do sing, there shall the Lessons be song in a plain tune, after the manner of distincte reading: and likewise the Epistle and Gospell.'

*(continued)*

Table 2 (cont.)

Prayer book	Comment	Rubric for choral performance
Te Deum laudamus (or Benedicite)		
Lesson		[As for the first lesson]
Benedictus dominus deus Israel (or Jubilate deo)	(Incipit only for Jubilate; 'C. Psalme') 'Psal. XCV.', Hebrew numbering	
Creed (or Quicunque vult)	The Quicunque vult was for use on certain feast days	('... shalbe song, or sayd immediatly after Benedictus this confession of our Christen [sic.] fayth.')
Preces & responses II		
Preces & responses		
Psalm		
Lesson		
Magnificat (or Cantate Domino)	(Incipit only for the Cantate Domino; 'cxviii. Psalm', Hebrew numbering)	
Lesson		
Nunc dimittis (or Deus misereatur)	(Incipit only for the Deus misereatur)	
Creed		
Preces & responses II	The reader is referred back to Matins for the text	
<i>1559 Book of Common Prayer</i>		
Preces & responses I		
Venite		'Then shalbe sayde or song, this Psalme folowyng'
Psalm		
Lesson		'And to thende the people may the better heare, in such places where they do syng, there shall the Lessons be song in a playne tune, after the maner of destinct readyng: and lykewyse the Epystle and gospelle.'
Te Deum (or Benedicite)		
Lesson		[As for the first lesson]
Benedictus (or Jubilate deo)	('C. Psalme.', Hebrew numbering)	
Creed (or Quicunque vult)	The Quicunque vult was for use on certain feast days	('... shalbe song or sayd, immediatly after Benedictus this confession of our Christian faythe.')
Preces & responses II		
Preces & responses I		
Psalm		

*(continued)*

Table 2 (cont.)

Prayer book	Comment	Rubric for choral performance
Lesson		
Magnificat (or Cantate Domino)	(‘Psalm. xcviij’ [Hebrew numbering])	
Lesson		
Nunc dimittis (or Deus miseretur)	(‘Psalm. lxxvii’, Hebrew numbering)	
Creed		
Preces & responses II	The reader is referred back to Matins for the text	
<i>1560 Liber precum publicarum</i>		
Venite	‘Psalm. 95’ lxxvii, Hebrew numbering	‘Tunc canatur Psalmus sequens’
Lesson		‘Et vt facilius intelligatur, in his locis ubi Musica figurails cani solet, Lectiones, Epistolae, & Euangelia simpliciter & naturali tono, in modum perpetuae dictionis distincte legantur’
Te Deum (or Benedicite)		
Lesson		[As for the first lesson]
Benedictus (or Jubilate deo)	Psalm. 100’, Hebrew numbering	‘Deinde sequatur lectio secunda qua finita, canatur Hymnus Zachariae’
Credo		
Preces & responses		
Quicumque vult		‘In festis Natalis Domine, Ephiphania, Mathiae, Paschatis, Ascentionis, Pentecostes, Trinitatis, Ioannis Baptistae, S. Iacobi, S. Batholomaei, S. Matthaei, Simonis & Iudae, & S. Andreae, ad matutinas statim post Benedictus, canetur Symbolum Athanasii’
Preces & responses		
Psalm		‘Postea canuntur Psalmi praemonstrati in Tabula, nisi festum fuerit quod proprios habeat Psalmos ...’
Lesson		
Magnificat (or Cantate Domino)	(Psalm. 93) [recte 98]	‘Deinde canitur’. [It has been suggested that the Magnificat could be replaced by the Dominus regnavit, presumably because the Cantate Domino is labelled as Psalm 93 (See Tallis, <i>Harley</i> , 174), but this appears to be a misprint.]
Lesson		
Nunc dimittis (or Deus miseretur)	(Psalm. 67, Hebrew numbering)	‘... canatur Canticum Simionis’

but not others. Not one singing rubric was provided for Evensong, however — a position maintained in the later prayer books of 1552 and 1559. Alesius's 1551 translation of the 1549 prayer book retained the same singing provisions as in the 1549 text, but he additionally rubricated for the singing of *Te Deum* (or, in Lent, the *Benedicite*), and also the *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* in Matins; he also permitted the singing of the Psalm, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis at Evensong — something not found in the 1549 book, nor in those of 1552 or 1559. The 1560 *Liber precum publicarum*, apparently based on Alesius's translation, offered similar provisions. Thus, while the *Liber precum publicarum* may have offered reduced choral provision for the Mass Ordinary, for the Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, its rubrics were more generous. The singing rubrics for the Offices are set out in [Table 2](#).

### *The Occasional Offices*

Because the *Liber precum publicarum* was based on Alesius's 1551 translation of the 1549 prayer book rather than the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* directly, it provided certain rites which were never part of the 1559 text on which it was purportedly based. Included are prayers for the deceased, and a service of commemoration for college benefactors followed propers for a Requiem Eucharist — even though the abolition of purgatory had rendered requiems, annual obits, and other intercessory rites redundant.<sup>119</sup> (These propers had been included in the 1549 prayer book but were dropped from 1552 onwards.)<sup>120</sup> A service commemorating college benefactors was evidently necessary for a prayer book that was to be principally used in the universities, since they relied heavily on donations — offered in return for intercessory prayers and anniversary masses for donors' souls.<sup>121</sup> The prospect of perpetual commemoration must have played an important role in the greasing of donors' pockets: including a service for benefactors in the 1560 Latin prayer book would have allowed for this largesse to continue. (Many colleges in any case enshrined the making of corporate prayers for the commemoration of benefactors in their respective statutes.)<sup>122</sup> The inclusion of these extra services is signalled in the Letters Patent to the prayer book, which mention how 'We have instructed that there be added certain specific items to be sung at the funerals and memorials of Christians'.<sup>123</sup> (Although they are not found in the English prayer-book of 1552 and 1559, these services cannot have been considered wholly inappropriate to English reformers, since, in 1570 an English form of this service was produced

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after the order for Evensong, but its rubric confirms that it is for use on certain feasts at the end of Matins, since it is to be sung 'immediately after Benedictus'.)

<sup>119</sup> Richard McCoy, *Alterations of State: Sacred Kingship in the English Reformation* (Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 64.

<sup>120</sup> Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, pp. 114–15.

<sup>121</sup> Alan B. Cobban, 'English University Benefactors in the Middle Ages', *History*, 86 (2001), pp. 288–312 (p. 290), doi:10.1111/1468-229X.00191.

<sup>122</sup> Damian Riehl Leader, *The University to 1546*, History of the University of Cambridge, 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 59–61.

<sup>123</sup> 'Cui item peculiariora quaedam in Christianorum funeribus et exequiis decantanda adjungi procepimus'.

for use in Cambridge colleges, which were apparently not wanting to use this Latin version,<sup>124</sup> as well as for the Order of the Garter, to be used at St George's Chapel, Windsor.)<sup>125</sup>

The 1560 book, although it included some material which did not feature in the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* (like its fat Calendar), also left some sections out. The scholastic version of the *Liber precum publicarum* excluded the occasional offices of Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, the Churching of Women, and the Communion (a service of penitence for the beginning of Lent);<sup>126</sup> the other, which included most of the occasional services, at the end of the book, was produced for use in Ireland — where it remained in use until an Irish translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* was issued in 1625.<sup>127</sup> University members were required to be unmarried; consequently they had no need for services relating to nuptials and procreation, whereas the version used in Ireland had to cater for the needs of ordinary parishioners.

### *The Psalter*

As well as omitting some occasional services, the *Liber precum publicarum*, in both its scholastic and Irish forms, omitted the Psalter. Reference is made to psalms in the Calendar and elsewhere throughout the prayer book, but its users were presumably expected to consult their own Latin-texted psalters — perhaps ones that had survived destruction during Edward's reign,<sup>128</sup> or which had been printed in great quantity in the reign of Mary. The suggestion in the Latin prayer book that references to the Psalms was to be by the Vulgate numbering, when in fact it was according to the Hebrew system, as mentioned above, must have been confusing to its potential users.

### Motivations

The *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560, then, is in some ways more conservative than the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* on which it was purportedly based, according to its Letters Patent: this is the case with its Calendar, its Offices for the dead, and its service for the commemoration of benefactors with its propers for a Requiem Eucharist. Other

<sup>124</sup> Statutes issued to Cambridge in which this English service is enshrined, dated 25 September 1570, direct that texts are to be sung in English ('... cantabunt anglice Te Deum: Laudate Dominum in celis: Cantate: Laudate Dominum in Sanctis: ad finem psalmodum Gloria Patri et Filio, et c.'): see *Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 3 vols (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1852), I, pp. 494–95. On the new statutes in general, see Victor Morgan, *A History of the University of Cambridge*: Vol. II, 1546–1750 (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 63–98.

<sup>125</sup> Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. 743.

<sup>126</sup> This copy is STC 16424.

<sup>127</sup> This copy is STC 16424a. It lacked only the Communion; see Francis Procter, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 76.

<sup>128</sup> An Act passed in 1552 required service books pertaining to the Catholic liturgy to be 'utterlye abollished extinguished and forbidden for ever to be used or kepte in this Realme'; they were 'to be openlye brent [burned?] or otherwayes defaced and destroyed'. See *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. by T.E. Tomlins, 12 vols (Great Britain Record Commission, 1819–28), IV.1 1547–1584 (1819), pp. 110–11.

traits align more closely with the prayer book texts of 1552 and 1559: this is the case with its Mass Ordinary, which lacks the Kyrie and Agnus Dei (although the Benedictus is included), and with the apparent excision of most rubrics to indicate singing in that rite — although its evening service provides more rubrics on this front than any preceding English prayer book. Some of the volume's more conservative contents can be explained by its compiler, supposedly Walter Haddon, basing his translation on Alesius's 1551 translation of the first prayer book of 1549, since this volume retained various elements which were removed in later prayer books. Clay reckoned that Haddon had 'thoughtlessly copied Aless',<sup>129</sup> with no ulterior motive; similar views were expressed by A. F. Scott Pearson, who claimed that the 1560 book was 'slavishly based upon the *Ordinatio* of Alesius, so far as the first Edwardian Prayer Book was incorporated in the Elizabethan'.<sup>130</sup> Frere claimed, conversely, that the inclusion of the more traditional elements in the 1560 volume were 'calculated to give foreign catholics an all too favourable view of the English service'.<sup>131</sup>

Others have suggested that the *Liber precum publicarum* represents an attempt by Elizabeth I to secure a more traditional settlement than that which was provided for in the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*. This is an appealing proposition since the queen herself is thought to have preferred the more traditional 1549 prayer book, and had hoped to restore it, although this was deemed too difficult a road to tread politically.<sup>132</sup> (Her own doctrinal stance was apparently closer to the 1549 book than to 'either Henrician national catholicism or the more militant reforms of the second Prayer Book'.)<sup>133</sup> Having a Latin prayer book translated from the more conservative 1549 text could have offered a *media via* — a volume which was less progressive than the 1559 prayer book, and more closely aligned with that of 1549. Haugaard, moreover, views the *Liber precum publicarum*, along with Elizabeth's injunctions of 1559 and the new calendar of 1561, as manoeuvres intended to move 'the liturgical settlement in the queen's conservative direction.'<sup>134</sup> This possibility seems especially viable given that the book was published under the terms of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, and that its Letters Patent avoided the usual layers of state scrutiny that were typically applied to similar documents.<sup>135</sup>

The queen was evidently aware of the risks inherent in publishing a prayer book that was in Latin throughout, and which catered for the memorial of numerous saints which had in previous prayer books been banished. Her 1561 letter regarding the revision of the Calendar, mentioned above, also asked her commissioners to 'prescribe some good orders to the collegiate churches [...] so that our good purpose in the said translation be

<sup>129</sup> Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer*, p. xxxii.

