Reforming royal worship: the English Chapel Royal, 1558-1625.



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In memory of J. H. Davies.

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Abstract

The Chapel Royal was the most important ecclesiastical venue for the calibration and projection of royal worship in post-Reformation England. Performance was a crucial aspect of early modern kingship, and the ceremonies and liturgy performed in the Chapel Royal facilitated Elizabeth's and James's articulation of the material and sonic majesty of their anointed kingship and Royal Supremacy. The majesty of royal worship was balanced against Protestant concerns regarding excessive outward reverence and decoration in formal worship and contributed to a culture of ceremonial exceptionalism designed to acclaim and honour the royal office. This thesis offers the first detailed history of the early modern Chapel Royal and argues that it did not nurture a culture of confessional 'conservatism' nor anticipate Laudian ceremonial as is often assumed, but was a distinctly Protestant environment, in which Elizabeth and James negotiated different responses to the reformation of liturgical splendour.

The administration of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal, the performance of its ferial and festal services, and the professional, social, and confessional lives of its members are granted detailed and respective analysis in the three chapters of this thesis. It revises historiographical preconceptions regarding Elizabeth's and James's churchmanship and their conceptualisation of royal authority. Aside from her more notorious protection of the cross and candlesticks on the Chapel communion table for the first decade of her reign, Elizabeth is shown to have ceded considerable material ground to reforming influences within her court and invested far less than her successor in the material trappings of worship and offices responsible for its solemn observation. Meanwhile, James's investment in royal worship and his revival and reform of early Tudor ceremonies associated with the royal family saw the Stuart king assert his commitment to the ceremonies of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer while simultaneously legitimising his English rule.

Long abstract

As the ecclesiastical centre of the post-Reformation court, the Chapel Royal was crucial to the definition of Protestant royal religion in England. This thesis provides the first in-depth study of the early modern English Chapel Royal and argues that historiographical emphasis on its confessional 'conservatism' or 'proto-Arminianism' have been misplaced. Rather, the Chapel Royal was a nationally and internationally significant venue for the performance of reformed royal worship and offered Elizabeth I and James I/VI an invaluable means of articulating their conception of the honour and reverence that was due to an anointed monarch, within the liturgical framework of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer. The administration, performance, and personnel involved in the facilitation of royal worship was thus designed to reform out-dated and theologically unacceptable pre-Reformation ceremonies, while maintaining the same level of appropriate reverence for the sovereign.

The most significant contribution that this thesis makes is a reconsideration of Elizabeth's and James's respective approaches to royal worship. Although both monarchs recognised the importance of ceremonious worship appropriate to the royal office, they were subject to different pressures and contexts, which changed throughout their reigns. Elizabeth inherited the Catholic Chapel Royal of her half-sister, Mary I, and initially proceeded along a cautious path of reform, much to the frustration of her churchmen and councillors. However, this was not matched by excessive investment. Partly due to the dire state of crown finances, Elizabeth's approach to royal worship was one of expediency, marked by her concession to her Protestant courtiers and clergy in 1567, with the removal of the silver gilt cross. From the 1570s until her death, Elizabeth allowed certain posts in the Chapel to be neglected and maintained an acceptable degree of splendour (which was still impressive) without any concerted effort to decorate or 'beautify' her court chapels. Amidst such a scheme, some iconophobic pressures can be identified, suggesting that Elizabeth's reform of royal worship may have been more distinctly Protestant than has been previously recognised.

James's approach to royal worship was closely linked to his conception of royal worship, and he invested in the fabric and personnel of his Chapel Royal soon after his accession to the English throne. James's reform of the administration of this courtly institution is striking following the comparative neglect of his predecessor, and it was James who appears to have consistently ensured that court chapels were sufficiently and splendidly decorated. Although his revival of the deanship of the Chapel Royal has been associated with

the rise of 'avant-garde conformist' influence in the late Jacobean court, following the appointment of Lancelot Andrewes as Dean in 1618, this thesis argues that both of James's Chapel deans followed his programme of royal solemnity, and that no significant difference can be identified in royal worship by the latter years of his reign. Far from an 'avant-garde conformist' prelude to Laudian influence in the Caroline Chapel Royal, James's Chapel (and Elizabeth's before it) fostered colourful cultures of royal celebration and Protestant worship, which require separate analysis from the royal precedent invoked by the divines of the 1620s and 30s who sought to legitimise ceremonial and material reforms in their parishes and cathedrals.

Despite the importance of the Chapel Royal for understanding the religious and political culture of the post-Reformation court, it has not received detailed or systematic analysis. This thesis builds on the wealth of research conducted by musicologists and music historians into the rich musical culture developed in the post-Reformation Chapel, something traditionally attributed as leading to the 'Golden Age' of English Church music, in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Such work has revealed much about the administration of court musicians and the technical features of their compositions, but no study has established the wider administration of the Chapel Royal, examined the variety of ceremonies seen throughout its liturgical calendar, or attempted to reconstruct the social and confessional culture that developed among its members. This thesis does not conduct musicological analysis of surviving compositions but offers a detailed reconstruction of the liturgical and professional culture developed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal. By drawing from a holistic range of sources, this thesis interrogates the development of royal worship over the course of Elizabeth's and James's reigns. It argues that the Chapel Royal was not an institution designed for religious 'conservatives', or simply those who preferred heightened ceremonial, but a vital means of articulating the Royal Supremacy through ceremonial appropriate for a monarchy that claimed primacy among its European (Catholic) rivals.

Since liturgical activity comprises a range of administrators, performers, ceremonial traditions, and symbolic messages, this thesis spans several disciplinary boundaries and scholarly fields of enquiry. The introduction establishes the contributions that this thesis makes to those fields, comprising the liturgical and institutional study of royal chapels, cathedrals, and colleges; ecclesiastical and ecclesiological change over the course of the Reformation; early modern court cultures and royal symbolism; musicology and music

history; studies of the political and theological content of court sermons; and explorations of ecclesiastical and royal space and architecture. It does not treat these subjects separately but offers an integrated analysis of the structural and performance contexts of royal worship, while incorporating biographical research into early modern musicians to offer a prosopographical contextualisation of the professional culture fostered in the Chapel Royal. The second half of the introduction recognises the archival limitations of research into the Chapel Royal, since compared to other departments of the royal household and many other early modern ecclesiastical institutions, little has survived. However, by taking a broader approach to surviving documents regarding the royal household, from internal accounts to external commentaries, reflections found in court diaries, sermons, music, published literary works, and testamentary evidence, a more substantial corpus of evidence regarding royal worship after the Reformation is illuminated.

Chapter one explains and examines the development of the administration of the Chapel Royal, compares it with comparable royal and princely chapels in Catholic and Protestant Europe (namely France, Spain, Denmark, and the German electoral chapels), and reconstructs the buildings it inhabited and extraordinary rights and privileges that it claimed. Beginning with a detailed account of the roles and duties of each office in the Chapel Royal, the 'Structure and Function' of royal worship is highlighted through the changes both Elizabeth and James implemented to the government of this influential courtly institution. Although the offices that comprised the Chapel Royal are familiar to scholars of court religion, existing considerations of these roles have tended to remain descriptive and have not attributed any developments in the duties exercised by these individuals to a particular programme of royal administration. This section argues that structural decisions such as the abeyance of the Chapel deanship in 1583 not only had an impact on the royal coffer but resulted in significant changes and ramifications in the professional culture of the Chapel Royal. James's revival of the post is therefore explored in detail, alongside other dynamics between Chapel officers and individuals involved in court religion who regularly interacted with the Chapel Royal, to offer a comprehensive introduction to the function and administration of royal worship.

These offices are also compared with European modes of governing royal and princely chapels, and the arrangement and decoration of royal chapels and alternate venues of royal worship, to illustrate the exclusive privileges afforded to post-Reformation royal worship. A significant finding of this thesis is that early modern courtiers and external

observers recognised the exclusive rights and privileges of royal worship and actively distinguished it from the elaboration of parish or cathedral worship. Although this view was not universally held, most famously by the 'hottest' Protestant critics of royal worship such as the authors of the 1571 *Admonition to Parliament*, recognising the broader definitions of royal exceptionalism in worship has important consequences for understanding the administrative and ceremonial reforms conducted by Elizabeth and James. As emphasised in the material elaboration of royal chapels, and in explicit reflections on the ideal patterns of public royal devotion in court sermons, the monarch's presence brought with it a suitable enrichment of material decoration and elaboration of ceremonial performance. During their physical absence, although furnishings remained rich compared with most of England's parish churches and cathedrals, chapels were arranged and decorated with comparatively less splendour (though they still looked impressive), unless during a holy week. This distinction further emphasises that Elizabethan and Jacobean royal worship ought to be taken on its own terms and understood as an independent ecclesiastical attitude from later ceremonial trends within the early Church of England.

Chapter two reconstructs the schedule, appearance, and sound of liturgical life in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal. It begins by clarifying the 'ordinary' liturgies observed while court was in residence and details the sensory features of worship that most courtiers, nobles, and councillors would have been familiar with. It argues that these services deserve greater scholarly attention and interest compared with the more occasional liturgies of state or communion services. They were marked by important sung and said changes to the liturgy introduced by Elizabeth and James, most notably with biblical translations and investment in access to service books for those accompanying the monarch in the royal closet. Scripture and scriptural exegesis (in the form of sermons) constituted a significant part of royal worship, which was complemented (rather than competing with, as traditional accounts of early modern religion have characterised) by the sung services of morning and evening prayer, and ante-communion on most Sundays. Though partly obscured by the window of their royal closet, the monarch remained a central focus point of these services, and their physical and visual separation from the congregants seated in the chapel stalls and gathered in the antechapel (where they would not have been able to see the monarch) heightened their status as anointed sovereign and Supreme Governor, as did the material distinction of the richly decorated (and visually and physically restricted) royal closet.

The decoration of royal chapels is also granted extensive reconstruction and analysis. The Chapel cross, removed in 1567 and briefly replaced with a Crucifixion tapestry, illustrates the beginning of the gradual but extensive reform of Chapel decorative accoutrements, in which most controversial items were purged ahead of James's accession. James utilised the opportunities for display granted by the surviving plate and expensive tapestries and began to reverse some of the iconophobic removals and obfuscations introduced by Elizabeth, especially in the painted images of his chapel windows. Such changes appear at odds with conventional images of both monarchs' respective styles of churchmanship and indicates how royal gender and warmer currents regarding religious art in the early Stuart Church could shift contemporary definitions regarding what sort of religious art and material elaboration was appropriate for royal worship. The final section of this chapter explores Elizabeth's and James's engagement with festal celebrations, including the Chapel procession, communion days, and state liturgies. The royal body was central to reforming these events, and the honour and recognition that it attracted must be distinguished from the sacramental action or traditional ceremonial that Elizabeth and James engaged with.

Chapter three provides the first prosopographical analysis of the Gentlemen of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal, and contextualises the professional, social, and confessional world in which royal worship was administered and celebrated. It begins with a survey and analysis of the professional background of Chapel Gentlemen, detailing the precise nature of their working relationship with cathedrals and collegiate institutions. It argues that associations between the Chapel Royal and certain royal peculiars (especially Westminster Abbey) have overshadowed the complicated relationship between the crown and cathedrals. Contributing to detailed work on the religious and liturgical cultures fostered in some of England's cathedrals, it argues that some Chapel Gentlemen would have had particularly 'godly' training from their former employers, alongside extensive familiarity with performing the liturgies of the established Church. It also examines Elizabeth's and James's approval of pluralism among Gentlemen, who were encouraged to retain posts at cathedrals, where they could find employment during the summer months, or the weeks after Easter, Christmas, and Whitsun, when the Chapel Royal 'stood down'. While few institutions were able to successfully resist this royal demand and were forced to consign valuable musical posts to sinecures for royal servants, this trend is interpreted to illustrate the wider neglect of choral services that Elizabeth and James facilitated to reward members of their royal household at no cost to the crown. Such a view cannot be maintained with a wider assumption that both

monarchs favoured a broader 'ceremonial' liturgical programme. Such privileges were reserved for the monarch not only in the abstract definition of what was appropriate, but also in royal investment and protection of individual Chapel servants over the concerns of the dean and chapters of the nation's cathedrals.

The second part of this chapter explores the multiple occupations that Gentlemen of the Chapel worked while employed in royal service. It reveals that many Gentlemen engaged in public roles in the city, ranging from theatre to commerce, and sometimes viewed themselves as influential courtly intermediaries. It establishes that Gentlemen enjoyed influential and socially varied connections in their personal and professional lives and were comfortable members of London's upper 'middling sort', especially by the early seventeenth century. Contra assumptions predicated on the recusancy of famous Gentlemen-composers like William Byrd, many Gentlemen are also shown to have been intimate with a surprisingly 'godly' group of patrons, allies, and friends. Using surviving evidence relating to their confessional position, the final section of this chapter recognises that most Gentlemen of Elizabeth's and James's Chapel conformed to the established Protestant Church, and in more than a handful of cases, took steps to actively support and defend it. Though this variety of Protestant opinion existed alongside some cases of Catholic exile and more ambiguous eucharistic nonconformity, those who staffed Elizabeth's and James's Chapel Royal may have contributed a distinctly Protestant religious outlook to the professional culture of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal.

The conclusion illustrates how such findings revise prevailing assumptions about the religious character of the Elizabethan and Jacobean court, and how scholars might reconceptualise Elizabeth's and James's churchmanship. It emphasises the importance of a holistic approach to early modern ecclesiastical institutions and argues that broader confessional trends ought to be appropriately contextualised and distinguished from the institutions that they ostensibly infused. Further directions for research utilising comparable methodologies are also illustrated, including the mid-Tudor Chapel Royal (which suffers from an even greater absence of surviving evidence), the definition of royal exceptionalism in other avenues of Elizabethan and Jacobean ceremonial and architecture, and the opportunities that royal and noble status provided for the deployment of a rich range of fabrics and tapestries in a confessionalised context. Finally, the significance of the Chapel Royal as an extraordinary space for the performance and negotiation of exceptional liturgy is emphasised,

especially for recovering a more precise understanding of Elizabeth's and James's reconciliation of royal authority, conciliar complaint, and international opulence.

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Abbreviations

AmUP – Amsterdam University Press

AsUP – Associated University Press

AVCAU – Archivum Venerabilius Collegium Anglorum de Urbe (Venerable English College, Rome)

BDECM – Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, Vols. I & II (Ashgate, 1998).

BL – British Library

CBCR – The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal, with additional material from the manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford, Vols. I & II, ed. Andrew Ashbee and John Harley (Ashgate, 2000).

CCA – Canterbury Cathedral Archive

CRO – Cheshire Archives and Local Studies Record Office

CUP – Cambridge University Press

EUP – Edinburgh University Press

HCA – Hereford Cathedral Archive

HRO – Hampshire Record Office

KHC – Kingston History Centre

LMA – London Metropolitan Archives (now 'The London Archives')

LPL – Lambeth Palace Library

McGQUP – McGill-Queens University Press

MUP – Manchester University Press

NGO – New Grove Online

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

OUP – Oxford University Press

PUP – Princeton University Press

RA – Royal Archives, Windsor

RECM – Records of English Church Music, Vols IV; VI; VII; and VIII, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Quill Graphics and Scolar Press, 1991-95).

SA – Southwark Archives

SGA – St George's Archives, Windsor

SRO – Somerset Record Office

SUP – Stanford University Press

TNA – The National Archives

UCP – University of Chicago Press

UPP – University of Pennsylvania Press

WAM – Westminster Abbey Muniments

WCA – Wells Cathedral Archives

WMCA – Westminster City Archives

YUP – Yale University Press

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Introduction

The Chapel Royal was central to the ceremonial and symbolic identity of the post-Reformation English monarchy. As a department of the royal household, it was intimately linked to the monarch's person and provided the royal family, household servants, and courtiers with daily access to Prayer Book services. From Elizabeth's accession on 17th November 1558 and the re-legislation of the Royal Supremacy in April 1559, the Chapel Royal was the main venue of royal worship in England.[1] It was also the primary stage on which Elizabeth and James displayed a form of worship suitably decorous for a Reformed and anointed sovereign, who led a court which claimed to equal, if not exceed, the cultural and political majesty of Europe's princely and royal courts.

The Chapel Royal was perhaps the most closely watched ecclesiastical institution in post-Reformation England. For clerical and lay commentators anxious about the direction of the reformed Church of England, the Chapel Royal represented, at least initially, a weathervane of the royal will.[2] While the liturgy observed in the Chapel Royal followed the order established by the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, the decoration and elaboration of services attracted adverse attention, especially from 'hotter' Protestant critics.[3] Nonetheless, it was this liturgical programme, with considerable material and musical investment, that helped Elizabeth and James navigate the performance of monarchical ritual heavily based on Catholic practice, as Supreme Governors of a Protestant Church.[4] This did not lead to a 'Catholicisation' of royal

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[1] 1 Eliz. 1. c.1.

[2] John Williams, bishop of Lincoln and later archbishop of York, described the Chapel Royal as 'the *Rubric*, and the *Pole-starre* we were to saile by in our obedience', in John Williams, *The Holy Table, Name & Thing, More Anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, then that of an Altar* (London, 1637), 34.

[3] See: 'A second admonition to the Parliament', in *Puritan manifestoes: a study of the origin of the Puritan revolt,* ed. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (SPCK, 1907), 100.
Protestant objections to the material appearance of royal worship are detailed throughout chapter 2.

[4] Although Edward VI faced a similar challenge, the absence of evidence relating to his Chapel, and his minority, places him beyond the purview of this thesis. A more detailed discussion is made on page 24.

services, but instead allowed for a distinctly Protestant culture of worship to emerge in Elizabeth's and James's royal household chapel, which suited both monarchs' conceptions of royal authority.

Accounts of religious change at the post-Reformation court have traditionally focused on the theological identities, administrative protocol, and political preferment of royal chaplains, in which the Chapel Royal has been primarily (and profitably) examined as an institutional context and venue for court preaching.[5] Comparatively, less scholarly attention has been given to the Chapel Royal as an institution dedicated to the performance of corporate liturgy.[6] While traditional accounts of Elizabeth's approach to cathedrals and parochial worship have been revised to the degree that few historians would claim, without serious qualification, that cathedrals or parish churches universally saw the protection of 'conservative' religious worship (in music, material fittings, and confessional outlook), or of universal liturgical-musical decline, the Chapel Royal is more frequently described as a venue of 'traditional' (even confessionally 'conservative') worship, and its services are implicitly regarded as existing on the legal boundaries of what was acceptable in the established Church of England.[7] Some

[5] For the most significant study sensitive to the relationship between the Chapel Royal, court preachers, and confessional trends, see: Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching*, (CUP: 1998), chs 2, 3, and 4.
For important work on court preachers which also takes institutional structures and procedure seriously, see: Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: the Episcopate of James I*, (Clarendon Press, 1990); Kenneth Fincham, 'The roles and influence of household chaplains, c.1600-c.1660' in *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood, and Gillian Wright, (MUP, 2013), 11-25; David Crankshaw, 'Chaplains to the Elizabethan nobility: activities, categories and patterns' in Ibid., 36-63; David Crankshaw, 'The Elizabethan Faculty Office and the Aristocratic Patronage of Chaplains' in *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church*, ed. Claire Cross (Borthwick Studies in History, 1996), 20-76.
[6] While issues of corporate liturgy in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal have been granted some analysis, no monograph-length study has been written. For existing considerations, see: McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, chapter 1; and Anthony Milton, ''That Sacred Oratory': Religion and the Chapel Royal during the Personal Rule of Charles I' in *William Lawes (1602-1645) Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Ashgate, 1998), 69-89; and for a discussion of musicological studies, see below, pages 8 and 16-17.
[7] Religious culture in post-Reformation English cathedrals has been the subject of concerted scholarly attention for over a decade. Key post-revisionist works include: Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Routledge, 2010);

influential accounts of the Elizabethan Church have also taken the crypto-Catholicism of individual Chapel Gentlemen, like William Byrd, alongside the elaborate ceremonial and decoration of Chapel ceremonies, to suggest that the style of Elizabethan Chapel services was intended as a conciliatory balm to Catholic subjects and foreign monarchs alike.[8] Such interpretations tend to characterise Elizabeth's relationship with the institution as expressive of her 'odd sort of Protestantism', and Katherine Butler has developed Christopher Haigh's suggestion that Elizabeth intended that her Chapel Royal be used as a diplomatic tool, grounded in public performance and material display to court the opinion of Catholic Europe, in spite of England's Protestant Church.[9]

Controversies over the appearance and sound of worship in the Elizabethan Chapel Royal have been particularly effective in suggesting that Elizabeth encouraged traditional forms of worship in her household chapel.[10] While the details of Elizabethan Chapel liturgy

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Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, (CUP, 2010); Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 53 No. 3 (2010): 895-918.

While dominant historiographical conversations now focus on the complexity of the religious identities and culture at work in the Elizabethan and Jacobean court, noted above in footnote five, the 'conservatism' of worship in the Elizabethan Chapel Royal compared with cathedrals and parish churches has been emphasised in a collection of influential overview works, such as the following: William Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: the struggle for a stable settlement of religion* (CUP, 1970), 190; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* (Macmillan, 1990) 29; Graham Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 19.; Scott A. Wenig, *Straightening the Altars: the ecclesiastical vision and pastoral achievements of the progressive bishops under Elizabeth I, 1559-1579* (Peter Lang, 2000), 100-4.

[8] MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation*, 25.

A favourite anecdote of defenders of the ceremonies of the Caroline Church saw the French ambassador remark that had the French Protestants adopted the ceremonies of the early Jacobean Chapel Royal, far more Catholics would have converted.

For further discussion, see: Peter Lake, *On Laudianism: Piety, Polemic and Politics During the Personal Rule of Charles I* (CUP: 2023), 145.

See also: Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (Routledge, 1998), 36-37. Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (Bloomsbury, 2003), 110-113.

[9] Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays*, 113; Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Boydell, 2015), 80.

[10] Chiefly, the 1571/2 *Admonition to Parliament* (co-authored by Presbyterian divines John Field and Thomas Wilcox), and the series of private letters exchanged between prominent English and Continental reformers regarding the presence of a cross in Elizabeth's royal chapels in the early 1560s, collected in the *The Zurich Letters, comprising the correspondence of several English Bishops*

have not received extensive or detailed analysis, Elizabeth's approach to household religion, based on her apparent attentive attendance of Chapel services and her promotion of churchmen who emphasised ceremonial conformity and distanced themselves from fervent avowals of doctrines of double or unconditional predestination, has been described as centred around 'private prayer and corporate liturgy', and contrasted with James's emphasis on and investment in sermon-hearing.[11] While such a distinction is identifiable in each monarch's patronage of court chaplains and individual churchmen, Elizabeth's administration and financial investment in her Chapel Royal was marked by inactivity and reduced expenditure, especially after the 1560s and compared against the activities of her successor. This thesis enirches assessments of the religious culture of the Elizabethan court by calling attention to important material and administrative evidence regarding her Chapel Royal. It suggests that Elizabeth's approach to the religious culture of her household was undercut as much by the doctrinal statements preached from the court pulpit, as her decision to economise, compromise, and obfuscate through royal inactivity.

Accounts of James's Chapel Royal have focused on England's religious future, rather than a 'conservative' past. The Jacobean and Caroline Chapel Royal has been illustrated, especially by Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, to have influenced a considerable number of 'avant-garde conformists', who sought to emulate royal practice by re-arranging their church furniture and investing in the material and sonic accoutrement of services.[12]

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and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. I, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1842).
For a discussion of these accounts and the Chapel Royal with particular reference to the Chapel cross see: Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, (Clarendon Press, 1988), 306-14.

[11] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 6.

[12] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored: the changing face of English religious worship, 1547-c.1700* (OUP, 2007), 354.
Further discussion is found in Lake, *On Laudianism*, 214-15; and regarding similarities between the Caroline Chapel Royal and William Laud's renovation of Lambeth Palace Chapel in 1633-4, see: Parry, *Glory, laud, and honour*, 43-46.
The term 'avant-garde conformist' was coined by Peter Lake as an alternative to the theologically imprecise use of 'Arminian', partisan 'anti-Calvinist', or the politically misrepresentative 'proto-

Parallel to assessments of the reception of Chapel Royal practice in other ecclesiastical contexts has been the scholarly emphasis placed on the influence of Lancelot Andrewes as Dean of the Chapel Royal (from Christmas 1618), on the furniture and ceremonies of Chapel worship. While Nicholas Tyacke and Peter McCullough have suggested that Andrewes was responsible for the introduction of a communion rail, the tightening of congregational arrangement, and the beautification of the chapels at Whitehall and Greenwich, this thesis points to a broader pattern of material and ceremonial arrangement, pre-dating Andrewes, in which James was willing to personally invest.[13] Accounts of James's churchmanship have long emphasised his patronage of talented preachers, and the consciously broad range of Protestant opinion heard from his court pulpits, usually at the expense of the king's attention on Prayer Book services, which he would notoriously interrupt to begin the anthem and sermon.[14] While James's personal attention at Chapel services could vary, he invested heavily in the fabric and administration of his Chapel from his accession in 1603. This was not in pursuit of an 'avant-garde conformist' style of worship, though many of the conformist avant-garde found apparent encouragement in the practices of the Chapel Royal, but rather the application of a level of

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Laudian' to describe those who embraced a greater degree of ceremony, material elaboration, and sacramental focus in the performance of the Prayer Book liturgy and is used to describe such churchmen throughout this thesis.

A version of the term ('conformist avant-garde') first appeared in Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (Allen & Unwin, 1988), 139; the term 'avant-garde conformity' appears in Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I' in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (CUP, 1991), 133. For further discussion, see: Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, chapter 3; and Peter McCullough, ''Avant-Garde Conformity in the 1590s' in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume 1: Reformation and Identity, c.1520-1662*, ed. Anthony Milton, (OUP, 2017), 380-394.

[13] See: Nicholas Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism' in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1650*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Boydell, 2000), 31-32; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 51.

See also: Milton, ''That Sacred Oratory'', 73; and Simon Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618-1685', *Architectural History*, Vol. 45, (2002): 239.

[14] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 24., No. 2., (1985), 187; Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I' in *The Early Stuart Church*, 1603-1642, (Macmillan, 1993), 24; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 112; Ibid., 125-26; Ibid., 156-57.

For further discussion of James's interruption of Chapel services, see pages 135-36.

elaboration and formality that James believed was appropriate to an anointed and leading Protestant monarch.

Elizabeth and James approached royal worship in different ways. For Elizabeth, while the Chapel Royal was an important venue for liturgical and royal performance, she did not augment or invest anything beyond the sums expected of her, especially compared with her predecessors and successors [Fig. I].[15] Following her defence of the silver gilt cross on her communion table, sustained for the first eight years of her reign and replaced by a moveable tapestry in 1567, Elizabeth's only traceable interaction with her Chapel seems to have been to reduce or obscure religious art in its walls and windows, and to allow offices (such as the deanship) to fall vacant. Compared with the management style of his predecessor, James's played a prominent role as he sought to re-establish royal control over the household chapel. Having moved from the comparatively impoverished Scottish court to one that he believed was much wealthier than it was, James was ready to invest heavily in this institution designed to articulate the royal supremacy and bolster ideas of royal exceptionalism.[16] Nonetheless, both Elizabeth and James shared an understanding of the exceptional privileges and performance style afforded to Chapel services.

Recent scholarship has been particularly interested in the cultural, confessional, and social shifts in court culture as a Stuart king acceded to the English throne.[17] Usually characterised as a continuation of royal splendour and the rich performance of liturgy (though interpretations of this can diverge, as discussed above), the Chapel Royal under Elizabeth and James is usually characterised as a place of continuity, not change. This thesis reveals how the

[15] The sums of investment in the Chapel and Closet are found in the Great Wardrobe accounts, TNA AO 1/2339/2 to 1/2349/55; TNA LC 9/52 to 9/98; and BL Add 5750, f.38r-43r.
[16] John Cramsie, *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI and I, 1603-1625* (Boydell, 2002), chapter 3.
[17] Susan Doran, *From Tudor to Stuart: the regime change from Elizabeth I to James I* (OUP, 2024); Christopher Gausden, 'A Court in Transition: the Literary Culture of the English Court, c.1590-1612' (D.Phil diss, University of Oxford, 2020).

administration, performance, and character of the Chapel Royal shifted after James's accession, as the monarch became increasingly directly involved in patronising a style of worship explicitly designed to celebrate the royal body (and royal family), as negotiated by his Tudor predecessor.

The Chapel Royal was an institution, not a building. As its 32 Gentlemen (five of whom were ministers, the rest singing-men) and 12 children (managed by one of the singing-men) accompanied the monarch and their court on regular 'removings' between different palaces, and possibly on royal progresses in reduced number (though little evidence survives for Chapel Gentlemen taking part in post-Reformation summer progresses), it occupied a range of spaces.[18] The chapels of royal palaces were the most common venue for the performance of royal worship, though a range of ecclesiastical and secular spaces might be used for liturgies and para-liturgies performed while the court was away from one of the main royal standing houses. The presence of the Chapel Royal (and the monarch) had a materially and conceptually transformative impact on the spaces chosen for the performance of church services. Alongside the heightened material decoration of ecclesiastical space, distinct rules of precedence and ritual actions were observed, or expected to be observed, during the service.

The distinction between a royal prayer book service and an ordinary parochial or cathedral service was crucial, and if not always appreciated by 'hotter' Protestant commentators, was at least observed by members of the Elizabethan and Jacobean court and those who sought to defend the established Church from its critics. While services performed by the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal followed the rubrics of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, it was the exceptional status of the monarch's household chapel, and the legitimising presence of the royal body that permitted a greater degree of material and ritual

[18] David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (B.T. Batsford, 1986), 172; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 62.

elaboration. Though contemporaries differed over the extent of this performance and key details regarding the decoration of royal chapels, the exceptionalism of royal worship is an aspect of royal chapels that few existing studies have attempted to confront on the terms understood by contemporaries. It is the contention of this thesis that many aspects of services celebrated in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal have been misinterpreted as representative of wider liturgical reforms or inclinations in the early Church of England. By distinguishing such trends from the ritual precedence and negotiation of performing royal worship in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, this extraordinary royal phenomenon will be understood on its own terms, and those of contemporaries, rather than posthumously applied religious labels such as 'conservative' or 'proto-Laudian'.

I. 'Royal Religion! […] Did ever Man write a book on so Empty a Subject?': Historiography and the Chapel Royal.[19]

The Chapel Royal has not played a major role in histories of the Reformation. While the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a surge of scholarly interest in early modern ecclesiastical institutions, the English Chapel Royal remained neglected. Despite Charles Rogers's wide-ranging 1882 survey of the Scottish Chapel Royal, the only major treatment of the subject in the nineteenth century was Edward Rimbault's edition of the 'old' Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal (a register of entry and departure, with some key administrative documents between 1560/1 and 1744), published in 1872.[20] Despite the availability of this major resource for work on the Chapel Royal, no major historical study followed. Rimbault's preface to the

[19] Daniel Defoe, *Royal religion; being some enquiry after the piety of princes. With remarks on a book, entitled, A form of prayers us'd by King William* (London: 1704), 3.
[20] Charles Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland, with the Register of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, including details in relation to the rise and progress of Scottish music, and observations respecting the Order of the Thistle* (Edinburgh, 1882); *The Old Cheque Book, or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal from 1561 to 1744*, ed. Edward F. Rimbault (De Capo, 1966).

Cheque Book clarifies some useful features of the place of the Chapel Royal in the royal household but remains cursory.

Subsequent scholarly work on the Chapel Royal was largely undertaken by musicologists and early music historians. John Bumpus and Edmund Fellowes produced important works on 'cathedral music' (self-consciously distinguished from other venues of performance, something later interrogated by Jonathan Willis), but such surveys sketched a rather impressionistic scene of musical decline in the parishes and protection at court and in some cathedrals, with little attention paid to liturgical or religious cultures.[21] Meanwhile, W.H. Grattan Flood and Charlotte Carmichael Stopes focused on smaller and more detailed subjects, namely the biographies of key composers and singing-men associated with the Tudor and Stuart Chapel Royal.[22] It was not until the publication of Peter le Huray's seminal *Music and the Reformation in England* in 1967 that a major scholarly work on the English Chapel Royal was produced.[23] Though still an invaluable source book for musicological analysis, le Huray's discussion of the 'Anglican' dimensions of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal appears outdated for more recent reconsiderations of the language used to describe the post-Reformation Church of England.[24] David Baldwin's 1990 history of the Chapel Royal, which ranges from its earliest antecedents to the end of the twentieth century, offered an ambitious introduction to the institution, though due to its broad scope and reliance on mostly secondary

[21] John S. Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1549-1889* (T. Werner Laurie, 1909); Edmund Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music from Edward VI to Edward VII* (Methuen & Co, 1941); Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*.
[22] W.H. Grattan Flood, 'Queen Mary's Chapel Royal', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 129, (1918): 83-89; W.H. Grattan Flood, 'New Light on Early Tudor Composers: I – XXXIX', *The Musical Times*, vols 65-70, (1924-29); C.C. Stopes, 'Mary's Chapel Royal and her Coronation', *The Athenaeum*, No. 4063, (1905): 346-347; C. C. Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal: A study of his period and the influences which affected Shakespeare* (London, 1910).
[23] Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (CUP, 1978).
[24] Ibid., chapters 1 and 2.

literature (primarily le Huray), it did little to advance interpretations of royal worship in early modern England.[25]

This thesis does not just fill the obvious gap in scholarship on the Chapel Royal. It makes the case for the importance of the royal household chapel, and institutions like it, in understanding and advancing scholarly conversations about religious culture and identity in early modern England. It recognises the differences in Elizabeth's and James's approaches to their household chapels and the influence of contemporary confessional trends, courtly precedence, and contemporary expectations of religious observance in a leading princely court. The Chapel Royal was not hermetically sealed from the liturgical changes of post-Reformation England, nor was it held to the same expectations for the performance of liturgy as a parish church or cathedral. It was a space where the ceremonial, material, and sonic exceptions of royal worship were publicly displayed and consequently interrogated. While royal services could help to bolster the image and symbolic authority of the monarch, rumour and reportage could generate unwonted criticism of the monarch's prerogative in their household worship. The religious changes of the sixteenth century heightened contemporary sensitivity to these boundaries, and it was under the guidance of Elizabeth and James that defences and definitions of Protestant Royal worship were laid out.

Recent scholarship has described the religious culture of the Chapel Royal with a variety of confessionally and politically charged terms. While Simon Thurley has used the phrase 'ceremonious Protestantism' to describe Chapel worship, which eschews more contentious terms like 'conservative', 'proto-Arminian', or 'proto-Laudian', it is nonetheless vague and is not granted further definition.[26] Thurley's argument, and similar arguments

[25] David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (Duckworth, 1990).
[26] Simon Thurley, *Palaces of Revolution: Life, Death & Art at the Stuart Court* (William Collins, 2021), 202.

proposed by scholars like Byran Spinks, emphasise the importance of the late Jacobean Chapel Royal in prefiguring Laudian defences of the 'beauty of holiness' and sacrality of religious space and music.[27] By focusing on the use of the Chapel Royal as legitimation of Laudian liturgical practices, accuracy in discussing the religious culture of the Chapel itself is clouded. Westminster Abbey, another major site of royal liturgy for Tudor and Stuart monarchs (as today), cultivated a decorous form of worship in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries which has been closely associated with that of the Chapel Royal.[28] This style of worship, named the 'Westminster Movement' (a term consciously redolent of the 'Oxford Movement' of the nineteenth century, evoking its material and musical investment in the performance of liturgy), has also been described as a 'cradle' or 'midwife' of Laudianism.[29] While Diarmaid MacCulloch and Julia Merritt have cautioned against over-stating this association, and sensitive scholarly work has interrogated areas of liturgical display at the Abbey, the Chapel Royal remains unexplored and unexplained.[30]

Part of the problem with discussing 'peculiar' royal churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the historiographical complexity of the terminology used. While 'avant-garde conformist' has proven invaluable in avoiding the more specific meanings of 'anti-Calvinist' or 'proto-Arminian', the term is less readily applicable to cultures of worship or ecclesiastical institutions, given their propensity to reflect an organic range of influence beyond individual religious conviction, including tradition, law, and practicality.[31] Anthony

[27] Bryan Spinks, 'Durham House and the Chapels Royal: their liturgical impact on the Church of Scotland', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 67, No. 4, (2014): 379.
[28] J. F. Merritt, 'The Cradle of Laudianism? Westminster Abbey, 1558-1630', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 52, No. 4, (2001): 626.
[29] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation*, 80-81; Merritt, 'The Cradle of Laudianism?', 623; Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Great Transition: 1550-1603' in *Westminster Abbey: A Church in History*, ed. David Canadine (YUP, 2019), 173.
[30] J.F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (MUP, 2005), chapter 9.
[31] Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, 139; Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I', 133.

Milton has written about the difficulty of describing Calvinists like George Abbot who supported the beautification of select churches, and has called for greater attention to idiosyncratic theological beliefs over the blanket-use of convenient anachronistic terminology.[32] A similar approach is profitably applied to discussions of the religious culture of ecclesiastical institutions like the Chapel Royal. By avoiding an assumption of the influence of certain confessional groups within the Church of England, this thesis focuses on the known views of the Chapel's membership and the nature of liturgical performance and offers greater definition to the 'ceremonious' nature of royal worship. It also expands our understanding of how the Royal Supremacy helped to legitimise and strengthen a decorated form of Prayer Book worship, suitably furnished to rival the chapels of Europe's Catholic and Lutheran courts.

The monarch was regularly present at services in the royal household chapel. The public and highly symbolic presentation of the royal body made the Chapel Royal a key site in the performance of post-Reformation sacred kingship. Despite concerted scholarly interest in the enactment of the symbolic divine aspects of the royal office, studies have tended to focus on the monarch's body and contemporary thaumaturgical or sacral theories of royal power, rather than the spaces or institutions that facilitated it.[33] An exception to this is the work of Fiona Kisby on the late-Henrician Chapel Royal which offers a reconstruction of the ritual calendar, liturgical performance, and royal theatre of the late Henrician court.[34] While some aspects of traditional ceremonial were retained by Henry, like 'creeping to the cross' on Good Friday,

[32] Anthony Milton, 'Arminians, Laudians, and Revisionists: Back to Which Drawing Board?', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Vol. 78. No. 4, (2015): 741.
[33] Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France*, transl. J.E. Anderson (Routledge, 1973); Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Boydell & Brewer, 2015).
[34] Fiona Kisby, ''When the King Goeth a Procession': Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2001): 44-75.

Kisby outlines how Henry utilised the Royal Supremacy to permit the maintenance of 'Catholic' rituals of royal image-making while the mass remained legal in England.[35]

However, Kisby's work stops in 1547. While she draws attention to a key source for Henrician royal ceremonial drawn up shortly after Elizabeth's accession, no scholar has considered post-Reformation royal worship with the same eye for ritual detail or precise analysis.[36] Other work on the post-Reformation royal body, like that of David Starkey and Neil Cuddy on intimacy and access in the royal bedchamber, or John Adamson on the sacralising effects of Caroline uses of the canopy in royal dining, have not paid detailed attention to royal liturgical patterns and performances.[37] This thesis develops our understanding of post-Reformation royal performance by integrating the role of the monarch in the performance of the Prayer Book liturgy. It emphasises how the material and aural furnishings of worship joined the ceremonial performance of reformed kingship to achieve a form of courtly liturgy embraced by the churchmen and elite lay members of the Protestant Church of England. The Protestant Chapel Royal did not draw strength through the appropriation of necessarily Catholic rituals but rather continued to use traditional forms of monarchical presentation, largely sanitised of pre-Reformation action or symbolism. This was not always successful, and the process was a long and contested one, but the removal of the real and royal presence of Christ allowed for ceremonial focus on the royal body transformed by the ecclesiastical power of the royal supremacy.

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[35] Ibid., 74-75.

[36] Fiona Kisby, ed. 'Religious Ceremonial at the Tudor Court: Extracts from Royal Household Regulations', in *Religion, Politics, and Society in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. Ian W. Archer (CUP, 2003), 10.

[37] David Starkey, 'Introduction in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (Longman, 1987), 4; Neil Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625' in *The English Court*, ed. Starkey, 173; John Adamson, 'Introduction: The Making of the Ancien-Regime Court 1500-1700' in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Regime, 1500-1750*, ed. John Adamson (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1999), 29.; John Adamson, 'The Kingdom of England and Great Britain: The Tudor and Stuart Courts, 1509-1714', in Ibid., 104.

The sights and sounds of Chapel Royal services were controversial. Although these were experienced simultaneously in royal worship, scholarship on the two has taken separate and disciplinarily divergent paths. The appearance of worship in post-Reformation England was inextricably linked with the danger of idolatry, and research on this topic is indebted to the efforts of Margaret Aston, whose work provides an encyclopaedic point of entry to almost all debates about religious images in this period.[38] Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke's *Altars Restored* (2007) offered a superlative examination of material culture in post-Reformation liturgy, and examines the Chapel Royal as a central, if controversial, model of worship explicitly adopted by churchmen who sympathised with the liturgical programme advanced by William Laud.[39] Yet, as Fincham and Tyacke recognise, the practices of the Chapel Royal were easily claimed. In 1617, dean William Laud of Gloucester, controversially moved the cathedral's communion table to a permanent 'altar-wise' position, citing the practice of the Chapel Royal and other cathedral churches.[40] The same precedent was cited by Peter Titley, rector of St Wulfram's parish church, Grantham, who sought to install an 'altar-wise' communion table, but was rebuked by bishop John Williams of Lincoln, who rejected Titley's parochial claims to equivalence with the order observed in the royal household chapel and a growing number of cathedrals.[41] While the Chapel Royal undoubtedly provided avant-garde late-Jacobean and Caroline clergymen with a useful example of a permanent 'altar-wise' arrangement, further distinctions ought to be recognised. James did not bilaterally support

[38] Although Aston has provided illuminating discussion of some aspects of the appearance of Chapel worship, alternative interpretations might be provided over key issues of contention, such as the Chapel cross.
Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (CUP, 1993), 101-107.
[39] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 116.
[40] Ibid, 115-116. For the full record of Laud's defence of his actions at Gloucester, see: *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, DD. Sometime Lord Archbishop of* Canterbury, Vol. IV, ed. James Bliss (Oxford, 1847), 233.
[41] Williams, *The Holy Table, Name & Thing,* 15-16.
With thanks to Dr Mark Kirby for reminding me of this episode.

beautification schemes in his household chapel and in cathedrals but made clear exceptions for the style of worship he intended to cultivate in his Chapel Royal.[42] While Fincham and Tyacke acknowledge this, James's approach to royal worship deserves further explication and explanation.

Post-Reformation approaches to church images were complex and depended on the appearance and nature of the image, its location and visibility, and the religious views and social status of its patron. Tara Hamling and Jonathan Willis have argued that early modern image theory depended on the careful application of the above criteria and have constructed a helpful framework to aid modern analysis [Fig. II].[43] The Elizabethan Church cautiously made early iconophobic statements such as the warning against the worshipping of images in the second of the 1559 Injunctions. This repeated the language of the 1538 Injunctions and forbade the 'offering of money, candles or tapers to relics, or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition' and only ordered for the destruction of images of 'feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition'.[44] However, pronouncements were not always unified. The 1563 'Homily Against Peril of Idolatry' ordered for images of 'God, our Saviour Christ, the blessed virgin Mary, the Apostles, Martyrs, and other of notable holiness' to be removed from the walls and windows of churches.[45] The same images remained in royal chapels with only minor alteration, however, much to the complaint of iconophobic courtly commentators.[46] Though Elizabeth's and James's retention of images in their palace chapels has been taken as evidence of respective 'conservatism' or 'proto-Laudianism',

[42] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 119.
[43] 'Diagrammatic chart showing difference between images and idols' in Tara Hamling and Jonathan Willis, 'From Rejection to Reconciliation: Protestantism and the Image in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol 62, No 4 (2023): 938.
[44] 'The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559' in *Documents of the English Reformation,* ed. Gerald Bray (Lutterworth Press, 1994), 301.
[45] 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking in Churches' in *The Books of Homilies: A Critical Edition*, ed. Gerald Bray (Lutterworth Press, 2015), 274; Ibid., 305.
[46] For further discussion, see chapter 2, pages 153-57.

Hamling and Willis's model provides a useful way of conceptualising another reason for their maintenance. The importance of material decoration in worship, and the Protestant credentials of their patron, allowed for a degree of contextual acceptability for something otherwise deeply inappropriate for an Elizabethan or Jacobean church environment.

This thesis makes a major contribution to work on the appearance of post-Reformation public liturgy by examining the implications and legal provisions of the Chapel Royal's status alongside the material changes introduced in royal worship over the course of the late-sixteenth and early centuries. Elizabeth and James were unable to excuse the elaborate liturgical decoration of their Chapel Royal by dismissing the concerns of iconoclasts and enforcing the royal prerogative. Instead, they were directly confronted with the expectations and demands of their churchmen and negotiated a form of religious ceremonial appropriate to the royal household chapel. While this did not always result in a victory for the will of the monarch, it established important conceptual grounds for the continued elaborate performance of worship, which should be distinguished from wider debates about the threat of idolatry in the parish.

Musical performance was the heart of liturgical life of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal, and it has secured a legacy as a culturally relevant topic of historical enquiry. Musicologists far outnumber historians among those who have thought deeply about the performance of post-Reformation royal worship, and it is for this reason that existing work has centred on the nature of surviving compositions, rather than the religious or political context in which they were performed.[47] Important contributions regarding the style of music patronised by Elizabeth and James in their household Chapel have done much to develop definitions and

[47] See: John Harley, *William Byrd's Modal Practice* (Ashgate, 2005); Roger Bray, 'Music and Musicians in Tudor England: Sources, Composition Theory and Performance' in *Music in Britain: the Sixteenth Century,* Vol. II ed. Roger Bray (Blackwell, 1995), Peter Philips, *English Sacred Music 1549-1649* (Gimell Records, 1991).
An exception is: Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (OUP, 1993), 389-393.

recognition of England's 'Golden Age' of church music, though England's musical exceptionalism is often emphasised and the role of the 'Chapel in particular […] to preserve and foster an indigenous musical idiom that endured in spite of continental influence'.[48] Work on the style of music heard in the Chapel Royal is not always reconciled with the confessional controversy it attracted. Complaints about the aural performance of royal worship can be identified alongside complaints about the visual, though it is significant that the tangible appearance of services attracted more criticism than their comparatively ephemeral sound.

Musicologists and music historians have illustrated how Protestants enthusiastically engaged with musical performance in the secular and sacred spheres, though greater care was exercised with the latter.[49] The Elizabethan Injunctions remained notoriously taciturn about the prescribed style of music for the 'said or sung' services of the Book of Common Prayer, declaring only that music be 'modest and distinct', so 'that the same may be as plainly understanded as if it were read without singing'.[50] Consequently, an idiosyncratic pattern of musical performance emerged, largely informed by institutional context and individual patronage.[51] In the Chapel Royal, the 'verse' style of anthem and service had developed by the 1570s to respond to the requirements of the 49th injunction. 'Verse' pieces relied on strong solo voices which alternated with the full choir and organ. The effect was dramatic and had the important benefit of isolating key parts of the text, allowing for some clarity of text in the repetition of a scriptural phrase or refrain.[52]

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[48] Philip Brett, 'English Music for the Scottish Progress of 1617', in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (Stainer & Bell, 1981), 209.
[49] See: Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, chapter 1; Hyun-Ah Kim, *The Renaissance Ethics of Music: Singing, Contemplation, and Musica Humana* (Routledge, 2015).
[50] 'The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559' in *Documents of the English Reformation*, ed. Bray, 309.
[51] Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 57-58.
[52] See: Simon Jackson, 'Prayer and Musical Performance: The Verse Anthem' in *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (CUP, 2018), 110-125.

This thesis does not offer any novel arguments regarding the type of music heard in the Chapel Royal, nor does it conduct compositional analysis of the surviving pieces produced by Chapel Gentlemen. In the absence of a contemporary music-list (the closest indications are two copies of a surviving Caroline anthem word-book likely used in the Chapel Royal, and another similar book associated with Lambeth Palace Chapel, or the Chapel Royal), the surviving compositions of Chapel Gentlemen provide the best indication of the type of music heard in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal.[53] The performance of liturgy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as now, involves the management and careful execution of many disparate moving parts. Full recognition of these parts, and an explanation of how they interacted with the musical and visual performance of the liturgy, and the religious culture of the Chapel itself, is a key contribution of this thesis to understanding the aural dimensions of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal.

The Chapel Royal has also played a significant role in histories of music and the Reformation as a centralising hub of employment and patronage for church musicians, as cathedrals reduced the number of their singing-men and wages stagnated.[54] Although the wages of Chapel Gentlemen were not adjusted for inflation until James's accession, they were nonetheless nearly £20 higher per annum than contemporary cathedrals, and came with valuable potential patronage links at court.[55] Social networks, then as now, were a central means of ensuring continued employment and sufficient remuneration for church musicians.[56] While Stanford Lehmberg recognises the variety of jobs undertaken within the cathedral or ecclesiastical environment (such as cope-mending) to supplement stagnant wages, Christopher

[53] BL Harley MS 4142; Bod MS Rawl. Poet. 23; LPL MS 764.
The Bodleian MS may have, judging from the elaborate binding stamped with the royal arms and absence of musical notation, been used as a reference copy in the royal closet.
[54] Stanford Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603* (PUP, 1988), 302.
[55] Ibid., 197.
[56] David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (CUP, 1981), 70.

Marsh has begun to emphasise the significance of employment within the city.[57] Further work is needed on the subject, and the Chapel Royal has been absent from such considerations. The religious and institutional culture of the Chapel Royal was not limited to its ceremonies or governance. The individuals performing royal liturgy and acting as administrators played a significant role in shaping the professional culture of the Chapel, and have been critically undervalued by existing studies, other than as figures of celebrity or musical innovation.[58] While important in understanding the technical development of English church music in this period, a broader sense of the significance of social and professional links between the Gentlemen of the Chapel has not been established. This thesis offers a full prosopographical analysis of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Gentlemen, illustrating their occupational patterns in and out of musical production. Their social and economic lives, along with their personal, confessional, and social identities, were paramount not only in shaping the identity of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal, but also in establishing connections between cathedrals, cities, and the royal court as Chapel Gentlemen acted as influential courtly intermediaries between institutional, commercial, and economic interests.

Music was not the only important aural aspect of Chapel Royal services. Sermons were central to Protestant devotion and became a key public part of the performance of royal worship. Peter McCullough's groundbreaking *Sermons at Court* (1998) transformed how scholars approached the Chapel Royal, and defined sermon studies as a distinct field of historical enquiry.[59] McCullough used sermons preached from the court pulpit to illustrate how the oratory heard in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal simultaneously defended

[57] Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 192; Marsh, *Music and Society*, 109.
[58] Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (OUP, 2013); Kerry McCarthy, *Tallis* (OUP, 2020); Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Faber & Faber, 1981); John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons family of Musicians* (Ashgate, 1999); John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Routledge, 2010).
[59] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*.

crown policy and offered moments of sharp criticism over controversial or frustrating aspects of the sovereign's churchmanship or courtly practice.[60] As the work of Lori Anne Ferrell, Emma Rhatigan, Jeanne Shami, and Mary Morrissey has established, the content, performance context, and identity of the preacher determined how sermons could be received, and controlled their potential impact on matters of state or Church policy.[61] While this thesis does not offer new perspectives on royal chaplains or court sermons as a genre, it builds on this valuable existing work and analyses court sermons to examine how they reflected on royal worship, and what they can tell us about reactions to ceremonial, material, and musical changes introduced under Elizabeth and James.

The Chapel Royal was also defined by the buildings it inhabited. Although no building claimed the title 'Chapel Royal' in early modern England, the pattern of court habitation and renovation of palace chapels provided a degree of institutional association, and palace chapels were regularly visited by foreign tourists even when the court was on the move. Court chapels have not been the subject of much direct study. Howard Colvin, John Summerson, and Simon Thurley have produced indispensable detailed surveys of Tudor and Stuart palatial architecture, brief aspects of which touch on the use of the palace chapel.[62] The only explicit and extended discussion of court chapels as extraordinary spaces is found in the unpublished doctoral work of James Jago and Dustin Neighbors. Jago and Neighbours acknowledge how royal chapels were treated as exceptional venues in their architecture and elements of their ritual,

[60] Ibid., 97; Ibid., 114.
[61] Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1602-1625* (SUP, 1998); Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching to Princes: John Burgess and George Hakewill in the Royal Pulpit', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 62, No. 2, (2011): 273-296; Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012); Mary Morrissey 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (1999): 1111-1123.
[62] H.M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works,* Vol. III, (HM Stationery Office, 1975); H.M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV, (HM Stationery Office, 1982); John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830* (Penguin, 1953); Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (YUP, 1993); Simon Thurley, *Houses of Power: The Places that Shaped the Tudor World* (Bantam Press, 2017); Thurley, *Palaces of Revolution*.

respectively, but their analyses are limited to short acknowledgements specific to a restricted temporal or contextual frame.[63]

Recent approaches to early modern space, and the conceptualisation thereof, have provided important groundwork for a study of the Chapel Royal. Andrew Spicer's, Hugo and Brigitte Johannsen's, and Sarah Hamilton's respective studies of Protestant churches across Europe has illustrated the variety of methods of arranging sacred space for appropriate liturgies and confessions, while simultaneously honouring social elites.[64] Malcolm Smuts, meanwhile, has called for a greater degree of specificity in discussions of court ritual, with an eye to understanding the location of an event before its significance can be fully appreciated.[65] Annabel Ricketts' work on post-Reformation gentry chapels has emphasised how certain gentry chapels, depending on their patrons, were filled with devotional art, and often took structural forms designed to heighten the prestige of the master of the house and their family.[66] No comparative approach exists for the chapels of the royal household, and such work provides a valuable point of entry for understanding the space of the Chapel Royal.

This thesis offers an extended consideration of how Elizabethan and Jacobean commentators thought about the space of royal worship. This is an important concept to

[63] James Sherrington Jago, 'The Dissemination and Reassessment of Private Religious Space in Early Modern England, 1600-1660: An Examination of the Cultural Contexts surrounding Royal, Episcopal & Collegiate Chapels from the Accession of James I to the Restoration' (PhD diss., University of York, 2012), chapter 1; Dustin Michael Neighbors, 'With My Rulinge': Agency, Queenship & Political Culture through Royal Progresses in the Reign of Elizabeth I' (PhD diss., University of York, 2017), chapter 4.

[64] Brigitte Bøggild Johannsen and Hugo Johannsen, 'Re-forming the Confessional Space: Early Lutheran Churches in Denmark, c.1536-1660', in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2012),260; Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist churches in early modern Europe* (MUP, 2007), 52-53; Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: the Delineation of Sacred Space' in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Ashgate, 2005), 2.

[65] Malcolm Smuts and George Gorse, 'Introduction' in *The Politics of Space: European Courts, ca.1500-1750* ed. Marcello Fantoni, George Gorse, and Malcolm Smuts (Bulzoni, 2009), 13.

[66] Annabel Ricketts, *The English Country House Chapel: Building a Protestant Tradition*, ed. Simon Ricketts (Spire Books, 2007), 13.

establish, if the development of a Protestant culture in the Chapel Royal is to be fully understood, and the ramifications of royal exceptionalism in the performance of the liturgy explained. In addition to the internal arrangement of palace chapels, this thesis considers the occasions when the Chapel Royal inhabited non-royal spaces and explores the consequences of this for the performance of religious rituals. Differences in decoration and the use of secular space might challenge those who view the Chapel as an anticipation of the holiness of space associated with 'avant-garde conformists' and later, with Laudians.

II. Methodology: archival survival and the Chapel Royal.

Compared with contemporary royal household departments and ecclesiastical institutions, an astonishingly small percentage of records regarding the sixteenth and seventeenth century Chapel Royal survive. The 'Cheque Book' is the best-known contemporary document relating to Chapel business, and it offers important biographical details on the dates of entry and departure (or death) for Chapel Gentlemen, along with key documents regarding the administration of the institution.[67] Two published editions have made the manuscript held in the Royal Archives readily accessible: the first, published in 1872 by Edward Rimbault, re-organises the content of the manuscript according to theme, while the second, published in 2000 by Andrew Ashbee and John Harley, provides a semi-diplomatic transcription with introductions, textual and contextual annotations, and indexes.[68] Despite this, the Cheque Book has not been critically studied, especially for the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. Ashbee has also widened access to archival material in his seven volume *Records of English Court Music* series, which offers an impressive transcription of manuscripts held in the Exchequer, Signet

[67] RA LC/CHAPELR.
[68] *The Old Cheque Book*, ed. Rimbault; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal, with additional material from the manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford*, Vol. I, ed. Andrew Ashbee and John Harley (Ashgate, 2000) [hereafter *CBCR*].

Office, and Lord Chamberlain's series in the National Archives.[69] Although the *RECM* is far from comprehensive, it offers valuable information about the musical provisions in the households of Elizabeth, James, and his royal family, the rates of payment granted to Chapel Gentlemen, and provides an important starting point for research into the musical culture of the post-Reformation court.

Ashbee's archival work has also resulted in the publication of the indispensable *Biographical Dictionary of Court Musicians,* co-edited by David Lasocki.[70] This survey of court musicians provides a rich foundation for a prosopographical analysis of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, and has greatly informed the compilation of the list of Gentlemen, with their dates of entry and departure, marital status (if known), level of education (if known), livings, and prior ecclesiastical-institutional appointments, found in the appendix. While Ashbee and Lasocki's *Biographical Dictionary* offers great range, it is not complete, and alongside other biographical information provided by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the 'Clergy of the Church of England Database', and independent archival research, this thesis recovers a more detailed picture of the social and occupational habits of Chapel Gentlemen. This complements the publication of surviving compositions by Chapel Gentlemen in the *Early English Church Music* series, which analyses compositions in manuscript and print.[71] Beyond attention to surviving compositions, little further attention has been granted to the Chapel Royal as an active place of

[69] *Records of English Court Music Vol IV: 1603-1625,* ed. Andrew Ashbee, (Quill Graphics, 1991); *RECM Vol VI: 1558-1603*, ed. Ashbee (Scolar Press, 1992); *RECM Vol VII: 1485-1558*, ed. Ashbee (Scolar Press, 1992); *RECM Vol VIII: 1485-1714*, ed. Ashbee (Scolar Press, 1995).
[70] Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, Vols. I & II, (Ashgate, 1998) [hereafter *BDECM*].
[71] For example: *Orlando Gibbons: Verse Anthems*, ed. David Wulstan, (Stainer & Bell, 1966); *Thomas Tallis English Sacred Music: I Anthems*, ed. Leonard Ellinwood and Paul Doe (Stainer & Bell, 1973); *Nathaniel Giles: Anthems*, ed. J. Bunker Clark, (Stainer & Bell, 1979); *Thomas Morley: I English Anthems: Liturgical Music*, ed. John Morehen (Stainer & Bell, 1991); *Nathaniel Giles II English Sacred Music*, ed. Joseph Sargent (Stainer & Bell, 2021).

work and performance. This thesis utilises the above edited collections, but points towards more varied archival evidence, considering a broader range of archives (including cathedrals) and types of evidence not previously considered in discussions of post-Reformation royal worship.

The fragmentary nature of surviving evidence for the Chapel Royal and court religion poses a significant frustration for any work on the subject. Compared with later periods, a far higher proportion of the documents relating to the Edwardian or Marian Chapel Royal has been destroyed or lost, and our understanding of ceremonial and liturgical precedence largely relies on surviving evidence from the end of Henry VIII's reign, obscuring the potentially significant changes to royal worship that may have been introduced by his successor. Similarly, Mary's restoration of Catholicism, though vigorous and energetic elsewhere, is for the moment obscured in royal worship. Although most documents relating to the households of 'mid-Tudor' monarchs have been lost, further research is necessary to reconstruct these important venues of royal worship during the confessional turbulence of mid-sixteenth century England. This thesis is focused on the period following Elizabeth's accession, though understanding the changes introduced by the last Tudor queen necessitates an understanding of what existing practice looked like beforehand, and whether certain innovations had been previously introduced under Edward VI. Recovering this is difficult in the face of limited surviving evidence, though an attempt is made to recognise the changes in liturgy and personnel over the course of the 1550s, and to reconstruct a sense of pre-Elizabethan royal worship from chance survivals of Edward and Mary's Chapel and detailed work on late-Henrician courtly religious culture. The retention of images in the glass and on the walls of royal chapels provides at least one indication that although Edward may have removed the crucifix from royal worship, along with other plate and accoutrements associated with Catholic worship, the liturgical culture of the Chapel Royal remained opulent and suitably decorated for use by an anointed sovereign.

The Chapel Royal engaged with several court departments, hosted rich ceremonial which attracted the attention of contemporary visitors and observers, occupied a range of courtly and non-courtly spaces, and saw the performance of spectacular polyphony and oratory. Due to the variety of work undertaken in and by the Chapel Royal, surviving records span a considerable range of evidence types. Previous work on court religion has tended to focus on a particular type of representation or evidence base. Sermons and music have been the most thoroughly explored, though Works accounts have received less recent exploration and analysis, and prosopographical research has only recently been attempted, primarily limited to published literary works.

Understanding royal worship requires an interdisciplinary approach and a detailed consideration of all available types of evidence. Alongside a granular consideration of surviving Household, Great Wardrobe, and Works accounts, surviving eyewitness reports, and documentary and testamentary evidence, sermons and music will be considered throughout, to provide a holistic and detailed account of this remarkable institution. With the survival of nearly 300 printed or manuscript sermons (c.240 of which were preached in front of James), a degree of selectivity is necessary. Using McCullough's incomparable 'calendar' of court sermons as a guide, which offers valuable glosses on the content of each sermon, sermons that focus explicitly on the nature of kingship, divine right, the material celebration of sacraments, ecclesiastical policy, church buildings, music, decoration, and deportment (62 in total) have been subjected to close analysis.[72] These sermons often reflect on key aspects of the exceptions granted to royal places of worship and help to contextualise and explain some of the major material changes made to the appearance of services in Elizabeth's and James's Chapel. This analysis is integrated with the abstract definitions of royal spaces of worship, and the material

[72] Peter McCullough, 'Calendar of sermons preached at the court of Elizabeth I and James I', digital supplement to *Sermons at Court*.

and aural performance of royal services, to provide a fresh way of incorporating the evidence provided in sermons with the wider liturgical action of royal services. By understanding the corporate interaction of the liturgy performed in the Chapel Royal and the development of particular styles and distinctions of royal worship (especially after James's accession), a better sense of the development of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal under Tudor and Stuart rule is recovered.

This thesis is divided into three chapters. The first is concerned with the administration of the Chapel Royal. It details its structure, the duties of its officers, and considers broader models of royal chapels, both in England and across Europe. Before a detailed analysis of the ceremonies and services hosted in the Chapel Royal can be conducted, much less the social and confessional lives of its members, it is necessary to establish the duties and dynamics of each office in the Chapel, and the roles which regularly interacted with it but remained distinct from its institutional boundaries, like the staff of the Closet, royal chaplains, and the Lord High Almoner and confessor. Although the duties of each office have been covered in introductory materials to several works on the Chapel Royal, existing discussion has (with a small number of significant exceptions) tended to remain descriptive, offering a lucid summary of a complex institution rather than considering the rationale behind significant administrative changes.[73] After this exploration of the duties and developments of each office in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal, the abstract models and laws guiding the administration and performance of worship in royal household chapels in England and across Europe will be considered. While royal chapels have attracted some attention from European scholars of religious change and court history, less consideration has been made of the precise expectations

[73] *The Old Cheque Book*, ed. Rimbault, ii-iii; *CBCR*, vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, xiii-xv; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 60-62; Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, chapters 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20. For an analysis of the motivations behind the decision to fill the long-vacant post of Chapel Dean in 1603, see: McCullough, *Sermons at Court,* 107-8; and the discussion of McCullough's analysis on page 48.

and legal peculiarities applied to early modern royal chapels. Medieval precedent, early modern practice, and contemporary reflection in court sermons will be examined to clarify how the extraordinary nature of royal worship and court chapels were conceptualised in a post-Reformation Church and state. By granting a degree of specificity to the exceptionalism regularly claimed for ecclesiastical institutions in the royal household, this chapter establishes the framework which undergirded contemporary expectations and attitudes towards royal worship in a Reformed Church of England.

The second chapter addresses the performance of the reformed liturgy and Protestant religious ceremonial by the Chapel Royal. The Chapel Royal hosted a variety of liturgies and services. While services varied in their level of material and sonic elaboration according to the liturgical calendar, no existing study has explained the differences between different kinds of Protestant royal liturgy and ceremony. By establishing the ceremonial protocol and liturgical pattern of the post-Reformation Chapel, including its provision for sung and spoken parts of the service, important and overlooked developments in the performance of fundamental aspects of Chapel liturgy introduced over the course of Elizabeth's and James's reigns, like the use of prayer books, bibles, and week-day choral provision, are granted full and detailed analysis. The appearance and sound of royal worship is detailed, with extended attention afforded to plate, tapestry, glass, and music, alongside their respective charges of controversy. Analysing the accoutrements of Chapel services separately helps to achieve a greater degree of clarity in understanding precisely how services in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal may have looked and sounded, and how they were experienced. The festal heights of Chapel worship are then explored in detail, moving from the para-liturgy of the Chapel procession to the sacramental performance of the administration of the Eucharist and associated ceremony of the royal offering, and the host of exceptional 'liturgies of state' observed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean royal-liturgical calendar.

By first establishing what Chapel services regularly looked like, rather than exclusively focusing on moments of politically charged festivity and display, this chapter illustrates how royal worship was developed in the daily performance of liturgy, which on the grounds of contextual difference, ought to be distinguished and separated from communion days or even more exceptional liturgies regarding the birth, marriage, or death of the monarch and royal family. Such an approach allows for the liturgical realities of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal to be understood as a more visually and aurally elaborate version of the Prayer Book service as delivered in cathedrals and parish churches across England from May 1559. From the removal of the chapel cross in 1567 to the whitewashing of certain offensive windows in her royal chapel, Elizabeth's stable investment in her Chapel Royal was matched with increasingly Reformed attitudes to the elaboration applied to royal worship. James's enthusiastic investment in the fabric and ceremonies of his Chapel, and the rich opportunities for national and international display offered by members of his royal family, points to a monarch far more concerned with the public performance of the rites and ceremonies of his church than is usually allowed for England's first Stuart king.

The final chapter of the thesis examines the people employed in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal. Traditionally acknowledged for little more than producing a particularly talented corpus of composers, this chapter argues that the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were actively engaged in an occupationally and socially varied network of employment and association, many strands of which were characterised by strong confessional links. The professional trajectories of Gentlemen of the Chapel are first outlined and examined comparatively. Cathedrals were the most common venue of former employment, and usually provided an initial contact with the royal chapel and sometimes offered simultaneous employment to supplement Chapel wages. The dynamics and practicalities of this system of pluralism are explained and interrogated as indicative of tensions between crown and cathedral. Chapel

Gentlemen were also active participants in the economic and social networks of their urban centres, primarily in London but also their respective cathedral cities. This under-explored aspect of Chapel employment provided a crucial link between court and city and could play a significant role in directing the individual patterns of gentry and civic patronage enjoyed by Gentlemen, as they increasingly relied on moments of opportunistic favour for their social and economic advancement. Confessional networks were also central to the social and economic links of Gentlemen in and out of court, and their religious identities are granted full analysis in the final part of this chapter. Rather than a confessionally conservative group who sought refuge in the materially and aurally elaborate services of the Chapel Royal, the religious attitudes of these men frequently tended towards explicit or implicit support of Protestant doctrine and defence of the established ecclesiastical order. In the small handful of cases of nonconformist Gentlemen, firm settlements were reached, where most were able to continue in their royal service, with political loyalty secured and some liberties restricted. As an economically aspirational and theologically engaged class of court servant, Gentlemen of the Chapel provide an under-assessed means of understanding the working culture of the Chapel Royal, as expressed by occupational habits, socio-economic networks, and religious identities. In all these spheres, the strong corporate identity of the Chapel Royal is identifiable, balanced between its assumed rights and privileges, and the assertion of its distinct Protestant identity.

The Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal was an effective vehicle for the articulation and propagation of the royal supremacy. Its regular services, precedent, and publicity meant that the monarch received regular adulation as an anointed sovereign and Supreme Governor of the Church of England. However, the Chapel was also a key means of navigating the uncertainty of how royal piety should be expressed after the Reformation. It was the exceptional privileges granted to and claimed by this institution (through the intervention, or lack thereof) of the monarch, that ensured that the Chapel Royal continued to perform at the

heart of English royal liturgy and ceremonial, granting artistic elaboration during service time, and achieving a significant degree of exceptionalism in the minds of English subjects after the Reformation. While the rites of the Chapel Royal were contested, and it was far from a protective means of articulating the monarch's liturgical preferences (as Elizabeth discovered during the 1560s), it was nonetheless an appropriate space for the development of a suitably decorous performance of the liturgy contained in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, in celebration of both God and the royal presence. While Elizabeth and James responded to the opportunities for performance, investment, and display granted by the Chapel Royal in markedly different ways, they were unified by their shared understanding of the legal and liturgical exceptionalism of this space, and the potential it held for developing a suitably royal form of Protestant worship.

Chapter one: The administration and theory of royal worship.

The maintenance of a sufficiently elaborate liturgy suitable for an anointed monarch depended on the effective administration and organisation of a talented and prestigious body of singing-men and ministers. Before a full account of the religious and professional culture of the services and personnel of the Chapel Royal is provided, the duties of the offices that facilitated the performance of royal worship must be clarified, and its place in a European and national context explained.

Existing accounts of the administration of the early modern Chapel Royal are largely descriptive.[1] Focus has centred on processes of appointment, election, and advancement, with developments in Chapel posts largely overlooked, with the exception of detailed work on the duties and managerial role of the Master of the Children of the Chapel.[2] This chapter does not focus on the musical training of the Gentlemen but analyses the posts that comprised the Chapel Royal over Elizabeth's and James's reigns, and the courtly officers whose work brought them into regular contact with court religion. Early modern institutions were characterised by the people who worked in them, and the duties and definitions of the roles undertaken by these individuals reveal much about the way the Chapel Royal responded to the English Reformation.

The Chapel Royal was, like royal peculiars and free chapels, exempt from episcopal oversight, and as part of the royal household, enjoyed a proximity to the monarch held by no

[1] See: Andrew Ashbee and John Harley, 'Records of the English Chapel Royal', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, Vol. 54, No. 4, (2007): 481-521; Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society: from Elizabeth to Charles I* (PUP, 1953), 161-176; Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 172- 177; Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, chapters 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20.

[2] Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*; E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. I, (Clarendon Press, 1923), 24-56; Mary Elizabeth Smith, 'Nathaniel Giles 'From Winsore': Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal', *Notes and Queries,* Vol. 27, No. 2, (1980): 124-131. For more on the theatre they directed, see: Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (CUP, 2009); and Harry McCarthy, *Boy Actors in Early Modern England: Skill and Stagecraft in the Theatre* (CUP, 2022).

other ecclesiastical institution in England.[3] The royal household of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was divided into two 'sides': the *domus magnificencie*, which dealt with public matters of state and ceremonial, overseen by the Lord Chamberlain; and the *domus providencie*, which dealt with domestic matters and was managed by the Lord Steward.[4] The Chapel Royal was a public venue of formal worship, and as such formed an important part of the *magnificencie*. However, by the provision of regular services for household servants, the Chapel regularly crossed into the *providencie* and engaged with multiple household departments through ritual and economic interaction [Fig. III].[5]

Most European courts had a household chapel. Their administration provides a useful point of cross-confessional comparison for understanding the English model and the broader development of different ways to accommodate princely and royal worship. Important and wide-ranging scholarship on European court chapels (both Protestant and Catholic) has developed from a broader cross-disciplinary turn towards court culture, but these have been neglected by existing works on the English Chapel Royal.[6] While the arguments made by this thesis are limited to England, the administrative practices of the royal chapels of Europe's princely courts help to contextualise and enrich our understanding of Elizabeth's and James's responses to the practical needs of Protestant royal worship.

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[3] J.H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300: a constitutional study* (MUP, 1970), 5.
[4] Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 40.
[5] 'Part of the administrative organisation at the English court, relating to the Chapel Royal' in Ashbee and Harley, 'Records of the English Chapel Royal', 485.
[6] See: Margaret Scharrer, 'Courts in Motion: Burgundian Court Sounds between Daily Life and Celebration', in *'Courts in Motion: Burgundian Court Sounds between Daily Life and Celebration', in Sounds of Power: Sonic Court Rituals In- and Outside Europe in the 15th-18th Centuries*, ed. A. Tül Demirbaş and Margret Scharrer, (Böhlau, 2024); Juliet Glass, 'The Royal Chapel of the Alcázar: Princely Spectacle in the Spanish Habsburg Court' (PhD diss., John Hopkins University, 2004); Mary Tiffany Ferer, *Music and ceremony at the court of Charles V: the Capilla Flamenca and the art of political promotion* (Boydell, 2012); *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs,* ed. Tess Knighton (Brill, 2016); and *A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Andrew H. Weaver (Brill, 2020).

Worship in the Chapel Royal was simultaneously public and private. While some services performed in the Chapel did not receive much public comment or report, like those for the royal household or heard in the royal closet (though in the latter case this was limited by access, rather than absence of public interest), the full courtly services were eagerly watched and commented on by courtly English and foreign commentators. The ecclesiastical authority claimed by Elizabeth and James through the Royal Supremacy meant that the rites observed in the Chapel Royal assumed an importance beyond statements about the piety and majesty of the monarch. With the will of the monarch regarded as a driving force of religious change, some English subjects came to regard Chapel ceremonies as an indication of the direction of the national Church. Such interpretations worried even those who defended the ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer. With the legitimising presence of the monarch removed, how would ceremonial elaboration be excused against the irredeemable risks of idolatry? It was by the development of a practical and theoretical framework of exclusivity for Protestant royal household worship that a wider attempt was made to instruct courtly and wider audiences about the theoretical boundaries of the elaborate provisions of worship granted to the Chapel Royal.

The conceptual boundaries of post-Reformation royal worship have not been acknowledged in existing work on religious culture at the English court. The practices of the Chapel Royal (with private chapels) are acknowledged to have been exceptional, even a 'law unto themselves', and the importance of court spaces is increasingly acknowledged in secular and sacred contexts, however, the exceptionalism of court chapels in early modern England has not been granted further definition.[7] While important work on the spaces occupied by Protestant chapels in England, Scotland, France, and Germany has emphasised how physical space and abstract boundaries of this ecclesiastical space helped to define and develop religious identities

[7] Aston, *The King's Bedpost*, 97; Malcolm R. Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England,* (UPP, 2010), chapter 3; Smuts and Gorse, 'Introduction' in *The Politics of Space*, ed. Fantoni, Gorse, and Smuts.

and liturgical culture, the English Chapel Royal has not received the same treatment.[8] Part of the problem is a matter of perceived evidence. While it was not until the 1630s that Englishmen wrote explicitly and at length about the boundaries of acceptability and exceptionalism in ecclesiastical space in the context of heated debates over the consecration and sacrality of churches, Elizabethan and Jacobean churchmen (primarily in court sermons, but also some printed literature) were beginning to consider the acceptability of extraordinary forms of worship in the context of the Chapel Royal.[9] While no cohesive model or framework was explicitly expressed, a shared sense of the extraordinary nature of royal worship (and therefore distinct from the ceremonies observed in a parish church, cathedral, or even collegiate chapel) had developed by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is by recognising this and exploring key features of such defences that contemporary approaches to and expectations of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal can be understood, and further aspects of debates over royal worship elucidated.

This chapter begins with an explanation of the governance and management of the Chapel Royal in England. The emergence of the formal body of clergy and singing-men in the English court marked an important moment in the development of the royal household, and legislation drawn up and codified in the early fourteenth century remained influential for

[8] Ricketts, *The English Country House Chapel*; Annabel Ricketts with Claire Gapper and Caroline Knight, 'Designing for Protestant Worship: the Private Chapels of the Cecil Family' in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Ashgate, 2005).

[9] Andrew Spicer, ''God Will Have a House': Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England' in *Defining the Holy*, ed. Spicer and Hamilton, 207-231; R.T. *De Templis* (London, 1638); John Pocklington, *Altare Christianum: or, The dead vicars plea* (London, 1637); Joseph Mede, *Churches: that is Appropriate Places for Christian Worship, both in and ever since the Apostolic Times* (London, 1638); Foulke Robartes, *Gods Holy House and Service according to the primitive and most Christian forme thereof* (London, 1639).
The Chapel Royal was not mentioned, for example, in the Canons of 1604, indicating that it was at least viewed as existing beyond the ordinary expectations of church worship. See: *Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical 1604: Latin and English*, ed. John Vincent Bullard, (Faith Press, 1934).

guiding Chapel practice well into the reigns of Elizabeth and James.[10] All posts in the Chapel Royal owed their origins to older household ordinances and custom, but underwent significant development over the course of Tudor and Stuart rule. After detailing these changes, along with those experienced by the royal chaplains, almoners, confessors, and Clerks of the Closet, the structure of the English Chapel Royal is briefly compared with similar institutions in England (such as royal peculiars, cathedrals, collegiate, and gentry chapels) and the royal chapels of some European potentates. The final part of this chapter concerns the theoretical and physical spaces of royal chapels. This examination of the physical layout of court chapels in England, Scotland, and continental Europe as recorded in palace plans, works accounts, and eye-witness descriptions, alongside explicit and implicit reflections in sermon and adjacent literature clarifies the unique construction of the exclusivity and extraordinary status of the Chapel Royal in contemporary mentalities.

I. Structure and function

The earliest record of a body of clergy attached to members of an English Royal family has been found in c.625 Northumbria, though it was not until the twelfth century that a formal ecclesiastical institution emerged in the royal household which exercised exclusive rights and privileges.[11] According to the mid-fifteenth century Dean of the Chapel Royal William Say, these privileges were first granted under Richard I (r.1189-99), as attested by the confirmation of existing rights in a license issued by Pope Gregory IX for Henry III's Chapel in 1236.[12] The issue of licenses for portable altars and household chapels by the pope marked an important trend in the emergence of private chapels among the kings and nobility of medieval Europe.

[10] *Liber Regie Capelle: A manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora,* ed. Walter Ullman (CUP, 1961), 3.
[11] Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 10.
[12] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 9.

While Church authorities remained uncomfortable around issuing such licenses as influence was increasingly taken out of episcopal hands and placed in the patronage networks controlled by the monarch or nobles, an upward trend in the grant of such licenses is observable across the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.[13] Liturgical provision was, however, a necessary feature of the life of a Christian court, and it is significant that the first indication of the Chapel Royal as a distinct courtly institution is found at least forty years before any papal license was issued, in Henry I's *Constitutio domus regis* (c.1136).[14] Household chapels existed and claimed exceptional rights before they were formally conferred by papal license. When papal authority was rejected in sixteenth century England, the Chapel Royal continued to claim those rights, though they were now dependent on the legislative and ecclesiastical authority of the monarch, and the liturgies of the Church of which they were now Supreme Head (later Governor).

The exemption of household and collegiate chapels from episcopal oversight encouraged a greater degree of independence over their material, liturgical, and institutional behaviours. This pattern has been identified at St Stephen's College after its foundation under Edward III, St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1348, and Westminster Abbey.[15] Yet the Chapel Royal remained exceptional among this body of royal free churches and royal peculiars. As an institution attached to the constant movement of the monarch and their court, and responsible for their spiritual welfare, the Chapel Royal was a portable institution. However, during the

[13] Sarah E. Thomas, *The Parish and the Chapel in Medieval Britain and Norway* (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 87.
For further detail on the place of portable altars in canon law, see: Kent Rawlinson, 'The English household chapel, c.1100-c.1500: an institutional study' (PhD diss., Durham University, 2008), 74-78.
[14] *Liber Regie Capelle,* ed. Ullman, 3.
[15] Elizabeth Biggs, *St Stephen's College, Westminster: A Royal Chapel and English Kingship, 1348-1548* (CUP, 2020), 151; *The Chapter Acts of the Dean and Canons of Windsor 1430, 1523-1672*, ed. Shelagh Bond (Oxley and Son, 1966), vii-viii; C.S. Knighton, 'Westminster Abbey from Reformation to Revolution' in *Westminster Abbey Reformed, 1540-1640*, ed. C.S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Routledge, 2019), 10.

first years of the sixteenth century and the 1530s, the English monarch and court pursued ambitious building schemes in the grand houses and palaces along the course of the Thames. This included the redesign and decoration of the palace chapels regularly inhabited by the Chapel Royal during courtly residence.[16]

The government of the early Chapel Royal can largely be recovered from surviving household ordinances. The *Constitutio domus regis* (c.1136) offers the earliest indication of a recognisable corporate body of musical clergy led by a priest responsible for the liturgies of the royal court and the protection of relics, which travelled with the monarch.[17] As contemporary wardrobe accounts attest, the number of men attached to the Chapel Royal between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries rarely exceeded six chaplains and six singing clerks, and four 'sumpterers', who likely acted as an early version of the servants of the Vestry, responsible for moving the Chapel and organising its 'stuff'.[18] In addition to this, from around 1318, boy choristers were engaged in the early Chapel Royal.[19]

By the early fifteenth century, the number of adults employed in the Chapel Royal expanded to 30, numbering around 15 chaplains and 15 lay clerks, with ten boy choristers in addition to this.[20] By the sixteenth century, this number grew to 32, with five ministers and 27 singing-men.[21] In 1415, all 30 Gentlemen (but probably not the children) joined Henry V on his campaign in Northern France, and appeared in full festal dress before the walls of Harfleur, to act as a 'psychological battering ram'.[22] Drawn up by Chapel Dean William Say in 1448/9,

[16] Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, 28; Ibid., 49.
[17] Ian Bent, 'The English Chapel Royal before 1300', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 90, No. 1, (1963): 90.
[18] Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels*, 3.
[19] Ian Bent, 'The early history of the English Chapel Royal: ca. 1066-1327', Vol. I. (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1968), 5.
[20] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 15.
[21] Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 172.
[22] Alison K. McHardy, 'Religion, Court Culture and Propaganda: The Chapel Royal in the Reign of Henry V', in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. Gwilym Dodd (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 136.

the *Liber Regie Capelle* was commissioned by count Alvaro Vaz d'Almada, who proposed that Alfonso V of Portugal enhance his prestige by emulating the English Chapel Royal.[23] The treatise confirmed that the Dean 'has full jurisdiction and power in matters of the soul or conscience' over 'all servants and household members of the King and Queen, regardless of their dignity, status, or condition', extending his 'primary jurisdiction, which is archidiaconal, and secondary jurisdiction, which is episcopal' over the royal court.[24] The Dean's powers also granted the Chapel immunity from the jurisdiction of other authorities in the royal household, such as the Steward, Treasurer, and 'any other officers or ministers in the court', with the exception of the Lord Chamberlain in extreme cases.[25] This protected the Chapel Royal from any secular courtly interference, and helped to confirm its exceptional jurisdiction as claimed into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

While subsequent household ordinances (such as the 1478 *Liber Niger Domus Regis*, issued for the household of Edward IV) provided greater detail concerning the emoluments of Chapel staff, the authority of the Dean and administrative exceptionality of the mid-fifteenth century Chapel Royal seems to have been continued into the reigns of the Tudors and early Stuarts.[26] As a reliable source of literate and learned clerics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, members of the Chapel Royal were regularly appointed to influential posts in the government of the pre-modern court and state.[27] While this role was reduced by the late medieval period, some aspects remained. For example, the Dean of the Chapel sat on the privy

[23] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 10.
[24] Ibid., 56.
[25] Ibid, 57.
The French Chapel Royal also enjoyed similar privileges, though by the seventeenth century the jurisdiction of the Master of the Oratory over the 'court diocese' was taken up by the Great Almoner. See: Alexandre Maral, *La Chapelle Royale de Versailles sous Louis XIV: ceremonial, liturgie et musique* (Mardaga, 2002), 55-58.
[26] A.R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (MUP, 1959), 135-136.
[27] Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels*, 4.

council, and played a leading role in the administration of the Court of Requests well into the sixteenth century, and only declined in influence after reforms to the Privy Council during the 1530s and 40s altered the relationship between the Chapel Dean and major legal and political departments.[28] Nonetheless, as a courtly institution attached to the person of the king, and responsible for his spiritual direction and liturgical provision, the Chapel Royal offered proximity to the monarch and the promise of material reward.

