INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

Tudor Metrical Psalmody and the English Reformations

Noreen Jane Bider
Dept. of English
McGill University, Montreal,
May 1998

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Ph.D.

Abstract

**La Reforme n'avait-elle pas été avant tout
une querelle de traducteurs?
Edmond Cary, Les grands traducteurs français**

This work is a study of Tudor metrical psalmody, an historical genre or literary kind that emerged and flourished during the sixteenth century, consonant with the emergence and progress of the English Reformation(s). Working from the premise that Tudor metrical psalms were at once prayer, "poesie," and polemic, I examine the ways in which these texts participated in the social discourse of the period.

After establishing that Tudor metrical psalmody is a historical genre or literary kind whose five essential characteristics bind its constituent members together, I provide two additional interpretive readings of Tudor psalmody. The second is radically materialist, arguing that the corpus of Tudor psalmody should be deciphered "as a progression of 'symbolic resolutions' of the social contradictions which initially engendered them." In other words, metrical psalm translations of the period are fantasized resolutions of the material and doctrinal struggles of the Reformation.

The third reading approaches Tudor psalmody as a body of devotional works and Confessions of Faith. My point of departure is George Steiner's declaration in Real Presences that "any coherent understanding of what language is and how language performs, that any coherent account of the capacity of human speech to communicate meaning and feeling is, in the final analysis, underwritten by the assumption of God's presence." Conceived and nurtured on the front lines and, indeed, in the midst of the Reformation(s)' bloody altercations, early Tudor psalmody declared itself the vanguard in the struggle to maintain God's presence in the semiotic "prayingfield" by approaching the rite of psalm-translation as one of transubstantiation. Later psalmists of the century mediated the aesthetic demands of "poesie" and the theological priorities of strict Calvinism, thereby establishing a realm of prayer within which we now include works by devotional poets such as Donne and Herbert.

This study is the first comprehensive examination of Tudor metrical psalmody as a literary kind, in addition to being the first sustained exploration of the kind's complicity in Reformation polemics. It also demonstrates that Tudor metrical psalmody underwent an evolution during the course of the sixteenth century fully consonant with the theological and aesthetic developments of the Age.

For ease of reference, I have transcribed and appended to this thesis several psalms to which reference is made within the body of the thesis.

Finally, I acknowledge my indebtedness to Rivkah Zim's ground-breaking volume, English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601. Considerable inspiration was gained from her work.

Résumé

La Reforme n'avait-elle pas été avant tout une
querelle de traducteurs?
Edmond Cary, Les grands traducteurs français

Cette thèse est une étude de la psalmodie métrique de style Tudor, un genre littéraire ou historique qui s'est développé au 16e siècle, parallèlement à l'émergence et au développement de la Reforme anglaise. A partir de la prémisse que les psaumes metriques de l'ère Tudor étaient en même temps prière, poésie et polémique, j'explore les façons dont ces textes ont contribué au discours social de cette période.

Après avoir établi que la psalmodie métrique de Tudor est un genre littéraire ou historique dont les cinq caractéristiques essentielles relient ses membres constitutifs ensemble, j'offre deux grilles d'interprétation supplementaires de la psalmodie tudorienne. La seconde est radicalement matérialiste, en démontrant que le corpus de cette psalmodie devrait être décodé "comme une progression de dénouements symboliques des contradictions sociales qui les avaient d'abord engendrées." En d'autres termes, les psaumes métriques de cette période sont la version imaginaire de résolutions des conflits matériel et doctrinal de la Reforme.

La troisième interprétation considère la psalmodie tudorienne comme un corps de pièces de dévotion et en taut que Confession de foi. Mon point de départ est l'affirmation de George Steiner, dans Real Presences, que "toute comprehension cohérente de ce que le langage est et comment il opère, toute explication cohérente de la capacité du discours humain à communiquer le sens et le sentiment reste, en dernière analyse, marquée implicitement par la supposition de la présence de Dieu." Conçue et alimentée en première ligne, et à travers les luttes sanglantes de la Reforme, la psalmodie tudorienne naissante s'est affirmée à l'avant-garde du combat pour maintenir la présence de Dieu dans le "champ de prière" sémiotique, en approchant le rite de traduction psalmodique comme une transubstantiation. Plus tard en ce siècle, des psalmistes ont intégré les exigences esthétiques de la "poésie" et les priorités théologiques du calvinisme strict, par là établissant un domaine de prière où l'on insère maintenant les oeuvres de poètes de devotion tels que Donne et Herbert.