<sup>130</sup> A. F. S. Pearson, 'Alexander Alesius and the English Reformation', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 10 (1949), pp. 57–87 (p. 83).

<sup>131</sup> W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, 1558–1625* (Macmillan, 1907), p. 77.

<sup>132</sup> Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>133</sup> Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, p. 147.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>135</sup> See Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 458–67.

not frustrated, nor be corruptly abused, contrary to the effect of our meaning.’<sup>136</sup> However, towards the end of the same letter, she directs that ‘the alteration of any thing hereby ensuing be quietly done, without shew of any innovation in the church. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.’<sup>137</sup> This arouses further suspicion that the church’s more staunch reformers would not have approved of her interventions, and that the queen was seeking to circumvent the channels of scrutiny that were usual for prayer books and other religious texts.

Norman Jones, however, has questioned whether the differences between the *Liber precum publicarum* and the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* were deliberate alterations or merely mistakes, suggesting that the book ‘grew out of poor editing, not a subtle plot to reintroduce the older forms’.<sup>138</sup> Haddon’s reliance on Alesius’s 1551 translation possibly arose out of lack of time: the pre-existence of a Latin translation of a reformed prayer book would have offered Haddon a readily workable text, which, even with its deviations, may have allowed him to produce the 1560 prayer book more quickly (the 1559 volume was given Royal Assent on 8 May, and was to be used by 24 June, less than seven weeks later; the Latin draft was ready by 12 August, according to Mason’s letter, referred to above, which would have left only three months in which to finalise a text).

The extent to which Haddon may have imposed his own views on the prayer book is an open question. Haddon himself was a reformer, and a friend of the reformer Martin Bucer; it seems unlikely, therefore, that he would, himself, have deliberately imbued the prayer book with texts and rubrics that were overtly more Catholic than the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*. How conscious Haddon was of the divergent music provision between his copy text and the Latin prayer book is also difficult to answer. Some English reformers were certainly resistant to the ‘Romaine manner’ of Latin-texted liturgical music,<sup>139</sup> while others condemned liturgical music generally as an ‘earthly vanity and corruption of the flesh’,<sup>140</sup> or complained that musicians ‘care nothyng at all for the vertue, pithe and strength of the wordes’.<sup>141</sup> The official view, however, was that liturgical music was, under certain circumstances, permissible (Archbishop Parker claimed that the reformers ‘did not expel musick’ from services because it ‘drowned not the principal regard of our prayer’).<sup>142</sup> Haddon’s own views, however, suggest that he was more progressive than conservative. He wrote poetry in praise of music (including *De musica*);<sup>143</sup> but he disliked the Catholic tendency to ‘feede the eares with musicke, and song, whose soules you

<sup>136</sup> Queen Elizabeth, letter to Archbishop Parker and others, 22 January 1560/1.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Jones, ‘Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book of 1560’, pp. 184–85.

<sup>139</sup> John Jewel, *A Replie vnto M. Hardinges Ansvveare* (Henry Wykes, 1565), fol. 190<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Thomas Becon, *The Gouvernaunce of Vertue* (John Day, [1566?]), fol. 110<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, fol. 120<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Matthew Parker, letter to William Cecil, 3 June 1564, in *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, p. 215.

<sup>143</sup> The Oxford music copyist and lawyer Robert Dow included Haddon’s *De musica* at the front of his set of partbooks (Oxford, Christ Church Library, MSS Mus. 984–88); it was also used to introduce Thomas Whythorne, *Songs for Three, Four and Five Voices* (John Day, 1571), which mentions ‘the wurthy gentilman, Doctor Haddon by name, Whose learned Muse, for Musicks sake, these verses

ought to have fed with the word of God';<sup>144</sup> he also seems to have been sceptical of liturgical music — particularly services in which 'Organes and other instruments of Musicke sounde very loude', and in which 'Psalmes and Hymnes are song in pricksong [polyphony]'.<sup>145</sup> Haddon was no puritan: he referred to puritans as 'vulgar men';<sup>146</sup> yet he was evidently content to reduce music provision in the Communion rite, but improve it for Evensong. Therefore, the Latin prayer book of 1560 did not align exactly with the more intensely protestant texts of 1552 and 1559 in terms of its texts, or in terms of its rubrics.

## Acquisition and Use

The various differences between the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560 and the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* on which it was purportedly based raise the question of the extent to which the Latin prayer book was acquired and used by those institutions for which it was produced. Clay reckoned that it was 'adopted in many places',<sup>147</sup> but this is not borne out by the evidence of college book acquisitions, insofar as they are extant. This in turn raises the question of the religious and political climate in Oxford and Cambridge in the 1560s.

## Oxford and Cambridge

At Cambridge, St John's purchased copies of the 1549 and 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*,<sup>148</sup> as required by law, but not the Latin book of 1560;<sup>149</sup> it also bought twenty Geneva Psalters in 1563 (presumably copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's *Whole Book of Psalms*),<sup>150</sup> and the chapel's English Bible had to be rebound in 1562 and replaced in 1566.<sup>151</sup> Leonard Pilkington, Master of St John's from 1561, was an evangelical (he claimed that the use of 'swete Organes for the eare' was popish idolatry); this, taken with the college's acquisitions of Geneva materials suggests that worship there was in English, with simple, unaccompanied hymnody rather than elaborate polyphony in

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thus did frame.' For a full translation of *De Musica* by Leofranc Holford-Strevens, see *The Dow Partbooks*, ed. by John Milsom (DIAMM, 2010), p. 30.

<sup>144</sup> Walter Haddon, *Against Ierome osorius Byschopp of siluane in portingall* (John Day, 1581), fol. 320<sup>r</sup>; cited in Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Ashgate, 2010), p. 68.

<sup>145</sup> Haddon, *Against Ierome osorius*, fol. 320<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> Lees, *The Poetry of Walter Haddon*, p. 52.

<sup>147</sup> Clay, *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer*, p. xxvii.

<sup>148</sup> Cambridge, St John's College archives, D106.18, fols. 87<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>r</sup>, cited in Richard Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', in *St John's College, Cambridge: A History*, ed. by Peter Linehan (Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 5–93 (p. 47).

<sup>149</sup> I thank St John's College archivist Lynsey Darby for confirming this. (St John's owns a copy of the 1560 book, but this was bequeathed to the College in 1740; see Cambridge, St John's College Library, T.9.24.)

<sup>150</sup> This was first published in 1562 as *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into English metre by T. Starnhold I. Hopkins & others*; for details see Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Routledge, 2016).

<sup>151</sup> Rex, 'The Sixteenth Century', p. 61.



Latin.<sup>152</sup> Trinity acquired the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*,<sup>153</sup> and its accounts for 1552–53 even record a payment of 16d. for ‘the Service to be song in the Chappell for Alexander Alesius’s translacion’;<sup>154</sup> but it did not acquire the Latin book of 1560.<sup>155</sup> (Trinity’s master from 1561 to 1567 was Robert Beaumont: it acquired only five ‘song bokes’ in 1562–63, and until 1570 had never more than three lay clerks.)<sup>156</sup> King’s had been ‘obliged to come to terms with the promulgation of the vernacular Book of Common Prayer of June 1559’,<sup>157</sup> even though it was under a more conservative provost, Phillip Baker, who had ‘manifest leanings towards popery’ and who hoarded ‘masse bookes, with other blasphemouse bookes’.<sup>158</sup> Yet King’s cannot be shown to have acquired the Latin prayer book either (its accounts for the year 1559–60 are missing; nor can the book be traced later).<sup>159</sup> Moreover, of the numerous ‘songe bookes’ produced for King’s choir in the 1560s and 1570s (which, following near-extinction in the 1540s, was functioning from Mary’s reign onwards),<sup>160</sup> none of the records pertaining to their acquisition or production mentions language.<sup>161</sup> Similarly,

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>153</sup> The accounts show the purchase of ‘a booke for the comunyon’, as well as ‘7 psalters’ and ‘2 prymeres’; see Trinity College Archives, Senior Bursar’s accounts, 1548/9, fols 57<sup>v</sup> and 70<sup>v</sup>, cited in Ian Payne, ‘The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1546–1644’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 74 (1985), pp. 53–70 (p. 54), doi:10.5284/1073149.

<sup>154</sup> Trinity College Archives, Senior Bursar’s Accounts, 1552/3, fol. 228<sup>v</sup>, cited in Payne, ‘The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge’, p. 54.

<sup>155</sup> Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c.1547–c.1646* (Garland, 1993), p. 44. Elsewhere Payne notes that Alesius’s 1551 translation was a ‘very rare acquisition among English institutions’; see Payne, ‘The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge’, p. 55.

<sup>156</sup> Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, p. 46.

<sup>157</sup> Roger Bowers, ‘Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444–1644’, in *King’s College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. by Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (Harvey Miller, 2014), pp. 257–81 (p. 270).

<sup>158</sup> Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, p. 46.

<sup>159</sup> Nothing likely to be the Latin prayer book of 1560 appears in the accounts for 1560–61, although those for 1558–59 record a payment of 5s. to a Mr Backster for what may be two (1559?) communion books; I thank King’s College archivist Patricia McGuire for this information. Alan Smith claimed that the 1560 book was ‘surely used’ at King’s and Trinity, but this cannot be verified; see Alan Smith, ‘The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches, and at the Court, during the Reign of Elizabeth’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1967), I, p. 188.