The most famous record of the administrative and constitutional operation of the Chapel Royal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the 'Cheque Book' of the Chapel Royal. Covering the years 1561 to 1744, the 'old' Cheque Book (distinguished from the 'new' counterpart, which covers the years 1721 to 1867) is best known to historians of early modern court religion as a detailed list of the members of the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline Chapel Royal. It also offers crucial detail about the institutional tensions experienced within the Chapel, manifested in chapter meetings, prohibitions, and occasional moments of violent discord. The manuscript, presently held in the Royal Archives at Windsor, appears to have been first compiled in the mid-1590s, drawing from and including documents from earlier in Elizabeth's reign to offer a full record of membership and required oaths from early in Elizabeth's reign.[29] It bears close relation to a contemporary manuscript, Bodleian MS Rawlinson D318, known as the 'Bodleian Register', which covers the years 1560 to 1642, compiled at some point during Charles I's reign, and notes only the death and admission of Gentlemen.[30] The relationship between the Bodleian Register and the Cheque Book is

[28] Laura Flannigan, 'Conscience and the King's Household Clergy in the Early Tudor Court of Requests', *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 56, (2020): 225.
[29] RA, LC/CHAPELR.
[30] Indicative of the Bodleian Register's date is a list of deans of the Chapel Royal up to 1642, in a mid-seventeenth century hand, on the final page. It is also significant that the same hand writes the entries between 1560 and 1630, with four different hands contributing to the manuscript between 1633 and 1643.
Bod MS Rawlinson D318 f.24r.

complicated. Although the Cheque Book contains older entries (disproving le Huray's suggestion that the Cheque Book was copied from the Register), the Register includes more names than the Cheque Book and seems to be more accurate in recording some dates of death or admission.[31]

The Cheque Book was possibly started by Anthony Anderson (Chapel Sub-Dean 1592-93), and continued by his successor Leonard Davies (1593-1623), and joined a wider pattern of household reform conducted between the 1590s and 1610s. Following Elizabeth's decision to allow the post of Dean to remain vacant from 1583, and augmentation of the Lord Chamberlain's duties to oversee Chapel business, a concerted effort pre-dating James's restoration of the post was made to bolster the institutional identity and operation of the Chapel Royal, which was explicitly concerned with emphasising its corporate continuity by appeal to 'auncient custom' in chapter meetings and internal ordinances.[32] In the context of broader administrative change, it was only by the efforts of the individuals involved in the operation of the Chapel, and James I's intervention, that dignity of governance was regained for the post-Reformation Chapel Royal.

a. The Dean

As the constitutional head of the Chapel Royal (after the monarch), the Dean was responsible for overseeing all operations, appointments, and behaviour, delegating responsibilities where appropriate. Often selected from the episcopal bench or elevated thereto, the Dean was, as established by the ordinances of the mid-fifteenth century, responsible 'either personally or through his deputies' for the ministration of sacraments in the Chapel Royal, and made 'the sa[i]d rules of the personez, clerkes, and all theyre ceremoniez in this chapel; he assignethe the

[31] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 57; Harold N. Hillebrand, 'The Early History of the Chapel Royal', *Modern Philology*, Vol. 18, No. 5, (1920): 251.
[32] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 96.

subdean and the chaunters to guyde, keep, and to rule all the quere in stedfast service and honorable demeaning, to oversee theyre service and songes'. These duties were re-confirmed in the reconstitution of the Chapel deanship in 1603.[33] The Dean was also responsible for admitting Gentlemen (whether ministers or singing-men) to the ranks of the Chapel, in consultation with the Lord Chamberlain, Sub-Dean, and monarch. After prospective members had been 'harde and approved for voyce and skill by the Subdeane and the major parte of the Company', they were 'nominated and presented unto Mr. Deane, in whose power of right it hath bene and is to admytt at his pleasure suche persons as be approved'.[34] While the Dean had the final say on appointments, he does not seem to have exercised his right of veto, and the bulk of the selection of new Gentlemen (which involved a test of their character as much as musical ability) was directed by the Sub-Dean and Gentlemen. Though the Dean managed the Chapel, his governance depended on the participation and compliance of Chapel Gentlemen.

The Dean was also prominent in the public life of court. He was ordered to regularly officiate or assist at major holy days and services of state ceremonial, continuing his pre-Reformation duty 'to order and administer all the sacraments and all sacramental rites within the chapel'.[35] The Archbishop of Canterbury and Dean of the Chapel officiated at the christening of Princess Mary and the churching of queen Anna in 1605, and the confirmation of Prince Henry in 1609, both dressed in 'rich copes of Nedellworke'.[36] Far fewer records can be found for Elizabeth's Dean, George Carew, fulfilling this function regularly, though surviving evidence for his incumbency is slim. Alongside close ceremonial proximity to the monarch, the Dean was also granted an annual fee of 200 marks (£133 6s 8d) and the right to dine at the king's table when at court (the equivalent of the Lord Admiral, Treasurer of the

[33] Myers, *The Household of Edward IV*, 134; *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 82-3.
[34] Ibid.
[35] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 56.
[36] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 94.

Mint, Lord Chamberlain and Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners).[37] The three Chapel deans who served between 1559-1625 were wealthy by the time of their death. Estimating the value of individual estates from early modern wills is difficult, but with considerable lands to their name, and the ability to leave at least £300 for a funeral monument, 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) for his servant, and endowments to Sidney Sussex College in the case of James Montagu (Dean 1603-1618), these men were well rewarded for their royal service.[38]

Elizabeth's decision to allow the Chapel deanship to remain vacant after 1583 marked an important shift in the formal government of the Chapel Royal. George Carew, Dean of the Chapel Royal between 1559 and his death in 1583, was a loyal member of the Elizabethan establishment. Although Carew was deprived of the Bristol deanship, alongside his living of Torbryan in Exeter and the prebends of Wells and Exeter by August 1554, he proved himself conformable to the needs of the new regime, and in 1555 he was granted prebends at Chichester and Salisbury, in 1556 he was appointed archdeacon of Exeter, received two further prebends of Chichester, a prebend of Salisbury, and by Mary's death also held rectorships in Devon and Somerset, and was appointed precentor of Salisbury Cathedral in October 1558.[39] Though a Nicodemite, Carew proved his conformity to the Protestant regime by earning credit as the only sufficiently prestigious clergyman who was willing to celebrate Elizabeth's coronation mass and comply with her wish that the host was not to be elevated during the communion, for which he was named Dean of the Chapel Royal.[40] Carew was not appointed to a bishopric under Elizabeth, and instead took up the deanship and a canonry of Windsor (where he was also registrar of the Order of the Garter, receiving £50 annually) between 1560-72, which he held

[37] BL Add MS 31825 f.28v; Ibid., f.14r; Ibid., f.16v; Ibid., f.21v; Ibid., f.23r.
[38] TNA PROB 11/132/132 f.37r-v.
George Carew left comparatively less (£40) though much of his wealth appears to have been in lands and property. See: TNA PROB 11/65/467 f.318v.
[39] Peter McCullough, 'Carew, George', *ODNB*, (2008) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4626.
[40] William P. Haugaard, 'The Coronation of Elizabeth I', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1968): 163.

in plurality with the deanship of Christ Church, Oxford (between 1559-61), the archdeaconry of Exeter (1556-1569), and the deaneries of Bristol (1571-80) and Exeter (1571-83), among more minor positions. In 1571 Carew was granted a dispensation from residence in London considering his age and poor health.[41] Since Carew primarily resided in Exeter by the early 1570s, Chapel business had already begun to rely on the activity of the Sub-Dean and Gentlemen, as much as (or more than) the formal head of the institution. Archival survivals regarding Carew are rare, and his involvement with the Chapel Royal is difficult to track. On the 27th of February 1565/6, Carew was appointed to preach in place of Alexander Nowell, dean of St Paul's, during the Lent cycle, in order to defend himself against charges made by one 'Mr Gibbes' that he was 'altogether unlearned'. Despite being 'very sick', Carew seems to have preached the sermon, though this is the only recorded instance of the Chapel Dean preaching under Elizabeth, and the sermon does not appear to have been published.[42]

If Elizabeth reduced the role of the Dean of the Chapel early in her reign, her decision to leave the post vacant after 1583 indicates an extension of her approach to certain bishoprics like the extreme case of Ely, which remained vacant between 1581 and 1600, where the queen's conscious inactivity allowed the royal collection of episcopal rents, and diocesan life continued at least ostensibly uninterrupted.[43] The government of Elizabeth's royal ecclesiastical household received some public comment. In February 1576, an anonymous 'godly' commentator, ventriloquising his queen, proposed a series of extreme 'Reformatyons' to episcopal and courtly practice. Among the varied and ambitious proposals (which included

[41] Carew had received an earlier grant of non-residence, of all present and future appointments, by Edward VI in 1551.
McCullough, 'Carew, George', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4626.
[42] *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury. Comprising letters written by and to him, from A.D. 1535, to his death, AD.* 1575, ed. John Bruce and Thomas Perowne (Cambridge, 1853), 260-61; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 64.
[43] Other sees were left vacant for a much shorter length of time, and those vacant for three or more years included Salisbury (1589-91); Bath & Wells (1581-84 and 1590-92); Chichester (1582-86); Gloucester (1558-62 and 1579-81); St David's (1590/92-94); and Llandaff (1563-67).

reform of Common Law with the institution of a 'Grand Jury' for each shire; the abrogation of the prohibition on marriages during Advent and Lent, described as among 'inhumane superstitions'; the reduction of excommunication to 'the firste institution', being the corruption of religion and manners, with all other cases converted to contumacy in order to avoid the 'papisticall' use of absolution and benediction; and reform of trial by combat to 'some more Christian forme') was a proposal that 'the Deanes of Westminster successively for ever shalbe Busshopps of the Courte and almoners to hir majestie', and that the post also include the deanship of St George's Windsor. The Bishop of Court would also take on the duties of the Almoner and collect the dividends of all previous deaneries.[44] Although the proposal does not mention the Chapel deanship by name, the proposal that the Bishop of Court would 'have like jurisdiction in matter of doctrine, and discipline, over all the household servants ordinarilye attendante upon the Prynces person of what condition, qualitye, or sexe soever they be', infringed on the primary responsibilities of the Dean of the Chapel Royal, as outlined in the mid-fifteenth century *Liber Regie Capelle*.[45] It is unclear whether the deanship of the Chapel Royal was marked for dissolution alongside the deanships of Westminster and Windsor, but the author's concern with the court bishop's remuneration only if he remained resident in court indicates that little room would be found for the seemingly defunct post of the Chapel Dean. These proposals were extremely ambitious, written by an individual no more familiar with Elizabethan parliamentary practice than any other educated contemporary (by Geoffrey Elton's estimation), and bear no indication of having influenced royal policy or gained any courtly endorsement.[46] However, they show that at least some individuals beyond conciliar or parliamentary circles had perceived the Dean's influence to have declined to the degree that

[44] TNA SP 12/107 f.96r-98v.
[45] Ibid., f.98r. See: *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 56; and above, page 38.
[46] Geoffrey Elton, *The Parliament of England 1559-1581* (CUP, 1986), 277.

the creation of a court bishop with influence and duty rivalling (and potentially replacing) that of the Chapel Dean, was thought to be plausible.

After Carew's death, the responsibilities of the Dean of the Chapel Royal appear to have been taken on by the Lord Chamberlain. The date of this transfer is uncertain (and it is unknown how formal the change was), though at least by 26th July 1592 the Lord Chamberlain's consent was required (much as the mid-fifteenth century and early seventeenth century Dean of the Chapel's was) to permit the appointment of Anthony Anderson as Sub-dean.[47] Although no earlier record in the Cheque Book alludes to the Lord Chamberlain's authority, many of the records before 1592 appear to have been copied from an earlier register (since they appear in Anthony Anderson's hand), indicating that the Cheque Book was compiled around this time, and that the Lord Chamberlain may have assumed these duties from an earlier period, possibly soon after Carew's death. The Lord Chamberlain's assumption of responsibility over the Chapel Royal had precedent in the mid-fifteenth century ordinance, the *Liber Regie Capelle*, which stipulated that 'in case of necessity', the Lord Chamberlain could claim authority over Chapel business.[48] The Lord Chamberlain also played a prominent role in assisting with the selection of preachers for the annual Lent rota, and as such would have had some familiarity with the royal ecclesiastical household, though royal chaplains remained distinct from the Chapel Royal itself.[49] Nonetheless, the provision appears to have been considered a temporary measure, since Sub-dean Anderson's order on 13th April 1593, which required more dutiful attendance of Gentlemen at Court, stipulated that Gentlemen who found themselves facing dismissal for repeated absences were to 'get releiffe at the hand of the deane & for the pr[e]sent of the right ho[nourable] the L[ord] Chamberlayn our cheefe gove[r]n[ou]r under her sacred

[47] *CBCR*, Vol. I ed. Ashbee and Harley, 64.
[48] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 57.
[49] For a full discussion of this, see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 62-65.

ma[jes]tie'.[50] Although memory of the deanship remained alive among members of the Chapel itself, no petition for the appointment of a Dean has survived, and Elizabeth saved herself at least £133 6s 8d per annum from 1583 until the end of her reign.

The Lord Chamberlains of the later Elizabethan court were not a particularly vocal or opinionated group on matters of religious identity or ecclesiastical politics. Charles, second Lord Howard of Effingham (1583-85); Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon (1585-96); William Brooke, Lord Cobham (1596-97); and George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon (1597-1603), were all either cousins of the queen (in the case of the Careys) or noted for their military service. Their involvement in the administration of the Chapel Royal appears to have been minimal, and none of them can be associated with a particular liturgical or ecclesiastical programme beyond obedience to the position established by the Elizabethan Settlement.[51] While Elizabeth may have found no suitable candidate on her episcopal and decanal benches, Carew's declining engagement with the Chapel and Elizabeth's apparent indifference to supporting the post indicates that the decision was informed by household economy and the need to reform apparently out-dated courtly offices.

While the vacancy of the Chapel deanship does not seem to have significantly altered the performance of services, the process of electing Gentlemen and internal management was severely impacted. Chapel Gentlemen took advantage of the absence of the Dean's oversight in making appointments and had begun to promise friends and allies posts in the Chapel, without following the procedural assessment described above. On 2nd December 1592, Sub-Dean Anderson forbade Chapel Gentlemen from recommending a vacant place in the Chapel

[50] *CBCR*, Vol. I ed. Ashbee and Harley, 4.
[51] James McDermott, 'Howard, William, first Baron Howard of Effingham', *ODNB*, (2023) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13946; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon', in *ODNB*, (2014) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4649; Julian Lock, 'Brooke, William, tenth Baron Cobham', *ODNB*, (2008) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/61735.

Royal to any man, or to petition the Lord Chamberlain 'or to anye others by whose Fav[our] his ho[nour] might be supposed to graunt the request', without the 'consent firste of the Subdeane for the tyme beinge & most voyces of the Companye in a Chapter then holden' on the pain of a £10 fine.[52] This order was intended 'to avoyde a great inconvenience very moche hertofor offred to the no small hinderance of her Maj[es]tes service in her sayd Chappell'.[53] Although no contemporary record noting a decline in the quality of late-Elizabethan Chapel services has survived, and it is difficult to judge which Gentlemen retained their posts gained by friendly intercession or whether the posts were retained, Anderson's attempts to crack down on unofficial appointments to the Chapel seems likely to have been related to the absence of the Chapel Dean. It is significant that on the restoration of the Deanship in 1603, Montagu reinforced the due process of corporate agreement regarding the admission of members, and the matter does not appear again in the Cheque Book. In Anderson's order, prospective Gentlemen were to seek the 'consent firste of the Subdeane for the tyme beinge' alongside the majority of the Gentlemen, indicating that in the absence of the Dean, the Sub-Dean's influence and authority over Chapel government had been augmented by his assumption of his superior's former duties.[54]

Household economy was clearly more important to Elizabeth than protecting the formal processes of appointment (and therefore ensuring the provision of well-trained and talented singing-men) in her Chapel Royal. As there are no explicit records of insufficient training in the Chapel Royal, Elizabeth appears to have trusted the corporate process of appointment (theoretically overseen by her Lords Chamberlain, none of whom had formal musical training),

[52] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 65-6.
[53] Ibid., 65.
[54] Ibid.

enjoyed the saved expense, and satisfied herself with the continued visual and aural splendour of Chapel services.

James's reinstitution of the Chapel deanship in 1603 has been characterised as an essential refoundation of the Chapel Royal.[55] The selection of James's Dean has been attributed to the machinations of archbishop John Whitgift of Canterbury and bishop Richard Bancroft of London, who worked to place a committed Calvinist and defender of episcopacy (James Montagu) in a position close to the Scottish king from early in his English reign, to protect him from the Presbyterian influences assumed by the 'multitude of *Scots* [original emphasis]' that James brought to London, as Peter Heylin described.[56] Although Montagu was not a bishop by the time of his appointment to the Chapel Deanship, and it is difficult to record the precise impetus behind the filling of the vacant Deanship (though the influence of English bishops seems likely, since the Deanship of the Scottish Chapel Royal had fallen into abeyance from 1560, and was not revived until 1612), the Jacobean Chapel Dean was closely associated with the episcopal bench, with both of James's deans finding elevation to or appointment from the episcopal bench.[57] Although bishoprics granted these men additional prestige, their occupation alongside the Chapel deanship required a heavyweight administrator. However, there is little indication that either James Montagu (Chapel Dean 1603-18, and bishop of Bath and Wells 1608-16, and bishop of Winchester 1616-18), or Lancelot Andrewes (Chapel Dean 1618-26, and bishop of Chichester 1605-9, Ely 1609-19, and Winchester 1619-26) shirked their courtly duties in favour of their episcopal sees, or vice versa.

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[55] Peter McCullough 'Music Reconciled to Preaching' in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* ed. Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Routledge, 2013), 121.
[56] Peter Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (London, 1671), 158; quoted in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 107.
For a full discussion of the role and motivations of Whitgift and Bancroft in arranging James Montagu's appointment as Dean of the Chapel, see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 106-113.
[57] For the revival of the Deanship of the Scottish Chapel Royal, see: Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, cxii-cxiv.

The restoration of the deanship of the Chapel Royal took place immediately after James's accession to the English throne. On 29th May 1603, just 56 days after Elizabeth I died, and 23 since James arrived in London, it was ordered in a chapter meeting of the Sub-Dean and Gentlemen of the Chapel, after the 'mynistering of the Othe to the Kinge, taken and received by all the gent[lemen] and yeomen of the said chappell, & the officers of the vesterie', that the Dean's position and authority was to be restored. Gentlemen and members of the Vestry were ordered to swear an oath of submission to the Dean, promising fulfilment of their scheduled attendance in the Chapel 'for the better service of the kynge', and recognising the Dean's ultimate authority in the appointment of Chapel Gentlemen, second only to the monarch.[58] Those appointed to replace Gentlemen on the emergence of a vacancy were also ordered to swear to their commitment to the role, ensuring that alternative preferments would not leave spaces in the Chapel unfilled.[59] Somewhat rarely for an order of the Chapel chapter meetings, efforts were taken to ensure that all 31 Gentlemen, including the Sub-Dean, subscribed their names to the oath recorded in the Cheque Book.[60] James's reconstitution of the Chapel deanship from the very start of his English reign helped to reform courtly abuse of preferment, and restored the dignity and formality of Chapel administration.

The restoration of the Chapel deanship provided members of the Chapel with a unifying head, concerned with internal government, to whom appeals might be made. This was an important institutional role, and while the Dean was a natural and constitutional point of authority, his judgements tended to favour the Gentlemen when disputes emerged with members of the Vestry. By the early seventeenth century, the space of the vestry itself became

[58] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 98.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., 98-99.
Nine names subscribed later, overleaf in the Cheque Book. These were Humphrey Bache, Ezechiel Wade, Matthew, White, Thomas Pierce, George Sheffield, John Frost, Peter Hopkins, William Cross, and William Heather. None of them joined the Chapel until later, suggesting that they signed on their admission to the Chapel, signifying their conformity and obedience with earlier ordinance.

contested, and on 2nd November 1608 the members of the Vestry, led by their Sergeant Cuthbert Joyner, petitioned Dean Montagu to restrict the access of Gentlemen to the vestry. They complained that during the Lord Chamberlain's governance of the Chapel, the Gentlemen had been given constant access to the vestry to use 'as a place of repose' and did 'oppresse and molest them in their sayd office'.[61] Examining the evidence and constitutional record, Dean Montagu declared that these rights were not to be removed, but that instead the Sub-Dean and four or five Gentlemen would instead 'dayly dyne and supp in the vestery', provided that they were 'quiett and sober', continuing also to use it as a place to store their clothes and possessions.[62] Although this resolution was probably less satisfactory to the members of the Vestry as it was to the Gentlemen, Dean Montagu's effort to find some form of resolution (of behaviour more than practice) indicates the type of internal reform granted by the direct oversight of the Dean, apparently absent during the final decades of Elizabeth's reign.

The English Chapel Royal was not James's first experience of royal worship. The Scottish Chapel Royal, though smaller, followed a similar structure to the English Chapel, overseen by a Dean, managed by a Sub-Dean, and 'master' responsible for the musical training of the children.[63] By the end of the sixteenth century however, many of the canonries had become sinecures for godly members of the Presbyterian establishment or had fallen vacant.[64] After the defeat of James's bill for union, he perhaps took solace in his efforts to 'restore the ancient dignity of our Chapell Royal' in Scotland, as he wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow in 1612.[65] James did not invite any members of the Scottish Chapel Royal to join him in London after his accession to the English throne. John Gibb, Gentleman of the king's Bedchamber, was appointed interim administrator of the Scottish Chapel Royal in February 1604/5, was promised

[61] Ibid., 100.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal in Scotland*, xxxiv
[64] Ibid., cix.
[65] Ibid., cxii.

all rents and privileges of the vacant deanship, provided that he resolved the appointment of 'unqualifeit persones […] altogidder voyde and ignorant of ony knowledge in the said science of musick' to canonries and clerkships.[66] Although the Scottish parliament resisted Gibb's appointment, moving to challenge the use of the deanship's revenues in 1606, James was able to secure Gibb's post in 1610. The Deanship was finally filled in 1612, by William Birnie, who was succeeded by bishop William Cowper of Galloway in 1615.[67] Although the Scottish Dean was influential in managing the Scottish Chapel Royal and was an important point of contact in the restoration of Holyrood palace chapel ahead of James's Scottish progress in 1617, he did not have the level of access to the monarch as his English counterpart. In 1618, Cowper dedicated his *Two Sermons* to Dean Montagu of the English Chapel Royal and asked that he might 'bring them under his Majesties eye, there to receive their sentence'.[68] James's efforts to restore the Scottish Chapel Royal to a level comparable with the splendour of the English Chapel were only applied after his accession to the English throne, and were much slower in progress compared with his reform of and investment in the English Chapel. Clearly, accession to a larger and wealthier kingdom necessitated, for James, a consequent elevation of royal worship in both kingdoms, even if the king was not present but represented by his council.

b. The Sub-Dean

The Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal was responsible for the daily function of the household chapel. This meant administrating the modified Oath of Supremacy to all Gentlemen on admission, ensuring the attendance of ordained and lay Gentlemen, chairing regular Chapel chapter meetings, officiating the services of the royal household, and assisting the Dean and

[66] Ibid., ciii-civ.
[67] Ibid., cxv-cxvi.
[68] William Cowper *Two Sermons Preached in Scotland before the Kings Majesty* (London, 1618), Sig.A3r.

officiating bishop on holydays and Sundays for courtly services.[69] Selected from among the ranks of the ordained Gentlemen of the Chapel, the Sub-Dean was expected to have some musical training. As the most senior member of the Chapel, after the Dean, the Sub-Dean was responsible for administering most internal admission ceremonies and admonishments, including the admission of the Dean of the Chapel, and the royal confessor.[70]

The election of the Sub-Dean was, like the appointment of a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, a corporate act. Selected from the ordained Gentlemen, and sworn by the Dean of the Chapel, the Sub-Dean was an important figure of authority and discipline over his colleagues. Of the eight men who served as Sub-Dean under Elizabeth and James, at least five had served for an extended period before their appointment as Sub-Dean.[71] Fresh-faced Sub-Deans included men such as Edmund Daniell, Mary's final Sub-Dean who was dismissed by Elizabeth during the Christmas of 1558 for elevating the host at the St Stephen's Day mass. Daniell was appointed to the Chapel in 1557 and replaced the deprived Emery Tuckfield as Sub-Dean. More curious is the case Anthony Anderson, appointed as a Chapel minister in 1591, and elected as Sub-Dean shortly afterwards, in 1592.[72] Given Anderson's assiduous administration and attempted reform of internal abuses, it is possible that the Gentlemen sought the experience of a former commissary for the archdeacon of Leicester, especially given the absence of the Chapel Dean.[73] Despite these exceptions, Gentlemen tended to appoint members whom they knew and trusted as Sub-Dean, which strengthened their corporate bond and illustrates their influence over Chapel administration.

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[69] Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal,* 249.
[70] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 82-3; Ibid., 87.
[71] See appendix for further detail.
[72] Robert Tirwitt may have also been given such rapid advancement, as the earliest record of his Chapel employment is in 1570, when he was appointed as Sub-Dean, but due to the scarcity of records for the early Elizabethan Chapel, it is difficult to judge.
[73] For further detail of Anderson's time as commissary for the archdeacon of Leicester, see: David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (OUP, 1999), chapter 1.

Sub-Deans were better paid and enjoyed greater prestige than ordinary Gentlemen. Where ordinary Gentlemen received £29 12s 1d a year under Elizabeth, which James raised to £40 in 1604, the Sub-Dean received some £70 per annum. Although a 1610 'Book of Offices' lists the Sub-Dean's 'fee' at 50 marks (£33 6s 8d), this was presumably received in addition to the £40 wage of the Gentlemen and may therefore have been closer to the 240 merks (£160 Scots, or £32 sterling) the Scottish Sub-Dean of James VI's Chapel received, although revenues were frequently abused and enhanced by the end of the sixteenth century.[74] By 1663, Dr Walter Jones, Sub-Dean to Charles II, was able to successfully petition for the wage of 'one hundred pound a year allowed in King James his reign', shown by 'several Bookes' (which do not seem to have survived), further indicating the generous remuneration of the Chapel Sub-Dean.[75]

The Sub-Dean's salary was also supplemented by the potentially lucrative revenues of their plural benefices.[76] John Norris for example, rector of St Olave Southwark between 1558 and 1569, and Sub-Dean between 1568-69, received £55 a year.[77] Specific salaries are difficult to track, but Anthony Anderson apparently enjoyed his 'comfortable charge' at Stepney between 1587 and 1593, while serving as Sub-Dean between 1592-3.[78] Although ministers of the Chapel Royal had long been granted the privilege of holding multiple benefices, and many cathedral deans and chapters rewarded their clergy with the gift of sinecures to supplement their wages, there is little evidence to suggest that most Elizabethan or Jacobean Sub-Deans (or ministers, in fact) neglected their parochial duties.[79] Their presentation to benefices mostly in or around London likely aided this, and Sub-Dean Norris is found regularly meeting with his parochial staff throughout the 1560s, making payments for 'drinkinge at the beare' (a

[74] BL Add MS 31825 f.28v; Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, xxxiv; Ibid., cxii.
[75] Quoted in *BDECM*, Vol. II, 637.
[76] For further discussion, see chapter 3, page 276.
[77] SA MS 1635 p.190.
[78] Anthony Anderson, *An Approved Medicine against the deserved Plague* (London: 1593), sig.Aii.v.
[79] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 65.

tavern) while they settled accounts.[80] Sub-Dean Anderson was also active at Stepney, reporting to one 'mr Downall' and Sir John Puckering the presence of the recusant Rafe Marshall, originally of Newark-upon-Trent and linked to the 1569 Northern Rising, in his parish.[81] While Sub-Dean, Anderson also conducted Chapel business from Stepney, swearing in Henry Aldred, erstwhile extraordinary member of the Vestry as yeoman of the same, in his parish church. Only two Gentlemen stood as witness.[82] Though hampered by the poor survival of parochial records, it is significant that at least two long-serving Sub-Deans, John Angell and Leonard Davies, were buried in their respective benefices of St Katherine's Hospital Bedminster, Somerset (rector between 1557-68), and Harmondsworth, Middlesex (rector between 1594-1623), indicating continued residence and parochial contributions beyond the nominal collection of rents.[83]

Further indication of the additional pressures of the Sub-Dean's parochial duties is revealed by the institution of the Sub-Dean's 'substitute', who was appointed by the Sub-Dean, and assumed responsibility of the Chapel during the absence of either the Dean or Sub-Dean. Substitutes tended to be drawn from long-serving ministers of the Chapel. Anthony Harrison, for example, acted as substitute for Sub-Dean Davies on 12th November 1607, and swore in William Beckett as royal confessor at Whitehall.[84] Substitutes were not permanent positions and appear to reflect the personal decisions of Sub-Deans more than the general election of the community of Gentlemen. While the association between the Sub-Deanship and presentation to precise benefices was not institutionally regulated (there was no 'Sub-Dean's benefice', for example), the privilege of additional rents and incomes, secured by royal exemption and

[80] SA MS 1635 p.211; Ibid., p.212.
[81] BL Harley MS 6998 f.35r; Ibid., f.37r.
[82] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 69.
[83] TNA PROB 11/50/241, f.150r; LMA DL/C/361, f.145v.
[84] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 87.

bearing the apparent expectation of parochial service, indicates that the post was one reserved for talented administrators and motivated clergy.

c. The Gentlemen

By the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal comprised five 'ministers' and 27 'singing-men'. While this distinction necessitated different responsibilities at service time, with the ministers officiating and the singing-men providing choral enhancement to the liturgy, they were governed by the same rights, privileges, and behavioural expectations.

As outlined by the *Liber Niger*, Gentlemen were to be 'men of worship, endowed with vertuouse, morall, speculatiff, as of theyre musike, shewing in descant, clene voysed, well relysed, and pronouncing, eloquent in Reading sufficiaunt in organs pleying, and modestiall in all other maner of behaving'.[85] Surprisingly little is known about the practicalities of admitting Gentlemen. From 1603 (and likely before), Gentlemen were heard for their 'sufficiencie of voice & skill' by the Sub-Dean and Gentlemen, but little specific detail survives of the audition process.[86] Even extraordinary Gentlemen sworn in as thanks for their aid granted to existing Gentlemen, such as William Phelps, who helped John Bull in 1591/2 after he was robbed in Gloucester, were expected to be 'trayned up in the noble Science of Musick'.[87] Appointments for ministers of the Chapel may have required a lower musical level of performance than singing-men, since ministers were only required to intone responses and prayers rather than necessarily take part in ambitious polyphonic services and anthems.

Gentlemen filled the Bass, Tenor, and Countertenor voice parts, while the Children offered Meane and occasionally Treble voices. Where the Gentlemen observed a rotational

[85] Myers, *The Household of Edward IV,* 135.
[86] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 82.
[87] Ibid., 60.

system of attendance at court, very little survives about the Children's attendance. As they resided with their master, close to court, it is likely that they were always present. As ordered in a chapel ordinance issued between 1619 and 1626, which codified other aspects of Chapel administration, Gentlemen were to attend 'by a monethly course', to ensure that 'a competent number of the gentlemen be appointed to attend the service uppon the working dayes'.[88] Gentlemen could appoint deputies and were granted the period from St Peter's Day to Michaelmas as their 'quarter of liberty'. Lists of attendance were to be drawn up, and penalties issued if any Gentlemen were absent from morning prayer, communion, on Sundays, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun, of 4d, and a 3d fine if absent from evening prayer on these days 'and their festival eves'. Similarly, on ferial days, a fine of 3d would be issued for absences from morning prayer, and 2d from evening prayer.[89] Such orders of attendance provide an indication both of the temporal priorities of the Chapel (favouring services in the morning) and a sense of the regulation of attendance of individual singing-men, which saw roughly 15 men in attendance during ferial services and on most Sundays, probably increased for major holydays and feast days, along with eight children at ferial services, and twelve on holydays.[90] Attendance varied according to the liturgical calendar, and though efforts to tighten the formality of services were introduced during the tenure of Dean Andrewes by the introduction of an ordinance dated 1st January 1622 regarding congregational behaviour, such pressures might equally be attributed to James's concern with the dignity of his Chapel as he sought to enter a more prestigious European marriage market.[91]

Ordained Gentlemen may have been assisted in their liturgical duties by four royal chaplains, who also attended court on a monthly rotational basis and were primarily responsible

[88] Ibid., 111.
[89] Ibid., 112.
[90] TNA CP 40/1525/2 rot. 2671.
I grateful to Professor Lucy Munro for bringing this document to my attention.
[91] For further discussion, see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 151-52; and below, pages 96-99.

for preaching to the monarch and his household.[92] Ordained Gentlemen were, like singing-men, appointed by the 'common consent' of the majority of Chapel Gentlemen present at court, and their appointment remained dependent on the Dean's decision. By the sixteenth century, the posts of epistler and gospeller had emerged as junior posts for men intending to progress to a full minister's place. The epistler and gospeller, as their names suggest, were responsible for intoning the Epistle and Gospel during ferial and some holyday services. The posts had been instituted in the Chapel since at least the mid-fifteenth century, emerging from the two 'pistelers' who had formerly served as Children of the Chapel, and received the same wages as the vestry servants (£2 13s 4d).[93] By the second half of the sixteenth century, the post was brought into closer accordance with the remuneration granted to all Gentlemen and was possibly combined with the post of the pre-Reformation minister responsible for reading the gospel and celebrating the Lady mass, though the latter duty was now forbidden.[94] Epistlers and Gospellers were required to be ordained, and could lead to prominent positions like the sub-deanship, to which Leonard Davies, admitted in 1581 as a gospeller, was elected in 1593.[95] By the early seventeenth century however, either as a result of strained musical training or a lapse in decanal oversight, the requirements for ordination had to be reasserted, and we find Thomas Pierce and Ezechiel Wade, admitted as Epistler on 24th March 1609 and 5th May 1611, respectively, both confirming that they would take up orders to become a deacon should they 'lyve unto the full age of 21 yeares' (for Pierce) or 'live untyll Christmas next' (for Wade).[96] Although Dean Montagu had begun to reinforce this formalisation of clerical prestige in the

[92] In the absence of a detailed record of post-Reformation services, no clear evidence survives whether royal chaplains were expected to minister services in addition to their preaching duties.
See: Peter McCullough, 'Donne and the Court Chaplaincy', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, (OUP, 2011), 556-57.
[93] Myers, *The Household of Edward IV,* 136.
[94] Ibid., 138.
[95] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 7.
[96] Ibid., 89.

Chapel, evidence of the occasional strains of staffing highlights some of the tensions (along with the surprising youth) of some of the posts in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal.

University education was not a requirement of entry to the Chapel Royal. While Gentlemen supplicated for musical degrees before or during their Chapel employment, like Thomas Morley (B.Mus 1588), Arthur Cock (B.Mus c.1593), Nathaniel Giles (B.Mus 1585 and D.Mus 1622), Thomas Tomkins (B.Mus 1607), William Heather (D.Mus 1622), at Oxford, and Orlando Gibbons (B.Mus 1606) at Cambridge. These degrees did not have a residency requirement however, and relatively few ministers were graduates.[97] 14 (nine confirmed) of the 32 recorded ministers under Elizabeth and James held degrees, mostly from Cambridge (eight), though three of these are only possible associations, and a further three ministers are recorded as having held degrees but without institutional attribution. Most of these men were appointed to their Chapel posts before or during Elizabeth's reign, and only four of the ministers appointed under James (two of whom were royal confessors) held degrees from either institution.[98] While records are slim, it is clear that if any efforts were made to improve the formal learning of ordained Gentlemen, they were not successful, and non-graduate clergy were as common in the Chapel Royal as they were the rest of the Jacobean Church.[99] It is possible that James recognised the need for a musically competent ministry in his Chapel, and so suspended this requirement, or that the Chapel was sufficiently compensated by the presence of well-educated royal chaplains. Significantly, both of the men appointed as royal confessors had received their doctorates (from Cambridge), indicating that for offices with personal spiritual significance, requirements for some graduate ministers were still enforced.[100] While

[97] Ashbee and Lasocki¸ *BDECM* Vol. II, 808; Ashbee and Lasocki *BDECM* Vol. I, 335; Ibid., 481-8; Ibid., 477; Ashbee and Lasocki, *BCDEM*, Vol. II, 1086; Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 557.
[98] See appendix.
[99] Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, 182.
[100] *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, Vol. I, ed. John Venn (CUP, 1922), 57; Ibid., Vol. II, 121.

most Gentlemen appear to have had grammar or cathedral school educations, rates of literacy varied among the vestrymen. As recorded in the Cheque Book, Thomas Miller, a yeoman of the Vestry, was apparently unable to sign his own name, instead forming a circle with a cross in the middle.[101] Miller's control of a pen indicates the presence of less literate members among the lower-status employees of the Chapel Royal. As Miller's limited literacy does not appear to have hindered his work in the vestry (which was mainly concerned with the transport of Chapel goods and arranging furniture in court chapels), the Chapel Royal offered employment to men from a range of social and educational backgrounds.

Upon admission to the Chapel Royal, all Gentlemen, along with the sergeant of the Vestry, were required to swear a modified form of the Oath of Supremacy. The oath was applied to Gentlemen from at least 1558/9 and required their public conformity to the established Church of England, a rejection of foreign and papal spiritual power, and obedience to the 'imperiall' power of the Chapel Dean.[102] The oath was similar to that applied to most household departments, like the Gentlemen Pensioners, but it offers an important indication of the level of conformity and obedience expected (if not always achieved) of Chapel Gentlemen.[103] However, some doubt might be cast on when the oath was introduced. Although the oath written into the Cheque Book is dated 1558 (presumably January 1558/9), it is in the distinctive hand of Sub-Dean Robert Greene, Chapel Gentleman from 1566/7 and Sub-Dean between 1584/5-9.[104] While Greene may have attempted to codify Chapel practice, it is significant that in 1593, an 'unkind faction begon by sondrie of the companye', claimed for consistency in the 'deverse man[ne]r of oath taken'. Sub-Dean Anderson subsequently applied an oath which reaffirmed the statements of fealty and obedience, but was primarily concerned with licensing

[101] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 85.
[102] Ibid., 57-58.
[103] John Nichols, *A Collection of Ordinances for the government of the royal household, made in divers reigns* (London, 1790), 277.
[104] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, xix-xx.

absences, and the conditions of informing the Sub-Dean of planned absences, all of which were to be only approved by the Sub-Dean's authority. Fines of 20 shillings awaited repeat offenders, with dismissal on the third penalty, 'tyll he can get relieffe at the hand of the deane & for the pr[e]sent of the right ho[nourable] the L[ord] Chamberlayn'.[105] Rather than a question of conformity to the crown, Gentlemen of the Chapel appeared more concerned with securing the internal authority of the Chapel Dean and Sub-Dean, rather than their obedience to the supreme governor, which seems to have been easily achieved.

In 1603, 'the Othe to the Kinge' was reapplied to all Gentlemen and yeomen of the Vestry, likely in order to secure a smooth transition and signify acceptance of the new monarch among prominent departments of the royal household.[106] Significantly, very few Gentlemen left their posts or complained about the application of the oath, something that caused riots and resignation in some Oxford colleges, and remained limited in application until 1581, when the Oath was controversially made a mandatory part of matriculation.[107] Largely a group of loyal and conforming household servants (the implications and extent of which are discussed in chapter three), the Gentlemen of the Chapel constituted an important and public group whose fealty was demanded on admission, amidst more contested pressures of internal institutional reform and governance.

By the final decades of Elizabeth's reign, the long-established practice of appointing Gentlemen 'in extraordinary' (without a stipend but granted the individual rewards of extraordinary service and courtly access), had developed into a constant practice. In absence of decanal authority, it was a particular problem for controlling Chapel membership. The

[105] Ibid., 4.
[106] Ibid., 98.
[107] Alexandra Gajda, 'Corpus Christi, Catholics, and the Elizabethan Reformation' in *Renaissance College: Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450-1600*, ed. Mordechai Feingold and John Watts (OUP, 2019), 274-75.

increasing number of Chapel places promised by individual Gentlemen necessitated the imposition of a £5 fee for each extraordinary Gentleman in 1592.[108] '[T]hre at the leaste of the Companye' were also to audition the prospective candidate, in order to verify their musical ability and moral character.[109] At least six long-serving Gentlemen entered the Chapel through this 'extraordinary' route.[110] While the pattern drops off sharply after 1604, extraordinary Gentlemen continue to be recorded until around 1615, when no further entries appear. The heightened admission of extraordinary Gentlemen in 1603, 1605, and 1606 probably catered for occasional liturgies of state, like royal funerals, coronations, christenings, and weddings. The gradual disappearance of extraordinary Gentlemen under James may have been linked to improved standards of pay in the Chapel, though it was more likely attached to James's widespread attempt to combat the abuse of similar extraordinary posts with the uncontrolled collection of fees throughout the royal household.[111] Rather than the programme of a single Chapel Dean, the Chapel remained part of the network of (attempted) reform and reinvigoration which characterised James's management of his household institutions.

The organist of the Chapel Royal was chosen from the singing-men of the Chapel. Although the *Liber Niger*'s stipulation that all 'chapelyns and clerkis' should be competent organ players was optimistic by Elizabeth's reign, given the sharp decline organ music faced with the English Reformation, one or two organists were appointed from among the Gentlemen.[112] The earliest recorded Elizabethan organists are Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, who described themselves thus on the frontispiece of their *Cantiones quae ab vocantur sacrae*,

[108] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 62.
[109] Ibid.
[110] John Stephens, William Phelps, James Davies, John Baldwin, George Woodson, William West, and possibly Nathaniel Giles entered the Chapel via this route. See appendix for further detail.
[111] P. R. Seddon, 'Household Reforms in the Reign of James I', *Historical Research*, Vol. 53, No. 127, (1980): 52.
[112] Myers, *The Household of Edward IV,* 135.; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 140.

published with royal assent in 1575.[113] By March 1600 however, Arthur Cocke was admitted as an extraordinary Gentleman of the Chapel, 'to supplye the wantes of Organistes'.[114] Cocke soon became a full Gentleman, and served until 1605 as organist of the Chapel Royal, likely to meet the absence of John Bull, organist of the Chapel at this time.[115] After this point, it seems that two organists were appointed from the Gentlemen, though only one is recorded in the Cheque Book with the full title, suggesting the existence of a deputy.[116]

Tensions could emerge between the first and second organist, however. In 1615, Dean Montagu ruled that the older organist would take precedent over the younger 'at principall feasts', serving 'the eeves and daies of the feastes of All Saints, Christmas, Easter, St George, and Witsontide, the next Organist in place to serve the second daie, and so likewise the third for the third daie'.[117] That three organists jostled for the same spot illustrates the richness of Jacobean organ provisions in the Chapel Royal, something further confirmed by the presence of a salaried organ blower at James's funeral.[118] While services may have had rich organ accompaniment under Elizabeth, it was under James that institutional support for the Chapel organ was shored up, revealing the comparatively stronger ground on which musical accompaniment of Jacobean services was performed, and the increasing need for organ accompaniment of verse services and anthems sung by the Chapel Gentlemen.

The Gentlemen of Elizabeth's Chapel Royal received £29 12s. 1d. per annum, with 12d. in board-wages, a figure that had not altered since the reign of Edward VI.[119] The pressures of inflation prompted Chapel Gentlemen to petition for a pay rise in January 1595/96, but this was

[113] John Milsom, Thomas Tallis & William Byrd, *Cantiones Sacrae 1575* (Stainer & Bell, 2014), xii.
[114] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 162
[115] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 207.
[116] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 91.
[117] Ibid., 96-97.
[118] Ibid., 155.
[119] G. A. Philipps, 'Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I', *Music & Letters*, vol. 58, No. 1 (1977): 29.

not granted until James's accession, when the Gentlemen received £40, on top of board-wages.[120] This augmentation was fiercely defended, as indicated by the marginal note in the *Cheque Book* for the entry regarding the pay-rise, which declared 'Cursed be the partie that taketh this leafe out of this booke. Amen'.[121] A £40 annual fee placed Gentlemen firmly among the higher ranks of courtly musical servants. Trumpeters received the same wage (the sergeant receiving £4 6s 8d more), while lute and virginal players both received £50. The players of viols, flutes, sagbuts, rebecks, harps, and drums all received a lower wage (between £20 and £30).[122] It is also worth noting that the services of these courtly servants were regularly required, and could prove important opportunities for courtly access, but could be unpredictable in timing, length, and additional reward. Gentlemen of the Chapel meanwhile, had a well-regulated rotational system of attendance, taking up relatively few hours in the working week, with court attendance and duty tightly attached to the length and timing of the possible four (ferial) or six (holyday) daily courtly and household services.

Cathedral servants were less fortunate than their counterparts in the Chapel Royal. Christopher Marsh has observed that most cathedral wages stagnated at their pre-Reformation rates for much of the later-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, at £6-10 a year for lay singing-men, and £10-13 for vicars choral.[123] These wages alone were barely sufficient to maintain an individual household, let alone a wife and children. As many Gentlemen enjoyed these posts in plurality with their Chapel posts, they could expect to add at least £10 to their chapel wage, and also enjoyed regular leases of land granted by the monarch (producing annual rents of up to £20-30), a conservative estimate of the cumulative income of a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal settles at around £60-70 per year, a considerable wage and more than enough to

[120] TNA SP 38/7 f.314r
[121] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 90.
[122] BL Add MS 31825 f.19r
[123] Marsh, *Music and Society*, 114.

support a growing family. Despite James's increase of the Chapel's wages, it was still expected that Gentlemen would find additional forms of employment, placing pressure on them to find work in other ecclesiastical institutions, and beyond.[124]

d. The Master and Children of the Chapel.

An important figure in the administrative and musical life of the Chapel was the Master of the Children. Appointed from among the lay singing-men of the Chapel, the Master was responsible for the education, training, and care of the twelve boy choristers, and by the start of the seventeenth century, also worked with the Dean and Sub-Dean to direct the music performed at services.[125] The Master spent most of his time caring for the children. This was not an enviable task, as indicated by a petition made by William Hunnis (Master of the Children 1566-97) in 1583 for a rise in wages, since the additional £40 provided for the maintenance of the children was insufficient. Hunnis notes that no fee was allowed 'for the mr of the sayd children nor for his ussher', nor a sufficient wage allowed to employ 'bothe a man servant to attend upon them and lykewyse a woman servant to wash and kepe them cleane'.[126] Lodgings were also paid for out of the Master of the Children's pocket, and travel expenses were not covered. Elizabeth responded to Hunnis's complaint with a series of land grants, presumably hoping these revenues would help to alleviate incurred costs, with no additional expense for the crown.[127]

James was more willing to lighten the financial burdens of his Chapel servants, and established a reimbursement scheme for the additional travel undertaken by the Chapel Master to recruit choristers from cathedrals and song-schools across the country. Payments are recorded to Nathaniel Giles (Master of the Children 1597-1634) of £19 for 42 days work on 5th

[124] For further discussion of this, see Chapter 3, pages 224-32.
[125] *CBCR,* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 82.
[126] TNA SP 12/163 f.209r.
[127] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 612.

February 1613/14, and £18 for 40 days work on 20th May 1616 'for taking up boyes for his Ma[jes]t[ie]s service […] for the paines of him and his servants and their horses'.[128] Possibly reflective of James's general investment in royal music-making, Giles received a stipend of £81 6s 8d for his duties at St George's, Windsor, possibly in addition to his fee as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal.[129] Once impressed into service in the Chapel Royal, the children were clothed, fed, housed, and washed by their Master. Nathaniel Giles, as Master of the choristers of both the Chapel Royal and St George's Windsor, took the opportunity to combine his role, housing the children in the old Vicars' Choral Hall at Windsor during the summer.[130] His wife assumed caring responsibilities and was granted a room in the Master of the Choristers' dwelling after Nathaniel's death in 1634, presumably with the expectation that she would continue to care for the boys.[131] At the end of the choristers' service, at least under James, they would, 'by the discrec[i]on and allowance of the deane of the Chappell or of any two or more of the privy councell', be sent 'to any colledge, halle or Schoole […] to be received and placed as a Schollar there and to have such Lodginge, Dyett, Instruction and allowance as other Schollars there have', as recorded in the right of impressment granted to Giles in September 1604.[132] While we do not know the names of any Children of the Chapel who took up places at Oxbridge colleges, this provision revived practices observed in the Henrician Chapel.[133] It also reflected the contemporary practice of European courts, with boy-choristers at the Spanish court given three years of study at the crown's expense, and later preferred into the royal chapel.[134] Further, it points to a key point of contact between the Chapel Royal and university

[128] TNA E 351/544, mm. 18-34; Ibid, mm. 50-67.
[129] *Nathaniel Giles II*, ed. Sargent, xiv.
[130] SGA XI.B.50.
[131] SGA XV.43.110.
[132] TNA SP 38/7, f.248r.
[133] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 63.
[134] Honey Meconi, 'The Court Chapels of the Habsburg-Burgundian Line: From Emperor Maximilian I to Emperor Charles V', in *A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts* ed. Weaver, 88.

colleges, the former providing the latter with well-trained singers who, if their voices were good after they had broken, likely served the musically sympathetic college chapels.

The Children of the Chapel also served as a dramatic company for court, and were immensely popular, with 46 of the 78 rewards for Court performances between 1558 and 1576 granted to boy companies.[135] At some point after this, possibly due to a decline in their popularity at court, or a desire for greater profit (the £6 13 4d was granted for plays perhaps not enough), Richard Farrant (Gentleman 1553-80), who deputised for Hunnis as Master of the Children between 1576-80, decided to make the Children of the Chapel a public dramatic company, took rooms in Blackfriars, and charged audiences the relatively high rate of 10s. per performance.[136] The Children of the Chapel lost the Blackfriars lease in 1584, but in 1600 Nathaniel Giles, now Master of the Children, revived the lease and returned to public theatre.[137] It was at some point during this period that the choral and dramatic groups (both called 'the Children of the Chapel') may have become increasingly distinct. It was under Giles that the Children became more infamous, particularly in relation to Giles's abuse of the Master's powers of impressment. After 1601, which saw Giles charged in Star Chamber with the illegal impressment and abduction of a nobleman's son, the Chapel Royal ceased all interest in the Blackfriars company, and Giles was apparently able to delegate enough blame or rely on his status as master of the Children of the Chapel to escape severe punishment.[138]

e. The Clerk of the Cheque

The Clerk of the Cheque was another important internal position to which lay Gentlemen of the Chapel might be appointed. It was a prestigious post and afforded the same rights to livery

[135] Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. II, 4.
[136] *RECM*, Vol. IV., ed. Ashbee, 108.; Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. II, 48.
[137] Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics,* 95 n.96.
[138] For further discussion, see chapter three, pages 237-38.

at royal funerals as ordained Gentlemen, despite the lay nature of the incumbent.[139] The Clerk was responsible for internal financial affairs of the Chapel such as receipt of the wages and board-wages of the Gentlemen. These came from two separate sources within the nebulous system of court finance. Chapel wages were paid by the Cofferer of the household, as revealed from a signet warrant addressed to the Cofferer and dated 18th December 1604, which referred to the increase in the Gentlemen's wages to £40 on James's accession.[140] Board-wages, meanwhile, appear to have been paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber, as indicated by by a petition made by William Hunnis in 1583, which refers to Treasurer having ceased board-wage payments to the Children.[141]

The Clerk of the Cheque was also responsible for the collection and re-distribution of Chapel fines. In a chapter meeting held on the 19th April 1598, it was agreed that the 'Clearke of the cheque' would take any fines levied for non-attendance or absence 'out of the offenders boord wages', and redistributed at the annual Chapel feast (typically held in Summer months, when the court went on progress and the Chapel operated with a skeleton staff) among the 'Subdeane and segniors of the companye then present'.[142] The distribution of the money collected as part of the Gentlemen's fines shifted in 1603, when Dean Montagu ordered that it should instead 'monethly be divided amongst those of the gentlemen that have bin most diligent in wayting that moneth'.[143] James (and Dean Montagu) was clearly keen to reward diligent attendance from early in his reign, and incentivised Chapel Gentlemen to invest in the formality and dignity of Chapel services.

[139] TNA LC 2/5 f.44v; LC 2/6 42r; LC 2/4/6 f.42v.
[140] SP 38/7 f.314r.
[141] Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. II, 38.
[142] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 73.
[143] Ibid., 112.

f. The Vestry

The Vestry of the Chapel Royal provided the necessary menial services associated with royal worship. A compact team of four men (a Serjeant, a yeoman, and two grooms), the Vestry was responsible for 'the safekeeping of jewels, books, vestments, and other ornaments belonging to the Chapel', as established by the *Liber Regie*.[144] Although encouragements were made in the mid-fifteenth century for the ordination of the Serjeant, this was difficult to ensure even during the 1470s, and laymen appear to have exclusively filled the role from the late-sixteenth century. As the *Liber Niger* reveals, an audit of Chapel 'stuff' would be taken by the Serjeant 'twey [two] tymez in the yere' and examined by the Dean and Lord Chamberlain, when repairs and replacements would be noted and ordered.[145] This audit continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, attested by the survival of great wardrobe accounts, in which orders of 'stuff' were divided between the items needed for the Chapel and for the royal closet (the raised and enclosed pew at the west end of most royal chapels from which the monarch observed services). The officers of the Vestry and the Clerks of the Closet dealt separately with the receipts of their respective 'stuff', as revealed by the note of a 1560 Chapel order for the delivery of 'certaine bookes […] to thandes of the Servantes of o[u]r vestrie', repeated in 1590, and in 1595 an order for communion cloths, surplices, cushions, and devotional materials for the monarch's personal use issued to the 'Clarke of the Closett', John Thornborough.[146] Although the distinction between departments may have been made in the delivery of receipts, some degree of fluidity is identifiable from accounts of the 'stuff' delivered. While the closet routinely dealt with orders of cushions, coverings for the communion table made of fine velvet

[144] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 57.
[145] Myers, *The Household of Edward IV,* 138.
[146] BL Add 5750 f.39r; f.42r; f.43r.

and silk, and mundane items necessary for the monarch's comfort (like a fireshovel, and hooks for tapestries and carpets), and the chapel tended to order communion linens for the court and for the household, orders of service books, folio bibles for use during services, and surplices, could be ordered to either department, possibly in order to share the charge, or promptly respond to the needs of the Chapel.

The yeomen of the Vestry also fulfilled an important service in the enforcement of conformity in court worship. A remarkable set of ordinances for the household chapel of Prince Henry, issued in 1610 and set out along the same lines as the 'orders used in his maj[es]ties house', reveal the yeomen were responsible for taking note of attendance at the 'divine service and to the sermons' on Sundays for both court and household, and noting those who refuse to take communion on the first Sunday of every month, or 'at least twice in the yeare that is to say at Ester and Christmas'.[147] These lists were then sent to the 'officers of the white staves', with fines and dismissal awaiting repeat offenders or obstinate non-communicants. Chapel services were not just elaborate celebrations of divine service, but an important visual space of conformity for courtly congregations. The yeomen also ensured that the 'Chappell bee decently ordered' on holydays and sermon days, reserving one side of the stalls for 'his highnes officers' and that 'the seates be not pestered and taken up by men of meane quality'.[148] A similar duty appears to have been fulfilled in the Chapel Royal proper.[149] The yeomen of the Vestry not only decorated the Chapel, but also enforced the ordinances controlling the behaviour and seating of courtly congregants.

There was a significant socioeconomic distinction between the Gentlemen of the Chapel and the Vestry. Vestry officers were, as their wages indicate, considered 'lower' Chapel

[147] BL Harley MS 642 f.262r-v.
[148] Ibid., 262v.
[149] For a discussion of the seating plan and space of the Chapel, see page 97.

servants. The 1610 'Book of Offices' listed yeoman's salaries at £5 a year, and the grooms' at £2 13s. 4d each.[150] As indicated by the 1663 increase of Chapel wages, in which the Sergeant of the Vestry is rated as equal to the Gentlemen at £70 a year, it is likely the Elizabethan and Jacobean sergeant was rated at around £30 to £40 a year, though no evidence survives of this.[151]

Vestrymen did not always have a positive relationship with the Gentlemen, and some had severe issues with their behaviour. In 1611 Henry Aldred, groom of the Vestry, was deprived of his post for 'stealing 3 Coapes out of his Maj[es]tys Vestery at Greenwich', having previously been admonished 'for blasphemy, for whoredom, for threatninge the spillinge of blood of certaine p[er]sons [including the Sub-Dean], for Contemptes & for many other great disorders com[m]itted'.[152] Later in the 1610s, Henry Eveseed, yeoman of the Vestry and son of a former Gentleman with the same name, was deprived after repeated and increasingly outrageous offences. Complaints began in 1616, when Eveseed was prohibited from travelling to Scotland due to a 'fowle disease in his groine', which also elicited complaint from those 'constrained by meanes of their service to lye neere him'. Eveseed also had a drinking problem. From at least 1619, he regularly attended court while drunk and fought with his fellows and other court servants. On one occasion, he woke up at midnight and in his 'mad drounkennesse', ran naked through a glass window, severely injuring himself. Another time, he 'vomited in a dishe of pottage which Mr [Anthony] Harrison and others were eating of'.[153] Eveseed's behaviour, while obnoxious, does not seem to have resulted in his removal or any serious reprimand. The threat of expulsion was only levelled in 1619, when during the Chapel feast, held on St Peter's Day, he 'violently and soddenly without cause runne uppon Mr [Orlando] Gibbons, took him up and threw him doune uppon a standard', injuring him badly. Eveseed

[150] BL. Add MS 31825 f.28v.
[151] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 133.
[152] Ibid., 15; Ibid., 91.
[153] Ibid., 106.

then tore ‘his [own] band from his neck to his prejudice and disgrace’, visibly and dramatically signalling his intention to resign. He then met ‘Mr [George] Cooke in the chappell, where he gave him three blowes in the face’, and ‘abused our fellowe Mr. [William] Crosse and Richard Patten [groom of the Vestry]’. When the sergeant of the Vestry confronted Eveseed, and attempted to control his behaviour, Eveseed responded ‘that the Subdeane sate in Chapter as th[a]t knave of clubbs, and the rest of the company as knaves about him’, condemned the Sub-Dean’s post to ‘be poore, yet him selfe to be proud thereof as the divil, telling him w[i]thall th[a]t he was a base Fellow, intruding him selfe into ther office’, and threatened to ‘teare the fleshe of his [George Cooke’s] face’.[154] While Eveseed was given an opportunity to apologise and repair his ways (as with all offenders in the Chapel), he refused. Tensions among the vestrymen could expand beyond moments of criminal or uncivil behaviour and reflect broader institutional rivalries between the Vestry and Gentlemen. It is striking that Eveseed’s violence was directed at two of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, and that the Vestrymen did not receive the same degree of abuse or criticism.

Although James’s early reform of the Chapel may have brought about greater clerical and episcopal association and prestige, they did not resolve the internal tensions between Chapel and Vestry. This had important consequences. Officers of the Vestry were responsible for the security of royal chapels, and some major lapses are identifiable throughout James’s reign. In 1611, a pickpocket entered the antechapel during the Christmas communion service. Eleven years later James was forced to issue a proclamation ordering for the return of stolen chapel plate. While both events are discussed in detail later in the thesis, they reveal how despite James’s efforts to reinstate order in the appointment of Gentlemen through the restored

[154] Ibid.

deanship, issues with the Vestry and thereby the wider performance of services were not so easily solved.[155]

g. Clerks of the Closet.

Clerks of the Closet were not official members of the Chapel Royal. Although they had a close relationship with officers of the Vestry in the receipt of Chapel 'stuff', they were responsible for ordering the 'closet', the raised pew or oratory where the monarch sat during services (and heard private services of their own). As such, the post of Clerk was an influential one, and provided immediate access to the monarch and officiating chaplain. The Clerk received an annual livery of seven yards of broadcloth, worth around £4 13s 4d, indicating a level of visual formality and membership of a wider visible pattern of membership of the royal household.[156] Clerks also helped with the organisation (and distribution) of the rota of attendance for royal chaplains ordained to officiate and preach, and was responsible for 'warning' the chaplain (as stated in the *Liber Niger*), 'as likith the King or the chambrelayne to attend to do service any day or wyke to the King'.[157] In Peter McCullough's words, the post of Clerk of the Closet was 'as close to the king as a servant who was not sworn of the Privy or Bedchamber could get'.[158] It was, therefore, an attractive post for ambitious men like Richard Neile, who was also bishop of Rochester from 1608-11, Coventry and Lichfield from 1611-14, Lincoln from 1614-17, and Durham from 1617-28 and provided him with an important opportunity to gain the ear of the king and rise through the Jacobean Church, in spite of the clerkship's poor wages.[159]

[155] For a discussion of the Chapel pickpocket, see pages 101-3; and the theft of Chapel plate, page 159.
[156] TNA LC 9/60; LC 9/61; LC 9/62; LC 9/63; LC 9/64; LC 9/69; LC 9/70; LC 9/72; LC 9/74; LC 9/75; LC 9/76; LC 9/77; LC 9/78.
[157] Myers, *The Household of Edward IV,* 137.
[158] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 111.
[159] John Burchall, a Yeoman of the Vestry, deputising for the Clerk, received £4 in 1581-2. BL Harley MS 1644 f.6r.

While Neile was undoubtedly the most successful Clerk of the Closet who served Elizabeth or James, (indeed, he was James's only Clerk), he was not the only bishop who held the clerkship in this period. John Thornborough (Clerk 1586-1603) was appointed to the sees of Limerick in 1593, Bristol in 1603, and Worcester in 1617, along with the deanship of York between 1589 and 1617. Elizabeth's other Clerks, William Yonge (1559-1571) and William Absolon (1579-1586) were not the same ecclesiastical heavyweights as Thornborough and Neile, but served as prebends of Westminster and Rochester respectively, and Absolon was Sub-Almoner from 1574, and Master of the Savoy from 1576.[160] The Clerkship was a visible and influential courtly post, and the appointment of incumbents to privileged ecclesiastical positions like bishoprics may have been a means of emphasising the dignity of the post, the closet, and the English episcopacy, from at least the 1590s and into James's reign.

h. The Lord High Almoner and royal confessor

A more prestigious position linked to the Chapel Royal was the Lord High Almoner, the courtly cleric responsible for the distribution of alms money on Maundy Thursday, and who influenced the preaching rota, assuming the court pulpit regularly under Elizabeth.[161] The post was also attached, at least during Elizabeth's reign, to the duties of the household confessor, an underexplored position in the post-Reformation court. The association between the royal confessor and almoner was a fluid one across Europe's princely courts, though the offices became increasingly distinct around 1600, and it is significant that a royal confessor is recorded in Elizabeth's funeral procession.[162] Elizabeth's combination of the roles may have stemmed from financial prudence, but it may have also been influenced by Edmund Guest (Almoner

[160] John Bickersteth and Robert W. Dunning, *Clerks of the Closet in the Royal Household: Five Hundred Years of Service to the Crown* (Alan Sutton, 1991), 15-16.
[161] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 5.
[162] Nicole Reinhardt, 'Confessors' in *Early Modern Court Culture,* ed. Erin Giffey (Routledge, 2022), 88.

1560-71) and Edmund Freke (Almoner 1584-91), whose churchmanship and discomfort with strict predestinariansism may have aligned with Elizabeth's, as Guest proved a reliable and apparently regular court preacher.[163] It is possible that with Freke's death in 1591, the post of confessor re-emerged. Though no reference to the role can be found in the 1590s in the Chapel Cheque Book, by 1606 Edward Doughtie was sworn as royal confessor by Sub-Dean Davies, and William Beckett in 1607 by Davies's substitute, Anthony Harrison. Neither Doughtie nor Beckett had previously served in the Chapel Royal as ministers or singing-men, and both were clerics of moderate standing. For example, Doughtie had a license to 'preach throughout the diocece' of Bath and Wells, rector of Loxton, Somerset, and vicar of several Dorset parish churches before his court appointment.[164] Doughtie resigned the post after only a year, taking up instead the deanship of Hereford on 23rd December 1607, indicating the relative position of the confessor-ship against other ecclesiastical posts.[165]

James did not have a royal confessor in Scotland, and continuation (and possible revival) of the post indicates James's adoption of English household offices. While little is known about the precise duties of James's confessors, Queen Anna and Prince Henry had their own, and the prince's chaplain was appointed to administer communion on the first Sunday of every month, and to 'reade divine service in the said Chappell unto the household' daily.[166] While this role was occupied by royal chaplains and ministers of the Chapel in the Chapel Royal proper, it is possible that the royal confessor officiated or assisted with some Chapel services (for the court and household). Although the deanship of Hereford might have seemed a more attractive post, and none of James's confessors were high-status churchmen, the post

[163] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 96.
[164] *CCEd* Appointment Record 132153.
[165] HCA 7003/1/1 p.164.
[166] Harley MS 642 f.262r; Maureen M. Meikle and Helen M. Payne, 'From Lutheranism to Catholicism: The Faith of Anna of Denmark (1574-1619)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 64, No. 1, (2013): 63.

nonetheless brought access to and possible influence over the royal household, though the exact duties of Jacobean royal confessors, and the extent to which they interacted with the monarch personally, remains unclear.

i. Royal chaplains.

Royal chaplains also made significant contributions to royal liturgy, although they were not an official part of the Chapel Royal. They were responsible for officiating Sunday and Holyday services on a rotational basis, with around two (under Elizabeth) and four (under James) men appointed per month, preaching (and possibly officiating) two services on Sundays, one for the king and court, and the other for the royal household.[167] Royal chaplains were selected by the Lord Chamberlain and could be recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, though their retention of appointment and favour depended, as Peter McCullough has shown, on the monarch's consent.[168] The Lent preaching rota (a separate list from the ordinary rota) was drawn up by Archbishop of Canterbury.[169] Comprising ordinary or honorary (non-stipendiary and irregular) appointments, the number of royal chaplains could vary. 70 of both kinds were recorded at Elizabeth's funeral, though ordinary numbers were probably closer to the 25 'ordinary' chaplains recorded in 1602/3 (11 of whom were also cathedral deans), and the 48 chaplains retained under James and Charles I.[170] Additional duties included diplomatic roles, as in the case of the English Delegate to the Synod of Dort, where five of the six English chaplains were royal chaplains, and occasionally assisted the bishop of London in the

[167] Nicholas W.S. Cranfield, 'Chaplains in Ordinary at the Early Stuart Court: the Purple Road', in *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church*, ed. Claire Cross, (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1996), 126.
A surviving 'ordinary' rota for 1602 can be found at WAM 15 f.2; cited by McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 73.
[168] Ibid., 76; Ibid., 115.
[169] Ibid., 64-65; Ibid., 74; Ibid., 107.
A surviving Lent rota can be found at SP 14/90 f.187v.
[170] TNA LC 2/4/4 f.55r-v; LC 2/6 f.40v-41v.

censorship of religious texts and defence of the Church in disputations.[171] Despite influencing the content of sermons preached in the Chapel Royal, both as authors and orators, and in their duty of vetting preachers of *coram rege* sermons 'for the avoydinge of discorde', royal chaplains had little formal influence over the fabric or administration of the Chapel Royal itself.[172] However, in their sermons, regularly heard by courtly and royal auditors, references to the space and congregation could frequently allude to contemporary concerns, and constituted an important critical voice, which in more charged and controversial moments, could sound like a serious challenge to the royal will.[173]

Elizabeth and James took different approaches to the offices of their household Chapel. While Elizabeth undoubtedly appreciated the importance of her Chapel Gentlemen, remuneration was only made if there was no immediate cost to the crown, and Elizabeth's comparative neglect of her Chapel exacerbated problems with pay and discipline, which James was eager to rectify from his accession in 1603. By establishing the roles, duties, and remuneration of some of the key offices in the Chapel Royal, it becomes clear that the Chapel deanship did not provide a direct path to influence over royal worship, but instead that change was brought about by a combination of royal investment and the self-governance of the Gentlemen themselves.

[171] Fincham, 'The roles and influence of household chaplains', 16.; Mary Morrissey, 'Episcopal chaplains and control of the media, 1586-1642', 67.
[172] Cranfield, 'Chaplains in Ordinary', 130.
[173] Debora Shuger, 'Absolutist theology: the sermons of John Donne' in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history, 1600-1750*, ed. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (MUP, 2000), 117; Ferrell, *Government by Polemic*, 114.

II. Models of administration

The Chapel Royal was exceptional among the music-making institutions of post-Reformation England. Although it drew many of its members from these institutions and enjoyed mutually profitable (if at times contested) relationships with them, it did not fulfil the same duties or provide the same purpose as England's cathedrals and royal peculiars, as it was designed to cater for the spiritual and liturgical needs of the monarch and royal court.[174] The Chapel Royal was a court chapel and should be compared with the models of worship maintained across Europe's royal and princely courts. While the Reformation changed the content of the liturgies observed in some courtly ecclesiastical venues, the need to uphold dignity and majesty in public worship remained, and this continued to be facilitated by the offices comprising Europe's royal chapels. Contextualising the offices and dynamics of administration described in the first section of this chapter against England's Catholic and Protestant neighbours is therefore crucial if the exceptionalism claimed by the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal is to be fully understood.

Household chapels, reserved for the use of the monarch, royal family, household, and courtiers, can be found across almost all European courts. Providing a daily routine of liturgical action, court chapels offered a universally recognised stage for the performance of monarchical and princely piety, where ambassadors and courtiers vied for prestigious placement. Although the practices of court chapels depended on the confessional identity of their patron and court, they tended towards a comparable model centred around the splendid sensory performance of the liturgies of their respective Church, inviting an inevitable sense of competition and rivalry

[174] The relationship between the Chapel Royal and England's royal peculiars, free chapels, cathedrals, and collegiate chapels is discussed in Chapter 3, on pages 215-21.

between Protestant and Catholic courts.[175] The structure and administration of these chapels has received less attention from a comparative perspective, however, and it is by placing the English Chapel Royal alongside its European contemporaries that some of its more unique aspects are revealed.

Compared with its neighbours, the post-Reformation English Chapel Royal was of middling-to-small stature. By 1610, Henri IV of France's chapel boasted 43 singing men (not including priests and choristers); Philip II of Spain's comprised 40 singers in 1580; and Christian IV of Denmark's Chapel comprised 23 singing-men in 1588 (with 15 trumpeters and 9 instrumentalists), though overall numbers rose to 71 in 1596 for Christian's coronation.[176] Nonetheless, English composers found some appreciation in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century continental circles. John Bull, for example, was employed at the Danish court from 1613, and William Byrd sustained (potentially crypto-Catholic) musical communication with Philippe de Monte, *hofkapellemeister* to Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II.[177]

Court chapels provided European rulers with a formal stage on which their legitimacy and piety was displayed. Chapels joined the presence chamber and hall as one of the most important sites for the performance of early modern kingship, as established by the 'Burgundian' mode of court ceremonial, popular in Europe from the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. Although this mode was not exclusive to the ducal courts of Burgundy, and

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[175] See: Bridget Heal, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (OUP, 2017); and Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (OUP, 2006).

[176] Pablo L. Rodriguez, 'The court chapels of the Spanish line: from King Philip II to king Charles II', in *A companion to music at the Habsburg courts*, ed. Weaver (Leiden 2020), 100.; Peter Bennett, *Music and power at the court of Louis XIII: sounding the liturgy in early modern France* (CUP 2021), 56.; John Bergsagel, 'Music at the Danish and Swedish courts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in *The Cambridge history of Scandinavia*, ed. E.I. Jouri and Jens E. Olesen (CUP, 2016), 620-21.

[177] David Wulstan, 'Byrd, Tallis and Ferrabosco' in *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, ed. John Morehen (CUP, 1995), 127-129; Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 208.

a distinction must be observed between the practices of the Burgundian chapel and the later 'Burgundian' ceremonial concern with courtly access, the chapel of Philip 'the Bold' (1363-1404) offers an important model of administration for a court chapel led by musically trained clergy.[178] Re-constituted in 1384, Philip's chapel was directed by a 'first chaplain', and consisted of twelve chaplains with musical training, four lay-clerks, and a monk.[179] The 'first chaplain' (comparable to the Sub-Dean and Serjeant of the Vestry in the English model) was also expected to have some musical training, selected the chapel repertoire, took direction of the payment, discipline, and induction of the chaplains and clerks, and kept the chapel 'stuff' secure.[180] Like members of the English Chapel Royal, Burgundian chapel officers enjoyed an elevated social position at court, regularly received meals at the duke's pleasure, and were granted personal access to the ducal family and councillors.[181] The institution of a body of musically trained priests, and the clerical direction of secular singers provided an important model observable in the constitutions of royal chapels in England, Scotland, Portugal, and some imperial ducal chapels such as Dresden and Innsbruck.

By the late sixteenth century, the two major courts utilising a clerical mode of chapel administration (meaning that the director of the choir was selected from ordained members of staff), were those of England and the imperial court at Vienna (with some associated archducal courts, like that of Frederick II at Innsbruck). After Maximilian I reformed his *hofkapelle* in 1497-8, which was managed *à la mode Bourgogne*, the singing-men and priests were placed under the authority of the *premier chapelain*, who received musical training, and enforced imperial requirements concerning dress, appropriate reverence in and out of service time, and

[178] Dries Raeymaekers, ''A La Mode De Bourgoigne?' The 'Burgundian' Ceremonial at the Court of Albert and Isabella in Brussels (1598-1621)', *Dutch Crossing*, Vol. 43, No. 1, (2019): 48.
[179] Meconi, 'From Emperor Maximilian I to Emperor Charles V', 61.
[180] Ibid., 62; Ibid., 73.
[181] Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419: a Documentary History* (Institute of Medieval Music, 1979), 77.

facial hair (to be clean-shaven).[182] Although the English Chapel followed a similar structure from an earlier period, Burgundian courtly influence on Henry VII doubtless bolstered his confidence in this mode of administration and helped to shore up the authority he granted to the Chapel Dean.[183]

The English Chapel also influenced the administration of the Portuguese Chapel, as revealed by the surviving *Liber Regie Capelle* (c.1448). This is confirmed by the Portuguese *Ordinacio regie capelle* (1560), which was used until the 1581 union of crowns, when Portuguese ceremonial was subsumed into Spanish Habsburg practice. Led by the *Capelaeo-mor* (an ordained master of the Chapel, equivalent to the English Dean), the Portuguese royal chapel was also comprised of the chapel master (equivalent to the Sub-Dean), the *maestre dos mocos* (master of the choristers), and a group of clerical and lay singers, the former responsible for officiating services.[184]

Until 1560, the Scottish Chapel Royal was similarly structured, with a musically trained Sub-Dean (assisted in logistics by a sacristan), taking charge of 16 canons (without musical training), 16 prebends 'skilled in song', and six boy clerics 'competently trained in song'.[185] Sufficient musical training was key to the performance of royal worship, and the appointment of a competent music-master was crucial for maintaining the prestige of both the royal court and monarch as a pious artistic patron. Despite reduced opportunities for musical training as cathedrals reduced the number of those admitted to their ranks, and no alternative to chantries had been provided to support lucrative musical-ecclesiastical posts, England retained this

[182] Meconi, 'From Emperor Maximilian I to Emperor Charles V', 74.
Surviving portraits and contemporary depictions of the Chapel Gentlemen indicate that this demand was not made in England.
[183] Marina Belozerkaya, 'Burgundian arts across Europe: new paradigms for the fifteenth century', vol. I, (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1997), 150-159; Laura Flannigan, *Royal Justice and the Making of the Tudor Commonwealth, 1485-1547* (Cambridge University Press, 2023), 179.
[184] Rita Costa-Gomes, 'The Royal Chapel in Iberia: Models, Contacts, and Influences', *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 1, (2009): 88.
[185] Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal in Scotland*, xxxii.

clerical model of choral direction. This likely appealed to the ceremonial formality of Burgundian modes of courtly administration and offered a conspicuously 'traditional' example compared with contemporary European courts.

By the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, most European court chapels were directed by laymen. Although the Protestant reformation has been associated with a rise in lay influence over court chapels, the trend is observable on both sides of the confessional divide.[186] In Denmark, the Lutheran chapel (or *kantorei*) of Christian IV was directed by a lay *kapellemeister*, who directed some 40 voices, including choristers and their dedicated master, while royal chaplains officiated services and directed the liturgy.[187] A similar model was adopted in Lutheran Sweden and practiced in Catholic France and Spain.[188] Although the French *chapelle royalle* suffered periods of abeyance and suspension (owing to difficulties of finance and courtly formality during the Wars of Religion), Henri IV's household ordinances in 1595 were explicitly designed to restore the administrative and liturgical practice of his Chapel to 'the same manner […] as it was in that of the previous Kings'.[189] This involved reviving the *chapelle de plainchant*, a body of musically untrained priests, who offered a specialised clerical counterpart to the *chapelle de musique*, the formally trained lay singing-men. The liturgical action, administration, and discipline of the *chapelle royalle* was overseen by a *maitre* (equivalent to the English Dean), and *sous-maitre* (equivalent to the English Sub-Dean).[190] While some clerics filled the post of *maitre*, the *sous-maitre* was not necessarily

[186] Adele Poindexter and Barbara H. Haggh, 'Chapel', *NGO*, (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05431.
[187] Angul Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes hof: Et bidrag til dansk musikhistorie*, (Copenhagen, 1892), 11.
[188] Bergsagel 'Music at the Danish and Swedish courts', in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, ed. Jouri and Olesen, 624.
[189] Louis Archon, *Historie ecclésastique de la chapelle des Rois de France*, Vol. II, (Paris: 1711), 660. Quoted in: Bennett, *Music and Power*, 56.
[190] Ibid.

ordained until the final decade of the sixteenth century, and both posts were awarded to men with exceptional musical and compositional ability.[191]

A similar separation between clerical and lay activity was observed in the Spanish *capilla real* of Charles V and Philip II, which distinguished between the twelve *capellanes de altar* (musically untrained priests who officiated and sung plainchant services), and the forty *capellanes cantores* (trained singers who performed florid polyphonic accompaniments to services), including around sixteen choirboys.[192] While the *capellan mayor* assumed general responsibility for the chapel (and was appointed from among the royal chaplains), liturgical and musical action was directed and overseen by the *maestro de la capella* (a lay equivalent to the English Sub-Dean) and his deputy, the *teniente de maestro*.[193] Focus on lay musical training resulted in a number of musically incompetent royal chaplains by the second decade of the seventeenth century, and in 1623 renewed training was ordered after it was discovered that some chaplains were 'singing out of tune and even prompting laughter during their worship.[194] Although the specialisation of a lay choral director presumably allowed for a greater degree of technical elaboration, it intensified the separation between the clerical and lay musical staff of the institution, and occasionally resulted in embarrassing performance standards.

Models of chapel administration and liturgical performance were not ignored as part of the routine of court life: they were recognised and noted by early modern English courtiers. In a remarkable manuscript dating from c.1610 written in Spanish by an unidentified English courtier, the structure, hierarchy, and space of the *capilla real* is laid out in full, including duties

[191] See: Aime Agnel and Richard Freedman, 'Certon, Pierre', *NGO,* (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05308; Frank Dobbins, 'Millot, Nicolas', *NGO*, (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18702.
[192] Pablo L. Rodriguez, 'The Court Chapels of the Spanish Line: From King Philip II to King Charles II', 100.
[193] Glass, 'The Royal Chapel of the Alcázar', 50.
[194] Rodriquez, 'From King Philip II to King Charles II', 99.

individual duties and privileges.[195] Although there is no evidence to suggest that James was considering a re-organisation of the English Chapel, it is possible that one forward-thinking (and optimistic) courtier was making exploratory preparations for the necessary arrangements should the deeply controversial proposal that Prince Henry marry the Spanish Infanta Ana (broached in 1604 and again in 1610) go ahead.[196] The manuscript describes ceremonial performance and ecclesiastical administration in equal detail, and it seems likely that James sought to tighten ceremonial in order to enhance the prospect of an English match on the European princely marriage market. While administrative structure was important for the management and training of clerical and lay singers, ceremonial 'dressing' was a matter of considerable significance in the formation of distinct cultures of piety and majesty across early modern European courts.