Cette étude est le premier examen global de la psalmodie métrique tudorienne en taut que genre littéraire, en plus d'être la première investigation approfondie de ses lieus intimes avec la polémique de la Reforme. Elle démontre aussi que cette psalmodie a subi une évolution au cours du 16e siècle, en parfaite consonnance avec les développements théologique et esthétique de cette époque.

Pour faciliter les reférences, j'ai transcrit et annexé à cette thèse plusieurs psaumes auquels il est fait reférence dans le corps de la thèse.

Finalement, je tiens à exprimer ma dette de reconnaisance face à Rivkah Zim, l'auteur de English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601. Je me suis inspirée largement de cet ouvrage.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been attempted had not Professor Michael Bristol persuaded me of the topic's merits. It would never have been completed without the patience and guidance of Professors David Williams and Ken Borris who jointly supervised the work. A number of librarians and library assistants helped me during the course of my research. In particular, I am grateful to staff at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University; The Houghton Library, Harvard University; the McLennan-Redpath Library, McGill University; St. Paul's Cathedral Library, London; and the Cambridge University Library. The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, McGill University, provided financial assistance for my stay in Oxford, England.

My sister, Sharon Bider, and my cousin, Donna Bider Clark, each underwrote this effort in ways too numerous to list. I have also lost track of all the thoughtful deeds and practical helps Doug Dixon rendered, but I know they far exceed what any friend could ask of another.

For their French translation of the Abstract, I thank Father Michel Boutilier, S.J., and Reverend S. Destrempes, S.J. Dr. Stewart Cooke kindly prepared the text for printing.

Finally, I come to my two children, Claire and Anthony Bider-Hall. I do not know how they withstood the lean years and sustained such graciousness of spirit. But they have, and thus have I been blessed.

Table of Contents

Epigraph vii
Preface viii

Chapter One Sixteenth-century Metrical Psalmody in England: an Introduction 1
I. Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Literature 2
II. Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Political Tracts & Artifacts 10
III. Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Devotional Works 14
IV. Summary 18

Chapter Two The Beginnings of Tudor Psalmody 23
I. English Devotional and Educational Roots of Tudor Psalmody 24
II. The European Reformation--Influence and Effluence 27
III. English Prosody, Poetic Diction, and Metrical Psalmody, 1485-1558 33
IV. Summary 39

Chapter Three Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Literature 43
I. The Re/Presentation of Scripture 44
II. Paraphrase or Translation? 58
III. Metrical Variety 65
IV. Doctrinal Orientation 83
V. Exemplarity and the Role of David 99

Chapter Four Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Political Tracts and Artifacts 120

Chapter Five Devotional and Confessional Traditions in Tudor Psalmody .. 144

Appendices Including Psalm texts, Prefaces, and other primary materials.

Appendix A Anne Askewe 157
Appendix B Thomas Sternhold 158
Appendix C John Bale 165
Appendix D Thomas Becon 167
Appendix E George Gascoigne 171
Appendix F Richard Stanyhurst 175
Appendix G Extracts from The Whole Booke of Psalmes 181
Appendix H Abraham Fraunce 185

Appendix I Thomas Bownell 194
Appendix J John Warwick and Robert Dudley 201
Appendix K Henry Lok 205
Appendix L John Pits 213
Appendix M William Samuel 216
Appendix N Francis Segar or Seager 218
Appendix O William Hunnis 225
Appendix P John Fisher 234
Appendix Q Richard Verstegen 237
Appendix R Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey 254
Appendix S George Flinton 255

Bibliography 258

Orthodoxy is no stronger or weaker
than the heresies that keep it burning.

A dogma without its heresy
is pale and feeble tea indeed.