<sup>160</sup> Bowers, ‘Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music’, p. 267; Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, p. 11.

<sup>161</sup> Payne reckons that some of these acquisitions might have contained Latin-texted music — perhaps because of Baker’s own conservative stance, and because in 1565 a group of fellows observed that the choir were ‘manifest Papistes’; see Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, pp. 44–46, which also sets out some details of the music books acquired by the college in the 1560s and beyond. Roger Bowers, conversely, suggest that, at King’s, ‘expansive and virtuosic polyphony of the Latin service died with the catholic Queen’; see Bowers, ‘Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music’, p. 270. An observer of a service when the queen visited King’s College in 1564 reports that the Te Deum was ‘solemplye soung in prycksonge’, admittedly in English; but Alan Smith has suggested that the mention of language here may suggest an exception rather than the norm, and that Latin may have been used in the daily services there. See *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring and others, 5 vols (Oxford University Press, 2014), I, p. 402 and Smith, ‘The practice of music in English Cathedrals and churches’, I, p. 185. It has been suggested that the Latin Office Hymn of the day remained in use in the chapels of Oxford and Cambridge for

at Gonville & Caius College, the then Master John Caius was said to have been engaging in ‘popish trumpery’;<sup>162</sup> yet it acquired only the English-texted prayer books, and not the Latin one of 1560.<sup>163</sup> The historian John Strype famously recorded that Archbishop Parker sought to enforce the use of the *Liber precum publicarum* at Corpus Christi College and Gonville Hall (as Caius was known until it was re-founded in 1557), but that it was rejected as the ‘Pope’s dregs’ — presumably because the 1560 translation retained too many features of the 1549 *Book of Common prayer* that had been excised from the later editions.<sup>164</sup> (Strype also records how ‘some of the fellowship of Bene’t College [as Corpus was then known] went contemptuously from the Latin Prayers’ — another sign of rejection.) In evangelical Cambridge, then, the English prayer books were acquired, but the more traditional liturgies of the Latin book were evidently not appreciated. It was Geneva Psalters that were a common acquisition among Cambridge colleges,<sup>165</sup> not Latin-texted prayer books or Latin-texted music.

At Oxford the position was similar. Exeter had been a ‘strongly catholic college’,<sup>166</sup> but nevertheless acquired ‘two books of public prayers bought by the king’s order’ (i.e. the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*); they later acquired the editions of 1552 and 1559, but not the Latin one of 1560.<sup>167</sup> Merton likewise acquired the 1549 book, purchasing two copies on 1 August that year for 10s.; it also purchased six copies of what must be the 1559 prayer book, ‘pro sex libris sacris’, at a cost of 3s. 4d. each, but apparently not the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560.<sup>168</sup> The situation was perhaps similar at University

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some time after the Reformation (as well as in the Chapel Royal), but this cannot be corroborated. See H. Steele, ‘English Organs and Organ Music 1500–1650’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1958), p. 83.

<sup>162</sup> W. H. Frere, *The English Church In The Reigns Of Elizabeth And James I*, p. 138. One of the items involved was probably a 1498 Sarum Missal, which had been presented to the college by Humphrey de la Pole, and which was in use from 1554 to 1558. It was later found in the room of the Master, as a result of a raid, and was burned. See <<https://www.cai.cam.ac.uk/discover/library/online-exhibitions/out-cradle-print/sarum-missal-1498>> [accessed 18 June 2024].

<sup>163</sup> I thank Gonville & Caius College archivist James Cox for this information.

<sup>164</sup> Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, I, p. 535; Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, p. 116.

<sup>165</sup> Ceri Law, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 171–72.

<sup>166</sup> John Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship: The Early History of Exeter College* (Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 242.

<sup>167</sup> Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship*, pp. 236 and 242. No records for the purchase of the 1560 volume survive in the college accounts; I thank Exeter College archivist Victoria Northridge for this information.

<sup>168</sup> John M. Fletcher and Christopher A. Upton, ‘Destruction, Repair and Removal: An Oxford College Chapel during the Reformation’, *Oxoniensia*, 48 (1983), pp. 119–130 (p. 123, ‘novi ordinis publicarum precum’, and p. 127). They presumably acquired the 1552 text also; the college also acquired no fewer than twenty-eight Psalters between 25 March and 1 August 1551, at a cost of 42s. (In December 1560 Merton banned the use of Latin hymns in Hall, directing that English-texted metrical Psalms be used instead; this suggests an unfavourable climate for Latin-texted liturgies.) I thank Norman Jones for sharing with me his (negative) findings on Merton’s accounts.

College, even though it had otherwise been ‘surprisingly resistant to reform’.<sup>169</sup> Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, found New, Corpus Christi, and Trinity colleges ‘full of papists’ in 1561;<sup>170</sup> yet New College certainly acquired the 1549 and 1552 texts,<sup>171</sup> and probably that of 1559, although its accounts for 1560 are missing.<sup>172</sup> The situation was similar at Corpus,<sup>173</sup> and also at Trinity. University College, while it acquired the English prayer books, replaced all but one member of its Fellowship by January 1563:<sup>174</sup> presumably its fellows had been sympathetic to the Marian regime and were unsuited to the heavily protestant climate of the 1560s. Balliol continued ‘Roman practices’ until injunctions to be ‘perpetually observed’ were forced upon it in 1565: these required services to be in English, ‘as it is set forthe in the booke of common prayer’; Latin service books, presumably those used in the reign of Mary, were to be destroyed.<sup>175</sup> Whether they ever acquired the Latin text of 1560 is uncertain, since the College’s accounts survive only from 1568 onwards.<sup>176</sup>

Thus, as with Cambridge, Oxford’s colleges typically purchased the various English-texted editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, as required by law, but not the Latin one of 1560 — not even Christ Church, which was mentioned by name in the Letters Patent (evidence for that college’s acquisitions is admittedly incomplete).<sup>177</sup> With few exceptions, worship in Oxford’s colleges by the 1570s was in English, and without excessive ritual.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>169</sup> The college accounts do not usually describe specific items in detail, although it did acquire ‘duobus spalterijs [sic] xx d.’ on 20 March 1561/2; I thank University College archivist Robin Darwall-Smith for this information.

<sup>170</sup> L. W. B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 191.

<sup>171</sup> *New College, Oxford 1379–1979*, ed. by John Buxton and Penry Williams (Warden and Fellows of New College Oxford, 1979), p. 47; the accounts for 1552–53 cite payments for ‘duabus libris ad communes preces 8s.’ and ‘quatuor libris alio tempore ad communes preces 16s. 8d.’, which must be the 1552 prayer book.

<sup>172</sup> The college accounts for the year 1559–60 (NCA 7533) list the purchase of sixty communion books; the next year for which accounts survive is 1563–64 (NCA 7538), which lists the purchase of ‘novis libris precium 16d.’ I thank Michael Stansfield, New College archivist, for this information.

<sup>173</sup> The Corpus accounts for 1547–48 record a payment of 2d. ‘pro Communione Anglice’ — perhaps the 1548 *Order of Communion*. Those for 1548–49 record 5s. paid ‘for the boke of Communion’; those for 1551–52 show the purchase of a ‘communion boke 4s. 4d.’, and ‘nother commen boke of prayers’ at the same price. The accounts for 1552–53 record the purchase ‘for a boke of Commen Prayers 4s. 4d.’, and those of 1558–59 ‘For a communion booke 5s. [6d.?’]. Those for 1559–60 show ‘In primis for two communion books 6s. 8d.’ — presumably, given the date of these accounts, further copies of the 1559 text. The accounts for 1560–61, however, although they record money spent on ‘two psalters ijs. vjd.’, bear no references to the purchase of prayer books. I thank Julian Reid for this information. For information on Corpus’s other reformation purchases see Richard Rex, ‘Corpus Christi College and the Early Reformation’, in *Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450–1600*, ed. by Mordechai Feingold and John Watts (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 217–39 (pp. 230–31).

<sup>174</sup> Robin Darwall-Smith, *A History of University College, Oxford* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 103.

<sup>175</sup> Frances de Paravicini, *Early History of Balliol College, Oxford* (K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1891), pp. 291–93.

<sup>176</sup> I thank Balliol College archivist Bethany Hamblen for this information.

<sup>177</sup> A Mr Gore supplied two new service books to Christ Church in 1549; see Judith Curthoys, *The Cardinal’s College: Christ Church, Chapter and Verse* (Profile Books, 2012), pp. 49 and 56. The Christ Church disbursement books for the years 1548–77 are missing. I thank Christ Church archivist Judith Curthoys for this information.

<sup>178</sup> Darwall-Smith, *A History of University College, Oxford*, p. 115. Trinity’s fellowship accepted the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1566, but were found to have retained ‘certain monuments tending to

TABLE 3.  
PAYMENTS FOR PRAYER BOOKS MADE BY MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
1559–71<sup>182</sup>

Year	ledger	aggregate price	individual price
1559	pro tribus libris precum publicarum seu communionis	13s. 6d.	4s. 6d.
1560	11 Aprilis Mro Garbrand pro tribus libris precum publicarum	10s.	3s. 4d.
	26 Maii pro duobus allis precum publicarum Londini emptis	5s. 8d.	2s. 10d.
1562	21 Martii Mro Seres <sup>183</sup> pro duobus libris precum publicarum	6s. 8d.	3s. 4d.
1567	Mro Garbrand pro libro precum publicarum	8s.	4s. <sup>2</sup> <sup>184</sup>
1571	pro libro precum publicarum	4s.	4s.

The only exception may be Magdalen College. Although it would become a centre of Puritanism in the 1560s and 1570s, it acquired several prayer books between 1559 and 1571. Bloxam suggested that two books purchased on 26 May 1560 were ‘probably’ copies of the *Liber precum publicarum*,<sup>179</sup> presumably because their acquisition closely follows its publication (the Letters Patent are dated 6 April 1560), and because they were acquired from London, where its publisher Reyner Wolfe was based (other prayer books, such as the three acquired on 11 April 1560 were acquired from ‘Mro Garbrand’ — probably Garbrand Herks, a Dutchman who was a well-known protestant bookseller in Oxford).<sup>180</sup> It has also been suggested that the College’s potential acquisition of the Latin prayer book was due to Walter Haddon, the Latin prayer book’s apparent compiler, having served as Provost there in the 1550s.<sup>181</sup> These purchases are shown in Table 3.