Unlike other European courts, the English Chapel Royal was remarkably insular. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, no foreigner was appointed to the ranks of the Chapel staff. The same restriction was not applied to court musicians: Alfonso Ferrabosco 'the elder' served Elizabeth I from 1562 to 1578, when he left England as attitudes towards Catholics hardened.[197] Other European court chapels drew from a wide range of nationalities among their ranks. The imperial court at Dresden employed Italian singing-men by the mid-seventeenth century, and the Spanish and Imperial court chapels recruited a range of nationalities, especially from the Low Countries.[198] While some Chapel Gentlemen found

[195] BL Add MS 8691 f.33v-35v.
[196] Robert Cross, ''The onely soveraigne medecine': Religious Politics and Political Culture in the British-Spanish Match, 1596-1625' in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy: Dynastic Politics in their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. Valentina Caldari and Sara J. Wolfson (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 69; Ibid., 75.
[197] Christopher D.S. Field, 'Ferrabosco, Alfonso (i)', *NGO*, (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.60000200728.
[198] Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, chapter 1; Meconi, 'The Court Chapels of the Habsburg-Burgundian Line' in *A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts*, ed. Weaver, 83; Lawrence Bennett, Steven Saunders, and Andrew H. Weaver, 'The Court Chapels of the Austrian Line (II): From Archduke Charles II to Emperor Leopold I' in *A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts*, ed. Weaver, 178.

employment outside of England, like Martin Otto who served Christian IV between 1608 and 1614, and John Dowland (a failed applicant to the Elizabeth's Chapel and later lutenist for James I) who served as Christian IV's court lutenist between 1598 and 1606, the English Chapel Royal did not permit any foreigners into its ranks.[199] This may have been due to reasons of confessional uniformity: all members were required to swear a modified form of the Oath of Supremacy (which included obedience to the Chapel Dean), and it is significant that no Lutherans were admitted. Also, the English Chapel Royal did not dissolve on the death of the monarch, like the Burgundian chapel of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or the Austrian-Habsburg chapels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[200] This permitted a considerable degree of continuity among the employed personnel, and doubtless intensified the corporate identity of the Chapel throughout the challenges to confessional and political allegiance posed to English subjects over the course of the sixteenth century.

Although the English Chapel Royal followed a broadly 'Burgundian' administrative structure which preserved the clerical direction of choral performance, it was distinct from its neighbouring court chapels in both administration (at least by the early seventeenth century), and in its insular and restrictive approach to membership. This did not mean that the English Chapel Royal was not influenced by the practice of contemporary European court chapels, but that it was recognisably distinct (though not unique) in its structure and governance, beyond the Protestant nature of its liturgy and performance of worship.

[199] Evan A. Maccarthy, 'Exchange: Conduits, Objects, and Earwitnesses' in *A Cultural History of Western Music in the Renaissance*, eds. Jeanice Brooks and Richard Freedman (Bloomsbury, 2021), 121-144.
[200] Jonas Pfohl, 'The Court Chapels of the Austrian Line (I): From Emperor Ferdinand I to Emperor Matthias', in *A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts*, ed. Weaver, 134.

III. Peculiar space(s)

The occupation of courtly buildings and spaces was a crucial part of the Chapel Royal's constitutional, institutional, and liturgical operation. Court chapels came with certain spatial and relational expectations and realities, which influenced how the liturgy was performed, and the way that royal worship was conceptualised. This section considers how courtly ordinance, royal preachers, and contemporary commentators constructed royal chapels as extraordinary spaces, and establishes how Elizabethan and Jacobean Protestants established the boundaries of the privileges afforded to royal worship.

a. Venues

The court chapels of Elizabeth's and James's main palaces (Whitehall, Richmond, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and St James's) were small spaces when compared with most cathedrals and major royal peculiars. The largest court chapel was Richmond, which measured 90ft by 30ft. The main body of Whitehall chapel was noticeably smaller, at 65ft by 33ft, smaller even than the chapel at St James's, which measured 79ft by 27ft 6in (with a 24ft deep raised closet), and the private royal chapel at Windsor, which measured 75ft 9in by 31ft.[201] Smaller still were Hampton Court, at 60ft x 35ft (with a 40ft deep raised closet), and Greenwich at 50ft 10in by 27ft 8in.[202] Although descriptions of royal chapels do not permit a full reconstruction of their external appearance, contemporary sketches of Tudor palaces reveal that crenellations were applied along the roofs of most English court chapels by c.1540, indicating some attempt at

[201] Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1690*, (YUP, 1999), 30; William Dickinson, 'plan of St James's', All Souls College Oxford Archives, 250-AS I.2; Keri Dexter, *'A good Quire of voices': The provision of choral music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c. 1640-1733* (Ashgate, 2002), 133.
[202] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 75; 76; 77; Julian M. C. Bowsher, 'The Chapel Royal at Greenwich Palace', *The Court Historian*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (2006): 156.

architectural unity [Figs. IV, V, VI].[203] These spaces were nonetheless relatively small. Although no Elizabethan or Jacobean record of total attendance survives, 120 noblemen and courtiers were able to find space in the stalls and antechapel of Hampton Court chapel for the christening of Prince Edward in 1537.[204]

The palace chapels used by the Chapel Royal were around the same size as some of the more modest college chapels of Oxford and Cambridge constructed around a contemporary period. While Kings, Cambridge (at 289ft x 40ft) and Trinity, Cambridge (choir 150ft x 36ft, and antechapel 63ft x 36ft) dwarfed royal chapels, more instructive in comparison is the chapel at Magdalen, Oxford (choir 76.5ft x 19.5ft, and antechapel 74ft x 35ft).[205] On holydays and liturgies of state, services could quickly become crowded, and seating in the pews was highly sought after for both status projection and comfort. The intimacy of these spaces helped to emphasise the intense visual and aural performance hosted therein, and partially transformed royal, noble, clerical, and gentle congregants into participants in the performance of liturgy just as much as the officiating ministers and attendant Gentlemen.[206]

Royal palaces and residences did not always have dedicated chapels. In the absence of a suitable chapel, Chapel ceremonies took place in secular spaces, like the hall. While this was seen at paraliturgical services like the Maundy foot-washing, Prayer Book liturgies also took

[203] Antonis van den Wyngaerde, 'Richmond Palace, from the outer gate of the Great Court, 1558' Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; van Wyngarde, 'Panorama of Greenwich Palace from the north, 1558'; van Wyngarde, 'Hampton Court Palace from the North', c.1558-1561, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. See: Maurice Howard, 'The Royal Chapel in the Sixteenth Century', Society of Antiquaries, London, public lecture. July 2021.
[204] BL Egerton MS 985 f.38r-39r.
[205] John Ochsendorf and Matthew Dejong, 'The Structure and Construction of the Chapel' in *King's College Chapel 1515-2015: art, music and religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (Harvey Miller, 2014), 63; SD201/SMY/I/3, 'Trinity College, Cambridge: plan survey drawing of the ground floor and quadrangle, incorporating the chapel, hall and butteries', c.1590, RIBA29121; David Crawford, *An inventory of the historical monuments in the City of Oxford* (HM Stationery Office, 1939), 71.
[206] For a discussion of the spaces of royal chapels, and royal chaplains' reflections on the symbolic significance of Chapel Royal congregants, see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 30-37; Ibid., 40-42.

place in some secular venues.[207] On the 17th of September 1613, for example, a service of ante-communion and touching for the King's Evil was held in the presence chamber of Theobalds, rather than the chapel. It is possible that the building was in too ruinous a state to host this ceremony, and instead the presence chamber was made suitable for liturgical activity by rich fabrics and tapestries. No royal closet was erected, but rather a large canopy and chair of estate at the 'west' end, opposite the communion table at the other.[208] At Denmark House, another residence without a chapel (until the tennis courts were converted into a royal friary church in 1635), the hall was transformed into a proxy chapel on the death of James I, when it was draped with black fabrics and two rows of parallel benches offered the choir decani and cantoris sides from which special services of prayer were sung during the king's lying-in-state.[209] Similar provision must have been employed at popular residences like Nonsuch and Royston, neither of which had a chapel.[210] Elizabeth spent £600 on installing a chapel closet in the chapel of the Savoy during her visit in Lent 1585 and made similar requirements of Canterbury Cathedral in 1573.[211] Organising the space of the Chapel Royal clearly mattered, and necessitated great expenditure (and flexibility of ecclesiastical definition) to prepare spaces for liturgical action and the royal presence.

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[207] BL Add MS 32097 f.70r.
See also: McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 30.
[208] William Brenchley Rye, *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth & James the First. Comprising translations of the journals of the two Dukes of Wirtemberg in 1592 and 1610; both illustrative of Shakespeare* (London, 1865), 150-151.
[209] *CBCR,* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 154-155.
[210] Colvin, *History of the King's Works* Vol. IV., 197; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 30.
The hall was also used in pre-Reformation ceremonies, like the christening of Henry Brandon, earl of Lincoln, son of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk and 'mary the frenche quene', at Bath Place in c.1523. On this occasion, an altar was set up at one end of the hall, and a traverse for the monarch. See: BL Add MS 6113 f.119r.
[211] TNA E 351/3219; noted in Colvin, *History of the King's Works* Vol. IV., 254; *Correspondence of Matthew Parker,* ed. Bruce and Thomason Perowne, 442-3.

b. Arrangement

The internal arrangement of most royal chapels was rectangular, with a raised and enclosed pew at the west end, called the royal 'closet'. Whitehall and Hampton Court introduced a slight variation on this pattern, with a larger space at the west end to create a 'T' shape, and a larger royal closet [Fig. VII].[212] Until the early 1620s, Richmond was the only outlier, with separate royal closets on the north and south sides of the chapel, placed towards the east end, overlooking the sanctuary.[213] Although this arrangement was the most common type of court chapel in England (and the rest of Europe) by the sixteenth century (the earliest example of which is found in Charlemagne's chapel of Our Lady, in Aachen) it was not developed in the houses of England's gentry and nobility until the mid-fifteenth century.[214] After a process of spatial and architectural development, observed in England and Wales's castle chapels from the thirteenth century and identified at Kempton manor in 1237, the chapels of England's late-Medieval palaces and gentry houses developed two-storey chapels, with a pew at the west end overlooking the main body of the chapel, reserved for the highest-status personage present.[215] Early surviving examples include Bradley Manor, in Devon (1427), Compton Caslte, Devon (c.1450-75), and The Vyne, Hampshire (c.1500-10).[216] Most Tudor standing houses were extensively rebuilt, renovated, or completely redesigned around this period, and the influence of contemporary gentry manors, as much as early medieval castles, seems likely. Elizabethan and Jacobean prodigy houses did not always replicate the arrangement of palace chapels.[217]

[212] Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, 197.
[213] H.M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works,* Vol. IV, (HM Stationery Office, 1982), 225.
[214] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 14.
[215] R. Allen Brown, *English Castles* (CUP, 2004), 153-154.
[216] Nigel Saul, *Lordship and Faith: The English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages* (OUP, 2017), 117.
[217] Thomas Cecil, first earl of Exeter, constructed an 'assembly' chapel at Wimbledon in the late 1580s, as discussed in: Ricketts with Gapper and Knight, 'Designing for Protestant Worship', 121.

Nonetheless, a separate and raised pew achieved a level of comfort and visible prestige comprehensible to the magnates and ecclesiastics seated in the stalls of English court chapels.

Constructed of carved and brightly painted wood, royal closets acted as richly symbolic manifestations of the physical separation of the monarch from a more 'public' courtly space.[218] Usually adorned with the royal arms (retained by the sole surviving sixteenth century closet, at St George's Windsor [Fig. VIII), royal closets usually had finely designed glass oriel windows, 'richly carved painted and guilded', as in Henrietta Maria's closet at Denmark House, constructed between 1630-35.[219] Another indication of the appearance of the closet windows is offered in the only surviving contemporary depiction of the interior of a court chapel, Wenceslaus Hollar's sketch of the interior of the private chapel at Windsor, which stood on stone pillars or a wooden screen [Figs. IX and X].[220] The screen at Windsor seems to confirm James Jago's suggestion that most chapel screens were *all'antica* in style, although it is uncertain whether they were as elaborate as the frontispiece of James I's *Workes*, edited by Chapel Dean James Montagu, as Jago suggests.[221] Nonetheless, the neoclassical features of the closet screen as restored at Greenwich in 1623-4 would have been striking, and possibly intended to echo the recently completed Banqueting House at Whitehall.[222] The Greenwich closet was suspended by five columns, with a new frieze and architrave underneath the window (painted green), with two 'boyes' (likely cherubim) with gilt 'draperye', who supported the large royal arms above the window, and carried silver 'palmes and garlandes'.[223] The roof of

[218] Peter McCullough has described the effect of the royal closet as having 'simultaneously advertised the princely presence while it guarded it' and contributing to 'a kind of present absence'. See: McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 21.
[219] TNA AO 1/2490/383; Manolo Guerci, *London's 'golden mile': the great houses of the Strand 1550-1650*, (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2021), 66.
[220] Bodleian MS Ashmole 1131 f.168v-169r.; Ibid., 170v-171.r.
[221] Jago, 'The Dissemination and Reassessment of Private Religious Space in Early Modern England', 55.
[222] Ibid., 91.
[223] TNA E 351/3257.

the chapel was also decorated with eighteen gilt cherubim, against a 'faire blewe' background. A year later, 'Dieu et mon droit' was written above the screen, the whole scheme costing £46 1s 2d.[224] While the classicised scene was probably initially executed in anticipation of the 'Spanish Match', it may have had the later effect of recovering James's damaged prestige after the collapse of the proposal, and there is no reason to believe that it marked a greater degree of 'beautification' than James's earlier investment.[225] Chapel closets were long recognised as extraordinary spaces, and their exteriors (and interiors) reflected the majesty of their occupants. Elizabeth and James invested in the silks, fabrics, and furnishings of their closets, regularly ordering silks and back-cloths to furnish its interior, offering potential glimpses of Venice gold and silver cloth, with spangles, tassels, and twists, to the clergy, councillors, and noblemen and women in the stalls below.[226]

Scottish royal chapels were not arranged in the same manner as their counterparts in England. The distinction between James VI's chair of estate, 'very common' and with 'no ornament whatever' placed directly in front of the raised pulpit and the richly decorated and raised gallery inherited by James on his accession to the English throne was stark.[227] However, the introduction of a west-end gallery for the monarch and royal family at Holyroodhouse chapel in 1617, 'richlie and weill decored as becomes the lykes to be […] with twa bay wondokes […] with faire opening wondokes for ther Majesteis to louke downe to the Chapell throw' was not novel.[228] In 1583, four years after James VI reached his majority, extensive renovations were conducted across his palace chapels, including work done on the north side

[224] TNA E 351/3258.
[225] Colvin, *History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, 116.
[226] For further discussion, see pages 107-8.
[227] Gottfried von Bulow, 'Journey through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Vol. 9 (1895): 245; quoted and discussed in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 27.
[228] *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, J. Imrie and J. G. Dunbar, Vol. II. (HM Stationery Office, 1982), 441.

of Stirling chapel to enlarge the passageway into the 'cheppell loft', so that 'oure Queyne wite hir tryne off ladyis may pas fwrthe'.[229] Although the raised closet at Stirling was not used by Mary, it is likely that it was utilised by Anna and her ladies in waiting after her arrival in Scotland in 1590. Nonetheless, the introduction of a west-end closet, occupied by the king, to Scottish courtly practice in 1617 would have made a clear and undeniable assertion of James's adoption of an English style of royal worship. Physically and symbolically raised above the noble and clerical congregants below, James offered architectural reality to his desired programme of liturgical and ecclesiastical union between the Churches of England and Scotland.

Chapel closets were intimate and symbolically charged spaces. They over-looked the main body of the court chapel and were furnished with a communion table to facilitate the private administration of sacraments to the monarch and royal family. Although private services were also be held in the monarch's privy closet, the absence of any clear record makes conclusions difficult.[230] In the Wardrobe accounts that deal with the Chapel, the Closet is often treated as an adjunct space, and it would make logistical and logical sense for the communion cloths and fabrics purchased for the 'closet' to be intended for the space overlooking the chapel, rather than a distant room in the far reaches of the royal apartments. The chapel closet projected a clear image of royal authority for its occupants by their elevation and the use of a language of domestic authority to claim spiritual and temporal primacy.[231]

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[229] *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, ed. J. Imrie and J. G. Dunbar, Vol. I. (HM Stationery Office, 1957), 311.
The presence of this royal gallery bears similarities with the arrangement of Spanish royal chapels, discussed below at page 103 and extends the comparison of English and Scottish royal chapels found in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 27-28.
[230] Thurley, *Royal Palaces of Tudor England,* 198.
[231] Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (UCP, 1991), 69.

Although this space was usually reserved for the royal family, the closet was a frequent venue for courtly marriages and baptisms. Under Elizabeth, prominent noblemen and ladies of the bedchamber were married or had their children baptised in the Chapel closet. During these occasions space was presumably cramped, as 'the younge lords knightes & gentlewomen of the Court' (apparently including John, duke of Finland and later king of Sweden), and 'a greate companye of gentlemen' with ladies in waiting, respectively attended the wedding of Lord and Lady Cobham, and the christening of their son, Maximilian.[232] Although James suspended this practice after his accession, courtiers are recorded occupying the closet in the absence of James and his royal family. For example, Lady Anne Clifford sat in the royal closet with her companions after noting that queen Anna was absent on the 19th of January 1617.[233] In January 1622, it was ordered that 'when wee & the prince are absent […] when any of the lords of o[u]r councell be belowe, o[u]r pleasure is, so much respect to be given to o[u]r councell (being o[u]r representative bodie) as th[a]t no man p[re]sume to be covered until they require them, so then only the sonnes of noble men, or such as serve us or the prince in eminent places'. Although this restriction on hat-wearing in chapel is not the most authoritative denial of noble occupation of the closet, it is explicit that councillors should remain 'belowe', indicating a royal expectation that the closet be reserved for members of the royal family and their guests. James's restriction of access to the Closet is also witnessed in his reform of Garter ceremonies, since he appears to have suspended the Elizabethan practice of permitting Garter knights to process through the Closet on their entry and exit from the royal chapel, indicating both the royal intimacy and prestige enjoyed by England's premier chivalric order, and the lengths that James went to in order to heighten the separation of the royal body and the court chapel.[234] Restricting

[232] BL Add MS 6113 f.200v; Ibid.,f.201r.
[233] *The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. Vita Sackville-West (Westminster Press, 1923), 49. Discussed in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 30.
[234] Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), 544.

access to the Closet heightened the power of those physically close to the monarch, and emphasised the reverence expected of those in the royal presence by a visible physical separation.

The use of a royal pew at the west end of chapels (or the north and south sides) was an architectural feature remarkably common to the court chapels in northern Europe. Influenced by electoral Saxony, the court chapels of late-sixteenth century Denmark, Vienna, and Dresden provided for a raised closet intended for royal or princely use.[235] As in England, the placement of the monarch at the west end of court chapels emphasised the 'political ambitions of the prince as head of society, ruling with hereditary, God-given power', something particularly attractive to Lutheran rulers.[236] Most Lutheran chapels by the later sixteenth century had a raised pew (or oratory) for the monarch and royal family and a pew on the ground floor, to be used by the prince during communion services, near the altar.[237] This closely resembled English practice, where the monarch attended communion services from their 'traverse' (a structure of rich taffeta which enclosed the monarch, with a closeable aperture facing the congregation), a structure also used for communion services in the closet. Unlike English royal chapels, galleries were also occasionally provided to accommodate more congregants and offer a better auditory perspective for the sermon, like Schloss Hartenfels, Torgau, the first chapel rearranged by a Protestant electoral prince (in 1544).[238] The Protestant utilisation of the west-end gallery

[235] Hugo Johannsen, 'The Saxon Connection: on the architectural genesis of Christian IV's palace chapel (1606-1617) at Fredericksborg Castle' in *On the Opposite Sides of the Baltic Sea: relations between Scandinavian and Central European Countries*, ed. Jan Harasimowicz, Piotr Oszczanowski, Marcin Wisłocki (Wydawnictwo via nova, 2007), 371-2; Magrit Thøfner, 'Framing the Sacred: Lutheran Church Furnishings in the Holy Roman Empire', *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2012), 97; Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, 370.
[236] Hugo Johannsen, 'The Protestant Palace Chapel: Monument to Evangelical Religion and Sacred Rulership' in *Masters, Meanings, & Models: Studies in the Art and Architecture of the Renaissance in Denmark*, ed. Michael Andersen, Ebbe Nyborg, and Mogens Vedsø (National Museum of Denmark, 2010), 138.
[237] Ibid., 140.
[238] Johannsen, 'The Saxon Connection' in *On the Opposite Sides of the Baltic Sea*, 371.

illustrates how although the practice was not a Protestant innovation, it could nonetheless suit the needs of reformers. Although details regarding the local use of royal or princely raised pews might differ, their rich decoration and significance for projecting the potentate's authority indicates a comparable mode of royal and princely piety in evangelical royal worship across Europe.

The monarchs of Spain, Portugal, and France did not consistently use a raised gallery in their court chapels. Although the chapel of the Alcázar in Madrid had a raised pew at the west end, which the monarch and royal family filled on ferial days, the monarch was more regularly present in his *cortina*, a fabric structure positioned close to the altar, on the gospel side. Facing east, the *cortina* did not provide many congregants with a view of their sovereign. This was something restricted to a single day in the liturgical calendar: Good Friday, when the monarch would assume a position on the epistle side (south) of the altar, seated on a cushioned chair covered with rich fabrics.[239] Compared with the relatively regular schedule in England, Spanish monarchs were only rarely seen by their congregants.

A scheme comparable to that observed at Richmond, where royal closets were set on the north and south sides of the chapel, was observed at two of the more prominent French palace chapels, Vincennes and the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon.[240] This was not the order of all French palace chapels however, and a western raised closet was used at the chapels at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Versailles.[241] The French monarch was also more regularly seen descending to the high altar in the body of the palace chapel to receive communion than their Spanish counterpart, and possibly more regularly than the English monarch. This occurred on

[239] Glass, 'The Royal Chapel of the Alcázar', 19.
[240] The Hôtel chapel was used by the early seventeenth century as a regular place of royal worship for mass on Sundays and holydays, with no suitable chapel found at the Louvre (the royal household used the nearby parish church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois).
Bennett, *Music and Power*, 112.
[241] Martha Mel Stumberg Edmunds, *Piety and Politics: Imaging Divine Kingship in Louis XIV's Chapel at Versailles* (AsUP, 2002), 77.

certain holy days, during chivalric ceremonies, for royal marriages, or whenever a bishop celebrated mass.[242] English monarchs, meanwhile, received communion on at least four holydays in the post-Reformation liturgical calendar (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Whitsun), and may have received on spontaneous occasions, like Maundy Thursday, 1610. This marked a sharp reduction in eucharistic visibility in the English post-Reformation Chapel, compared with both French practice and the nine pre-Reformation royal communion days (Easter, Corpus Christi, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, All Saints, Christmas Day, the Mass of the Holy Ghost, Palm Sunday, Ash Wednesday, and Maundy Thursday).[243]

Structures comparable to the English 'traverse' were utilised by the Lutheran chapels of princely electors, like that of Schloss Hartenfels, Stettin, and Dresden. In these chapels, 'an enclosed area for the princely persons when they partake in communion', as noted at Stettin, was set up to the side of the altar, providing a degree of princely visibility in this important sacramental action. As a surviving and highly stylised engraving of the now-lost chapel at Dresden reveals, these structures could be entirely enclosed and placed on both sides of the altar, presumably to accommodate for the princely family or visiting potentates and their ambassadors [Fig. XI].[244] Reverence and visibility in communion were by no means preserves of the English Chapel. The material elaboration surrounding the royal reception of one of the surviving sacraments in the Protestant Churches had clear evangelical and Continental precedent, with appropriate honour applied to princely communication in all chapels of European potentates, whether royal or electoral.

The proximity of the monarch to the sacramental action performed in royal chapels constituted an important part of the arrangement of these extraordinary spaces. As the thirteenth

[242] Ibid., 96.
[243] BL Add MS 71009 f.22v-25v; Kisby, ''When the King Goeth a Procession'', 68.
For further discussion, see chapter two, pages 175-90.
[244] David Conrad, 'Hofkantorei Dresden', 1676, *Wikimedia Commons*.

century *Especulo* (an ordinance for the governance of the Castilian court) declared, 'nobody should stand between the king and the celebrant during the office, except for those who are performing the liturgy'.[245] By the sixteenth century, this principle seems to have been applied in most European princely court chapels, reflecting a wider association between monarchical and princely privilege, and the sanctity of their body. The architectural space of royal chapels could, however, sometimes reflect this association too. While the Spanish and Portuguese chapels utilised the fabric *cortina*, a more permanent (and visible) implementation of this ruling is observable at Richmond chapel, which remained a spatial outlier among English court chapels throughout the period under discussion. Constructed in 1501, Richmond's closets were found on the north and south sides, of a moderately large size (judging from contemporary depictions of the palace exterior), and overlooked the sanctuary.[246] As James Jago has pointed out, the scheme would have complemented, in vivid reality, the succession of statutes of ancient British kings installed in the niches between each clerestory window.[247] Rather than positioned on an additional balcony, potentially blocking view of the monarch or interrupting their experience of the service, the chapel organ was set in the middle of a large screen towards the west end of the chapel, creating a similar ante-chapel space found in other English court chapels.[248] Although Richmond retained its unorthodox arrangement throughout Elizabeth's and James's reigns, the implementation of a west-end closet at Holyroodhouse in 1617, and in Denmark House chapel in 1638, illustrates that this mode of contrasting royal splendour with the sanctuary had become the dominant mode of architectural display in England's royal chapels by early seventeenth century.

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[245] Costa Gomez, 'The Royal Chapel in Iberia', 97.
[246] Colvin, *History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, 225.
[247] Jago, 'The Dissemination and Reassessment of Private Religious Spaces', 47.
Richmond was not the only chapel with statuary. Greenwich had at least 'tenne greate figures', with gilt clothing restored in 1623-4, and Whitehall two figures, similarly restored and shadowed with humber and gilt in 1621-22. TNA E 351/3257; E 351/3255.
[248] Colvin, *History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, 230.

c. Access and exclusivity

Court chapels existed on the boundary of the 'private' royal household and permitted controlled entry to men from a range of social backgrounds. Seated in the stalls, and granted regular and unobstructed access, were premier churchmen, peers, noblewomen, and councillors in the stalls. A more socially heterogeneous group gathered in the antechapel, who had to vie for space and access, which comprised noblemen's servants, lesser courtiers, and well-dressed London citizens and foreign visitors. As such, the management of individual space was paramount in maintaining royal prestige and hierarchical distinction within and without court. As revealed by an order dated 1st January 1622, congregational space in the Chapel Royal was tightly monitored. Although a 'generall breache of the auncient & lawdable orders of o[u]r Court' had been observed around the early 1620s, the ordinances provide the best indication of the placement and distinction of space made in the Tudor and Stuart Chapel. Stalls of royal chapels, which were positioned along the north and south sides (with return stalls against the closet screen for the Dean and Sub-Dean) usually consisted of three forms, which would be filled by the noblemen, councillors, and churchmen on the north side, and the stalls of the south side to be 'kept only for ladies, & that no man whatsoever p[re]sume to come in there, whether there be many or fewe woemen'.[249]

Stalls were elaborately decorated. Those at Whitehall were replete with fine pillars, heraldic beasts, Tudor roses, and 28 'pannells with the proporsyon of kyngs in them' (costing £160 15s for their installation in 1536), and the stalls at Hampton Court had 'doors and deskes' after 1606, likely reflecting wider practice.[250] Placement in the chapel stalls was determined by

[249] BL Add MS 34324 f.215r.
The long history of gendered separation in sacred spaces is given thorough treatment in: Margaret Aston, 'Segregation in Church', *Studies in Church History* Vol. 27, (1990): 237-294.
[250] Bod MS Eng. Hist b. 192/2 f.4; quoted in Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, vol IV., 315; E 351/3241.

seniority and rank. Bishops and earls likely filled the third (and highest) form, barons and viscounts the second, and privy councillors and other courtly officers (like the serjeant of the Gentlemen Pensioners and the Captain of the royal guard) the first [Fig. VII].[251] As revealed by an ordinance compiled for the ceremonies around James I's lying in state, the Chapel Gentlemen filled the stalls closest to the east end separated in cantoris and decani sides and were likely similarly ordered by seniority.[252]

The Yeomen of the Guard and Vestry were appointed to guard key points of access, particularly the 'chancel' screen formed by the closet which permitted entry to the main body of the chapel, access to which was limited for those of the rank of baron and above, except for privy councillors.[253] Further physical signification was offered by the exclusive right of the monarch, royal family, and those seated in the royal closet to keep their hats on during the performance of divine service. The only exception to this rule was in the absence of the monarch, when the privy council was permitted to wear their hats, though they remained in their pews, and the royal closet remained reserved for members of the royal family and their attendants.[254] The elevation of the monarch in their closet and the fine decoration of the closet exterior was therefore something exclusively witnessed by this elite congregation, something not always recognised in discussions of the significance of monarchical projection in the Chapel.

Congregational space beyond the chapel stalls is not easily reconstructed due to the absence of clear evidence. Peter McCullough has suggested that benches may have been moved into the body of the chapel parallel to the stalls, or that non-noble or conciliar male congregants

[251] A similar ranking was applied at secular cathedrals, where canons and vicars choral filled the third forms, deacons the second, and choristers the first. It is possible that such a scheme was observed at the Chapel Royal and applied to congregational attendance.
See: John Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600' in *Hereford Cathedral* (Bloomsbury, 2003), 382.
[252] *The Old Cheque Book,* ed. Rimbault, 154-5; See: Kisby, ''When the King goeth a Procession'', 47.
[253] BL Add MS 34324 f.215r.
[254] Ibid.

might have stood to accommodate greater attendance on busier holydays.[255] While this is possible, another plausible suggestion is that the lower half of the closet screen acted as a convenient barrier for chapel attendance. If this was the case, then non-noble or conciliar male attendees of Chapel services, including servants of noblemen, lesser courtiers, visiting foreign tourists, and London's affluent lawyers and merchants, may have been expected to stand in the antechapel. It is notable, for example, that surviving diaries and accounts by non-noble attendees of chapel services rarely, if ever, mention the appearance or behaviour of the monarch during service-time, and accounts primarily describe the monarch during the chapel procession. The primary focus of such accounts tends to be the music or the sermon, both of which were auditory as well as visual events, and could be engaged with from the cramped and visually obscured position of the antechapel, rather than the body of the chapel itself.[256] Further, yeomen of the vestry and Gentlemen ushers were appointed to stand at key points of congregational access and liturgical theatre on major state events. At the christening of the future Edward VI, Gentleman ushers 'kept the Chapell dore next the porche', 'the quire dore' (or aperture in the closet screen), 'the entries of the barriers about the fount', and stood beside the prince's and king's traverse.[257] Although this example pre-dates the period under consideration, it is possible that a similar arrangement was expected to help to enforce the guidelines laid out in the January 1622 Chapel ordinance. However, this and the 1630 Caroline order for Chapel attendance are explicitly concerned with access to stalls, and instruct those of insufficient rank to 'be contented

[255] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 38-39.
[256] For a selection of references to sermon-going in the Chapel Royal, see: *Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-law, 1602-1603,* ed. John Bruce (J.B. Nichols, 1868), 194; *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, I ed. Norman Egbert McClure (American Philosophical Society, 1939), 206; Ibid., 223-33; Ibid., 269; Ibid., 388; *Letters of John Chamberlain*, II, ed. McClure, 47; Ibid., 140; Ibid., 142; Ibid., 181; Ibid., 293; Ibid., 427-28; Ibid., 432; Ibid., 448; Ibid., 517; and HRO 44MGA/F6 (Jervoise MSS), f.6r.
For a minor Pomeranian nobleman's detailed description of the chapel procession, but only the aural dimensions of the service, see: Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, 322-323.
[257] BL Egerton MS 985 f.35r.

with such other places as they can gett'.[258] Further, at Princess Mary's Christening at Greenwich in 1605, rails were constructed 'to keepe out the presse of people', though it is unclear whether this alluded to additional rails around the already-railed stage for the font in the middle of the chapel, or whether rails were set up between the font and the antechapel.[259] Whether non-noble or conciliar congregants were permitted into the body of the chapel or not, social and physical distinction determined the appropriate spaces occupied by individual congregants in the chapel, reflected successive layers of physical and visual access to the monarch, and allowed for the regular articulation and definition of courtly and social prestige.

Understanding the degree of access to the antechapel is important not only for understanding how wide the projection of Tudor and Stuart majesty within the chapel was, but also for understanding the physical separation and distinction applied to the space of the chapel, which remained key to the articulation of symbols of hierarchy, legitimacy, and order. Some scholars have somewhat overemphasised the social diversity of access to the Chapel, characterising it as relatively easy and irregularly policed.[260] This interpretation might be gleaned from Baron Breuning's (an envoy from the Duke of Wuttemberg) description of a 'great crush in the chapel, as many of the common people thronged thither' at the 1595 St George's Day service at Whitehall.[261] Breuning's perspective is, however, that of an outsider, presumably intending to differentiate between titled nobility and councillors who comprised the chapel procession, and those courtiers and citizens of London who had paid to enter court and gathered to observe the service or present petitions to their monarch and major councillors.

[258] TNA LC 5/180, 19.
Some of the Yeomen of the Guard were also stationed by the chapel door to 'keep order'. Ibid., 17.
[259] TNA E 351/3240.
[260] For a refutation of this claim, see: Kisby, '"When the King Goeth a Procession"', 57.
[261] Victor von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. T.H. Nash (London: John Lane, 1928), 378.

More indicative of the social composition of those in the antechapel are men like John Manningham (the Middle Temple law student), John Chamberlain (Jacobean socialite, gentleman, and courtly commentator), and Sir Robert Paulet (MP for Hampshire) whose surviving diaries and notes record their regular attendance at court sermons and services, observed and heard from the antechapel.[262] Although records of the Lord Mayor and London's aldermen attending Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel services are scarce, they were invited to royal christenings and may have been eligible to sit in the Chapel stalls, though it is interesting that no provision for this survives in post-Reformation courtly ordinance.[263] Court preachers like Richard Curteys referred to these groups on occasions such as 25th March 1576, when he directed his address at Emperors, kings, queens, dukes, earls, bishops, Barons, 'Knights, gentlemen, lawyers, Merchants, some Ecclesiasticall, some civill', to neither 'disdaine or neglect eche other, or contend one with an other'.[264] Though a rejoinder to social amicability, Curteys's direct address and description of the social classes one might expect to have been present at a Chapel service further supports the apparent ideal of the social composition of those standing in the antechapel.

The social breadth of those in the antechapel could occasionally saw the presence of less desirable characters. For example, in 1611, the London pickpocket John Selman attended the Christmas communion service, and attempted to work the crowd gathered in the antechapel. Selman had secured access to court, as his published *Araignment* makes clear, wearing 'very

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[262] *Diary of John Manningham,* ed. Bruce, 194; *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, Vol. I, 206; Ibid., 223-33; Ibid., 269; Ibid., 388; *Letters of John Chamberlain*, II, ed. McClure, 47; Ibid., 140; Ibid., 142; Ibid., 181; Ibid., 293; Ibid., 427-28; Ibid., 432; Ibid., 448; Ibid., 517; and HRO 44MGA/F6 (Jervoise MSS), f.6r.
All above references are discussed regarding their significance for court sermon commentaries in McCullough, 'A Calendar of Court Sermons', digital supplement to *Sermons at Court*.
[263] A detailed account of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen's role at Princess Elizabeth's christening survives at BL Add MS 6113 f.32r-33r.
[264] Richard Curteys, *Two Sermons Preached by the reverend father in God the Bishop of Chichester* (London, 1576) Sig.Evii.v.

good and seemely apparel, like unto a Gentleman, or citizen', wearing a 'faire blacke Cloake laced, and either lined thorow or faced with velvet', and the rest of his clothes 'in reasonable maner being answerable thereunto' [Fig. XII].[265] Selman's attendance was therefore a deception, revealing how dress could become an unreliable but common signifier of social status, and might constitute visual permission to enter the antechapel.[266] It is possible that on busier holydays, when crowds were greater and identities harder to verify, many more individuals from a similar social background to Selman attended Chapel services, paying the Yeomen of the Guard at the court gate to secure entry to the chapel gallery and ante-chapel. Nonetheless, the Selman incident was an infamous and embarrassing lapse in courtly security. Selman was apprehended attempting to steal 40s from Leonard Barry, servant to Sir John Harrington, interrupting James's reception of the Eucharist.[267] From the sanctuary, James ordered that Selman be held and put to trial, an important public decision in revising earlier concerns about James's disregard for English common law, raised after he sentenced some seventeen pickpockets to death by royal warrant in the first year of his reign.[268] Although Selman named 'many of that profession' who worked the court during his trial, no other incidents in the chapel are recorded. Testament to the extraordinary nature of the event are the two ballads produced in the early months of 1613 (one describing Selman's crime and the other detailing 'lusty Selmans youth') and Selman's appearance as a character in Ben Jonson's

[265] *The Araignment of John Selman, who was executed neere Charing-Crosse the 7. Of January, 1611*, (London: 1611), Sig.B1v.
[266] For further discussion, see: Eleri Lynn, *Tudor Fashion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), chapter 3.
[267] *The Araignment of John Selman*, Sig.A4v.
[268] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice,* Vol. 10, ed. Horatio F. Brown, (HM Stationery Office, 1900), 27; For further discussion, see: Doran, *From Tudor to Stuart,* 115-116.

masque 'Love Restored'.[269] The ballads emphasised James's royal power as much as Selman's sinfulness, the former describing how

> 'at the sacred houre, / Of the blest communion I [Selman] was touched / with Sathans damning power, / In the presence of the King, / Whose majesty might make / An ill intending wretch like me, / to staggar faint and quake.'[270]

This ballad, possibly officially endorsed, joined the published arraignment as an attempt to transform breach of court security into an event that highlighted aspects of royal clemency, power, and exclusivity. The public reaction to Selman's actions, and his moment of minor celebrity in London highlights how exceptional this breach of chapel security was, and how troubling an apparent threat to the social order of the antechapel may have been for courtly observers. Although the individuals attending royal services in the antechapel came from a wider range of social backgrounds than those seated in the stalls, it is important to recognise the boundaries between moments of controversy and notoriety, and the daily experience of court worship.

Although most European court chapels observed a similar distinction regarding seating ordinances, no universal seating plan appears to have emerged, and the movement of individual officers, nobles, and military personnel could reflect the different priorities and cultures of respective courts. Although court ordinances survive with varying consistency, the seating arrangements for the chapels of the Alcázar and Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon help to reveal some of the unique practices observed in England. As outlined by the mid-seventeenth century *Etiquetas Generales*, intended by Philip IV of Spain to meet similar problems of courtly

[269] Henry Smith, *The Arrainement condemnation and excution of the grand John Selman who was executed at White-hall uppon Twesday the seventh of January. 1612* (London, 1612); Anonymous, *The Captaine Cut-purse. A new Ballad shewing the most notorious abuse of life of John Selman, who for cutting a purse in the Kings Chapell at White Hall on Christmas day was executed neere Charing crosse* (London: 1612); Gausden, 'A Court in Transition', 127.
[270] Smith, *The Arrainement condemnation and excution of the grand John Selman*.

behaviour faced by James in the early 1620s, services at the *capilla real* in the Alcázar were only to be attended by noblemen, courtiers, or members of the royal household [Fig. XIII].[271] Female members of the royal family and prominent gentlewomen were placed in the gallery at the west end, offering a rather different gendered dynamic compared with English practice. While royal chaplains, clergy, and other ordained members of the household sat on the south side, they were joined by ambassadors, and members of the household, noblemen, and key courtly officers such as the royal Almoner and lord chamberlain sat on the north side.[272] Although no screen appears to have separated the chapel, stone buttresses provided a significant visual separation between the monarch, officiating clergy, and personal royal servants on the one side, and courtly attendees on the other. Significantly, no space appears to have been provided for lower-status attendees.

At the chapel of the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon, a 1585 court ordinance reveals that the royal archers provided a physical barrier between the nobility, members of the order du St Esprit, court officers, and high-ranking ecclesiastics at the east end, and lesser courtiers, servants, and members of the household to the west [Fig. XIV]. In the main space of the chapel, nobles, royal officers, knights, and high-ranking clerics were placed in order of precedence, proceeding from the altar and the monarch in his oratory on the south-east side, with higher-ranking members seated on the lower forms, where they were closer to the liturgical action and more visible to other congregants.[273] Significantly, there seems to have been no space to accommodate the servants of noblemen or citizens of Paris. While European court chapels varied in their security, it is striking how material and ceremonial elaboration focused on the

[271] Discussed in: Glass, 'The Royal Chapel of the Alcázar', 18; and Inmaculada Rodriguez Moya, 'Royal baptism in the Spanish court: Art and ritual from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century', in *Power and Ceremony in European History: Rituals, Practices, and Representative bodies since the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Anna Kallnowska and Jonathan Spangler (Bloomsbury, 2021), 106-107.
[272] Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid, Historical Section, box 51, file 1, f.186r.; cited in Glass, 'The Royal Chapel of the Alcázar', 207.
[273] BNF F-Pn MS nouv. Acq. Fr. 9740; cited in Bennett, *Music and Power,* 114.

seat(s) occupied by the monarch and royal family, as well as the main scene of liturgical action. In French royal chapels, all congregants were able to see both the monarch and altar without moving their heads. In Spain, hardly any congregants (excepting the officiating ministers) could see the king. In England, regular sight of the monarch was an exclusive privilege available only to those of highest rank and status, excepting holydays and certain liturgies of state when the royal body was carefully presented to all congregants, from the sanctuary. While hierarchy determined where one was stationed in the chapel, visual and physical proximity to the monarch (and visibility of the congregant) helped to order and prioritise seating in Europe's court chapels.

The English Chapel Royal was exceptional in its treatment of ambassadors. Unlike royal chapels in Scotland, Portugal, and Spain, the English Chapel Royal does not appear to have reserved a specific space for ambassadors in the body of the chapel.[274] Far more familiar in the English Chapel Royal of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries was the exclusive invitation of ambassadors to accompany the monarch in their royal closet. Under Elizabeth, the royal closet did not serve this purpose very often.[275] Rather than royal intention, this reflected the absence of most permanent ambassadors to London during the later decades of the sixteenth century, and the preclusion of Catholic envoys from attending Protestant and

[274] At the Scottish court chapel, an ambassador's pew was set up to the side of the monarch's chair of estate. In Portugal, Spain, and France, a pew, or section in the chapel stalls, was reserved for ambassadors opposite the monarch's *cortina* or balcony, offering a spatial position appropriate to the honour due to representatives of sovereign rulers. Though Bennett's plan of the French Chapel does not include space for ambassadors, they played a prominent role in 17th century Chapel life (the daughter of the Savoy ambassador was baptised at the Versailles chapel in 1671) and may have been provided with separate seating.
See: Fowler, *A True Account of the Baptism of The Most High and Mightie Prince, Henry Frederick, by the Grace of God, Prince of Scotland and since of Wales* (Leith: 1764), 11; Costa Gomes, 'The Royal Chapel in Iberia', 99; Maral, *La Chapelle Royale de Versailles sous Louis XIV,* 197.
[275] An exception can be found at Greenwich on the 24th of May, Whit Tuesday, 1586, when the Danish ambassador heard 'divine service so melodiously said and sung, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man half dead might thereby have been quickened', sitting in the closet next to Elizabeth.
Raphael Holinshed, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* (London, 1587), 1561.

heretical services without dispensation, which most popes would be unwilling to grant for those visiting an excommunicated queen. Nevertheless, a handful of exceptions survive. Baron Adam Zwetkovich, envoy of archduke Ferdinand II, is recorded occupying the closet, with the earl of Sussex (presumably on the consort's side) at a 'special choral service' (likely morning or evening prayer) in 1565, presumably having received dispensation to do so and negotiate the thorny issue of personal chapel attendance should the proposed archducal marriage alliance proceed.[276] Nearly 40 years later, the attendance of duke Virgino Orsini of Bracciano was a far more surprising event, when Orsini, attending the English court apparently of his own volition, caused scandal by attending the Epiphany offering service in 1601. Having received advance invitation from Elizabeth's court officers, Orsini was invited to attend the service next to Elizabeth, to 'witness our ceremonies and customs, how in our religion we pray to God, and how in our country the Communion Service is sung'.[277] It is perhaps in light of Orsini's acknowledgement of the risks of punishment that in a letter to his wife, he described viewing the service from 'a room next to the Chapel' and downplayed any interpretation of his presence within the chapel proper.[278] Although Orsini was subjected to a ritual of public penance in the Duomo on his return to Florence, his apparent attempt to distinguish between the spaces he could acceptably occupy indicates how the royal closet could become a useful tool in cross-confessional diplomacy.

James's accession saw a significant increase in the role of the closet as a space to host ambassadors. During the visits of Christian IV of Denmark in 1606 and 1614, James and Christian observed several Chapel services from the sovereign's closet, granting both monarchs an equal position according with their rank and diplomatic protocol.[279] Visits from the Spanish,

[276] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 234.
[277] Leslie Hotson, *First Night of Twelfth Night* (Rupert Hart-Davies, 1955), 188; Ibid., 179.
[278] Ibid., 228.
[279] John Nichols, *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First* Vol. II. (London: 1828), 60.

French, and Polish ambassadors to St George's services are recorded at various intervals throughout James's reign in John Finet's published anecdotes.[280] Ambassadors usually attended alone, and possibly observed a rotational system of attendance reliant on patterns of European precedent or James's diplomatic aims.

On some occasions, multiple ambassadors attended Chapel services in the royal closet, as at the wedding of Elector Frederick and Princess Elizabeth on the 13th of February 1612/13, when the Venetian, French, and Dutch ambassadors were present in the sovereign's and consort's closets.[281] However, such occasions were not always successful. In 1622, a proposal that the Dutch and Spanish ambassadors occupy the consort's and sovereign's closets respectively was disastrous. Gondomar, Spanish ambassador since 1612 and a royal favourite, immediately complained, declaring that he would 'never indure them [the Dutch ambassadors] so neere him, where there was but a thin Wainscot Board between them, and a Window to be opened at either of their pleasures, which might be an occasion of scandal'.[282] Alongside the controversial recognition of the Dutch states as a sovereign state, Gondomar's objection indicates a significant degree of discomfort with the spatial precedent proposed and offers a reminder of how international political relations could direct congregational and ambassadorial space in the Chapel. To placate Gondomar, James suggested that the Dutch ambassadors occupy 'their appointed stands' during the Garter procession and sit in the Closet during the evensong after the central St George's day service. The Dutch contingent declined, and instead rode to Exeter House, where they resided with Sir Thomas Cecil.[283] While the Chapel closet might be controlled and influenced by diplomatic disagreements, the visible elevation of the

[280] John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis: som choice observations of Sr. John Finett knight, and master of the ceremonies to the two last Kings* (London: 1656); 25; Ibid., 34; Ibid., 79.
[281] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 12, 1610-1613,* ed. Horatio F. Brown, (HM Stationery Office, 1905), no. 775.
[282] Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, 107.
[283] Ibid., 108.

monarch and ambassador allowed for a public intimacy of diplomacy not witnessed in the spatial arrangement of other European courts. As a result of the individual rotational system, this could allow for more concentrated and controlled moments of public diplomatic interaction, and echoed the system observed for dining with the monarch and reception into the presence chamber to discuss business.

d. Honouring majesty

The royal closet was the most decorative part of the English court chapel. While Elizabethan records primarily detail the rich communion fabrics, it is not until James's accession that record is made of the soft non-liturgical furnishings. In 1604, several expensive cushions were purchased for the sovereign's, consort's, and prince's closets. Two long cushions of cloth of gold, decorated with velvet and silk tassels, costing £19 6s 3d each, were ordered for the sovereign's and consorts sides in the royal closet. The prince's closet (occupied by the young Prince Henry) was furnished with a cushion of purple velvet, with gold fringe and crimson silk tassels, gold and silver embroidery, and fustian lining, costing £8.[284] Similar purchases appear again in 1607, when four long and two short cushions of cloth of gold, lined with velvet and fringed and tasselled with silk (£78 6s 9d in all) and six crimson cushions were purchased for both closets (£22 18s in all).[285] By 1620, expenditure was slightly reduced, though efforts were made to repair and maintain the older cushions, with £12 13s paid for velvet crimson fringe for various cushions, and parcels of fustian and silk to line them, which cost £24 15s 10d.[286]

Although records are much sparser during James's reign, surviving household accounts indicate that James spent roughly double (or more) on the fabric of his closets [Fig. I]. This is

[284] TNA AO 1/2345/32.
[285] TNA AO 1/2345/35.
[286] TNA AO 1/2348/49.

likely partially due to the investment of a growing royal family, though it is significant that the provisions for a princely closet (surviving for 1604) appear distinct from the main chapel and closet orders. It is also possible that James, having witnessed the extraordinary decoration of Christian IV's closet on the southern side of Kronborg palace chapel during the winter of 1589, not to mention the rest of the richly painted, gilt, and turned woodwork in the chapel, sought to make greater investment in English furnishings to outstrip his Danish brother-in-law.[287] The comparative absence of ambassadors from Elizabeth's closet suggests another reason for this explosion in investment, especially since (if we are to believe William Camden), Elizabeth was diligent in attending daily and weekly services in her closet and chapel. James's decorative embellishment in his Chapel Closet accorded with the material honour he believed was due to the royal office and thus sought to cement the visible assertion of this authority through a greater number of expensive glittering fabrics in his closet (and those of his royal family, something unavailable to Elizabeth) than his predecessor.

A degree of material honour was nonetheless observed and continued by Elizabeth: the preservation of a rich material canopy carried over the monarch's person during processions which took place outdoors. Although this mark of honour was applied to secular processions (when the queen could also be carried in a litter) such as royal entries, civic occasions, and the opening of parliament, the material recognition also signified an important aspect of the exceptionality of occasion and royal presence, in a ceremony closely associated with Chapel services.[288]

The annual St George's procession was a major event in the ceremonial calendar of the English court, and offered a remarkable opportunity for royal display.[289] Though traditionally

[287] Johannsen, 'The Protestant Palace Chapel', 149-150.
[288] Maria Hayward, 'Symbols of Majesty: Cloths of Estate at the Court of Henry VIII', *Furniture History*, Vol. 41, (2005):1-11.
[289] For further discussion, see pages 196-97.

celebrated at Windsor, in 1567 Elizabeth ordered that the feast be celebrated wherever the royal court was resident, a practice James continued to observe.[290] The procession expanded the usual processional route to the chapel from the bedchamber, through the presence chamber (where the processional publicly began), through the galleries leading to the chapel, and into the chapel itself by offering an extended tour of the royal apartments and outer courtyards of the palace (usually Whitehall). Conducted in full view of the crowds of visitors from London, the rest of England, and further afield, the occasion provided one of the best attended paraliturgical-processional events of the ritual calendar of court and offered a routine opportunity for image-crafting and ceremonial diplomacy.

From 1559, the Chapel Gentlemen joined the processional train, singing the 'Englys precessyon' (an adapted form of the 1544 litany), as they walked 'round the yard three times so that everyone could have a good view of them', with Elizabeth 'under a canopy of cloth of gold with red lining, borne on poles by four men'.[291] James also continued this practice, processing beneath a supported canopy in much the same manner as his predecessor for the St George's Day procession c.1614-15, as shown in Michael van Meer's depiction of the event in his 'Album Amicorum' [Fig. XV].[292] James was accompanied by an almost full Chapel body, numbering 30 Gentlemen, with ten of the Children between them [Fig. XVI].[293]

While the canopy signified the royal presence and ensured that appropriate honour was accorded to the monarch, the post-Reformation use of the canopy to transform the monarch into a quasi-eucharistic object of devotion has been somewhat overstated.[294] Although the Eucharist would be processed beneath a canopy and accompanied by torches in pre-

[290] Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter*, 474-75.
[291] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 378.
[292] University of Edinburgh Archives La.III.283 f.58r
[293] Ibid., f.57v.
[294] John Adamson, 'The Kingdom of England and Great Britain: The Tudor and Stuart Courts, 1509-1714' in *The Princely Courts of Europe,* ed. Adamson, 104.; Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Boydell Press, 1973), 19.

Reformation and Continental Catholic ceremonial (on Corpus Christi and Easter Sunday, according to a pre-Reformation protocol book for the Chapel Royal), the act was one of secular honour applied to divine presence, not the other way around.[295] Even in the pre-Reformation Chapel Royal, both monarch and Eucharist would appear underneath their respective canopies. This is unlikely to have been a parallel between the divine presence in both, but rather an acknowledgement of the royal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the presence of England's temporal sovereign. Since Eucharistic processions were forbidden in the post-Reformation Church, the English monarch and the royal family were the only participants who required a canopy. By retaining the use of the canopy in processions taking place outdoors (an exception was made for baptismal processions, when the royal child was processed through the royal apartments beneath a canopy), Elizabeth and James continued to utilise a rich material honour with clear symbolic assertions of heightened privilege and rank, to acknowledge and affirm the extraordinary nature of the royal presence.

The Chapel Royal was not considered on the same level as a post-Reformation parish church, nor a private gentry chapel. As the printed indictment of Chapel pickpocket John Selman described, the Chapel Royal was the 'sanctum sanctorum' of the English court, and part of a Solomonic chain of 'analogous spaces' in which its significance and exclusivity was understood by contemporaries.[296] The expense of constructing and decorating royal chapels (Henrietta Maria's chapel at Denmark House cost £2000 to construct between 1631-36) was

[295] Hayward, 'Symbols of Majesty', 1.
[296] *The Araignment of John Selman*, sig.C1r.; Maarten Delbeke and Anne-Francoise Morel, 'Metaphors in Action: Early Modern Church Builidings as Spaces of Knowledge', *Architectural History*, Vol. 53 (2010): 100.
Another early modern consideration of 'special' ecclesiological space is explored in Nicolette Zeeman, 'The Chapel Imagined: 1540-1830' in *King's College Chapel*, ed. Massing and Zeeman, 199-219.

complemented by explicit reflections on the extraordinary nature of royal worship in court sermons.[297]

Court preachers drew from the exceptionalism of the Chapel Royal to enhance their positions and bolster their defences of courtly orthodoxy. Cast as 'an Embassadour from the Prince of Princes', who aspired 'to make them [princes] not only good Christians […] but Good kings also', as Richard Eedes declared at Hampton Court on 9th August 1603, court preachers could make bold challenges to ecclesiastical policy. [298] This was sometimes conducted under the guise of the 'helpe, medicine, and wisdom of the word' to counterbalance the worldly pride witnessed among Roman emperors, who 'set up their images in the temples to be worshipped as gods', in the warning made by Peter Wentworth (chaplain to John 2nd Lord Darcy) at Greenwich on 18th April 1587.[299] Nonetheless, godly counsel could readily defend church ceremonies and ecclesiastical-civil conformity, like the iconophobic Thomas Cole's declaration that 'externall honoure done by cappe, knee, and other due, conveniente and loyable gestures fyt for Princely estate be one part of honour' at Windsor on 1st March 1564. Cole's reference to the external honour paid to the monarch was particularly appropriate for his preaching venue, since a double obeisance (one to the sanctuary, and another to the monarch in the royal closet) was a traditional custom of Chapel services. Recorded at investitures of the Knights of the Order of the Bath and Garter, the double reverence was apparently instituted in a Garter chapter meeting during Henry V's reign, which declared that 'honour should be first paid to God, and towards his Altar, after the manner of Ecclesiastics; and then, what of Honour was due to him

[297] TNA AO 1/2490/383.
[298] Richard Eedes, *Six Learned and godly Sermons: Preached Some of them before the Kings Majestie, some before Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1604), Sig.Bir.
[299] Peter Wentworth, *A Sermon Faithfullie and trulie published: According as it was preached at the Courte, at Greenewiche, the Twesday in Easter weeke, before the Right honorable and diligent Auditory* (London, 1587), Sig.A8r.

[the king], to pay it next to Himself, or in his absence, to his Stall'.[300] This custom was also observed in French royal worship, where congregants and officiating clergy would kneel to both the altar and royal tribune, if the monarch or any member of the royal family was present, to acknowledge their temporal power.[301] Public reverence, while a controversial issue in the post-Reformation Church, was clearly an important aspect of performing the secular honour due to the monarch during Chapel services, and a tradition that even court preachers of the 'hotter' Protestant variety were willing to embrace, in the context of royal worship.

Other royal preachers were also keen to emphasise the honour and reverence accorded to the monarch by additional means, especially during James's reign.[302] At Beaulieu in 1609, Christopher Hampton asked his auditors 'who can denie the Kings superemacie, seeing all the particulars of Soveraignetie meete together in his Person?' and directed them to 'performe no perfunctory or vulgar reverence to Kings, but that which is Sacred & Cordiall'.[303] Thomas Playfere related in a Latin sermon preached before James and Christian IV in the July of 1606, how only kings were permitted to approach the ark of the covenant, interpreting 'the golden crowne around the ark' as the same crown 'on the head of the king'.[304] This exceptional status and appropriate ritual reaction was granted reflection in the wider marshalling of Chapel ceremonial. As Joseph Hall argued in an undated sermon preached in 1611, which offered a qualified defence of the sign of the cross in Protestant liturgies, that '[a]s Kings are by God himselfe called Gods […] because of their resemblance of God, so their Courts should be like

[300] Thomas Cole, *A Godly and Learned Sermon, made this laste Lent at Windesor before the Queenes Majestie, on wednesday the first of Marche, 1564* (London, 1564), Sig.Diiir.
[301] Maral, *Le Chapelle Royalle de Versailles sous Louis XIV*, 112.
[302] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 81.
[303] Christopher Hampton, *A Sermon Preached before the Kings Most Excellent Majestie, in the Church of Beauly in Hampshire, the thirtieth of July M.DC.IX* (Dublin: 1626), 35.
[304] Thomas Playfere, *Caesaris Superscriptio sive Conciuncula, coram duobus Potentissimis Regiubs, Jacobo Britanniae, & Christiano Daniae* (London, 1606), 5.

to heaven, and their attendants like Saints are Angels'.[305] The association of representatives of temporal and spiritual power in the Chapel Royal with heavenly or biblical antecedents was not a Jacobean innovation. Preaching at Greenwich in 1590, Andrewes offered an impressive analogy to the supporting pillars of the Davidic temple, to both the Elizabethan Church, and the architectural environment in which he preached. Referring to '*Celebrimus te Jehova* in the first: And, *Justitias judicabo*, in the second. God, and Right, the pillars', Andrewes may have alluded to the supporting pillars of the royal closet, and made reference to their decoration with the royal motto 'Dieu et mon droit' (God and my right) which was plastered on the ceiling and woodwork of many royal chapels, including Greenwich (where the motto was placed above the royal closet between 1623-4, possibly reflecting an earlier scheme).[306] While praise and explicit defence of royal authority might be expected in court sermons, and Laudian preachers later drew from this association to legitimise their ceremonial programme, the close relationship between the content of Elizabethan and Jacobean sermons and the abstract and material spaces of royal worship highlights how the post-Reformation Chapel Royal functioned in this political-ecclesiastical role.[307]

Elizabethan and Jacobean court preachers also used on the exceptionalism of royal worship to defend elaborate material furnishings in court chapels. Probably the clearest expression of any individual conception of the privileged position of the Chapel Royal for material elaboration is found in John Hopkins' sermon of 1603/4, preached in an unknown location, before James and his court. Using the familiar example of Solomon's temple and the tabernacle, Hopkins declared that the beautification of sacred space could only occur in spaces

[305] Joseph Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall B. of Exceter With a Table newly added to the whole Worke* (London, 1628), 446.
[306] Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons by the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God, Lancleot Andrewes, Late Lord Bishop of Winchester* (London, 1661), 265; Ibid., 267; TNA E 351/3258.
[307] See: Lake, *On Laudianism*, 123-24.

'which God had appoynted'.[308] Crucially, although biblical kings, princes, and leaders (specifically Sanballat, but Uzza and Saul were also cited for their misguided irreverence) had been 'so liberall in beautifying an other Temple […] it had bin abhomination before the Lord, because the Lord had commanded, *Not in every place*'.[309] Hopkins's injunction, to follow God's ordinances in church building and to ensure 'that it be done to Gods glory' indicates the limits of his encouragement of church beautification, implying that decoration should be appropriate to both God and to the social status of the patron.[310] A similar sentiment is identifiable in Andrewes's sermon preached on 30th March 1593, at St James's, in which Andrewes criticised his contemporaries who might echo the disciples in Matthew 29 and, looking at the beautification of sacred space, ask: 'Why this waste?' Andrewes was keen to point out that none questioned it when 'Moses moved a costly Tabernacle', or when 'Solomon moved a stately temple'. Instead, it was Judas who introduced this doubt against exceptional spaces of beautified worship.[311] While Andrewes's focus in this sermon was broader than the Chapel Royal, and encapsulated the financial endowment and material maintenance of all churches, it is possible that in his preaching venue, auditors may have recognised the application of his words to a royal context, and his use of examples of royal or prophetic church beautification and construction. Though no explicit defence of the ornamentation of the Chapel Royal survives, it is possible that Hopkins and Andrewes were also thinking of royal chapels in addition to wider beautification schemes, while preaching from the royal pulpit.

An important reflection in understanding contemporary conceptions of the privileges afforded to sacred space (whether royal or not) was made by William Westerman, preached at

[308] John Hopkins, *A Sermon preached before the Kinges Majestie, by J. Hopkins, one of his Highnesse Chaplaines* (London, 1604), Sig.C4r.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Ibid., Sig.C4v.
For further discussion of this sermon as an encouragement that James continue Elizabeth's programme of restoring and cleansing the Church, see: McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 106.
[311] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, 295.

the much-dilapidated former abbey of St Albans, on 21st July 1612, during James's visit to the town. In a petition for greater financial investment for repairs to the church fabric (James ended up investing £2000), Westerman made a similar distinction to Hopkins in his preface, and echoed St Paul's command to 'let all things be done honestly and by order: which must needs respect the comliness of the place, if possible to be obtained'.[312] Decorum and appropriate decoration was key, but so was the broader picture. Towards the end of his sermon, Westerman approvingly cited St Jerome, who 'reprooves the vanitie of great buildings' which are not also furnished with dutiful ministers and reverent services, indicating a greater sense of unity between building, service, and godly learning, associated with those in 'avant-garde conformist' circles such as his patron, Richard Neile.[313] This position, in which 'chiefly Religion is to be regarded, then the building' represents an important sentiment among churchmen keen to see the repair and material revitalisation of England's churches.[314] For Westerman, as Hopkins and Andrewes, royal authority and intercession was key, and it was only by the royal touch, or the 'speedie assistance of a most Catholike and Imperiall Phisition, to cure the wounds' received from 'both the Rich covetous, and the poore irreligious', or instead 'to cut of her mortified limes, and binde up the sounder parts for Gods service'.[315] Though bound up with contemporary debates over the beautification of ecclesiastical space, the centrality of the monarch to discussions of altering the fabric of churches reveals some of the spatial privilege enjoyed by royal chapels, something later churchmen were to begin to claim for cathedral and parish churches.

[312] William Westerman, *Jacobs Well: or, A Sermon Preached before the Kings most Excellent Majestie at Saint Albans, in his Summer progresse 1612* (London, 1613), Sig.A2v.
[313] Ibid., Sig.A4r.
For further discussion, see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 112.
[314] Westerman, *Jacobs Well*, 58.
[315] Ibid., 62.

Conclusion

The Chapel Royal was recognised by contemporary commentators and the ordinances governing attendance as an exceptional place in which to work and worship. Though many of its personnel survived the political and theological turbulence of the sixteenth century, royally sanctioned investment, intervention, and neglect created drastically different experiences for Chapel Gentlemen between Elizabeth's and James's reigns. The (likely intentional) vacancy of the Chapel deanship was perhaps the most visible of these changes. Elizabeth's removal of a courtly presence (who had already begun to be noticeably absent by the 1570s) reflected her keen sense of the dire state of English court finances and constituted a workable opportunity to reduce costs while maintaining the splendour and display expected of her household chapel. James's restoration of the post not only brought about much-needed internal reform of the formality and decorum with which the Chapel operated but also highlighted the value James placed on prominent courtly ecclesiastics, later elevating the post of Dean to a close association with the episcopacy. As indicated by the continued formulation of the exclusivity of the physical space of the royal chapels, and explored in more depth in the next chapter, the Dean did not apparently exert the extensive level of influence over the performance of worship in the Chapel Royal as has previously been supposed. Changes to the administration and performance of royal worship indicate a high degree of monarchical involvement and direction, although such decisions could be influenced by episcopal, courtly, and wider lobbies and factors.

The Chapel Royal was also defined by its control of access and exclusivity. This applied both to its status as an ecclesiastical space within the institutional framework of the Church of England, depending on royal oversight and direction percolated through the Dean (or Lord Chamberlain and Sub-Dean, as the case may be), and to the physical spaces it inhabited, which centred around, but did not solely comprise, court chapels. Understanding this spatial

exclusivity is key to recognising the reasoning for the 'beautification' of royal chapels. This was not something exclusively claimed by the 'avant-garde conformist' group of later-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century churchmen, but rather a separate conception of royal ecclesiastical space observed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[316] This was reflected in the different processes of administration and application of institutional provisions for the performance of the musical liturgy found in cathedrals and collegiate churches, which altogether provided a more patch-work picture of funding. Although some churchmen disagreed with this, it is significant that all explicit criticisms of the elaboration of places of royal worship are particularly found from clerics and laymen on the fringes of the established church. Although some bishops and prominent ecclesiastics called for further reform and criticised the beautification of non-royal spaces, they distinguished between the Chapel Royal and other ecclesiastical venues.

The arrangement of congregational space in the English Chapel Royal was also redolent of the scheme observed by Lutheran rulers in northern Europe. The physical elevation of the monarch, and calculated visibility of the royal body was well-suited to an articulation of the Royal Supremacy which would have been comprehensible to most European visitors, even England's southern (and Catholic) neighbours, whose court chapels varied from this plan but nonetheless observed comparative forms of public royal piety. In many ways 'traditional', especially in its evocation of the French-Burgundian court and the retention of a clerical choral director, the arrangement and management of English royal worship was distinctive (and occasionally unique, as in the treatment of ambassadors) among the princely courts of Europe.

All royal chapels in European courts expected services to be arranged with an eye to hierarchical distinction, limited access, and controlled moments of royal visibility (or lack

[316] See: Jago, 'The Dissemination and Reassessment of Private Religious Space', 2.

thereof), often centred around the sanctuary. If contemporaries recognised these commonalities, they would have also recognised the symbolic assertions of the English court, despite variations on the arrangement of bodies and space familiar to their native courts. Exclusivity and exceptionalism in royal worship were not concepts unique to England. By imposing limitations on the mobility of congregants during services, taking steps to enforce this with furniture as well as guards, the English Chapel Royal participated in a language of royal worship familiar to all western European courts, albeit one with distinctive regional dialects based on confession, courtly culture and administration, and the idiosyncrasies of the royal or princely will.

Chapter two: Ceremony and the performance of liturgy

The primary purpose of the Chapel Royal by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the regular provision of elaborate liturgy, precisely calculated to suit the spiritual needs and temporal honour due to an anointed sovereign. It is for this reason that the Chapel Royal remained the best funded and best trained professional choir in post-Reformation England, and retained a considerable level of material decoration and opulence not usually found in British parish churches or cathedrals of the same period. Although services of the Book of Common Prayer were permitted to be 'said or sung' and physical reverences were retained, levels of elaboration varied between parishes, owing to the inclinations of the incumbent minister, and the influence of parishioners. In the Chapel Royal, where services were designed to heighten the majesty of Protestant monarchy, such elaboration was necessary to honour the presence of the monarch and consequently attracted considerable criticism from 'hotter' Protestant voices within and without the established Church.

These spaces were particularly controversial for their retention of objects and actions in Prayer Book worship which were identified with suspiciously 'traditional' or Catholic practices. This included the placement of the communion table 'altar-wise', which left the pre-Reformation or Catholic arrangement of sacramental worship unchanged (and therefore, in the eyes of many Protestants, redolent of idolatrous practices like the mass). Further, the decoration of the communion table with silver plate, including ewers, basins, candlesticks, and even crosses (in plate or fabric), and the performance of sung prayers and responses with multiple voice parts, sometimes with instrumental accompaniment prompted hostile responses from those seeking further liturgical reform. For all early modern Protestants, outward actions in worship mattered, not least for paying appropriate reverence and respect to God and signalling conformity to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, but to ensure that individuals did not

commit the unforgivable sin of idolatry and risk damnation.[1] As George Herbert later warned, 'Look to thy actions well: / For churches are either our heaven or hell'.[2]

Scholarly work on the performance of liturgy and religious ceremonial in the post-Reformation Church has been overwhelmingly focused on the practices of cathedrals and parish churches.[3] While much of this work has helped to expand our understanding of what these services may have looked like, and how dramatic regional and parochial variation might be for the aural and visual accoutrements of Prayer Book services, the Chapel Royal has not received the same attention. When the performance of liturgy in the Chapel Royal is discussed, it is typically only at its most festal occasions, which coincidentally tended to produce better and fuller eyewitness accounts. Reliance on a single type of evidence or occasion has distorted interpretations of Chapel services, leading one scholar to claim that they were 'overwhelmingly conservative in all particulars except a very few in which reform was either imposed by the queen or permissible under law'.[4] Comparison with worship in parish churches and some cathedrals has emphasised the apparent 'conservatism' of the visual and aural furnishing of Chapel services, and further muddied the analytical waters. To rectify this, it is necessary to consider all aspects of royal worship. Like the medieval sanctuary, the Chapel Royal acted as a 'cooperative and complete environment', which although centred in the palace chapel, could readily spill out into the paraliturgical ceremonies of the Maundy foot-washing held in the great hall, or in Sunday and holyday processions to and from the Chapel.[5] By reconstructing a sense

[1] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (OUP, 2013), 171.
[2] George Herbert, *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F.E. Hutchinson (Clarendon Press, 1941), 23.
[3] College chapels have received comparatively less attention, though most recently in: 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' (PhD diss., University of Fribourg, 2017).
[4] Roger Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, The First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion, 1559', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2, (2000): 320.
[5] Katharine D. Scherff, *The Visual Liturgy and Ritual Artifacts in Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (Routledge, 2023), 12.

of the performance of the Prayer Book and extraordinary services experienced in the Chapel Royal, and understanding its religious culture on the terms on which it operated, a clearer and fuller picture of royal worship under Elizabeth and James is achieved.

This chapter first establishes the requirements of attendance and variation in the courtly calendar for royal worship, considering distinctions between the monarch's, consort's, and prince's chapel, and the patterns of royal progresses. After this, key aspects of the performance of the Prayer Book liturgy are detailed, including court preaching and the performance of sacred music, followed by an in-depth examination of the Elizabethan and Jacobean reform of material accoutrements which 'beautified' royal worship. Finally, this chapter explores holyday and extraordinary services, including communion, offerings (at St George's Day, the Royal Maundy, and Epiphany), and occasional ceremonies of state (treaty ratifications, knightly creation ceremonies, coronations, weddings, churchings, and funerals), to offer a taxonomy of the ceremonial activity of the Chapel Royal sensitive to chronology and occasion.

By establishing the experience of liturgy in the Chapel Royal, this chapter argues for a broader understanding of the significance of royal worship in understanding the churchmanship of Elizabeth and James. Although 'change' and 'continuity' are semantically helpful, they are conceptually insufficient to describe the development of post-Reformation Chapel Royal practice. In the absence of sufficient examples from Continental Protestant monarchies, Elizabeth and James drew from previous personal experience, English court precedent, and the expectations and demands of contemporary churchmen and councillors to reform the services observed in their household chapel. Monarchs exercised a considerable degree of agency in the appearance of royal worship, but were constrained by the expectations of their contemporaries, and (especially in the case of Elizabeth) made to compromise or concede key points of controversial decoration. This was not a point won over by individual churchmen (not even the Chapel Dean), but rather the monarch's own understanding of what was acceptable in reformed

royal worship. The alterations introduced by Elizabeth and James did not constitute a 'traditional' or 'popish' influence under Elizabeth, nor an 'avant-garde conformist' one under James, but instead reflected their interpretation of the performance of reformed Protestant monarchy that retained the splendour and ceremony associated with (and necessary for) the royal office.

I. The 'working' Chapel: attending, speaking, and singing the service.

Services occurred in the Chapel Royal every day. Morning and evening prayer was daily, and two services of ante-communion were heard on most Sundays by the court and household.[6] This pattern of chapel attendance, based on a modified form of the liturgical calendar contained in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, provided the ceremonial and devotional framework to the movement and activities of the Elizabethan and Jacobean court. Typically, services for the royal household were heard earlier than royal services and appear to have been briefer and less elaborate. They were officiated by a royal chaplain, and sermons were preached there, though identifying household sermons is difficult due to court preachers' imprecise delineation between the symbolic 'household' which all courtiers comprised, and the household 'below stairs'.[7]

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[6] Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 232.

[7] Peter McCullough has pointed to the elaborate rhetoric of court sermons, highlighting the instructive difference between two undated sermons by Christopher Hampton, preached between 1609-12, the earlier of which (on Romans 5:19) was apparently preached to James's 'most honourable houshold'. McCullough, 'Calendar', 298.
Services for the household were held earlier in the morning, and likely with reduced musical accompaniment. No indication of congregational arrangement or ceremonial descriptions survive, though the Chapel nonetheless filled a regular and important liturgical service for servants of the royal household.
For further discussion of the distinction between services for the Court and Household in the case of a sermon preached by John Donne on 12th April 1618, see: David Colclough, 'Upstairs, Downstairs: Doctrine and Decorum in Two Sermons by John Donne', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* Vol. 73, No. 2 (2010): 163-191; *Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Volume I: Sermons Preached at the Jacobean Courts, 1615-1619*, ed. Peter McCullough, (OUP, 2015), 225-227.

The accession of a monarch with a growing royal family expanded the liturgical activities of England's courts. Although Anna had her own chaplains and privy closet in which she was permitted to practice her ostensibly Lutheran (but privately Catholic) devotions, she did not manage her own liturgical-institutional household.[8] Once established at St James's, Prince Henry was permitted his own small body of clerics and some 15 singing-men and musicians (some of whom, like John Bull and John Minors, were drawn from the King's chapel) to constitute a princely chapel of his own.[9] Although the confessional implications of orders made for the reception of communion will be discussed later in this chapter, services of morning and evening prayer were heard daily, ante-communion weekly, and full communion was celebrated on the first Sunday of each month.[10] Although these provisions appear to have been stricter than the orders implemented in the Chapel Royal proper, with communion monitored and compulsory at least twice a year, and games and distractions forbidden on Sundays, they were not as strict as some cathedrals, which ordered for monthly communion.[11] Henry (and likely Charles too) also ensured that after hearing a sermon and service in the morning at his princely chapel, he would attend the Chapel Royal proper, with his father.[12] As an 'alternative' space of royal worship, access to Henry's chapel appears to have been limited to his household, and only possible during his residence at St James's, between 1610-12.[13] The

[8] See: Meikle and Payne, 'From Lutheranism to Catholicism', 45-69; and Susan Dunn-Hensley, *Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria: Virgins, Witches, and Catholic Queens* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5.
The religious and liturgical provision for Queen Anna is discussed more extensively in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 169-182.
[9] BL Harley MS 642 f.256v.
The religious and liturgical provision for Prince Henry is laid out in more detail in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 183-194; and for Prince Charles: Ibid., 194-209.
[10] Ibid., f261v-262r.
[11] For further discussion, see chapter 3, pages 221-22.
[12] Charles Cornwallis, *The Life and Death of our late most Incomparable and Heroique Prince Henry, Prince of Wales* (London: 1641), 453.
[13] Before 1610, Henry's household spent much time at Nonsuch, though it remained distinctly peripatetic and without a formal routine. See: Timothy V. Wilks, 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and his Circle, 1603-1613' (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1987), 56; Ibid., 59.

Chapel Royal remained, therefore, the central location of courtly worship throughout James's reign.

a. Prayer books and bibles.

Services heard in the Chapel Royal were, from 12th May 1559, sung and said according to the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, 'but four days after the Use of it was enacted, and before it was enjoined to take Place in the Nation by the Act of Parliament', as John Strype recorded.[14] Before this date, constrained by the legal restoration of the mass in England, Chapel services were truncated performances of the mass, with an English litany read beforehand (from at least 19th December) and the epistle and gospel sung in English.[15] Roger Bowers has argued that around this point Elizabeth may have instructed a handful of the Gentlemen of her Chapel Royal to begin composing service music for the English liturgy based on the Prayer Book of 1549.[16] Although some examples of the exclusive use of the 1549 book in these services (by Robert Parsons, Thomas Tallis, and William Mundy) survive, textual variation is slight, and Elizabeth seems to have made no effort to use any version but the 1559 book in her household chapel. Although the *Precum Publicarum Ecclesium Anglicanae* was published in 1560 to offer a Latinate answer to the needs of the educated godly, this was at the request of the colleges of Oxford, Cambridge, Winchester, and Eton, and the book was not used in the Chapel Royal.[17]

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[14] John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England, during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*, Vol. I, Part I. (CUP, 2010), 285

[15] Accounts of this arrangement survive for the 17th of December, 6th of February, and 23rd of April 1558/9. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy, Vol. VII, ed. Rawdon Brown and G. Cavendish Bentinck,* (London, 1890), 1; 28.; Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 52.

[16] Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, The First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion', 341-2.

[17] Norman L. Jones, 'Elizabeth, Edification, and the Latin Prayer Book of 1560', *Church History*, Vol 53, No. 2, (1984): 177.
Suggestions of the use of the *Liber Precum Publicarum* are found in: Price, *Patrons and* Musicians, 57.; Stanford Lehmberg, 'The Musicians of Westminster Abbey, 1540-1640', in *Westminster Abbey Reformed, 1540-1640*, ed. C.S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Routledge, 2019), 104.

English services continued in the Chapel Royal throughout Elizabeth's and James's reigns, something revealed by the provision of interpreters for foreign visitors, envoys, and ambassadors seated in the royal closet. In 1565 for example, the earl of Sussex 'interpreted the hymns and anthems' for the imperial envoy Baron Adam Zwetkovich during a 'special choral service'.[18] During the 1601 Epiphany service, either Elizabeth or her closet attendants explained to Virginio Orsini, duke of Bracciano and Grigori Mikulin, the Russian envoy, that the choir were singing 'the psalms of David'.[19] It is possible that James offered a similar service during Christian IV of Denmark's visits in 1606 and 1612, when Latin sermons were preached for the two monarchs, indicating how and when the language of parts of services in the Chapel might prove more fluid.[20]

Service books were not given to all congregants who attended Chapel services. The Gentlemen of the Chapel received individual psalters, with between 36 and 20 (usually 32 or 34) purchased at 3s 4d each, in 1560, 1570, 1575, 1581, 1583, 1590, 1594, 1595, 1601, 1604, 1606, 1609, 1612, 1620, and 1622.[21] Service books, meanwhile, were likely only given to those in the royal closet. In 1560, six books (at 8s 8d each) were purchased for the Closet, followed by three in 1570 (8s each), two for 8s each and three for 3s 4d each in 1575, and three in 1581 (8s each).[22] These books were almost certainly used by the occupants of the royal closet (Elizabeth and her ladies in waiting), with one service book, 'fayre bounde and covered w[i]th Crimsyn Velvett', which rested on a crimson velvet pillow, reserved for Elizabeth's use.[23] After 1583, orders for service books increased to 24, consistently delivered to the closet in 1590,

[18] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners,* transl. Nash, 234.
[19] Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night*, 189.
[20] For example: Playfere, *Caesaris Superscriptio sive Conciuncula*; Lancelot Andrewes, *Concio Latine Habita Coram Regia Maiestate, quinto Augustii 1606* (London: 1610).
[21] BL Add 5750 f.38r; TNA LC 9/62 f.5r; LC 9/67 f.8r; AO 1/2340/6; LC 9/73 f.45r; LC 9/75 f.16r; LC 9/82 f.5v; LC 9/86 f.5r; AO 1/2343/22; BL Add 5750 f.39r; TNA LC 9/92 f.29v; AO 1/2345/32; LC 9/95 f.31v; AO 1/2346/38; AO 1/2347/42; AO 1/2348/49; AO 1/2349/52.
[22] BL Add 5750 f.38r; LC 9/62 f.5r; LC 9/67 f.8r; AO 1/2340/6; LC 9/73 f.45r.
[23] BL Add 5750 f.42r; LC 9/73 f.44v.

1594, 1597, 1601, 1604, 1620, and 1622.[24] These cost roughly £1 5s each, and as a rare survival confirms, were stamped with the royal arms and bound with leather, distinguished from the more expensive copies bound in red velvet [Fig. XVII]. The reasons behind the sudden increase in orders of prayer books for the Closet after 1583 is unclear, though it is possible that the vacancy of the deanship freed up resources to ensure that none of Elizabeth's ladies in waiting or her attendants jostled or fought for access to a copy.

Bibles were central to the daily performance of Prayer Book services in the Chapel Royal. Read from at least twice a day, they were prominent objects and received appropriate decoration. The (likely folio) Bible used in the Chapel Royal was decorated with a gilt cover and was possibly placed on the altar (and perhaps moved to a lectern for readings, as was observed in the chapel of Lancelot Andrewes while bishop of Winchester).[25] Wherever it rested, the Bible assumed a regular aural and visual prominence in services and emphasised the importance of the Word (as much as any other sacramental aspects) within royal worship. Bibles were not just used in the Chapel sanctuary. At least one folio Bible was also used in the royal closet for the monarch's personal use, and smaller bibles were regularly purchased for the closet.

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[24] Although little consistency is observed in the location of orders (between Closet and Chapel), the regularity of a larger order of c.20 books, and another for around four, suggests a distinction between those used by ladies or gentlemen of the bedchamber and members of the royal family.
AO 1/2341/13; LC 9/82 f.5r; LC 9/86 f.5v; LC 9/88 f.10r; BL Add 5750 f.41r; BL Add 5750 f.43r; AO 1/2348/49; AO 1/2349/53.

[25] The location of the bible during Chapel services is unclear from surviving Elizabethan or Jacobean accounts of services. However, in a marginal note to his copy of Charles I's coronation ordinal, William Laud described the Chapel Bible as 'covered with golde which usually stands upon the Altar at White-hall', and inventories from 1574 and 1597 record silver gilt covers for a bible, weighing 183 ounces.
See: Jeffries Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I*, 308; Christopher Wordsworth, *The manner of the coronation of King Charles the First of England: at Westminster, 2 Feb., 1626*, (London, 1892), 24; BL Harley MS 3795 f.19r; discussed in Peter McCullough, 'Absent Presence: Lancelot Andrewes and 1662' in *Comfortable Words: Polity and Piety and the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Stephen Platten and Christopher Woods, (SCM Press, 2012), 61.