-- Carlos Fuentes

Preface

The Book of Psalms is a collection of 150 lyrical verses that comprises the nineteenth Book of the Old Testament. Its poetic features and enduring beauty attracted the attention of the fledgling Christian Church, and under the influence of the early Church Fathers and medieval scholars the psalms assumed a prominent place in Christian devotional practices, both liturgical and private. During the sixteenth century these verses engaged the imagination of a particularly large number of English translators, paraphrasts, poets, and commentators, and by the close of Elizabeth's reign much of their creative work had coalesced into a historical genre or "kind" I refer to as "metrical psalmody."

The first semi-serious study of Tudor metrical psalmody was undertaken by Thomas Warton in The History of English Poetry, 1778. Warton's general contempt for the aesthetic quality of the material, however, coloured much of his work and he has little to say about the development of this literary kind. A century and a half later, in The Year's Work in English Studies, 1920-21, A. W. Reed called for a thorough study of metrical psalmody as part of a larger enquiry into the development of sixteenth-century English poetry, but no such study appeared. Another twenty-five years passed, and Hallett Smith published a modest (twenty-three page) article entitled English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance. The study, primarily concerned with "the motives for metrical Psalm translation" (250), offers three reasons for the proliferation of metrical psalmody: verse was deemed its proper medium; metrical

verse facilitated memorization; and finally, in metrical form, sacred song could readily "compete with the profane lyrics of the courtiers" (255).

Only in 1987 did the first full-length study of English metrical psalmody appear, under the title English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601. The author, Rivkah Zim, challenges old assumptions concerning the motives behind metrical psalmody of the sixteenth century, engages in serious analysis of some Tudor psalms, including those of Thomas Wyatt, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Thomas Sternhold, Sir Philip Sidney, and the Countess of Pembroke, and generally encourages a literary (aesthetically motivated) reading of the kind.

Four years later, Robin A. Leaver's lengthy study of English and Dutch metrical psalms from 1535-1566 appeared under the title 'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes'. It is the most detailed study to date of both English and Dutch metrical psalmody as it pertains to hymnological and musicological issues of those decades.

In addition to these two fairly recent works, a number of articles, essays, and papers concerning individual psalms and psalmists of the period have been published during the last two decades, including the literary studies of Margaret Hannay, Anne Lake Prescott, Stephen Greenblatt, Richard Todd, and Roy T. Eriksen. Of course, many others have written on the subject, particularly in relation to the development of Protestant liturgy and hymnody. Indeed, the entire subject of divine poetry has received considerable scholarly attention, especially from Barbara Lewalski, Louis Martz, and Lily B. Campbell, and there have been a number of studies of Tudor poetry, from C.S. Lewis' now infamous English Literature in the Sixteenth Century to John King's wonderfully researched volume

entitled English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition (1982). But in all these studies, Tudor metrical psalmody does not receive the sustained attention and analysis it merits.

I depart from my predecessors mentioned above by focusing intensely on the generic aspects of the psalms, and by addressing Tudor metrical psalmody as a literary kind whose genesis, popularity, evolution, and distinctive characteristics are the direct outgrowths of the English Reformation(s) and the social, political, and theological upheavals that attended the sixteenth century. I argue that metrical psalmody is a multi-faceted and complex historical genre that one must approach from a variety of critical and theoretical vantage points. By examining a greater number of metrical psalms than, for example, Zim or Leaver, and by employing various theoretical lenses, this study shows that, over the course of the sixteenth century, this kind develops or evolves in response to specific historical and social vicissitudes.

In my first chapter, I introduce the rationale for examining Tudor psalmody from three distinct critical vantage-points and generally outline the objectives and benefits of literary, genre-based, materialist, and spiritual readings of these psalms.

The second chapter provides some necessary historical background to the production and circulation of metrical psalms during this period, including a sketch of the devotional and educational roots of Tudor psalmody. In addition, I draw attention to the close relationship between the major European Reformers (such as Luther, Calvin, and Bucer), and English clergy and psalmists who ultimately shaped this literary kind. The chapter closes with an overview of the state of English prosody at the onset of the English

Reformation(s).

Chapter Three defines the basic generic features of metrical Tudor psalmody: its re/presentation of Scripture; its acknowledged status as scriptural translation or paraphrase; its metrical form; its preoccupation with doctrinal issues; and its uses of the Davidic exemplar.