The difficulty with this line of enquiry is that Magdalen’s records for the years in question are in Latin,<sup>185</sup> which makes it impossible to distinguish between the

idolatry and popish or devil’s service, as crosses, censers, and such like filthy stuff’; a religious census held by the Vice-Chancellor in 1577 reports that Catholics were to be found only in Balliol, Exeter, Queen’s, and All Souls. See Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History*, p. 191.

<sup>179</sup> John Rouse Bloxam, *A Register of the Presidents, Fellows, Demies, Instructors in Grammar and in Music, Chaplains, Clerks, Choristers, and other Members of Saint Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford*, 2 vols (W. Graham, 1857), II, pp. lxvi–lxvii.

<sup>180</sup> Garbrand Herks (fl. 1539–90) is mentioned in an article on his son, John; see Stephen Wright, ‘Garbrand, John’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/10342.

<sup>181</sup> Alexander Shinn, ‘Religious, Liturgical and Musical Change in Two Humanist Foundations in Cambridge and Oxford, c.1534 to c.1650: St John’s College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford a Study of Internal and External Outlook, Influence and Outcomes’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Fribourg, 2017), I, pp. 180 and 318.

<sup>182</sup> Purchase information taken from Bloxam, *A Register of the Presidents, Fellows*, pp. 275–76; Roman numerals have been converted to Arabic for clarity; individual volume prices are my own calculations based on the aggregate price paid.

<sup>183</sup> William Seres (d. 1578/80) was a publisher, bookseller and protestant sympathiser based in London. He published the *Orarium* of 1560 and the *Preces Privatae* of 1564; he was also the publisher of Haddon’s Latin verse. See Elizabeth Evenden, ‘Seres, William’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/25094.

<sup>184</sup> Presumably this payment of 8s. ‘pro libro precum publicarum’ was for two volumes, priced at 4s. each.

<sup>185</sup> Transcribed in Bloxam, *A Register of the Presidents*, pp. 275–78.

English and Latin prayer books on the basis of description alone. The payment of 13s. 6d. ‘pro tribus libris precum publicarum seu communionis’ in 1559, for instance, must pertain to the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, since the Latin prayer book had not yet been published; further purchases in 1560, 1562 and 1567, which use similar terminology, could be the 1559 or the 1560 prayer books, since all of them are described as ‘libris precum publicarum’ or similar. The matter is not much assisted by pricing information: although a price-cap was in place for the English-texted prayer books (from 1552 onwards the cap was 2s. 6d. unbound, and 3s. 4d. or 4s. bound, depending on the material),<sup>186</sup> some of Magdalen’s acquisitions appear to breach it.<sup>187</sup> The books they purchased on 26 May from London are more likely to be Latin prayer books of 1560 in terms of price (they were apparently only 2s. 10d. each, which may reflect the fact that the book omitted the Psalter and the Occasional Offices), although, as will be seen below, unequivocal evidence for the purchase of the Latin prayer book suggests that its price was closer to 1s. 8d.

### *Eton and Winchester*

Despite survivals such as the Eton Choirbook attesting to a demonstrably rich choral past, involving complex Latin-texted polyphony performed by a large choir, Eton College, like the chapels of Oxford and Cambridge, acquired the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*,<sup>188</sup> after which more sober musical fare was doubtless offered.<sup>189</sup> Although its accounts are incomplete, Eton seems not to have acquired or used the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560; Magnus Williamson has pointed out that the college choir’s diet after 1558 ‘consisted of metrical psalms, not florid Magnificats.’<sup>190</sup>

Winchester like Eton, had a choir, but of more modest proportions: the school’s statutes made provision for sixteen ‘quiristers’ (choristers) and three lay clerks, but no organist (there was an organ in place by 1520, however, and an organist played

<sup>186</sup> The most recent work on the English prayer books suggests that prices for the 1549 volume were originally capped at 2s. unbound or 3s. 4d. bound; these prices were later revised upwards to 2s. 2d. unbound, and 3s. 8d. bound, and then again to 3s. 8d. for ‘bounde in past or in bordes’, and to 4s. for ‘bounde in paste or in boordes couered with calues leather’. The price of the 1552 prayer book was originally capped at 2s. 6d. unbound, 3s. 4d. for copies bound in parchment or forel, and 4s. for copies ‘bound in leather, in paper boordes or claspes’ — prices which applied to all subsequent editions, and which were not revised. See Blayney, *The Printing and the Printers of The Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 17–41.

<sup>187</sup> The parish of Ashburton, Devon, acquired the 1549 text for 3s. 4d., the 1552 book for 4s. 4d., and then the 1559 book for 5s.; see Robert Whiting, *Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 89. Merton College, Oxford, mentioned above, acquired two copies of the 1549 book on 1 August 1549 that year for 10s (5s. each).

<sup>188</sup> Magnus Williamson, ‘The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1997; revised 2009), pp. 423 and 484.

<sup>189</sup> In 1552–53, Richard Blunden, one of the clerks of the choir, was paid 5s. for [English-texted?] ‘songes’; no payments to choristers are recorded for the years 1552–53 and 1553–54, however, suggesting that choral provision may have been suspended. See Williamson, ‘The Eton Choirbook’, pp. 417 and 421.

<sup>190</sup> Williamson, ‘The Eton Choirbook’, p. 438.



for instance. These acquisitions are shown in Figure 8. According to Winchester's accounts, the cost of a single *Liber precum publicarum* was 1s. 6d. — lower than the 2s. 10d. Magdalen had ostensibly paid for the same volume (see Table 3).<sup>196</sup>

The same records also show that Winchester then acquired a 'libro communion anglic(ur)' for 2s. 6d. in the year 1561–62. This was probably due to the appointment of the evangelical Robert Horne (d. 1579) as Bishop of Winchester in 1560, who had oversight of the school as its episcopal visitor. Following a visitation in 1561 he directed that the chapel's altar be replaced by a communion table in the middle of the Choir; at a second visitation in 1571, he ordered that the rood-screen be removed and that the organ be silenced;<sup>197</sup> Horne also ordered that the organist's stipend be put to other purposes,<sup>198</sup> ended the use of Latin graces before and after meals, apparently because the clerks, choristers, and others did not understand Latin, and ordered that the prayers said by choristers in the chapel be English rather than Latin. Presumably Horne essentially forced the College to revert to the English-texted prayer book of 1559, causing them to abandon the Latin-texted version of 1560.

### *Individual ownership*

Although it was published for priests who might wish to privately read the offices in Latin, as well as for public collegiate use, remarkably few copies of the *Liber precum publicarum* have so far been traced to the private ownership of individuals. Archbishop Parker owned a copy,<sup>199</sup> but only three further copies are clearly listed in probate inventories.<sup>200</sup> (The *Book of Common Prayer* is equally scarce among probate inventories, perhaps because copies were often bound together with bibles, or because probate appraisers would often aggregate volumes of small format.)<sup>201</sup> The volume cannot have been entirely unsuccessful with individual buyers, however.

<sup>196</sup> The difference in price could come down to binding or gilding specifications: the more elaborate the bindings or finishing, the higher the price of the book. (I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for making this point.)

<sup>197</sup> The college organ had been in place since 1520, although it had to be repaired in 1567 following damage by the quiristers and lay clerks, suggesting that it was restored to use; see Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, p. 57.

<sup>198</sup> Horne directed 'that the organs be no more used in service time', and that the organist's stipend be 'turned to some other godly and necessary purpose in the college'; see *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, III, pp. 330–31 and Rannie, *The Story of Music at Winchester College*, p. 8.

<sup>199</sup> R.I. Page, 'Audits and Replacements in the Parker Library: 1590–1650', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1991), pp. 17–39 (p. 21).

<sup>200</sup> Copies were probably owned by Richard Stonley (d. 1600) Teller of the Exchequer, London; John Marshall (d. 1608) curate, Warwickshire; and Jean Loiseau de Tourval (d. 1631), a cleric and translator. See *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* <<https://plre.folger.edu/>> [accessed 18 June 2024]. None appears to be listed in E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>201</sup> Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 25–26. Only a handful of *Book of Common Prayer* copies appear in Cambridge inventories produced between 1559 and 1592; see Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, II, pp. 500 and 640.

Further editions of the Latin prayer book were issued in 1572, 1574, 1594, and beyond: these were not merely re-workings of the 1560 edition, based as it was on Alesius's 1551 translation into Latin of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, but were properly based on the 1559 prayer book — the volume which was sanctioned as the official English-texted prayer book from 1559 onwards. Therefore, they propagated the alterations to the Mass Ordinary that had been made in the 1552 and 1559 prayer books (the words of the Kyrie were incorporated into responses to the commandments; the Benedictus and Agnus Dei was entirely excised; the Gloria was also relegated to a post-Communion position). These later editions also included most of the occasional offices, and, unlike the 1560 edition, the Psalter.<sup>202</sup> They were also issued as octavo or duodecimo publications, rather than quarto: they were presumably produced for private use by individuals rather than for use by priests officiating in an institutional context.<sup>203</sup>

The Latin prayer book of 1560, then, was apparently shunned by the institutions for which it was produced. This is perhaps unsurprising, for to the more staunch protestant reformers even the English-texted prayer books were not radical enough (the London clergymen John Field and Thomas Wilcox called it an 'an unperfect book, culled and picked out of that popishe dunghil, the Portuise and Masse').<sup>204</sup> To certain clergy, any reformed prayer book, whether in Latin or English, would not have been welcome. As for the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560, Foxe admitted that it contained elements 'which appear not to square exactly with the need of ecclesiastical reformation, and which probably ought rather to be changed.'<sup>205</sup> This cannot merely come down to the prayer book's language: even England's reformer-in-chief Thomas Cranmer did not object to the liturgical use of Latin. According to Diarmaid MacCulloch, he 'had absolutely no objection to Latin as such; it was the international language of his era, and in the right circumstances it might be just as much a vehicle for godly Protestant worship as it had been an ally of popery'.<sup>206</sup> As mentioned above, Cranmer had himself begun working on a

<sup>202</sup> These later editions are STC 16426 (1572, Psalter dated 1571; 16°), STC 16427 (1574; octavo; reissued in 1594, see STC 16428; reissued again in 1604, see SCT 16429). Details of these editions are taken from David N. Griffiths, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer: 1549–1999* (British Library, 2002), p. 522. An octavo edition that presented the Latin text in tandem with Greek was issued in 1569, but this does not include a communion service; see STC 16425. Perhaps ironically, it was produced by the Protestant theologian William Whitaker (1548–95), later Master of St John's College, Cambridge, and was dedicated to his uncle, Alexander Nowell (1517–1602), Dean of St Paul's.