While the Bibles used in the Chapel Royal were mostly English, it is unclear which version Elizabeth and James used.[26] The value of Bibles is notoriously inconsistent, especially in accounts of the royal household (where the full detail of decoration might not be recorded, thus 'silently' inflating the value). However, the date of certain Chapel orders indicates the possible version used. Among the surviving orders for 1560, and the first order of books required for the performance of the reformed liturgy in Elizabeth's Chapel, is a single bible 'of large volume' valued at 26s 8d.[27] This was probably a copy of the 1539 'Great' Bible, the only English form acceptable to Elizabeth and many of her bishops until the publication of the 'Bishops' Bible in 1568, compiled to counter the popularity of the Geneva Bible and offer a suitably reformed alternative to the conservatism of the Henrician text. Although 1560 also saw the first publication of the English Geneva Bible, it was never licensed for use in churches. Despite Matthew Parker's support of the book (Parker and Thomas Bodley were the driving forces behind securing a printing license for Christopher Barker by 1575), Elizabeth's hostility to the Genevan version precluded its use in the Chapel Royal.[28] Although the 'Bishops' Bible was printed in 1568, it was not until 1570 that the Chapel Royal may have received a copy, when two folio bibles (costing £2 10s each) were delivered to the vestry.[29] Five years later, four bibles were delivered to the Chapel, in two sets, with variant prices (one set cost £4 4d each,

[26] An exception to this rule is found during the ratification of international peace and marriage treaties, when 'a lattin Bible of the vulgar Translac[i]on' was used, as recorded at the 1604 Treaty of London and the 1610 peace with France. It is probable that the 'gospels' used at the 1572 Treaty of Blois were also in Latin. This linguistic observation, taking place in a paraliturgical context, might be interpreted as a moment of political latitudinarianism, with no linguistic ground conceded, rather than any indication of their use in service time.
Bertrand Salignac, *Correspondence diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon*, Vol. 5, ed. C.P. Cooper and A. Teulet (Paris, 1840), 17; *CBCR*, Vol. I. ed. Ashbee and Harley, 151-2.
[27] BL Add 5750 f.38r.
[28] Femke Molekamp, 'Genevan Legacies: The Making of the English Geneva Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530*-1700, ed. Kevin Killeen (OUP, 2015), 51; Harry Spillane, 'Debating Biblical Translation in Late Elizabethan England', *The Historical Journal*, First View (November 2024): 16-17.
[29] TNA LC 9/62 f.5r.

the other £3 6s 8d each), likely reflecting differences in decoration.[30] By comparison, the Chapel Royal seems to have been fairly quick to take up an edition of the 1611 (or 'King James') Bible, with an order of 1612 recording the purchase of three new bibles (along with four communion books and 33 psalters, costing £23 18s 9d altogether).[31] Although James lost enthusiasm in his translation project, and enforcement was not as vigorous as posterity has led scholars to believe, it is possible that the Chapel Royal provided a natural home for the project initiated and initially supported by James.[32]

Although conclusions regarding the identity of the Bible used in the Chapel Royal must necessarily remain tentative, orders remained consistent throughout Elizabeth's and James's reigns and appear to have kept up to date (albeit slightly sluggishly in 1570) with the most recent authorised versions of Scripture. The likely retention of the 'Great' Bible during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign provides further indication of the caution exercised by Elizabeth in the management of her household chapel (not to mention the limited options available to her), something only resolved by the adoption of the Bishops' Bible in 1570. It is, however, possibly worth pointing out that very few individuals at court would have had physical access to these bibles, unlike the availability of parish church Bibles out of service time. Although scriptural literacy was extremely high, and differences between editions would likely have been noted, the inconsistency of translations used in sung anthems and the intoned gospel and epistle would have pointed towards a patchwork of scriptural translation, rather than any single 'authorised' Chapel Royal version.

[30] TNA AO 1/2340/6; LC 9/67 f.8r.
[31] TNA AO 1/2347/42.
[32] Kenneth Fincham, 'The King James Bible: Crown, Church and People', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol. 71, No. 1, (2020): 95.

b. Singing, saying, and scheduling services

Morning and Evening Prayer, despite being the most regularly performed service of the Church calendar, are somewhat overlooked in histories of the Reformation. As recognised in the first chapter, Elizabethan and Jacobean ordinances seemed to favour morning services, imposing a slightly larger fine for absenteeism. Since morning prayer is no more musically demanding than evening prayer, and no record of greater elaboration or attendees survives, it is possible that the greater fine for morning absences reflected pressures on the Gentlemen to commute to court: a greater pressure since the emergence of their independence from courtly accommodation, and occupation of London's suburbs.[33]

Although the monarch may have not always been present at services of morning and evening prayer, they were still notable courtly events. On Friday 25th February 1575, for example, four Venetian envoys caught sight of the procession moving through the royal apartments at Windsor for morning prayer, which lasted 'about twenty minutes', and consisted of 'certain Psalms chanted in English by a double chorus of some 30 singers. A single voice next chanted the Epistle; after this another voice chanted the Gospel, and then all voices together chanted the Belief'.[34] It is possible that, given it was a Friday, the litany was heard according to the Prayer Book injunction, unknown to the Venetian visitors.[35] Although the account of thirty singers is possibly an overestimation, the musical elaboration of these daily services highlights an important point about the regularity of musical worship in the Chapel Royal, discussed in more detail below. As the services offering daily intoned readings of

[33] For further discussion, see chapter 3, page 245.
[34] *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, Vol. VII*, ed. Brown and Bentinck, 525.
[35] John E. Booty, *The Book of common prayer, 1559: the Elizabethan prayer book* (Folger Shakespeare Library, 1976), 68.

Scripture, the musical elaboration of services of morning and evening prayer highlight how the Chapel Royal emphasised the primacy of the Word on a regular basis.

On Sundays, ante-communion was usually heard. The service was bookended by a semi-public procession of the monarch, churchmen, and leading councillors through the royal apartments and chapel gallery. Like the observance of ante-communion in cathedral and parochial venues, it consisted of an extended confession and exposition of the Ten Commandments, the collect, homily, a 'general prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth', and an additional collect.[36] The service was typically shorter than the full communion service, though it retained musical accompaniment and remained a common staple of the Elizabethan and Jacobean liturgical calendar. Yet such services were rarely liturgically consistent or reliable. Processions were observed at the whim of the monarch, as one disappointed visitor discovered at Nonsuch on 19th September 1585, when Elizabeth 'did not appear' at the procession to divine service (likely due to the fact that the service was presumably held in the hall or presence chamber, in the absence of a dedicated chapel).[37] Two weeks later, however, Elizabeth did take part in the procession, this time at Richmond.[38] Both of these occasions seem to have been services of ante-communion, revealing how processions and monarchical appearance could transform an ordinary 'ferial' Sunday service into a significant courtly event.

During the summer, and the weeks following major holydays and liturgical occasions, the Chapel Royal 'stood down'. This meant that daily morning and evening prayer ceased, with a short ante-communion celebrated on Sundays and whichever holydays happened to fall in the summer months (such as Gowrie day, on the 5th of August) celebrated by a skeleton staff.

[36] Ibid., 267.
[37] Samuel Kiechel, *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel: Aus drei Handschriften*, ed. Konrad Dieterich Hassler (Stuttgart, 1866), 23.
[38] Kiechel, *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel*, ed. Hassler, 25.

A late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century list of '[a]untiest tymes of liberty and playing weekes' reveals the pattern of attendance. Between St Peter's Day (29th June) and Michaelmas (29th September) the Gentlemen were offered their longest period of rest. Additional weeks of liberty included the week before Christmas, the weeks after Epiphany (6th January), Candlemas (2nd February), Easter, St George's Day (23rd April), and all 'removing weekes' (the time when court transferred from one major standing house to another).[39] Although little is known about the precise provisions for the 'riding Chapel' (as it was known under Henry VIII), no record has survived of Elizabeth or James employing their Chapel during summer progresses, nor is it always clear that the Chapel Royal supplemented cathedral choirs during royal visits, beyond the 1617 progress to Scotland, which included visits to Lincoln and York.[40] Nevertheless, the liturgical calendar guided the festal pattern of the monarch and courtiers, and such temporal variations in courtly life should be recognised.

The musical provisions of daily and weekly services during the court season were considerable. Morning and Evening prayer required sets of responses and canticles, ante-communion required shorter settings of the full communion service, and anthems provided regular extraordinary musical addition to all services, often providing a musical 'bridge' to the sermon on holydays. Although the significance of the Chapel Royal as a space for the technical development of English Church music has been established elsewhere, a brief account of the pattern of musical style heard in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal is instructive for

[39] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 113.
Some weeks are crossed out in the original manuscript, including the week after All Hallows (1st November), Shrove Monday and Tuesday, the week after Rogationtide (25th April), the week after Whit Sunday/Pentecost, and 'all tymes when the Kinges Majestie is from a standing house'. It is unclear when these dates were reduced, though judging by their liturgical pattern, they may reflect adaptation of pre-Reformation practice, copied into the Cheque Book and altered accordingly.
[40] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 62.

our understanding of the full liturgical and confessional culture developed under both monarchs.[41]

Upon Elizabeth's accession, compositions for the new reformed Church faced an uncertain future. The 1559 Injunctions offered no clear guidance, and elaborate musical provision narrowly escaped the proposal made by Alexander Nowell, dean of St Paul's, at the 1563 Convocation, for the abolition of organ music at services by one (proxy) vote.[42] Despite this opposition, several elaborate compositions survive from this period, including some remarkably ambitious services by William Mundy, including his 'Great' service (for full communion) and a nine-part Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (for evening prayer), both dated to the early 1560s.[43] While both services were elaborate and almost certainly intended for major feast days, in the acoustic of the Chapel Royal (which would have been heavily decorated with heavy tapestries, carpets, and rushes on the floor of the antechapel), reverberation would have been virtually non-existent, meaning that each voice part would have appeared more distinct (and therefore comprehensible) than performance in a cavernous and sparsely decorated cathedral.

Holy days observed in the Book of Common Prayer, even those without communion attached, attracted appropriately festal music. Orlando Gibbons composed an eight-part verse anthem, *Lord, grant grace* 'for All Saints Day', similarly complex to his seven-part Easter anthem *We praise thee, O Father*.[44] Performed in the acoustic of royal chapels, congregants would have been well placed to follow the textual line of complex polyphony, contrary to claims of reverberation made by Philips.[45] Though Mundy's work is some of the more elaborate

[41] Philips, *English Sacred Music*, 9.
[42] Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (CUP, 1988), 44.
[43] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 220.
[44] Philips, *English Sacred Music,* 138; Ibid., 141.
[45] Ibid., 8.

of this early period, and contains some extraordinary moments of contrapuntal distance, the dominance of the meane (highest, after treble) voice, and regular unification of voice parts at key points of the canticles (especially at the start and end of verses) would have made for a strikingly comprehensible setting of a well-known liturgical prayer.[46] Le Huray has noted how many of the early Elizabethan anthems failed to match the same level of elaboration as contemporary services, and it is possible that composers were initially unwilling to test the legal limits of the early Protestant Church, instead preferring officially sanctioned liturgical texts.[47]

The emergence of the verse anthem (and service) occurred in a fluid technical context. Though a musical hallmark of the early seventeenth century Church, solo parts are found throughout the Elizabethan full services, and verse anthems and services are found in the Elizabethan corpus of works by figures such as Richard Farrant, William Byrd, and Thomas Morley. Byrd produced a verse evening service and anthem around 1580, the same time as Morley's anthem *Out of the Deep*, with a further five verse anthems from Byrd in 1589.[48] By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, verse services and anthems were a regular feature of Chapel and cathedral services. Involving alternating sections of solo voice or voices with instrumental accompaniment and the full choir (usually between four and six voice parts, though some examples could reach ten, like Tomkins's *Behold, I bring you glad tidings*), these pieces have been praised for their theatricality and emphasis on textual meaning in Jacobean court and cathedral worship.[49] The rising acceptance of 'word-painting' played no small role in this, whereby the musical setting of the text reflected its written meaning. For example, in

[46] William Mundy, 'Evening service 'in medio chori', arr. Timothy Symons (Cantus Firmus Music, 1996).
[47] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 213.
[48] Trans & Ed. John Morehen, *Thomas Morley: I English Anthems: Liturgical Music* (Stainer & Bell, 1991), x; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation,* 244.
[49] Ibid., 282.

the Magnificat of Nathaniel Giles's 'First' service (composed during the early 1620s) the countertenor cantoris imitated their decanis counterparts in a lively melody for the words 'he hath scattered the proud', creating, as Joseph Sargeant has noted, a 'scattering effect'.[50] Although the organ regularly accompanied Elizabethan services, especially during the offertory and during the chapel procession, James's reign saw greater investment in the post of Chapel organist.

Anthems were drawn from lesser-known scriptural texts, or non-scriptural devotional sources. For example, William Byrd's verse anthem *Thou God, that guidst,* set words laudatory of divine kingship by Byrd's Chapel colleague, William Hunnis, to music.[51] They often repeated verses, especially in verse settings, resulting in a clear degree of textual emphasis (and often comprehensibility). Although some 'hotter' Protestants might be uncomfortable with the presence of sung non-scriptural texts in services, such anthems were often put to extraordinary use, for occasions like accession day or particular holy-days.[52] These occasions did not always draw ornamented elaboration, however. Bernard Rose has pointed to the 'restrained mood' of Tomkins's anthems, surviving in the 1662 *Musica Deo Sacra*, indicating the variety (and continued emphasis on the primacy of the text) by the end of James's reign.[53] The music apparently composed for the Chapel Royal achieved the 'distinct' enunciation recommended by the Elizabethan Injunctions and post-Reformation churchmen, by repetition, solo voice, and the heavily decorated spatial acoustic, in spite of the experimental contrapuntal distance composed by late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Chapel Gentlemen.

[50] *Nathaniel Giles II*, ed. Sargent, xxi.
[51] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 251.
[52] Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism,* 104.
[53] *Thomas Tomkins: Musica Deo Sacra: II,* ed. Rose, vii.

c. Preaching and music

Another important aural aspect of Chapel services was the sermon. Church music and preaching worked harmoniously in the Chapel Royal to regularly provide some of the finest forms of both oral and aural arts recorded in post-Reformation England. The relationship between the sermon and liturgy in the Chapel Royal during Elizabeth's and James's reign was far from stable. Sermons are regularly recorded before, after, or at different points within, services of morning and evening prayer, ante-communion, and communion, with only the latter showing some consistency in the delivery of a sermon after the litany and before the administration of communion.[54] Some regularity was provided however, by the Chapel Gentlemen and choristers' performance of an anthem before and after the sermon, which provided a musical buffer for the movement of the preacher, as well as a period for spiritual reflection, as the court preacher appointed for the day ascended the stairs of the moveable wooden pulpit. This was not only an aural experience: the pulpit was often decorated with rich tapestries, like the 'red velvet, embroidered with gold' which impressed the Pomeranian nobleman Lupold von Wedel during the December of 1584.[55]

Under Elizabeth, sermons were not heard each Sunday except during Lent, when they were also heard on Wednesdays and Fridays, and organised by Elizabeth's Dean, Lord Chamberlain, and Archbishop of Canterbury.[56] James, notorious for his obsession with public scriptural exegesis, instituted a weekly Tuesday sermon in addition to the Sunday sermon. Sermons were preached according to a monthly rota of two royal preachers preaching two sermons on two of the Sundays each month under James, with extraordinary preachers

[54] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 72.
[55] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 335.
[56] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 65.

appointed for holydays and Tuesdays. A similar rota was observed under Elizabeth, though only twelve preachers were retained 'in ordinary'.

By comparison with Elizabeth's assiduous attendance of Chapel services ('every Sunday and Holy-day' for services, and 'at set hours' for private reflection and prayer in her privy closet every day, according to Camden), James apparently especially favoured sermons.[57] As recounted by Peter Heylin, and confirmed by William Laud early in Charles I's reign, James regularly insisted that services be stopped in the Chapel Royal as he entered the royal closet, and for the anthem to begin, signalling the beginning of the sermon. From the 5th of November 1626, services were ordered to 'proceed to the end of the prayers' no matter how late the monarch was, which 'had not before been done from the beginning of K. James's reign to this day'.[58] While it is unclear which services were affected by such habits, careful admonitions of royal tardiness have been noted in sermons by Richard Meredith and Lancelot Andrewes, who sought to achieve ceremonial discipline and conformity through observation and engagement with all parts of the liturgy, not just the sermon.[59] Despite this, James was nonetheless willing to engage in ceremonial practices such as the chapel procession, communion service, and patronised the composition of elaborate and inventive polyphonic services for performance in his Chapel, and seems to have varied from his predecessor and successor only in his attitude towards regularly hearing the full performance of ante-communion and morning and evening prayer.

The appearance of services held in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal was heavily impacted by the liturgical season. They were not equally elaborate, and nor did their

[57] William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*, ed. Wallace T. MacCaffrey (UCP, 1970), 18.
[58] *The works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud*, ed. James Bliss (Oxford, 1847), 197; Peter Heylin, *Cyprianus anglicus, or, The history of the life and death of the Most Reverend and renowned prelate William, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1668), 158.
[59] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 159.

preachers (even those labelled 'avant-garde conformist') promote their ceremonies without qualification. All those participating in royal worship were conscious of the extraordinary venue and context that they worshipped in and focused their attention on the royal presence of the monarch and their family. Just as the monarch has been appreciated as a 'chief soundmark' in the early modern court by Bruce Smith, the monarch played a physically and sonically centralising role in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal, around whom the service, building, and calendar was centred.[60]

II. Silver, surplices, and silk: accoutrements and art.

Elizabeth's and James's Chapel Royal was materially splendid. Tapestries, cloths, cushions, candlesticks, basins, and at least for the first eight years of Elizabeth's reign, a 'little silver cross' adorned the walls and altar-wise communion table of the occupied royal chapel.[61] The controversies engendered by these items, especially the cross, have shaped conceptions of the religious culture fostered in the Chapel Royal during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although attention has been paid to individual items or religious artwork, no account of the Chapel Royal or religious culture at the post-Reformation court has sought to provide a detailed survey or analysis of the furnishings and material arrangement of Elizabeth's and James's Chapel Royal. This section provides an extended analysis about what is known of the plate, cloth, glass, and clothing that decorated the spaces inhabited and bodies visible during royal worship in the post-Reformation court. It argues that it is insufficient to describe the decoration of Elizabeth's and James's Chapels as confessionally conservative or reflecting

[60] Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: attending to the O-factor* (UCP, 1999), 94.
[61] *The Zurich Letters, comprising the correspondence of several English Bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I., ed. Hastings Robinson (CUP, 1842), 55.

avant-garde conformist sympathies. Rather, a more detailed and precise approach to royal worship which recognises the changes introduced to Chapel furnishings under Elizabeth and James must be adopted. While both monarchs understood the necessity of suitable ornamentation in royal worship, they did not always take the same decorative approach. Under the pressure of churchmen, councillors, and the watchful eyes of Europe's princes, Elizabeth and James reformed and attempted to sanitise the materials of royal worship, respectively reducing and investing in expensive and decorous accoutrements to services that simultaneously celebrated God and the monarch's divinely ordained majesty.

a. The Chapel cross

Following Elizabeth's accession and by at least the summer of 1559, a silver gilt cross (possibly a crucifix) was set up on the altar-wise communion table of her Chapel Royal. While details of the appearance of Elizabeth's Chapel in the first months of their reign are unclear, the reaction from her churchmen and councillors was overwhelmingly negative. On at least three occasions in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, the cross was removed by irate and scandalised courtiers. In 1567, after a particularly febrile November, which saw the court fool dramatically break the cross, and knock down the candlesticks either side of it, the cross was replaced by a tapestry of the crucifixion, and removed for good. This was an important distinction, and it is significant that no further record survives of the crucifixion tapestry being used in Elizabeth's chapel. The image of a queen 'personally addicted' to the cross has been enduring and led some scholars to claim that it appeared in 1586, 1601,and even 1622, when James restored the item in anticipation of an Anglo-Spanish marriage match.[62] The cross (or crucifixion) appeared in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal through a variety of visual media. The congregational reaction to representations of the cross in plate, cloth, and glass varied between individual and

[62] Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays*, 113; Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night*, 200; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 34.

over the course of both Elizabeth's and James's reigns, as wider ecclesiastical tensions over church images took shape and began to fade into adiaphora by the end of the sixteenth century, before reviving again towards the end of James's reign. This detailed survey of the role of the cross in the Chapel Royal establishes how pressure to alter the appearance of venues of royal worship took shape, and the consequences of material alteration (and maintenance) for the religious culture of Elizabeth's and James's household chapel.

Although no records detailing the appearance of Elizabeth's Chapel Royal in the first months following her accession survive, her first St George's Day festivities, held on the 23rd of April 1559 at Windsor, saw the Queen make her preference for a cross public. Intending to emulate the example set at her coronation, when a processional cross was carried with accompanying acolytes, Elizabeth asked her attendants 'where the crosses were?'.[63] All crosses, she was told, had been removed to Westminster Abbey for safekeeping, and attendants cited fears that they might have been broken or stolen during the iconoclastic riots prompted by Elizabeth's accession and only settled by the proclamation of the Elizabethan Injunctions. Elizabeth's first St George's day procession (and all thereafter) proceeded '*sine cruce*'.[64] In her Chapel Royal however, the cross remained, at least until it was removed while Elizabeth was away on progress, possibly on the orders of Robert Dudley.[65] Although the details of this removal are unclear, and Elizabeth never again left court with her Chapel plate *in situ*, the cross was repaired and restored by the eve of Michaelmas, and in time for the wedding of one of her ladies in waiting.[66] By the autumn of 1559 however, opposition to the queen had begun to formalise and foment.

[63] BL Egerton MS 3320 f.17v.
[64] TNA SP 12/33/68.
[65] Aston, *Broken Idols*, 749.
[66] *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs: Volume 1, Reserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas,* ed. Martin A.S. Hume (Cambridge, 1892), 105.

During the winter months of 1559/60, Elizabeth faced one of the first direct challenges to her royal prerogative. After the restoration of the cross for Michaelmas 1559, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury and former Nicodemite, and the recently returned exile Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, petitioned Elizabeth to remove the offending item. Where Parker appeared 'honestly to the queen, for divers reasons to remove them', Cox was bolder, writing that he would 'dare not minister in your grace's chapel, the *lights* and *cross* remaining' (original emphasis).[67] Although Cox was eventually made to preach, doing so with 'trembling conscience', he reminded Elizabeth in a private letter that God 'forbade both the making of images, and the worshipping them also', and that in such matters 'the judgement of the ministers of God's word ought to be heard'.[68] Eizabeth secured Parker and Cox's conformity on the matter by promising a debate on the matter, held in February 1559/60. Parker and Cox defended the queen, and the recently returned exiles John Jewel (bishop of Salisbury) and Edmund Grindal (bishop of London) argued against her. While we do not know precisely how the conference concluded, the cross was retained.[69] Elizabeth's consent to hold a disputation (though apparently private) is also a significant indication of the limits of her prerogative in navigating the appearance of services in her Chapel Royal. Whatever the content and outcome of the conference, Elizabeth's retention and continued defence of the cross signals an important attempt to elevate the royal will above opposition from her bishops and council.

A possible consequence of the conference on the cross was the destruction and sale of 8907 ounces of chapel plate in October 1560.[70] The removal of outdated or liturgically inappropriate plate, like thuribles and censers, would likely have pleased many who feared the

[67] Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. I, Part I. (CUP, 2010), 260.; Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol I, Part II., 500-501.
[68] Ibid., 501.
[69] Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, 190.; *The Zurich Letters,* ed. Robinson, I, 67-68.
[70] Arthur Jeffries Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: The Inventory of 1574, edited from Harley MS. 1650 and Stowe MS. 555 in the British Museum,* (Trustees of the British Museum, 1955), 24.

revival of Catholic liturgical accoutrements in royal Prayer Book worship, but it was also probably a welcome remedy for the dire state of royal finances. Amidst this destruction, three crosses survived, weighing 106, 73, and 22 ounces respectively. Though it is unclear which of these crosses was used, all differed in style. The largest had 'a Crucifix ther upon enamelid', with 'Mary and John at the base', and by 1574 had been 'broken'. The 73oz cross, apparently intact in 1574, stood 'upon a guilt mountaine having in the middest thereof a Deade mans head and a crucifix nailed to the same'. The smallest item was a 'Birrall' [Beryl] cross, recorded in 1559 as 'wanting the crucifix', a repair that never seems to have been introduced.[71] While it is impossible to know which of these crosses stood on the communion table of the Chapel Royal until 1567, all the above crosses were long-destroyed by 1600, with the larger two items potentially sold or melted down between 1574 and 1583. It is possible that the smallest cross was used in Elizabeth's closet, though there is no surviving record of this. Retention in the Jewel House does not necessarily indicate active use, and it is significant that Elizabeth preferred to cleanse the church plate of her Jewel House in phases, with non-liturgical items, possibly to receive a larger bill of credit. Significantly, in the same inventory, three bible covers, all bearing the image of the crucifix, were 'defaced and put to the mynt'.[72] By at least the 1570s, Elizabeth seems to have cured her 'addiction' to this controversial object.

Controversy over the cross also concerned its arrangement on the communion table, where it was flanked by two lit candlesticks. Even for Protestants who defended the Elizabethan 'Settlement', this seemed to contravene the second Injunction, which ordered that no 'candles or tapers [be offered] to relics, or images'.[73] In 1562, Robert Dudley ordered for both the cross and candlesticks to be removed. Elizabeth promptly repaired and restored the items, but with

[71] Ibid., 307.
[72] Ibid., 308-309.
[73] *Documents of the English Reformation,* ed. Gerald Bray (Lutterworth Press, 1994), 305.

an important proviso: the tapers, heretofore lit daily, were apparently now unlit during services, as John Parkhurst reported to Martin Bullinger.[74]

Although the Chapel scheme now more closely accorded with the spirit of the second Injunction, exceptions to this ruling are found shortly afterwards. In 1565, the baptism of the Lutheran Swedish prince, Edwardus Fortunatus, a 'sheer Hollywood' moment for the Elizabethan Chapel, saw a host of lights on the communion table and around the cross.[75] Six candlesticks stood on the communion table, among which were 'two great candlesticks, double gilt, with lights of virgin wax'. These were not the only lights in the Chapel: above the table was a shelf with '21 candlesticks of gold and silver double gilt' with 24 lights; ten chandeliers 'in the manner of lamps silver and gilt' hung from the ceiling, and candlesticks with twelve lights stood on the ends of stalls.[76] While defenders of the Elizabethan Chapel Royal might have pointed to the fact that the service took place in the late afternoon of late September, and required such light for visibility, the lit tapers on the communion table, flanking a cross and surrounded by a host of extraordinary plate, would surely have scandalised some 'hotter' Protestant observers. It is uncertain whether this arrangement of light in the body of the chapel was usual, though evening prayer and services during winter months were likely accompanied with a similarly high number of candles around the main points of liturgical action. Nonetheless, Elizabeth's willingness to show some compromise on the matter of the candlesticks provides an example of Elizabeth's tacit admission that the Chapel cross might be interpreted as a symbol of 'idolatry and superstition'.

Although no further attack on the cross was recorded until 1567, tensions continued to simmer. Elizabeth faced criticism from both sides of the confessional divide. For Catholics,

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[74] *The Zurich Letters*, I ed. Robinson, 129.
[75] Charles Oman, *English Church Plate, 597-1830* (OUP, 1957), 176.
[76] John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne, vol. II, (London, 1770), 691-92.

Elizabeth's maintenance of the cross was an example of royal hypocrisy too good to miss, as crucifixes were removed from rood screens and replaced with the royal arms by order of the queen's Injunctions. John Martiall's attack on English iconoclasm included an embarrassing dedicatory epistle to Elizabeth, which entreated her, as one so 'well affectioned to the cross', to prevent the wider desecration of the object, and encouraged English Catholics to follow the example of the Chapel Royal.[77] In response, a year later, James Calfhill, archdeacon of Colchester and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, defended the Chapel cross on the grounds that the cross was not to be 'drawen as a president for all', since 'the multitude is easily through ignoraunce abused', and 'hir Majestie [is] to well instructed for hir owne persone, to fal into Popish error and Idolatrie'.[78] Though Calfhill recognised the exclusive privileges afforded by royal patronage in his defence of the item, he nonetheless recognised its potential spiritual dangers and touched on a key tension surrounding even those who sought to defend Elizabeth's actions. Thomas Cole, archdeacon of Essex and one of the Lenten preachers for 1564, was less tactful. On the 1st of March, he preached to a presumably white-knuckled congregation at Windsor, that idols should all be cast down. In what appears to have been a direct comment on Dudley's removal of the cross and candlesticks two years earlier, Cole described the duty of 'all Godly kings and Queenes' to 'maintaine the thing that pleaseth God', and never by 'any pollicie permit these golden faced Idolles to have ani beyng place in the Church where the Almightie is to bee honoured'. Instead, they should 'rather tread the[m] under foote as vile thin[n]ges, and unfit to be where the congregation of God is to be assembled'.[79] Cole continued, before possibly being ordered to draw to a rapid close, by urging that Elizabeth 'burne them [idols, or implicitly, the chapel cross] with Copes and al other Popish dregges'.[80]

[77] John Martiall, *A treatyse of the Crosse gathred out of the Scriptures, councelles, and auncient fathers of the primitive church* (Antwerp, 1565), sig.A2.v.
[78] James Calfhill, *An Answer to John Martiall's Treatise of the Cross,* ed. Richard Gibbings (Cambridge, 1846), 7.
[79] Cole, *A Godly and Learned Sermon*, Sig.A.vii.v.
[80] Ibid., Sig.F.viii.v

Although Cole later emerged as Archbishop Parker's *bête noire* and a vigorous leader of nonconformists in the vestarian controversy, his criticisms of the appearance of Chapel worship, and apparent celebration of those who besieged the Chapel sanctuary, nonetheless remarkably found their way into print.[81]

Criticisms continued until the 25th of November 1567, when 'Patch the fool', apparently acting on the orders of the 'hotter' Protestant Francis Knollys (husband of Catherine, née Carey, daughter of Mary Boleyn and cousin of Elizabeth) cast the cross and candlesticks from the communion table. Whether to save face or protect a relative, Elizabeth treated Patch leniently and pardoned him, declaring that 'the man was mad and did not know what he was doing'.[82] She also restored the candlesticks, but not the cross, to the communion table in the main body of her chapel. Perhaps as an act of defiance, she had a smaller cross (likely the 22-ounce item discussed above) placed in her royal closet. Before at least the 24th of December, a 'piece of tapestry with a crucifix' had been set up behind the communion table, possibly as a compromise. This did little to allay tensions, and on Christmas Eve 1567, Patch, newly released and pardoned, cast down one of the candlesticks, and was subsequently imprisoned in the Tower.[83] It is unknown what happened to the cross in Elizabeth's closet, though it had certainly been removed by 1600.

Elizabeth's decision to acquiesce with the frustrations of her 'hotter' Protestant courtiers by the Christmas of 1567 may have also reflected the queen's broader ecclesiastical policy. If one of the motivating reasons for the retention of the cross was the maintenance of positive relations with Lutheran states, Elizabeth had made her position abundantly clear by 1567. Although the 39 Articles established the Reformed theology of the Church of England,

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[81] Brett Usher, 'Cole, Thomas (c.1520-1571)', *ODNB*, (2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5856.
[82] *Calendar of letters and state papers relating to English affairs, I: Reserved principally in the archives of Simancas*, ed. Hume, 682.
[83] Ibid., 691.

distancing England from communion with the Lutheran states since their publication in 1563, this had not prevented Elizabeth's personal diplomatic overtures towards Lutherans, like the baptism of Princess Cecilia of Sweden's son at Whitehall in 1565.[84] By 1567 however, the earl of Sussex had visited the princes of the Augsburg Confession to clarify the English memorialist position on Christ's presence in the Eucharist.[85] The Chapel cross has been interpreted as Elizabeth's means of illustrating her ceremonial amity with Lutherans, especially regarding the appearance and conduct of church services.[86] With a re-statement of doctrinal separation between England and Europe's Lutheran states, Elizabeth's unwillingness to restore the cross after November 1567 indicates how international ecclesiastical politics might have influenced the queen's approach to the appearance of her household chapel.

Although the Chapel cross had disappeared from the communion table by the end of December 1567, it remained prominent in many courtiers' and religious polemicists' minds. On the 6th of February 1571, Matthew Parker wrote to William Cecil, complaining that 'one nobleman in England should impute it to my doing that the cross is brought into the chapel again […] but certainly I never knew of it, nor yet in good faith I think it expedient it should be restored'.[87] Although Parker's syntax is unclear, his use of the future subjunctive 'should be' indicates that the cross had not yet returned. Parker's eagerness to head off any suggestion that he should be attached to the restoration of the cross, or that the event should take place, indicates the uncertainty surrounding Elizabeth's actions during this time, further highlighting the significance of her prerogative in the governance of the interior of her Chapel Royal.

[84] Susan Doran, 'Elizabeth I's Religion: The Evidence of Her Letters', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 51, No. 4, (October 2000): 713.
[85] Ibid., 709.
[86] Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays*, 113; Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, the First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion', 334; Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910* (OUP, 2011), 13.
[87] *Correspondence of Matthew Parker,* ed. Bruce and Thomason Perowne, 379.

The cross was also used to interrogate adiaphoric matters in the 1570s. In around 1578 Edmund Grindal considered '[t]he crosse and candlesticks in the Q. Chappell' as 'thinges not merely indifferent', apparently referring to their earlier presence rather than any indication of their revival.[88] Memory of the cross remained controversial fifteen years after its removal, when in 1582 Gregory Martin SJ pointedly asked readers of his *Discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures*, whether it was idolatry 'when the Crosse stood many yeres upon the Table in the Queenes Chappel'?[89] As Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke have recognised, William Fuller's 1585 attack on the unreformed state of the English Church separated his treatment of the 'foule idoll' (the cross, which Elizabeth had previously defended at large and in her chapel), from his criticism of the contemporaneous decorative scheme in the Chapel Royal, which controversially retained images 'of the Trinity, the Saints, and the Apostles': not the crucified Christ.[90] Memory of the Chapel cross remained alive even in 1601, when the Jesuit Henry Rivers erroneously claimed that the cross was present at the Epiphany service, something disproven by the handful of detailed eyewitness accounts of the same service, which Rivers did not attend.[91] The Chapel cross was possibly easier to criticise once removed, and despite continued reference to the object until the end of Elizabeth's reign, it is crucial to recognise the change in its linguistic framing after its removal: not only is it referred to in the past tense, but until the early 1570s, it is considered in rather fraught and qualified terms, indicating its close association with the queen's personal prerogative.

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[88] LPL MS Fairhurst 3270 f.25r.
This source has been taken as an indication of the continued presence of the cross, which given the inclusion of examples like 'The Auncient Fathers in dissalowing second mariages', and toleration of Jewish practices by some Christians, coupled with the absence of any other contemporary record that the cross returned, seems unlikely and was probably intended in the past-tense. See: Aston, *The King's Bedpost*, 107.
[89] Gregory Martin, *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the heretikes of our daies specially the English sectaries* (Rheims, 1582), 50.
[90] *The Second Part of a Register*, ed. Albert Peel, Vol. II, (CUP, 1915), 53.
[91] Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night*, 200.

Between November 1567 and 24th December 1567, the Chapel cross was replaced with a tapestry depicting the crucifixion. Though 'hotter' Protestants were still uncomfortable with a Crucifixion scene above the communion table, Patch's Christmas Eve assault on the Chapel sanctuary did not extend to the tapestry. The exchange of a three-dimensional gilt cross for an easily removable historicised and memorialist depiction of a scriptural event, which followed a theory of representation far closer to the Crucifixion scenes in the east window of Hampton Court and Whitehall palace chapels, seems to have satisfied most Protestants at Court.[92] Although it is difficult to positively identify the tapestry used by Elizabeth over the Christmas of 1567, it was likely one of the single-panel Crucifixion pieces inherited from the vast reserve of expensive tapestries curated by Henry VIII.[93] An indication of the 'historicised' appearance of this tapestry is provided by the surviving 'Alba' Crucifixion, held in the Washington National Gallery of Art, which Thomas Campbell has identified as a close relation to the Passion scene purchased by Henry VIII in 1529 [Fig. XVIII].[94] Crucially, the tapestry does not appear to have been redeployed by Elizabeth for the rest of her reign, and may have also been legitimised by the festal heights of the Christmas season.

It is difficult to reconstruct the religious tapestries used in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal in detail. While the Crucifixion is not again recorded in Elizabeth's Chapel, it is significant that tapestries depicting the Crucifixion were repaired each year (and therefore used, though possibly not in the Chapel) from Elizabeth's accession until 1595, at which point the Wardrobe accounts become far less descriptive.[95] The earliest recorded use of a Crucifixion tapestry under James was in 1611, during the investiture of Prince Charles as the duke of York

[92] Christina J. Faraday, *Tudor Liveliness: Vivid Art in Post-Reformation England* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2023), 28.
[93] Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (YUP, 2007), ix.
[94] Bernaert van Orley(?), *The Alba Passion*, ca.1525-28, National Gallery of Art, Washington.
[95] TNA LC 9/58 f.47r; LC 9/64 f.41r; LC 9/71 f.53r; LC 9/74 f.47r; LC 9/78 f.41v; LC 9/88 f.43r; LC 9/91 f.45v.

at St George's, Windsor, where the 'altar was richly adorned with cloth of gold, with a cross and some fine effigies of our Saviour and the Saints'.[96] As this is the only recorded use of the tapestry in a service, it is possible that James, like his predecessor, reserved it for special festal services. Ten years later, Sir Thomas Knyvett recorded the new 'amaking' of a 'silver crucifix to […] hange' in Whitehall Chapel.[97] Although this letter has been taken as an indication of James's intention to restore a silver plate cross in the Chapel Royal, it would be highly unorthodox for such an object to 'hange' anywhere in the sanctuary, and it seems more likely that James intended to commission a tapestry depicting the Crucifixion of silver thread. Presumably ordered in advance of the 'Spanish match', James may have been conscious of the somewhat outdated style of the century-old Henrician tapestries. Although no other record of this object survives, an indication of how occasionally Crucifixion tapestries appeared under James (and Elizabeth) is found in a claim made by William Prynne. According to Prynne, who cited the testimony of Sir Henry Mildmay, it was not until William Laud's tenure as Chapel Dean that a Crucifixion tapestry was set up, something 'never there used since King H. the 8. His Reigne'.[98] Although Prynne's account is probably more revealing about the politicised use of courtly memory in the 1640s than it is a reliable testament to royal ecclesiastical decoration under James I, the tapestry clearly tested the boundaries of what was appropriate in Charles's household chapel.[99] Like Elizabeth's gilt cross, Charles's Crucifixion tapestry appears to have

[96] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice,* Vol 12., ed. Horatio F. Brown, (HM Stationery Office, 1905), 236.
[97] *The Knyvett Letters (1620-1644),* ed. Bertram Schofield (Constable & Co., 1949), 56.
[98] William Prynne, *Canturburies Doome, Or, the first part of a compleat history of the commitment, charge, tryall, condemnation, execution of William Laud late arch-bishop of Canterbury* (London, 1644), 68.
[99] For further discussion of Charles's use of the Crucifixion tapestry in his Chapel Royal see: Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 228; and John Donne's allusion to it on 25th February 1631: *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Volume III: sermons preached at the Court of Charles I*, ed. David Colclough, 472-3; Ibid., 485.

made daily appearance in the Chapel Royal, breaking the apparent settlement of occasional religious imagery reserved for festal occasions reached by Elizabeth and continued by James.

b. Tapestries.

The Crucifixion was not the only religious subject of the tapestries that occasionally decorated the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal. At least one other scriptural story was shown at the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Elector Frederick on the 14th of February at Whitehall, when the 'upper part' of the chapel was hung with part of the 'storie of the Actes of the Appostells'. [100] Although the precise scenes are not recorded, it is probable that James utilised one of the jewels of the Henrician collection for this international Protestant marriage alliance: Coeke van Aelst's nine-part *Story of Saint Paul*, purchased by Henry VIII between Michaelmas 1538-39, which was sold over a century later by the Commonwealth government for the extraordinary sum of £3065.[101] Depicting Acts:7-28 and measuring 4.05m by 6.86m per panel (judging at least from the one surviving panel, depicting St Paul directing the burning of books at Ephesus), the tapestry would have provided a splendid accompaniment to the service taking place below [Fig. XIX].[102] As Thomas Campbell suggested of its original intention, it is also probable that the Protestant associations of St Paul as a natural opponent to Catholic emphasis on the primacy of St Peter offered an appropriate visual accompaniment to the international Protestant marriage alliance secured by James.[103]

We do not know which other tapestries decorated Elizabeth's and James's royal chapels. The Wardrobe accounts reveal the regularity of repair for certain scenes, many of which may have decorated the court chapel or closet. The fact that hangings were regularly set up in these

[100] *The Cheque Book*, ed. Rimbault, 163.
[101] Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty,* 238; BL Harley MS 4898 p.239; Ibid., p.241.
[102] Pieter Coeke van Aelst, 'St Paul directing the burning of the heathen books', c.1535 Private collection.
[103] Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, 238.

spaces is confirmed by the regular order of between 3000 and 4000 gilt hooks for the same.[104] David was by far the most popular figure, and appeared some 29 times, consistently throughout Elizabeth's reign (and possibly also James's).[105] He was followed by Samson, who appeared a comparatively meagre 10 times (nine of which alone), and Paul, who appeared seven times (three of which specifically depicted his conversion).[106] Along with the conversion of Paul (repaired in 1578, 1590, and 1591), St John the Evangelist's vision of the Apocalypse (repaired in 1559, 1565, 1566, and 1568) and the destruction of Jerusalem (repaired in 1566 and 1580) are the only other precise scriptural scenes recorded by the Wardrobe accounts, with the rest noting only the appearance of key biblical figures.[107] Significantly, the tapestry of the 'three kings of Cologne', repaired in 1563, was previously used in Henry VIII's Chapel Closet as an altar frontal, and may have continued to be deployed during Epiphany celebrations as a converted tapestry.[108] Although it is unclear whether these images appeared in the Chapel Royal, it seems that religious figures had begun to decline from the cloths used in the Chapel by the end of the seventeenth century. As recorded in a 1600 Closet order, only the 'enbrandery', not the 'imagery', of a tapestry which previously depicted two apostles was to be repaired.[109] The use of this item is unclear. It might have been used in services, hung on the internal walls of the Closet, or decorated the exterior of the Closet screen. Whatever the case,

[104] TNA LC 9/67 f.7v; Ibid., f.8r; LC 9/73 f.45r; BL Add MS 5750 f.39r; Ibid., f.40r; Ibid., f.41r; Ibid., f.43r.
[105] TNA LC 9/54 f.56v; LC 9/57 f.52v; LC 9/59 f.44v; LC 9/60 f.53r; LC 9/61 f.41r; LC 9/66 f.58r; LC 9/72 f.44v; LC 9/75 f.51r; LC 9/78 f.41v; LC 9/79 f.48r; LC 9/81 f.43v; LC 9/82 f.43v; LC 9/83 f.45v; LC 9/85 f.39r; LC 9/86 f.41v; LC 9/88 f.43r; LC 9/91 f.45v; Ibid., f.51v.
It is also significant that a tapestry depicting David was recorded at early seventeenth-century Hatfield, indicating how Cecilian decoration might have emulated royal practice. See: Ricketts with Gapper and Knight, 'Designing for Protestant Worship', 133.
[106] TNA LC 9/54 f.56v; LC 9/56 f.59v; LC 9/58 f.47r; LC 9/62 f.40r; LC 9/66 f.58r; LC 9/67 f.44r; LC 9/68 f.50v; LC 9/69 f.51v; LC 9/70 f.44v; LC 9/71 f.53r; LC 9/78 f.47v; LC 9/88 f.43r; LC 9/91 f.45v.
[107] Conversion of Saul/Paul: TNA LC 9/70, f.44v; LC 9/71 f.44v; LC/82 f.43v.
St John: TNA LC 9/54, f.56v; LC 9/58 f.47r; LC 9/59 f.44v; LC 9/61 f.41r.
Destruction of Jerusalem: TNA LC 9/59 f.44v; LC LC 9/72 f.44v.
[108] TNA LC 9/57 f.52v; Bickersteth and Dunning, *Clerks of the Closet in the Royal Household,* 8.
[109] TNA LC 9/91 f.31v.

Elizabeth's removal of the apostles further reveals the reduction of figurative religious art from her court chapels. As Tara Hamling has shown of the Protestant domestic interior, tapestries depicting biblical scenes were remarkably popular by the later sixteenth century and acted as a signifier of social status and provided devotional comfort.[110] Although this purpose is not recoverable in the case of the Chapel Royal, these spectacular and affective religious scenes likely had a pronounced effect on congregants, especially those sat opposite or close to them. It is difficult to identify any religious scenes beyond those recorded by eyewitnesses or alluded to in Wardrobe accounts, but it is significant that of the tapestries available to Elizabeth and James for use in their Chapel, scenes were not from the life of Christ (only one 'Scourging' was noted in 1560), but instead the Old Testament, suggesting a broader caution regarding religious imagery in the fabric of the Elizabethan and Jacobean court.[111]

Not all tapestries used in the Chapel Royal had scriptural subjects. Religious symbols or patterns could compliment major state liturgies, like the gold tapestry 'set with pelicans' which decorated the communion table and east wall at Edward Fortunatus's christening at Whitehall in 1565, with an additional tapestry set up behind the stalls representing the twelve months of the Zodiac (and subsequently repeatedly repaired according to the works accounts, indicating repeated use, possibly in the Chapel).[112] Elizabeth's use of the Pelican motif (a popular Christological image based on the contemporary myth of a pelican renting its breast to feed its young) might have gone beyond a-confessional religious symbolism, and alluded England's proposed spiritual nourishment of 'younger' Protestant states. Although no comparable symbolic tapestry was used again (images and historicised scenes are more

[110] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious art in post-Reformation Britain* (YUP, 2010), 59.
[111] LC 9/54 f.56v.
[112] Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, Vol. II, 691.; TNA LC 9/56 f.59v; LC 9/58 f.47r; LC 9/62 f.40r; LC 9/67 f.44r; LC 9/71 f.53r; LC 9/74 f.47r; LC 9/85 f.39r; LC 9/86 f.41v; LC 9/87 f.48r; LC 9/88 f.43r.

regularly noted for this purpose, in both secular and sacred contexts), this did not mean that the Chapel Royal was devoid of embroidered and woven symbolic images. Consistent references to 'verdure' in the wardrobe accounts of repairs to courtly tapestries indicate the potential for fabric greenery to appear in the Chapel, bearing acceptable and laudatory allusions of rebirth, renewal, and life.[113]

Classical and mythological scenes may have also decorated the walls of the English Chapel Royal. Although no contemporary observer noted the use of such tapestries in England, it is possible that some of the tapestries depicting Classical figures recorded in the Wardrobe accounts may have been used in royal worship. In Scotland, during the 1594 christening of Prince Henry, a 'fine tapestry' with an embroidered centrepiece 'containing the story of Hercules and his travels' decorated the princely bed of estate, set on a stage in the centre of Stirling Castle chapel.[114] Classical images may have been more appropriate than biblical scenes for a Calvinist king and Presbyterian kirk, and it is possible (but unconfirmed) that James deployed similar images in English royal worship.[115] Although details remain unclear about the precise scenes that appeared in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal, both Elizabeth and James utilised the decorative flexibility of tapestries to draw from a far broader range than

[113] TNA LC 9/55 f.98v; LC 9/56; LC 9/58 f.16r; LC 9/59 f.44v; LC 9/60 f.53r; LC 9/61 f.41r; LC 9/63 f.50v; LC 9/66 f.58r; LC 9/71 f.53r; LC 9/72 f.44v; LC 9/74 f.47r; LC 9/75 f.51r; LC 9/76 f.45v; LC 9/77 f.35v; LC 9/78 f.41v; LC 9/81 f.43v; LC 9/86 f.41v; LC 9/88 f.43r; AO 1/2345/34; LC 9/95 f.115r.
See also: Eleri Lynn, 'Canopied with Flowers: Adorning Court Spaces with Floral Tapestries and Hangings' in *Floral Culture and the Tudor and Stuart Courts*, ed. Susannah Lyon-Whaley (AmUP, 2024), 71-90.

[114] Fowler, *A True Account of the Baptism of The Most High and Mighty Prince, Henry Frederick* (Leith, 1764), 12.

[115] While Classical scenes remained popular in the tapestries of Elizabeth's and James's courts, and the laconic nature of some accounts surely skews the record, it is striking how less varied the recorded scenes are. Hector predominates, appearing consistently throughout Elizabeth's reign. Histories of Troy and Alexander the Great, though popular in the 1560s and 70s, are absent from explicit maintenance records by the 1590s.
See: TNA LC 9/52-98.

just scriptural images to complement royal worship (and some confessionalised foreign policy goals) than is usually appreciated.

c. Windows and walls.

If the tapestries of the Chapel Royal might have represented a mixture of religious, historical, and symbolic scenes, the glass in the windows of royal chapels was overwhelmingly religious in content. In the context of a church that ordered for all stained glass containing 'monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition' to be destroyed, 'so that there remain no memory' of the same, the windows of Elizabeth's and James's court chapels constituted a particularly conspicuous survival of an enormous amount of pre-Reformation glass.[116] Many of the 'hotter' Protestant reformers among the Elizabethan episcopate launched campaigns against the presence of imagistic glass in churches, and ordered for the removal of offensive subjects and images (especially the Trinity) from the windows of cathedrals, collegiate chapels, and parish churches.[117] This campaign did not reach royal chapels however, and the chapels of Whitehall and Hampton Court continued to host a large depiction of the Crucifixion in their east windows until Parliamentarian soldiers destroyed them in 1644 and 1645, respectively [Figs XX and XXI].[118]

At Whitehall, the upper panes of the east window depicted the Crucifixion and the lower panes depicted the Resurrection, offering a narrativized sequence which likely related to the windows on the north and south sides. At Hampton Court, a full narrative sequence of Christ's

[116] *Documents of the English Reformation,* ed. Bray, 305.
[117] Alex M. Koller, '"Rattling down proud Becket's glassy bones"?: The Survival of the Picture Window in Early Modern England' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1997), 48.
[118] Nuremberg School, 'Design for an English Perpendicular Window (Vidimus)', Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh (unknown date).
Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, (Boydell, 2003), 96-7;
Discussed in: Hilary Wayment, 'Twenty-Four Vidimuses for Cardinal Wolsey', Master Drawings, Vol. 23/24, No. 4 (1985/86): 506.; Hilary Wayment, 'Wolsey and stained glass', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, state and art*, ed. S.J. Gunn & P.G. Lindley (CUP, 1991), 118.

life was provided on the lower chapel windows (Christ's earthly life on the north side, his crucifixion in the east, and his resurrection and ascension on the south side, ending with the coronation of the Virgin).[119] The upper windows on the north side depicted the twelve apostles, while the south side contained the four evangelists in the lights nearest the sanctuary, followed by four chief 'doctors' of the Church (SS Ambrose, Gregory, Jerome, and Augustine), and four prophets (Jeremiah, David, Isaiah, and Zachariah) [Figs. XXII and XXIII].[120] Although the schemes largely remained in place until their destruction in 1649, notable alteration and sanitisation was conducted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1536, the supporting figures of St Anne (previously St Katherine, as represented in the vidimus) and St Thomas Beckett were removed from either side of the kneeling monarchs in the east window at Hampton Court.[121] Other offensive figures and items, including cardinals, God the Father, and triregnums (on both pope and God the Father) would also have likely been removed, although no record of this is found in the surviving Works accounts. The survival of the other images highlights what was regarded as acceptable in Edward and Elizabeth's reformation of courtly ecclesiastical space.

Some alterations appear to have been made by the application of whitewash. One of the more remarkable changes probably introduced by Elizabeth was the blotting out of an image of the Virgin in Whitehall chapel, almost certainly performed by the Queen's Works and likely

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[119] Images of Christ's life were seen in other Protestant princely chapels. For example, the first Protestant electoral chapel at Hartenfels, Torgau, was whitewashed but had pictures across the chapel depicting scenes from the life of Christ, with a triptych of the Washing of Feet, Last Supper, and Agony in the Garden acting as an altarpiece.
Johannsen, 'The Protestant Palace Chapel', 142-143.

[120] Although Wayment suggests that the scheme follows a different scheme to the suggestion recorded by Willement, the compiler of the book (which had the lower scenes larger and filling the bays) on the point of fenestration, other arrangements seem more convincing. Rather more likely, considering the ornamentation of the panel depicting SS John the evangelist, James the Less, Andrew, and Peter, is that the western-most bays were left empty, with either clear glass, brick, or now lost scenes. Such an arrangement would more appropriately group the evangelists, apostles, and prophets on the south side, and account for the otherwise unexplained missing panels. As the fenestration of Hampton Court chapel is not known beyond the east window, conclusions remain tentative.

[121] Wayment, 'Twenty-Four Vidimuses for Cardinal Wolsey', 508.

under royal command (though the order does not survive, and is unlikely to have remained under Mary). The image was probably on the north or south side of the chapel, since the kneeling Virgin shown at Christ's Crucifixion and Ascension is part of a thoroughly historicised and narrativized scene, unlikely to have been as objective to contemporaries, and more difficult to readily whitewash. Although no payment for this survives, and it cannot therefore be accurately dated, Elizabeth's often overlooked decision to obscure a religious image in her royal chapel is confirmed by an order made in 1603-4, when five shillings were paid to Leonard Fryer, Sergeant Painter, 'for the washing and cleansing of the picture of o[u]r ladie'.[122] Although this order has been interpreted as a payment for the cleaning of a dirty window, the cost expended and the skill employed indicate a more complex job, most likely the removal of formerly applied whitewash.[123] As Margaret Aston has explained in the context of parish churches, 'cleansing' often referred to this process, rather than the removal of grime or soot.[124] Elizabeth's probable removal of the image of the Virgin might have reflected growing pressures to further reform the appearance of royal chapels, heightened as the threat of Catholic invasion became increasingly realistic. By James's accession, however, the Virgin was worth restoring and may have been linked to James's alteration of an existing unidentified figure in the Whitehall windows when Fryer made 'it Joseph', and added 'a sup[er]scripc[i]on'.[125] Although it is possible that James attempted to implement an overture to the Holy Family (a clear assertion of his dynastic and paternal strength), an absence of further detail precludes a clear picture of the iconographic scene.

James emphasised the symbolic and confessional potential of his Chapel windows during liturgies of state. As related by a 1627 account of the 1623 ratification of marriage

[122] TNA E 351/3239.
[123] Thurley, *Palaces of Revolution*, 203.
[124] Aston, *Broken Idols,* 630.
[125] TNA E 351/3239.

articles between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria Ana, after the service was finished, James guided the Spanish envoys around Whitehall chapel, stopped by the Crucifixion scene in the east window, and an image of the Virgin and Child (possibly in the north or south sanctuary window), and declared them 'witnesses that I will fulfil what I have done and promised', in an elaborate emulation of the customary 'witnessing' of ratifications provided by attendant noblemen and courtiers.[126] James was clearly willing to engage with and utilise his chapel glass through a policy of investment and restoration which cannot be identified during Elizabeth's reign. Rather, we find a queen who seems more willing to step back from her defence of church images made so vehemently at the beginning of her reign, and whose only identifiable engagement with the images in the windows of her court chapels was to obscure them, rather than maintain or protect them.

Royal chapels were also decorated with rich, brightly coloured, and finely applied figurative paintings on the walls and ceilings. Disappointingly little is known about the nature of these scenes, since no detailed descriptions or depictions survive, but brief records of their presence help to shade a picture of their appearance. Perhaps the best-known sequence of statuary was preserved at Richmond where, in emulation of a scheme seen in the Great Hall there, several statues of British saint-kings (including Cadwaller, St Edmund of East Anglia, and Edward the Confessor) had been installed in niches between the lower and clerestory windows.[127] These figures had counterparts at Greenwich, where at least ten 'greate figures' with gilt and shadowed clothing decorated the north and south sides of the chapel.[128] These figures all appear to have survived the Reformation, and at least one of the Greenwich figures was an unidentified prophet, recorded in the Caroline works accounts for 1635-6, which describe it 'as bigg as the life', newly gilt and shadowed, and placed at the 'upper end of the

[126] Michael Caspar Lundorp, *Laurea Austriaca* (Frankfurt, 1627), 773.
[127] Colvin, *History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, 226.
[128] TNA E 351/3257.

Chappell'.[129] A comparable arrangement is also recorded at Whitehall, where at least two figures adorned the walls or closet screen, which underwent complete renovation in 1621-22, being painted 'all over', while a further payment was made for the 'newe heightening' of 'all the figures w[i]th fyne gold and shadowe w[i]th colours'.[130] A brief comment by Henry Peacham suggests that these figures may have been initially designed and painted by Hans Holbein the younger, who is noted as having 'painted the Chappell at white-Hall, and S.*James*'.[131] Given the identity of the figures found in the Hampton Court vidimuses, it is likely that many of these figures were either saint-kings (as at Richmond), or a combination of prophets and apostles. The retention of this statuary, and near-silence of contemporary comment, is surprising. Statues in churches were among the most controversial objects for sixteenth and seventeenth century iconoclasts, and the Elizabethan and Jacobean Works records do not record as little as their alteration, as can be witnessed with the windows of some royal chapels.[132] Given their subjects, either royal personages and patrons, or biblically authorised apostles and prophets, it is possible that these items, coupled with their distinctly protective and legitimising royal environment, were somehow regarded as broadly acceptable, and escaped serious criticism or destruction until the collapse of royal authority in 1642.

d. Chapel plate.

Plate in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal was not limited to the cross and candlesticks. A considerable amount of pre-Reformation plate, which was not sufficiently offensive or obsolete to be melted down or sold, survived in the Jewel House throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The items recorded in successive Elizabethan

[129] Colvin, *History of the King's Works* Vol. IV, 116.
[130] TNA E 351/3255.
[131] The note continues: '*Joseph* of *Arimathea*, *Lazarus* rising from the dead, &c. were his.' However, Peacham was possibly referring to Holbein's canvas works here, rather than the walls of Whitehall or St James' chapel.
Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman* (London, 1622), 109.
[132] Aston, *Broken Idols*, 812.

and Jacobean accounts are frequently surprising and indicate a high degree of potential material decoration and elaboration. Six mother of pearl incense boats survived until 1600, when they were sold or melted down. Although these items were described as 'Ship[s] for Francomsence' in 1600, the destruction of all thuribles and censers forty years earlier precluded any continuation of their pre-Reformation purpose.[133] 'Ships' offered a particularly striking visual complement to the array of plate placed on the communion table for significant state events. One took the form of a 'woman holding a childe sucking at her brest', another had a cover shaped like a horned head with garnets for eyes, and another an 'antique boy' bearing a shield with 'the quenis' arms beside a man holding a head with a gilt fork.[134] Those that survived were not adorned with explicitly religious images or themes, though even this was not enough to prevent their destruction for crown profit. They were nonetheless splendid, and at least at the start of Elizabeth's reign appeared at extraordinary occasions, like the Fortunatus christening in 1565. Though the items were long gone before Lancelot Andrewes defended the use of incense and candlesticks on the communion table by reference to the liturgical habits of the early Christians, it is possible that Elizabeth adopted a similar excuse for 'outdated' plate on her communion table.[135] By 1600, this position was unsustainable, and James did not restore incense boats in his Chapel.[136] More controversial or 'conservative' pre-Reformation plate did not, therefore, adorn the post-Reformation Chapel as frequently as is sometimes assumed.

It is difficult to accurately track the reformation of Eucharistic plate in the Chapel Royal. Chalices remained in the Jewel House until perhaps as late as 1583, including one 'guilt

[133] TNA E 407/4/5 Roll 1.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Lancelot Andrewes, *Two answers to Cardinal Perron, and other miscellaneous works of Lancelot Andrewes*, ed. James Bliss (Oxford, 1854), 33-34; cited in Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, 110.
[136] Incense boats and a thurible were present however, in Andrewes's episcopal chapel at Winchester House.
See: BL Harley MS 3795 ff.18r-19r.

with a paten having a scripture about it *Anti Juditiom para institiam* [loosely translated as 'Be ready before the Judgement'] the foote six squared and ther upon our Lady and fyve Images'.[137] Although chalices were not removed from private chapels with the same vigour as they were from parish churches, cathedrals, and collegiate chapels from about 1560, it is likely that a communion cup was adopted in the Chapel Royal by at least 1583, when the above item was 'made into newe plate for her highness service'.[138] This did not stop patens from being used however, with the same paten from the aforementioned chalice, also gilt and with the same scriptural engraving, appearing in the Jewel House in November 1618.[139] Even regarding the use of outdated pre-Reformation chalices, the Elizabethan authorities were clearly sensitive to the opportunities for recycling quality Chapel plate.

The post-Reformation Chapel Royal regularly displayed the pre-Reformation plate that was not outright antithetical to the reformed liturgy. Elizabeth and James showed little concern about the identity of the original commissioner of their Chapel plate: far more significant was its potential use. One of the incense ships sold or melted in 1600 bore the arms of cardinal Wolsey, for example, and a pair of Marian basins, 'double Guilt, Chased, having the Arms of Queene Mary, and M.R. engraven and enamelled on the Bosse in the Bottomes of them' remained regularly used on the communion table well into James's reign.[140] Although they had been stolen by 14th February 1623, and a royal proclamation ordered for their return, their theft seems to have been motivated by profit, with the lapse in security of the vestry outside service

[137] 'Juditiom' is likely a scribal error or corruption, for 'Judicium'.
Jeffries Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I*, 311.
[138] Calvin Lane, 'Before Hooker: The Material Context of Elizabethan Prayer Book Worship', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, Vol. 74, No. 3, (2005): 344.; Jeffries Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I*, 311.
[139] Ibid.
[140] TNA E 407/4/5 Roll 1.

time contributing to the loss of royal plate 'every yeere, on festival dayes, and others'.[141] Basins were used to receive the monarch's (and consort's, if present) offering. While no Englishmen complained, the Scottish reformer Andrew Melville was horrified, and described what he saw at a service at Windsor in 1606 in scurrilous verse, which was translated by James Melville (Andrew's nephew) into English and published in 1632:

> 'On Kingly Chappels altar stand, / blinde candlestickes, clos'd bookes, / Dry silver basins, two of each. / Wherefore? saith he who looks, / The minde and worship of the Lord / Doth England so keep close / Blinde in her sight, and buried in / her filthinesse and drosse. / And while with Romane rites she doth / Her kingly altar dresse, / Religiously the purpled whoore, / to trim she doth professe.'[142]

Melville was imprisoned in the Tower after his verse was discovered, indicating James's decisive attitude towards criticism of the arrangement of royal worship.[143] In the eyes of Elizabeth and James, recycled Chapel plate, much of which was embossed with the arms of previous monarchs and comprised a wide array of cruets, basins, ewers, patens, and pyxes (mostly gold or silver gilt, and some crystal) provided a cost-effective means of legitimising post-Reformation worship. It also provided James, as a foreign Stuart king, with a visible illustration of his legitimacy as English monarch, and emphasised his retention of English ceremonial and royal liturgical traditions.

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[141] *Whereas there is and hath been yeerely, and euery yeere, on festiual dayes, and others, great store of the siluer and guilt plate belonging to the Kings Maiestie, the Prince, and nobles of this realme lost*, Proclamations. 1624-02-14, England and Wales, Privy Council (London: 1624).

[142] 'Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in ara / lumina caeca duo, pollubra sicca duo. / Num sensum cultumq[ue] Dei tenet Anglia clausum / Lumine caeca suo, sorde sepulta sua / Romano ac ritu dum regulem instruit aram / Purpurem pingit relligiosa lupam.'
James Melville, *The black bastel, or, A lamentation in name of the kirk of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1634), 13.

[143] Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England,* 66.

e. Vestments and clothing.

Clothing provided a crucial, but often overlooked, component of the visual arrangement of services in the Chapel Royal. As visible clerical and lay participants in the performance of royal worship, the appearance of Chapel Gentlemen joined wider anxieties in the Church of England regarding vestarian orthodoxy and observance. Copes were particularly problematic. As bishop Edwin Sandys of Worcester warned Peter Martyr Vermigli in March 1560, following the public controversy over church images (including the Chapel cross), these 'popish vestments' were a notorious stumbling block which 'we all hope will not last very long'.[144] While Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal wore copes, they were not worn during every service, but only processions or royal funerals and coronations. Chapel Royal practice was similar to the programme recommended by Archbishop Matthew Parker's controversial 1566 *Advertisements*, which ordered that copes should only be worn at communion time, with 'the gospeller and epistoler agreeably'.[145] While the minister and deacon regularly wore copes for communion services, there is no record that the epistoler or gospeller wore copes beyond the occasions described above. Although these vestments would have been striking, they were not always on display and were reserved for key moments of solemnity or sacramental celebration.

The copes used by the Elizabethan and Jacobean Gentlemen were pre-Reformation survivals and needed regular maintenance. Silk laces, points, fringes, and ligatures were purchased regularly, usually a 'gross' (or 144 individual pieces) costing between 20s and £36 (made for a 'ligature' in 1620).[146] The retention of pre-Reformation copes meant the retention of pre-Reformation images. Although Alexandra Walsham has explored the process of

[144] *The Zurich Letters,* I, ed. Robinson, 74.
[145] Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900* (Clarendon Press, 1991), 16.
[146] TNA LC 9/75 f.16r; LC 9/86 f.5r; AO 1/2343/22; Bl Add 5750 f.39r; TNA LC 9/88 f.9v; LC 9/91 f.31r; LC 9/92 f.29v; AO 1/2345/32; LC 9/95 f.31v; AO 1/2346/38; AO 1/2347/42; AO 1/2348/49.

'unpicking' inappropriate embroidered images from church silks and vestments, close examination of both versions of Elizabeth's funeral roll shows that saints remained in the orphreys (side ribbons) of at least one cope, with a spectacular image of the crowned Virgin adorning the hood of another [Figs. XXIV and XXV].[147] It is surprising that no contemporary observer complained about this, given the publicity of the occasion and reduction of religious images in other aspects of royal worship around the same time. Chapel copes were, however, rather eclectic. The copes used at Elizabeth's funeral were drawn from a number of collections, including those of Westminster Abbey (one of which survives at Stonyhurst College in Lancashire), and varied in age. As both Elizabethan funeral rolls display, the copes used had both a gap between the hood and the back of the minister's neck (typical of a popular 15th century northern-European style, out-dated by the end of the 16th), and a smooth neckline (the more popular contemporary style).[148] Clearly, stylistic coherence was not necessarily the preserve of major state occasions by the end of Elizabeth's reign.

St George's day is the only occasion that complete sets of copes worn by Chapel Gentlemen are recorded. These could sometimes explicitly relate to the feast, as in 1561, when the processional copes worn by the Chapel were of 'crimson satin with a cross of St George red'.[149] Despite the appropriateness of these copes for the feast, they were not always used. A depiction of the St George's day procession in Michael van Meer's Album Amicorum, dating from c.1614-15, shows the Chapel Gentlemen in copes of cloth of gold, with embroidered abstract patterns on the back, hood, and orphreys [Fig. XVI].[150] Variant sets are also recorded

[147] Alexandra Walsham, 'Recycling the Sacred: Material Culture and Cultural Memory after the English Reformation', *Church History*, Vol. 86, No. 4, (2017): 1131.; BL Add MS 5408 f.10r.; BL Add MS 35324 f.31v.
[148] Leonard Spiller, *Some Notes on Copes*, (Warham Guild, 1939), 4-5.
[149] TNA SP 12/33/68.
[150] University of Edinburgh Archives La.III.283 f.57v.
Although this album has attracted some scholarly attention, the depiction of the Chapel Gentlemen has gone virtually unnoticed. For further discussion see: June Schleuter, *The Album Amicorum & the London of Shakespeare's Time* (The British Library, 2011).

under Henry VIII, with the 'Black Book of the Garter' (compiled from c.1534) showing the singing-men of the Chapel and St George's Windsor in crimson copes, with gold details and orphreys, apparently with no religious images present [Fig. XXVI].[151] Feast days did not necessarily require the presence of religious images on copes before or after the Reformation. Despite the array of copes depicted in the Elizabethan funeral rolls, the copes worn by the Gentlemen of Elizabeth's and James's Chapel, while drawn from pre-Reformation stores, were both reserved for occasional and festal use, and not always replete with potentially objectionable imagery.

Surplices were regularly seen in ordinary Chapel worship. Worn over red or black cassocks, which were lined, had horn buttons, and could cost £3 13s 4d as a 1575 order attests, surplices were controversial, whether worn by lay singing-men or ordained ministers.[152] Notwithstanding the slew of Protestant ministers who threatened to resign over the imposition of their use during divine service during the mid-1560s and 70s, surplices remained controversial in Scotland, where reactions were so hostile that Anthony Weldon was able to satirise their reintroduction to Scotland after 1617 by claiming that 'if [the] angels of the last day should come down in their white garments, they [Scots ministers] would run away, and cry "the children of the chapel are come again to torment us"'.[153] By the end of the sixteenth century, surplices were broadly accepted in England, suffered by 'hotter' Protestants within the Church, and embraced by those who favoured outward conformity and formalism in worship.

The vestments worn by the ministers of the Chapel Royal were, as one might expect, of particularly fine linen fabric. The Dean and Sub-Dean wore surplices 'gathered at the collar', while the Chapel Gentlemen and Children wore ordinary surplices, introducing a degree of

[151] SGA SGC G.1 p.195.
[152] TNA LC 9/67 f.7v; LC 9/52 f.6v.
[153] Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, Vol. I. (Edinburgh, 1858), 478.

visual distinction and separation important for visual hierarchies as indicating ceremonial position and action. The wearing of surplices had been required from the rubric of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer onwards, and the requirement was extended in 1604 to college students attending chapel and ordered for cathedral clergy to wear their hoods if graduates.[154] It is therefore unsurprising that surplices were so prominent in the Chapel Royal, though it is unclear whether the handful of graduate ordained Gentlemen in the Jacobean Chapel were expected to wear their hoods.[155] The price of surplices varied: the Sub-Dean's surplices, involving more material and possibly of greater quality than the ordinary Gentlemen, ranged from around £4 to £1 each. The surplices worn by ordinary Gentlemen (no distinction appears to have been made between those worn by ministers and singing-men) were consistently priced at 8s 4d each. Surplices were purchased for the Chapel Royal (around every five years, but occasional periods show yearly orders, like 1558-61, and 1620-22). They arrived in sets of two or four for the Sub-Dean, 64 for the Gentlemen, and 24 for the Children (two each) and were regularly washed from at least 1575 onwards.[156] Hats were also purchased in 1561, likely worn during processions.[157] The provision of suitable and clean surplices for the Chapel Gentlemen was not just a matter of visual dignity (though this was undoubtedly important), but it also ensured that visible confirmation of the vestarian requirements of the established Church was regularly asserted. This perhaps explains why Elizabeth and James ensured the consistent provision of appropriate dress for all members of their Chapel beyond their membership of the royal household.

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[154] *Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical 1604*, ed. Bullard, 14-15; Ibid., 23-24.
[155] For a discussion of academic dress and Chapel Gentlemen, see: David Baldwin, ''Having Dignities…': Academic Attire as a Component of the Livery of the Chapel Royal', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, Vol. 7 (2007): 126-28.
[156] TNA LC 9/52 f.6v; LC 9/53 f.10v; AO 1/2339/2; LC 9/54 f.7v; AO 1/2339/3; AO 1/2348/49; AO 1/2349/52; AO 1/2349/53; LC 9/67 f.7v.
[157] TNA AO 1/2339/3.

The dress of congregants was also an important aspect of Chapel services. The Chapel Royal was the place 'to see and be seene', as John Chamberlain characterised the intentions of Frederick I, duke of Württemberg in 1611.[158] The monarch, as the centre of ceremonial attention, was usually the most strikingly dressed, and the person who congregants most wanted to see. Neither Elizabeth nor James seem to have maintained the pre-Reformation pattern of 'crown-wearing' days (traditionally Epiphany, Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas) but instead observed the practice of certain occasions like St George's Day, and presumably other major feast days and state events. Both monarchs tended to wear black, white, and silver when attending chapel services. At the 1593 St George's service, Elizabeth wore 'silver cloth', with 'two obelisks crossed', embroidered onto her robe, which fastened with a 'beautiful oriental pearl […and was] further adorned with rare costly gems and jewels', worn with 'a very costly royal crown'.[159] Even while in mourning blacks for the Prince of Orange and Duc d'Alencon during the Christmas of 1584, Elizabeth still wore 'on either side of her crisp hair […] a great pearl about as large as a hazel-nut'.[160] Elizabeth apparently attended Lenten sermons 'dress'd in Mourning, as the gravest and most primitive Habit', but remained visually striking.[161] James also preferred black clothing when attending Chapel. At Princess Elizabeth and Elector Frederick's wedding, he appeared in a 'sumptuous blacke sute, with a Dyamond in his hatte of wonderffull great value'. Anna, meanwhile, wore 'white Satten, beautiful with much embrothery, and many Diamonds'.[162] On this occasion, James and Anna's dress matched the silvers and black worn by English noblemen, noblewomen, and councillors, simultaneously

[158] TNA SP 14/67 f.147v.
[159] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 378.
[160] Ibid., 323.
[161] William Camden, 'The History or Annals of England during the whole Life and Reign of Elizabeth late Queen thereof' in *A complete history of England: with the lives of all the kings and queens thereof; from the earliest account of time, to the death of His late Majesty King William III*, ed. John Hughes and White Kennet (London: 1706), 371; quoted in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 77.
[162] W. Barley, *The Mariage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, upon Shrovesunday last* (London, 1613), Sig.B1v.

displaying a cohesive courtly tableau and distinguishing English bodies from those of foreign visitors and civic guests. Royal dress could therefore enhance both the royal presence, and form part of a wider harmonic scheme during state occasions.

During regular Sunday or holyday services, the dress of individual courtiers was rather more idiosyncratic. Although the lords attending the 1593 St George's service wore 'long black gowns' over their courtly dress, courtly fashions were regularly witnessed among those seated on both sides of the stalls, and standing in the antechapel.[163] Members of the nobility do not appear to have been required to wear their mantles or red surcoats, as worn for the state opening of parliament.[164] Although few eyewitness accounts offer any comment on the appearance of the congregation (a telling indication of where contemporary attention and interest was placed: the sanctuary and the monarch), court preachers regularly chastised their congregation for the inappropriate superfluity of their dress and appearance. The most remarkable of these tirades was preached by Robert Wilkinson, at the marriage of Lord James Hay and Honora Dennys on the 6th of January 1606/7. With direct reference to the women seated in the stalls to Wilkinson's left, he described what 'a World of wonders it is to see a Woman created in Gods Image, so miscreate oft-times and deformed, with her French, her Spanish, and her Foolish Fashions' so that when God 'looks upon her, [he] shall hardly know her, with her Plumes, her Fans, and a Silken Vizard; with a Ruff like a Sail, yea Ruff like a Rainbow; with a Feather in her Cap, like a Flag in her Top, to tell (I think) which way the Wind will blow.'[165] Wilkinson was conscious of offending his sovereign, and defended the ornamentation of 'greater Personages', and may have drawn an association between the monarch and the figures decorating the chapel walls by his reminder that 'Silver, Silks, and Gold were created, not onely for the Necessity, but also for

[163] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 378.
[164] College of Arms W.Y. MS f.186r.
[165] Robert Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royal: A Sermon Preached at White-hall before the Kings Majesty at the Nuptials of an Honourable Lord and his Lady* (London: 1632), 15.

the Ornament of the Saints'.[166] Noble and gentle congregants do not appear to have been included in this exception. While the appearance of congregants during divine service was a matter of concern for some preachers, it was the parallel anxiety of suitable royal decoration that played on the minds of those participating in royal worship. It was in this way that congregants, as an extension of the royal court, and as much as the silver, fabric, and glass that surrounded them, became a negotiated part of the visible and material whole of Elizabethan and Jacobean court worship.

Chapel services were not just visual but also material, and Elizabeth's and James's approach to the decoration of their chapels (and the bodies that inhabited them) was a key aspect of their recalibration of royal worship. Both monarchs maintained a high level of visual majesty in their Chapel Royal, through the decoration and ornamentation of chapel interiors, which remained closely associated with the royal body itself. They were, however, subject to different pressures regarding material reform, and where Elizabeth bowed to elements of the reforming will of her churchmen and council, James appears to have closely associated the decoration of his royal chapels with his personal monarchical authority and invested considerably in enhancing the decoration of services. Compromise was a powerful tool in the reformation of royal worship, and it was by careful calibration of the appearance of all aspects of services that both monarchs patronised a form of Protestant worship that impressed courtier and visitor alike.

III. Sacraments and celebrations.

The Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal is well known among scholars of early modern court culture for the splendour and ceremonialism of its celebrations, yet these occasions have

[166] Ibid., 16.

attracted relatively little detailed attention. This section considers the Chapel Royal at its festal height and reflects on the conduct of post-Reformation ceremonial under Elizabeth and James. This included a variety of services. Communion services and their associated processions, holydays, para-liturgies (like the Maundy foot-washing, touching for the King's Evil, and St George's day) and state liturgies linked to individual members of the royal family (baptisms, churchings, weddings, coronations, and funerals), all saw the Chapel Royal assume a distinctive way of performing the Prayer Book liturgy, and the reform of pre-Reformation royal traditions. James's accession provided England with the first royal family for around sixty years and necessitated the revival and recalibration of liturgies associated with individual members of the royal family. Though both monarchs responded to the challenges of reforming royal sacramental and festal action in unique and distinctive ways, both were concerned with maintaining a controlled degree of visual and aural performance, as they articulated symbols of English Protestant royal piety and authority on a national and international stage.

a. Processions

Processions to Chapel took place on most Sundays and holydays. Initially comprising the monarch, royal family, and their ladies-in-waiting or gentlemen of the chamber, the procession moved out of the bedchamber, into the privy chamber, and presence chamber, where the procession was joined by noblemen, noblewomen, councillors of state, and any pre-selected visiting diplomats and envoys. The procession then moved through the great hall, and through the chapel gallery to the door of the chapel.[167] The procession enabled those precluded by rank or confession from attending the service itself to witness the monarch and their councillors and participate in a ceremony adjacent to royal worship. Though controlled by the monarch's health, age, and whim, the chapel procession transformed the English court into a cohesive

[167] Kisby, "When the King Goeth a Procession', 53.

ritual space, directing attention to the public piety and visual majesty of the monarch's body, surrounded by an ideally ordered and well-regulated assemblage of some of the most powerful magnates and ecclesiastics in the realm.

The Chapel procession was guarded on each side by the Yeomen of the Guard (who led and followed the procession), and a maximum of 50 Gentlemen Pensioners (who were positioned either side of the monarch and their royal and noble attendants). The Yeomen, described by Samuel Kiechel in 1585, were 'splendidly tall, strong, and large' wore 'red coats trimmed with black velvet', and bore gilt halberds.[168] Beyond their ordinary duties of courtly security and access, the Yeomen selected for this ceremonial role played an important role in clearing the processional route, personally protected the monarch, and contributed to the visual solemnity of the procession. The Gentlemen Pensioners, recorded by Lupold von Wedel in 1584 as the 'twenty-four noblemen', who 'discharged their office in turns', and bore 'small gilt pikes tipped with iron and adorned with long plumes', served a similar visual and practical function, elevating the appearance of the processional train at the point accompanying the monarch and prominent councillors, noblemen, churchmen, and ambassadors.[169] In 1595, one visiting German envoy was reminded of 'the halberdiers of His Imperial Majesty', indicating a degree of international emulation observed by Elizabeth and James, codified and established in English ceremonial precedent.[170]

The martial dimensions of chapel processions were not just symbolic, but practical too. Although the Pensioners had not been active as a military force since 1554, when they assembled to defend Mary from Wyatt's rebels (though they did not see any action), their ranks

[168] Von Bulow, 'Journey through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', 250.; Anita Hewerdine, *The Yeomen of the Guard and the Early Tudors* (I.B. Tauris, 2012), 48.
[169] Bulow, 'Journey through England and Scotland', 250.
[170] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 378.

were filled with the sons of noblemen, many of whom had experienced European warfare and regularly participated in tournaments.[171] Either side of the royal train, the Pensioners and Yeomen protected the monarch from would-be-assassins, a risk heightened after the assassination of James Moray, first earl of Moray in January 1569/70 during a public procession, by hand-gun. Some courtiers worried about the monarch's safety during the procession, like William Davison, who warned William Cecil on the 8th of October 1586 that Elizabeth should 'beware of one [a 'Dutchman from Paris'] that will present her a petition to chapel, or walking abroad'.[172] Fears were apparently confirmed on the 11th of February 1594, when an Irishman was arrested, having 'twice been near her Majesty as she went to Chapel', and confessed that he intended to kill both Elizabeth and Don Antonio Perez, former secretary to Philip II and exile in England.[173] Although fewer records survive of James facing similar threats, his continuation of this martial accompaniment to chapel services indicates their practical use, along with their symbolic and ceremonial benefits.

The main body of the procession was made up of those who would sit in the chapel stalls. Led by the barons present at court, the processional train walked two-by-two from the presence chamber (where the procession assembled), through the chapel gallery, and into the main body of the chapel, with the monarch likely slipping off through one of the 'vices' (spiral staircases leading to the royal closet). The barons were followed by the non-officiating bishops (in 1593, while the bishops of London and Llandaff processed, the bishop of Worcester officiated, and was not present in the procession).[174] In turn the bishops were followed by the earls present at court, then the privy councillors in their 'colors of estate'. Then (if St George's

[171] William Joseph Tighe, 'The Gentlemen Pensioners in Elizabethan Politics and Government' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1983), 115.
[172] BL Harley 290 f.180.
[173] As a high-profile defector, Perez would have been a particularly distinctive figure in the Chapel procession and presumably joined Elizabeth in the royal closet.
LPL Bacon MS 650/239 f.67.
[174] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 55.

Day) the knights of the Garter, the herald at arms, the Lord Keeper (or Lord High Chancellor) bearing the Great Seal, one of the 'greatest Earles p[re]sent without office' bore the sword of state 'in a red scabbard studded with golden fleurs-de-lis, the point upwards', and the Lord Chamberlain. Then came the monarch either alone or accompanied with a visiting dignitary (duke Virgino Orsini de Bracciano in 1601, and Christian IV of Denmark in 1606, for example), with a leading Nobleman (possibly the Master of the Horse) a little behind and to the right of the monarch, and the Lord Admiral to their left.[175] The monarch was followed by the gentlemen or women of their bedchamber. If the monarch was married, their spouse would follow the officers of their partner's bedchamber, while their own retinue followed, and the yeomen of the guard brought up the rear.[176] Royal children may not have taken part in chapel processions if particularly young, and their public confirmation signalled a spiritual transition into full adulthood and engagement with chapel ceremonial, from which point they processed with their own small retinue.[177]

The organisation of the procession to chapel in princely households, though recorded with far less detail and no known extant accounts of the ceremony, was conducted in a slightly different order, as indicated by a 1610 ordinance for Prince Henry's household at St James's. The officers and servants of the presence chamber led the procession, followed by the '[c]hiefe officers', the prince, and 'those of the Privy Chamber and Bedchamber'.[178] Observed each Sunday (except those when communion was taken in the Chapel Royal, or on holydays, when

[175] Ibid.; College of Arms W.Y. MS f.224r.
[176] Stephen Man's 1617 report of Spanish court ceremonial granted considerable attention to the order and arrangement of Philip IV's chapel procession, which although variant to England's in the placement of courtly officers, magnates, and clerics, shared the same martial arrangement, with the monarch, queen, and princes of the blood walking unaccompanied and between lines of the royal archers (an institution comparable to the Gentlemen Pensioners). Clearly, Chapel processions were an internationally recognised symbol of courtly hierarchy and order.
Stephen Man, *A Relation of Certaine things in Spaine, worthy of Observation* (London, 1617), Sig.4v.
[177] *CBCR,* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 176.
[178] BL Harley MS 642 f.262r.

the prince would attend his father's Chapel), the princely procession provided courtiers with the spectacle of the heir apparent assuming a ceremonial duty usually fulfilled by the king.