The fourth chapter offers a materialist reading of the genre in which individual psalms are read as "'symbolic resolutions' of the social contradictions which initially engendered them." By the close of the sixteenth century, we find, metrical psalmody had evolved from a form of political protest and means of evangelization to, on the one hand, a class-oriented medium of communication for courtiers, and, on the other, a hegemonic tool of the Church and State.

The fifth and final chapter further reconsiders the reading of Tudor psalmody by examining the evolution of its devotional and prayerful characteristics. Working from the premise that all metrical psalm translations are indeed prayers, I provide an overview of their public, corporate, and private uses, and ultimately argue that the devotional writing of the courtier psalmists is fundamentally sacramental, bringing to a close the circle of sixteenth-century metrical psalmody.

Chapter One

Sixteenth-Century Metrical Psalmody in England: An Introduction

'traduttore traditore'

'Poetry is what gets left out in translation.' -Robert Frost

The earliest years of English printing were dominated by four figures, William Caxton, Wynken de Worde, Richard Pynson, and Thomas Berthelet, and almost fifty percent of their output was religious or devotional. Besides addressing the tremendous demand for liturgical works, these, and lesser printers, found a market for instructional manuals for clergy, collections of sermons, accounts of saints' lives, books of moral instruction, and advice to the religious. With the onset of the Reformation, vernacular versions of the Bible and the continuous flow of theologically controversial literature guaranteed every printer a thriving business, and those who followed the early printers (William Seres and John Day, for example) continued to supply the public with religious texts for handsome returns. In addition to the English presses, those abroad, particularly in the Low Countries and Germany, provided a steady supply of printed texts, including bibles, psalters, commentaries and, of course, the ubiquitous pamphlets and broadsheets of Reformation propaganda.[1] Within this vast array of printed material can be found a number of metrical psalm translations and paraphrases of varying character, quality and doctrinal orientation.

It would be a mistake to suggest that the contexts within which these metrical psalms were printed and disseminated were of no consequence: in fact, it mattered very much whether a psalm translation appeared within or alongside a commentary, sermon, miscellany, or some instrument of propaganda, for context signalled the psalmist's and/or printer's intentions and directed the interpretive task of the reader. Indeed, the diversity and range of Tudor psalm translations and their broad dispersal throughout a vast assortment of texts suggests that these verses were not simply vernacular versions of Scripture, but rather texts whose purposes and uses were as varied as the authors, printers, and readers themselves. To read them with sensitivity, then, demands both critical flexibility and a willingness to approach the texts from various interpretive vantage points.

This study proposes three distinct readings of Tudor psalmody. The first is literary, and places metrical psalmody within the milieu of sixteenth-century prosody. The second is political, and views these texts as partisan tracts and socially significant artifacts. The third reading is predominantly theological. In concert, these three approaches provide a much more coherent and enduring picture of Tudor psalmody and its lasting importance for many areas of Renaissance and Reformation studies, than could any single perspective.

I. Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Literature

All of literate sixteenth-century English society was aware of the dual nature of the biblical psalms, that is, of their prayerful and poetic aspects. Thus one might expect that the primary task of the Tudor psalmist would have been to balance these in such a manner

that the end product--the translated Psalm--met certain standards of theological and prosodic propriety. Such was not the case, however, and in 1778, Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry established what would become the standard critical response to Tudor psalmody.

> It is certain that every attempt to clothe the sacred Scripture in verse, will have the effect of misrepresenting and debasing the dignity of the original. But this general inconvenience, arising from the nature of things, was not the only difficulty which our versifiers of the psalter had to encounter, in common with all other writers employed in a similar task. Allowing for the state of our language in the middle sixteenth century, they appear to have been but little qualified either by genius or accomplishments for poetical composition. It is for this reason that they have produced a translation entirely destitute of elegance, spirit, and propriety. The truth is, that they undertook this work, not so much from an ambition of literary fame, or a consciousness of abilities, as from motives of piety, and in compliance with the cast of the times. I presume I am communicating no very new criticism when I observe, that in every part of this translation we are disgusted with a languor of versification, and a want of common prosody. The most exalted effusions of thanksgiving, and the most sublime imageries of the divine majesty, are lowered by a coldness of conception, weakened by frigid interpolations, and disfigured by a poverty of phraseology. (737)