<sup>203</sup> Folio-sized volumes, of larger format, were produced for priests who were publicly officiating (a larger volume could be read more easily at a distance), although smaller volumes were produced as early as 1549. According to Cummings, quarto editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* were produced alongside folios in 1549, whereas the first octavo edition was produced in 1553, and the first in sextodecimo in 1570. They show 'the passage of the *Book of Common Prayer* from liturgy to private devotion'; see Cummings, *Books of Common Prayer*, p. liv.

<sup>204</sup> John Field, *An Admonition to the Parliament* ([J. Stroud?], 1572), unpaginated.

<sup>205</sup> See *Tudor Church Reform*, pp. 167–69 (p. 165).

<sup>206</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (Penguin, 2016), p. 139.



reformed Latin prayer book as early as 1538, at least for the Offices, but this was never issued.

The most likely explanation for its very low rate of acquisition is the religious climate in Oxford and Cambridge from *c.* 1560 onwards. ‘Committed protestants’ in Oxford in the first years of Elizabeth’s reign were few;<sup>207</sup> John Strype, writing in 1569, even commented on the ‘Prevalency of Popery in Oxford’ — singling out Corpus Christi, and New colleges for special mention,<sup>208</sup> but that situation would change. Laurence Humphrey (1527?–1590), Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford from 1560 and President of Magdalen College from 1561, ‘quickly turned Magdalen into a puritan seminary’; he was also instrumental in the appointment of the evangelical theologian and Marian exile Thomas Sampson (*c.* 1517–1589) as Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1561.<sup>209</sup> For them, the 1560 prayer book — with its bonanza of Saints and liturgies for the dead — was not in keeping with the ideals of Protestantism imported from Germany and Geneva. Haugaard suggested that some of the volume’s more traditional texts and rubrics would have been ‘especially objectionable’ to reformers.<sup>210</sup> This must have been especially true of the volume’s provision for a Requiem liturgy: Elizabeth’s own bishops had in 1563 denounced ‘sacrifices of Masses [...] for the quick and the dead’ as ‘blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits’ (which is perhaps why the vernacular funeral service never made it into any subsequent editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*).<sup>211</sup> The Latin prayer book was, ultimately, not catholic enough for the traditionalists, and not protestant enough for the more devoted reformers. Indeed, the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* was mandatory, but the acquisition of the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* was optional: consequently it was not acquired. It was the later editions, modelled on the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, issued in smaller formats, for private use, that appear to have been more popular.

### **The *Liber precum publicarum* and Latin-Texted Polyphony**

With its apparently poor uptake, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that there are few works, if any, which set texts of the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum*, or which can be said with certainty to have been composed for use in its liturgies. This is not the case with other, English-texted volumes. With the first prayer book of 1549, we have hard evidence to show that composers set its texts to music, in both polyphonic and monophonic fashion.<sup>212</sup> (Since this prayer book retained all sections of the Mass

<sup>207</sup> Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History*, p. 193.

<sup>208</sup> John Strype, *The History of the Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindall* (Clarendon Press, 1821), p. 196.

<sup>209</sup> Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History*, pp. 193–94.

<sup>210</sup> Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, p. 116.

<sup>211</sup> Article 31 in Edgar Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, 2 vols (Methuen, 1896–97), II, pp. 687–94.

<sup>212</sup> The Wanley partbooks (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. e. 420–22), for instance, contain a number of works that set 1549 prayer book texts. Some of these may predate the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* by perhaps a year, however, since similar texts were in circulation before the prayer book was published; see *The Wanley Manuscripts*, ed. by James Wrightson, Recent Researches in the

Ordinary, in the same sequence and formula they had been in the Latin Mass, save for the change in language, composers must have felt on relatively safe ground when this first *Book of Common Prayer* was issued.) While the same cannot be said for the short-lived prayer book of 1552, which was in use for only a few months before it was banned by Mary I,<sup>213</sup> both liturgical and extra-liturgical music (with English words) appeared following the publication of the 1559 prayer book,<sup>214</sup> even though some composers preferred the 1549 text to that of 1559, perhaps assuming that this book would be restored.<sup>215</sup>

With the *Liber precum publicarum* we are not so fortunate: virtually no works survive to show that it was used as a textual source. Tallis' (now incomplete) setting of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, in Latin, was once thought to post-date 1559 because its only contemporary manuscript source, the Baldwin partbooks, places them together in a collocated position, suggesting they belonged to the reformed service of Evensong rather than to the separate pre-1549 services of Vespers and Compline.<sup>216</sup> Since the works in question are in Latin, Paul Doe and Joseph Kerman reckoned they were composed for use in *Liber precum publicarum* services, at the Chapel Royal.<sup>217</sup> They have now been dated to the 1540s on the basis of their musical style, however;<sup>218</sup> therefore they cannot be held up as an example of Tallis making use of the 1560 Latin prayer book. Indeed, of the numerous *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* pairs which can be dated to the 1560s with any confidence, all of them have English words.<sup>219</sup> Nor do Byrd's three Latin-texted Mass settings count, since they were

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Music of the Renaissance, vols 99–101 (A-R Editions, 1995), I, p. xiv. Monophonic plainsong-like settings of the 1549 texts survive in Merbecke's *Book of Common Praier Noted*, as mentioned above.

<sup>213</sup> The 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* was introduced on 1 November 1552, but was declared illegal by Mary I on 20 December 1553. Consequently there are relatively few settings which set its text (one which does is Causton's Service 'for children').

<sup>214</sup> Byrd's Great Service takes its text from the Elizabethan *Book of Common Prayer*, for instance; see Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 158. One publication containing both liturgical and extra-liturgical music is John Day, *Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts to be song at the morning, communion, and evening praier* (John Day, 1560) — a publication which may have originally been compiled during Edward's reign, since some of its works set slightly divergent texts to those issued in 1559. See John Alpin, 'The Origins of John Day's "Certaine Notes"' *Music & Letters*, 62.3–4 (1981), pp. 295–99, doi:10.1093/ml/62.3-4.295, and John Milsom, 'The Table and the Music of the 1560s', in *Music and Instruments of the Elizabethan Age: The Eglantine Table*, ed. by Michael Fleming and Christopher Page (Boydell Press, 2021), pp. 191–201 (p. 196).

<sup>215</sup> Roger Bowers has identified several works which were probably composed early in Elizabeth's reign but which set texts of the 1549 prayer book: William Mundy's First service, Robert Parson's First Service, and Thomas Tallis' lone *Te Deum* — all of them Chapel Royal composers (on which see below), suggesting they envisaged that the 1549 prayer book would ultimately be restored rather than some later prayer book. See Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal', pp. 329–30. For English-texted liturgical works by Tallis see *Thomas Tallis: English Sacred Music II, Service Music*, ed. by Leonard Ellinwood, Early English Church Music, 13 (Stainer & Bell, 1971).

<sup>216</sup> Oxford, Christ Church Library, MSS Mus. 979–83.

<sup>217</sup> Paul Doe, *Tallis*, (Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 37–38; Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Faber and Faber, 1981), p. 29.

<sup>218</sup> Harley, *Thomas Tallis*, p. 175. Previously it had been assigned a date of roughly 1562; see Doe, *Tallis*, p. 38.

<sup>219</sup> Stephen Rice, 'Reconstructing Tallis's Latin Magnificat and Nunc dimittis', *Early Music*, 33.4 (2005), pp. 647–65 (p. 649), doi:10.1093/em/cah155.

composed for underground Catholic worship rather than for *bona fide* liturgical use.<sup>220</sup>

Of the institutions for which the Latin prayer book was produced, none of them appears to have been involved in the commissioning of new Latin-texted polyphony — even those which may have acquired the Latin prayer book. When Robert Horn, Bishop of Winchester, visited Oxford in September 1561, he found Magdalen College much more ‘conformable’ than other colleges under his jurisdiction (the Bishop of Winchester was the visitor for New College, Corpus Christi College, and Trinity College);<sup>221</sup> although ‘conformable’ could imply conformity with the Latin prayer book of 1560 or the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, any use of Latin, whether spoken or sung, would doubtless have been halted at the arrival of Laurence Humphrey as president in December 1561. Humphrey, an evangelical, is unlikely to have tolerated Latin in any form within the liturgy, and it follows that the various music books purchased for Magdalen in the 1560s would not have contained Latin-texted music.<sup>222</sup> (Humphrey, along with Thomas Sampson, would later complain of ‘blemishes which still attach to the church of England’, including ‘the use of organs’).<sup>223</sup> He clearly permitted some music in chapel, since 30s. was paid to a ‘Meacock’ in 1589 for music books purchased by order of the president,<sup>224</sup> but given Humphrey’s doctrinal stance these probably contained suitably austere settings of the Psalms, in English, of the type that had been ‘brought in from abroad by the Exiles’.<sup>225</sup> None of the extant evidence for music provision among Oxford and Cambridge’s colleges from 1560 onwards documents the acquisition of unequivocally Latin-texted music.<sup>226</sup>

Whether pre-existing Latin-texted polyphony could be used in services from 1560 onwards is unclear. John Milsom has questioned whether the few institutions for which the *Liber precum publicarum* was issued ever ‘took advantage of the dispensation [that] allowed their choirs to sing (for example) pre-Reformation settings of the Te Deum and the Magnificat’, since ‘the books that were used by those choirs no longer exist, and no service-lists or first-hand accounts survive to shed light on the matter.’<sup>227</sup> The Te Deum and Magnificat texts are present in the *Liber precum publicarum*, in Matins and Evensong respectively; yet although the words ‘Deinde dicatur aut canatur’ or similar

<sup>220</sup> All three of Byrd’s Latin-texted masses set the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus with Benedictus, and Agnus Dei; therefore they cannot follow the *Liber precum publicarum*, which omits the Kyrie and the Agnus Dei from the Communion Rite. On these Masses see McCarthy, *Byrd*, pp. 133–50.

<sup>221</sup> H. A. Wilson, *Magdalen College* (F. E. Robinson, 1899), p. 115.

<sup>222</sup> The college paid 5s. in 1561 for the copying of church songs (‘exscribentibus quasdam pro Ecclesia cantilenas’) and 6s. 3d. in 1563 for twelve song books (‘pro duodecim libris cantionum’), although these records mention nothing about language. See Bloxam, *A Register of the Presidents*, pp. 276–78.

<sup>223</sup> Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson, letter to Henry Bullinger, July 1566, in *The Zurich Letters: Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others*, ed. by Hastings Robinson (Cambridge University Press, 1842), p. 164.