As a public display of courtly order and hierarchy, subversion of the expected behaviours of participants constituted a serious political challenge. Arabella Stuart, for example, was banished from court in 1601 after she claimed 'precedence of all the princesses who were in her Majesty's suite', and declared that the place of chief Gentlewoman was 'by God's will […] the very lowest place that could possibly be given [to] her'.[179] Elizabeth was outraged and alarmed by what might, in the context of the second Earl of Essex's failed coup, have been interpreted as Arabella's attempt to assume the title of heir presumptive, something very tenuously granted to James VI of Scotland. Lesser courtly officers also created discord in their public disagreements about precedence and access during the Chapel procession. On Christmas day 1598, for example, a dispute arose between Sir Melger Leven, a Dutchman knighted by Essex for his involvement in the 1587 Cadiz raid, and Charles Blount, a Gentleman Pensioner and cousin of Lord Mountjoy, concerning the right of the former to join the Chapel procession and attend the Christmas communion service from the chapel stalls. Blount, 'in a disgraceful manner', declared that 'it was not [his…] place' to attend, and afterwards threatened to expel him from the Presence Chamber.[180] Public dispute on a particularly prominent communion day undermined any image of order and tranquillity transmitted by the procession. Although the only surviving examples of disruption to the chapel procession come from the end of Elizabeth's reign, a time at which the queen's personal authority waned, the paucity of evidence does not mean that such events did not occur throughout the period, and the

[179] *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice,, Vol. IX. 1592-1603,* ed. Horatio F. Brown (London, 1897), 541.
[180] BL Lansdowne MS 98 f.135r.

procession was clearly a prominent stage suited for individual disruption as much as royal image-making.

In the presence chamber, certain ritual actions were expected of all those joining the procession. The room was frequently 'very crowded', as a group of Venetian envoys reported on an ordinary Sunday at Windsor in 1575.[181] Noblemen and visitors seeking to converse with Elizabeth and James were instructed to do so through the Lord Chamberlain, who would introduce the 'earls, barons, nobles, and other people of both sexes who desired to approach' the monarch.[182] Non-royal interlocutors were expected to kneel, or at least make a low obeisance, and on exceptional occasions (only recorded under Elizabeth) would be presented with the monarch's right hand 'stripped of its glove, gleaming with rings, and precious stones, to be kissed', as William Slavata, the Catholic Bohemian baron and later viceregent of Emperor Frederick II, received in 1598.[183] The ceremony was not a gendered one in a monarchical context, and was instead the 'only form of [royal] touch permitted to subjects'.[184] Physical reverence was not limited to the presence chamber; the assembled crowds in the chapel gallery and in the courtyard below 'fell upon their knees in homage' as the monarch walked by, as recorded in 1595.[185]

Yet not all courtiers were happy to observe these formal ceremonies. Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby and governor of Berwick, complained to the earl of Essex on the 21st of January 1599 that he 'shall seldom see the Queen go to Chapel, and for other saints, I

[181] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Vol. VII,* ed. Brown and Bentick, 524.
[182] John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Vol. II. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 70.
[183] Ibid.; Gabor Karanan, 'Transylvanian envoys at Buda: Provinces and tributaries in Ottoman international society', in *Practices of diplomacy in the early modern world, c. 1410-1800* (London: Routledge, 2017), 44.
[184] John Walter, 'Shaking Hands and the Politics of Touch in Early Modern England', *Past & Present,* First-look, 2024, 17.
[185] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 378.

am already too crooked to creep to them'.[186] Only 43 years old (though dead two years later), Bertie's complaint highlights some of the internal tensions between Protestant critics of excessive outward ceremonial in and out of service-time, and the ritual observances of the post-Reformation court. Although Jacobean Chapel processions are recorded in less detail, and no record of obeisances in the chapel gallery has yet been identified, it is likely that James continued this courtly ceremony, indicating the continued need to preserve a ritual formalism at this sensitive boundary between access and restricted symbolic appearance.

Chapel processions also saw the presentation of petitions to the monarch and their councillors. Although petitioners were, after 1594, directed to apply for a license from the Masters of Requests, who received the petition, informed the monarch of the petitioner's intentions, and sent it to the Court of Requests for further action, many petitioners used the publicity of the Chapel procession to make their case.[187] Elizabeth and James have been characterised as reacting differently to this direct mode of intercession. Where Elizabeth received petitions with 'gracious and gentle […] speech', and 'in a modest manner', James was apparently 'constantly beset by petitioners within his palaces, via back stairs and doorways'.[188] However James felt about petitioners, a posthumous account of a petitioner on Good Friday 1604 reveals how petitioners interacted with early Jacobean Chapel processions. Francis Walsingham, relative and page of Elizabeth's principal secretary of the same name and a deacon in the diocese of Ely, attended Greenwich to petition the monarch during the Chapel procession after a crisis of his Protestant faith. Walsingham records how he joined 'other Petitioners' gathered just before the chapel door (suggesting that this was a customary point to interrupt the progress of the procession, as the monarch heard their petitions). Here, he

[186] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Vol. 9, ed. R.A Roberts (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), 34.
[187] Danae Tankard and R.W. Hoyle, *Heard before the King: registers of petitions to James I, 1603-16* (List and Index Society, 2006), xvi.
[188] Ibid., xiv.

'delivered the Booke' containing his concerns 'not unto the hands of his Majesty immediately, for I could not get so neere unto him by reason of the presse of people', but instead to Sir Roger Wilbraham, Master of Requests, 'who taking it at my hands, and somewhat admiring therat, delivered the same unto the King immediately after his com[m]ing into the Chappell'.[189] James read the book, and 'spake aloud & with a great Oath (as was reported) smiting with his hand, said: *this is some papist*', and sent a gentleman of the privy chamber to secure Walsingham, holding him for interrogation by James and his councillors after the service.[190] Walsingham's detailed account reveals how Masters of the Requests played an important role in managing petitioners during the Chapel procession, though the monarch remained the focal point of attention. Rather than a system of unfettered access and unruly petition, the Chapel procession offered an opportunity for direct interaction and engagement, reliant other courtly intermediaries and individual proximity to the monarch.

b. Communion and offerings

The Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal is often regarded as a space that curated a particularly ceremonious and reverential culture of eucharistic reception.[191] It was this culture that most influenced the 'avant-garde conformist' bishops who later found prominent roles in the Church of England under William Laud's primacy as Archbishop of Canterbury, and who played a significant role in the material enforcement of a relocation of parochial and cathedral sacramental action to the east end. Despite this, communion services in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal have not been reconstructed. Rather than offering ceremonious services for those with 'avant-garde' tastes, courtly communion services in the Chapel Royal offered a semi-

[189] Francis Walsingham, *A Search made into matters of Religion, by Francis Walsingham Deacon of the Protestants Church, before his change to the Catholike* (Saint-Omer, 1615), 30-31.
[190] Ibid., 31.
[191] Lancelot Andrewes's exaltations of the Eucharist were heard in the court pulpit from the 1590s on. See: Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored,* 86.

regular opportunity for royal display, with reception of communion intimately linked to the presentation of the monarch's body, which necessitated appropriate honour, reverence, and solemnity. While similar modes of physical reverence could also be used for the memorial act of communion by those especially keen to glorify the sacrament of the Eucharist (such as Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Neile, and Matthew Wren), the physical presence of the monarch directly influenced the degree of ceremonial elaboration observed. While sermons were not heard every Sunday in Elizabeth or James's Chapel, as ordered by the Book of Common Prayer, and were preached at inconsistent points in the service, a sermon was apparently heard at least almost every time the monarch received communion.[192] This ensured suitable godly preparation before the memorial of Christ's death was administered, and allowing for a Reformed communion service to take place, albeit one within the elaborate confines of the household chapel of an anointed monarch.

The communion days of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal are hard to identify. Despite contemporary interest, communion days are not consistently recorded by either courtly commentators or internal household accounts. The main communion days were those of the established post-Reformation Church: Easter, Whitsun, Christmas, and Epiphany. Although this marked a sharp reduction from the pre-Reformation schedule of Easter, Corpus Christi, the Assumption, All Hallow's Day, Christmas, the Mass of the Holy Ghost, Palm Sunday, Ash Wednesday, and Maundy Thursday, communion was also administered on a rather unpredictable pattern of additional days.[193] For example, in 1610, communion was celebrated on Maundy Thursday, and it is possible that monthly communion was also offered, as in Prince Henry's chapel.[194] Household staff were expected to follow a similar pattern of communion,

[192] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 71-72.
[193] BL add MS 71009 f.22v-25v; Kisby, ''When the King Goeth a Procession'', 68.
[194] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 11, 1607-1610,* ed. Horatio F. Brown (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904), no. 858; HRO 44MGA/F6 (Jervoise MSS), f.6r.

though their service took place earlier, and likely without as much ceremonial elaboration. According to an order of 1728, following 'Ancient & Laudable Institution', the Gentlemen of the Chapel were commanded to take communion on the feast of St John the Evangelist (27th December), Easter Tuesday, and Whitsun Tuesday, three days after the major occasions of courtly communion.[195] These 'quieter' occasions were likely intended to ensure full choral accompaniment during courtly communion services.

The Chapel communion table was positioned altar-wise at all courtly services. It does not seem as though any royal chapel retained a stone altar for long after Elizabeth's accession, which prompted the demolition of the high altar of St George's, Windsor, on 23rd December, 1559.[196] If altars remained in royal chapels, a courtly semantic shift was enforced, as revealed by Wardrobe accounts recording 'alterclothes' in 1558, and 'tableclothes' in 1560 and thereafter.[197] The 'altarwise' communion table kept the sacramental action at the traditional east end and within the sanctuary. This granted a level of reverential honour to the Eucharist and recalled memories of the mass that made some Protestants uncomfortable. This was exacerbated by the presence of a communion rail, as recorded in 1565 at the christening of Edward Fortunatus, where a rail, 'covered with cloth of gold' and kept by two Gentlemen ushers, was set up at the 'upper end' of Whitehall chapel.[198] It is unclear however, whether the railings were permanent. Surviving accounts of communion services in royal chapels do not mention the presence of a rail, though no payment survives for the removal of the rail recorded in 1565. Due to the constraints of evidence, scholars have suggested that communion rails were

[195] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 203.
[196] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 76.
[197] TNA LC 9/53 f.10v; LC 9/54 f.7v; AO 1/2339/2.
[198] Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, vol. II, 692.
It is unclear whether the rail mentioned in this account is a communion rail. Significantly, under Elizabeth's reign many cathedrals had removed their communion rails to facilitate moving the communion table into the body of the chapel, as at Wells.
Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 61.

introduced during the incumbency of Lancelot Andrewes as Chapel Dean, either in around 1622 (jointly with the order reinforcing congregational attendance), or by the end of James's reign, when rails are recorded at Whitehall chapel during the period of mourning observed after James's death, and during Charles's initial habitation of the palace as king.[199] Firm conclusions are hampered by the absence of clear evidence from royal works accounts, though it is possible that communion railings in Whitehall at least, had remained since 1565. A communion rail also appears to have been retained at Greenwich, since Lupold von Wedel recorded in 1584 that the queen's traverse, located next to the altar, was 'divided off from the rest'.[200] It is possible that rather than a result of Andrewes's influence, communion rails were a feature of royal chapels throughout Elizabeth and James's reigns, perhaps retained due to Elizabeth's reluctance to introduce expensive modifications to her royal chapels. Furthermore, in the reformation of royal Eucharistic reception, the monarch's occupation of the sanctuary may have permitted controversial items like altar rails since at least one royal presence remained and required physical protection and separation from the rest of the church space.

Another communion table in the Chapel Royal was kept in the sovereign's Closet. This was used for private services of royal communion, about which very little is known. It is possible that these services were celebrated by the royal confessor after 1607, in emulation of the practice observed in Prince Henry's household at St James, though it is equally possible that the duty was undertaken by a royal chaplain, Clerk of the Closet, the Dean or Sub-Dean of the chapel, or one of the ordained Gentlemen. Under Elizabeth, several marriages of barons, privy councillors, and gentlewomen of the bedchamber took place in the closet, such as William Brook Lord Cobham and Frances Newton, gentlewoman of the bedchamber in February 1559/60, William Parr earl of Northampton and Helena Snakenborg, chief lady-in-waiting in

[199] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 151; Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', 31-32; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 177.
[200] Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, 335.

1571, Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick and Anne Russell, another lady-in-waiting in 1573, and Henry Herbert earl of Pembroke and Mary Sidney in 1580.[201] Some children were also baptised here, like Maximilian Brooke, son of Lord Cobham.[202] This practice ceased after James's accession to the English throne, and couples who sought to marry in the court chapel were required to pay a £15 fee (£10 to the Dean, and £5 shared between the Gentlemen).[203] The use of the closet as a peripheral liturgical space is also confirmed by its description as the 'larario' by one particularly Ciceronian clerk of the Wardrobe accounts.[204] Rather than opting for the English substitution of 'clausett' (found in other Wardrobe accounts), 'larario' referred to the private religious space in ancient Roman homes, where the household gods would be honoured and worshipped, indicating a clear intimate liturgical function.[205] James's reservation of this space for royal communion, and the relegation of his courtiers to the body of the chapel, highlights the comparative solemnity and limitation of courtly access he applied to his Chapel, against the habits of his predecessor.

The importance of the royal presence on the fabric and ceremonial of the Chapel is revealed by the fact that Wardrobe orders of fine altar frontals and cloths were intended for the communion table in the closet, rather than 'in the bodie of the chapel', or 'the lower part of the same chapel', meaning the table in the sanctuary.[206] Rich frontals, of satin, silk, Venice gold, and in crimson, purple, gold, silver, and green, were almost exclusively purchased for this

[201] BL Add MS 6113 f.200v; *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley 171.
The Chapel clerk may have made a transcription error here, as Pembroke and Sidney were reportedly married in 1577. See: Penry Williams, 'Herbert, Henry, second earl of Pembroke', *ODNB*, (2021), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13028.
[202] BL Add MS 6113 f.201r.
[203] Ibid., 172.
[204] TNA LC 9/82 f.5r; LC 9/86 f.5v; AO 1/2343/25; AO 1/2344/30; AO 1/2344/31; AO 1/2344/32; AO 1/2348/49.
[205] Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, 'lararium' in *A Latin Dictionary* (Clarendon Press, 1969), 1036.
[206] A representative spread can be found in: TNA AO 1/2343/22; AO 1/2345/32; LC 9/67 f.8r; LC 9/75 f.15v; BL Add 5750 f.39r.

communion table, costing between £10 and £25.[207] These decorations did not remain on the communion table in the closet permanently, however. When the monarch descended from their closet to receive communion in full view of the assembled congregants, the fabrics decorating the closet communion table were transferred to the Chapel and adorned the table at the east end.

On ordinary Sundays and the daily celebration of morning and evening prayer, the communion table at the east end was not bare, but far from its full festal dress. It was instead covered with either a plain holland cloth beneath, adorned with diaper cloth (a damask fabric with repeated geometric patterns), or the reverse and apparently more common arrangement, when one or two pieces of holland cloth would sit on top of the diaper cloth. These comparatively inexpensive fabrics (costing between 4s and £2 2d each for the cloth and its tailoring) would have presumably covered the table entirely (orders are regularly made for diaper cloth was about 4.5 metres in length, accompanying slightly smaller pieces of holland cloth), if spread flat across the table.[208] From at least 1581 (and probably before), a 4.5 metre by 1.8 metre Turkish carpet was placed before the communion table, which cost between £11 10s (in 1620) and £30 (in 1581).[209] Despite this additional ornament (which may have been deployed at both feast and ferial services) the distinction between the closet and the chapel is a significant one, and further reveals how the exceptionality and adornment of royal worship depended on the royal presence. When the monarch did not descend into the body of their royal chapels, decorative schemes remained comparatively reserved, while the interior of the royal closet was richly decorated. When the monarch entered the Chapel, its walls, furnishings, and

[207] See: TNA LC 9/60 f.23r; LC 9/91 f.31r; AO 1/2345/35.
[208] See: TNA LC 9/62 f.5r; AO 1/2340/6; LC 9/75 f.15r; LC 9/86 f.5r; AO 1/2347/42.
[209] TNA LC 9/73 f.45r; AO 1/2346/38; AO 1/2347/42; AO 1/2348/49.

floors were adorned with appropriate material honour and opulence, something felt in full force (and with some regularity) on full communion days for the monarch and their courtiers.

Royal communion was a solemn occasion. The monarch attended the first half of the service from their closet, where they would hear the introductory prayers and possibly the sermon. After the gospel and epistle were intoned, an anthem would be sung or an offertory played (offering a musical-theatrical accompaniment to cover this physical transition) and the monarch descended from their closet using the stairs (or 'vices') leading into the body of the chapel, processed to the sanctuary with the sword of state borne before them by the appointed nobleman, and took their place in a relatively large fabric structure called a 'traverse'.[210] As indicated by Lupold von Wedel's account of visiting Hampton Court on 27th December 1584, the traverse was apparently retained in the Chapel throughout the Christmas octave, and the communion table remained richly dressed.[211] Traverses were typically constructed of crimson or gold taffeta, and were heavily embroidered with gold, silver, and decorated with pieces of silk, measuring around 9.1 metres by 4.5 metres, and cost between £40 and £46 10s 7d.[212] A chair and cushions ensured the monarch's comfort, as they sat and knelt in full view of their congregants, looking out into the chapel. Ceremonies associated with the pre-Reformation traverse, recorded in an ordinance for ducal household chapels and likely based on Chapel Royal precedent, which involved the sprinkling of holy water on the traverse before communion, and the monarch (or duke) kissing the pax, were entirely absent from communion services in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal.[213] The monarch's visibility on this occasion may have also helped allay any concerns that such practices had been surreptitiously continued.

[210] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 55.
[211] Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*, transl. Nash, 335.
[212] TNA AO 1/2345/32; BL Add 5750 f.43r; TNA AO 1/2345/35; AO 1/2348/49.
[213] BL Harley MS 6815 f.23v.

After the monarch's offering was made and the offertory sung, communion was administered to the officiating minister, deacon, gospeller, and epistler, before the monarch, who moved out of their traverse, knelt on a cushioned stool next to the communion table, and received bread 'of some thicker substance' (an unleavened wafer), which in 1592 Elizabeth 'in most reverend man[ner] toke of the L[ord] Bushop in her naked right hand', with 'soche an holy aspect as it did mightelye adde comforts to the godly beholders'. After this, 'her ma[jes]tie received the Cuppe', 'having a most pr[i]nc[e]lye lynned clothe layd on her Cushion pillow', which was borne by the earls of Hertford, Essex, Worcester, and Oxford.[214] Saving the reception of Eucharistic wine, this ceremonial observance closely resembled Henrician protocol.[215]

James communicated in a similar manner, though at the 1607 confirmation service held for Prince Henry, after Dean Montagu 'ministred the Communion unto him selfe and his Assistantes, in the one sorte of bread and cup', James received from 'bread and cupp prepared for him selfe alone', and Henry likewise 'in bread and cupp prepared only for his grace'.[216] Separate sacramentals may have ensured hygiene, but they also enabled the greater display of royal plate and heightened the exceptional status of both king and prince. While the monarch received the host in their hand (not their mouth, as might be expected of an individual more sympathetic with the Real Presence), they presented Chapel congregants with a largely unobstructed view of the monarch in communion with the Church that they governed. This was not only a moment of pietistic projection or a sign of liturgical conformity (though important), but also confirmation, transmitted through traditional ceremonial expression and one of the remaining sacraments, of the monarch's exceptional status as layperson and ecclesiastical governor. The solemnity of this occasion might be later associated with the sacramentalism of

[214] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 55.
[215] BL Add MS 71009 f.22r.
[216] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 176.

the 1630s, but in the context of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal, the monarch's presence legitimised the performance of such visible outward reverence.

The monarch and royal family were not the only communicants at the Chapel Royal, though tracing wider patterns of communion is a surprisingly difficult task. Although conclusions are necessarily tentative, James appears to have expanded access to communion in the Chapel Royal compared with Elizabeth, though it is unclear whether the monarch received communion at the same service. On Christmas Day 1565, beyond Elizabeth and Princess Cecilia of Sweden (who came out of a traverse on the other side of the communion table, '& kneeled at the place where the Queen kneeled'), the only recorded non-royal communicants beyond the officiating ministers (Edmund Guest, bishop of Rochester and Lord High Almoner, likely assisted by George Carew, Chapel Dean) were Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chamberlain William Howard of Effingham, and 'the mother of the maydes'. After these chief ecclesiastical and household servants communicated, the anonymous witness records that 'the service proced to the ende'.[217] Although the account is frustratingly laconic, it is possible that no further communicants were permitted, and so the service concluded. It is possible that, given heated tensions regarding the chapel cross, restrictions were imposed on noble access to the chapel sanctuary, even during service time.

Although no similar reports are made in James's reign (indeed, any case of the monarch communicating does not mention any additional communicants), a curious note in the diary of Sir Richard Paulet MP, deserves more attention. Attending court for the Palm Sunday service of 1610, Paulet records that '[a]fter this was a comunion, to which I went & comunycated'.[218] Given that James does not appear to have taken communion, it is possible that a wider

[217] College of Arms W.Y. MS f. 193r.
[218] HRO 44MGA/F6 (Jervoise MSS), f.6r; quoted in Peter McCullough, 'The Sermon at the Court of Elizabeth I' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1992), 48.

communion service was observed, akin to that held for the royal household, or that Paulet took advantage of the greater attendance of people, and slipped past the Yeomen of the Vestry or Guard at the chancel screen to receive communion with the lords, ladies, and councillors sat in the Chapel stalls. By Charles's reign, it was ordered on the 9th of January 1630 that no 'woemen [were] to be in the Chappell in seates or otherwise at Com[m]union tymes but such as receave the sacrament'.[219] Wider noble communion was clearly expected by this point, and a degree of public conformity apparently enforced. Certainly, Lancelot Andrewes's calls for mental preparation ahead of communion in his Christmas and Easter sermons, preached regularly from around 1614, would indicate a broader group of communicants than just the royal family and a handful of chief household officers and councillors.[220]

Rather than signalling a pattern of heightened sacramentalism, the provisions for public communion in Elizabeth's and James's Chapel Royal reveal a strictly hierarchical pattern of application, likely restricted to those seated in the Chapel stalls, and possibly even more limited under Elizabeth. Such a public application of this 'test' of conformity would have made such occasions particularly significant for interrogating the religious loyalties of individual subjects during key points of political and religious tension throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century. By restricting this access to courtly communion (but importantly, not communion itself, as apparently witnessed with Paulet, who communicated in a service more appropriate to his station), a degree of exceptionality regarding rank in the royal presence of the monarch (not Christ) is observed, with provisions nonetheless made for the 'common sort' who might come to make their devotions and witness their king and queen.

Communion services offered a public opportunity to showcase individual and corporate religious conformity. Although Catholic members of the English nobility were not required to

[219] RA LC/CHAPEL R f.41r.
[220] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, 118.

attend Chapel services (in 1585, when the Chapel procession was hindered by the Chapel door being shut, Elizabeth quipped that it would give those who sought to avoid Chapel services a good excuse), attendance was a clear means of signalling political (and possibly also religious) conformity for crypto-Catholics.[221] Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, marked his public conversion by receiving 'the Sacrament in the King's Chapel at Whitehall' on Christmas Day 1616.[222] Similarly, Katherine Manners paid £2000 to the crown upon her conversion to the Church of England, when, with her daughters, she publicly communicated at Whitehall chapel in 1622, to facilitate her marriage to James's favourite, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham.[223] Noble reception of communion could, on occasion, become a charged and distinctly political event.

Chapel attendance and conformity was required of all servants of the royal household. Communion was announced at St James's (and probably all royal palaces) by the ringing of a handbell, echoing the order made in the 1547 Injunctions for a bell to announce sermons in parish churches.[224] Household communicants were instructed to engage in spiritual preparation, with fourteen days' notice given of communion days to the confessor (or appointed officiating minister) and those who intended to communicate. Those who failed to communicate at least twice a year were ordered 'in convenient time [to] conforme', facing dismissal for further refusal.[225] Although these ordinances were imposed in 1610 at Henry's household at St James's, it is likely that they were based on similar requirements of James's household staff. Records were kept of household communion (and it is likely courtly communicants were also registered), as revealed by the case of two Gentlemen of the Chapel

[221] Nathaniel Bacon, *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey*, II ed. A. Hasell Smith and Gilliam M. Baker (Norfolk Record Society, 1983), 303; quoted in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 26.
[222] John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First,* Vol. III (London, 1828), 232.
[223] TNA SP 14/131 f.69r.
[224] *Documents of the English Reformation*, ed. Bray, 223.; TNA LC 2/5 f.45r; LC 2/6 f.56r.
[225] BL Harley MS 642 f.262r-v.

who were picked up for non-communication by the dean and chapter of Wells cathedral. Thomas Goold (Gentleman 1591-98) and John Hewlett (Gentleman 1591-1628) were also vicars choral at Wells, where their non-communication for several years had been investigated in October 1598, and having found that they 'had not received it [the Eucharist] in the Queens Chapel, as it is clear in the court records, which papers were exhibited and introduced'.[226] Although Goold failed to satisfy the demands of the dean and chapter of Wells, he remained employed as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, suggesting that although communion was registered at the Chapel Royal, the enforcement of penalties could be reduced for favoured or valuable members of the household (such as those with high levels of musical training). Although the application of household communion may not have always been consistent, communion was nonetheless monitored and constituted a general means of signifying public conformity in the royal household.

During services heard in cathedrals when the monarch went on progress, a ceremonial order nearly identical to that observed at Chapel communion services was observed, even if communion was not celebrated. Most publicly viewed at coronations, the replication of this ceremonial form in all spaces of royal worship offered a (probably conscious) emulation of the legitimising authority and sacral connotations present in the coronation service.[227] A particularly detailed report of the ante-communion held at Worcester cathedral reveals how Elizabeth processed to the chancel and was 'setteled in her traves or seate rychely decked'.[228] Similarly, during the 1588 celebrations at St Paul's for the Armada victory, Elizabeth processed through London, into the cathedral, and was brought to 'her Travers in the quire'. After the choir sang the litany, Elizabeth was 'brought to a closet, of purpose made out of the north wall

[226] WCA DC/CF/6/4, 159r.
For further discussion, see chapter 3, pages 280-81.
[227] Haugaard, 'The Coronation of Elizabeth I', 169.
[228] Nichols, *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth I* Vol. II, ed. Goldring, Eales, Clarke, Archer, Heaton, and Knight, 345.

of the Church, towards the pulpit crosse', where John Piers, bishop of Salisbury preached.[229] Significantly, there is no explicit record that the Chapel Royal was present as a choral body on these occasions, suggesting that (with the exception of James's 1617 Scottish progress) Elizabeth and James did not see their Chapel as an essential expense for progresses, especially when local cathedral choirs were sufficient.[230] Elizabeth's use of ceremonial space was clearly modelled on the practice followed by her Chapel Royal, revealing how royal worship could be moulded by the practices of the household chapel, but was by no means limited to court.

James continued this ceremonial precedent from his accession, and during his progress southwards to London, presumably on the advice of his attendant English advisors, began to implement the ceremonial habits and patterns of English royal worship. At York Minster, which James visited on the 17th of April 1603 (marking the first royal visit for 60 years), John Thornborough, bishop of Limerick, dean of York, and former Clerk of the Closet preached a sermon, which James attended in a procession comparable to the form observed in English court chapels, entering the minster beneath a canopy, and presumably took his place in a traverse in the choir.[231] In 1611, at the investiture ceremony held for Prince Charles as a knight of the Garter at St George's, Windsor, James was seated in the choir 'in a lofty throne approached by ten steps and placed under a rich baldacchino', indicating a similar observance, even within a royal peculiar.[232] Queen Anna followed a similar precedent on her visit to Bristol cathedral in 1615, and further detail is granted in 1617, when on his progress north to Scotland,

[229] Nichols, *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth I* Vol. III, ed. Goldring, Eales, Clarke, Archer, Heaton, and Knight, 428.
[230] The only reference to transporting the Chapel appears in the Wardrobe accounts for 1562-63, when a 'wagon for the boys of the Queen's Chapel' was ordered, at a total cost of £72 16s 4d, though this may have simply transported the Children during 'removings' between royal palaces. See: TNA LC 9/56 f.16r.
[231] Nichols, *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities of King James the First*, Vol. I, 81.
[232] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of* Venice, Vol. 12, ed. Horatio F. Brown (HM Stationery Office, 1905), no. 236.

James visited Lincoln Cathedral for a service of ante-communion and touched for the King's Evil, where he sat 'by the Bishop's pue hanged about with rich hangings in a Chair all prayer-time'.[233] The bishop's stall, at the furthest east end of the south stalls, would have joined onto the choir step, an appropriate place for James's traverse to be set up. Though services of ante-communion, Elizabeth's and James's extrapolation of ceremonial observed at communion time in the Chapel Royal points to the flexibility of ritual responses to royal requirements during extraordinary services. Ensuring that the monarch had appropriate honour due unto their person was readily achieved by using the traverse, which acted as an explicitly liturgical response to the chair of estate, utilised at banquets and other 'secular' occasions and entertainments. It also ensured that the monarch remained visible for prominent local grandees who may have been able to secure invitation to the cathedral quire, an important aspect of the early modern royal progress.[234] When on progress, although the singing-men and ordained Gentlemen may not have been present, the ceremonial order and furnishings of cathedrals secured the monarch's visibility for congregants, replicated practice observed in the Chapel Royal (marking a distinct break from the usual appearance of cathedral services), and highlighted the exclusive space occupied by the royal body.[235]

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[233] Nichols, *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First,* Vol. II, 646; Nichols, *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First*, Vol. III, 263.

[234] Anthony Musson and J.P.D. Cooper, 'Reconstructing Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe' in *Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe: Progresses, Palaces and Panache,* ed. Anthony Musson and J.P.D. Cooper, (Routledge: 2023), 4; Siobhan Keenan, *The Progresses, Processions, and Royal Entries of King Charles I, 1625-1642,* (OUP, 2020), 184-187.

[235] Provisions for services and sermons in the royal and noble manors inhabited during royal progresses survive in even less detail. Regular records of payment for the 'making ready' of appropriate secular and ecclesiastical venues are recorded in Jacobean Treasurer's accounts, and are recounted by Peter McCullough, in his 'Calendar of Sermons', 149; Ibid., 164; Ibid., 175; Ibid., 189; Ibid., 212; Ibid., 219; Ibid., 230; Ibid., 234-36; Ibid., 242; Ibid., 252-54; Ibid., 263-66; Ibid., 274-77. Cited in the above: TNA E 351/543 f.190v; Ibid., 229v; Ibid., 230v; Ibid., f.262r; E 351/544 f.9r; Ibid., f.78v; Ibid., f.91r; Ibid., f.92r; Ibid., ff.100r-v; Ibid., Ibid., f.116r; Ibid., f.132r; Ibid., ff.144v-45v; Ibid., ff.158r-59r.

The performance of outward signs (that is, the bodily action of the communicant) in the reception of the Eucharist was a particularly contentious point in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church.[236] Defences of physical reverences are found in court sermons with some consistency throughout Elizabeth's and James's reigns. Although such commentaries were often closely associated with broader debates over the appropriate role that ceremonial action might play in the wider Church, it is significant that, in what appear to have been direct commentaries on the practice observed in the Chapel Royal, a range of courtly commentators are found defending reverential behaviour in the Chapel, from the staunch critic of the Elizabethan 'Settlement', Thomas Cole, to the most famous and articulate defender of church ceremonies, Lancelot Andrewes. In the words of the latter, God's word and name could be reverenced by two body parts: '[t]he knee to bow to it; the tongue to confesse it'.[237] Andrewes's insistence on Easter Sunday 1614 that '[m]entall devotion will not serve: He will have, both corporall and vocall, to expresse it' echoed, in rather more vigorous terms, Cole's recognition, discussed in the first chapter, that 'externall honoure done by cappe, knee, and other due […] fyt for Princely estate', was also appropriate for God, though Cole emphasised 'a right consenting heart of obedience to execute those lawes th[a]t are made by the Prince'.[238]

Court sermons combined obedience to the crown and Church with the reception of communion and offered robust defences of the outward actions enjoined by the Book of Common Prayer. Despite James's best efforts, such behaviour was limited to English court worship. During the 1617 Scottish progress, bishop William Cowper of Galloway, Dean of the

[236] For further discussion of the evidence for and significance of kneeling during public worship in the post-Reformation Church, see: Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and avant-garde conformity'. 118-119; Ibid., 129-30; Lori Anne Ferrell, 'Kneeling and the body politic' in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier, (CUP, 1996), 70-92; Emma Rhatigan, 'Knees and Elephants: Donne Preaches on Ceremonial Conformity', *John Donne Journal*, Vol. 23 (2004): 185-213; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored,* 58-59; and for Laudian defences of kneeling, see: Lake, *On Laudianism*, 147-49.
[237] Andrewes *XCVI Sermons*, 475.
[238] Ibid.; Cole, *A Godly and Learned Sermon*, Sig.D.iii.r.

Scottish Chapel Royal and otherwise an ally of James's proposed liturgical reforms in Scotland, publicly refused to take communion kneeling, opposing any outward reverence to the sacrament on the grounds of its representative nature.[239] Although these 'certaine contentious brethren' were condemned by English preachers like John Denison as '[p]eace-breakers', liturgical practice in the Scottish Chapel Royal remained reliant on Cowper's negotiation of James's royal will and the opposition of his Scottish councillors and courtiers.[240] At a physical remove from the monarch, the Dean of the Scottish Chapel Royal was, unlike his English counterpart, more identifiably able to act as a mediator between the royal will and Scottish liturgical expectations.

Physical reverences were made to the east end of court chapels, and the royal closet. Monarchs did not apparently have to observe this double reverence, as indicated by queen Anna's 'low reverence […] before the Altar', but not the royal closet, at her churching in 1605.[241] Although a fuller discussion of double reverences is found above, their observation by Knights of the Bath, Garter, and likely all noble and gentle congregants of the Chapel Royal provides a reminder of the importance of the monarch in defining the exceptional ceremonial behaviours observed there.[242] Such reverences joined the outward acknowledgement of God's honour enforced through the Prayer Book's injunction to kneel during the responses, collects, and general confession, and to bow at the name of Jesus.[243] In the Chapel Royal, reverences to the sanctuary and royal closet adopted pre-Reformation acts of devotion, closely attached to

[239] Spinks, 'Durham House and the Chapels Royal', 390-91.
[240] Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (Scolar Press, 1978), 27.
[241] John Stow and Edmund Howes *Annales, or, a generall chronicle of England Begun by John Stow. Continued and augmented with matters forraigne and domestique, ancient and modern, unto the end of this present yeere, 1631* (London, 1631), 864.
[242] See page 112.
[243] *The Book of Common Prayer, 1559*, ed. Booty, 248-250; 118.

the Order of the Garter, into an outward sign that signified fealty to God, located at the east end of the Chapel, and Caesar, in his or her royal closet.

The royal offering ceremony provided another occasion (often part of communion services, but not exclusively) that the monarch appeared in the Chapel sanctuary, in full view of congregants in the stalls and antechapel. On Christmas, Epiphany (both communion days), Maundy Thursday, St George's Day, Ascension day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and the Annunciation (not recorded as communion days), the monarch and their consort processed from the closet to deposit roughly 8s 11d in one of the gilt basins usually on the Chapel communion table, held by the officiating minister.[244] These occasions offered Elizabeth and James the opportunity to draw from a host of pre-Reformation royal traditions designed to enhance and augment through pieces of liturgical theatre, the biblical precedent for and sacral nature of their kingship. Alongside the presentation of dynastic strength through the public offerings made by members of the royal family, like Prince Henry on St George's Day 1609 (when £1 17s was offered), and an unknown occasion at Windsor in the July of 1609 (£1 5s offered), Epiphany, Maundy Thursday, and St George's Day appear to have been the most significant, and popular offering days in the Chapel Royal.[245]

The Epiphany service, which also included communion, introduced a variation to the usual royal offering. Rather than money, the monarch deposited 'three things in papers […] gold, and frankincense, and myrrh' in the offertory basin.[246] According to a Henrician ordinance, and possibly continued by Elizabeth and James, the gold was wrapped in 'a paper pece of yellow sarcenet', the 'myrre in white sarcenet', and the frankincense in 'redde sarcenet', all bound with red silk.[247] Elizabeth (and apparently James, although there is no

[244] TNA E 101/430/12; I am grateful to Ms. Helena Rutakowska for her assistance with translation.
[245] TNA E 101/433/8.
[246] Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night*, 189-190.
[247] BL Add MS 71009 f.22v.

detailed record of a Jacobean Epiphany service) transformed the Epiphany offering into a piece of highly evocative biblical role-play, where the monarch claimed the piety and wisdom of the three kings, themselves representative of worldly obeisance to Christ's majesty, and a fitting ceremonial end to the Christmas festivities at court. The pieces performed by the Gentlemen of the Chapel also complimented this role, as revealed by Thomas Thomkins' verse anthem 'Allmightie God, which by the leading of A Starr, didst manifest thy only begotten Sonne to the Gentiles'.[248] The monarch, processing through the chapel to the sanctuary (which would have also been the brightest part of the chapel, by the help of both window and candles), offered physical reflection of the words sung, providing congregants with an extraordinary piece of liturgical theatre, in which the monarch was the main actor. While the ceremony was not significantly altered from pre-Reformation ceremonial, the continuation of the ceremony, now applied to a Prayer Book service of communion rather than a mass, indicates how traditional customs in the Chapel Royal that emphasised the monarch's personal piety, and were not immediately offensive to Protestant sensibilities, could continue in the post-Reformation liturgical calendar.

On Maundy Thursday, a rather more unusual royal offering was observed. With a service of communion or ante-communion held in the morning, at which the monarch's offering would be granted, the day was somewhat overshadowed by the performance of a traditional piece of para-liturgy in the great hall, or a suitable chamber close to the chapel. In addition to the offering made at the morning service, the monarch presented a group of poor men or women (the number of which depended on the monarch's age, and their gender also accorded with the monarch's) with alms and partook in the ceremonial washing of their feet.[249] Upon Elizabeth's

[248] BL Harley MS 4142 f.1r.
[249] Exceptions to this rule survive. In 1588, possibly an act of practicality, or vanity, as Janet Arnold has suggested, Elizabeth ordered that rather than 54 poor women (matching her age), there should be 51.
TNA LC 5/36 f.59; quoted in Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd,* 68.

accession, following precedent presumably established under Edward VI, the Maundy service was observed in a distinctly reformed manner. Inappropriate pre-Reformation ritual actions like the monarch's requirement to 'take discipline' (interpreted as a form of semi-public self-flagellation) were expunged from the service, though the basic act of Christological foot-washing was retained.[250] Seated on two parallel benches, the poor men or women would, before the service began, have their feet washed by the clerk of the laundry 'one after an other, [who] wiped the same w[i]th his towel, & so making a crosse a little above the toes, kissed the[m]'. The Sub-Almoner and Almoner then followed suit, washing, kissing, and crossing each pair of feet. After this solemn ritual, the monarch entered the hall with 'singinge & prayers' performed by the Gentlemen of the Chapel, and after a royal chaplain or ordained Gentleman read (or intoned) 'the gospel of Christes washing of his disciplines feete', the monarch moved from their chair of estate, and began the washing ritual in the same manner as had been done earlier.[251] The ceremony was apparently an elaborate one, and the Gentlemen of the Chapel appeared in their copes, as revealed by an early Elizabethan miniature depicting the ceremony by Levina Teerlinc [Fig. XXVII].[252] James did not engage with the foot-washing ceremony, though he was personally present at a handful of recorded ceremonies, and had the Archbishop of Canterbury (or possibly the Almoner and Sub-Almoner) deputise.[253] James's decision to

[250] A full description of the Henrician ceremony is found in: BL Harley 71009 f.23r-v.
Sixteenth century European monarchs, like Charles V and Philip II of Spain, participated in similar foot-washing ceremonies on Maundy Thursday, when they washed the feet of 13 poor people, provided them with food and wine, and gave them clothes and a bag with a gold sovereign inside. Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V,* 142; Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 148-149.
[251] Alexandra Siso has argued that at least part of the sung para-liturgy included settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, pointing to the settings found by court composers Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder, Robert White, William Byrd, and Thomas Tallis in the Baldwin partbooks, c.1575-81. Alexandra Siso, 'Sacred Music and Ceremony in the Early Elizabethan Chapel Royal' (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2022), 123.
[252] Levina Teerlinc(?), 'A Royal Maundy', c.1560, watercolour on vellum, private collection.
[253] Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England,* 79.
Elizabeth appears to have only appointed a deputy during periods of illness, on which occasions (1563 and 1564) the Almoner and Sub-Almoner deputised, see: Brian Robinson, *The Royal Maundy*, (Kaye & Ward, 1977), 34; and for James's possible use of the Almoner as a deputy: Thurman Lee Smith, 'A Missing Chapter of English Traditionalism: the royal maundy ceremony during the Tudor-Stuart period', (PhD diss., Saint Louis University, 1979), 113. Lee Smith references a docquet for the

forego the personal emulation of Christ, in a symbolic humiliation of his royal position, may be an indication of his discomfort with some traditional English royal ceremonies, though this was not the only change he introduced.

The retention of the sign of the cross in the Maundy foot-washing was controversial, and Elizabeth and defenders of her ecclesiastical establishment were forced to explain the action as no different to the memorialising action observed in baptism, another controversial issue.[254] James's apparent reluctance to engage with the Maundy foot-washing transformed the messages it projected. This was no longer a service of Christological emulation, where monarchical outward action and engagement offered a sacralising quality to the ceremony, but a more thoroughly reformed piece of royal almsgiving, in which the dignity of the royal office was preserved, and the king assumed a more passive presence. While James was happy to invest in his English Chapel Royal, he did not completely embrace its ceremonies and adjacent customs.

James was uncomfortable with another traditional English religious ceremony associated with the monarch (and therefore the Chapel Royal): the 'touching' ceremonies for scrofula, or 'the King's Evil'. The 'touching' ceremony dated from the reign of Edward II, and though accompanied by some prayers, it did not always accompany a Chapel Royal service.[255] However, under Elizabeth and James, greater effort was made to associate the ceremony with Chapel services, especially offering days. After sung anthems and prescribed prayers, the monarch met the assembled afflicted (apparently in the hall, if following a chapel service) and touched their sores, made the sign of the cross (under Elizabeth), and gave each of them a gold

payment of £133 6s 8d to the Almoner and Sub-Almoner on 7th March 1608, though this might not have resulted in ceremonial deputising. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, of the reign of James I, 1603-1625*, Vol. I, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, (London, 1857), 412.
[254] Ibid., 64.
[255] Ibid., 76.

coin, or 'angel', to be worn as a personal talisman (a practice introduced under Henry VII, and continued by post-Reformation monarchs).[256] Although claims were made towards the end of Elizabeth's reign that the service was conducted 'nearly daily' (interpreted by Stephen Brogan to mean each Sunday and holy day), contemporary records do not reflect this.[257]

Prayer was paramount to the performance of the 'touching' ceremony. After James acceded to the English throne, he initially refused to continue any ceremonies of royal thaumaturgy, worrying that people might ascribe miraculous power to the king's person, rather than God's intervention. It was only after James's councillors petitioned him to continue the ceremony that he acquiesced, but not before a speech delivered to his courtiers at Woodstock in 1603. James made it clear that in addition to removing the sign of the cross from the ceremony, he would only continue it as long as the people do not 'thinke that because I am a king that therefore I can cure diseases', as 'miracles are ceased and God doth worke by ordinary meanes […] prayer only is best for remedy'.[258] This sentiment can be identified in a prayer inserted into the margin of the 'Commination of sinners' service in a surviving 1594 Chapel service book. The prayer is a copy of that associated with the 'touching' ceremony, which emphasised the efficacy of God, and his 'mercifull helpe, that they recovering health' and made no mention of the monarch in curing the affliction. [Fig. XXVIII].[259] If a contemporary

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[256] Ibid., 50.

[257] Ibid., 64; William Tooker, *Charisma, sive donum sanationis* (London, 1597), 113.
Tooker writes: 'Ex commentariis aliorum acceperat, quid putetis censurum fuisse , si praesens praesentem Majestatem Elizabethae serenissimae strumis medelam abhibentem prope quotidianam oculis vidisset?', which might be translated as: '*He* [Caspar Peucer, sixteenth century physician] *had received this from the writings of others; what do you think he would have judged if, in person, he had seen with his own eyes the most serene Majesty Elizabeth I applying her nearly daily remedy for scrofula?*'

[258] BL Add MS 22587, f.4r.

[259] *Book of Common Prayer* (1594 ed.), private collection.
I am indebted to Fr Anthony Howe for this point, and thank him for discussing this item with me and allowing me to examine it. Further discussion is found in Anthony Howe, 'A Most Uncommon Book of Prayer', unpublished essay, 2020; Camilla Turner, 'Prayer Book used by Elizabeth I's courtiers discovered by Queen's chaplain on eBay', *The Telegraph*, 17 April 2020, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/04/17/prayer-book-used-elizabeth-courtiers-discovered-queens-chaplain/.

addition, it indicates how the Chapel Royal played a direct role in reforming paraliturgical ceremonies which could take place beyond the confines of the court chapel. Although anxieties might be identified concerning the reformation of certain ceremonies practiced by post-Reformation monarchs, James's accession resulted in explicit changes, in both practice and belief.

Another important offering day and moment of royal display was St George's day. After 1561 Elizabeth hosted the festivities at court, not St George's, Windsor, and elevated the status of the Chapel Royal in doing so, associating it with the premier chivalric order in England. Services were musically and visually sumptuous. The anthems performed on St George's Day do not appear to have been too explicitly associated with the occasion, unlike other major events in the Chapel calendar. Tomkins's five-voice anthem 'Who is this that commeth out of the wilderness' for example, contrapuntally inventive and textually repetitive, heard on both St George's Day and All Saints in the Restoration Chapel Royal, apparently in emulation of late-Jacobean and Caroline practice.[260] The presence of the Garter knights at court, and their presentation of offerings at the altar provided a visible corporate moment of liturgical engagement otherwise absent from Chapel services, since the offering was usually reserved for the monarch. As Elias Ashmole noted, when the St George's service was held outside of Windsor, the Sub-Dean of the Chapel would hold the offertory basin, not the prebends of the College of St George.[261] The monarch offered a 'Bezant', worth £7, though this role could be fulfilled by the heir apparent, as in 1610, when Prince Henry deputised for his father.[262] At Chapter meetings of the garter, usually held at Windsor, a similar role was performed. In 1611, Prince Henry presented the regalia of duke Frederick I of Württemberg (d.1608), and Henri IV

[260] Thomas Tomkins, *Musica Deo Sacra & Ecclesiae Anglica or, Musick dedicated to the Honour and Service of God and To the Use of Cathedral and of Churches of England, Especially Of the Chappel-Royal of King Charles the First* (London: 1668), Sig.A1r-v.
[261] Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter*, 582.
[262] Ibid., 583.

of France (d. 1610), showing 'in his countenance his sorrow and pain for the loss of so great a King'.[263] Clearly, royal offerings offered other members of the royal family, not just the monarch, the opportunity to utilise the symbolically potent stage of the sanctuary in royal chapels and peculiars.

Although the feast of St George faced initial scepticism from 'hotter' reformers in the middle of the sixteenth century, Elizabeth and James brought the feast closer to court, offered powerful magnates the regular opportunity for individual courtly display, and provided occasional moments of international Protestant (and Catholic) diplomacy with princely or royal members of the order. While feast days could generate controversy, Elizabeth's focus on the royal body, and James's introduction of the members of his royal family and reformation of certain aspects of ceremonial behaviour offered a form of religious courtly festival acceptable to most Protestants at court.

c. Liturgies of state

Protestant 'liturgies of state', as Roy Strong described in 1973, shifted the focus of religious ceremonial from God to king.[264] Although this interpretation over-stated the division between monarch and God, Strong's phrase is useful, and highlights the opportunities that state occasions presented for political display in liturgical and paraliturgical performance. Although neither Coronations nor royal funerals took place in a palace chapel, they saw the height of this ceremonial and saw the Chapel Royal play a significant liturgical role. More 'minor' exceptional services and ceremonies, like the ratification of international treatises, and royal christenings, churchings, and marriages, are also considered in detail.[265] While these

[263] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, *Vol. 12.* 1607-1610, ed. Brown, 236.
[264] Strong, *Art and Power*, 19.
[265] Although Strong's original definition of 'liturgies of state' explicitly referred to accession day services, there is no record that this ceremony was observed with any remarkable solemnity in the Chapel Royal. Similarly, although special anthems were composed and sermons preached for royal

ceremonies have attracted specific attention, usually associated with particular events and diplomatic occasions, like the proposed marriage matches for Elizabeth or James's children, the importance of such occasions in a broader pattern of reforming royal worship has not been fully appreciated.[266]

Coronations were the first major ceremony of any monarch's reign. Although they were not always performed according to the liturgical modes preferred by individual monarchs (Elizabeth, for example, was forced by law to observe a mass at her coronation, although certain key moments of sacramental action, like the elevation of the host, were forbidden), they represented the formalisation of the contract observed between monarch and populace.[267] Celebrated in Westminster Abbey, they were also distinctly musical and required the presence of a well-trained and expert choir.[268] The combination of voices from the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey ensured that this musical accompaniment was not only present, but capable of executing a long and musically complicated service (running to around five or six hours, by the mid-sixteenth century).[269] The presence of the Chapel Royal alongside the singing-men of Westminster Abbey granted a sense of personal legitimacy to the coronation service, and

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thanksgiving services, the liturgy differed in no significant way from the other services of communion and ante-communion observed on holydays.

[266] See: Susan Doran, *Monarchs and matrimony: the courtships of Elizabeth I* (Routledge, 2015); *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy,* ed. Caldari, and Wolfson; Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (YUP, 2003).

[267] Further discussion of early modern coronations is made in: Sybil M. Jack, ''A Pattern for a King's Inauguration': The Coronation of James I in England', *Parergon*, Vol. 21, No.2, (2004): 67-92; Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (CUP, 2009).

[268] The close relationship between the music sung and ritual performed at sixteenth and seventeenth century coronations has been outlined by Matthias Range. Beginning with the processional hymn, the recognition and anointing followed, when *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung, which was followed by the anthem 'Zadok the Priest', after which the crowning took place. The anthems 'Be strong and of good courage' and 'The King shall rejoice' were then sung, during which lords temporal were vested in their coronets, followed by a *Te Deum* which accompanied the homage, and an additional anthem which led into the communion service.
Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations*, 10-11.

[269] Roy Strong, *Coronation: A history of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (HarperCollins, 2005), 206.

represented the chapel of the royal household chapel as an institution intimately attached to the spiritual and political life of the sovereign.

The Chapel Royal also emphasised the intimacy between the monarch and royal household during the investiture of the Knights of the Bath. As the traditional investiture ceremony celebrated on the eve of coronations or investitures of the Prince of Wales, usually where the largest number of knights was created in one ceremony during a monarch's reign, the investiture was an important point of symbolic and ritual obedience ahead of the coronation itself. While the monarch was absent from the ceremony, the Chapel Royal played a prominent role, supplying 'divers Anthems [sung] to the Organs', as at the ceremony before Prince Charles's creation as Prince of Wales in 1616, and in securing the obedience of the knights-elect.[270] This was most publicly performed during the offertory, when each knight processed two-by-two to the sanctuary of the court chapel, offered their sword to the Chapel Dean for a 'noble', and were reminded of their oaths to defend the 'word of your Soveraigne and Countrie and the maintenance of Justice'. At the end of the ceremony, the knights were met at the chapel door by the Master Carver, who, dressed in a 'white apron and sleeves', and holding 'a Chopping knife', challenged the Knights' spurs, collected their 'nobles', and threatened that if they 'proved not true and loyall to the King', he would 'hew them from their heeles to their great dishonour'.[271] The same ceremony was observed in 1610, and likely 1603.[272] Though the monarch was not directly involved in the ceremony, the Chapel Royal played a prominent role in establishing the expectations of a new reign, and complemented much of the ceremonial associated with coronations (and royal investitures) concerned with temporal obedience and honour.

[270] TNA SP 14/89 f.16v.
[271] Ibid., f.17r.
[272] BL Harley MS 5176 f.202v.

At royal funerals, the Chapel Royal provided a similar association between the monarch and the royal household by visually demonstrating the continuity of their service by singing services lamenting their sovereign's death. Like coronations, the Chapel Royal provided musical punctuation to the funeral procession and liturgy and appeared in copes with the singing-men of Westminster Abbey. The pieces sung at funerary processions were, almost by necessity, textually distinct and technically straightforward (meaning close contrapuntal arrangement and minimal ornamentation), enabling them to be sung with minimal aid from choir books which, as contemporary depictions suggest, were shared between two [Figs. XVI, XXIV, and XXV].[273] Lying-in-state services for the royal corpse were held in court chapels, and the Chapel Royal performed daily services around the body until the state funeral. Although similar ceremonies were observed after Elizabeth's and James's deaths, royal chapels were used slightly differently. After Elizabeth's death, her body was moved from Richmond to Whitehall for the lying-in-state ceremony, where the chapel was hung with black cloth and 'watched all night by severall Lords and Ladies'.[274] In 1625, James's body was moved from Theobalds to Denmark House, which did not have a chapel. To accommodate this, the great hall of Denmark House was 'made a chappell for the tyme' and hung with black cloth.[275] The chapel at Whitehall palace, now Charles's residence, was similarly decorated, as was Greenwich in 1603 following Elizabeth's death, and St James's in 1612 after the death of Prince Henry.[276]

While all members on-duty remained with Elizabeth until James's entry to London, Charles's presence in London meant that on James's death, the Chapel bifurcated, with one half remained with James, and the other joined their new king. Both sang Evening Prayer daily at

[273] Discussion of the musical simplicity of surviving funeral sentences, composed by Robert Parsons, John Bull, and John Ward, is made in : Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 47.
[274] Sackville-West, *The diary of the Lady Anne Clifford*, 4-5.
[275] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 153.
[276] LC 2/4/6 f.7v; Ibid., f.9r; Ibid., f.13v; Ibid., f.14a.r; Ibid., f.42v.

their respective venues. Organs were brought to Denmark House to facilitate the performance of Evening Prayer at 9pm and midnight, as courtiers and noblemen paid their respects to their deceased sovereign, and the Chapel alternated between decani and cantoris sides leading the service.[277] Although this arrangement appears to have been peculiar to 1625, since both James and Elizabeth were out of London at the time of their predecessor's death, the public reunification of the Chapel at James's funeral and Charles's coronation would have marked a symbolically potent signal of continuity and dynastic security.[278] The close association of the Chapel Royal with the monarch's body during moments of national celebration or mourning projected a powerful visual and aural symbol of continuity and obedience in the royal household, while elevating the majesty expected of such occasions.

Court chapels also hosted the public ratification of international treaties. On such occasions, the Chapel Royal continued its pre-Reformation duty in a modified form and sung the special service of prayer designed to accompany cross-confessional ceremonies, since the mass was illegal in England from Elizabeth's accession. Designing a suitable cross-confessional service took some time, though a broadly acceptable arrangement was reached by 1604, when Lewis Lewknor set out the liturgical and ceremonial order ahead of the Treaty of London. According to these instructions, two traverses were to be set up either side of the altar, with the monarch taking the greater honour of the right-hand traverse. A table of administration was to be set up a little before the altar, with 'a standish thereon'. The monarch and ambassadors were to process to the chapel to the sound of organ music which, ideally continuing (though for the 'Spanish Match' ratification of 1623 the organs ceased once James and the Spanish envoys reached the chapel, processing in silence to their traverses), only

[277] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 153.
[278] Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Boydell, 1997), 180.

stopped once the monarch and envoy were seated in their traverses.[279] After an anthem, the monarch and ambassador moved to the table of administration, where the principal secretary read the articles of the treaty aloud, the monarch and ambassador signed the treaties, and sealed the articles with coloured wax (green for perpetuity, yellow for 'life of yeares'). During the oath, which was apparently usually read in Latin, the Chapel Dean held a bible, open at the gospels, for the monarch and ambassador to swear on, who held their hands on the book 'till the oath be read out'. The nobles and courtiers present were then asked to affirm their witness of the oath, after which an anthem would heard 'and Continueth, till the King, the Amb[assado]r and their Traynes, be out of the Chappell'.[280] This, or something very close to it, was the ceremonial order for almost all public ratification treaties observed in the Chapel Royal under Elizabeth and James, and is depicted in a heavily stylised print found in Michael Caspar Lundorp's *Laurea Austriaca* (1627) [Fig.XXIX].[281]

The negotiation of the English ceremony of treaty ratification was first secured by Elizabeth, and Jacobean ceremonial was heavily indebted to this precedent. The potential controversy of such events was highlighted in 1559, when the French ambassador Francis duc de Montmorency was denied his request to celebrate communion for the feast of Corpus Christi, at the ratification of Cateau-Cambresis, and the form of the ceremony was not recorded. By 1572, at the treaty of Blois, Elizabeth was using a ritual comparable to that codified under James. The treaty was signed on a 'gold pulpit' supported by four earls, and psalms and anthems were sung by the Chapel Gentlemen.[282] Given the absence of any recorded scandal caused by the prayers and pieces heard during ratification ceremonies, it is likely that the Gentlemen sung only a-confessional anthems and appeals for royal safety, peace, and security. The only near-

[279] *CBCR*, Vol. I ed. Ashbee and Harley, 96.
[280] TNA SP 94/12 f.158r-v.
[281] Lundorp, *Laurea Austriaca*, 774.
[282] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Vol. VII,* ed. Brown and Bentick, 94; Salignac, *Correspondance diplomatique*, Vol. 5, 17.

contemporary indication of the sung content of such services is found in Lundorp's 1627 account of the 1623 ratification of the 'Spanish match', at which a 'bass singer' offered prayers for James, Prince Charles, and the Infanta during the solo sections of a verse anthem.[283] In the absence of further detail, conclusions are necessarily restricted, but it is clear that the Chapel Royal played an important and distinctly cautious role in the prayers sung and ceremonies performed to ratify Elizabethan and Jacobean cross-confessional diplomacy.

While court chapels were often used for the ratification of cross-confessional treatises, sovereigns did not always permit access to courtly ecclesiastical space. In 1604, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, and extraordinary ambassador to Spain to negotiate the Treaty of London, informed James that Philip III refused to allow the ceremony in his chapel, since 'noe man of different religion unconfessed on that came not with purpose to communicate, might be received with the Church, there to performe any public Act'. When Howard asked why this was the case, when Catholics had entered the Protestant chapel at Whitehall, Philip responded that 'the King of England did assume to himselfe not only Royall but Papall Authority, and therefore might dispose of the church at his pleasure'.[284] Philip, under the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, was bound 'under penalty of the excommunication' to exclude all heretics from his places of worship, and as a result, the ratification ceremony was held in a hall, or 'great Chamber'.[285] Although a ceremonial form had been settled in England for the ratification of cross-confessional treaties by the end of the seventeenth century, this was not accepted in all European courts, and remained controversial.

As a household chapel, the Chapel Royal was also responsible for the major events in the Christian lives of members of the royal family, visiting royalty, prominent nobles, and

[283] Lundorp, *Laurea Austriaca,* 774.
[284] Ibid., f.161r.
[285] Ibid., f161r-v.

courtly intimates of the sovereign. Royal christenings were especially celebratory occasions in the Chapel Royal and affirmed the monarch's dynastic security. Churchings continued these dynastic claims, which explicitly celebrated queenly duties and allowed for a certain degree of individual expression, while marriages looked to international alliances and anxieties surrounding the European prestige of the Stuart dynasty and English court. Although Elizabeth did not marry or bear a child (and thereby preside over or participate in an English royal Protestant christening, churching, or marriage service), she was godmother to Prince Edward Fortunatus of Sweden, christened at Whitehall during the visit of Princess Cecilia on 30th September 1565. Although James fathered seven children, three of whom survived infancy, only one of the two born in England survived long enough for their christening. It is not always recognised that, despite having a moderately large royal family, James and his court only saw one royal christening, one public churching, and one royal wedding. Although these occasions were undoubtedly spectacular dynastic events, their rarity between 1558 and 1625 must be emphasised. All royal familial occasions were nonetheless significant opportunities for the display of the monarch and their royal family, and often required the recalibration of ceremonies not performed in England since Henry VIII's reign, to suit the doctrinal and liturgical requirements of the post-Reformation Church.

The birth of Princess Mary in 1605 prompted the first christening of a member of the royal family in an English royal chapel for 84 years, and the first according to a Protestant liturgy. Despite this, many ceremonial aspects closely resembled the christening of Edward VI in 1536. During the procession, Mary was carried through the royal apartments under a [c]annopee of cloth of goold' by her appointed nurse, Elizabeth de Vere, countess of Derby.[286] Although Edward was carried in a canopied crib, both royal children were met at the chapel door by the Dean of the Chapel and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who processed with the

[286] *CBCR* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 94.

nurse to a large cloth traverse erected to the side of a stage or 'halfpace' set up in the middle of the chapel. The stage measured four foot high and eight square and would have completely blocked most congregants' views of the sanctuary and communion table.[287] The pulpit was the only furniture that remained visible, being positioned next to the stage. Although this arrangement directly emulated Edward's christening, it brought the sacrament of baptism to the centre of the Chapel's liturgical-spatial arrangement, alongside the pulpit and the preached Word of God. James was present for the baptism and joined by Prince Henry in the royal closet. Those on the baptismal stage surrounding the specially constructed font comprised the officiating ministers (archbishop Richard Bancroft and Chapel Dean James Montagu) and the three godparents (the Lutheran duke John Adolf of Holstein, Ludovic Stuart duke of Lennox, and Arabella Stuart). Four unnamed earls' sons controlled access to the stage, rather than the vestrymen, revealing an important alteration of ceremonial duty designed to elevate the prestige of Mary's baptism.[288] With leading councillors and noblemen placed in their stalls, only the baptism and sermon was visible to the congregants crowding the antechapel. The service was performed as outlined by the Prayer Book, and the Chapel Gentlemen offered musical 'bridges' including the anthem 'Singe joyfullye' (possibly Byrd's 6-part setting) as royal and noble bodies moved between the stage and communion table.[289]

James's appeal to Henrician ritual precedent marked a dramatic shift from the Scottish baptismal ceremonies observed for Prince Henry at Stirling in 1594. Surrounded by the newly refurbished palace chapel at Stirling, divided by a screen and decorated with 'costly tapestries', the baptismal ceremony was read in English and Latin and performed in front of James, his Scottish courtiers, and assembled ambassadors.[290] The only music heard was the instrumental

[287] TNA E 351/3240; BL Add MS 71009 f.27r; College of Arms MS M6.
[288] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 95.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Fowler, *A True Account of the Baptism of The Most High and Mighty Prince, Henry Frederick*, 10-11.

complement of 100 'Hagbuttes' or 'Yonkiers' (young men) of Edinburgh, 'bravely apparelled', and the singing of Psalm 21 by the provost and prebends of the Scottish Chapel Royal.[291] While Henry's crib was set on a raised stage in one part of the chapel, he was carried under a canopy into the part of the chapel occupied by the king, his officiating ministers, and courtly and ambassadorial attendants, where he was baptised. No stage was erected, nor a font. The baptism of James's other children in Scotland was apparently comparatively low-key, with Elizabeth's christening on 18th November 1596 described as an act of 'little or no triumphe'.[292] James's use of English ceremonial in his English Chapel Royal might be unsurprising, but the absence of any Scottish influence or replication of the ceremonies observed in Stirling 11 years earlier highlights James's efforts to retain the legitimising splendour of Tudor religious ritual while conforming to the reformed Prayer Book liturgy.[293]

Although the only christening celebrated in Elizabeth's Chapel was that of a Swedish prince in 1565, and a vast array of plate decorated the communion table and fine tapestries were hung around the chapel, the baptism ceremony was not performed with the splendour seen 40 years later for Princess Mary. No stage was set up, the font instead placed near the communion table, the celebrant (Edmund Grindal, bishop of London) wore only a rochet made of cambric (with no cope), and the service was performed 'without any playing or singing, but only read the Order of Baptisme in English, as it is sett out'.[294] The ceremonial reservation of the service might indicate Elizabeth's conscious distinction between the honour due to a foreign child of royal blood and a member of the English royal family. It is also possible that the ceremony intended to navigate the celebration of a Protestant baptism ceremony for the child

[291] Ibid., 14.
[292] Field, *Anna of Denmark,* 182.
[293] [293] David Bergeron has recently argued for the significance of Ludovic Stuart, second duke of Lennox's role as godparent in the christening of Princess Mary and in accompanying queen Anna at her subsequent churching, in 1605, along similar lines. See: David M. Bergeron, *The Duke of Lennox, 1574-1624: A Jacobean Courtier's Life* (EUP, 2022), 68.
[294] Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, Vol. II, 693.

of a Lutheran princess, when England's doctrinal position was inching closer to the reformed Churches.[295] Whether a 'compromise' liturgy or a signal of Edward Fortunatus's comparatively lower status than Princess Mary, James's decision to turn to pre-Reformation precedent, rather than the pattern followed by Elizabeth, reveals how status and honour controlled the type of ceremonial observed in the Chapel Royal, and how despite the presence of rich material decorations, liturgies of state were not always performed with equal elaboration.

Queen Anna's churching of 1605 was the only ceremony of its kind publicly celebrated in the Chapel Royal between 1558 and 1625. Though rare, it was an important symbolic moment of dynastic strength, national relief, and an opportunity to show that Anna was willing to engage with the ceremonies of the Church of England, after her public refusal to take communion at James's English coronation.[296] The churching began with a sermon, heard by the king, after which two anthems were sung, one in honour of Princess Mary, after which the offertory played and James processed from the royal closet to the sanctuary, where he made an offering, and knelt in his traverse. Anna then processed to the communion table, supported by the Dukes of Holstein and Lennox, accompanied by knights of the Garter and 'other honourable persons'. After the churching service was read, another anthem was heard, and James and Anna departed the chapel together.[297] The 'thanksgivinge' anthem, heard at the end of the service, was likely that based on Psalm 121: 'I have lifted up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help'. This was a customary psalm at national churching services, and emphasised thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the child and survival of childbirth, rather than pre-

[295] Doran, 'Elizabeth I's Religion', 710; See also: Alec Ryrie, 'The Strange Death of Lutheran England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol. 53, No. 1, (2002), pp.64-92.
[296] Anna's Catholicism, though rumoured, was not widespread knowledge, and many contemporaries believed that her reluctance to engage with the ceremonies of the established English Church was due to her Lutheranism. In the context of embarrassing gifts from the pope, which included messages of goodwill and efforts to convince her to convert her husband, her churching was an important moment to showcase her conformity and loyalty to the Church her husband governed.
Meikle and Payne, 'From Lutheranism to Catholicism', 63.
[297] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 96.

Reformation emphasis on purification, since the latter disturbed 'hotter' Protestants within the Church.[298]

A more politically symbolic moment in the liturgy was provided by the performance the anthem 'Blessed art thou that fearest God', likely by John Mundy, organist of Westminster Abbey from 1585-1630, which included the verses, 'So doth thy wife spring out: / Thy children stand like olive plants'.[299] These words not only celebrated Anna and Mary's survival of childbirth, but also highlighted and emphasised the dynastic strength of the Jacobean royal family, and emphasised the familial metaphors and images employed by James. Mundy's anthem only comprised three parts and was reserved in its contrapuntal arrangement (though by no means homophonic). Even on festal occasions, the music of Chapel services was not always more elaborate but could appeal to Protestant tastes for textual clarity. Anna's churching in 1607 after the birth (and near-immediate death) of Princess Sophia took a very different form, and was officiated privately in Anna's privy chamber by James Montagu, Dean of the Chapel.[300] While not all familial events became prominent court occasions, Anna's churching of 1605 showcased how state liturgies in the Chapel Royal could simultaneously evoke considerable splendour and appear in tune with distinctly Protestant sensibilities.

While the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Elector Frederick on 14th February 1613 has received considerable scholarly attention, the role of the Chapel Royal has been neglected.[301] The event was a major opportunity to showcase England's new Protestant alliance, and access to Whitehall chapel was strictly controlled. The earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, ensured that 'there came not within the Chappell one person but of honor and

[298] David Cressy, 'Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women in post-Reformation England', *Past & Present*, No. 141 (1993): 119.
[299] 'Blessed art thou that fearest God (John Mundy)', *Choral Wiki*, 2021, https://www.cpdl.org/wiki/index.php/Blessed_art_thou_that_fearest_God_(John_Mundy).
[300] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 110.
[301] See: *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013).

great place'.[302] The royal couple, king, queen, Prince Charles, and members of Frederick's electoral train were placed on a large stage in the centre of the chapel, five feet high and 20 in length, with a 'stately throne' in the centre, similar (though much smaller) to that used at Mary and Philip II's wedding at Winchester Cathedral in 1554 [Fig. XXX].[303] Although no records survive of the marriage ceremony itself, James's use of Tudor ceremonial precedent in order to elevate the royal couple, family, and their attendants further signals his emphasis on traditional English ritual forms.

The stage would, however, have obscured most congregants' view of the communion table, where Elizabeth and Frederick received communion. It is possible that this was intentional: the administration of Prayer Book ceremonies was controversial enough in England, and foreign Calvinist observers may have baulked if they saw Elector Frederick, a beacon of the Reformed cause, kneel to receive an unleavened wafer. Emphasis was instead placed on the marriage ceremony and the sermon in all printed literature describing the ceremony. James's negotiated of confessional and liturgical sensitivities in the first royal wedding in a court chapel since that of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon in 1509 (held in the friary church at Greenwich, while Henry's other marriages took place in the Closet, and Mary and Philip were married in Winchester cathedral) by relying heavily on Tudor ceremonial precedent. His use of this outstripped his predecessor (though he was granted more opportunities), and offered finely tuned moments of ritual, spatial, and musical negotiation of 'hotter' Protestant sensibilities when performing these Protestant liturgies of state.

Ceremonies of state offered irregular but nonetheless significant opportunities for Protestant forms of display. This did not mean that pre-Reformation traditions were rejected outright but incorporated into ceremonies designed to celebrate the royal family, and visibly

[302] *CBCR,* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 174.
[303] Ibid., 173; BL Add MS 71009, f.67v.

demonstrate their engagement with the ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer. Although James engaged with these ceremonies more regularly, and revived striking aspects of pre-Reformation Tudor ceremonial, both monarchs recognised the value of such ceremonies for legitimising their rule and expressing particular political or dynastic messages.

Conclusion

The performance of ferial, festal, and state liturgies and ceremonies in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal simultaneously honoured God and the royal family. Although the aural and visual performance of Chapel liturgy was more elaborate than that encountered in most ecclesiastical spaces in early modern England, much of this ornamentation was directly related to the presence of the monarch, and the material and ritual reverences that accompanied their presence. This distinction is a crucial one when considering the liturgical culture developed in the Chapel Royal. Explained and heightened by the royal presence, the material and musical aspects of liturgies experienced in royal chapels was consistently negotiated and calculated against a broadly relative, but constantly calibrated, set of expectations for Protestant worship. Chapel worship was centred on the Word, whether intoned, polyphonically sung, or preached. It was in the extraordinary context of the quasi-parochial liturgical offering of the chapel royal that the spiritual needs of court and royal household were catered for, with a regular succession of services which, while glorifying the monarch, also provided congregants with balanced access to scriptural exegesis, and fine musical prayer.

This chapter has revised some enduring characterisations of the churchmanship of Elizabeth and James. Although Elizabeth initially defended her chapel cross, she gave in to pressure from her churchmen and councillors by 1567 and pursued a gradual reduction of religious imagery from the glass, plate, and fabrics of her court chapels. James, meanwhile,

invested vast sums into royal worship, restored some images, and cultivated ceremonies redolent of pre-Reformation royal rituals, though reformed in crucial aural, visual, and textual ways. This also involved the negotiation of national and international expectations in royal worship, and it is striking how little James seems to have backed down over concerning the material and sonic display of his chapel, especially compared with the challenges faced by his predecessor.

Elizabeth was not obsessed with her cross, nor was James solely concerned with sermons. Claims of confessional 'conservatism' in Elizabeth's household chapel have been overstated, especially as her reign progressed. James meanwhile, though eager to invest in 'beautifying' the ceremonies and fabrics of his Chapel Royal, should not be interpreted as encouraging a nascent form of Laudian ritual, or falling under the influence of his avant-garde conformist Dean, Lancelot Andrewes (no changes are identifiable after 1618), but rather a vigorous supporter of a carefully negotiated Protestant liturgy which kept the monarch and members of the royal family at its ceremonial heart. Differences in approach are identifiable, but both monarchs encouraged a form of Protestant royal ritual that reflected the majesty of the Royal Supremacy in song, word, glass, plate, and cloth, and signalled to the princely and royal courts of Europe that the Supreme Governor of the reformed Church of England remained entirely capable of rivalling their ceremonial assertions of royal authority, majesty, and courtly splendour.

Chapter three: Work, life, and faith: the personnel of the Chapel Royal.

Institutions are characterised by the individuals who staff them. Although direction at the executive level was provided by the monarch and the individuals (whether deans or lords chamberlain) to whom authority was delegated, the officers who lobbied for change, sung daily services, and voted regularly in chapter meetings, comprised and constituted the professional, social, and religious culture of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal. The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were a varied and ambitious socio-economic class of court servant. They were musically trained (usually at cathedral or grammar schools), came from a range of social backgrounds (primarily the economically comfortable 'middling' sort), and were primarily drawn from the south-west and midlands of England. They had regular access to influential councillors, noblemen, and members of the royal family through their daily choral service and prestigious position in the royal household. It was perhaps this intimacy with power that ensured that most Gentlemen weathered regime change, religious reform, political upheaval, and the adverse occupational pressures experienced by all professional musicians and church singers. Rather than claiming 'vocational immunity to the controversies of their age', or men who had 'musical gifts rather than religious vocations', this chapter reveals that the Gentlemen of the Chapel were a vibrant and ambitious group, socially mobile, intellectually engaged, and sometimes distinctly Protestant.[1]

The Chapel Royal is well suited to prosopographical analysis. As a small, controlled, and socially prestigious institution, with its own corporate identity and exclusive form of entry (by the payment of a fee, the shared intellectual and artistic expectations, and limited

[1] Kerry McCarthy, 'William Byrd: A Brief Biography', in *A Byrd Celebration: Lectures at the William Byrd Festival,* ed. Richard Turbet (Church Music Association of America, 2008), 15; Stanford E. Lehmberg, 'The reformation of choirs: cathedral musical establishments in Tudor England', in *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G.R. Elton from his American friends*, ed. Delloyd J. Guth and John W. McKenna (CUP, 1982), 66.

membership), it falls neatly within Pierre Bourdieu's definition of a 'field' in which one might conduct prosopographical research.[2] Existing biographical work on the Chapel Royal has laid valuable groundwork to begin this study, especially the efforts of Andrew Ashbee and David Lascoki, whose *Biographical Dictionary* remains an invaluable, if not always complete, compass in navigating the socio-economic and religious lives of the 152 recorded Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal between 1558 and 1625.[3] Of these 152 men, only around 20 remain in total obscurity, beyond their recorded royal service. While this chapter does not reconstruct the lives of the remaining 130 men in full, it expands scholarly understandings of how Chapel Gentlemen participated in the economic and social life of court, the capital, and England's cathedrals. It argues that it is only by investigating the relationship that Chapel Gentlemen enjoyed with cathedrals and other ecclesiastical institutions, their economic and social activity in London and beyond, and their confessional beliefs, that an understanding of how the views and actions of this small but influential group directed the working culture of the most privileged and prestigious musical-liturgical institution in post-Reformation England can be recovered.

This chapter begins by exploring the personal and institutional relationships that Chapel Gentlemen cultivated between the Chapel Royal and their places of former or simultaneous employment. These were usually cathedrals, but also included parish churches, university

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[2] Donald Broady, 'French prosopography: definition and suggested readings', *Poetics*, Vol. 30, (2002): 383; Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, Vol. 100, No. 1, (1971): 66; K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Introduction: Chameleon or Chimera? Understanding Prosopography' in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 1-32.

[3] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDCM*, Vols. I & II.
See also: Fiona Kisby, 'Officers and Office-Holding at the English Court: A Study of the Chapel Royal, 1485-1547', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, Vol. 32, No. 1, (1999): 1-61; Hugh Ballie, 'Some Biographical Notes on English Church Musicians, Chiefly Working in London (1485-1560), *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, No. 2, (1962): 18-57; Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*; Grattan Flood, 'New Light on Late Tudor Composers: XXIV. Thomas Morley', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 68, No. 1009, (1927): 228-229. Grattan Flood produced an extensive 'New Light on Late Tudor Composers' series in the late 1920s for *The Musical Times*.

colleges, and the households of prominent noblemen. Although such links could sometimes reflect the tensions of royally sanctioned pluralism, the monarch's defence of their Chapel Gentlemen reveals the influence and privilege of a Chapel post and highlights how far individual reward might be privileged over ensuring consistent musical-liturgical provision across the nation's cathedrals and other musical ecclesiastical institutions. This chapter then considers the socio-economic activity, relationship, and networks cultivated by Elizabethan and Jacobean Gentlemen in London and beyond. Gentlemen held a number of occupations, not just musical, and it was in this varied employment that influential social networks were cultivated which spanned confessional and hierarchical boundaries. The final part of this chapter examines the confessional identities of Chapel Gentlemen. Most characterisations of the religion of Chapel Gentlemen focuses on their 'conservatism', usually due to the fame of William Byrd, though attempts have been made to 'Catholicise' other chapel Gentlemen.[4] Although religious conservatism can be identified among a small number of individuals in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel, a far broader, and more Protestant confessional range of opinion is recovered, from published literary works, dedications, practical action, ministry of benefices, and social networks.

The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were a prestigious group who received royal protection, engaged in a variety of occupations, and was more confidently Protestant than is usually appreciated. They contributed in an idiosyncratic but no less influential way, to the religious culture of the post-Reformation court.

[4] Daniel Bennett Page, 'Polemic, Conspiracy, and Conformity among the Singing Men of the mid-Tudor Chapel Royal', *Caliban: French Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 67-68 (2022): 67.

I. The road to the royal household

Among the music-making ecclesiastical institutions of early modern England, the Chapel Royal was the best paid, most prestigious, and offered the best occupational opportunities for additional streams of income. Although the Tudor and Stuart court was not always a centripetal force for England's musicians, the Chapel Royal was closely associated, by constant recruitment, with England's twenty-seven cathedrals. While cathedrals did not patronise church music equally, and the challenges of the Reformation, the abolition of obits and chantries, and individual episcopal and decanal direction may have led to a 'Reformation of the choirs quite as profound as the theological Reformation or the Tudor Revolution in government', as Stanford Lehmberg claimed, the case is easily overstated.[5] Despite poor rates of pay, cramped, dilapidated, or expensive living conditions, and the increasingly assertive behaviour of the dean and chapter, successive generations of men continued to find advancement and profit in the musical service of the post-Reformation church, and many found advancement to the Chapel Royal.

a. Professional backgrounds

Cathedrals were by far the most common route to the Chapel Royal by the end of the sixteenth century. Of the 152 ordinary and extraordinary Gentlemen of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal, at least 39 held a substantial connection with England's cathedrals. The real figure is likely much higher, but further information is limited due to the poor survival of vicars' choral accounts, and wider epistolary and testamentary evidence regarding these individuals.[6] While the turn-over of singing-men in cathedrals could be high, the Chapel Royal tended to retain their members for life, or at least advanced age. This was surely due to the security and privileges afforded by a courtly post, but the cathedral connection was key. Although some

[5] Lehmberg, 'The reformation of choirs' in *Tudor Rule and Revolution,* ed. Guth and McKenna*,* 45.
[6] See appendix.

cathedrals may have felt the pressure of this competition and were concerned about losing their best voices or sacrificing posts as sinecures for pluralistic Gentlemen, cathedrals nonetheless provided a valuable and consistent crop of recruits to the Chapel, who were familiar with the sung liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer.

Before Elizabeth's accession, parish churches also provided a reliable source of musical training. With 78 of London's 96 churches having built or paid for two or more organs by the 1540s, these small and conveniently located hubs of musical education provided some level of local support, and between c1540-60, elevated at least five Gentlemen to the Chapel.[7] Some Gentlemen maintained early links to parish churches later into the sixteenth century, as when John Amery (Gentleman 1595-1623) was paid £2 5s for singing at services held at St Dunstan-in-the-West in 1575/6, and again a year later.[8] Such connections appear to have been occasional however, and while Wathey and Burgess have emphasised the difficulty of recording 'flamboyant' musical expenses, a significant decline in Gentlemen with experience singing in a parish church is identifiable by the middle of Elizabeth's reign, by which point cathedral-trained Gentlemen were firmly in the majority.[9]

Not all cathedrals contributed men to the Chapel Royal equally. Of the 30 (or 26 'ordinary' or full) Gentlemen of the Chapel associated with Westminster Abbey, 18 were formerly employed and advanced to a Chapel post, while 11 were simultaneously employed at both institutions. While Westminster Abbey has loomed large in assessments of the Chapel Royal's relationship with other musical-liturgical institutions in post-Reformation England, and some have emphasised the Westminster connection of clergy and singing-men associated

[7] William Mapperley (Conduct at St Magnus's, London, c.1547); Thomas Tallis (Conduct at St Mary-at-Hill, 1536-38); Robert Morecocke (Conduct at St Mary Woolnoth 1542-45 and at St Michael Cornhill 1547-49); and Henry Aldred (Conduct at St Lawrence Jewry c.1547).
Price, *Patrons and* Musicians, 49.
[8] Ashbee and Lasocki*, BDECM* Vol. I, 20.
[9] Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550', *Early Music* History, Vol. 19, (2000): 31.

with avant-garde conformist or especially ceremonialist ways of performing the Prayer Book liturgy, going as far to describe it as a 'midwife' of Laudianism, the Abbey was not the only institution to provide a significant supply of trained singing-men.[10] St Paul's, for example, advanced 19 men to the Chapel, 14 of whom previously served there, while only one was simultaneously employed. St George's, Windsor meanwhile, provided 16 men to the Chapel, with five who ceased their connection on appointment to the Chapel, another who later joined St George's having served as an extraordinary Gentleman, and nine were simultaneously employed. While St George's apparently forbade simultaneous employment without the consent of the dean and chapter after the Restoration, such a limit does not appear to have been in place during Elizabeth's and James's reigns.[11] Beyond London and the Thames estuary, Exeter cathedral provided ten Gentlemen, six of whom ceased employment on their appointment to court, and two remained simultaneously employed. Hereford provided eight, one prior, two post, and five simultaneous; Wells provided three prior and four simultaneous; and Canterbury provided five prior and two simultaneous. Other cathedrals included Lichfield (four Gentlemen, all before the 1570s, none of whom enjoyed simultaneous employment); Norwich, Chichester, and Ely (three Gentlemen, and only Ely offered an individual employed simultaneously); Christ Church Oxford, Lincoln, Worcester, Chester, and Salisbury (two Gentlemen, with Christ Church and Salisbury each with one employed simultaneously); and Durham, Peterborough, and Bristol (one Gentleman from each, with Bristol's man simultaneously employed).[12]

Some of the cathedrals that advanced high numbers of Gentlemen to the Chapel Royal are unsurprising. Canterbury, for example, was the primate of England's archiepiscopal seat,

[10] Merritt, 'The Cradle of Laudianism?', 623-646; MacCulloch, 'The Great Transition' in *Westminster Abbey,* ed. Canadine, 173.
[11] Dexter, *'A Good Quire of voices'*, 114-115.
[12] See appendix.

and boasted a well-funded musical establishment, so became a natural training-ground for many future Gentlemen. The Henrician charter of incorporation for the cathedral allowed for the Dean of the Chapel Royal to prefer any children of the same into Canterbury free school as a scholar once their voices had broken, indicating a clear link between cathedral and court.[13] Exeter, Wells, and Hereford, however, were not known for their musical provisions or wealth. Wells and Exeter received fairly middling endowments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Hereford even less.[14] While Exeter and Wells enjoyed links with the Chapel Royal through the additional ecclesiastical titles held by successive deans of the Chapel (George Carew served as dean of Exeter, while James Montagu served as bishop of Bath and Wells), Hereford held a more curious relationship with royal ecclesiastical institutions.[15] Hereford resisted episcopal visitation throughout most of Elizabeth's reign and claimed exemption from episcopal oversight. This claim was based on a copy of earlier papal confirmation of the cathedral's statutes, which in 1534 transferred papal authority to the crown, with 'apostolica' replaced with 'regia', as Richard Fisher has shown.[16] It was this transference of papal to royal authority, the dean and chapter argued, which granted it exceptional status, and it was not until the reconstitution of the cathedral statutes in the 1590s, that Hereford accepted the bishop of Gloucester's diocesan authority. Hereford was also a short distance from Ludlow castle, the seat of the Council of the Welsh Marches. This allowed some of its singing-

[13] James M. Vaskov, 'The Musical Education and Matriculation of Boy Choristers at Canterbury Cathedral during the English Reformation Period, 1549-1642' (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, California, 2000), 42.
[14] Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 26-27.
[15] Despite the decanal connection, there was no rise in Gentlemen employed from these institutions during the respective Chapel deanships of Carew or Montagu. None of the four men associated with Exeter during Carew's incumbency as Chapel Dean held their posts in plurality (William Barnes, William Randall, John Baldwin, and Robert Stuckey), though the two men associated with Wells during Montagu's service did (William Beckett and Robert White). The small number of men involved here suggests that no significant trend was observed through decanal-episcopal promotion. See appendix.
[16] Richard Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation: A Cultural Comparison of Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester' (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2018), 28.

men to find additional employment at the castle, with a 1581 payment of 2s 8d recorded 'to make the syngynge men drynke that came from harford to St gorgys fest'.[17] Although proximity to London helped Gentlemen develop professional connections and allowed for readier extraordinary contributions to Chapel life (which often led to a 'full' place), this was not the only avenue, and both personal associations and proximity to satellite representatives of royal power offered potential routes to royal service.

Establishing the extent of musical provision at cathedrals which contributed significant numbers of Gentlemen to the Chapel Royal offers a helpful means of understanding the extent of their training and musical experience. The choral bodies of English cathedrals were reduced after their refoundation as Protestant establishments, and Exeter reduced its 28 men and boys in 1543 to 23 in 1563; Hereford from 34 in 1542 to 23 in 1583; and Wells from 62 in 1535 to 20 in 1592.[18] These numbers were still considerable, and equipped the cathedrals with sufficient manpower to perform some of the more ambitious services and anthems supplied by contemporary composers. At Canterbury, services were sufficiently musical to prompt a hostile account in 1584 which complanied that '[t]he Pettie Canons, and Singing-men there, sing their Cathedrall-Service in Prick-song after the Romish fashion, chaunting the Lords prayer, and other Prayer in an unfit manner'.[19] Cornets and sackbuts were recorded at the installation of John Whitgift as archbishop a year earlier, and the organ, installed by Matthew Parker on the rood loft between 1564-5 at a cost of £56 4s 9d, was maintained thereafter.[20] A more expensive instrument was set up at Wells by the 1620s, with the remaining funds for the chapter for 1621 (£38 1s 5d) 'laid out for the organs', on top of the £100 already paid to Thomas Dallam and his

[17] Marsh, *Music and Society*, 114.
[18] Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 183.
[19] *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury*, ed. J. Wickham Legg and W.H. St. John Hope (Archibald Constable and Co., 1902), 242.
[20] Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 538; CCA-DCc/CA/1 f.45r.

men for the construction of the instrument.[21] Hereford meanwhile, purchased a more modest portative organ in 1592 from 'mr Chapington', for only £12, on which matter Bartholomew Mason, Chapel Gentleman and vicar choral at Hereford, advised his dean and chapter, revealing the value of musically trained and experienced men in the ranks of more provincial cathedrals. The presence of organs at all institutions which contributed significant numbers of Gentlemen to the Chapel, and instrumentalists at Canterbury, indicates that the 'verse' style was in full flow in both institutions, from surprisingly early in Elizabeth's reign. It also reveals that both institutions had at least one vicar choral (probably more) who could play keyboard music, something that signified the highest level of musical education beyond the basic skills covered for choristers in cathedral grammar schools.[22]

University colleges also advanced several men to the ranks of the Chapel Royal, though musical provision was varied. At Cambridge, King's College supplied five men, Trinity three, Corpus Christi two, and St John's one. Oxford provided three from Christ Church (technically a cathedral, and one of those men was simultaneously employed in the Chapel), two from Magdalen, and possibly one from Gloucester Hall.[23] While the practice of nominating children of the Chapel to places at Oxford or Cambridge was apparently revived in 1604, no record of it survives, and it had little impact on the selection of Chapel Gentlemen. Some colleges, like King's Cambridge, cultivated an especially musical liturgy, though the college was without an organ between 1570 and 1604-5 (when it was restored at the cost of £37 17s 1d), and regularly purchased polyphonic part-books across the 1560s and 70s, despite the hostility of the provost, Roger Goad.[24] Nonetheless, some colleges that advanced Gentlemen, like St John's

[21] WCA DC/2/7/1 f.25v
[22] Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century' in *English Choral Practice*, ed. Morehen, 189.
[23] See appendix.
[24] Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547-c.1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (London: Garland, 1993), 46.

Cambridge, apparently had no musical provisions between 1555 and 1617.[25] The training of choristers at Oxford and Cambridge colleges was not consistent, and many colleges, including Trinity, Cambridge and Corpus Christi, Oxford, adopted the practice of 'dry' choristerships, when the stipend previously used to support active choral roles were turned to fund non-musical students. Magdalen College, Oxford, was the first college to end this practice under the presidency of Nicholas Bond (1590-1608).[26] While this might explain the advancement of two individuals from Magdalen to the Chapel (both apparently at Magdalen during or close to Bond's presidency), not all colleges ended the practice so quickly, and it was not until around 1636 that Trinity and King's college Cambridge, had restored their full choristerships.[27] While musical provisions at university colleges could be mixed, they nonetheless advanced a moderate number of singing-men to serve in the royal household, though associations were not continued after they left universities in the same way observed at cathedrals.

b. Cathedral religion and discipline

Although cathedrals have long been represented as 'suitable environments within which men opposed to Protestant reforms might continue to serve', such perspectives have been systematically challenged by a more recent generation of scholars working on early modern cathedral worship.[28] Although contemporary critics bemoaned 'fat canons, prebendaries, petie canons, singing men quiriesters, virgirs, and the rest of that crue', recent scholarship has complicated this 'fifth-columnist' interpretation of cathedrals, and shown how many had to be 'dragged into the new Laudian dawn'.[29] Many of England's cathedrals, including Westminster

[25] Ibid., 53.
[26] Shinn, 'Religious, Liturgical and Musical Change in Two Humanist Foundations in Cambridge and Oxford', 339.
[27] Charles Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, Vol. III. (Cambridge, 1846), 282.
[28] James Saunders, 'The Limitations of Statutes: Elizabethan Schemes to Reform New Foundation Cathedral Statutes', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 48, No. 3, (1997): 446.
[29] 'A second admonition to the Parliament', in *Puritan manifestoes: a study of the origin of the Puritan revolt,* ed. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (London, 1907), 100; Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', 903.

Abbey, Windsor, St Paul's, Exeter, Hereford, Wells, and Canterbury enforced monthly communion for their lay and clerical members. On 12th October 1561, monthly communion was ordered at Westminster, with fines of 3s 4d for the dean, 2s for prebends, 16d for priests, 12d for singing-men, and 4d for the bedesmen for failure to observe this stricture.[30] Monthly communion was also enforced at St Paul's, Canterbury, and Wells (though the dean and chapter of Wells settled with annual communion by the 1590s). Provisions for daily communion were noted in the 1559 Injunction for Exeter, though it is unclear whether this was implemented.[31] If most Gentlemen had been employed in a cathedral, they were likely familiar with the increased expectations of Eucharistic communication compared with the minimum triannual or annual order observed in most parishes.

Chapel Gentlemen with experience in a cathedral were also exposed to programmes of advanced catechesis and biblical exegesis. The most detailed record of this is found at Hereford. Though described as a 'nurserye of blasphemy whoredome pryde sup[er]stic[i]on & ignorance' in 1561, the cathedral was unrecognisable by the 1580s.[32] The revised statutes of 1583 ordered for more diligent attendance at morning service among the vicars choral and singing-men, with fines of a penny for non-attendance as a congregant, and 6d if officiating. More extreme penalties were levelled that those who 'evade[d]' the requirement to 'expound some part of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, or the Articles of Faith, publicly before all the Vicars Choral in the chapel of the said College', who had their wages denied for a year.[33] Those who were deemed 'truly unsuitable for the undertaking of expositions' were required to read a homily at a specified date and service, 'soberly, seriously,

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See also: Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, chapter 4; and Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation', chapter 4.

[30] *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 1543-1609*, Vol I. ed. C.S. Knighton (Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 4.

[31] Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 160.

[32] TNA SP 12/17, f.66.

[33] HCA 7044/13, 72.

and reverently'. Those who accepted the requirement and prepared for it, but 'neglect[ed]' their duty were denied pay for a week, and any vicars choral absent, even if not presenting, would be denied their allowances for the day.[34] Bartholomew Mason, vicar choral of Hereford and later Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was probably telling the truth when he told the dean and chapter in 1588 that no vicar choral favoured or harboured a Jesuit, seminarist, or recusant, nor 'prefer[ed] the best papist before the worst protestant'. He also assured them that no image of Christ was painted anywhere in the College of the Vicars Choral.[35] Formal catechesis was not apparently required of the Chapel Gentlemen, though their familiarity with Protestant doctrine was, at least among those drawn from Hereford, a significant aspect of their former employment and training in a professional liturgical office.

Some Chapel Gentlemen appear to have been happier enforcing discipline at cathedrals rather than ensuring liturgical dignity. At Chichester cathedral the lay clerk William Lawes (Gentleman 1602/3-11, and extraordinary Gentleman thereafter) was appointed from 20th January 1596/9 to 'keep a book of perditions for those absent from service without leave' with greater punishment on Sundays and holydays.[36] While Lawes was apparently assiduous in this duty, he was less consistent in ensuring that lay clerks were appropriately arranged, and was ordered at the same January chapter meeting to ensure that 'the singers shall stand up to be better heard', indicating that he had previously allowed choral responses, anthems, and services to be conducted seated.[37] Not all Chapel Gentlemen enthusiastically ensured the performance of solemn service music, though it is significant that Lawes was the individual appointed to implement the desired reforms of the Chichester dean and chapter, rather than one of his colleagues. Chapel Gentlemen actively facilitated, if at the request of their superiors,

[34] Ibid., 73.
[35] Paul Illes, 'Music and Liturgy since 1600' in *Hereford Cathedral*, ed. Aylmer, 448.
[36] *The Acts of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, 1545-1642,* ed. W.D. Peckham (W. Heffer & Sons, 1959), 146.
[37] Ibid.

conformity to the ceremonies of the established Church, and executed the musical performance of its services.

c. Pluralism: crown versus cathedral

Pluralism was a common feature of employment in the early modern Chapel Royal. From at least the mid-fifteenth century, Chapel Gentlemen enjoyed dispensation from the normal rules of clerical and lay residency and took on multiple posts at a time.[38] Since Gentlemen were dispensed from court attendance for about a third of the year, the crown was often supportive of Gentlemen who sought to collect an additional wage, usually from their former cathedral employer. Although cathedrals were rarely enthusiastic about the prospect of losing their best voices, mutually beneficial compromises were reached in a handful of cases. John Blitheman, for example, was promised £10 per annum for full service, or £5 for half service, for his direction of the choristers at Christ Church Oxford, between 1560 and 1578.[39] Although more detailed cases of pluralism of musical and clerical posts exist for the end of the sixteenth century and beyond, Blitheman's arrangement indicates that the practice was continued throughout Elizabeth's reign, as clergy and singing-men grappled with a far quieter liturgical calendar than they worked under Henry VIII and Mary I.

The process by which Gentlemen were recruited to the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal has not survived in precise detail. It is possible that Gentlemen benefitted from courtly links they had made, and relied on the intercession of powerful ecclesiastical or courtly agents to ensure their promotion to the Chapel Royal. This is indicated by the survival of a note by Sir Roger Wilbraham, Master of Requests and Solicitor-General for Ireland, dated 4th January 1604, which informed James of a vacancy in the Chapel Royal, and recommended the

[38] *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. Ullman, 65.
[39] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 160.

preferment of Anthony Harrison to the place of Gentleman.[40] However, the practicalities of this were murky, and Gentlemen were clearly active in promoting themselves, as indicated by the fact that in 1589/90, prospective Gentlemen like John Hewlett, vicar choral of Wells, had made plans to reside in London ahead of his Chapel election in 1591, possibly having secured an extraordinary post there. Although the chapter initially decreed that pluralism was forbidden 'according to the statutes, customs, and ordinances' of the cathedral, Hewlett was offered two possible compromises to his proposed pluralism. Either he was to remain resident at Wells and receive an additional £2 annual stipend or serve at court and 'receive all manner of allowances as if he were present and resident at Wells', provided that he 'devoted the remainder of his time to the service of the said cathedral church'.[41] Though his response is not recorded, he seems to have chosen the latter, since Hewlett was admitted as full Gentleman in 1591, and continued to serve at Wells, presumably when the Chapel 'stood down'. A similar compromise was reached at Hereford in January 1592/3, when Bartholomew Mason was permitted to retain his post as vicar choral while employed in the Chapel, in exchange for two tablecloths a year, to be used in the hall of the vicars choral.[42] Such arrangements had limits however, and Mason was reprimanded a year later by the dean and chapter for failing to attend chapter meetings when summoned, 'being thereunto lawfully warned'.[43] Cathedrals like Wells and Hereford were perhaps willing to permit moments of flexibility in the fulfilment of musical posts in exchange for the quality of individual voices, potential links with court, and occasional cost-saving measures like the supply of tablecloths.

[40] TNA SP 15/36, f.3r; This practice continued into the reign of Charles I, as indicated by the surviving letter by William Laud, instructing the dean and chapter of Salisbury to acquiesce to the monarch's preferment of Thomas Rayment to a place in the Chapel Royal, dated 28th January 1627. See: *The Further Correspondence of William Laud,* ed. Kenneth Fincham, (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 24.
[41] Ibid., 564; WCA DC/CF/6/3 f.50v.
[42] HCA 7003/1/1, 84.
[43] Ibid., 86.

Not all cathedrals were willing to permit the decline of clerical or musical posts into sinecures or 'holiday jobs' for servants of the royal household. At Wells, perhaps following Hewlett's departure, it was ordered in 1595 that any vicar choral would be punished if they petitioned 'the lords of the counseale to doe any thing concerning the fautes they have moved before the lordes against the dean and Chapter of this church'. Though issues amidst a heated dispute over the refoundation of the charter of the college of vicars choral, the result also protected against pluralism. A different tack was taken at Canterbury, where after 1583 those who missed services were made to 'stand in their surplice by the great door of the quire during the next service', and were expelled for any further offence.

At Windsor, a protracted dispute emerged between 1598-99 over the pluralism of William Barnes, minor canon and Gentleman. Although complaints had been raised in 1594 about Barnes's suitability for the post, since he was a Chapel Gentleman, married, and not a Master of Arts, as stipulated by the Saintleger canonry he held, these worries were dismissed by John Puckering, Lord Keeper and visitor-delegate of the College.[44] Puckering died before any resolution could be reached, and his successor, Sir Thomas Egerton, with Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke, and John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, sided with the dean and chapter. Barnes continued to petition for his Windsor place, possibly due to the expense incurred by moving from Exeter to Windsor (£11 10s 2d for Barnes, his wife, and four children).[45] Robert Bennet, dean of Windsor, informed Puckering, Pembroke, and Whitgift that Barnes had been absent for 900 days between 1594-98 (72% of the four years of his pluralism) and was 'a minister and ^yet^ a scoffer and scornur at the ministrie and p[re]aching'.[46] By the winter of 1598/99, Barnes had secured the support of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, who brought his case before Elizabeth. The queen then personally wrote to dean Bennet and

[44] SGA X.B.45* f.1r.
[45] SGA X.B.45*.
[46] SGA XI B 45.

ordered him to reinstate Barnes, and commanded that he and the chapter 'dispense with his absence from his service theare at all suche tymes as he shall hereafter have necessarie occasion to be absent to attende o[u]r service'.[47] Pembroke was also instructed to inform the dean and chapter on the 25th of January 1598/99, that Barnes should take up any role 'whatsoev[e]r he conveynentlie maie', ensuring that 'due respect being had unto the necessitie of his attendance in her ma[jes]ties Chappell here at such times as the same ys requyred'.[48] The intervention of the monarch was frequently the final word in such matters, and instrumental for Gentlemen seeking to maintain simultaneous employment in the Chapel Royal and England's cathedrals.

James continued the trend of royal intervention in favour of Chapel Gentlemen, with another notable example at Windsor. Soon after Amner took up his place in the Chapel Royal in the December of 1623, John Williams, bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, ruled in the following May that Amner's Windsor post was 'held to be absolutely void by the acceptance of the other place'. With a hint of frustration, Williams also 'adjudge[d] the place of every such member of your Quire to be voide, that shall hereafter accept any place in the Kinges Chappell roiall, or any other preferment whatsoever unlesse he shalbe dispensed withal by the Dean' and majority of the Chapter.[49] By the end of the same month, Amner had successfully petitioned for royal intervention, and Williams wrote to the dean and Chapter instructing them to 'elect him againe', with a promise of good behaviour, since 'it hath pleased the Prince his Highness to mediate for Mr: Amner, that he may still continue his service in your Church'.[50] In both cases of pluralism, figures associated with musical patronage, defences of the established liturgy, and the credal Calvinist theology of the established Church are found attempting to prevent pluralism, while Elizabeth and James supported the Gentlemen of their household Chapel,

[47] SGA X.B.45*.
[48] SGA XI B 45.
[49] *The Chapter Acts of the Dean and Canons of Windsor*, ed. Bond, 121.
[50] Ibid., 122.

apparently privileging domestic loyalty and cheap reward over ensuring the availability of musically trained singing-men and priests in the services of the most prestigious royal free chapel.

A significant exception to the trend of Chapel Gentlemen successfully securing plural musical posts across England's cathedrals and royal peculiars is recorded at Westminster Abbey, in 1602. John Heathman, a Westminster Abbey singing-man between 1589 and 1599, and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1600, marshalled his courtly allies (including Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham and Lord Admiral) to support his campaign to retain his Westminster post alongside his Chapel appointment. In a petition to Robert Cecil, dated 5th May 1602, the dean (Lancelot Andrewes) and prebends of the Abbey asserted their case by claiming that although Gentlemen hold plural posts with other cathedrals, these are 'far off', and unlike Westminster Abbey, are not 'in the eye of all comers to this great place of the land', including those who regularly visit to see 'the beautiful monuments of her Majesty's progenitors', and 'foreign ambassadors and many strangers of other countries'. It was vital, therefore, that the choir at Westminster remain in full voice, since 'one example breeds another', and Andrewes and the prebends feared that other Westminster singing-men would seek a post at the Chapel Royal 'to great prejudice of the good service' at the Abbey.[51] The dean and prebends of Westminster refused, apparently successfully, since Heathman's name does not appear in their accounts after 1600. This was the only recorded victory for the Abbey, however. A total of eleven Gentlemen enjoyed simultaneous employment with the Abbey and Chapel Royal, two of whom preceded John Heathman.[52] Although corporate identity could

[51] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire,* Vol. 12, ed. R.A. Roberts, (H.M. Stationery Office, 1910), 143.
[52] See appendix.

sometimes be marshalled to resist the pluralism of Gentlemen, the trend had crystallised by the early seventeenth century and extended to the most privileged royal peculiars.

The widespread pluralism of Chapel Gentlemen had inevitable consequences for the institutions that they found additional employment with. At the song school of Christ's hospital, London, Thomas Pierce's pluralism apparently caused significant problems in the training of the choristers. Pierce was appointed to the mastership of the children there in November 1622, a year after his election as Gentleman of the Chapel. By 1624, the governor and masters of Christ's complained that Pierce 'hath bene very ne[gligent] in the teaching of the song children', and had failed to instruct them 'holy & soly' due to 'his Marriage and the place he hath in the Kings Chappell', both terms contrary to the original endowment established by Robert Dowe.[53] Although Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of the Chapel and bishop of Winchester, and William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke and Lord Chamberlain wrote to the master and fellows of Christ's petitioning for Pierce to retain his post, no compromise was reached, and James was forced to intervene. An indication of the fractious institutional relationship engendered by royal intervention is found in a strongly worded letter from Andrewes to the governor of Christ's, which warned them not to pursue any similar campaign against a Chapel Gentleman, since this was 'not the first Practice of this kind w[hi]ch hath beene attempted against the gent[lemen] of his Ma[jes]ties Chappell (though by his Ma[jes]ties special Grace and providence) w[it]hout successe'.[54] Despite the decline in musical standards at Christ's, something the masters proposed to rectify by the replacement of Pierce with John Farrant (former master of the song school), royal intervention (after conciliar petitioning) maintained the apparent abuse of this musical post. While James was happy to invest in his own Chapel,

[53] LMA MS 13222.
Pierce was also employed as a singing-man at St George's, Windsor, from 18th May 1622. See: *The Chapter Acts of the Dean and Canons of Windsor,* ed. Bond, 114.
[54] LMA MS 13222.

and secure the support of the Chapel Dean, his protection of Chapel Gentlemen could clearly have negative effects on the musical provisions of other choral institutions in London.

Another indication of the problems raised by the pluralism of Chapel Gentlemen is their relationship with their colleagues in cathedrals and royal peculiars. Windsor was again the scene of a particularly dramatic decline in relations between a Chapel Gentleman and his colleagues. Nathaniel Giles, master of the Children of Windsor from 1585 until his death (though a deputy was appointed in 1605), and master of the Children of the Chapel from 1592, encountered the enmity of one of the minor canons of Windsor, Mark Leonard.[55] In 1606, Leonard's wife publicly confronted Giles's wife, Anne, for allegedly slandering her. Anne denied the charge, and insults were exchanged in which Leonard's wife called Anne 'paltry Baggage etc, saying dost thou maintaine this ould Bawd, you have daunced in a nett a good while gentell woman'. Anne's response did not ease tensions. In a paraphrase of Ecclesiasticus 13:1, Anne declared: '[a]way pitch [Leonard's wife misheard this as 'Biche'] I will not touch thee I will have nothing to do w[i]th thee I will not be defiled w[i]th thee'.[56] Anxieties about status are also identifiable in a later dispute, over the actions of Mark Petty, one of the children of the Chapel who resided with Giles and his wife over the summer of 1606, towards the Leonards' daughter. This resulted in Leonard and his wife besieging the Giles residence while Giles was absent, and Anne was hosting lunch. During this exchange, Anne declared that Leonard was no minister, and 'more fit to be a minstrell'. Leonard retorted [i]f I be a minstrel thy husband is a fiddler a fiddler a fiddler & gets his living by fiddling and thou art maintained by fiddling'.[57] Leonard's response may have alluded to Giles's musical occupation and the stereotypical low social status of fiddlers, or perhaps (and more wittily) punned on Giles's pluralism, since a contemporary meaning of 'fiddle' referred to cheating (often financial), as

[55] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 481-82.
[56] SGA XI.B.50.
[57] SGA XI.B.50.

noted in the Oxford English Dictionary.[58] The Leonards' siege was only broken by the return of Giles from Windsor town, at which point Leonard criticised him directly, sarcastically taunting 'that woulds he be a gentilman, what a gentilma[n] of the chapel a gentilma[n] of the chappell then he a proper gentilman in deed'.[59] Leonard's frustration with Giles's comparative prestige and exemption from ordinary rules governing income may have been an especially vitriolic expression of local tensions, but it is possible that similar feelings and resentment existed among singing-men and ministers who did not enjoy access to court, and only had civic employment, balanced against the duties imposed by the dean and chapter, to subsist on the low wage generated by their cathedral posts.

A similar case occurred at Chichester, where William Lawes made some enemies. In 1619, John Meade, a vicar choral noted for some 141 absences from morning and evening prayer in a three-month period was denied his share of the common bread, which Lawes had controlled since 1606.[60] Meade then broke into the kitchen as the vicars choral were eating, and threatened Lawes's substitute with a knife, declaring that if Lawes had been present 'he would have his bread out of his guts'.[61] This was likely not just a case of a hungry vicar choral frustrated with his superiors. Lawes was granted privileges (and rewards) for the very pluralism that Meade was punished for. For those in cathedrals, working with Gentlemen of the Chapel could prove unfair.

The advancement of Chapel Gentlemen from England's cathedrals supplied the crown with a reliable stream of well-trained, experienced, and sometimes fully catechised singing-men and musically competent ministers. Rather than reward their cathedrals, however,

[58] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "fiddle (v.)," June 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/7912595249. 1a.; 4.
[59] SGA XI.B.50.
[60] *The Acts of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester,* ed. Peckham, 168.
[61] Ibid., 220.

Elizabeth and James preferred to pursue the cost-effective policy of permitting Gentlemen to occupy multiple musical posts at a time, depriving cathedrals of filling valuable voice parts, and permitting stipends to fund sinecures during the busiest parts of the liturgical calendar. Despite the best efforts of churchmen associated with the Caroline reform of wider Church liturgy, the crown continued to pursue this policy until James's death, further illustrating an important distinction between the professional culture of royal worship, and later Laudian reverence for the ceremonial performance of the Prayer Book service.

II. Gentlemen in the city: life in London and beyond

a. Gentlemen at work

Reduced liturgical hours and stagnant pay allowed and pushed Gentlemen of the Chapel to work multiple jobs, frequently across multiple occupations. This led to a complex economic and social relationship between these influential servants of the royal household and their urban environments, which has not received significant scholarly attention.[62] Although Christopher Marsh has recognised that vicars choral and minor canons of England's cathedrals supplemented their wages with work as 'parish clerks, alehouse keepers, tobacco pipe makers, tailors, weavers, dyers, or barbers', the results of these additional occupations on the social networks and identities of early modern church musicians have not been examined.[63] This section assesses the various occupations undertaken by Chapel Gentlemen, the social and

[62] For exemplary existing work on this topic, see: Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603*-1643 (CUP, 1979); Valerie Pearl, *London and the outbreak of the Puritan revolution: city government and national politics, 1625-43* (OUP, 1961); Ian W. Archer, 'Conspicuous Consumption Revisited: City and Court in the Reign of Elizabeth I', in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott (Shaun Tyas, 2008); Idem, 'City and Court Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1625', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (2008): 157-179.
[63] Marsh, *Music and Society*, 109.

economic networks they developed, and the result of this in shaping the relationship between the Chapel Royal and the cities of London, Westminster, and beyond.

While the Gentlemen of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal are probably best known as composers of sacred and secular music, this was not a requirement of employment in the Chapel, nor was it their main source of income. Of the 152 Gentlemen who served Elizabeth and James, only nineteen are recorded as having composed pieces for the post-Reformation liturgy, and 29 composed any music at all. In 1598/99, the dean and chapter of Westminster Abbey were happy to pay Edmund Hooper 10s (little more than ten days' work for a skilled tradesman) 'for writing and prickinge in eighte partes one whole service' (probably his 'great' service).[64] Liturgical music also offered few opportunities for revenue in print. While Thomas Day's *Certain Notes* (c.1560-65) and George Wither's *The Hymns and Songs of the Church* (1623) contain music for the services of the Church of England set by some Gentlemen of the Chapel, they appear as exceptions among an otherwise 'non-liturgical' market for printed music.[65] Although new liturgical music was consistently produced for the Chapel Royal and cathedral churches (though we do not know the precise rate of this output), it did not provide a reliable source of money, was limited to those capable of composition, and most Chapel Gentlemen turned to alternate means of supplementing their income.

Members of the nobility and gentry were valuable patrons of individual church musicians before and after the Reformation. Members of the Chapel Royal sometimes filled lucrative posts offering vocal or instrumental training and accompaniment alongside non-musical roles in noble and gentle households. This relationship was not a simple economic

[64] WAM 33653 f.4, quoted in Lehmberg, 'The Musicians of Westminster Abbey' in *Westminster Abbey Reformed*, 105; 'Currency converter', *The National Archives*, (2024), https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/.
[65] Colin W. Holman, 'John Day's *Certaine Notes* (1560-65)', vol I (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1991); George Wither, *The hymnes and songs of the Church divided into two parts* (London, 1623).

transaction, but 'more a matter of traditional loyalty', as David Price has described.[66] Although little detail has survived concerning the process of appointing early modern pages, beyond the traditional expectation that pages of noblemen should be armigers, some Gentlemen are recorded in these roles, and may have maintained their links while employed at court.[67] William Hunnis, later Master of the children of the Chapel, was a page in the household of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, in the late 1540s-50s, where he offered musical, alchemical, and translation services. In 1550, Pembroke patronised the publication of Hunnis's first work, a collection of metrical psalms. Other Gentlemen held similar roles. John Bull was the page of Thomas Radclyffe, third earl of Sussex, in the 1580s; William Cross served James Montagu, Dean of the Chapel 1603-18 and bishop of Bath and Wells 1608-16, when he was listed as Montagu's servant on his admission to the Chapel in 1614; and Thomas Pierce (the younger) was servant to Lancelot Andrewes, Chapel Dean 1618-26 and bishop of Winchester 1619-26, when he was admitted to the Chapel in 1620.[68]

Records of individual musical service do not survive for these noble households, but it is probable that they offered technical advice and performed for their patrons, as suggested by Elizabeth's request in around 1581, that her Chapel Sub-Dean Robert Tirwitt provide a 'chime'. This was not a composition, but an instrument, comprising 44 bells, a keyboard, and which 'being tuned shall play any Paven […] w[i]thout hand or foote of any man', or a 'cuboard […] for yo[u]r gallerie' with small bells and pipes that produce noise your highnesse most deliteth in'.[69] Tirwitt's proposed instruments reveal his musical training (William Treasurer, royal

[66] Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 71.
[67] J.M, *A health to the gentlemanly profession of serving-men; or, The servingmans comforts* (London, 1598), Sig. B3r; quoted in Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*, 2.
[68] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 205; *CBCR,* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 30.
[69] BL Lansdowne MS 108 f.58r.

instrument maker, was commissioned to make one of the instruments on 30th August 1581) and indicates the sort of musical service that could take place in royal or noble households.[70]

Some Chapel Gentlemen had close relationships with their patrons. Walter Porter served John Digby, earl of Bristol, between 1621-23, while Bristol negotiated the abortive 'Spanish match'.[71] Porter's 1632 *Madrigals and Ayres* thanked Bristol in the dedication for his 'rare goodnesse in my attendance in Spaine', and that 'here and every where wherein your right Noble family hath bounde me with strong deservings'.[72] Porter's continued service to the Digbys, balanced alongside his Chapel employment, may have been secured by Porter's experience in Venice in 1617, where he was trained under Claudio Monteverdi, and was thus possibly more familiar with Italianate musical performance, recognisable to a modern Habsburg court.[73] Patrons also advanced Gentlemen to lucrative posts. For example, Gilbert Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was able to convince Christian IV of Denmark to employ his servant, Martin Otto, from 1610, a man also recorded in the service of the earls of Derby, indicating a degree of plurality in noble patronage. Otto was keen for advancement, wishing to 'practice my qualitie about the cowrt', since payments from the Talbots were becoming insufficient to sufficiently sustain his (presumably increasingly urbane) lifestyle.[74]

Patronage was not limited to the upper echelons of English society. Lesser gentry, like Sir Henry Pilkington, a relative of the Leicestershire Pilkingtons, who faced heavy fines at the outset of Henry VII's reign for their support of Richard III, had a close economic and personal relationship with Chapel Gentleman Thomas Sampson. Sampson dedicated his 1613 *Fortunes Fashion* to Pilkington. This was a verse narrative of the life of Lady Elizabeth Grey, parts of

[70] TNA C 66/1209.
[71] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 904.
[72] Walter Porter, *Madrigals and Ayres* (London: 1632), Sig.*r.
[73] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 904.
[74] LPL Shrewsbury MS 708 f.196, quoted in Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 18.

which excused her submission, and by extension that of the Pilkingtons, to 'the fury of a savage tormentor' (Richard III).[75] Although some associations were potentially predicated on confessional grounds, Gentlemen were valuable and versatile additions to noble and gentle households, who understood and recognised the political and social needs of their patrons, facilitating a continued relationship during their Chapel employment.

Noble patrons were also closely associated with the published music composed or collected by Chapel Gentlemen. In the dedication of William Byrd's *Liber Secundus Sacrarum Cantonium* (1593) for example, John Lord Lumley, a major crypto-Catholic gentleman and patron of musical, visual, and literary arts, was lauded as 'a most gracious Maecenas', to whom Byrd owed 'a greater debt: for you are accustomed to be so courteous and exceedingly kind'.[76] Though dedicatees did not always invest in the project that bore their name, Chapel Gentlemen regularly praised them for a love of music and sometimes their personal talent, indicating at least some personal familiarity, or supplication for future investment.[77] Christopher Hatton, the dedicatee of Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets & songs of sadnes and pietie* (1588) was praised for his 'judgement and love of that Art [music]'.[78] Thomas Morley praised both Robert Cecil and Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, for their patronage and appreciation of the arts in his *First Booke of Balletts* (1595) and *Triumphes of Oriana* (1601), respectively.[79] Hatton's son, Christopher, was likewise praised for his 'unequalled love unto *Musicke*' in Orlando Gibbons's *First Set of Madrigals* (1622), and Elway Bevin lauded bishop Godfrey Goodman of

[75] Thomas Sampson, *Fortunes Fashion* (London, 1613), Sig.F1v.
[76] William Byrd, *Liber Secundus Sacarum Cantionum* (London, 1591), Sig.A1r.
[77] Jan van Dorsten, 'Literary Patronage in Elizabethan England: The Early Phase' in *Patronage in the* Renaissance, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (PUP, 1982), 192.
[78] William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie* (London, 1588), Sig.A.r.
[79] Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces* (London, 1595), Sig.*r; Thomas Morley, *Madrigales: The Triumphes of Oriana, to 5. and 6. voices* (London, 1601), Sig.A1r.

Gloucester, to whom he was 'bound for many favours' as 'a lover and favourer of musick' in his *Briefe and Short Introduction to the Art of Musicke* (1631).[80]

Services in the Chapel Royal provided at least one avenue for dedications to emerge. Thomas Tomkins was explicit in his dedication of his *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 parts* (1622) that William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke's patronage came from his 'often frequenting and favourable attention to the Musicke in the Chappell, which useth sometimes to raise the soule above her Companions, Flesh, and Bloud'.[81] Music could clearly act as a powerful tool in motivating the connections enjoyed between Gentlemen and their noble and gentle patrons, something occasionally facilitated by the music of the Chapel itself. Except for Herbert, the religious conservatism of the dedicatees listed above is striking, though it ought to be recognised that these men were also urbane and musically literate patrons. While patronage was often an intimate economic and social relationship, it did not mean confessional commonality, and Gentlemen of the Chapel offered their patrons an association with some of the best-trained church musicians in post-Reformation England.

Chapel Gentlemen also found additional employment in London's theatrical world. The master of the children of the Chapel was already associated with this network, since he traditionally oversaw the performance of court theatre by the children, especially during the 1560s and 70s. Though some 'hotter' Protestant and Sabbatarian commentators were scandalised by the theatrical activities of juvenile members of a liturgical institution, who 'profane[d] the Lordes Day by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparel', the children were a popular acting troupe at court.[82] Between the

[80] Orlando Gibbons, *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 5. Parts* (London, 1622), Sig.A2r; Elway Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (London: 1631), Sig.A3r.
[81] Thomas Tomkins, *Songs of 3.4.5. and 6. parts* (London: 1622), Sig.A2r.
[82] Quoted in Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. II, 34-5. The original pamphlet, alarmingly titled 'The Children of the Chapel Stript and Whipt' is now lost.
It is possible that the author was responding to the performance of plays in the court chapel itself. Though there is no record of this, comparable institutions, like King's College, Cambridge, saw the

1570s and early 1600s, the children of the Chapel also performed publicly. Richard Farrant and Nathaniel Giles (both of whom acted as deputies for an aged William Hunnis until his death in 1597) rented a property in Blackfriars where the Chapel choristers performed plays in their courtly repertoire.[83] This was probably arranged to help defray some of the costs incurred by the care of the twelve boys, but by the late 1590s, Nathaniel Giles (master between 1597-January 1632/3) turned to illegal methods to supplement his income. As revealed by a Star Chamber case of 1600, the son of Sir Henry Clifton was taken from Christ Church grammar school in London, under the guise of Giles's right of impressment of choristers for the Chapel (granted to all masters of the Chapel), and made to act in the Blackfriars group, rather than the Chapel. When Clifton went to Blackfriars to retrieve his son, he found that various grammar school boys and apprentices, who were in 'noe way able or fit for singing', nor taught to sing, had been impressed. Giles (along with Henry Evans and James Robinson, men with financial interests in the Blackfriars boys) failed to convince the Star Chamber jury that the royal commission to impress children granted Giles 'aucthoritie sufficient soe to take any noble mans sonne in this land'.[84] The theatrical company was suspended, and Giles dropped all interest in Blackfriars. The distinction between the theatrical and choral groups is a difficult one to make, but the groups were probably entirely distinct by 1600, though there may have been some earlier cross-over.[85] Giles's abuse of his powers as Master of the Children had detrimental effects on those living around court, and damaged the reputation of the Chapel, but he was not subjected to any significant punishment, within or without the Chapel. Membership of the Chapel clearly brought with it certain royal protection beyond intervention over employment

performance of plays in the chapel (rather than the hall, where they were usually performed) for Elizabeth's visit in 1564. See: Abigail Pokison, 'Drama in King's College Chapel' in *King's College Chapel*, ed. Massing and Zeeman, 241.

[83] Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. II, 44.; TNA STAC 5/C46/39; CP 40/1524/2, rot. 2671

[84] STAC 5/C46/39; transc. in Mary C. Erler, *Records of Early English Drama: Ecclesiastical London* (UTP, 2008), 174; Ibid., 175-76.

[85] McCarthy, 'Men in the Making', 601.

disputes and potentially encouraged some individuals to take greater risks in their dealings with the City and beyond court.

Other Gentlemen performed in plays and masques and provided the music for celebratory feasts. On 16th July 1607, John Bull played the organ, Nathaniel Giles led the Chapel children, and 15 Gentlemen sung in a performance for the entertainment of James, Prince Henry, and the leading officers of the Merchant Taylors Company.[86] Music also offered a link with London's Inns of Court. John Frost, John Miners, and Walter Porter all appeared in George Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn,* performed in February 1613/14 as part of the London celebrations for the marriage of Elector Frederick and Princess Elizabeth. With a fee of £3 6s 8d for Gibbons, and £2 for the rest of the singing-men, such engagements, though occasional, could be profitable.[87] Richard Edwards (Master of the Children 1560-71), was made a member of Lincoln's Inn in 1563, and his play *Damon and Pithias* was performed there, as well as at court, by the children of the Chapel during the Christmas Revels of 1564/5.[88] While theatre offered some commercial allure, Gentlemen seem to have more profitably and safely enjoyed the performance of drama and interludes in sanctioned courtly and legal environments.

Many Gentlemen had close associations with London's livery companies, either with members or as members themselves. This is not unique among London's aspirant social classes, since links with larger livery companies, like the Merchant Taylors, are readily identifiable as membership expanded towards the end of the sixteenth century, and a diverse range of men

[86] The Gentlemen included Sub-Dean Leonard Davies, Robert Stone, William Byrd, Richard Granwall, Carew Sharp, Edmund Brown, Thomas Woodson, Henry Eveseed, Robert Allison, John Hewlett, Richard Plumley, Thomas Goold, William Lawes, Elway Bevin, and Orlando Gibbons (noted as an extraordinary Gentleman).
Nichols, *The Progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities of King James the First*, Vol. II, 139.
[87] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 339; Ibid., 447; Ibid., 802.
[88] John R. Elliot jr, 'Edwards, Richard' in *ODNB*, (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8552.

claimed membership by patrimony.[89] Nonetheless, many Chapel Gentlemen appear to have established particularly close links with London merchants and tradesmen through marriage, additional occupation, or on confessional grounds. Chapel Gentleman Peter Hopkins left his children in the care of the Grocer John Geary, and Clothworker Roger Drake, who were both 'hotter' Protestants, or at least closely associated with them.[90] From 1627, Gearing served as treasurer to the feoffees, a godly group of twelve Londoners founded in 1625 to relieve poor Calvinist ministers, and Drake was likely the father of Dr Roger Drake, a physician and presbyterian minister.[91]

Confessional associations were not the only bond between Chapel Gentlemen and London's merchants. Robert Paternoster named John Davenant, Merchant Taylor (probably the same member of the Muscovy Company, or his son, the owner of a successful tavern in Oxford) as executor of his will, and Robert Morecock named Giles Crowch, Haberdasher, citizen of London, and commissioner of the fine Jacobean manor of Bifrons in Patrixbourne, Kent, as executor of his will and inheritor of the leases of three messuages on King's Street, Westminster.[92] The appointment of an executor (the individual responsible for general oversight of the will) overseers (those who enforced the requests of the deceased) and witnesses (those who verified that correct procedure was followed) was not just a formality, but a role granted to a trusted and often intimate associate. Whatever the relationship, many Chapel Gentlemen were closely associated, at least by close social connections, with members of

[89] T.F. Reddaway, 'The Livery Companies of Tudor London', *History*, Vol. 51, Issue 173, (October 1966): 278; Ashton, *The City and the Court*, 50.
[90] TNA PROB 11/147/581 f.294r.
[91] Isabel M. Calder, 'A 17th Century Attempt to Purify the Anglican Church', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (1948): 761; William Birken, 'Drake, Roger' in *ODNB*, (2008) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8029.
[92] TNA PROB 11/88/86 f.80r; Mary Edmond, 'Davenant, Sir William' in *ODNB*, (2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7197; WCA 'Elsam' f.190v; B.M. Thomas, 'A history of Bifrons mansion house', *Kent Archaeological Society*, Vol. 110 (1992): 315.

London's livery companies who, whether active merchants in their company or not, likely appreciated their influential contacts at court.

Not all Chapel Gentlemen were exclusively church musicians and singing-men. Some were merchants and tradesmen. William Jewett (Chapel Gentlemen 1569-91) was a successful merchant and served as sheriff of Chester 1558/9, and mayor in 1578/9. According to a contemporary account, Jewett was 'one of the Queenes Ma[jes]tes Chappell; reputed for an excellent synging man in his youthe, a martchant of great adventures, and a lover of gentlemanlye disports and exercises'.[93] Although his mayoral record reveals little about his character, he played an active role in Chester's civic life, despite his employment at court.[94] William Hunnis was a Grocer, admitted to the company through his wife's former husband's membership in 1560/1 and on the payment of a £10 pawn, 40s fee, and a buck promised for 'the next election dinner'.[95] Hunnis kept the apprentice formerly indentured to Hunnis's widow's first husband, John Blanck until the company ordered him to release the boy, indicating that Hunnis attempted to continue operating Blanck's shop, which may have been located on London Bridge. This might explain Elizabeth's attempt to elect Hunnis to the office of toll-taker on London Bridge, though the post was already filled and the City Fathers paid Hunnis £40 compensation.[96] Other Gentlemen, like Nathaniel Giles and John Bull, are also recorded as members of the Merchant Taylors Company, admitted in thanks for their performance at a 1607 without the usual charge, though it is unknown how extensively they engaged in mercantile activity themselves.[97]

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[93] 'A Fragment of the Visitation of the City of Chester in the year 1591, by Thomas Chaloner of Chester, Deputy to the Office of Arms' quoted in Peter Le Huray, 'Jewett, Randolph', *Grove Music Online* (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14291.
[94] CRO ZAB/1/95-6; CRO ZQSPE/17; CRO ZQSF/33; CRO ZMF/18.
[95] Records quoted at length in Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*, 123-126.
[96] Ibid., 169.
[97] Nichols, *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First*, Vol. II, 139-140.

Commercial activity did not have to be explicitly mercantile, and engagement could be conducted through petitions. In c.1608, Sub-Dean Leonard Davies, Richard Plumley, and John Amery attempted to secure a patent to prevent the export of coney skins before they were tawned, and to place a charge placed on those that were exported, though this was denied by the Skinners' Company.[98] Though it is unclear what interest this group of Gentlemen had in coney skins, it is possible that they intended to capitalise on their potential roles as courtly 'concessionaries' for their contacts in the Skinners' Company. Although James was placed under greater pressure by parliament to crack down on monopolies, and the crown had by the 1610s begun to form direct relationships with merchants, it is significant that a group of Gentlemen of the Chapel saw some role for themselves in this financial relationship.[99] Chapel posts not only brought access, but important dispensations. Chapel Gentlemen were regularly excused subsidy payments, and in some extraordinary cases were excused the payment of heftier fines.[100] In October 1620 William Cross and John Stephens were cleared of a £6000 fine issued to Peter Wyborowe (possibly a relative of their colleague, Francis) 'for buying and transporting of Coyne', inherited as his executors.[101] Although Wyborowe's financial interests are unclear, Cross and Stephens were likely thankful for royal protection once they discovered their responsibility for payment of this fine. Economic interests and associations were varied, but they do not always provide a clear or discernible pattern beyond idiosyncratic association.

A handful of Gentlemen were closely linked to taverns and alcohol. John Amery owned an inn at Norwich, possibly managed by his wife or a local agent while he attended to his duties at court, Robert Golder owned a tavern called the 'king[es] head' in St Sepulchres, London, also apparently managed by his wife, and Richard Bower leased a house in east Greenwich to

[98] Guildhall Library CLC/L/SE/B/001/MS30708/001 f.100v.
I am grateful to Dr Ellen Patterson for bringing this document to my attention.
[99] Ashton, *The City and the Court*, 18-20; Ibid., 23.
[100] TNA E 179/276/41B.
[101] TNA SO 3/7.

one Blaise Latton, a beerbrewer.[102] James Cancellar was, as John Bale claimed, employed as a vintner, and before this a 'Clarke oversear of the poore labourers' at Boulogne and Calais before debts in Canterbury forced his move to London where he found preferment to the Chapel Royal.[103] Although polemical accounts like Bale's should be treated with a degree of caution, such employment could be well suited to men with musical associations. As several scholars of early modern drinking culture and musicology have established, taverns and inns were fertile musical scenes for the performance of catches, rounds, and ballads, and some Gentlemen of the Chapel, like Edmund Nelham, composed especially bawdy catches, rounds, and drinking songs.[104] Other Gentlemen, such as Orlando Gibbons, may have been inspired by their engagement with London's mercantile world to compose songs that mimicked the cries of London's merchants and tradesmen, hawking their wares.[105] The additional jobs Gentlemen took up were clearly not too far divorced from their musical occupations.

Musical and mercantile interests sometimes intersected. In 1575 Byrd and Tallis were granted a monopoly on all printed music, which was transferred to Thomas Morley in 1598, though it is doubtful how profitable this arrangement was.[106] Another attempt to secure a monopoly led by Gentlemen of the Chapel on an important aspect of musical production in England, the 'sole making of all strings for musicall Instruments, called Venice, or Romish

[102] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 20; TNA PROB 11/48/399 f.266r; PROB 11/4/299, f.213v. For further detail on the interaction between cathedrals and taverns in this period, see: Beat Kümin, 'Sacred church and worldly tavern: reassessing an early modern divide', in *Sacred Space in early modern Europe*, ed. Coster and Spicer, 17-38.
[103] LPL MS Fairhurst 2001 f.1r.
[104] For example, the following outrageous verse is attributed to Nelham with an accompanying ditty, in a 1667 collection: 'Take a pound of butter made in May, clap it to her Arse in a Summers day, and ever as it melts, then lick it clean away, 'tis a medicine for the Tooth-ach old wives say.' John Hilton, *Catch that Catch can* (London, 1663), 75.
[105] Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 64-65.
[106] See: Teresa Ann Murray, 'Thomas Morley and the Business of Music in Elizabethan England' (PhD diss., The University of Birmingham, 2010); Iain Fenlon and John Milsom, '"Ruled Paper Imprinted": Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (1984): 139-163.

minikin [the highest string on a viol], and Catlin strings' for 14 years and with an annual payment of £16, drafted in May 1622 by Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Day, William Heather, John Clarke, and Adam Vallett (the first four being Gentlemen of the Chapel, Vallett being a French viol player).[107] This was denied however, likely due to the reduced role of courtly intermediaries between the City and crown by the 1620s, and explicit pressure from the 1620/21 Parliament to crack down on courtly monopolies.[108] Thomas Morley was also keen to take advantage of possible musical employment in London by dedicating his *First Booke of Consort Lessons* (1599) to the Mayor and aldermen of London, who Morley praised for their 'gracious favours' and historic patronage of music, 'as the ancient custome is of this most honorable and renowned Cittie hath beene ever, to retaine and maintaine excellent and expert Musitians'.[109] While Morley ostensibly sought only 'to procure your Lordships pleasure and recreation', it is likely that he was also canvassing for patronage from a wealthy and powerful civic elite, who had the income and status to offer significant reward.

At least two ministers and two singing-men associated with the Chapel Royal had agricultural interests. Sub-Dean Leonard Davies maintained a sizeable farm in Harmondsworth, a rural parish on the outskirts of the capital and accessible by the Thames, where he was rector. The size of Davies's smallholding is difficult to calculate, but it was large enough that the 'one halfe of all such Corne and graine which I have att the time of my death in the Barne', the 'grain and Field threshed and unthreashed with the moytie or one halfe of hay, Cattle and wood' in the barn and outhouses was a sufficient inheritance for Davies's son and heir.[110] Similarly, Edmund Doughtie, after relinquishing the post of confessor to James's royal household in 1607 for the deanship of Hereford managed a moderate smallholding in

[107] TNA SO 3/7.
[108] Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629* (OUP, 1979), 88.
[109] Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (London, 1599), Sig.A2r.
[110] LMA DL/C/361 f.145v.

Stockport, where he died. It consisted of a sow and six pigs (each rated at 30s), 20s worth of ducks, £4 10s of cheese and butter, a cheese press worth 6s 8d, and an 'ould whyte gelding' valued at £2 remaining in his estate at the time of his death.[111] William Hutchins had a moderately large farm in Cornwall, and bequeathed a total of two oxen and around seventy sheep to his family and friends. William Heather also listed 'Sheepe, Kyne [cows] and Carthorses, carts and all other my implements of husbandrie' kept at his residence in Chislehurst, left to his 'kinsman and servant' Thomas Banister.[112] Agrarian labour was a common venture for investment in early modern England, especially in the context of spiralling inflation, though Chapel Gentlemen were clearly not exclusively wedded to urban mercantilism or courtly service.[113]

Chapel Gentlemen entertained a variety of occupations alongside their court employment, which not only brought additional incomes to soften the impact of rapid inflation and delayed payment from the crown but also offered a rich network of social and economic engagement with mercantile communities in London. Some Gentlemen likely saw themselves less as church musicians, and more so as courtly intermediaries, who enjoyed the prestige and access of a prominent office in the royal household.

b. Gentlemen at home

By the latter half of the sixteenth century, Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal had vacated their residences at court and lived across London's parishes with their families.[114] While many

[111] CRO WS 64/1616 f.1r.
[112] TNA PROB 11/152/323 f.211v.
[113] The same trend has been identified among pre-Reformation clergymen, in: Tim Cooper, *The Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy: Parish priests in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield in the early Sixteenth Century*, Boydell Press, 1999), 121.
[114] For wider discussion of this trend, see: Stefania Merlo Perring, 'Reformation of the English cathedral landscape: negotiating change in York Minster Close, c.1500-1642', *World Archaeology*,

resided in Greenwich and Blackfriars, the most popular neighbourhood was Westminster, specifically the parish of St Margaret's, with a possible total of 42 Gentlemen christened, married, or buried there.[115] Due to the combination of close residence and institutional association, it is common, like in other early modern institutions, to find Gentlemen forging close familial connections with one another. One means of securing this, and offering economic security for the widows of Gentlemen, was the practice of re-marriage between widows and their husbands' former colleagues. Thomas Tallis, for example, married Joan, the widow of his former colleague Thomas Bury.[116] Similarly, some years later, Humphrey Bache's widow Susan married Ezechiel Wade, Bache's younger colleague.[117] This practice included members of the Vestry, like serjeant John Patten, whose daughter married Orlando Gibbons and was Patten's sole heir and bearer of £200 to care for his remaining children.[118] Friendships and associations between Gentlemen also helped to strengthen this internal sense of a corporate bond. Richard Aylesworth left a silver earpick, a little drinking glass 'which he lovid', and a book of Virgil's works to his colleague Robert Morecock. Aylesworth also left his best velvet nightcap, a cloth cape, and a book of Skelton's works to Henry Aldred, another Chapel Gentleman.[119] Though it is difficult to trace the precise terms of this familiarity, bequests of personal items like books, clothes, drinking vessels, and grooming accoutrements were often charged with personal meaning.

Bequests of money were also frequently left between Gentlemen and could often be connected to legal roles involved in testamentary procedure. Small financial gifts awaited

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Vol. 45, No. 1, (2013): 195.; David Stocker, 'The Quest for One's Own Front Door: Housing the Vicars Choral at the English Cathedrals', *Vernacular Architecture,* Vol. 36, No.1 (2005): 15-31; Lehmberg, *Reformation of the Cathedrals*, 187.

[115] See: *Memorials of St Margaret's Church, Westminster: The Parish Registers, 1539-1660*, ed. Arthur Meredyth Burke (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1914).

[116] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 1070.

[117] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 46.

[118] Ibid., 478-9.

[119] LMA LG 9051/3 f.194.

Bartholomew Mason, Nicholas Beighton, Richard Granwall, and William Rodenhurst, who witnessed the will of Richard Farrant; Thomas Sampson who oversaw the wills of Robert Morecock and Robert Paternoster (and received the abnormally large gift of £12); William Rodenhurst for John Addie; and Nicholas Beighton for John More.[120] Though testamentary associations only offer a glimpse of personal association within the Chapel, Gentlemen clearly enjoyed a strong corporate bond that easily meshed with social and economic association.

The Gentlemen of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal occupied the middle-to-upper rungs of London's 'middling sort'. Although calculating of the precise social and economic status of a fluid courtly community like the Gentlemen of the Chapel is difficult, their average income of around £60-70 (including additional wages and rents as discussed earlier in this chapter) placed them in a comfortable position, secured by the social capital gained from their status as royal servants and courtiers. Their homes tended to be well furnished, and some employed non-specialised servants, like Thomas Palfreyman, who had at least five servants in 1589.[121] They also frequently owned or held leases on multiple properties, some of which were outside of London (and facilitated their occupation of multiple cathedral and collegiate posts).[122] Jacobean Gentlemen appear to have been, on the whole, richer, or at least left more money for friends and family. Of the 15 surviving wills of Gentlemen appointed to the Chapel Royal during Elizabeth's reign or earlier, ten left bequests of more than £50 (the rest leaving their entire estate with their widow, without specifying the amount), at an average of nearly £81. Of the eight surviving wills of Jacobean Gentlemen, six significant monetary

[120] TNA PROB 11/63/120 f.67v; WestCA 'Elsam' f.190v; TNA PROB 11/88/86, 81v; PROB 11/60/301 f.175v.
[121] TNA PROB 11/75/418 f.358v.
[122] Robert Morecock and his wife purchased a life-long lease of the tenement called 'le Sonne' on Westminster High Street from the governors of Christ's Hospital, Bridewell in 1563. Arthur Cock leased a tenement from the dean and chapter of Canterbury on 'Ruttington Lane', and George Woodson leased a tenement on 'the highe streete neere unto the Inne commonly called the White Horse' in Windsor, for 40s a year.
LMA CLC/210/G/BCA/034/MS13008; CCA DCc/CA/3 f.28.r; SGA XV.46.6(2)(b).

bequests were granted, at an average of £424 13s $9^{1/2}$d.[123] Although this jump is problematised by the presence of enormously wealthy Gentlemen like William Heather (who left monetary bequests to the tune of just under £1000), the poor survival of wills for Chapel Gentlemen, and the value of estates and 'ready money' left to wives and sole heirs, it is nevertheless a notable shift. Nonetheless, Gentlemen were clearly wealthy, albeit more so during the seventeenth century, when they benefitted from higher courtly wages.

Gentlemen also reflected their social positions through their household furnishings. They frequently left important items of household stuff, mostly relating to the bedchamber, to their children. Richard Bower left bedsteads and other paraphernalia to his sons; Robert Paternoster left his cousin William Cooe two feather beds, other associated items, and a wainscot chest and bedstead, both carved; and Richard Aylesworth left similar items to his daughter Alice.[124] Such provisions are typical of the early modern middling sort, and indicate the social significance of furniture, which provided comfort and elevated an individual's social standing.[125] Particular items indicate some of the domestic decorative schemes pursued by Chapel Gentlemen. Richard Aylesworth had 'a story' with a frame hanging in the hall, a painted cloth of Mary and Martha, and 'pictures and windowpanes' in the parlour.[126] Biblical stories and figures were extremely common subjects of early modern domestic art, and although their presence cannot be used to make any confessional claim, the cost of tapestries, and extent of domestic ornamentation nonetheless indicates the sort of domestic and social aspiration of at least one Chapel Gentleman.[127] It is perhaps significant that Aylesworth's will does not record the individual depiction of abstract religious figures, but narrativized 'stories', indicating that

[123] See appendix.
[124] TNA PROB 11/4/299 f.213v; PROB 11/88/86 f.80v; LMA LG, 9051/3 f.194.
[125] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (YUP, 2017), 11.
[126] LMA LG, 9051/3 f.194.
[127] Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, 209.

he decorated his home with artwork usually associated with Protestant tastes, rather than individual saints or scriptural figures. Although conclusions cannot be too readily drawn, such a trend would accord with the expectations of the 'godly' household, where in a comparable way to the church, individual religious figures were treated with caution among the more iconophobic Elizabethan and Jacobean Protestants.

Musical instruments are found in surprisingly few wills of Chapel Gentlemen, though this may simply reflect the personal arrangements and bequests settled outside surviving testamentary provisions. Those that do survive indicate interest in female music-making, as Richard Aylesworth left a 'great lute, and a littell one, a vyall, a payre of virginalles and a payre of Clarycordes' to his daughter.[128] John Miners left his wife 'fivers musickbookes, and other reading bookes in the Closett', and instructed her to 'keepe and bringe up [their daughter] in the feare of God', and that she 'be taught to write and reade'.[129] Concern for household education, especially the needs of female relations, indicates how at least some Gentlemen cultivated pious and literate domestic cultures.

The literary interests of some Chapel Gentlemen are revealed by a series of detailed bequests in Richard Aylesworth's will. These included religious works like Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*, an unidentified *Mirror of Glass* (possibly that of his colleague, Thomas Palfreyman), a bible and service book, and 'Joseffus of the destruction of Jerusalem'; medical works including Elyot's *Castel of Health*, possibly the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, Thomas Colwell's *Treasure of poor men,* a 'Book of Herbs', and bound together, 'the Book of the principal parts of physicke', the government of health, and the 'regiment' of Thomas Fearys; and general histories and chronicles, like John Mandeville's works, an English

[128] LMA LG 9051/3 f.194.
[129] TNA PROB 11/125/742 f.123r.

chronicle, and a Turkish chronicle.[130] Representing Aylesworth's interests in domestic devotion, national and global history, and the natural world, these books were distributed to a number of friends and family members, mostly grouped by theme, though none of the recipients can yet be positively identified. John Angel (Chapel minister 1553-67) left his works of St Augustine and St John Chrysostom to Edmund Howard 'nowe scholer within the newe colledge of winchester' and relative of Francis Howard, a clerk of the Admiralty.[131] Robert Paternoster also left enough books to constitute a small library at Jesus College, Cambridge, though they have since been lost.[132] Though no personal link can be identified between Paternoster and the college, the bequest speaks to an important intersection between Gentlemen's institutional affiliations and their intellectual habits, illustrating the ways in which literary habits cultivated in the household might have an impact on Gentlemen's public contemporary legacies.

Given the poor survival rate of personal letters and testamentary evidence, marriage rates are difficult to track. At least 42 Gentlemen are known to have been married, though the rate was likely higher, especially given the poor survival of evidence. William Jones was the first known married minister of the Chapel Royal and served from c.1558 (likely appointed in the final years of Mary's reign) to his death in 1581/2.[133] The date of his marriage, however, is difficult to determine. Jones was probably buried at St Margaret's Westminster on 28th February 1581/2, and married Alice Moundford (an Alice appears as Jones's wife in his will) on the 28th April, 1572.[134] This date is significant: Elizabeth initially forbade married ministers in her royal peculiars, though she relented on the issue by the appointment of the married William Day as

[130] LMA LG 9051/3 f.194-6.
[131] TNA PROB 11/50/241 f.150v.
[132] TNA PROB 11/88/86, f.81r.
[133] PROB 11/63/119 f.67.
[134] *Memorials of St Margaret's Church, Westminster*, ed. Burke, 439; Ibid., 289.

dean of Windsor in 1572.[135] It is possible that after this appointment, Jones, clearly as a minister who had no scruples over clerical marriage despite his Marian training, quickly acted after the Queen signified that such a step might be acceptable. Nonetheless, recorded clerical marriages in the Chapel Royal remained rare. Only six out of thirty recorded ministers were married. While such a trend might be read as indicative of a degree of religious conservatism among the ordained Gentlemen, it is worth considering that little source material survives for the clergy in Elizabeth or James's Chapel Royal, and rates of married men admitted as priests to the Chapel are consistent from around 1581.

The children of Gentlemen of the Chapel were well placed to make socially advantageous marriage matches. William Beckett's daughter married Gilbert Thacker in 1617, the same man who served as 'ancientest' secretary for Master of Requests Sir John Coke in 1622, later principal secretary to James and Charles.[136] In-laws could be problematic, however. Beckett named Thacker as his executor rather than his wife, Mudwyn, and the latter challenged Thacker's claims to Beckett's estates and inheritance, with an unknown outcome.[137] Children also strengthened links with livery companies. Another of Beckett's children married a goldsmith, Richard Tailor, and the grandson of Chapel minister and Sub-Dean Leonard Davies, Leonard Ball, was apprenticed and due to become a freeman of London, with £20 promised in Davies's will when Ball reached his majority.[138] Davies's son-in-law likely also had a mercantile connection, if his son was apprenticed, and Davies enjoyed an apparently amicable

[135] Brett Usher, 'Queen Elizabeth and Mrs Bishop' in *The Myth of Elizabeth,* ed. Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 202.
[136] TNA PROB 11/150/364 f.154r; Anthony Thacker, 'Upward social mobility among Derbyshire's Tudor merchants. Part 2: Thomas Thacker and his family's successors', *Derbyshire Miscellany* vol 19, part 5, (2012): 110.
[137] TNA C2/ChasI/B135/30; C2/ChasI/B147/27.
[138] TNA PROB 11/150/364 f.154r.

relationship with him, leaving him £5 and 'all my bookes which are in Lattine', speaking to the important intellectual links which could bind individuals together in early modern London.[139]

Gentlemen were not always ideal husbands. William Lawes (Chapel minister 1602/3-1611) was charged with bigamy in 1595 at Chichester, as was John Greene (Chapel singing-man 1616-17), who lost his Chapel place on account of the fact that he 'did so misdemeane himselfe and also marryed a second wiffe (the first beinge living)'.[140] Stephen Boughton (Chapel minister from 1602 and Sub-Dean from 1623-42) was also charged by the dean and chapter of Hereford for getting his wife pregnant before marriage, in the January of 1617/18.[141] John Bull was by far the most notorious Gentleman of the Chapel for his sexual indiscretion. In 1613, archbishop George Abbot of Canterbury remarked: 'the man hath more music than honesty and is as famous for marring of virginity as he is for fingering of organs and virginals'. Abbot's comment was prompted by Bull's unlicensed journey to the Low Countries in October 1613. According to Abbot this was not the result of a change in religion, but the fury of his wife and charges of adultery. Bull had, apparently, woken one of his maids, sleeping on the truckle bed next to his and his wife's, to have sex with the other. The first maid woke 'her mistress, and biddeth her see what her master is doing. His wife beholdeth it and telleth her servant that this was no news to her, for her husband had long and often been a dealer that way'.[142] Gentlemen clearly sometimes strayed far from their expected ideals as men, husbands, and representatives of the royal court.

The provisions made by Chapel Gentlemen for their funerals and monuments indicate how they fashioned themselves and how they were estimated by others. A degree of corporate

[139] LMA DL/C/361 f.146v.
[140] *CBCR,* Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 29.
[141] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 175.
[142] *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, vol. 4, ed. Edward Kelly Purnell and Allen Banks Hinds (H.M. Stationery Office, 1940), 270.

remembrance was encouraged each year at the Chapel feast, held around St Peter's Day, which as the end of the working year celebrated with a buck, other meats, and £3 provided by the monarch to the clerk of the cheque.[143] This occasion, with other 'drinkings', was also used to remember deceased colleagues. Gentlemen often provided for their former colleagues to 'meete together att some repast therew[i]th, to remember [them]'.[144] Such occasions marked a corporate extension of the funeral, which was occasionally attended by the members of the Chapel Royal in a liturgical capacity, indicating the prestige claimed by Chapel Gentlemen. At Sub-Dean Leonard Davies's funeral, held at St Mary's Harmondsworth, where Davies was rector between 1594-1623, elaborate provisions were made. The procession consisted of each of Davies's godchildren, who received 12d each to 'goe with my dead corps unto the Churche', the 'most aged & poore widowes which shalbee there within this Parish' (each paid 6s 8d) and the Gentlemen and children of the Chapel Royal, who arrived at Harmondsworth by three coaches and boats, at a cost of £5 10d to the Chapel.[145] However, Davies instructed that no monument be set up, and wished to be 'buried under the grave stone of one of my predecessors'.[146] It is unclear whether this decision was made for the sake of economy, humility, or confessional discomfort with the maintenance of funerary monuments in churches.

Perhaps reflective of their relative wealth and social status, some other Gentlemen made considerable investments in their funerary provisions. William Heather left 64 mourning gowns for 64 poor men (who likely formed part of the procession), Robert Stone left a black mourning gown for his wife and £10 for a dinner to be held after his funeral, and Robert Paternoster a

[143] *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 73-74.
[144] TNA PROB 11/88/86 f.81r.
Comparable instructions are found in the wills of Robert Morecock, George Woodson, and Nathaniel Giles, the latter two specifically requesting a 'drinking', worth 40s. WCA 'Elsam' f.189v; TNA PROB 11/192/22 f.61v; *Playhouse wills 1558-1642: an edition of wills by Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the London theatre,* ed. E.A.J. Honingmann and Susan Brock (MUP, 1993), 174.
[145] LMA DL/C/361 f.147r-v; *CBCR*, Vol. I, ed. Ashbee and Harley, 9.
[146] LMA DL/C/361 f.145v.

long black gown faced with 'budge' (lambskin) for his wife.[147] Remembrance rings were more commonly given to close family members. They usually cost around £1, and are found in the wills of Nathaniel Giles, John Frost jr, and Luke Jones, who left £1 2s for a ring to be worn by the 'hotter' Protestant minister George Barry, rector of Walkerne, Hertfordshire.[148] Jacobean Gentlemen invested significantly more in their funerals than their Elizabethan predecessors, reflecting both increased wealth, and a contemporaneous trend among the Jacobean elite classes towards status-making in funerary performance.[149]

The urge to remember Chapel Gentlemen beyond payments for temporary 'remembrances' was usually expressed through funerary monuments. These memorials often referenced the royal service of the deceased, and their institutional affiliations. Robert Stone, for example, arranged for a memorial to be placed on the north side of Westminster Abbey cloisters, which along with his name and date of death, described how he served in the Chapel Royal of Henry, Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, and James, 'a gentlem[an] of their Royall Chappell 70 yeares'.[150] Edmund Shergold arranged for a flat stone to be laid on his grave at St Margaret's Westminster, with 'some remembrance of my name and qualitie' engraved in brass or silver, and William West arranged for a memorial at St Paul's to describe him as 'chiefly vertuous and stedfast', commemorating the date and season of his death, and his long service to St Paul's and the Chapel Royal.[151] Some Gentlemen had memorials erected for them by family members: Nathaniel Giles's son paid for a memorial to his father which celebrated him as a 'Pattern of Patience, Gravitie, Devotion, Faithful to the end, now Heyre of Heavn's Promotion', and

[147] TNA PROB 11/152/323 f.211r; PROB 11/122/120 f.17v; PROB 11/88/86 f.81r.
[148] *Playhouse wills*, ed. Honingmann and Brock, 174.; TNA PROB 11/183/433 f.84r; LMA MS 25626/4 f.329v.
[149] Further discussion of the funerals of the socially aspirant is found in: David Cressy, 'Death and the social order: the funerary preferences of Elizabethan gentlemen', *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (1990): 99-119.
[150] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 1055.
[151] WCA 'Elsam', f.534v; Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 1142.

Thomas Tallis's widow Joan erected a memorial at St Margaret's Westminster which described her husband as 'a worthy Wyght Who for long Tyme in Musick bore the bell', and 'In honest vertuous Lyff he dyd excell. He serv'd long Time in Chappell with grete prayer', all 'In myld and quyet Sort'.[152] Similarly, Orlando Gibbons's widow arranged for a monument which described him as an 'emulator of the harmony of the spheres with the touch of his fingers', and 'a most upright man whose life harmonised most sweetly with his art and manners', accompanied by a marble bust of the composer.[153] In both Tallis and Gibbons' monuments, their wives are also commemorated, indicating a wider sense of professional and personal familial prestige. Memorials to Gentlemen, while indicative of status, also provide further confirmation of the complex institutional links they exercised. No Gentlemen were buried or physically commemorated in court chapels (no monarch was either, excepting medieval saint-monarchs in the glass of Whitehall and stone of Greenwich), but in their parishes or places of long-term employment.

The Gentlemen of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal represented a cultured, moderately wealthy, and socially aspirant class of the early modern 'middling sort'. Although much of their status was derived from their position in the Chapel Royal, their occupational horizons were not limited to their music-making, and in some cases, it is worth considering whether these individuals (who did not compose or necessarily play instruments) can be considered primarily musicians at all. As well-connected inhabitants of London and its surrounding suburbs, the Gentlemen of the Chapel provide a valuable insight into the social and economic practices of an influential group of men who have typically been taken as representative of the highest social and economic position reached by church musicians. Chapel Gentlemen were bound by close institutional bonds, which extended into deeply personal

[152] Trans & Ed. Joseph Sargent, *Nathaniel Giles II English Sacred Music* (Stainer & Bell, 2021), xix; Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 1071.
[153] Ashbee and Lascoki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 479.

relationships and forms of individual expression. Judging from the surviving evidence, Gentlemen of the Chapel enjoyed the benefits of a prestigious courtly post, capitalised on access to a wide social network, and in some cases (especially in the seventeenth century) secured sufficient personal wealth to make elaborate statements regarding their identity and social status.

III. Confessional identities

Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were not, as is sometimes suggested, uniformly 'conservative' in their religious beliefs.[154] They were court servants with varied and often opaque religious views and, as established in the earlier parts of this chapter, had a keen sense of their privileges and influential social networks. A dearth of surviving positive evidence, coupled with the flexibility and unpredictability of conversion, dissimulation, and the insufficiency of modern labels for early modern religious groups, provide a host of complications in recovering the religious identities of Chapel Gentlemen. Nevertheless, the confessional views of a cross-section of a handful of Chapel Gentlemen are identifiable in surviving literary, dedicatory, epistolary, and testamentary evidence.

While most Gentlemen appear to have conformed to the Elizabethan Church (only three entered exile), some Gentlemen actively engaged with theological and ecclesiastical aspects of

[154] While the Gentlemen of the Chapel have been primarily studied for their compositions and musical activity, their religious identities, when considered, are occasionally summarised as 'conservative', usually based on an extrapolation of evidence from the surviving indications of Thomas Tallis and William Byrd's respective 'conservative' or Catholic identities. One recent account has implicated Hugh Sully, Henry Aldred, and George Buck as 'Catholic-minded priests' on the basis of their employment at Canterbury cathedral during the 1550s and argued that 'even a fairly obvious Papist could find a berth at court if his conscience did not prick him to become a spectacle or openly subversive'. Bennett Page, 'Polemic, Conspiracy, and Conformity', 67.
For further indications of the 'conservatism' of Chapel Gentlemen, see: MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation*, 25; Craig Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet: The Hearing Reopened' in *Hearing the Motet: essays on the motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce, (OUP, 1998), 370.

the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church. They defended some contentious liturgical issues both in print (as at least six Gentlemen serving under Elizabeth did at some point during their public lives) and their ministries. Chapel Gentlemen were far from Lehmberg's assessment that most vicars choral 'probably spent more time drinking the college's beer than reading the college's books', and instead engaged with Protestant theology, ecclesiology, and liturgy in their public and private lives.[155]

a. Doctrine in print

Published religious works provide the most detailed (if not the most consistent) insight into the confessional position of some Elizabethan Gentlemen and reveal how these individuals conceptualised their public membership of the sovereign's household chapel.[156] Unlike Jacobean Gentlemen, who published no recorded religious works, Elizabethan Gentlemen were remarkably eager to propose defences of the Prayer Book liturgy, and presented a range of comparable Protestant opinion within the Chapel. It is possible that James's restoration of decanal authority prevented the publication of any material that might have embarrassed the king, though this seems unlikely given the variety of works published by royal chaplains. Perhaps more telling is the fact that those who published were born during the 1520s-40s and may have been anxious about the accession of a young female Protestant monarch and the challenges faced by the established Church. Anthony Anderson, Thomas Palfreyman, and William Hunnis publicly defended doctrinal conformity to the Elizabethan Injunctions and urged civil obedience. Although the published works of higher ranks of cathedral clergy (deans, canons, and prebendaries) have been subjected to extensive analysis, the works of lesser

[155] Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 187.
[156] For further discussion, see: Oscar Patton, 'The Literary Works of the Elizabethan Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal', *The Court Historian*, Vol. 29, No. 2, (2024): 103-118.

ministers and singing-men have been comparatively neglected.[157] Understanding the statements of conformity in doctrine and civil action made by these three Gentlemen, and their engagement with public modes of pietistic thought and ecclesiastical action, is crucial to establish their significance as a representative survival of at least some of their colleagues.

Protestant Gentlemen often assumed a didactic role in their published religious works. This could be directly linked to their patrons, as in the case of Anthony Anderson, who included a selection of prayers for those at sea at the end of the published sermon preached before his former patron, Sir William Fizwilliam, in 1575. Anderson was unable to escape the didacticism of a personal chaplain, and instructed those reading 'A forme of prayer for sea men and passengers to use in the sayling Shippe' to assemble the 'godly company' in case of a safe journey, and 'say or sing the 103 Psalme', and a prayer of thanksgiving.[158] Less targeted was William Hunnis's 1583 collection of prayers for domestic devotion, which included prayers for before and after bed, pregnant women, the queen, before and after mealtimes, and a versified Athanasian creed, set to a simple tune.[159] James Cancellar, an enthusiastic Marian conformist reconciled with the Elizabethan Church, provided a similar and popular *Alphabet of Prayers* in 1564, which included liturgical and domestic prayers, including a collect and a prayer for obedience to Elizabeth's and God's laws, a prayer for the Queen at evensong, and a near-perfect reproduction of the litany as found in the 1559 Prayer Book.[160] While it is possible that both men sought to capitalise on the booming print market for collections of devotional prayers,

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[157] See: Stanford Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700*, (UEP, 1996), Chapter 5.
[158] Anthony Anderson, *A Godlie Sermon, Preached on Newe yeeres day last, before Sir William Fitzwilliam Knight, late Lord deputie of Ireland, Sir James Harrington Knight, their Ladyes and Children, with many others. at Burghley in Rutlande* (London, 1576), Sig.E3v; Ibid, Sig.E4v.
[159] William Hunnis, *Seven Sobs of Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne* […] *Whereunto are also annexed his Handfull of Honisuckles; the Poore Widowes Mite; a Dialog betweene Christ and a sinner; divers godlie and pithie ditties, with a Christian confession of and to the Trinitie* (London, 1583), 14-15; Ibid., 22; Ibid., 26; Ibid., 17.
[160] James Cancellar, *The Alphabet of Prayers: verye fruitefull to be excised and used of Everye Christian Man* (London, 1564), Sig.D1v; Ibid., Sig.C3v; Ibid., Sig.D6v.

their proximity to the royal household Chapel and the domestic and liturgical focus of their prayers indicates a certain public encouragement of engagement with the established Church, and a degree of godly concern with piety and devotion. For men who previously and actively conformed to the Marian regime, this was a clear signal of conformity and possible conversion.

Thomas Palfreyman explicitly assumed this didactic role in the dedicatory epistle of his 1572 *Divine Meditations* to Isabel Harrington, gentlewoman of Elizabeth's privy chamber. Palfreyman described himself as a 'pore helper, a most infoeriour [sic] labourer, or well willing drudge in the vineyard of Christ', who sought to clear the 'wilde weedes of wilfulnesse' by asking his reader basic doctrinal questions, like 'whether thou stedfastly believe to be saved' by Christ's Passion, whether they have reformed their belief in the Real Presence, and whether 'when thou prayest', pride is avoided.[161] Palfreyman may have assumed a similar role when editing, republishing, and 'enlarging' William Baldwin's *Treatise of Moral Philosophie* (first published in 1552 by Baldwin, 1553/4 Palfreyman, 1555 Baldwin, 1557 Palfreyman, 1564 saw a 'compromise' edition, and Palfreyman published all subsequent versions from 1567).[162] Palfreyman's decision to revise Baldwin's intention of illustrating the chronological development of philosophical schools through aphorisms has been regarded as the behaviour of a 'parasite editor' set on creating 'a handbook of domestic inspiration in which the devout might find the image of their self-assured piety'.[163] However, this view privileges Baldwin's humanistic project at the expense of Palfreyman's concern for pious edification and ergonomic ease. Significantly, Palfreyman's editions remained popular into the seventeenth century.[164]

[161] Thomas Palfreyman, *Divine Meditations*, (1572), Sig.*4v; Ibid., Sig.**2v.
[162] Paul M. Gaudet, 'William Baldwin's *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy* (1564): A Variorum Edition With Introduction' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1972), 108; Ibid., ii.
[163] Ibid., 36.
[164] Ibid., 100.

If Gentlemen of the Chapel were aware of the market for devotional print, they entered into the role of didactic instructors willingly and revealed a commitment to propagating and expanding some of the basic doctrinal and liturgical tenets of the established Church of England. In doing so, they revealed both their personal commitment to the Protestant Church, and the public responsibilities they assumed, either personally or in their membership of the monarch's ecclesiastical staff.