<sup>224</sup> Bloxam, *A Register of the Presidents*, pp. 276–78: ‘Mro Meacock pro libris musicis emptis ex mandato Praesidis’.

<sup>225</sup> *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, I, p. 171.

<sup>226</sup> This evidence is fully surveyed in Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*.

<sup>227</sup> Milsom, ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’, p. 162.

appear at several occasions in the prayer book, including for the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, the Te Deum bears no rubric to indicate that it might be sung (see Table 3).

It seems likely, however, that liturgical prayer book texts could be sung even without a rubric to invite choral performance. None of the English prayer books of 1549, 1552 or 1559 included any specific rubrics to indicate singing in Evensong, although the Latin prayer book of 1560 did so (see Table 3). Yet there are numerous English-texted settings of the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis — from composers active before as well as after the reformation, including Thomas Tallis and William Byrd. The same is true of other prayer book texts, such as the Preces and Responses, which, in all of the English-texted prayer books as well as the Latin one of 1560, were, according to their rubrics, to be spoken. Yet we find numerous settings of those texts to music, for use in Matins and Evensong.<sup>228</sup>

Well-known injunctions issued by Elizabeth I in 1559 included provision for the ‘Continuance of synging in the church’, which, as well as legislating against choral foundations being siphoned of their funding, made specific reference to music, stipulating that it must be ‘modeste and destyncte’, so that the words could be ‘playnelye understood, as if it were read without singing’.<sup>229</sup> (This principle was first outlined by Cranmer,<sup>230</sup> and enforced locally by further directives,<sup>231</sup> before it was reiterated in the injunctions of 1559.) This injunction was to apply to ‘all partes of the common prayers in the Church’ — i.e. all sections of the *Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>232</sup> Roger Bowers interprets this as granting leave for ‘the priest to sing in monotone any passage appointed for him to utter, and for the choir to sing in plainsong the psalms, and in suitable harmony such items as the responses, the canticles of Morning and Evening Prayer, and the Kyrie and Creed of ante-Communion.’<sup>233</sup> This would explain why we find settings of the Responses, for instance, even though none of the reformation prayer books, whether Latin or English, make reference to the notion that they may be sung. Elizabeth’s injunctions of 1559, then, superseded the prayer books’ various singing rubrics — even those of the 1560 Latin prayer book, which was printed a year after her injunctions were promulgated.

The same injunctions also included well-known provision ‘for the comforting of such as delite in musicke’, however, permitting the use of a ‘hymne, or suche lyke

<sup>228</sup> For a discussion of the settings by Byrd and Tallis see Craig Monson, ‘The Preces, Psalms and Litanies of Byrd and Tallis: Another “Virtuous Contention in Love”’, *Music Review*, 40 (1979), pp. 257–71.

<sup>229</sup> *Injunctions geven by the Quenes Maiestie* (ln. pub.), 1559), injunction 49.

<sup>230</sup> Cranmer’s famous ‘for every syllable a note’ principle was first outlined in a 1544 letter from Cranmer to Henry VIII; its text is transcribed in *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. by John Edmund Cox (Cambridge University Press, 1846), p. 412.

<sup>231</sup> For instance, injunctions issued to Lincoln Cathedral in 1548 direct that the choir ‘shall from hensforthe syngge or say no Anthemes off our lady or other saynts but onely of our lorde And them not in laten but choseyng owte the best and moste soundyng to cristen religion they shall tume the same into Englishe setting therunto a playn and distincte note, for every sillable one.’ See *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. by Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, 1892), II, p. 592. For other injunctions see le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, pp. 9, 21, and 24–25.

<sup>232</sup> *Injunctions geven by the Quenes Maiestie*, injunction 49.

<sup>233</sup> Bowers, ‘Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music’, p. 270.

songe, to the prayse of almyghty God', so long as the 'sentence of the hymne maye bee understood and perceyued.'<sup>234</sup> To musicians, this must have represented a golden thread running through the fabric of Elizabeth's reforms: it allowed for the insertion of an extra-liturgical work into a service,<sup>235</sup> such as an anthem, provided that the text was intelligible to the listener. (According to Jonathan Willis, this 'could be taken to sanction anything from polyphonic choral music to the unaccompanied congregational singing of metrical Psalms'.)<sup>236</sup> Although language is not mentioned in the injunction, it presumably referred to English words, since English was the language of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*. But because the *Liber precum publicarum* was an authorized Latin-texted prayer book, the same injunction presumably permitted the use of Latin-texted music, *mutatis mutandis*. Thus, although the liturgical performance of a complete musical setting of the Communion service in Latin would not have been possible according to the *Liber precum publicarum*, given that its Communion rite lacked the Kyrie and the Agnus Dei, any prayer book texts could apparently be set to music for liturgical use (such as the responses). An extra-liturgical work such as a Latin-texted Hymn or motet was also permissible — provided it was 'modeste and destyncte', and that the words could be 'playnelye understood'.<sup>237</sup> It follows that even pre-reformation settings of Latin texts would also have been suitable for liturgical or extra-liturgical use, provided that the music itself followed the textural principles first laid down by Cranmer. Yet there are no Latin-texted responses, canticles or other texts which can be said with certainty to post-date 1560, and which were clearly composed for use in the Latin-texted liturgies of the *Liber precum publicarum*; nor is there any hard evidence to show that pre-existing Latin-texted works were used in its services. (It is more common to find *contrafacta* of pieces with English words in place of the original Latin ones,<sup>238</sup> with only a few exceptions.)<sup>239</sup>

<sup>234</sup> *Iniunctions geven by the Quenes Maiestie*, injunction 49.

<sup>235</sup> Liturgical refers to the Ordinary and Proper texts of a service; extra-liturgical refers to free-standing texts that may be inserted into the liturgy, but which are not, officially speaking, a part of it.

<sup>236</sup> Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>237</sup> *Iniunctions geven by the Quenes Maiestie*, injunction 49. For the suggestion that Latin-texted motets might have been used in Chapel Royal liturgies, even in services conducted in English, see *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, ed. by John Milsom, *Early English Church Music*, 56 (Stainer & Bell, 2014), p. xi.

<sup>238</sup> This is the case with the John Taverner's *Mean* and *Small devotion* masses, his antiphon *Mater Christi*, and Hugh Aston's originally Latin-texted *Te Deum*, all of which survive as English-texted adaptations. See Benham, *Taverner*, p. 261; John Milsom, 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', *Musical Times*, 1672 (1982), pp. 429–31 (p. 429), doi:10.2307/964136.

<sup>239</sup> Hugh Benham has suggested that Taverner's *Mean* and *Small Devotion* Masses may have been suitable for use in conjunction with the *Liber precum publicarum*, since they had been 'acceptable in Edward VI's reign' — presumably because both settings are fairly concise and mainly syllabic. See Benham, *John Taverner*, p. 263. A Latin-texted version of the *Te Deum* from Byrd's Great Service survives in the Caroline sets of partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge, suggesting that there must have been some appetite for liturgical works in Latin — even ones which were originally English-texted, although the partbook set in question post-dates 1603, and its Latin-texted *Te Deum* is therefore unlikely to have been produced as a contrafactum for use in *Liber precum publicarum* liturgies. See Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, p. 29.

### *Settings of texts from other Latin-texted publications*

While composers do not appear to have relied upon the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* as a textual source, they did set texts from other Latin-texted publications also issued in 1560s: the *Orarium* of 1560,<sup>240</sup> and the *Preces Privatae* of 1564.<sup>241</sup> As mentioned above, both volumes were modelled on the 1551 version of the *King's Primer*, which had itself been modelled on Henry VIII's original of 1545. The *Orarium* was a Latin primer which included the catechism and the eight hours, but which excluded the Dirige and the Commendations; the *Preces Privatae* provided Latin texts for morning and evening prayer (although not the eight hours), but not in the same formula as it had appeared in the English-texted version of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>242</sup> Both publications included several antiphons and office hymns that were retained from the obsolete Sarum rite,<sup>243</sup> including the Lenten hymn for compline *Christe qui lux es et dies* — a text which was set to music no less than four times by Robert White (c. 1538–1574),<sup>244</sup> and once by William Byrd (c. 1540–1623).<sup>245</sup> The 'Typographus Lectori' to the *Preces Privatae* explains that it was published for similar reasons as the *Liber precum publicarum*: for students and others learned in Latin; those without Latin were directed instead towards vernacular prayer books.<sup>246</sup>

Since these Latin-texted hymns appear in state-issued prayer books, presumably their texts could form the basis of musical settings for use on an extra-liturgical basis, in conjunction with the liturgies of the *Liber precum publicarum* — provided that their text was intelligible to the listener. This possibility is all the more attractive given that both White and Byrd abandon the original liturgical format of the hymn *Christe qui lux es et dies* in their respective settings: White sets only the even stanzas of an original seven; Byrd sets the text in what Kerman calls 'anti-liturgical' fashion, setting only stanzas two to six.<sup>247</sup> (In the Sarum use, an *alternatim* hymn such as this one would have had the odd verses sung to chant, and the even verses to polyphony.) The *Liber*

<sup>240</sup> *Orarium Seu Libellus Precationum Per Regiam Maiestatem.*

<sup>241</sup> *Preces Priuatae in Studiosorum Gratiam Collectae, & Regia Autoritate Approbatae.*

<sup>242</sup> Bryan Spinks, 'The Elizabethan Primers: Symptoms of an Ambiguous Settlement or Devotional Weaning?', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 73–87 (p. 81).

<sup>243</sup> This publication retained five hymns from the old liturgy: *Jam, lucis orto sidere*, *Consors Paterni luminis*, *Rerum Creator omnium*, *Christe qui lux es et dies*, and *Saluator mundi, Domine*; see Clay, *Private Prayers*, pp. 247, 254–55, 264, 269–70, and 272.

<sup>244</sup> All four settings by White are copied into Oxford, Church Church Library, MSS Mus. 984–88 (the Dow partbooks).

<sup>245</sup> Byrd's fully-texted setting, for five voice-parts, is likewise copied in the Dow partbooks. Three further textless settings, for four voice-parts, with text incipits only, were presumably arranged for instrumental performance; these appear elsewhere.

<sup>246</sup> 'Verum illas in studiosorum tantum, et Latinæ linguæ peritorum (si qui hiis uti velint) gratiam excudi curavimus. Alios vero istius idiomatis imperitos hortamur atque admonemus, ut sese precibus vernacula lingua conscriptis assuescant, iis instent, easque sibi familiares habeant.'