Anderson, Palfreyman, and Hunnis were all credal Predestinarians.[165] Thomas Palfreyman asserted that God 'knew from the beginning how all things would come to passe' and was therefore not the author of man's sin, but simply knew the elect, in the preface to the reader of his *Paraphrase* on St Paul's letters to the Romans (1572).[166] William Hunnis, usually indirect on more controversial doctrinal matters, may have been vocal about his position early in Elizabeth's reign, if he was the author of the anonymous court play *Jacob and Esau* (first performed in the 1550s, but modified after 1558 and first printed in 1568). [167] An ambitious dramatization of the events of Genesis 25:19-34, the play made clear that 'Jacob was chosen, and Esau reprobate', and finished with the comforts of the fellowship of election, spoken by the 'Poete' (probably Hunnis himself) that 'Yet not all fleshe did he [God] then predestinate, / But onely the adopted children of promise: / For he forknewe that many would degenderate, / And wylfully give cause to be put from that blisse'.[168] Like Palfreyman, Hunnis set out a

[165] This term describes those Protestants who accepted the soteriological position of single (conditional) election established in the 39 Articles, and 'made little or no attempt to apply the doctrine to individual circumstances'. See: Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, *c.1590-1640* (Routledge, 2014), 11.
[166] Thomas Palfreyman, *A Paraphrase uppon the Epistle of the holie Apostle S. Paule to the Romans* (London, 1572), Sig.**4v.
[167] Though contested, a convincing case is made in Paul Whitfield White, 'Predestinarian Theology in the Mid-Tudor Play "Jacob and Esau"', *Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1988): 291-302.
[168] William Hunnis(?), *A new mery and wittie Comedie or Enterlude, newely imprinted, treating upon the Historie of Jacob and Esau, taken out of the xxvii. Chap. of the first booke of Moses entitled Genesis* (London, 1568), Sig.G3v.

singular form of predestination, as found in the 39 Articles, and offered courtly audiences an early call to soteriological conformity. Anthony Anderson expressed a similar position in a blistering funeral sermon for Leicestershire MP Robert Keilway in 1581 (ten years before Anderson's Chapel appointment), declaring that 'if I be elected, I shalbe saved: if I be not elected, I shalbe da[m]ned'. Where the elect were 'called to feele their election', the reprobate were judged 'by the other bookes of judgement, and that according to their workes'.[169] Though expressed across a variety of contexts, at least three Gentlemen of Elizabeth's Chapel were early predestinarians, who took steps to promote their doctrinal positions. Though less material survives for Jacobean Gentlemen, Edward Doughtie, James's first recorded royal confessor, left marginal comments on his copy of Bartholomeus de Medina's *Expositio in Primam Secundae Angelici Doctoris D. Thomae Aquinatis* (1580). In a section that considered free will in divine providence, Doughtie noted that 'it is not that whatever is free is also voluntary, but rather, what is voluntary is free'.[170] Though this does not reveal much about his soteriological belief, it shows that he was interested in salvation theology and sought to enrich his learning and understanding. Men who worked in the Chapel Royal, if not leading theologians, were far from uninterested in more complex doctrinal matters, and keen to defend and investigate the doctrinal position outlined by the established Church.

The published Gentlemen of the Chapel were particularly sensitive to the threat of religious nonconformists, especially Catholics. They were not simply anti-Catholic, however. In published works, Gentlemen adhered to contemporary royal policy. In his 1560 *Myrrour, or Cleare Glasse*, Thomas Palfreyman pacifistically prayed that God would 'worke in them [Elizabeth's Catholic enemies] Repentaunce, to the tourning of their heartes, and prepare them

[169] Anthony Anderson, *A Sermon of sure Comfort, preached at the Funerall of Master Robert Keylwey Esquire* (London, 1581), 26.
[170] HCA M.4.6 p.125 (marginal).

to be now applicable and obedient subjects'.[171] While some Catholics were dangerous, especially those whose 'fayre coloured wourdes, and goodly painted shewes' made 'marcha[n]dise of us', violent civil action was not recommended, since God would punish them in due course.[172] Anderson, an active religious writer for most of his career outside the Chapel Royal, was far more willing to recommend a harsher line against Catholics (and was, significantly, writing in the harder context of the 1580s). The court in particular was a hot-bed of crypto-Catholicism, according to Anderson, and in his 1581 *Shield of our Safetie*, he warned against those who 'tourne the Popish face into the inward mynde, and be covered with this cloke to fawne upon the gospell', and would meanwhile '*privly shoote out their arrows,* even tongues as whote as burning coals, into the eares of Princes and Potentates *against the Lorde*'.[173] Anderson recommended specific action in a Paul's Cross sermon of 1581, preached before Sir Edmund Anderson (a relative and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), and instructed that judges take their benchers 'to the hearing of the worde', and if any refused, 'the same you muste call to barre to taste of the sworde'.[174] This anticipated provisions for judges at the Court of Marches to communicate annually or face deprivation, and highlights the uncompromising attitude to religious conformity that Anderson brought to the Chapel as Sub-Dean.[175] While some crypto-Catholics might have been employed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal, their colleagues were not all welcoming, especially by the end of the sixteenth century.

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[171] Thomas Palfreyman, *A Myrrour or cleare glasse for all estates, to looke in, conteinyng briefly in it the true knowlege and love of god, and the charitie of a faithfull christian towardes his neyghbour* (London, 1560), Sig.B7r.
[172] Ibid., Sig.B8v.
[173] Anthony Anderson, *The Shield of our Safetie: Set foorth by the Faythfull Preacher of Gods holye worde A. Anderson, upon Symeons sight, in hys Nunc dimittis* (London: 1581), Sigs.C1v-C2r.
[174] Ibid., Sig.C6v.
Anderson echoed Edwin Sandys' sermon preached at the opening of Parliament ten years earlier, which called for all MPs and royal officers to be subjected to mandatory communion. See: Alexandra Gajda, ''A Wall of Defence unto this Realm': William Cecil, Conformity and the Protestant State in Early Elizabethan England', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 139 No. 596, (2024): 60.
[175] Lucy M. Kaufman, *A People's Reformation: Building the English Church in the Elizabethan Parish* (McGQUP, 2023), 212.

Gentlemen like Anthony Anderson did not take a uniformly harsh stance on religious nonconformists, however. In his 1573/4 *Exposition of the hymne commonly called Benedictus*, Anderson recorded how amidst 'the reverent fathers the Bishops, with others the preachers of his holy word, in this our nation, & now government', there might be found 'in the substance of our religio[n], some little jarring crochet in lesse matters out of musicke her concorde'. Protestant nonconformists were nonetheless 'to be accompted as members of that musicall body, whereof Christ is the head'.[176] While Anderson did not tolerate Catholic or Protestant dissimulation, and condemned the minister who might ride to his diocesan superior to appeal for a benefice, swearing conformity to the Book of Common Prayer and 39 Articles 'so far forth as they are warranted', he did not use especially vitriolic language to discuss 'hotter' Protestants who bordered on nonconformity, or to recommend harsh punishment.[177] Anderson conformed to the established Church, but he was clearly sympathetic with a 'hotter' style of Protestantism, especially those who took issue with 'lesse matters', indicating the strength of Protestant belief in the Chapel Royal of the 1590s.

Though commentary is relatively rare for the physical furnishing of sacred space in the surviving works of Chapel Gentlemen, reflections are not absent. Hunnis's versification of the Nativity, found in his *Recreations* (1595) made a particularly pointed description of the environs of Christ's birth. In comparison with the humble stable, 'Lady Rome' was ordered to 'strike saile', her 'temple Olavitrium' to 'shake and be afraid', categorised with the pagan idols of 'Dan Jupiter'. Though the works of man falling at sight of the Godhead made flesh was a customary commentary on the Nativity, Hunnis's association of Rome with 'fine and curious workmanship, / of marble imag'rie' indicates his possible hostility to 'Catholicised'

[176] Anthony Anderson, *An Exposition of the hymne commonly called Benedictus: with an ample & comfortable application of the same, to our age and people* (London: 1573), Sig.33r.
[177] Ibid., Sig.26r-v.

ornamentation in worship.[178] Hunnis made an important distinction when considering royal buildings, however, and described how 'curious worke by Salomon' was ordered to 'yield and base it selfe, and stoope this place unto' the infant Christ.[179] Rather than destruction or flight, as occurred with Catholic forms of worship, the Temple of Solomon might be read as a parallel for the ornamentation of Protestant royal chapels, which were permitted to retain their decoration so long as Christ's majesty was recognised. Other Gentlemen were silent on the issue, however. Anderson offered little reflection on the physical appearance of worship, beyond blaming the 1593 plague on Londoners' maintenance of 'treasures of wickednesse', meaning 'the false balance, small waights, naughtie wares, counterfaite lights, sweet words, sowre deeds' in their domestic environment.[180] Such reluctance to comment on the controversial place of church art and beautification suggests a sensitivity to the politicised nature of Chapel employment, as indicated by the fact that the only surviving reference includes a defence of royal worship. Clearly, Gentlemen understood the danger of public comment.

Gentlemen under both Elizabeth and James were happy to engage with the place of liturgical music in the Church of England. Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Guide to Practicall Musicke* (1597) declared that church singers should 'study how to vowel and sing clear', and express their 'words with devotion and passion whereby to draw the hearer, as it were, in chains of gold by the ears to the consideration of holy things'.[181] Morley's emphasis on clarity and technical caution echoed similar sentiments expressed by Richard Hooker, in the fifth book of his *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1597).[182] Though Hooker assumed a prominent legacy in the Church of England, his theological and liturgical position was not

[178] William Hunnis, *Hunnies Recreations: Conteining foure godlie and compendious discourses, Intituled Adams Banishment. Christ his Crib. The lost Sheepe. The complaint of old Age* (London, 1595), 26.
[179] Ibid., 26.
[180] Anthony Anderson, *An Approved Medicine against the deserved Plague* (London, 1593), Sig.A4r.
[181] Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* (London, 1597), 179.
[182] Hooker, *Of the lawes of ecclesasticall politie: the fift booke*, 76.

expressed by many contemporary divines, and he was not a royal chaplain, preaching only one before Elizabeth during Lent 1598.[183] Nonetheless, other Chapel Gentlemen praised liturgical music, like Richard Allison (Singing-man 1589-1609/10), who in the dedication of his *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (1606) to Sir John Scudamore, referenced 'that auncient Father Martin Luther', who declared that 'there is no Arte comparable with Musicke: for it alone next to Theologie doth effect that, which otherwise onely Theologie can performe, that is, a quiet and chearefull minde'.[184] Although the affective power of music in public and domestic devotional spaces should be distinguished, it is significant that Allison appealed to Luther, rather than the more common (and possibly confessionally more neutral) example of classical traditions and the affective power of music. Richard Edwardes, for example, praised the power of music to move the individual closer to God, and cited the Classical example of Arion's harp-playing to master the natural world, namely dolphins.[185] Gentlemen were clearly cognisant of music's considerable power.

Other Gentlemen were more critical. Anthony Anderson made his views on the type of church music he preferred clear in his 1573/4 *Exposition*. Only 'hart and mouth joyned in one consent of grateful harmonie' delight 'the musical eares of Gods majestie', and 'al other chaunting notes and changing keys', though 'never so pleasant in the eares of men, are farestranged from the good like of god'.[186] Anderson further criticised the elaborate style of some compositions, writing that 'This people worship me (saith God) with their lippes, but their hartes are fare from me'.[187] The prayers contained in the Book of Common Prayer

[183] A.S. McGrade, 'Hooker, Richard (1554-1600)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13696.
[184] Richard Allison, *An Howres Recreation in Musicke, apt for Instrumentes and Voyces* (London, 1606), Sig.A2r.
[185] Richard Edwards, *The Paradyse of daynty devises, aptly furnished, with sundry pithie and learned inventions* (London, 1576), 55.
[186] Anderson, *Exposition*, Sig.A4r.
A paraphrase of Isaiah 29:15 and Matt 15:8.
[187] Ibid., Sig.A5r.

provided some security, and Anderson instructed his readers in 1573/4 'wyth joyfull hartes to the Lord unfainedly to say and sing, *Blessed be the Lorde &c*'.[188] Just under a decade later, however, Anderson echoed the same injunction in his *Shield* (1581) for the Nunc dimittis, but conspicuously omitted the injunction to sing.[189] Anderson's acceptance of the Chapel Sub-Deanship indicates that he was still open to the prospects of church music, so long as it was acceptably performed. No Gentlemen were apparently (or publicly) opposed to church music, but opinion was clearly split regarding acceptable musical accompaniment to the established liturgy, even within the Chapel. Nonetheless, all surviving views were concerned with spiritual care and caution and emphasised the clarity and centrality of the sacred text.

Many of the Elizabethan Gentlemen had to deal with their conformity to the Catholic Marian regime. Some, like James Cancellar and John Angell, publicly defended Catholic doctrine under Mary. In 1555, Cancellar described the Protestant Church as the 'disceytefull and dysobediente churche of Antichrist', which deprived England of 'holye fastynges, holye feastes, and holye praying too Saynctes'.[190] It also saw 'Bishoppes marye horish wives', clerics 'calyng c[h]ast me[n] Sodomites, & turned obedie[n]ce to unlaweful lybertie'.[191] Angell, having entered holy orders, more solemnly defended the Real Presence in his 1555 *Agrement of the holye Fathers* and 1556/6 *Collection or gatheryng together of certen scriptures*. In the latter work, Angel distinguished between the eucharistic theology of 'the Swinglians, Lutherians, and of the Brumfelcians', declaring the Lutherans the lesser of the three evils, as 'he doth affyrme the presence of Christe to be there presente in the Sacrame[n]t', but retained

[188] Ibid., Sig.4r.
[189] Anderson, *Shield*, Sig.G1r.
[190] James Cancellar, *The pathe of Obedience, righte necessarye for all the King and Quenes majesties loving Subjectes, to reade, learne, and use their due obediences, to the hyghe powers* (London, 1555), Sig.A8r.
[191] Ibid., Sig.B7r.

belief in consubstantiation.[192] Angel also pointed to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, arguing that it 'teacheth a true christen man to beleve t[ha]t in the holy Com[m]union who so ever doth receive, doth therein receyve the very body & blode of Christ', citing the words of consecration.[193] As Angel did not publish under Elizabeth, unlike Cancellar, it is possible that he found solace in the intentionally vague eucharistic position of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, dying before mandatory clerical subscription to the 39 Articles was enforced.

Cancellar was more proactive in signalling his conformity to the Elizabethan establishment. Possibly due to threats made by John Bale, with whom he engaged in a protracted polemical exchange during the mid-1550s, he secured a pre-emptive pardon and reprinted Elizabeth's proto-Protestant prayer book, *A godly meditation of a Christen Soule* (1559), (previously printed by Bale) and his popular *Alphabet of Prayers* (1564), which ran to eight editions between 1564 and 1626.[194] In the latter work, Cancellar praised Elizabeth as a 'most vertuous Queene', and compared her to Judith and Hester for her religious policy.[195] More significantly for judging Cancellar's apparent conversion was his apocalyptic warning of death and famine, 'fyre fro[m] Heaven', 'motion of warre', and 'mortallitie of Pestilence' for England's apparent impiety.[196] Cancellar's 'conversion by conformity' (to borrow Partick Collinson's phrase) might represent the broader trend of Marian Gentlemen who continued in Elizabeth's Chapel and reflects the difficulty of recovering clear confessional identities in early Elizabethan institutions.[197] Nonetheless, and despite claims that Cancellar left his Chapel post

[192] John Angell, *A Collection or gatherynge together, of certayne Scriptures, both of the holy scripture, and also of the auncient and Catholyke doctours of Christes churche, co[n]cernyng the most holy and blessed body and blode of Christ to be totally present in the Sacrament of the Aulter* (London, c.1555/6?), Sig.A8v.
[193] Ibid., Sig.C4v.
[194] Richard McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era,* (OUP, 2016), 176.
[195] Cancellar, *Alphabet*, Sig.A4v.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Patrick Collinson, 'John Stowe and Nostalgic Antiquarianism' in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions of the City from Stowe to Strype, 1598-1770*, ed. J.F. Merritt (CUP, 2007), 46.

for quiet crypto-Catholicism in Canterbury or Yorkshire (neither of which are supported by surviving evidence), Cancellar, Angell, and those with similar experiences of explicit support for the Marian regime and Church were not necessarily 'conservatives' by Elizabeth's reign, but men who found paths of conformity and accommodation in the liturgical life of the Protestant royal household.[198]

Not all Gentlemen of the Chapel were Protestant conformists. Robert Couche (singing-man 1564-87) was an anabaptist. Throughout his public career, Couche corresponded with reformers like John Knox, William Turner, Rudolf Gualter, and Peter Martyr Vermigli. Couche's correspondence with Turner during the summer of 1551 provides the best idea of his theological position, though Couche's tract only survives in extended quotations in Turner's. Couche did not believe in infant baptism and proposed that individuals should be sufficiently catechised with a 'year of probation' in imitation of the early Church, before they were baptised. Couche was a formidable opponent.[199] In the early 1550s, Vermigli was forced to respond to Couche's use of Pope Ignius, Tertullian, Origen, Erasmus, and Ludovicus Vives to make his case for credobaptism.[200] Couche maintained unorthodox views well into Elizabeth's reign, and was told that his stance was 'more curious than useful' and to conform with the established Church by Rudolf Gualter in 1573, after Couche wrote to recommend the consumption of a full meal rather than bread and wine during the Eucharist, and queried the dates of Easter.[201] It was only a year after this exchange that Couche was forced by the Elizabethan Church (possibly his Chapel superiors) to conform, and sang 'his Palinodia' (or

[198] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 228.
[199] William Turner, *A preservative, or triacle, agaynst the poison of Pelagius, lately renued, & styrred up again, by the furious secte of the Annabaptistes* (London, 1551), Sig.B7r.
For further discussion of Couche's religious beliefs, see: Patton, 'The Literary Works of the Gentlemen of the Elizabethan Chapel Royal', 114-117.
[200] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The common places of the most famous and renowned divine Doctor Peter Martyr*, IV (London, 1583), 113-115.
[201] *The Zurich Letters, comprising the correspondence of several English Bishops and others*, Vol. I., ed. Robinson, 236.

recantation of belief).[202] That Couche eventually conformed indicates how the Chapel Royal was an important venue for individual conformity, though this was not always secured immediately, nor could it necessarily be maintained.

Clearly, not all Gentlemen were conformists. However, among the printed works that survive, it is significant that a large proportion of Gentlemen were willing to assume a public (and distinctly didactic) position to clarify points of liturgical practice and doctrine in defence of the established Church. This reveals both aspects of their basic Protestant belief, and a dimension of their personal perception of their role as Gentlemen, which extended beyond singing at royal services, and into a pious concern with godly education, shared by clerical and lay members of the Chapel. It is difficult to identify much 'conservative' influence among these works, even regarding musical practice, and instead a wider and more critical spread of opinion is identifiable, at least for Elizabeth's reign. If the views of most Gentlemen resembled anything like those of Palfreyman, Hunnis, and Anderson, the Chapel Royal should be regarded as a distinctly Protestant institution, which counted at least a handful of men committed to the established Church of England among its ranks.

b. Dedications and 'godly' networks?

Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were dependent on elite patrons for reward, advancement, and professional security. As such, varied and highly flexible networks of patronage emerged, which had a complicated relationship with individual confessional identities.[203] An examination of some of these relationships helps to recover a greater sense of the possible confessional motivations in and noble influence over the post-Reformation Chapel.

[202] George Cornelius Gorham, *Gleanings of a few scattered ears, during the period of the Reformation in England and of the times immediately succeeding, A.D. 1533 to A.D. 1588* (London 1857), 482.
[203] Guy Fitch Lytle, 'Religion and the Lay Patron in Reformation England', in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (PUP, 1982), 73.

Though most famous for their patronage of compositional legends like Thomas Tallis (patronised by Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel) and William Byrd (protected by the Petre family, Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester, and John first Lord Lumley), Catholics were not the only patrons of Chapel Gentlemen. A handful of Chapel Gentlemen's literary works were dedicated to prominent Protestant noblemen. Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, apparently patronised William Hunnis, who in an acrostic poem prefacing his *Hyve Full of Hunnye* (1578), figured Leicester as a 'Persian Prince', who received (by Hunnis's gift) 'water cleane in homely handes from out the sprouting spring'.[204] James Cancellar also composed a dedicatory acrostic for Leicester, in his 1564 *Alphabet*, though he was less flattering than his colleague. Cancellar instructed Leicester, in the year of his ennoblement, to 'Remember thy calling, / Obey thy Prince, / Beware of ambition', appropriate but admonitory recommendations for Elizabeth's chief favourite and preferred councillor.[205] Other 'godly' members of the nobility, like Frances Sidney, countess of Sussex, was dedicatee of Hunnis's *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne* (1583), though 'without [her…] knowledge'.[206] Hunnis's *Seven Sobs*, a collection of penitential devotional poems, might have appealed to Sussex's patronage of other learned Protestant works like Thomas Rogers' translation of Nicholas Hemmingius's *Faith of the Church Militant* (1581), and her investment in a Protestant seminary at Cambridge (Sidney Sussex College) and a godly lectureship at Westminster Abbey.[207] Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, was the dedicatee of Richard Allison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599), which praised her 'love of piety and care of Religion' by Allison, and acknowledged her and her late husband's 'favours to me', which 'have beene so great, that I may not forget them'.[208] The

[204] William Hunnis, *A Hyve Full of Hunnye: Contayning the Firste Booke of Moses, called Genesis. Turned into English meetre* (London, 1578), 1.
[205] Cancellar, *Alphabet*, Sig.A1v.
[206] Hunnis, *Seven Sobs*, Sig.A3r.
[207] Mary Prior, 'Radcliffe [nee Sidney], Frances, countess of Sussex', *ODNB*, (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66355.
[208] Richard Allison, *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (London, 1599), Sig.A2v.

Warwicks were extensive patrons of Puritan authors, and although Allison did not necessarily share these sympathies (indeed, he approvingly cited Luther's position on church music, as discussed above), Gentlemen could occasionally find association with 'godly' circles of patronage.[209]

Gentlemen were also patronised by and closely connected to significant members of gentry classes who held 'hotter' Protestant beliefs. Thomas Day (Gentleman 1615-42), enjoyed the friendship of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, later earl of Shaftesbury, who he appointed executor of his will in 1653, at which point he was one of fifteen members of Cromwell's council of state.[210] Though subject to considerable changes in confessional and political opinion throughout his life, Cooper was, during the 1620s and 30s, a man of 'hotter' Protestant convictions, having been educated by the Calvinist and anti-Arminian John Prideaux at Oxford, among other 'Puritan'-leaning tutors, both as a child and at the Inns of Court.[211] Although the nature of the connection between Day and Cooper is unclear, it was certainly close: he was granted, with one Roger Gallopp, a Southampton MP, a shared lease of considerable lands in Southampton, and a duty of care for Day's beloved and destitute 'cousin' Priscilla Berkley.[212] Other Protestant gentry who associated with Chapel Gentlemen, included Sir Edward Spencer, who Walter Porter (Gentleman 1617/8-42) praised as an 'Honourable Mecenas', who surely 'sings Alleluihas in the Heavenly Quire' in an obituary prefacing his *Mottets of Two Voyces* (1657).[213] Spencer was a wealthy MP (for Brackley and Middlesex, represented during the 1620s) and an exchequer official, noted for the zeal with which he enforced the Oath of

[209] Simon Adams, 'Dudley [nee Russell], Anne, countess of Warwick', *ODNB*, (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69744.
[210] TNA PROB 11/233/161, f.348v
[211] Tim Harris, 'Cooper, Anthony Ashley, first earl of Shaftesbury', *ODNB*, (2021), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6208.
[212] TNA PROB 11/233/161 f.348v.
[213] Walter Porter, *Mottets of Two Voyces for Treble or Tenor and Bass* (London, 1657), Sig.*v.

Allegiance, particularly in the case of the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham.[214] Although such indications of professional and personal intimacy should not be taken as a clear indication of individual belief, they reveal the extent and strength of the social connections of Chapel Gentlemen, which at times assumed a distinctly Protestant flavour.

The confessional identities of some Chapel Gentlemen are also indicated by the preacher appointed for their funeral. John Angell, noted above for his espousal of Catholic doctrine in the mid-1550s before conforming as Sub-Dean of Elizabeth's Chapel until his death in 1567, left 10s for dean Gabriel Goodman of Westminster to preach his funeral sermon.[215] As dean of Westminster, Goodman has been noted for his 'conservative' instincts, and opposition to 'more reformed practice' by the maintenance of a rich musical and material culture of worship at the Abbey.[216] Nonetheless, Goodman was committed to the ceremonies of the Prayer Book (albeit elaborately performed), and a conformist at heart. He was, according to Matthew Parker, a 'sad, grave man', and 'peradventure too severe' for the episcopal bench. John Parkhurst, meanwhile, praised him for his 'sad and sure governance in conformity'.[217] Perhaps by his death, Angell had found a means of conformity through his Westminster connection.[218] Luke Jones (Minister 1606-27) named Thomas Tuke 'clarke of St Olaves' (and witness of Jones's will) to 'preach my funerall' for 20s in 1627.[219] Tuke was rector of St Gregory's, near

[214] 'Spencer, Edward' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, Vol. IV. ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (CUP, 2010), 389-91
[215] TNA PROB 11/50/241, f.150v.
[216] Merritt, 'The Cradle of Laudianism?': 627-28.
[217] Ibid., 628.
[218] Angell, and his colleague William Hutchins, also named Dr Walter Haddon, 'one of the great and eminent lights of the reformation in Cambridge under King Edward', according to Strype, as a witness of their respective wills. Ceremonial support must not be confused with confessional 'conservatism', nor social connection regarded as revelatory when examining individual belief. Angel and Haddon's association is a curious one, though it is possible that the two men became familiar as Haddon worked as master of the court of requests and superintendent of the commission for the *Liber Precum Publicarum* in the early 1560s.
TNA PROB 11/50/241 f.150v; PROB 11/48/399 f.477v; John Strype, *The life and acts of Matthew Parker, the first Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol II, (Oxford, 1821), 365-6.
[219] LMA MS 25626/4 f.329v.

St Paul's, and a prominent moderate Puritan minister, heavily influenced by William Perkins while at Cambridge, and known for having produced a series of vitriolic attacks on the frivolities of material splendour, especially courtly vanity in 1616.[220] Though both Gentlemen selected men well known for their preaching, and possibly sought to make as much of a social statement as a confessional appeal, the consistency of the provision of a sermon for 'the edifienge of the people', as John Addy instructed in 1577, highlights the commitment to Protestant sentiments that such Gentlemen expressed as they considered their morality.[221]

As prominent members of London's literary and artistic networks, Chapel Gentlemen were also associated with steadfast Protestant authors and poets. William Hunnis was praised by Thomas Newton, the poet, translator, and antiquary, as an author who 'writes with outstanding fidelity', and whose 'schooled Quill, by deaper skill [now] did graver matters teache'.[222] Newton was, despite being detracted as a non-preacher in his parish and a 'drunkard' in 1585, a learned Protestant ally, since he translated several key texts by Cicero and Seneca, and Matthew Parker's funeral sermon for Martin Bucer in 1588.[223] Richard Edwards, master of the children of the Chapel, was also praised by a circle of younger Protestant poets, including Barnabas Googe (during Edwards's life) George Puttenham, William Webbe, and Francis Meres (posthumously).[224] Robert Paternoster requested that he be buried next to his old master, Richard Eden.[225] Eden was a courtier, travel writer, member of the treasury, and servant to William Cecil under Edward VI's reign, after which he went into exile and found employment

[220] J.F. Merritt, 'Tuke, Thomas' in *ODNB*, (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27809.
[221] TNA PROB 11/60/301 f.175r.
[222] Hunnis, *A Hyve Full of Hunnye*, 4.
[223] Gordon Braden, 'Newton, Thomas' in *ODNB* (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20069.
[224] Elliot jr, 'Edwards, Richard' in *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8552.
[225] TNA PROB 11/88/86 f.79v.
Paternoster also named one George Bryan in his will, possibly the actor who was active around 1586 and died 1613, a member of the Lord Chamberlain's men, with whom he might have been linked through the theatrical activities of the Chapel Royal.

in the household of the Huguenot Jean de Ferriers, vidame to the bishop of Chartres in 1572.[226] A surprising dedication is also made in Thomas Tomkins's 1622 *Songs*, to Phineas Fletcher, a poet and minister described by contemporaries as 'a learned, pious, and grave Divine', and 'an enemy to Ceremonies', who later faced off against bishops who sought greater ceremonial elaboration in church services, like Matthew Wren of Ely, also later Dean of the Chapel Royal.[227] Some social connections with enthusiastic Protestants were not necessarily made for social advancement, but were predicated on the grounds of professional or artistic respect, revealing another significant dimension of the public lives of Chapel Gentlemen.

This is not, however, to suggest that Gentlemen did not have links with religious conservatives. While 'conservative' noblemen received a handful of dedications from Chapel Gentlemen (discussed earlier in this chapter), conservative gentry and prominent inhabitants of London also appeared as musical patrons. Richard Edwardes, for example, dedicated his *Paradyse of daynty devises* (1576) to Sir Henry Compton, an MP and courtier noted for his crypto-Catholicism, though there is no indication that Edwardes had any closer link with Compton.[228] Social circles, indicated by testamentary evidence, also suggest some glimmers of 'conservative' networks. Richard Bowers' appointment of William Roper, the notorious recusant and hagiographer of Sir Thomas More, as an overseer of his will, and Thomas Tallis and Robert Paternoster's role as witnesses, might indicate some 'conservative' associations in the early Elizabethan Chapel.[229] Bower also transferred his share of the lease on the manor in Thanet to Sir Edward Waldegrave (d.1561).[230] Waldegrave was a notorious recusant, though he took the Oath of Supremacy.[231] Bower was not the only Gentleman who had significant

[226] Andrew Hadfield, 'Eden, Richard' in *ODNB*, (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8454.
[227] Anonymous, *Vox Norwici: or The cry of Norwich, vindicating their ministers* (London, 1646), 11.
[228] Edwardes, *Paradyse*, Sig.A2v; 'Compton, Sir Henry', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, Vol. I. ed. Thrush and Ferris, 623-25.
[229] TNA PROB 11/4/299, f.213v.
[230] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. I, 178.
[231] Ann Weikel, 'Waldegrave, Sir Edward', *ODNB*, (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28433.

social or economic connections with religious conservatives. Thomas Tallis's conservative religious connections have been discussed elsewhere, but one particularly significant religious conservative associated with the Chapel Gentleman (beyond William Byrd) was Dr Thomas Friar, who witnessed Tallis's will, and was overseer for John Blitheman.[232] Friar, a Doctor of Medicine who was educated in Padua and was a fellow of the London College of Physicians from 1572, and a royal physician soon after, was also a recusant, having 'compounded with Her Majesty for a certain yearly sum not to come to church'.[233] Blitheman may have sympathised with some religious conservatives, but he was a committed member of the established Church, as indicated by his appointment of his relative, Robert 'Blytheman', canon of Lichfield cathedral, as vicar at his funeral.[234]

Other Gentlemen had close connections with similarly 'conservative' figures, like John Angell, who named one Roger Parker, clerk of the Admiralty, as his executor, and left £20 for each of Parker's children and provisions for other relatives.[235] They may have been the same Parker recorded in the Privy Council registers on 11th October 1579 in the company of 'Prinne, a Portingal', for making 'certen unduetifull speaches against her Majesties presente procedinges in maters of Relligion'.[236] Though Parker was imprisoned, his subversive behaviour took place long after Angell's death, and there is no clear indication that Angell was anything but a conformist to the Elizabethan ecclesiastical establishment. Some sixty years later, further confessionally 'conservative' associations are identifiable, but with no indication of the conservatism of the Gentlemen themselves. Dr William Heather appointed William

[232] John Bennett, 'A Tallis Patron?', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, No. 21, (1998): 41-44.
[233] TNA PROB 11/68/662 f.413r; *The Loseley manuscripts: Manuscripts and other rare documents, illustrative of some of the more minute particulars of English history, biography, and manners, from the reign of Henry VIII, to that of James I., preserved in the muniment room of James More Molyneux, esq. at Loseley house, in Surrey*, ed. Alfred John Kempe (London, 1836), 249.
[234] Ibid.
[235] TNA PROB 11/50/241 f.150r.
[236] TNA PC 2/12 f.639

Ireland as the overseer of his will, the same Westminster schoolmaster who in 1610 travelled to France without license, and was ordered to return to England to 'sufficiently purge him of the […] imputation of being revolted in religion'.[237] While the Catholic conformist Richard Tichbourne (whose wife and children were recusants) owed Heather £100 by the latter's death, Heather was a wealthy and prominent resident of Westminster, who dealt with all nodes of the confessional and social spectrum.[238] Although certain 'conservative' associations should be acknowledged, Gentlemen of the Chapel also enjoyed the company and patronage of a diverse (and surprisingly 'godly') group of Protestants, indicating at least a broad degree of theological conformity, if not explicit support of the established Church

c. Curing souls

Beneficed ministers of the Chapel Royal were not all idle recipients of lucrative sinecures but could be active and formidable presences in their parishes.[239] From at least the early fifteenth century, ordained Gentlemen were permitted to be non-resident in any benefices they held, which facilitated their royal service and ensured the receipt of additional income.[240] This did not generate a culture of mass pluralism and revenue farming, however. Of the 31 Chapel ordained Gentlemen who served Elizabeth and/or James, 21 are recorded as holding benefices, and only five of these held multiple benefices alongside their Chapel posts. Though problematised by the poor survival of records relating to Chapel clergy, it appears that some effort was made to ensure that Gentlemen only held one benefice alongside their Chapel appointment.[241] Though often non-resident for much of their working lives (though as noted

[237] TNA PROB 11/152/323 f.212r; *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster*, ed. Knighton, 12.
[238] TNA PROB 11/152/323 f.211v; 'Tichbourne, Sir Richard', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, Vol. IV. ed. Thrush and Ferris, 525-526.
[239] Julia Merritt has found similar evidence in the case of the Westminster canons. See: J. F. Merritt, ''Under the shadowe of the Church'? The Abbey and the town of Westminster 1530-1640' in *Westminster Abbey Reformed,* ed. Knighton and Mortimer, 164.
[240] Brief discussion of this is found in Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 170.
[241] See appendix.

below, a handful of ministers died in their benefices, suggesting a more active presence than is sometimes appreciated), ordained Gentlemen did not entirely neglect their flocks.

Emery Tuckfield, Gentleman from 1531, and Sub-Dean of the Chapel between 1549 and 1557, when he was deprived by Mary for his Protestant beliefs (though he was not burned for heresy), was an early opponent of Catholic liturgical practice and theological belief. In his parish of Trent, Somerset, between 1544-47, three of his parishioners complained that the thrice-weekly Lady mass had been suspended, to 'the utter decaye & destrucyon of the same Chapell & servyce', apparently for Tuckfield's 'owne private lucre'.[242] Tuckfield responded that since '[a]ny rites ceremonyes or c[er]vice usid in the sayd Chappell were had or usid by usurpyd Auctoritie and powre of the bysshopes of Rome', it was illegal to celebrate the service, and no financial provisions to support the mass had been made for 66 years.[243] Tuckfield was deprived from the Trent rectory in 1555 for refusing to renounce his marriage, and was a notorious crypto-Protestant presence in Mary's Chapel Royal.[244] Remarkably, he remained in the sub-deanship until 1557, when he was replaced by Edmund Daniell.[245] While Tuckfield was restored to the Chapel on Elizabeth's accession, he did not return to the sub-deanship, though his ill health may have precluded this, since he died in 1559. The Protestantism of certain Gentlemen clearly had some impact on religious cultures beyond the royal household.

The confessional trends of other Gentlemen can be identified in the furnishings of the parish churches that they ministered. John Norris (ordained Gentleman from 1558 and Sub-Dean of the Chapel 1567-69) served as rector at St Olave's, Southwark between 1559-69. In this role, he oversaw (with the influence and action of the churchwardens), the removal of inappropriate and outdated plate and vestments, as revealed by the survival of two inventories,

[242] TNA C 1/1148 f.34.r.
[243] Ibid., f.36.r.
[244] SRO D/D/Ca 18 p.441.
[245] Ashbee and Lasocki, *BDECM* Vol. II, 1100.

dated 1558 and 1567, which were compiled by the churchwardens, but conveniently dated at Norris's installation to the rectorship of St Olave's, and his promotion to Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1567 (though he remained rector until his death two years later), indicating that this was at least a joint initiative. By 1567, the silver cross, most copes (only one of four remained), all full sets of vestments, all mass books, antiphonals, and acolytes' staves, had been removed.[246] Much of this was sold: the cross went for £22 4s 4d, a set of vestments for 26s 8d, and an 'old masse booke' for 3s 4d in the early months of 1559.[247] Norris (or the churchwardens of St Olave's) oversaw the installation of Elizabeth's arms and a communion table soon after his installation, in the December of 1558.[248] The east window (which presumably contained objectionable images) was re-glazed in 1562-63, at the cost of £3 4s 3d.[249] A small library of common ecclesiastical literature for the reformed Church was also purchased by Norris, including 'ii bybles, ii paraphrases ii s[er]ves bookes', a 'boke off the bysshop of Salesbury to answer doctor hardynge' (borrowed by a parishioner), and a great bible with two psalters (the latter acquired in 1567, for £1 14s).[250]

St Olave's also invested in music during the 1560s. An organ player received 12s per annum between 1560-62, alongside a 20d quarterly retainer until 1567, 'the Synginge Clerkes' received a payment of 3s between 1560-62.[251] The organs were regularly repaired, and in 1560 moved to 'the quear', at the cost of 9s 10d.[252] While the reformation of parish worship followed a comparable pattern in many of London's parish churches, this musical investment is not found in the parochial records ministered by other ordained Chapel Gentlemen.[253] At Anthony

[246] SA MS 1635 p.83; Ibid, p.85; Ibid, p.207.
[247] Ibid., p.95; p.96.
[248] Ibid., p.92.
[249] Ibid., p.159; p.161.
[250] Ibid., p.207; p.214.
[251] Ibid., p.107
[252] Ibid., p.128.
[253] John Craig, 'Parish religion' in *The Elizabethan World,* ed. Susan Doran and Norman Jones (Routledge, 2011), 227.

Anderson's Stepney parish (which he held between 1587-93), the organs were removed in 1585 and sold 'for as much mony as any man will give for them', with the funds directed to lectureships, which included a £30 annual wage for the preacher and catechist, 'mr Stephen Cosson'.[254] Similarly, at the surviving churches of Wellington, Somerset, where Royal Confessor William Beckett served between 1593-1613 and Kingston-upon-Thames between 1613-27, and Banwell, Somerset, where Edmund Doughtie served between 1584-92, once-musical churches were now silent, save for the regular ringing of bells.[255]

Chapel Gentlemen did not seek to replicate the liturgical culture of the Chapel Royal in their beneficed parishes. Instead, at least among those for whom detailed records survive, ordained Gentlemen followed a distinctly Protestant decorative and devotional programme across the sixteenth and seventeenth century, in which music and material decoration did not always play a significant role.

d. Eucharistic nonconformity

Engagement with the rites and ceremonies of the established Church has proven another means of 'testing' conformity.[256] While most Gentlemen appear to have happily taken communion at least once a year, a small number of eucharistic non-conformists are identifiable.

William Byrd was a recusant from around the late 1580s (though his wife, Juliana, appeared on recusancy registers from 1581, and Byrd became closely involved in the recusant circles of the Pagets at the same time).[257] Byrd's contested relationship with the Elizabethan state, which depended as much on the protection of his Catholic patrons (the Petres) as the

[254] LMA P03/DUN/327 f.12v; Ibid., f.12r.
[255] SRO D/P/wel/4/1/3 p.7; KHC KG 2/2/3, 280; SRO D/P/ban/4/1/1 p.379.
For an account of parochial investment in organs and music-making in London and the west country, see: Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 64-66.
[256] See: Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*, (Boydell, 1999); Kaufman, *A People's Reformation,* chapter 5.
[257] David Mateer, 'William Byrd's Middlesex Recusancy', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 78 (1997): 1-14.

monarch and privy council (by the 1590s Byrd received dispensation for his recusancy, possibly on the payment of an annual fine 'to like effect and favour his recusancye'), offered a unique set of circumstances carefully watched by Elizabethan and Jacobean authorities.[258] It was this mounting pressure that probably contributed to his semi-retirement from public life in around 1593 (perhaps related to the act passed in the same year, which limited recusants to travel within five miles of their homes, on the pain of forfeiture of two thirds of their goods, implemented with patchy and inconsistent coverage).[259] Though Byrd remained a Gentleman of the Chapel until his death in 1623, he only seems to have attended the highest festal occasions, since his name does not appear in Chapel chapter meetings. This arrangement with the Jacobean establishment may have been convenient as Byrd aged into his sixties (he died aged approximately 83 years old), but it removed a prominent Catholic from regular courtly attendance, and reminds us that Chapel Gentlemen were, ultimately, obedient servants of the monarch.

Byrd was not the only eucharistic nonconformist among Chapel Gentlemen. In 1580, Thomas Goold and Elway Bevin (extraordinary Gentlemen in 1605) were threatened with suspension by the dean and chapter of Wells for failing to take communion for four years.[260] Although eucharistic nonconformity should be distinguished from recusancy, it is a strong indicator of dissatisfaction with the established rites of the Church of England, and possibly a signifier of crypto-Catholicism. Goold briefly conformed, but was summoned by the dean and chapter fifteen years later, this time with another Chapel colleague, John Hewlett, who were both instructed that 'so long as [they] be not p[er]sonally attendant at the court they shall be p[er]sonally attendant here and are ^both^ injoyned [to] receive the holy co[m]munion once

[258] *Middlesex County Records,* Vol. I, ed. John Cordy Jeaffreson (London, 1886), 125.
[259] Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 152.
[260] WCA DC/CF/6/3 f.15v.

^every yeare^ [in] this cathedral churche'.[261] This was more accommodating than the 1595 order for thrice-yearly communion applied to all Wells vicars choral, and constituted the minimum reception stipulated by the Prayer Book.[262] While Goold conformed, Hewlett did not, and failed to attend the reconciliatory communion offered on the following Sunday.[263] It is unclear what happened to Hewlett, though he continued in his Chapel post and retained a close association with Wells, advising the dean and chapter on the selection of a new organist in 1613, 'in consideration of his long service, experience, and knowledge'.[264] In the absence of further evidence of the confessional beliefs of Goold, Bevin, and Hewlett, it is difficult to judge their reasons for nonconformity (they may have equally been 'hotter' Protestants as crypto-Catholics). Their continuation in their Chapel posts (and apparently at Wells) shows that individual conformity could be secured through institutional pressures and protection, where offenders were granted multiple opportunities for reconciliation, possibly owing to personal associations or musical talent.

e. Rebellion and exile

As a number of recent studies have emphasised, rebellion and exile are among the most politically and individually charged indicators of religious opinion, and a handful of Chapel Gentlemen were among this lively group.[265] Although rejection of temporal royal authority does not always reveal precise theological beliefs, it took sufficient strength of feeling for Gentlemen to risk or actively reject their social standing, wealth, family, friends, and life, for their faith.

[261] WCA DC/CF/6/4 f.126r.
[262] Ibid., f.108v.
[263] Ibid., f.144v; Ibid., f.159r.
[264] WCA DC/CF/6/5 f.66v.
[265] Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris*, (Boydell Press, 2011), 12; Jaime Goodrich, 'Exiles Abroad', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (OUP, 2017), 485.

At least two Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal rebelled against Mary's rule. William Hunnis and John Bendbowe were both imprisoned in 1555/6 for their involvement in Sir Henry Dudley's plot to depose Mary and Philip in favour of the Princess Elizabeth. Hunnis was among those appointed to kill Mary and Philip in their bedchamber, though according to John Dethicke, Hunnis's co-conspirator, the group lost heart due to 'scruples [about] who shulde begynne the onset for [...] he that who so ev[er] shold kill her ma[jes]tie shold have bynne put to dethe for ensamples sake who so ev[er] had byn kyng [or] quene after', and that England might have been plagued with regicide thereafter.[266] If Hunnis was unwilling to actually kill his anointed sovereign (though no spiritual concerns appear to have been raised), he intended to mint 'haldegelders' (which contained 2d of gold each) into 2s pieces from a castle in Dieppe, to raise money for the rebels.[267] Encouraged by the promise of £100,000 from Henri II, Hunnis sought to betray his friend Nicholas Brigham, an Exchequer teller, by copying his keys to the Jewel House in order to 'stele awaye the Treasure', though he would leave Brigham's money.[268] Meanwhile, Bendbowe was to use his office as overseer of poles and plate at the Tower of London to deliver £6 worth of 'Shovilles, Spades and poles' to the plotters, with a 'Ship of fowre score' secured to aid the mercenaries and rebels in storming London.[269] Though the plot failed, Hunnis and Bendbowe were clearly sufficiently enthusiastic about the Protestant cause to consider deposing (even killing) Mary, and found reward in their restoration to the Chapel after Elizabeth's accession.

Loyalty to the crown was not always simple for Protestant Gentlemen, even during Elizabeth's reign. Thomas Morley was employed by Sir Francis Walsingham to conduct some intelligence work in the late-1580s and early 1590s, after he was recruited around the time of

[266] TNA SP 11/7 f.89r.
[267] Ibid., f.87r-v.
[268] Ibid., f.88r; 89r.
[269] Ibid., f.84r.

his employment in Bess of Hardwick's household in 1588/9, where he was Arabella Stuart's music tutor.[270] In 1589, Morley travelled to the Low Countries, where he acted as an *agent-provocateur*. When Thomas Paget uncovered his activities, he was reported to Francis Walsingham, and described as a '*good* Catholicke and *reconsiled*', about whom Paget held enough incriminating evidence 'to hang', but was content to 'let him goe' after a show of repentance.[271] Thomas Phelippes, replying all too late to Paget, likely thankful that his agent had been released unharmed, urgently wrote to confirm Morley's identity, that he 'employs himself in that kind of service and has brought divers into danger'.[272] Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor has suggested that Morley's employment in the Hardwick household and engagement in the Low Countries was to gather intelligence on the purported Spanish and Dutch plans to marry Arabella to Odoado Farnese, son of the Duke of Parma.[273] As a professional musician, Morley had access to intimate spaces, though detailed evidence is unfortunately lacking for his methods. Although Morley's intelligence activities seem to have ceased after this close shave, it is possible that his appointment as Chapel Gentleman in 1592 was a means of reward. Though frequently inscrutable, confessional identities could remain conveniently ambiguous to suit the political needs of the English Protestant state.

Of the 152 Gentlemen serving under Elizabeth and James, only three entered open religious exile, all during Elizabeth's reign. The first was Edmund Daniell, Sub-Dean of Mary and Elizabeth's Chapel Royal between 1557-58, who was dismissed and imprisoned after he elevated the host before Elizabeth on St Stephen's Day, 1558. In 1562 he escaped house arrest with Lord Treasurer William Paulet, and travelled to the English College, Rome, where he died

[270] Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor, 'Musicians and intelligence operations, 1570-1612: politics, surveillance, and patronage in the late Tudor and Early Stuart years' (PhD diss., McGill University, 2006), 2.
[271] SP 12/240 f.36.
[272] SP 12/240 f.84.
[273] Taylor, 'Musicians and intelligence operations', 41.

in 1576.[274] In Rome, Daniell was an active member of the college. He received the materials for the College sacrist and joined his colleagues' testimony against Elizabeth for Pius V's excommunication Bull of 1569/70.[275]

Daniell was the only Gentleman to make such a departure from Elizabeth's early Chapel. Nicholas Morgan (Singing-man 1567-81/2) and Richard Morris (Singing-man 1579-82) abandoned their Chapel posts immediately after the execution of Edmund Campion in 1581 and the subsequent intensification of the persecutory laws against Catholics. Between 1583-87, Morgan was employed at the Sainte Chapelle, Paris, in consideration of his 'exile and willingness to die a Catholic', possibly more than his abilities as a singer.[276] By 1591 however, Morgan had returned to England, and resided with the notorious recusant and patron of Jesuits, Sir Henry Weston, as revealed by a 1591 Privy Council letter ordering for a search of Weston's house to find Morgan, 'an obstinate and seditious papiste'.[277]

Meanwhile, Morris travelled to Douai in 1582 in the company of Dr Christopher Bagshaw.[278] Morris possibly met Bagshaw at Gloucester Hall, where Bagshawe was principal from 1579 (formerly a fellow at Balliol), and Morris's Cheque Book entry records that he was 'from Gloucester'.[279] Although his name does not appear in *Athenae Oxonienses* and he is described 'Glocestrensis' in the pilgrim book of the English College, both possibilities are plausible.[280] Upon arrival in Rheims, Morris was recommended to the English College in

[274] John Wainewright, 'Deans Deprived Under Queen Elizabeth', *Downside Review*, Vol. 29 (1910), 50.
[275] AVCAU Liber Cleri 3, f.51r; Ibid., f.56r; Ibid., f.59v; Ibid., f.63r.
[276] Michel Brenet, *Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, Documents inedits, recueillis et annotes par Michel Brenet*, (Paris, 1910), 136.
[277] *The Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Part I. Report and Appendix*, ed. Richard Assheton Cross (London, 1879), 649.
[278] W.B.S., 'John Dowland', The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular, Vol. 38, No. 648, (1897): 93.
[279] Peter Holmes, 'Bagshaw, Christopher', *ODNB*, (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1042.; Ashbee and Harley, *The Cheque Books*, Vol. I, 22.
[280] AVCAU Liber 282, p.8; Ibid., p.14.

Rome, by Cardinal William Allen, who praised his musical ability. Although Morris stayed at the College for nine days in 1583, and eight in 1585, he does not appear to have secured employment, and received alms on his second visit.[281] It is possible that Morris's association with Bagshawe soured Morris's relations with the College, as Bagshawe had previously been expelled from the college for his temper by Cardinal Boncompagni, though Morris might have been later ordained, as one 'Morris, a priest' is recorded travelling to Rome with Allen, in a 1588 report.[282] Although surviving evidence is patchy, the religious policies of the 1580s clearly had an impact on the confessional identities of some Gentlemen of the Chapel. Conformity and monarchical loyalty were not always assured among members of the Chapel Royal, and some remained open to the (apparently rare) potential of religious conversion or radical action.

Though difficult to recover, the religious identities of the Gentlemen of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal were clearly, in the main, Protestant. While shades of doctrinal engagement, 'godly' social groups, and perceptions of public or ecclesiastical service varied, it is striking how many individual Gentlemen exercised extensive and intimate links with the 'godly' of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, across a spectacularly wide social range. Rather than proponents of a 'conservative' liturgical approach, proto-Laudian conceptions of the 'beauty of holiness', or the promotion of technically and sonically complex church music in England's parishes, Chapel Gentlemen (with a small number of exceptions) conformed to the doctrinal and liturgical requirements of the established Church in which they sometimes saw for themselves a distinctly public (and prominent) role.

[281] Ibid.; 8.
[282] SP 15/29 f.65r; Holmes, 'Bagshaw, Christopher', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1042.

Conclusion: making sense of Chapel life.

Chapel Gentlemen were not just musically talented royal servants, but well-connected, economically and socially aspirant, and theologically learned members of an influential network of royal servants and courtiers. This chapter has argued that many of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were committed Protestants, rather than confessionally 'conservative' individuals occasionally assumed to have filled the ranks of Elizabeth's and James's Chapel Royal.[283] Chapel Gentlemen owed their preferment to both their place in the royal household, and their networks of prominent Protestant patrons and allies within and without the court, foremost the monarch, who often proved willing to act in favour of individual Gentlemen in social and professional disputes.

Important reflections on the 'class' of individuals who found employment as church musicians throughout the early modern period have also been offered by this assessment of Chapel Gentlemen. Rather than being separated from the cities they occupied, the Chapel Royal (and cathedrals) enjoyed an active link with the mercantile and civic life of the local community, exercised partly through institutional relationships, but more provocatively and ambitiously through the individuals they employed. With reduced liturgical hours and stagnant rates of pay in the face of spiralling inflation, the plural occupations of Chapel Gentlemen had important consequences for their incomes, which ranged from moderate to extreme wealth, and their social links and associations, from which patronage and preferment might be secured and large households established. Such developments took place as ecclesiastical bodies became increasingly confident in their corporate identities after the Reformation, and individual Gentlemen are seen to have been conscious of their public roles, whether in devotional didacticism, public theatre, or musical composition. These institutional and occupational

[283] See above, page 256 n.154.

developments complicate a simple story of ecclesiastical patronage and preferment. Gentlemen had varied mercantile interests, and were active and often successful petitioners, who understood how to utilise their courtly connections to the chagrin of deans and chapters. This did not involve simple dichotomy of proto-Laudians and Calvinists, but rather a complex web of intersecting personal, political, economic, and confessional interests, which usually resulted in the protection of Chapel Gentlemen at the expense of the interests of other ecclesiastical institutions, including royal free chapels and peculiars like St George's, Windsor, and Westminster Abbey.

This prosopographical survey has established that the Chapel Royal was far from an institution concerned solely with the preservation of traditional liturgies, or even the composition of splendid church music. Rather, it was part of a more complex and ambitious courtly machine, which could be leveraged to gain important political and religious influence over important aspects of the church, while providing for the particular tastes of 'moderate' Protestant opinion. Its religious make-up was not simply defined by 'Catholic' or 'Protestant', but a far more fluid and nebulous category of courtly 'conformist', who differed little from the conformist of the typical post-Reformation parish except for the fact that they could play on the tastes and preferences of their courtly patrons to suit their personal and economic needs.

Conclusion

The reformation of royal worship was not a simple or uncontested task, nor was it one of continued hostility of royal intransigence against the expectations of reform. Although the arrangement and appearance of royal worship was bartered and shifted in the first decade of the Elizabethan Chapel Royal, it has been shown that throughout Elizabeth's and James's reigns, prominent churchmen, courtiers, and councillors, along with lay commentators, offered a variety of defences, excuses, and explanations regarding the exceptional rights awarded to the Chapel Royal, against detractors from across the confessional divide.

The Chapel Royal was intimately linked with the monarch's physical and theoretical body. It was a hybrid institution, which although attached to the monarch personally, and granted direct government by the monarch, nonetheless existed in a distinctly public context, subject to the view and opinion of prominent Elizabethan and Jacobean lay and clerical subjects. The direction of administration, liturgy, and personnel in the Chapel Royal was not, as this thesis has shown, a simple question of public performance or the assertion of royal prerogative, but something bound up with the negotiation of the impact of the Royal Supremacy on the governance of the royal household chapel. As a public ecclesiastical institution, the character of the Chapel Royal mattered for those who viewed it as a confessional gauge for the inscrutable direction of their monarch's religious and political policy, and those ecclesiastical institutions that relied on a body of musically trained clergy and singing-men for the sung performance of Prayer Book services.

Dependent on the physical presence of the monarch, the Chapel Royal was unlike any other ecclesiastical institution in post-Reformation England. This fact has not been sufficiently recognised by scholars of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church, and although some consideration has been made of later 'Laudian' expositions of this fact, the significance of these

claims is frequently lost in the volatile politics of church and state of the 1630s and 40s.[1] In the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal, a significant distinction was observed between the reserved space of the royal closet and court chapels. This was a permeable barrier, broken by the monarch on holydays and extraordinary occasions of state, when they physically occupied space in the main body of the chapel. Ornamentation and decoration followed accordingly, creating a material pattern of elaboration suitable for the presence of the monarch, and observed across European courts. Although points of tension could arise regarding the exclusivity of royal worship, possibly due to the uncertainty of the boundaries between the monarch's prerogative as head of state and their royal household, order and access were (at least ideally) strictly maintained by Elizabeth and James. This provided an administrative and physical manifestation and enforcement of a restricted and extraordinary royal ecclesiastical space.

Narratives of 'continuity' (a phrase problematised by the contested inheritance of ritual traditions and the multivalence of cultural influences on courtly action) are challenged by aspects of this thesis, in which a broad pattern in the respective approaches of Elizabeth and James to their Chapel Royal can be identified. For both monarchs, the Chapel Royal was a courtly space in which the Royal Supremacy was articulated alongside and, by the presence of the Supreme Governor, fused with, the established liturgies of the Church. Elizabeth and James emphasised the centrality of the royal body to the ceremonies observed in their Chapel Royal, and understood the institution as a potent vehicle for domestic and international image-making. Yet in the financial investment, administration, performance of some ceremonies, and the specific messages that they transmitted, important differences have been highlighted.

Elizabeth's Chapel Royal saw the negotiation of prominent aspects of the performance of Prayer Book liturgy between the wishes of the Supreme Governor and her most prominent

[1] Milton, ''That Sacred Oratory'', 74; Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618-1685', 242.

Churchmen and councillors. It was, especially during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, the stage on which the boundaries of the monarch's prerogative over their household chapel were tested and interrogated, and where Elizabeth found that her personal intentions regarding the chapel cross were unsustainable with her headship of a reformed Protestant Church. Despite Elizabeth's initial personal proximity to the Chapel Royal (her maintenance of the cross required a considerable degree of personal protection) she did little to augment the salaries of her Gentlemen, and by the 1580s was happy to let prominent posts (such as the deanship) fall into abeyance. Due to an absence of evidence, it is currently impossible to track the role of Dean Carew in the cross controversy and wider administration of Chapel worship, but it is significant that Elizabeth permitted (and possibly personally oversaw) a handful of more iconophobic alterations to the fabric of her palace chapels. While this can hardly be attributed to the '[f]itt of Puritanisme' identified by one posthumous account of the latter years of her reign, it reveals important and overlooked aspects about the religious culture fostered in Elizabeth's Chapel Royal.[2] Elizabeth's approach to royal worship was heavily influenced by her approach to household economy and her understanding of royal authority. After her defeat over the matter of the Chapel cross, Elizabeth conducted a more cautious reform of Chapel fabric and ceremony and balanced the expectations of royal worship alongside the legal liturgical requirements of her established Church. This included some important material adjustments and the appointment of committed conformists as Chapel Gentlemen, but did not see any significant financial investment. After the 1560s, Elizabeth understood that her Chapel occupied a dangerously public role in the Church of England, which though officially her own domain, was sensitive to the theological mood of her councillors, bishops, and court.

[2] Henry Stubbe, *The miraculous conformist, or, An account of several marvailous cures performed by the stroking of the hands of Mr. Valentine Greatarick with a physical discourse thereupon* (Oxford, 1666), 9.

James's approach to his Chapel Royal, like his understanding of royal authority and finance, was markedly different. From his accession, James recognised the potential of the Chapel Royal to elevate and legitimise his English kingship in the eyes of his English subjects and European commentators and potentates. This included constitutional and administrative reform, material alteration and restoration, and significant financial investment, apparently maintained throughout his reign. Although James restored the Chapel deanship, it is not clear that he withdrew his own interest in the administration and liturgical culture of the Chapel Royal by this delegation of authority. Instead, we find James committed to ensuring the protection and advancement of his Chapel Gentlemen, decorating his palace chapels, and investing vast sums and effort in reforming key liturgies of state, many of which had not been seen since Henry VIII's reign. James's reformation of Henrician ceremonial precedent signifies an important aspect of his approach to the Chapel Royal: it was a space where the celebration and recognition of the monarch's spiritual and temporal authority could be performed, in ceremonial forms otherwise unacceptable in the reformed Church of England. Like his predecessor, James recognised that royal worship necessitated exclusive ceremonial and material elaboration, though his attribution of greater authority to the monarch, and assumption of deeper coffers, meant that Jacobean royal worship reached greater heights of material and sonic splendour than witnessed under Elizabeth. James's understanding of this ornamentation was inseparable from his conception of royal authority. James's Chapel Royal was not therefore 'beautified' in the manner that avant-garde conformists and Laudians would cite to legitimise images in their churches but invested with a privileged position frequently defended from the royal pulpit. Uncertainty about the boundaries of this privilege by the 1620s led to the fierce debates about 'beautifying' church space that dominated ecclesiastical policies during Charles's reign.

The Chapel deanship was undoubtedly a privileged and (in James's reign, at least) influential post. This thesis has not, however, found much evidence that the Dean exercised a significant or executive level of direct influence over the appearance of Chapel spaces or services. This, at least ostensibly, lay in the hands of the monarch. While Lancelot Andrewes's election to the Chapel deanship after the death of Calvinist James Montagu in 1618 has been interpreted as an important moment for the influence of 'avant-garde conformity' in the Church of England, it is striking that no change is observable in the records of the services, music, or furnishings of the Chapel Royal.[3] Rather more significant, and the most likely reason for the spate of court chapel renovation executed in the early 1620s, were James's concerted attempts to both unify the religious ceremonial of his two kingdoms (begun with the building schemes imposed on Holyrood palace chapel) and to secure a cross-confessional Habsburg marriage match for his heir, Prince Charles. These domestic and international policies were closely related to James's conception of his kingship, and it is perhaps unsurprising that his household chapel played a prominent role in achieving this. Rather than clerical influence, or the pressure from a specific theological group within the established Church, most influential over the furnishings, direction, and culture of the post-Reformation Chapel Royal was the monarch, who behaved as the consummate authoritative head of any aristocratic household, sensitive to space, proportion, and most importantly, individual identity.

This thesis has also argued for the significance of re-emphasising the identities and actions of the individuals who staffed early modern institutions in histories of religious change in early modern England. The institutional governance and privileges afforded to this group of musical royal servants constituted a self-conscious professional culture which was central to the daily operation of the Chapel Royal. This was not always secured by a reliable (or substantial) wage, but an idiosyncratic system of officially endorsed pluralism and individual

[3] Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell, and the Chapel Royal', 240.

reward. Although the Gentlemen of the Chapel faced occupational pressures with the reduction of liturgical hours and the limitations imposed on church music provisions in some cathedrals, the opportunity to find additional forms of 'secular' employment created a courtly class who, by James's reign at least, had been able to prosper and achieve a considerable level of material comfort, though not without some difficulty and ambition. These men were not necessarily desperate for work, nor were they exclusively wedded to their musical service, but instead seemed willing to hold a variety of posts, suggesting that although musical funding had declined in post-Reformation England, some church musicians (especially those in the Chapel Royal, enjoying considerable social credit therein) were able to benefit in a way very unlike their pre-Reformation counterparts.

This thesis has also revised scholarly and public conceptions about the confessional colour of Chapel Gentlemen. The significance of the cultural patterns and beliefs held by Chapel Gentlemen has also been emphasised to further counter assumptions that early modern institutions operated in isolation from the personalities and identities of those staffing them. The Chapel Royal was, as established at the beginning of chapter one, a self-governing institution, in which each royal singing-man or minister had a voice, and therefore administratively exceptional compared with parallel musical-ecclesiastical institutions such as cathedrals and collegiate churches. As illustrated in chapter three, many of these men were, contrary to scholarly assumptions, committed Protestants, rather than confessional conservatives who sought refuge in rich liturgical surroundings with relatively stable provisions for the performance of church music. Although only a small number of Gentlemen expressed any particular criticism for the type of music heard in the Chapel Royal (though the influence of these men is significant in understanding the range of views present in the Chapel), many Gentlemen simultaneously held sympathies for 'hotter' (or at least 'warmer') types of Protestant, and were deeply embedded in networks of godly citizens of London by close social,

economic, or familial bonds. The Gentlemen of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal were a strong corporate body who frequently worked together not just to further their own economic interests, but to shore up lapses in attendance, processes of appointment, and consequently the solemnity of royal worship.

Since no study of the English Chapel Royal of this length has yet been made, there are many avenues for further exploration. The Chapel Royal itself is an institution ripe for further analysis and interrogation, as witnessed by a burgeoning research projects on the development of a 'public' Chapel on Henrician progresses, the household chapels of Edward VI and Mary I, though hampered greatly by the destruction of many household records during the middle of the sixteenth century and thereafter, remain little-understood, and would offer greater groundwork and possible re-casting of some of the material discussed in this thesis.[4] The argument of this thesis, that royal ecclesiastical space constituted a distinct and exceptional space in post-Reformation England, also has important consequences for how scholars view the development of theories of sacred space associated with Laudianism and English Arminianism. Rather than a theory underlying the development of Charles I's *religion royale* entirely novel to the king or imbued from a strain of 'avant-garde conformity', this was something with deep roots in the post-Reformation Chapel Royal, which deserves attention over a longer temporal range. Such arguments also have significant ramifications for how early modern English monarchs were perceived and offer a means of explaining how the sanctity of the royal body could be transferred into physical spaces and gradually reformed, to meet the 'secular' requirements of honour acknowledged by most early modern contemporaries. Evidence of the material culture of the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts is abundant in

[4] See: the AHRC, Historic Royal Palaces, and University of York research project 'Henry on Tour: the progresses of Henry VIII' (2024) https://henryontour.uk/; and the British Academy conference 'Music and Majesty: Chapels Royal, cathedrals, and colleges, c.1485-1688', (1st-2nd July 2024), https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/events/british-academy-conferences/music-and-majesty/.

surviving Wardrobe accounts, and further research on the fabrics of post-Reformation courtly and elite devotion would provide an important and complementary perspective to aspects of exceptional elaboration in elite devotion identified in this thesis. Since individual singing-men and ministers could play a significant role in the administration of important courtly institutions, their beliefs and identities deserve further examination, especially regarding their relationships with civic and urban environments. Further exploration of this can refine our understanding of the economic and social relationships between the court, urban centres, and cathedrals. It can also offer new means of conceptualising the relationship between early modern people and their musical-liturgical institutions beyond experiences of the liturgy and understanding the endurance of church musicians in poorly paid posts.

The Chapel Royal was instrumental to the creation of a form of royal worship that was at once liturgically reformed and visually and aurally impressive. Central to this was the extraordinary conceptual and legal space occupied by the Chapel Royal, which permitted it to defend and affirm the ecclesiastical and temporal authority of the reformed English monarch through ritual and ceremonial performance. In the process, English courtly congregants were offered a multi-sensory experience of royal worship, where the liturgies of the Book of Common Prayer were performed with variable elaboration (at their lowest point possibly comparable with a moderately wealthy cathedral church) and adorned with exclusive ceremonies and customs designed to honour the royal presence. It was in this exceptional context that royal worship was reformed, albeit in a non-linear pattern, where priorities of monarch, council, bishops, and foreign policy wrought aural, visual, and ceremonial alteration and change. The Chapel Royal was not a marginal courtly space where ‘conservative’ ceremonies were performed by ‘conservative’ ministers and singing-men. Instead, it was a venue of enormous significance for changing conceptions of royal authority and liturgical

performance in a post-Reformation court and Church, where reforming impulses were tentatively balanced alongside the splendour and majesty of an anointed sovereign.

Appendix: ‘Table of Gentlemen of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Chapel Royal, with dates of entry and departure, recorded monetary bequests, marital status, charitable bequests, recorded compositions, education, recorded livings, and cathedral employment’.

Name, CCED no (if applicable) and relevant entry in Ashbee and Lasocki's *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians.*	**Earliest record of Chapel service**	**Latest record of Chapel service**	**Monetary bequests and property**	**Marriage**	**Charity**	**Compositions**	**Education**	**Livings (if ordained)**	**Cathedral employment**
William Hutchins *BDECM,* I, 618	1520	1567	No monetary bequests but two oxen and c.70 sheep, along with furniture and silver gilt plate given to family and friends. Lease of rectory of St Stephen's, Saltash, Cornwall. [TNA PROB 48/639 f.477r-v]	Y – Joan	10s to poor of the parish of St Stephen's, Saltash, in Cornwall; 10s to poor of the parish of St Nicholas, Saltash.				
Robert Perry *BDECM,* II, 882-83	1529	1560							
Emery Tuckfield (p) CCEd: 104284	1531	1559		N				Rector of Trent parish church,	

BDECM, II, 1100.								Somerset 1543-1554 [deprived] Possibly rector of Henton Waldrist, Berkshire 1550-1554 [deprived] Possibly rector of Chesterton, Huntingdonshire, 1557-1559 [vacant 1559-62] Possibly rector of Axminster, Devon ante-1559 [but recorded vacant by death of incumbent in 1577]	
Robert Richmond *BDECM,* II, 960-61.	1538	1586							
William Walker (p) Possibly CCEd: 33098 *BDECM,* II, 1122.	1538	1563		N			Possibly BA Oxon supplicated Oct 1544 [Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, iv, 1558]		Possibly Succentor of Salisbury Cathedral 1554-61 [Foster]

							Or BA Camb 1539-40 [Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* iv, 319]	*Or* vicar of Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, 1542-52, presented by King's Hall. [Venn]	
Richard Bower *BDECM,* I, 178-179	1538	1561	£126 13s 4d. House in east Greenwich; lease on manor in Thanet (both shared with Tallis). [TNA PROB 11/4/299 f.213r-v]	Y - Joan					
Thomas Waite *BDECM,* II, 1120-21	1544	1559							
William Mapperley *BDECM,* II, 761.	1544	1583		Y - Jane					
Thomas Tallis *BDECM,* II, 1070-1071.	1544	1585	£13 7s 4d (rest to wife). House in east Greenwich; lease on	Y - Joan		Y – two services, a set of preces and responses, festal psalms, litany,			Dover Priory (lay clerk?) 1531-32 Waltham Abbey (singing-man?) 1538-40

			manor in Thanet (shared with Bower). [TNA PROB 11/68/662 f.412v-413r.]			benedictus, Te Deum, Sanctus, and Gloria; 22 full anthems			Canterbury Cathedral (lay clerk?) 1541-42
Robert Stone *BDECM,* II, 1053-55	1546	1613	£78 15s. Messuage and tenement in Alfington, Dorset. [TNA PROB 11/122/120 f.17r-v]	Y - Thomasine		Y (lord's prayer)			
William Gravesend (p) Likely CCEd: 141043. *BDECM,* I, 512.	1547	1570		N			(Possibly) Pensioner at Gonville hall, Cambridge, 1524, a monk [Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* ii, 250]	Likely perpetual vicar of Flore, Northamptonshire 31/03/1558-1570	
John Bendbowe *BDECM,* I, 144.	1547	1592							Christ Church, Oxford, (chorister) c.1530
Robert Morecocke	1551	1581	£118 10s.	Y – Alice	40s to children of	Y (Latin, sarum use)			

BDECM, II, 805-06.			Lease of house in Round Woolstaple, Westminster, from Christ's Hospital; three messuages on King's Street, Westminster. [WMCA 'Elsam' f.189]		Christ's Hospital; £10 to poor of Great Chart, Kent; 40s to Westminster householders				
William Hunnis *BDECM,* II, 610-12.	1552	1597		Y – Margaret & Mrs Blanck		Y (devotional verses, metrical psalms)			
Edward Adams *BDECM,* I, 6.	1553	1559							
John Angell (p) CCEd: 2058; and probably CCEd: 73352 *BDECM,* I, 25.	1553	1567	£108 10s. Leased chamber in the Savoy Hospital. [TNA PROB 11/50/241 f.150r-v.]	N	40s to poor of Savoy, along with material goods and individual gifts for masters; 30s to poor		'Perhaps scholar of Michaelhouse, and fellow of King's Hall' – but does not appear on their matriculation lists (Cooper, I, p.173)	Priest at Syon Abbey c.1535-40 [Henry Summerson, 'Aungell [Angell, Angel], John', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/540.]	10th minor canon of St Paul's c.1535 [Summerson, 'Aungell', *ODNB*] Heathfield prebend of Chichester cathedral 12/12/1554-1564

					almsmen of St Katherine's Bedminster			Conduct at St Peter's, Wood Street (c.1535-45) [Ibid] Chantrist at St Augustine's, Watling Street) [Ibid] Vicar of South Bersted, Sussex 1549- 11/05/1552 (resigned) Vicar of Pevensey, Sussex c.27/09/1554 Rector of St Katherine's Hospital, Bedminster, Bristol 1557-19/08/1568	Canon of Chichester cathedral 1558-1568
Richard Aylesworth *BDECM*, I, 36-38.	1553	1567	£4 20s (alongside many household goods). No properties recorded.	Y					St Paul's Cathedral (lay clerk) c.1547

			[LMA LG 9051/3, f.194]						
John Denman *BDECM,* I, 343.	1553	1568							
Roger Centon *BDECM,* I, 240.	1553	1570/71							
James Cancellor *BDECM,* I, 228.	1553	1570		Y					Westminster Abbey (singing man) 1542-43
Thomas Causton *BDECM*, I, 236.	1553	1570				Y (two services, 6 full anthems)			
Richard Farrant *BDECM,* I, 400-401.	1553 (leaves in 1564 for masters hip of childre n of Windso r, re-joins in 1570)	1580	No monetary bequests – all property/rent s/household goods left to wife. Lease on house in Blackfriars; house in Greenwich. [TNA PROB 11/63/120 f.67v.]	Y – Anne		Y (one verse anthem, two full anthems, two consort songs, and a service)			

Thomas Palfreyman *BDECM,* II, 866.	1553	1589	£27 15s (rest to wife and family). No property recorded. [TNA PROB 11/75/418 f.358v]	Yes – Mary					
Edmund Daniell (p) CCEd: 12049 *BDECM,* I, 335.	1557	1559		No			BA Jan 1539-40 MA 4th April 1544 Fellow Merton Oxford 1540 B.D 20th July 1556 [Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses,* I, 370	Chaplain of Merton College, Oxford 1547-c.1552 [Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis, 1521-1567, Ed. John M. Fletcher, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 133; 152] Subdeacon, deacon, and priest of bishop Robert King of Oxford's manor of Thame Park, Oxfordshire 09/04/1547-c. 1548? (Ordained by bishop Thomas Lewis of Shrewsbury)	Norton prebend of Hereford cathedral 11/10/1552-17/02/1560 Dean of Hereford cathedral 02/07/1558-January 1558/9 (deprived)

								Rector of Kingsland, Herefordshire 04/06/1548/28/11/1559	
George Mason (p) *BDECM,* II, 776.	1558	1560		N					St George's Windsor (singing-man) c.1560
Thomas Martin *BDECM*, II, 775.	1558	1563							
George Edwards *BDECM,* I, 380 Thomas Mann *BDECM,* II, 759.	Both recorded in 1553 and nowhere else. (deprived/died/ absented their posts on Elizabeth's accession?)								
Christopher Tye *BDECM* II, 1107-09.	1553	1573		Y - Katherine		Y – 22 known works, 11 survive. Incl masses, anthems,			

						morning/evening service music, and consort music			
Robert Golder *BDECM,* I, 489.	1553	c.1558-63 – at Windsor as organist c.1558-63	No monetary bequests recorded (all to wife and daughters). Owned an inn called the 'king's head' in St Sepulchres, London; owned a house called 'the Cage' in the Strand, outside Temple Bar; and leased a tenement in Eton. [TNA PROB 11/48/399 f.266r-v]	Y - Elizabeth		Y – In nomine in Baldwin's commonplace book			
John Norris (p) CCEd: 46737	1558	1569		N				Rector of St Olave's, Southwark	St Paul's Cathedrals (singing-man) c.1566

BDECM, II, 838.								10/11/1558-02/05/1568	
Hugh Sully (p) Likely CCEd: 66586 *BDECM,* II, 1066.	1558	1570		N				Likely Rector of Stretton on Fosse, Warwickshire 06/04/1549-November 1561 Rector of Harlington, Middlesex 13/03/1560-12/10/1570 (buried there)	
Henry Aldred *BDECM,* I, 15.	1558	1572		Y					
William Jones (p) *BDECM,* I, 635	1558	1581	£9 to family members and in charity (rest and moveables to wife, £11 of debt forgiven). No property recorded.	Y – Alice	40s to poor of St Margaret's Westminster		Recorded MA at appointment as curate (ante-1577)	Possibly curate of Leeds with Broomfield, Kent 11/10/1577 – 2101/1582	

			[TNA PROB 11/63/119 f.67]						
John Moore *BDECM,* II, 803.	1558	1581							Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1578-79
John Blitheman *BDECM,* I, 159-160	1558	1591	£52. No property recorded. [LMA LG 9171/17 f.342v]		40s to each prison: King's Bench, Marshalsea, White Lion, Ludgate, Newgate, and Westminster gatehouse	Y – Mostly for Marian liturgy, but also keyboard/organ works	Chaplain of Christ Church College, Oxford February 1554/5 – 1563, but no evidence of degree	Chaplain of Christ Church College, Oxford February 1554/5 – 1563 (later Master of the choristers at the same, 1563-78).	Christ Church, Oxford (chaplain) 1544/45-56; (master of the choristers) 1560-78
Robert Paternoster (p) CCEd: 65871 *BDECM* II, 870.	1555	1596	£114 18s 4d. Leased lands and tenaments in Pentlow, Essex (probably substantial, since most bequests	N	30s given to poor of St Gregory, Sudbury; 13s 4d taken in perpetuity from rents for poor of parishes in		Possible association with Jesus College, Cambridge (bequest of a small library)	Vicar of Charing, Canterbury 28/02/1549-08/03/1555 Rector of Monks Eleigh, Suffolk 18/09/1555-09/05/1557	Prebend of Hereford Cathedral 18/03/1553-26/08/1583

			draw from rents and detailed provision made for their inheritance). [TNA PROB 11/88/86 f.79v-81v]		Sudbury; 13s 8d yearly to poor of Monks Ely and Tattlesden in Suffolk for 10 years after death			Rector of Rattlesden, Suffolk (19/07/1557-1573)	
George Buck *BDECM,* I, 203.	1558	1602							St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) c.1547
Richard Edwards *BDECM,* I, 381-82.	1558	1566				Y – Lord's Prayer setting, possible motet, and some secular songs			
Thomas Rawlins *BDECM,* II, 947.	1561	1580							
Thomas Wiles *BDECM,* II, 1153.	1563	1590							St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) unknown date
John Russell *BDECM,* II, 979.	1563	1579							
Robert Couche	1564	1587		N?					

BDECM, I, 309-10.									
Robert Parsons *BDECM,* II, 869.	1563	1571/72				Y – anthems, three services, and assorted service music			Child of the Chapel Royal? C.1550s Possibly at Hereford cathedral c.1575
William Mundy *BDECM,* II, 814.	1563/64	1591		Y (see Blitheman's will)		Y – four services (two evening), many anthems, mass and Latin sacred music, instrumental for *In Nomine*			Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1543 St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) 1559-63
Thomas Sampson *BDECM,* II, 983.	1564	1615							
Thomas Sharpe *BDECM,* II, 999.	1564	1602							Association with St George's Windsor (unknown date)
Nicholas Morgan *BDECM,* II, 806-807.	1567	1581/82							
John Ridley *BDECM,* II, 962.	1566	1575/76							

Robert Greene (p) CCEd: 97570 *BDECM,* I, 516.	1566/7	1592					Matriculated pensioner from Trinity Cambridge, Easter 1560 Scholar Trinity 1562 BA 1564-65 [Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, III, 257]	Rector of Walkington, Yorkshire 31/08/1576 – death 10/07/1592 Possibly rector of Mannington and Trimingland, Norfolk, vicar of Corpusty 1577-89 [Venn] Possibly rector of Burgh 1580-83 [Venn] Possibly vicar of Tallesbury, Essex (1584-85) [Venn] Rector of Southill, Devon 07/03/1584 – 07/04/1589 (noted as lapsed in 1586 and lawfully vacant as Green joined the Chapel Royal)	St Paul's Cathedral (minor canon?) unknown date

								Vicar of Adbye, Norfolk unknown date – 10/07/1592	
John Addie(y) (p) CCEd: 17322 *BDECM*, I, 7.	1568	1577/78	£41 19s 2d (not including goods, furniture, clothing, and at least two cows). Owned and rented out at least four properties in Grindon, and may have leased a property in London. [TNA PROB 11/60/301 f.175r-v]		8s 6d divided between the poor of Grindon; £1 divided between poor tenants			Rector of Grindon, Staffordshire 25/06/1561 – death, 20/07/1578	Vicar choral and prebend of Longdon at Lichfield cathedral pre-1559 – death 20/07/1578 Chancellor of Lichfield cathedral 1561-1564
John Hottoft (p) CCEd: 41970 *BDECM,* I, 595	1568	1592/3					Recorded with BA in 1569 presentation to Burmarsh	Ordained deacon at Lambeth Palace 11/02/1560 and priest at the same 10/03/1560 Fourth minor canon of St Paul's 1568	St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) pre-1568 – unknown date

								Rector of Burmarsh, Kent 20/07/1569 – 1576? Rector of Paulersbury, Northamptonshire 08/08/1576 – 06/01/1593 (noted lawfully vacant in 1576)	
William Jewett/Jowett/ Juett *BDECM,* II, 627.	1569	1591							Chester cathedral (singing-man) pre-1569
Robert Tirwitt (p) CCEd: 135308 *BDECM,* II, 1081	1570	1583/84						Rector of Romaldkirk, North Riding 12/11/1578 – 1583/4 [vacant until 1592]	
John Ridley *BDECM,* II, 962.	1570	1575/76							
Richard Goodale(all) *BDECM,* I, 490-91.	1570	1572							

Nicholas Beighton *BDECM,* I, 141.	1570/1	1591							Lichfield cathedral (singing-man) pre-1570 – unknown date
William Byrd *BDECM,* I, 222-226	1571/2	1623		Y - Julian		Y- three services, preces, responses, and litany, 74 full anthems, 18 verse, many consort songs with religious verse			Child of the Chapel Royal? c.1553-c.1558 St Paul's Cathedral (possibly chorister) c.1553-c.1558. Lincoln cathedral (lay vicar and organist) 1564-72
Richard Granwall *BDECM,* I, 508.	1571	1607		Apparentl y not			A 'conduct' of King's College, Cambridge, Michaelmas 1568 – Trinity 1572.		
Giles Cacott (p) CCEd: 40012 *BDECM,* I, 227.	1572	1574					Matriculated pensioner from Clare, Cambridge, Michaelmas 1566 BA 1569-70 MA 1573 [Venn, *Alumni*	Possibly ordained priest at bishop of London's Palace 12/12/1571	Minor canon of Westminster Abbey 1571-1572

							Cantabrigienses, I, 281]		
Bartholomew Mason (p) CCEd: 172737 *BDECM,* II, 776.	1574	1605					(Possibly) Scholar of Queens', Cambridge 1558-60 [Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, III, 158]	Ordained deacon at Beate Marie Magdalene, Hereford 19/03/1572	Lichfield cathedral (singing-man) pre-1574 Possibly vicar choral of Hereford cathedral (collated to St Agnes 27/03/1572-14/04/1582 and collated to Diddlesbury 27/03/1587-09/02/1595) Warden of Hereford Cathedral in 1596 Succentor of Hereford cathedral 30/09/1596-1605
William Rodenhurst *BDECM*, II, 969.	1575/6	1586/7							King's College Cambridge (singing-man) 1563-69 Lichfield cathedral (singing-man) pre-1575 – unknown date

John Savill *BDECM,* II, 988	1579	1580							Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1576-78
Richard Morris *BDECM,* 810-811.	1579	1582/83		Y – left after exile			Possibly at Gloucester Hall		Possibly at Gloucester cathedral pre-1579
William Bulman (ex) *BDECM*, I, 215.	1580								
Ellis Stemp *BDECM,* II, 1044.	1580	1588/89							
Carew Sharpe *BDECM,* II, 998.	1580	1602							St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) pre-1580 to an unknown date
Anthony Todd *BDECM,* II, 1081.	1580/81	1599							
Leonard Davies (p) CCEd: 25728 *BDECM,* I, 337.	1581	1623	£102 6s 8d (money and property left to wife and family).	Y	40s to poorest householders of Harmonds worth; 6s			Vicar of Longdon, Staffordshire, 05/07/1577-22/01/1595	

			Owned a farm in Harmondsworth. [LMA DL/C/361 f.145v-148r.]		8d paid to aged and poor widows who joined funeral procession			Rector of Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 28/09/1594-09/11/1623	
Solomon Compton *BDECM*, I, 285.	1581	1588					‘from Cambridge’, according to the *Cheque Book*, but no degree is recorded		Associated with an unknown Cambridge College pre-1581 – unknown date
Edmund Browne *BDECM,* I, 199.	1581	1606							
Robert Tallentire *BDECM,* II, 1070	1581	1598							
Thomas Woodson *BDECM,* II, 1172	1581	1605/6				Y – Keyboard settings of miserere; three part ut-re-me-fa			St Paul’s cathedral (singing-man) c.1574-c.1582
William Barnes (p? - ordained)	1583	1603		Y				Possibly ordained deacon in Exeter Episcopal palace	Exeter cathedral (singing-man) c.1564-75/76 – c.1583

Possibly CCEd: 93779 *BDECM,* 81-82								06/01/1573 (Devon RO Chanter 50) Possibly ordained priest in Lazante parish church, Devon, 20/03/1573. Possibly perpetual vicar of St Glynys Church, Devon 17/02/1584-30/09/1591 Possibly perpetual vicar of Maker, Devon 13/11/1592-07/10/1602 Possibly perpetual vicar of Stokenham, Devon 05/11/1593 to 01/02/1604	Minor canon of St George's Windsor 25/03/1592-19/01/1597 Treasurer of St Leger Chantry Chapel 1593-19/01/1597
Anthony Harrison (p) CCEd: 84302 *BDECM,* I, 548-49.	1584	1622						Rector of Bisley, Winchester 25/10/1588 – death in 1622	Minor canon of St George's Windsor pre-1584 – post-1604

William Randall *BDECM,* II, 946.	1584	1603/4				Y – Five part In Nomine and three keyboard pieces; full anthem and two incomplete anthem; full service; verse service			Exeter cathedral (singing-man) pre-1584-1584 St George's Windsor (singing-man) 1586-7; 1600-1
Henry Eveseed *BDECM,* I, 393	1585	1614		Y					Child of the Chapel Royal? pre-1585-1585
John Bull *BDECM,* I, 205-12	1586/7	1613		Y		Y – four full anthems, four verse anthems	Associated with King's College Cambridge Supplicated B.Mus at Oxford 8th July 1586 and awarded 9th July 1587 Cambridge MusD c.1589, and Oxford D.Mus awarded 7th		Possibly Child of the Chapel Royal c.1573-77 Hereford Cathedral (singing-man) 1573; 1582-1587

							July 1592 by incorporation Public Reader in Music, Gresham College 6th March 1597 – 1602		
Isaac Burgess *BDECM*, I, 215.	1586/7	1602							
Timothy Greene *BDECM,* I, 517.	1587	1593/94							Wells cathedral (singing-man) 1585-87; c.1593/4
George Waterhouse *BDECM,* II, 1132-33.	1588	1601/2				Y – Canons on miserere			Lincoln cathedral (lay clerk) pre-1588 – 1588
Edward Pearce *BDECM,* II, 890.	1588/89	1600 (d.1612) – mastership of Paul's from 1600				Y – no sacred music known, two secular pieces, three lute			St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) c.1599-death

Richard Allison *BDECM,* I, 18-19.	1589	1609/10		Y - Elizabeth		Y – 3 anthems, collection of Psalms, 13 consort songs			
John Stephens *BDECM,* II, 1044-45.	1589 (ex) 1590	1636							
John Hewlett *BDECM,* I, 563-64.	1591	1628							Wells cathedral (singing-man) pre-1591 – 1599; 1613
Richard Plumley *BDECM*, II, 899.	1591	1611	No explicit monetary bequests (all left to wife and family) Leased the 'Ellofant', with gardens and wharf, in Rotherhithe. [LMA DW/PA/5/1611/90]	Y - Ann					Canterbury cathedral (lay clerk) c.1587-1590
Anthony Anderson (p) CCEd: 140095	1591	1593		Y				Rector of Wemington, Bedfordshire	

BDECM, I, 23.								31/09/1560 – 12/01/1571 Rector of Hallaston Nottinghamshire 17/02/1582 - c.1586 Rector of Medbourne, Leicestershire 06/11/1582 – death 10/10/1593 Rector of Dengie, Essex January 1587 to death in 1593 Vicar of Stepney 21/02/1588 to death in 1593	
Thomas Goold *BDECM,* I, 488-89.	1591	1608							Wells cathedral (singing-man) 1560-1591
William Phelps (ex) *BDECM,* II, 887-88.	1592	1618							
James Davies *BDECM,* I, 337.	1592 (ex) 1593	1624							Canterbury cathedral (lay clerk) 1589-c.1592

Humphrey Western (ex) *BDECM*, II, 1144.	1592								Hereford Cathedral (singing-man) 1598-1610
Thomas Morley *BDECM,* II, 807-809	1592	1602				Y – two services, a set of preces and responses, nine full anthems, three verse anthems	Admitted B.Mus at Oxford 8th July 1588		Possibly Child of the Chapel Royal pre-1574 Norwich Cathedral (unknown post) unknown dates St Paul's Cathedral (chorister) c.1574; (singing-man) 1589-c.1592
Peter Wright *BDECM,* II, 1176-77	1592	1618							Westminster Abbey (singing-man) pre-1592 – unknown date
Thomas Maddocks *BDECM*, II, 755.	1592/3	1596							Hereford cathedral (singing-man) 1580-96
William Laurence *BDECM,* II, 713.	1593	1606							Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1583-1585

									St Paul's Cathedral (sinigng-man) 1585-1593
John Baldwin *BDECM,* I, 56.	1593/94 (ex) 1598	1615				Y – compiled musical commonplace books; 23 compositions, consort music includes two In Nomines			Exeter cathedral (extraordinary singing-man) unknown date St George's Windsor (singing-man) 1575-c.1600
George Woodson *BDECM,* II, 1167-68.	1594/95 (ex) 1602	1640	£14 (rest to wife and family). Owned lands and tenements in Clewer, Berkshire; owned a house in Eton; owned a house in Windsor; leased a close	Y - Anne	10s to poor of Clewer; 10s to poor of Upton; 10s to poor of Uffington				St George's Windsor (singing-man) unknown date – 1594/95

			in Arbor Hill, Berkshire. [TNA PROB 11/192/22 f.60v-61v.]						
John Amery *BDECM,* I, 20.	1595	1623							King's College, Cambridge (lay clerk) 1554-1555 Wells cathedral (singing-man) 1573-75 Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1575-6; 1607-23 Norwich cathedral (singing-man) 1576-95
Roger Godbald (ex) *BDECM*, 487.	1596						Chorister of King's College, Cambridge 1581-1583		Norwich cathedral (singing-man) 1600-c.1602 St George's Windsor (singing-man) 1602 – death
Robert Stuckey (p) *BDECM,* 1064.	1596	1610						Ordained priest 'to serve only in a Cathedral Church or Collegiate	Exeter cathedral (singing-man) pre-1596 - unknown date

								Church and not elsewhere', at the bishop of London's Palace, Chelsea 21/12/1593	
Richard Martin (ex) *BDECM*, II, 774	1596/7								
Nathaniel Giles *BDECM,* II, 480-481.	?(ex) 1597	1634	£63 16s 8d (+£50 annuity, and properties, household goods, and rents left to wife and family) Owned lands and tenements in Winkfield and Warfield, Berkshire; Lands and tenements in the parish of Wraysbury, Buckinghamshire; Lease of	Ann	40s to poor of new Windsor; 20s to poor of Winckfield; 20s to poor of Langley Marsh; 20s to poor of Farnham Royal	Y – three services, 3 full anthems, 16 verse anthems, 2 sacred songs, 6 motets, 2 madrigals, 1 consort song	Awarded B.Mus at Oxford 26th June 1585 Possibly clerk at Magdalen College, Oxford c.1577 Supplicated D.Mus at Oxford in 1607, awarded 1622		Magdalen College, Oxford (chorister?) c.1577 Worcester cathedral (singing-man) 1581-85 St George's Windsor (singing-man and master of the choristers) 1585-1634 Westminster Abbey (unknown connection)

			lands in Langley Marsh, Buckinghamshire; Lease of lands in Sheer Green in Farnham Royal, Buckinghamshire; Lease on house in Windsor; Lease on 'Hunniwoodes house' in Windsor [TNA PROB 10/523, transcribed in *Playhouse wills 1558-1642 An edition of wills by Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the London theatre*, ed.						

			E.A.J. Honingmann and Susan Brock, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 171-175]						
Francis Wiborowe/Wiborough *BDECM,* II, 1149.	1599	1626	No detail about bequests (all left to brother, wife possibly deceased). [TNA PROB 11/150/315]	Possibly Y –Agnes					Trinity College, Cambridge (chorister/singing-man) 1593-97 Ely cathedral (singing-man) 1610-11
John Heathman *BDECM,* I, 559.	1600	1602/3							Westminster Abbey (singing-man) c.1581; 1589-99
George Greene *BDECM,* I, 516.	1601 (ex)			Y – Eleanor (nee Vaux)					Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1598-1628)
Arthur Cock *BDECM,* I 226.	1601/2	1605		Y	Supplicated B.Mus, Oxford, c.1593/94				Canterbury Cathedral (chorister?) 1568/9-

									1575/6; (lay clerk) c.1578/9; c.1587/8 Exeter cathedral (singing-man) c.1589-93; c.1597
Stephen Boughton (p) *BDECM,* I, 174-75.	1602	1642		Y			Plebian student at Magdalen College, Oxford. Matriculated 02/07/1584 (aged 13) Chorister 1584-91 Clerk 1594-95; Awarded BA 13/04/1594 MA 08/07/1607 [Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, I., 155]	Ordained deacon and priest at Hereford cathedral 30/09/1594 Vicar of Much Dewchurch, Herefordshire, 06/09/1601 – ante-10/03/1604 Vicar of Westbury, Gloucestershire 10/06/1603 Vicar of Much Marcle, Hereford 07/06/1606 – ante-11/11/1636 Rector of Dinedor, Hereford 1606-unknown date Rector of Broadwas,	Magdalen College Oxford (chorister and lay clerk) 1584-91; 1594-95. Vicar choral of Hereford cathedral 06/081594- death in 1642? Subtreasurer and minor canon de Lyra of Hereford cathedral 25/06/1599 Lyre prebend of Hereford cathedral 01/10/1599 Chaplain of St George's Chapel, Windsor 1604-1642? Custos of the College of Vicars Choral of Hereford

								Worcestershire 03/10/1629-08/05/1637 (clause of non-residence and permutation, granted by the dean and chapter of Worcester cathedral)	cathedral 30/12/1607-20/10/1629
William Lawes (p? – ordained) *BDECM,* II, 709-10.	1602/3	1611		Y - bigamist					Winchester cathedral (singing-man) 1586-90 Chichester cathedral (vicar choral) 1596-97; 1611-24
Anthony Kirkby *BDECM,* II, 651.	1602/3	1642							Peterborough cathedral (singing-man) pre-1582; 1583-91 Canterbury cathedral (lay clerk) c.1600-1603
John Woodson *BDECM,* II, 1169-70.	1603	1642							St George's Windsor (singing-man) 1598/99 - 1642
John Rhodes (p) (ex) Possibly CCEd: 3047	1603							Possibly stipendiary curate at Hoo St	

BDECM, II, 955.								Werburgh, Kent, c.1597 Possibly perpetual vicar of Waldershare, Kent, 1601-1602	
Edmund Shergold/Sheregold *BDECM,* II, 1001.	1603 (ex) 1603/4	1608	£150 (left all other goods and properties to wife and family). Lease of a messuage called the 'signe of the White Beare', St Olave's, Southwark, from the dean and chapter of Canterbury cathedral. [WMCA 'Elsam' f.534v-535v]						
Edmund Hooper	1603/4	1623	No information about	Y - Mary		Y – 2 preces, 4 services, morning			Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1585-1623)

BDECM, II, 583-84.			bequests survives. PROB 11/139/190 f.122v (Presentation of executrix)			service, 7 full anthems, 5 verse anthems, 5 further anthems			
William West *BDECM,* II, 1142.	1604 (ex) 1605/6	1643				Y – a verse anthem, full anthem, and sharp service			Canterbury cathedral (lay vicar) c.1590?; 1602-1618 St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) pre-1643.
Michael Vasco (p) (ex) CEEd: 83284 *BDECM,* II, 1115-16.	1604							Curate of St George's, Exeter 1622 – unknown date	Chorister of Hereford cathedral 27/06/1592 Deacon 'in choro' at Hereford cathedral 04/11/1596 Deacon 'in choro' at Worcester cathedral 06/06/1596 Vicar choral at Hereford 23/12/1612-22/07/1615

									Exeter Cathedral (singing-man) 1615-34.
Orlando Gibbons *BDECM,* I, 477-79.	1604/5	1625		Y - Elizabeth		Y (10 full anthems, 24 verse anthems, 3 services)	Chorister at King's College Cambridge c.14th February 1595/96 Matriculated Sizar at King's College Cambridge Easter term 1598 Supplicated B.Mus at Cambridge, 1606		King's College, Cambridge (chorister) 1595/6-99 Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1623-25
George Tucker (ex) *BDECM,* II, 1098-99.	1605								Exeter Cathedral (singing-man) 1594-1607
Thomas Paine *BDECM,* II, 851	1605	1610							
Richard Giles (ex) *BDECM,* I, 484.	1605								Westminster Abbey (sinigng-man) 1606-25

Elway Bevan/Bevin (ex) *BDECM,* I, 484.	1605			Y - Alice		Y – full service, two evening services, 5 full anthems; 2 secular songs; 3 instrumental pieces; various canons			Wells cathedral (singing-man) 1579-82 Bristol cathedral (singing-man) 1585-1638
Richard Cotton (p) *BDECM,* I, 309.	1605	1642							Lay vicar of Westminster Abbey 1595-1596 Singing-man of St George's Windsor 1596-1598 Lay clerk of St George's, Windsor 1598-1606/7 (St
Nicholas Rogers (ex) *BDECM,* II, 971.	1605								
Randall Tinker *BDECM,* II, 1080-81.	1606	1606							St George's Windsor (singing-man) c.1596-1598

									St Paul's Cathedral (sinigng-man) 1598-1606.
John Lilliat (ex) *BDECM,* II, 724.	1606								Chichester cathedral (vicar choral) 1591-1629 Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1590-91
Edward Doughtie (p) (confessor) CCEd: 56502	1606	1607	No information about bequests survives Had property in Stockport. [CALS WS 64/1616 f.1r-3r (inventory)]				Pensioner of St John's Cambridge, matriculated Michaelmas 1564 BA 1569 MA 1572 [Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* II, 57]	Ordained deacon and priest at Waltham Manor 06/10/1577 Rector of Holy Trinity, Dorchester 20/11/1580 – 10/11/1585 Perpetual vicar of Banwell, Somerset 24/10/1584-23/12/1592 Rector of Loxton, Somerset 22/02/1587-10/07/1591	Dean of Hereford cathedral 23/12/1607 – ante-09/12/1616 Gorwall and Overbury prebend of Hereford cathedral 05/12/1608 – ante-10/10/1616

								License to preach awarded in Diocese of Bath and Wells, 10/04/1590 Perpetual vicar of Whitchurch, Bristol 11/08/1595 – ante-01/11/1615 Chaplain to the earl of Essex on Cadiz expectation, 1596 (S.P Allen 'Books Brought from Spain in 1596' *English Historical Review* (1916)) Rector of Houghton, Winchester 13/05/1600-at least 1603 Vicar of Chard, Somerset from at least 1603 and some time after Rector of Hampton Bishop,	

								Herefordshire 17/10/1609 – ante-08/07/1615 Vicar of Bodenham, Herefordshire 18/06/1610 - ante-24/01/1616 Rector of Stockport St Mary 09/06/1614 to 01/08/1615	
Luke Jones (p) *BDECM*, II, 635.	1606	1627	£204 2s (rest to wife and family), total estate valued at £442 18s 8d No property recorded. [LMA MS 25626/4 f.329v]						St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man/canon?) pre-1606 to an unknown date, later served as Chapel Sub-Dean
John Shepherd (ex) *BDECM,* II, 1000.	1606						Y – a collection of anthems or consort songs		Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1591-93

							with religious verse		Canterbury cathedral (lay clerk) 1602-1634
David Henlie *BDECM,* I, 560-61.	1606	1616							Westminster Abbey (singing-man) c.1569
William Beckett (p) (confessor) CCEd: 55349	1607	1626	£481 8s (also £10 pension for wife; £20 of monetary bequests made in plate). No property recorded. [TNA PROB 11/150/364 f.153v-154v.]	Y - Mudwyn	40s to poor of Kingston; 12d to poorest 'old and impotent' in parish		Matriculated pensioner from Corpus Christi Cambridge Easter 1577 BA 1580-81 Later awarded B.D (details lost) Died age 66 [Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, 121]	Perpetual Vicar of Lambourn, Berkshire 22/12/1589 to 23/10/1595 Vicar of Wellington with West Buckland 07/08/1592 – ante-09/11/1613 Rector of Kingston upon Thames 28/04/1613 to at least 01/06/1620	Yatton Prebend of Wells cathedral 12/08/1616 to 11/09/1626
George Cooke *BDECM,* I, 287.	1607/8	1642							St George's Windsor (singing-man) 1606-1607/8
John Clarke *BDECM,* I, 256.	1608	1638		Y					Possibly Child of the Chapel Royal c.1600

									Westminster Abbey (singing-man) c.1603; 1622-38
George Sheffield *BDECM,* II, 999.	1609/10	1642							Durham cathedral (singing-man) pre-1609 – 1609 (but possibly after)
Humphrey Bache *BDECM,* I, 46.	1609/10	1630		Y					
Thomas Pearce/Pierce *BDECM,* II, 890-91	1609/10	1633		Y					St Paul's Cathedral (singing-man) c.1607 Westminster Abbey (singing-man) c.1603?; 1607-33
Ezekiel Wade (p) Possibly CCEd: 154225 (Woode) *BDECM*, II, 1119.	1611	1642		Y - Thomasin			Noted 'of King's College', Cambridge, in ordination. [Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* IV, 308]	Ordained deacon, aged 35 in London 18/12/1613 [Venn] Vicar of Hertford, Hertfordshire by 1619 until some time after [Venn]	

Thomas Brasfield (ex) *BDECM,* I, 185.	1611								Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1612-17 St George's Windsor (singing-man) 1617/22-1627
John Frost *BDECM,* I, 447.	1611	1640	No monetary bequests made (all left to wife and family). Owned three houses in Colebrook Street, Winchester; copyhold land in Manor of Dibden, Southampton ; owned a house in Westminster. [TNA PROB 11/183/433 f.84r-v.]	Y - Elizabeth					Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1608-11

Matthew White (p) (gospeller) *BDECM,* II, 1147.	1613	1614				Y – catches, two incomplete anthems	Awarded B.Mus and D.Mus degrees from Christ Church, Oxford, on 18th July 1629 Awarded D.Mus from Oxford by 22nd September 1635		Wells Cathedral (singing-man) 1610-14
Peter Hopkins *BDECM,* I, 588-89.	1613	1625	£603 5s in monetary bequests (also leases worth £70 per annum and provision of £40 wage to be paid after death, along with goods and properties) 90 year least on a farm in Locking, Somerset; lease on	Y					Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1595-1604 St Paul's cathedral (singing-man) 1607-c.1613

			tenements in Longditch, Westminster, leased from dean and chapter of Westminster Abbey; lease on Dorset Manor, Whitefriars, London; lease on a house in Enbourne Cheney, Berkshire. [TNA PROB 11/147/581 f.249r-v.]						
William Crosse *BDECM,* I, 322-323.	1614	1640							
William Heather *BDECM,* I, 557-558.	1615	1627	£969s 9s 2d in monetary bequests (not including yearly bequests totalling £175, and	Y – Margerie	2s 6d to each almsmen at Westminster; £10 to poor children of		Awarded D.Mus from Oxford 17th May 1622, by virtue of bearing the endowment of Camden's		Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1585-1615

			money and goods left for wife). Leased at least two houses in the Westminster Almery; owned an acre of less of land in Bromley, Kent; leased a house in Chichelhurst; lands and tenements at Pricking, Kent; lands in Bromley, Kent; and unnamed other lands. [TNA PROB 11/152/323 f.211r-212r.]		hospital of Westminster; 40s to poor of Chichelhurst; 40s to poor scholars at Stanwell; £100 to poor kin; £100 to poor children of hospital of Westminster		History lectureship		
John Miners *BDECM,* II, 801-802	1615 (Prince Henry 1611-12)	1615	No monetary bequests (all left to wife, but £298 in	Y - Jane					Exeter Cathedral (singing-man) c.1615

			rents and bonds). Leased a house in London; leased a shop and upper chamber in Fleet Street, London. [TNA PROB 11/125/742 f.422v-423r.]						
John Amyon (ex) *BDECM,* I, 22.	1615						Fellow-commoner at Corpus Christi, Cambridge from Michaelmas 1578		Chester cathedral (singing-man) pre-1615
Thomas Day *BDECM,* I, 339-340.	1615	1642	£140 in monetary bequests (and £390 property). Owned tenement at Wanstile in Gorly, with	N.					Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1625-32

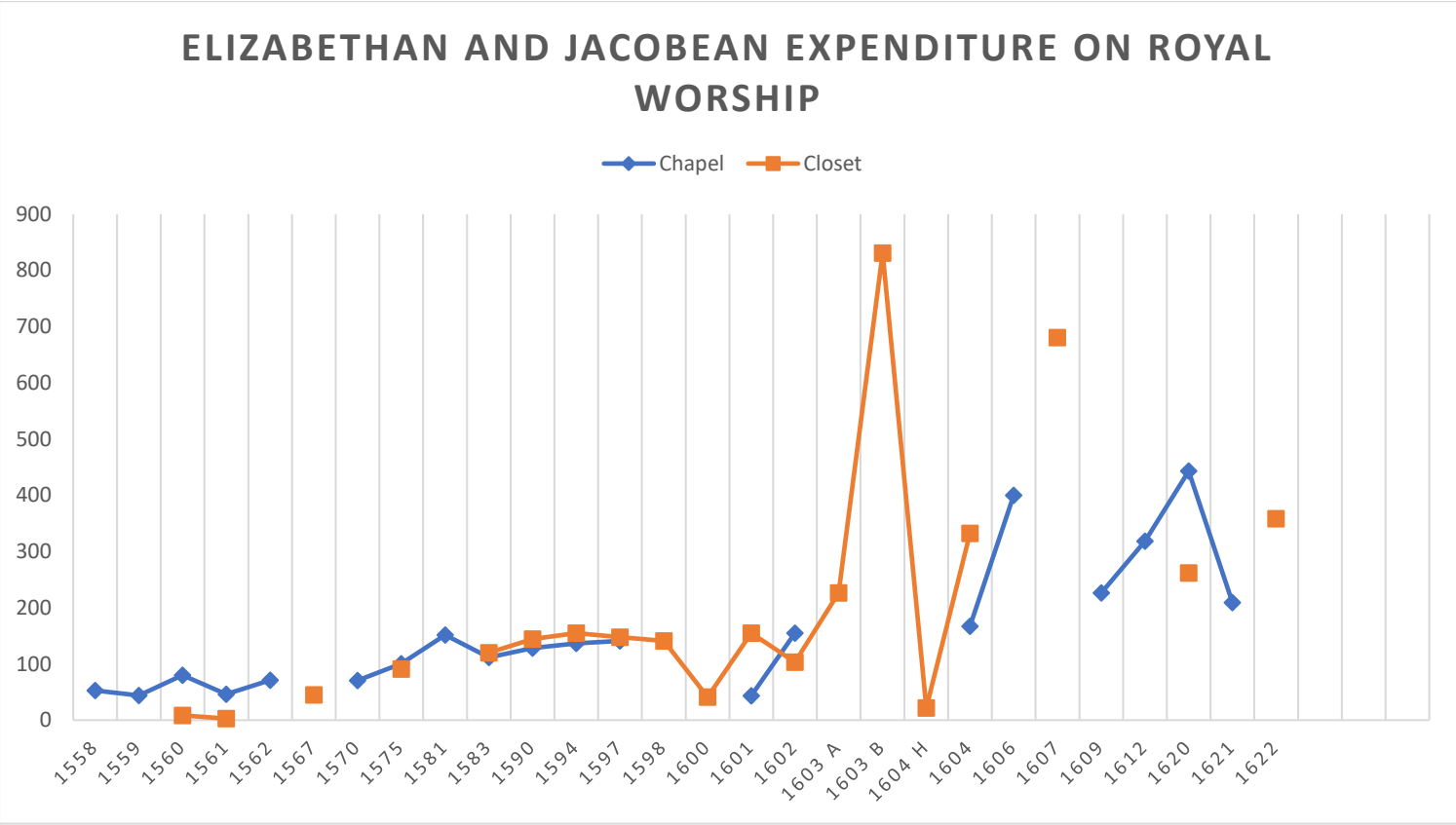
			lands and tenements in; two small tenements in Fordingbridge, Southampton. [TNA PROB 11/233/161 f.348r-349r.]						
Martin Otto *BDECM,* II, 848-49.	1615	1620							
John Greene *BDECM,* I, 515.	1616	1617		Y - bigamist					Exeter Cathedral (singing-man) 1611-16
Edmund Nelham (p) CCEd: 78409 *BDECM,* II, 824-25.	1617	1642				Y – some catches and rounds, no sacred music		Rector of Hardham, Chichester (04/05/1622 – ante-04/04/1640)	Minor canon of Westminster Abbey 1616 to 17/08/1642
Walter Porter *BDECM*, II, 904-07.	1617/18	1642				Y – various madrigals, motets, and catches			Westminster Abbey (singing-man) c.1603
Francis Sennock *BDECM,* II, 994.	1618	1625							

Roger Nightingale (p) CCEd: 28382 *BDECM,* II, 829-830.	1619	1642						Ordained deacon and priest by John Overall, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, location unrecorded 20/01/1616	Chorister of Ely by 25/10/1604 Fifth minor canon of St Paul's 03/02/1615/16–1619
Thomas Pierce jr *BDECM,* II, 891.	1620	1642							
John Frost jr *BDECM,* I, 448-49.	1621	1642							Exeter cathedral (singing-man) 1616-20 Salisbury cathedral (singing-man) c.1621 Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1621-23
Thomas Tomkins *BDECM,* II, 1086.	1621	1642		Y – Alice		Y – five services, a set of preces and responses, 58 full anthems, 44 verse anthems			Possibly a Child of the Chapel Royal (c.1594-96 Worcester cathedral (singing-man) 1597-c.1604

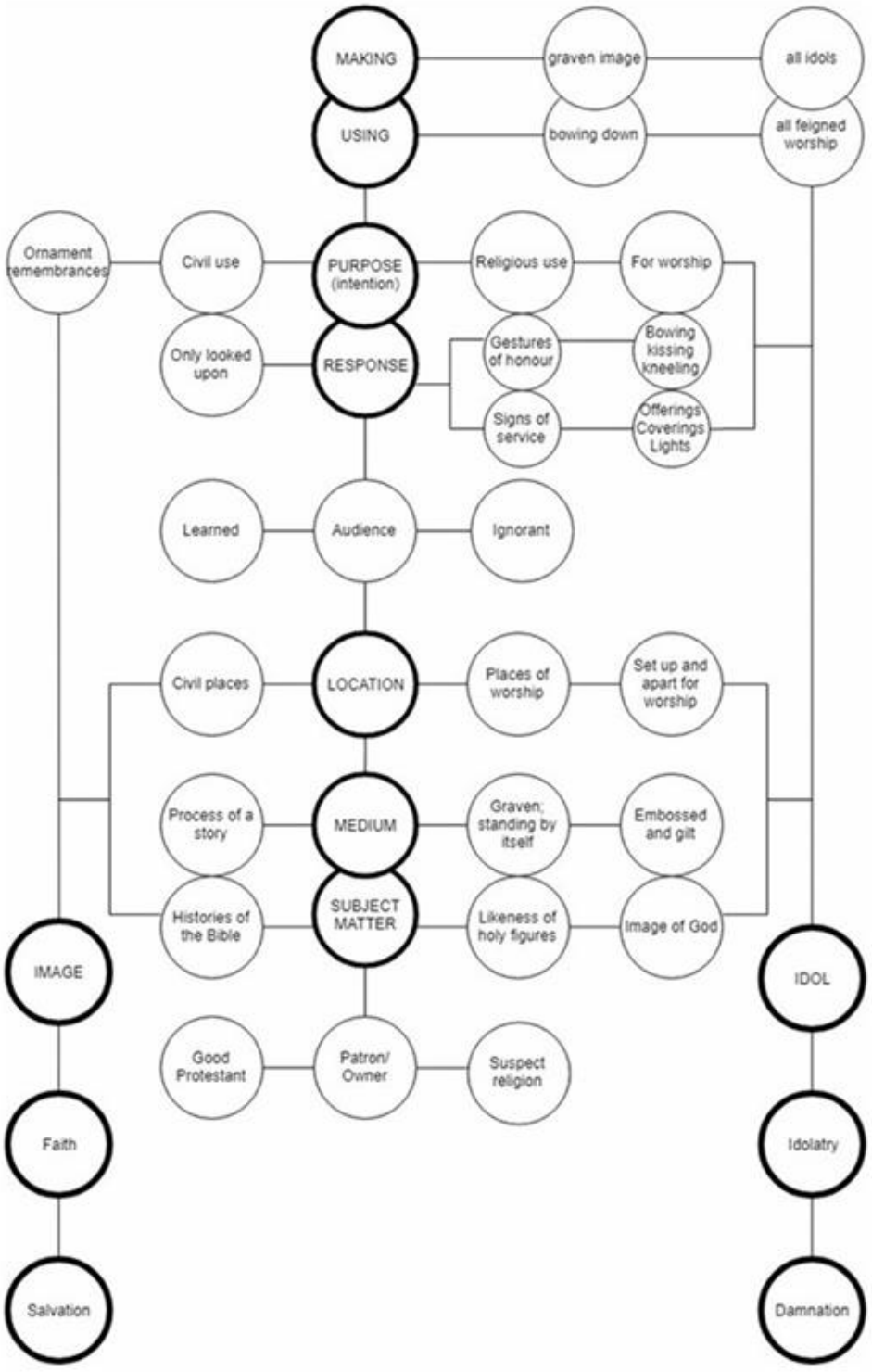
John Cro(c)ker *BDECM,* I, 318-19.	1623 (child 1600-1607)	1625							Possibly a child of the Chapel Royal c.1600-1607. Westminster Abbey (singing-man) 1615-17; 1624-25
John Cooke *BDECM,* I, 294.	1623	1625							
Ralph Amner (p) *BDECM,* I, 20-21.	1623	1642						Ordained deacon 19/05/1611, in Newnham Courtney, with liberty of St George's Chapel, Windsor, '[a]t the special request of my L[ord] of Canterbury to serve in and [sic] Cathedrall Church'	Lay clerk of Ely 1605-1609 Lay vicar of Westminster Abbey c.1609 Dean's curate and minor canon of St George's Windsor 1614-1642; returns in 1663/4

Figures

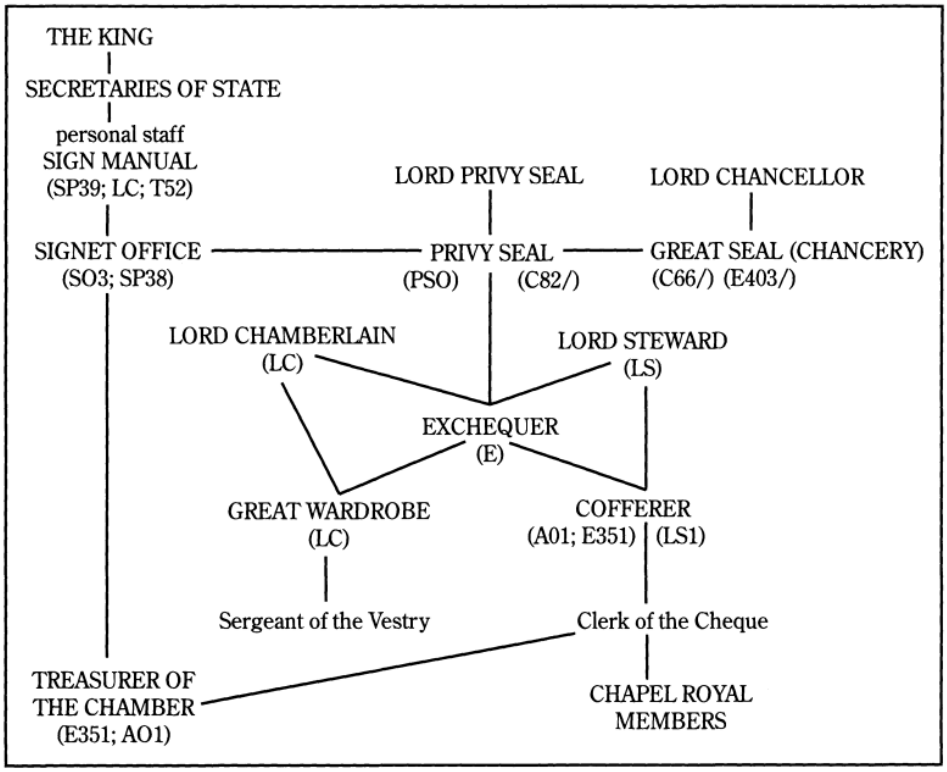
[Fig. I. The author, ‘Graph of Elizabethan and Jacobean expenditure on royal worship’.]



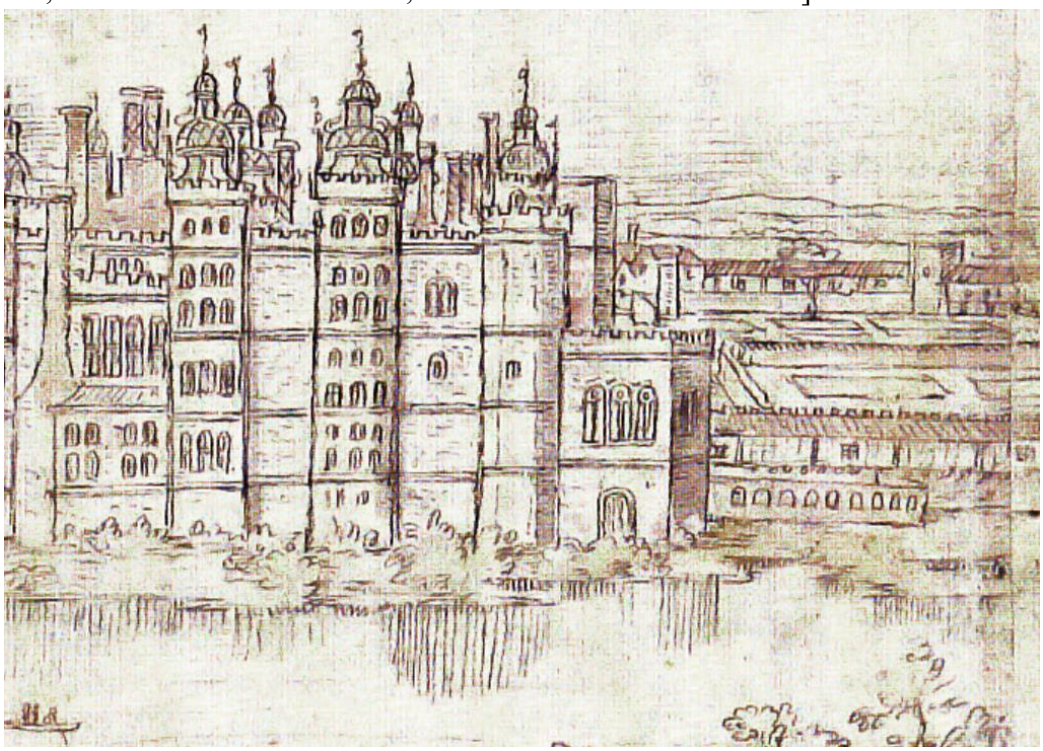
[Fig. II. 'Diagrammatic chart showing difference between images and idols' in Tara Hamling and Jonathan Willis, 'From Rejection to Reconciliation: Protestantism and the Image in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol 62, No 4 (2023): 938.]



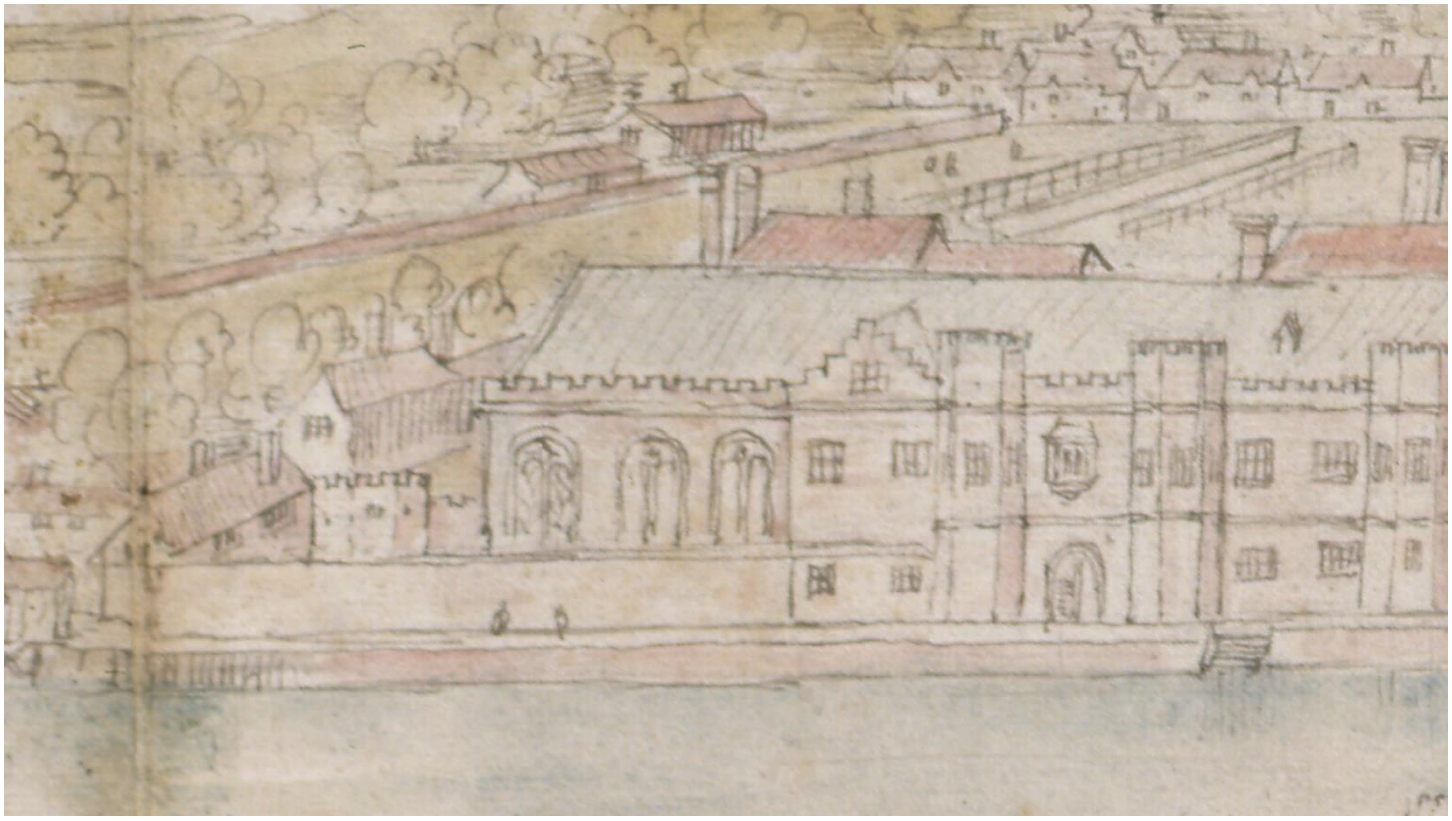
[Fig. III. 'Part of the administrative organisation at the English court, relating to the Chapel Royal' with relevant TNA series signified in Ashbee and Harley, Records of the English Chapel Royal', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, Vol. 54, No. 4, (2007): 485.]



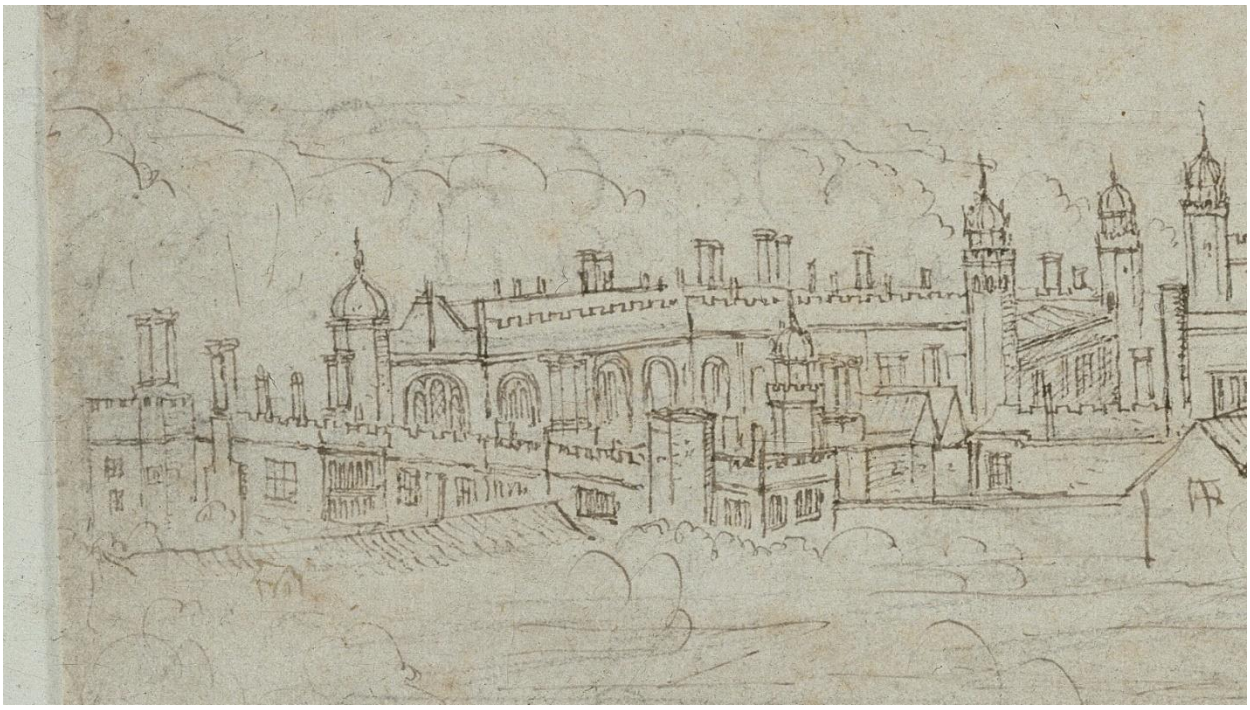
[Fig. IV Antonis Van Wyngaerde, 'Detail of Richmond Palace, from the outer gate of the Great Court, 1558' Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. *Wikimedia Commons*]



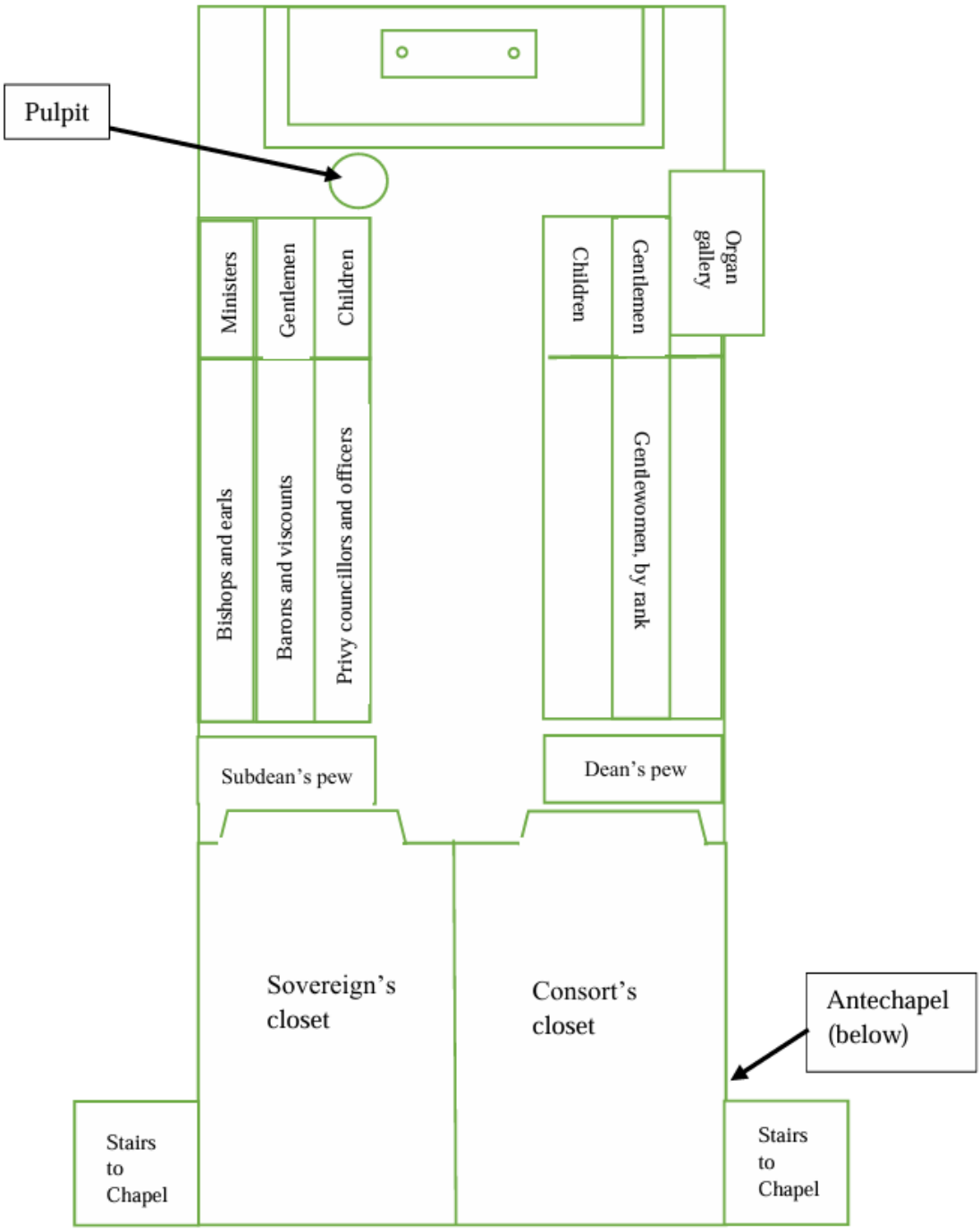
[Fig. V. Anthonis Van Wyngaerde, ‘Detail of Panorama of Greenwich Palace from the north, 1558’, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/94465.]



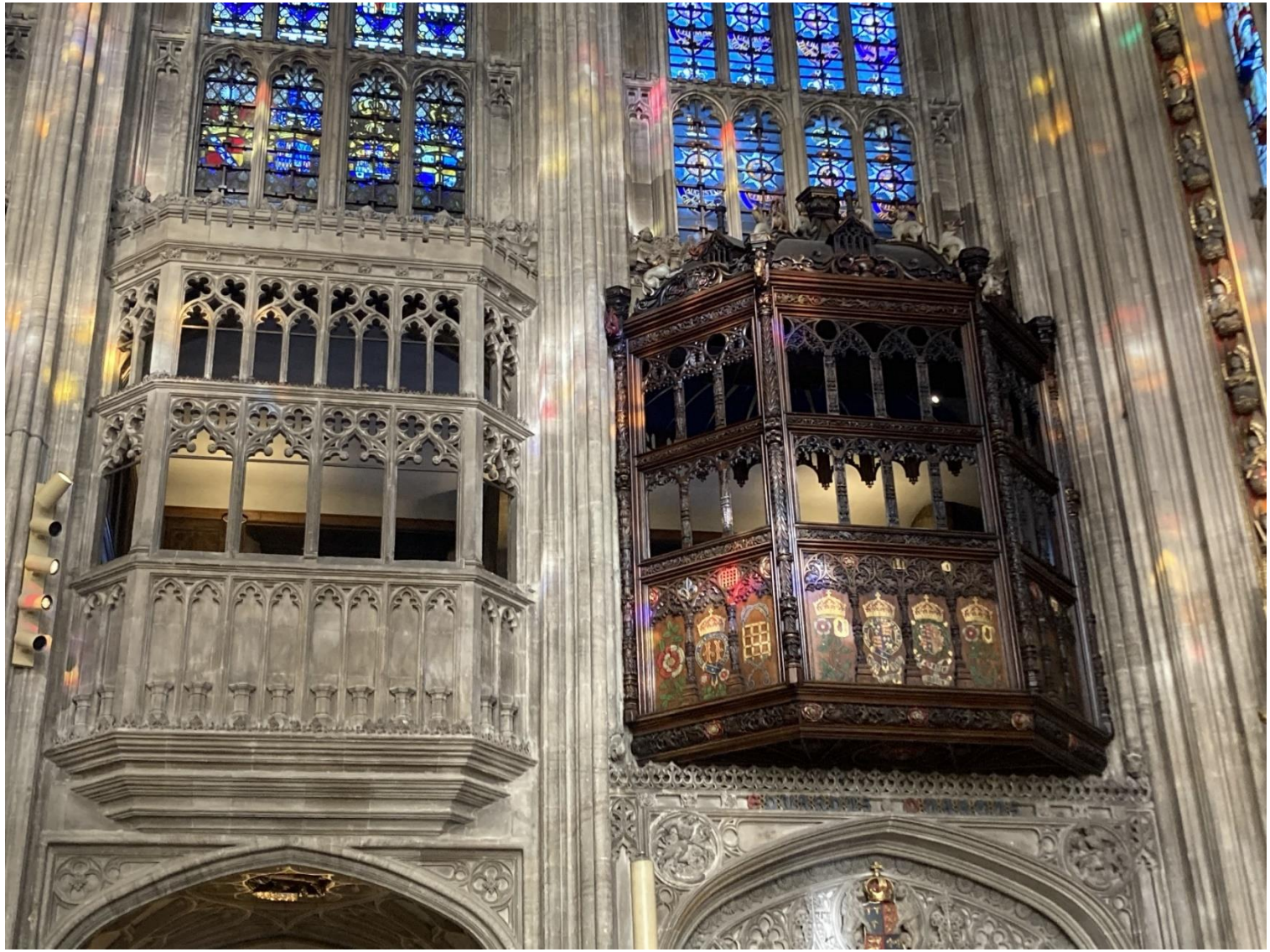
[Fig. VI. Anthonis Van Wyngaerde, ‘Detail of Hampton Court Palace from the North’, c.1558-1561, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/94464.]



[Fig. VII. The author, 'A speculative plan of most English royal chapels', based on a similar plan found in Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, (CUP, 1998), 15, incorporating information regarding seating arrangement from BL Add MS 34324 f.215r, and the Gentlemen's occupation of 'forms' from Fiona Kisby, ''When the King Goeth a Procession': Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Jan., 2001): 47.]



[Fig. VIII. Exterior of the royal closet and Edward IV Chantry Chapel, St. George's Windsor. Author's photograph.]



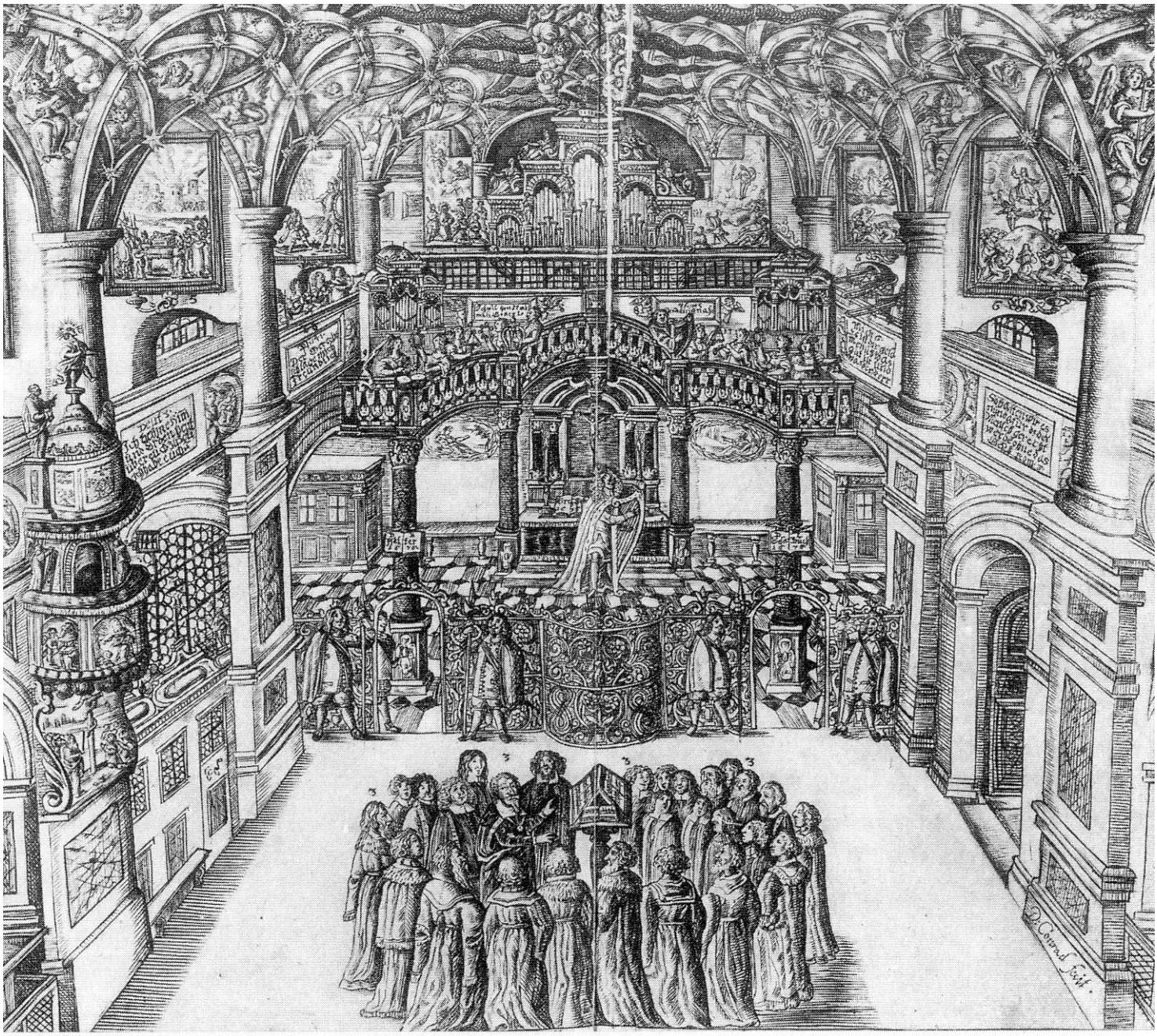
[Fig. IX ‘Wenceslaus Hollar’s sketch of Windsor household chapel to the west’, Bodleian MS Ashmole 1131 f.168v-169r. Author’s photograph.]



[Fig. X. ‘Wenceslaus Hollar’s sketch of Windsor household chapel to the east’ Bodleian MS Ashmole 1131 f.170v-171r. Author’s photograph]



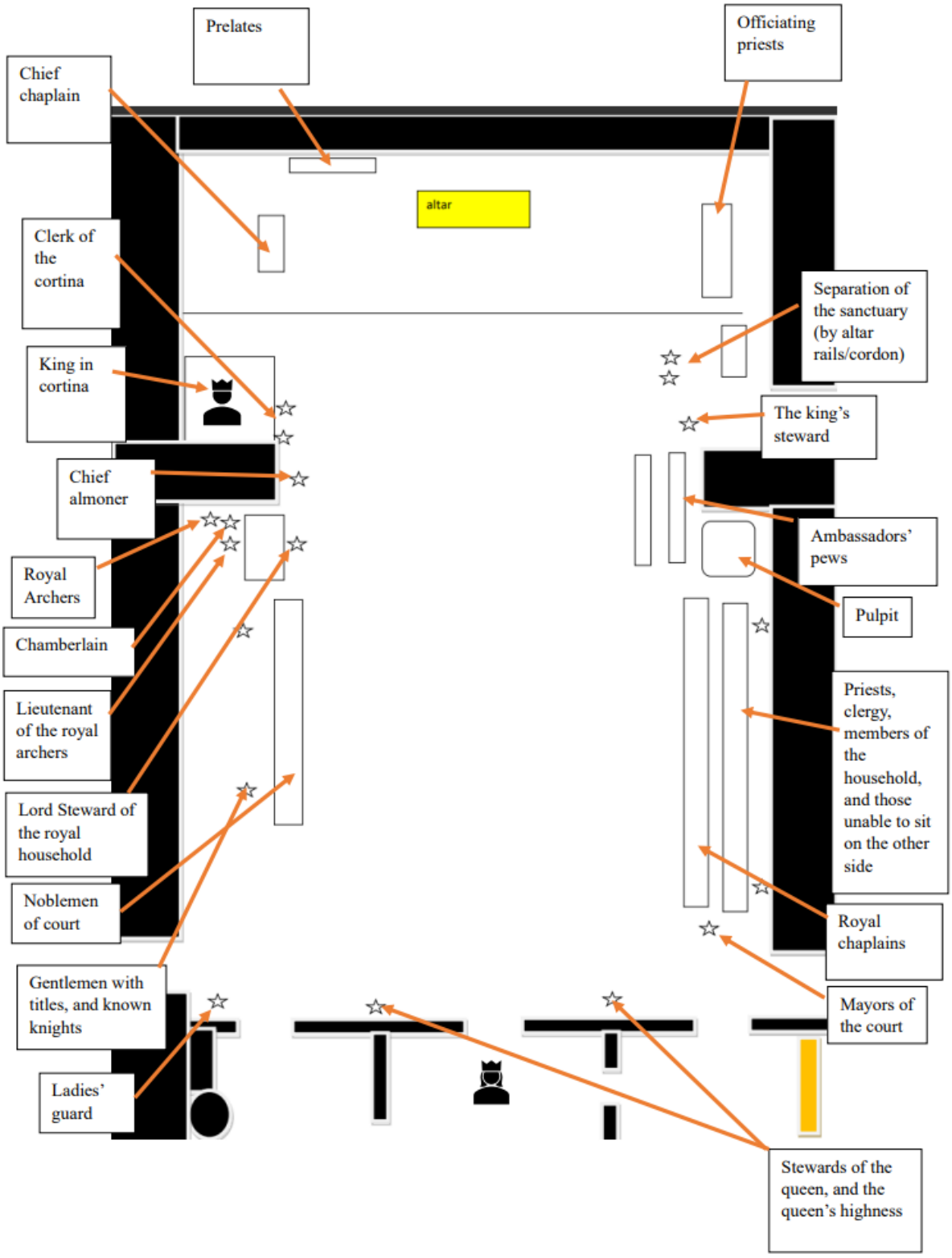
[Fig. XI. David Conrad, ‘Hofkantorei Dresden’, 1676, *Wikimedia Commons*.]



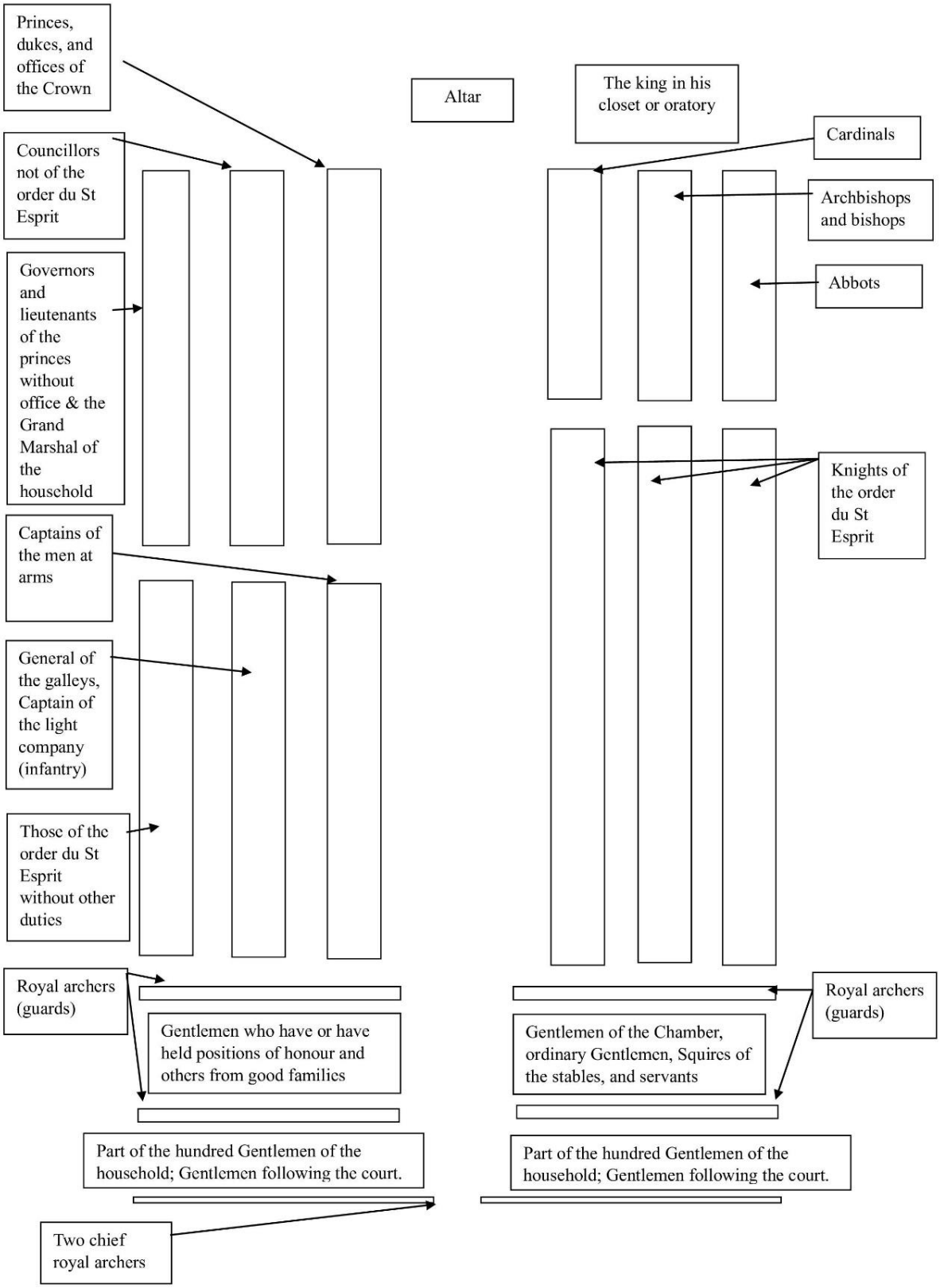
[Fig. XII. Depiction of John Selman in *The Araignment of John Selman, who was executed neere Charing-Crosse the 7. Of January, 1611*, (London: 1611), Sig.B1v. Early English Books Online.]



[Fig. XIII. The author, 'Plan of the Spanish Chapel Royal' according to a plan in the *Etiquetas generales* (1647-51) Archivo General del Palacio Real, Madrid, Historical Section, box 51, file 1, f.186r.]



[Fig. XIV. The author, 'Plan of the Chapel of the Hôtel Petit-Bourbon' according to a plan found in Peter Bennet, *Music and Power at the Court of Louis XIII* (2021), 114, based on F-Fpn MS nouv. Acq fr. 9740.]



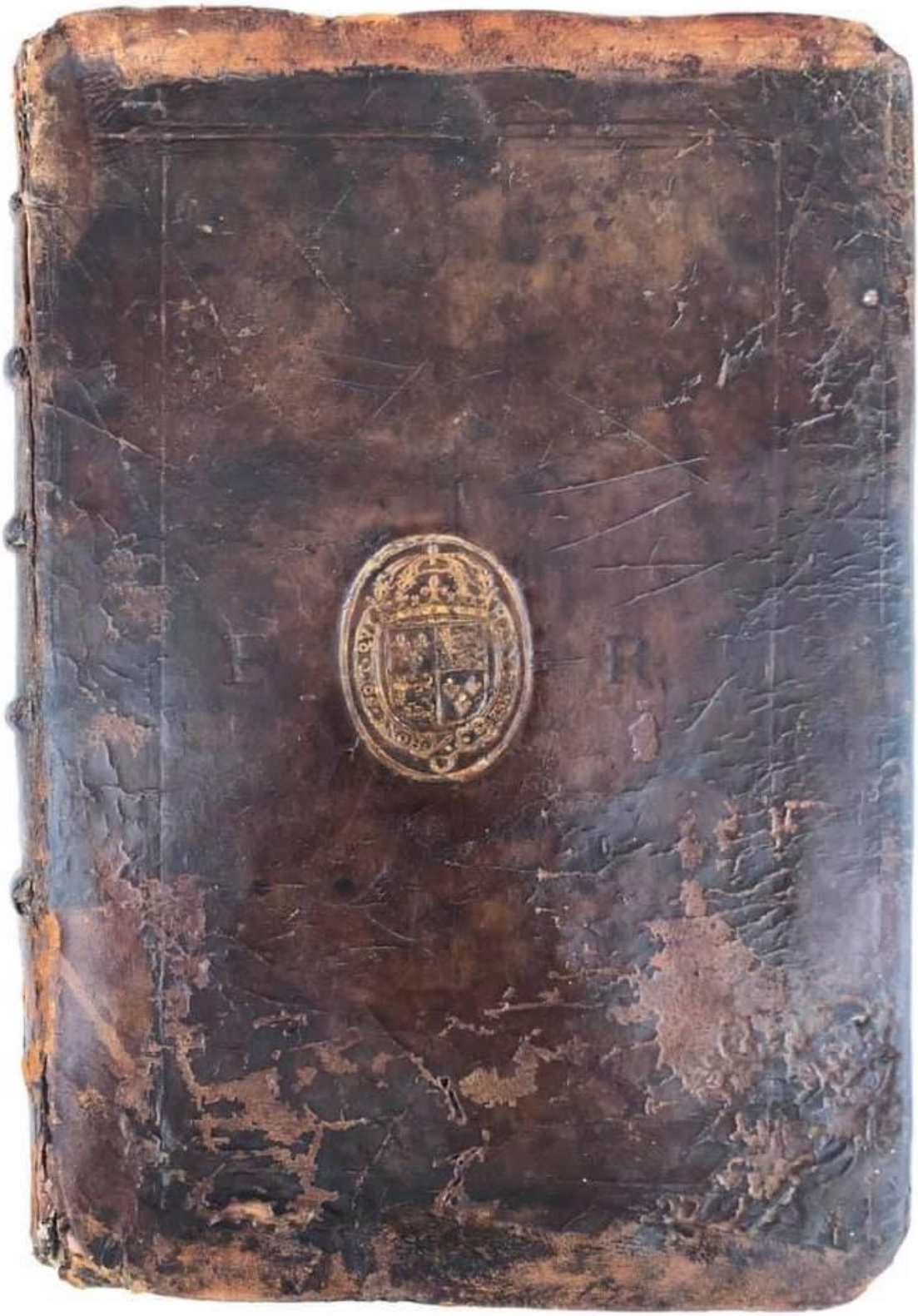
[Fig. XV. James under a canopy, Michael van Meer, ‘Album Amicorum’, University of Edinburgh Archives La.III.283 f.58r. Laing Collection record ID: 0002731. https://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/UoEwmm~2~2~44567~102005:Album-Amicorum,-f-58r#.]



[Fig. XVI. Gentlemen and children of the chapel, Michael van Meer, ‘Album Amicorum’, University of Edinburgh Archives La.III.283 f.57v. Laing Collection record ID: 0002906. https://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/UoEwmm~2~2~45296~102071:Album-Amicorum,-f-57v.]



[Fig. XVII. Cover of Book of Common Prayer (1594 ed.), private collection., image credit: Fr Anthony Howe, reproduced in ‘A Most Uncommon Book of Prayer’, unpublished essay, 2020.]



[Fig. XVIII. Bernaert van Orley(?), *The Alba Passion*, ca.1525-28, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Widener Collection 1942. *Wikimedia Commons*.]



[Fig. XIX. Pieter Coeke van Aelst, ‘St Paul directing the burning of the heathen books’, c.1535 Private collection. Reproduced in ‘Loan Exhibition: Henry VIII: the unseen tapestries – A Celebrated Success! *Frances: London and New York* (2018), https://franses.com/2018/09/24/loan-exhibition-henry-viii-the-unseen-tapestries/.]



[Fig. XX. Nuremberg School, ‘Design for an English Perpendicular Window (Vidimus)’, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh (unknown date). Accession No. D. 959 A. https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15151.]



[Fig. XXI. Reconstruction of the York Place chapel east window, using Hilary Wayment, 'Twenty-Four Vidimuses for Cardinal Wolsey', *Master Drawings*, Vol. 23/24, No. 4 (1985/86) pp.503-17; 569-87. Workshop of Erhard Schon, 'Album of twenty-four watercolour vidimuses', Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, (unknown date). No. 1868, pp.2; 5b; 1; 6; 4; 7; 8; 3; 9. Photo credit: Jelle Van Seghbroeck.]



[Fig. XXII. Reconstruction of the York place north windows: Schon, ‘Album of twenty four watercolour vidimuses’, Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, (unknown date). No. 1868, pp.10; 11; 18; 17; 19; 20; 22. Photo credit: Jelle Van Seghbroeck]



[Fig. XXIII. Reconstruction of the York place south windows: Schon, ‘Album of twenty four watercolour vidimuses’, Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, (unknown date). No. 1868, pp.13; 14; 15; 16; 21; 23; 24. Photo credit: Jelle Van Seghbroeck.]



[Left: Fig. XXIV. ‘Sketch attributed to William Camden: Gentlemen of the Chapel, wearing copes at Elizabeth’s funeral procession’, BL Add MS 5408 f.10r. Previously digitised manuscript, British Library Online, 2022.]

[Right: Fig. XXV. ‘Coloured sketch: Gentlemen of the Chapel, wearing copes at Elizabeth’s funeral procession’, BL Add MS 35324, f.31v. Previously digitised manuscript, British Library Online, 2022.]





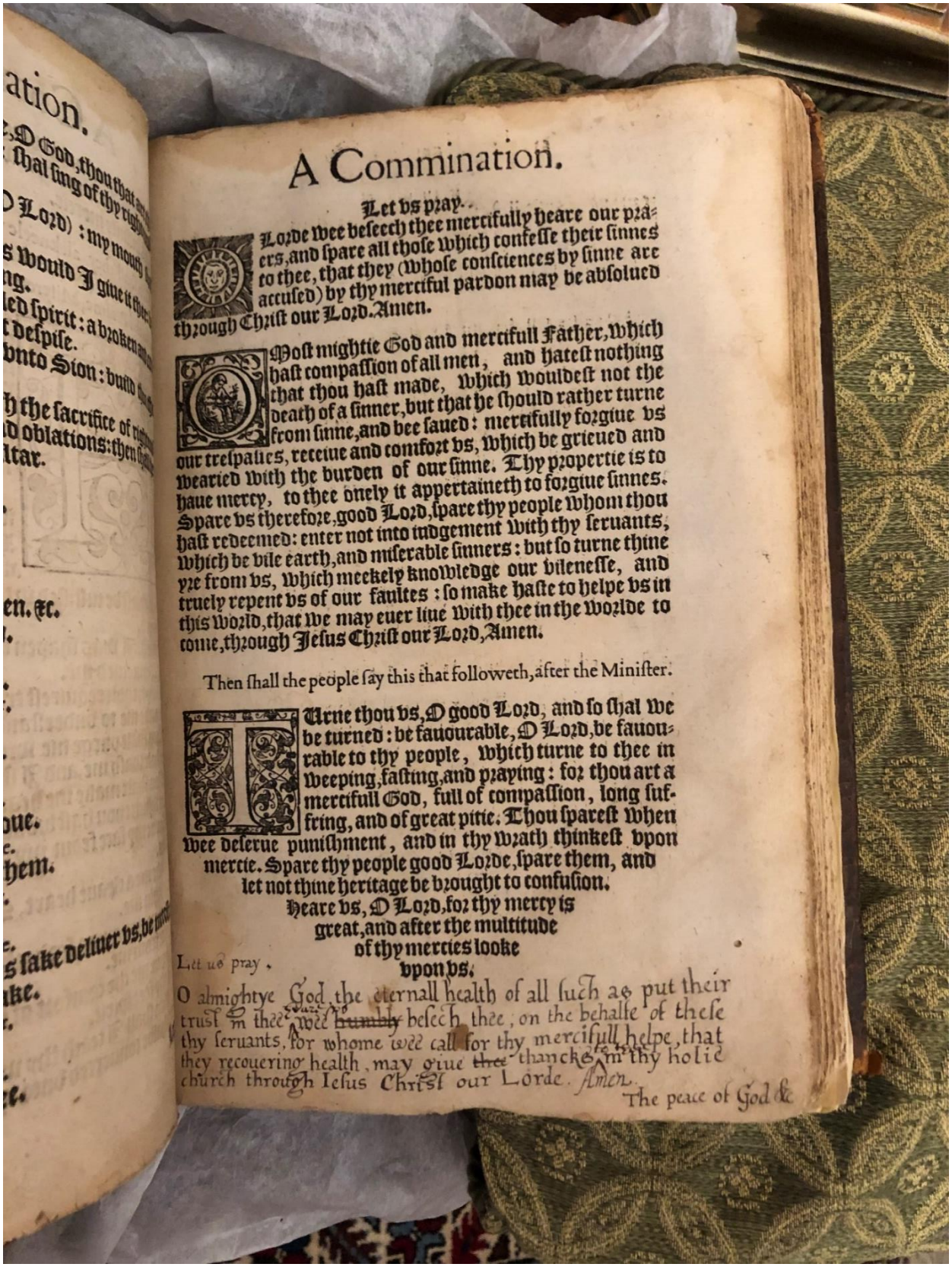
[Fig. XXVI. ‘A late-Henrician St George’s Day service, Windsor’, SGA SGC G.1, 195. Author’s photograph.]



[Fig. XXVII. Levina Teerlinc(?), ‘A Royal Maundy’, c.1560, watercolour on vellum, private collection. *Wikimedia Commons*.]



[Fig. XXVIII. 'Commination of Sinners and prayer for the King's Evil ceremony' in Book of Common Prayer, 1594 ed. Private collection of Fr Anthony Howe. Author's photograph.]



A Commination.

Let vs pray.

LOrde wee beseech thee mercifully heare our prayers, and spare all those which confesse their sinnes to thee, that they (whose consciences by sinne are accused) by thy merciful pardon may be absolued through Christ our Lord. Amen.

MOst mightie God and mercifull Father, which hast compassion of all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, which wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turne from sinne, and bee saued: mercifully forgiue vs our trespasses, receiue and comfort vs, which be grieued and wearied with the burden of our sinne. Thy propertie is to haue mercy, to thee onely it appertaineth to forgiue sinnes. Spare vs therefore, good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed: enter not into iudgement with thy seruants, which be vile earth, and miserable sinners: but so turne thine yre from vs, which meekely knowledge our vilenesse, and truely repent vs of our faultes: so make haste to helpe vs in this World, that we may euer liue with thee in the World to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Then shall the people say this that followeth, after the Minister.

TUrne thou vs, O good Lord, and so shal we be turned: be fauourable, O Lord, be fauourable to thy people, which turne to thee in weeping, fasting, and praying: for thou art a mercifull God, full of compassion, long suffring, and of great pitie. Thou sparest when wee deserue punishment, and in thy wrath thinkest vpon mercie. Spare thy people good Lorde, spare them, and let not thine heritage be brought to confusion.

Heare vs, O Lord, for thy mercy is great, and after the multitude of thy mercies looke vpon vs.

Let vs pray.

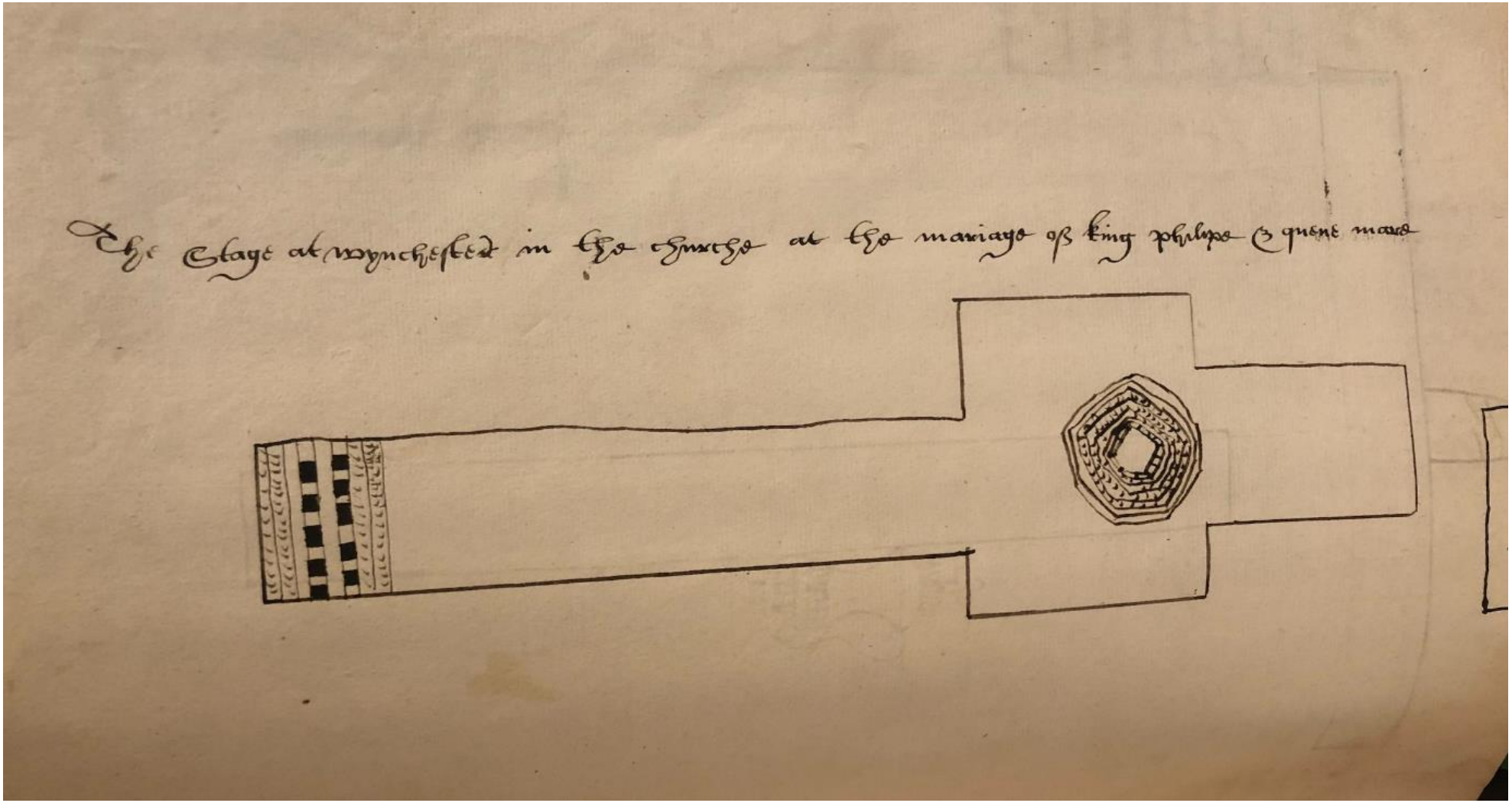
O almightye God, the eternall health of all such as put their trust in thee: wee ~~humbly~~ beseech thee, on the behalfe of these thy seruants, for whome wee call for thy mercifull helpe, that they recouering health, may giue ~~thee~~ thanckes in thy holie church through Iesus Christ our Lorde. Amen.

The peace of God &c

[Fig. XXIX. Detail of ‘Illustration of his majesty in England signing the Spanish Marriage treaty, 1623, British Museum, No. 1870,1112.212 . Michael Caspar Lundorp, Laurea Austriaca, (Frankfurt: 1627), 774. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1870-1112-212.]



[Fig. XXX. ‘The stage at wynchester in the churche at the mariage of king Philipe & queen mare’, BL Add MS 71009, f.67v. Author’s photograph.]



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Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, Rome.

Liber 282.

Liber Cleri 3.

British Library, London.

Add MS 5408 – 'Original Drawing in pen and ink, of the funeral Procession of Queen Elizabeth, by the hand of William Camden, Clarenceaux'.

Add MS 5750 – 'A collection of original warrants and other documents'.

Add MS 6113 – 'collections of some Heralds in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edw. VI. and Elizabeth, relating to the Christenings, Coronations, Creations etc. of Royal and noble personages'.

Add MS 8691 – 'Relacion breve de España, 1610'.

Add MS 31825 – 'A surveye or booke of offices, as well of his Majesties Courtes of Record of his highness honorable household, the Counsells of the North, of Wales, and the Marches, his Majesties townes of warre, castles, bullwarkes and fortresses, his howses, parkes, forrests and chases, with the particuler fee of each offices, collected in anno 1610'.

Add MS 32097 – 'Coronation ceremonials of England and France, with copies of treaties and other historical matter relating to England, Scotland, France and Spain'.

Add MS 34324 – 'Collection of political and other papers made by Sir Julius Caesar, Chancelor of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls, etc. consisting of transcripts of state papers, and various political and legal rules, together with a few private letters'.

Add MS 71009 – 'Office of a Gentleman Usher, seating plans for state banquets, etc by John Norris, Usher of the Black Rod to Henry VIII, circa 1554'.

Egerton MS 985 – 'A volume containing various Ceremonials and Heraldic proceedings, written in the xvith century'.

Egerton MS 3320 – 'Drawings of the processions, ceremonies, etc attending the coronation of Queen Elizabeth'.

Harley 290 – 'A Collection of Papers (some of them Originals) relating to Mary the unfortunate Queen of Scots, either directly or collaterally: or to Mr Davison, made unfortunate by her execution'.

Harley MS 642 – 'A Book in fol. by Sir Simonds D'Ewes thus entitled, Basilia Oeconomica: or, several Ordinances, Rules, & Orders for the government of the Household of the Kings & Quenes of England, and their Children, both of former & of later times'.

Harley MS 3795 – ‘Plan and order of Lancelot Andrewes’s episcopal chapel at Winchester House’.

Harley MS 4142 – ‘A Book of Anthems, in verse & prose’.

Harley MS 4898 – ‘An Inventory of the Household Goods, Jewells, Plate, Pictures &c. belonging to the late King (Charles I) Sold by Order of the Council of State’.

Harley MS 5176 – 16. ‘The Creation of Henry Prince of Wales 1610: And his funeral, 1612; mostly in Camden’s own hand’.

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