<sup>247</sup> Joseph Kerman, 'Byrd's Motets: Chronology and Canon', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), pp. 359–82 (p. 377), doi:10.2307/830197. Kerman also points out that Byrd is unlikely to have been writing such works for liturgical use, and that he was motivated 'by such considerations as traditionalism, nostalgia, interest in the text per se, or concern for some specific compositional problem' (p. 378).

*precum publicarum*, then, with its Latin-texted liturgies, used under Elizabeth's overriding injunction 'for the comforting of such as delite in musicke', could ultimately have permitted Latin-texted polyphony to be used within a service, provided that its text was doctrinally inoffensive, and that it was 'modeste and destyncte', so that the words could be 'playnelye understood, as if it were read without singing'.<sup>248</sup> A number of Latin-texted works that were ostensibly copied or published with devotional or recreational use in mind could therefore have served as extra-liturgical motets — even qualifying psalm-motets.<sup>249</sup> Presumably any of the simpler works from Byrd and Tallis's 1575 *Cantiones sacrae* would likewise have been suitable for extra-liturgical use within a Latin-texted service, according to the *Liber precum publicarum*, had only the institutions for which it was produced adopted it.

### *Qualifying composers*

Of the various composers active in the 1560s, it was presumably only those employed by scholastic institutions who were permitted to continue composing Latin-texted music, in conjunction with the use of the *Liber precum publicarum*. The number of composers who may be connected with any certainty to those institutions in the 1560s, however, is remarkably slim: only Robert White and Thomas Mulliner (fl. 1545–75) emerge as possible candidates, and then only tentatively. (While most of England's first-rank composers attended one of the universities as students, virtually none remained in Oxford or Cambridge beyond their early years; most sought promotion to England's cathedrals or to the Chapel Royal.) Robert White appears to have been a lay clerk at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1555 until his appointment as organist and master of the choristers of Ely Cathedral on 29 September 1562;<sup>250</sup> he was presumably in Cambridge to supplicate for his MusB degree, which was approved on 13 December 1560 (for which he was required to compose a Communion service, although the record of the supplication does not mention language).<sup>251</sup> Although his whereabouts in 1560 are uncertain, Thomas Mulliner was appointed as 'organorum pulsator' to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 3 March 1563.<sup>252</sup> Neither Trinity nor Corpus appears to have acquired the Latin prayer book of 1560, however; nor do any settings of *Liber precum publicarum* texts survive from White or Mulliner. Nor,

<sup>248</sup> *Iniunctions geven by the Quenes Maiestie*, injunction 49.

<sup>249</sup> Roger Bowers has suggested that Latin-texted psalm-motets would have been inappropriate for use in *Book of Common Prayer* services, since they were 'conceived for performance in the home, for use as recreation and edification in the households of educated adherents to the values of the old faith' (see Roger Bowers, 'White, Robert', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29267). However, since the *Liber precum publicarum* prescribed Latin-texted Psalms, both in its Index and Calendar as well as in the course of the prayer book itself, it may be that psalm-motets could have been used in its services, if indeed its texts could be sung rather than spoken, provided that the text was intelligible to the listener.

<sup>250</sup> Roger Bowers, 'White, Robert'.

<sup>251</sup> *Grace Book Δ, Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1542–1589*, ed. by John Venn (Cambridge University Press, 1910), p. 148.

<sup>252</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards and Julian Reid, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 42.

moreover, can any freshly composed Latin-texted polyphony from either composer, produced in the 1560s or 1570s, be said to have been produced decisively with extra-liturgical use in mind.<sup>253</sup>

### *The Chapel Royal*

Since it was the Queen who ultimately authorized the *Liber precum publicarum*, it has been suggested that the Latin prayer book was used in her Chapel Royal, and, consequently, that Latin-texted liturgies and music were performed there after 1559. Harrison reckoned the fact that a Latin prayer book was issued at all ‘leaves little doubt that Latin was used in the Queen’s chapel, if in few other places’;<sup>254</sup> Benham suggested it would ‘undoubtedly have enjoyed considerable use’ there, given the queen’s ‘very conservative outlook’ — a view shared by others.<sup>255</sup>

Whether Latin-texted services actually continued in the Chapel Royal after 1559 is a moot subject. In stark contrast to those churches which were acquiring metrical psalters from the 1560s onwards,<sup>256</sup> the Chapel Royal in the 1560s is thought to have been ‘overwhelmingly conservative in all particulars’;<sup>257</sup> it used vestments ‘of the Roman tradition’;<sup>258</sup> its altar bore a silver crucifix with lighted candles.<sup>259</sup> Elizabeth herself apparently preferred the text of the 1549 prayer book, as mentioned above;<sup>260</sup> she also had a ‘fondness for ritual and ceremony’,<sup>261</sup> and was the dedicatee of Latin-texted polyphony.<sup>262</sup> Peter le Huray went as far as to say that, save for certain ‘small changes’ made from 1559 onwards, Chapel Royal services remained as they had been in Mary’s

<sup>253</sup> Although it is tempting to view Robert White’s psalm-motets in a new light as extra-liturgical motets, Trinity College, Cambridge, is not thought to have acquired the *Liber precum publicarum*, as mentioned above. Moreover, although White’s psalm-motets are predominately syllabic, with some melisma on the penultimate syllable of a phrase, textual repetitions made on the initiative of the composer make for longer works; they are unlikely to have been adjudged ‘modeste and destyncte’, so that the words could be ‘playnely understood, as if it were read without singing’.

<sup>254</sup> *William Mundy: Latin Antiphons and Psalms*, ed. by Frank Ll. Harrison, *Early English Church Music*, 2 (Stainer & Bell, 1962), p. vii.

<sup>255</sup> Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, p. 165. See also John Milsom, ‘English Polyphonic Style in Transition: A Study of the Sacred Music of Thomas Tallis’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1983), I, p. 37; Jane Flynn, ‘The Education of Choristers in England During the Sixteenth Century 1400–1650’, in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 180–99 (p. 196); and Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, I, p. 293.

<sup>256</sup> Craig Monson, ‘Elizabethan London’, in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. by Iain Fenlon (Macmillan, 1989), pp. 304–40 (pp. 315–17).

<sup>257</sup> Bowers, ‘The Chapel Royal’, p. 320.

<sup>258</sup> Martin A. S. Hume, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas)*, vol. 1 (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892), p. 105.

<sup>259</sup> Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 38. St George’s, Windsor, was similarly adorned.

<sup>260</sup> Harley, *Tallis*, p. 52.

<sup>261</sup> Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (W. W. Norton, 1998), p. 667.

<sup>262</sup> Tallis and Byrd’s *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1575 are probably the most famous example.



reign.<sup>263</sup> The contemporary commentator Henry Machyn (1496–1563) recorded in his diary for 1559 that ‘The xij day of May begane the Englys [service] in the quen(’s) chapell’,<sup>264</sup> suggesting that the Chapel Royal was using the *Book of Common Prayer* by May 1559, just before its use became compulsory on 24 June.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, the various surviving communion settings show that Chapel Royal composers were setting reformed prayer book texts — even those of the short-lived prayer book of 1552, in use for only a few months before it was banned by Mary I.<sup>266</sup> Texts of the 1559 prayer book were also set: Thomas Causton (d. 1570) and Richard Farrant (c. 1528–1580) appear to have composed only for English-texted *Book of Common Prayer* services;<sup>267</sup> no Latin-texted works survive from either composer.

The possibility that Latin-texted music was ‘cultivated or even tolerated’ in Elizabeth’s Chapel Royal has been dismissed vociferously by Kerry McCarthy, who has observed that ‘there is not a shred of positive evidence that [Latin texted] motets were ever sung in their original form by groups such as the Chapel Royal.’<sup>268</sup> The reports of foreign dignitaries who attended Chapel Royal services appear to support this position. When the Habsburg ambassador Adam Zwetkovich visited Whitehall in 1565, he attended a ‘special choral service’ at which ‘the Earl of Sussex interpreted the hymns and anthems’ — suggesting they were not in Latin, which Zwetkovich would have understood.<sup>269</sup> (Zwetkovich goes on to say that the Queen ‘gave me the book [of common prayer] which I accepted’.)<sup>270</sup> The only other explanation could be a polyphonic texture in which the words were not clear. Zwetkovich’s mention of a ‘special choral service’ may suggest that his experience was not typical: perhaps at this service the choir performed only English-texted music so as to promote the (still fairly new) liturgies of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*.

<sup>263</sup> le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, p. 31.

<sup>264</sup> *Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550–1563*, ed. by John Gough Nichols (J. B. Nichols & Son, 1848), p. 197.

<sup>265</sup> The Italian commentator Il Schifanoia attended the Easter Day service at the Chapel Royal in 1559, writing that the ‘Mass was sung in English, according to the use of her [Elizabeth I] brother, King Edward’, apparently confirming use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Roger Bowers has suggested it is unlikely that a ‘good Catholic like Il Schifanoia would ever have used the word “mass” to describe a Protestant vernacular memorial of the Lord’s Supper.’ See Il Schifanoia, letter to Vivaldine, 28 March 1559, in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, 38 vols (H. M. Stationery Office, 1864–1947), VII, 1558–1580, ed. by Rawdon Brown and G. Cavendish Bentinck (1890), p. 57 and Bowers, ‘The Chapel Royal’, p. 326.

<sup>266</sup> It is not always clear which prayer book text was being set, owing to textual divergences within particular settings. This appears to be the case with Tallis’s now incomplete Service ‘of fyve parts Too in one’, which at times appears to follow the 1549 prayer book, and at others the 1552 or 1559 prayer books. For details, see Harley, *Tallis*, pp. 84–85.

<sup>267</sup> Daniel B. Page, ‘Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University 1996), p. 109.

<sup>268</sup> See McCarthy, *Byrd*, pp. 55–56, and Kerry McCarthy, ‘“Brought to Speake English with the Rest”: Byrd’s Motet *Contrafacta*’, *Musical Times*, 148 (2007), pp. 51–60 (p. 60), doi:10.2307/25434477. A similar view is adopted in Harley, *Tallis*, p. 169.

<sup>269</sup> Adam Zwetkovich, letter to Emperor Maximilian I, 4 June 1565, in *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, ed. by Victor von Klarwell (John Lane, 1928), p. 234.

<sup>270</sup> Zwetkovich, letter to Emperor Maximilian I.

A similar situation occurred in 1601, when the Russian diplomat Grigori Mikulin was invited by the queen to ‘witness our ceremonies and customs, how in our country the Communion Service is sung’: Mikulin reported music ‘on the organ, and on wind instruments, with much other music and song’, but had to be told that the choir ‘are singing the psalms of David’.<sup>271</sup> This has been read to imply that the psalms were sung in English, which Mikulin did not understand.<sup>272</sup> Yet Mikulin was the resident Russian ambassador to England, and must have understood at least some English;<sup>273</sup> he was also accompanied by his secretary Ivan Zinoviev, and his interpreter Andrei Grot.<sup>274</sup> His report may suggest that the words of the psalms were not clearly audible because of the musical texture — and that the setting he heard was in contravention of the queen’s own 1559 injunction that the words should be ‘playnelye understood, as if it were read without singing’. That the queen should invite Mikulin to see ‘how in our country the Communion Service is sung’ might also suggest an attempt to showcase the talents of the Chapel Royal composers. Whether the Chapel Royal ever acquired and used the *Liber precum publicarum* is ultimately uncertain: records of its book acquisitions for the 1500s have not yet been located. Had it obtained and used the volume, then the performance contexts for Latin-texted music, of the type issued by Chapel Royal composers Thomas Tallis and William Byrd after 1560, would demand fresh re-evaluation as extra-liturgical motets.<sup>275</sup>

The 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* had the potential to change the musical map. Although published for a very specific cadre, it permitted certain scholastic institutions to continue using Latin-texted liturgies and, by extension, Latin-texted polyphony — both liturgical and extra-liturgical. Yet in terms of institutional consumption the book was unsuccessful, probably because its text — not a translation of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, as suggested in its Letters Patent, but a re-working of an indirect translation of the 1549 prayer book — was deemed too conservative. The universities may have petitioned a Latin prayer book from the queen, but the religious climate changed fast. By the mid-1560s Cambridge was largely evangelical (hence their

<sup>271</sup> Leslie Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (R. Hart-Davis, 1954), pp. 188–89, cited in Monson, ‘Elizabethan London’, p. 309.

<sup>272</sup> McCarthy, *Byrd*, p. 56.

<sup>273</sup> Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 71.

<sup>274</sup> The relevant texts are collated (under 1601) in Marion Colthorpe, *The Elizabethan Court Day by Day*, available online at <[https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images\\_pedia\\_folgerpedia\\_mw/archive/3/39/20170608213916!ECDbD\\_1601.pdf](https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/archive/3/39/20170608213916!ECDbD_1601.pdf)> [accessed 18 June 2024].

<sup>275</sup> The potential extra-liturgical use of Latin-texted works by Tallis and Byrd in the Chapel Royal has most recently been asserted by John Milsom. He has observed that some works which, prior to the reformation served a liturgical function, appear modified in Tallis and Byrd’s *Cantiones sacrae* of 1575. For instance, Tallis’s chant-based responds *Dum transisset Sabbatum*, *Honor, virtus et potestas* and *Candidi facti sunt* traditionally involved the alternatim exchange of chant with polyphony, but they appear in that publication without chant. The same is true of the hymns *Sermone blando* and *Te lucis ante terminum*, which feature only polyphony; *Te lucis ante terminum* also exists as two settings, which may be Elizabethan rather than Henrician, and which were therefore composed in a quasi-liturgical vein. It is perhaps works such as these, shorn of their chant, or newly composed without it, that could have been used as Latin-texted motets in the Chapel Royal from 1560 onwards, assuming it adopted the *Liber precum publicarum*. See Milsom, *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, p. xiv.

appellation for the book of ‘the pope’s dregs’); the position was similar in Oxford. Some Protestants had found even the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* to contain too many remnants of the old ritual;<sup>276</sup> Oxford, with its staunchly Protestant masters like Humphrey and Sampson (both installed by 1561) is hardly likely to have appreciated the saints and liturgies for the dead of the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* — which was not in a ‘tongue [...] understood of the people’,<sup>277</sup> and which did not, therefore, assist in establishing ‘one uniforme conformitie’.<sup>278</sup> Many of the more evangelical clergy also considered ‘curious prickeson’ to be ‘more mete for stage playes’ than the liturgy,<sup>279</sup> and are unlikely to have encouraged Latin-texted polyphony in collegiate worship, however intelligible the verbal text.

The more traditional aspects of the 1560 prayer book, such as its bumper calendar and Catholic rubrics, have been viewed as an attempt by the Queen to sneak in a more traditional liturgy by the back door. This seems especially tempting given that the volume was published under the terms of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, and which therefore evaded the layers of state scrutiny that were usual for similar documents. It seems more likely, however, that the deviations in the 1560 text arose from Haddon’s ‘editorial sloth, and bureaucratic inefficiency’,<sup>280</sup> assuming it was he who was behind the translation. Alesius’s 1551 model offered an off-the-peg translation, albeit a translation of the 1549 prayer book rather than that of 1559. This would explain why textural and rubrical directions are more conservative than the 1559 prayer book on which the 1560 book was purportedly based; the more progressive elements of the volume are perhaps the result of Haddon’s light editing, in order to bring the 1560 translation into closer alignment with the officially promulgated text of 1559.

Given that the *Liber precum publicarum* appears to have been acquired by few of the institutions for which it was produced, we consequently have little Latin-texted music that may be firmly connected to its use; composers associated with qualifying scholastic institutions in the 1560s were also few. Whether the 1560 *Liber precum publicarum* was ever adopted by establishments beyond its intended scholastic audience remains uncertain: evidence for the provision of Latin-texted music at the Chapel Royal is lacking; none of its composers appears to have set *Liber precum publicarum* texts, whereas they did so from other volumes. Surviving ecclesiastical music manuscripts produced in the reign of Elizabeth are notoriously few, however, and if Latin-texted music could still be at certain educational establishments, thanks to a Latin-texted prayer book issued by the queen’s order, then Elizabeth, with the best composers in England at her disposal, and a keen sense of her own prerogative, could have whatever music she liked. If the 1560s Chapel Royal was indeed

<sup>276</sup> Darwall-Smith, *A History of University College, Oxford*, p. 115.

<sup>277</sup> Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, II, p. 581.

<sup>278</sup> Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, 75.

<sup>279</sup> Theodore Beza, letter to Edmund Grindall, Bishop of London, undated, in *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt with a Reprint of the Admonition to the Parliament and Kindred Documents*, ed. by W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1907), pp. 43–55 (p. 51).

<sup>280</sup> Jones, ‘Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book of 1560’, p. 186.

‘overwhelmingly conservative in all particulars’,<sup>281</sup> then there is no reason why this conservatism could not have extended to music also. Elizabeth apparently preferred the text of the 1549 prayer book;<sup>282</sup> she also had a ‘fondness for ritual and ceremony’,<sup>283</sup> and was herself the dedicatee of Latin-texted polyphony, as mentioned above. The accounts of foreign dignitaries, who must have had at least some English, may suggest that they heard music in Chapel Royal services in which the words were not clear — and therefore in contravention of the queen’s own injunction that the words should be ‘playnelye understood’. Possibly the Chapel Royal had worship in English when necessary to promote the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, but in Latin on other occasions, according to the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560, based indirectly as it was on the queen’s preferred 1549 prayer book text, with Latin-texted music sung by the Chapel Royal’s choir of twenty-four singing men and twelve choristers. Perhaps this is why the queen’s chapel was said in 1572 to be one of several ‘popishe dennes’ with ‘organes and curious singing’.<sup>284</sup>

## APPENDIX

The Letters Patent to the *Liber Precum Publicarum*, translated by Leofranc Holford–Strevens.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland queen, Defender of the Faith, etc., to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

WHEREAS, mindful of our duty towards God Almighty (by whose providence of whom princes reign) We have gladly given Our royal assent to certain most salutary laws, by the consent of the three estates of our kingdom enacted in the first year of Our reign, among which there was carried one law, that everywhere within the English church the public prayers should be conducted in the vulgar and vernacular tongue, in one and the same form of praying, certain and prescribed, whereby Our subjects might the more easily understand that which they were praying, and at last might shun that error absurd but of long standing within the Church, (for it is impossible that prayers, supplications, or thanksgivings that are not understood may at any time awaken and arouse the ardour of the mind, since God, who is spirit, desireth to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, not merely with the noise of the mouth, whereto it may added that oftentimes, in this blind ignorance, superstitious prayers or things impertinent, unapt to be uttered to God, the examiner of human hearts, were offered with impious mouth);

WE DESIRE IT TO BE KNOWN UNTO YOU, that forasmuch as We understand that the colleges of both universities, Cambridge and Oxford, also the New College by Winchester, and that of Eton, devoted to good letters, are seeking with humble petitions that they may be permitted to use the same form of prayers in Latin, so that the Latin monuments of Holy Scripture may be rendered the more familiar to them, to the more fruitful profit of Theology, Desiring to provide for all the members of Our commonwealth, so far as in Us lies, and to provide as well for the needs of them that do not understand Latin, and to the will of them that comprehend both tongues,

WE HAVE ORDAINED by these presents that it be allowed and permitted, by Our authority and royal prerogative, both to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church in Our university of Oxford, and to the presidents, wardens, rectors, masters, and fellows of all and sundry the colleges of Cambridge, Oxford, Winchester and Eton, that they use publicly in their churches and chapels this manner of praying in Latin which we have caused to be issued by Our printer in this

(continued)

<sup>281</sup> Bowers, ‘The Chapel Royal’, p. 320.

<sup>282</sup> Harley, *Tallis*, p. 52.

<sup>283</sup> Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe*, p. 667.

<sup>284</sup> Field, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, unpaginated.

(cont.)

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present volume, agreeing with Our English book of public prayers now received and used throughout the whole of our kingdom, to which also We have instructed that there be added certain specific items to be sung at the funerals and memorials of Christians, notwithstanding anything contrary within that statute aforesaid concerning the observance of public prayers (of which We have made mention above), promulgated in the first year of Our reign.

PROVIDED ALWAYS that, within the colleges of this kind to which parishes of lay persons have been annexed, and also within those other to the chapels whereof lay persons, servants and attendants of the said colleges, or any others whomsoever unskilled in the Latin tongue, are obliged of necessity to resort, to these persons several opportune times and places shall be assigned within the said churches and chapels, at which, at least on feast-days, Morning and Evening Prayer shall be read and recited, and, at their due times, Sacraments may be administered in English, to the edification of the laity. Also We exhort all other ministers of Our English Church, of whatever degree they be, to use privately this Latin form of prayer, on those days on which either they are not accustomed, or are not obliged, to recite the public prayers in the vernacular tongue according to the form of the statute aforesaid unto their parishioners resorting according to custom to the House of God. In faith and witness of the foregoing We have caused these Our letters to be created.

Given at Our palace of Westminster on the sixth day of April in the second year of Our reign