While this splenetic account of aesthetic atrocities refers to John Day's metrical psalters (see chapter IV), Warton is no kinder in his discussion of other English psalmists of the period. And the truth is, with the exception of Wyatt, Surrey, and the Sidney-Pembroke collaboration, Warton is quite correct: Tudor psalmody epitomizes the weaknesses inherent in most early sixteenth-century prosody, it debases sacred texts, and it has forever scarred the literary and liturgical landscape of England. On what basis, then, can one pretend to read Tudor psalms as "literature?"

The first argument for reading Tudor psalm translations as literature rests not on any concern for their aesthetic value but, rather, on the premise that a complex of

characteristics that are shared by this group of texts justifies a consistent and unified mode of reading and literary analysis.

Tudor psalmists were not a homogeneous group. Separated by religious doctrine, class, gender, ambition, education, politics, and the English Channel, their distinct and unique projects nevertheless coalesce in the mind of the literary historian. Their translations form a unique literary "kind" whose existence must be attributed to the specific linguistic, cultural, and historical conditions of sixteenth-century England.

In Kinds of Literature, Alastair Fowler defines a literary "kind" as equivalent to "historical genre" or "fixed genre" (56). Though Tudor psalm translations may somewhat vary in their specific features, all nonetheless share certain characteristics which determine their membership in the kind. The most fundamental of these characteristics, in my view, is re/presentation of a scriptural passage taken from the Book of Psalms. In this respect, it is important to distinguish between those psalm translators who believed they were offering their readers "englyshed" Holy Writ (e.g. Tyndale), and those who engaged in translation as re/presentation or "rhetorical invention" (e.g. Gascoigne).[2]

That these re/presentations are either paraphrases or translations[3] constitutes the second basic feature of this kind. Tudor psalmists worked from a number of source texts, including French, German, Latin, Italian, Greek, and Hebrew bibles, psalters and theological treatises. Doubtless, some of the later psalmists were also influenced by earlier English psalm versions such as those of George Joye, Thomas Sternhold, or John Hopkins, but their indebtedness to a prior version in another tongue raised the spectre of both the theoretical and practical limits of correspondence between languages.

Metre constitutes a third trait of this kind. Common metre (usually defined as a hymn stanza of four lines with 8, 6, 8, 6 syllables) was not the sole choice of the Tudor psalmist, despite its pedestrian popularity and later association with all English psalmody. As more and more individuals were drawn to the pastime of psalm translation, the variety of metres increased, and there is significant evidence to suggest that English psalmody contributed to the evolution of English prosody. One can also argue that the once rigid connections between metre and kind were loosened, in part, under the influence of Tudor psalmists whose own efforts encouraged a degree of experimentation.[4]

Theological orientation, the Christian doctrinal preferences expressed in the lexicon and rhetoric of the translation, also characterizes the Tudor psalms. Without exception, metrical psalm translations of this period articulate a doctrine of Christianity--often as part of the larger social discourse dealing with the struggles between adherents to Roman Catholicism and those who rejected the "foreign" structure and its faith.

A distinctly psalmodic exemplarity involving the biblical figure of David is the final feature that distinguishes this kind from others. As the paradigmatic author of the biblical psalms, the figure of David (whose identity evolved out of biblical accounts in 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 Kings) is central to the psalmists' projects. Yet, as a figure of exemplarity, David is many things: a prefiguration of Christ, an archetypal penitent, a political leader, an oppressed petitioner, a king, a bard, a shepherd, a reformer, a prophet. A complex relationship between the psalmist and this exemplary figure which begins as an issue of *imitatio* at the literary level, is invariably transformed, at the moment of publication and circulation, into a public and politically charged expression. And thus Scripture becomes

rhetoric.[5]

In Writing from History, Timothy Hampton argues that the theory, mechanics, and authority of exemplarity in the Renaissance were derived from humanism: to apply the ideals of the past in the present was the central preoccupation of the humanist. As the premises of humanism were themselves viewed with growing suspicion (especially toward the end of the sixteenth century), exemplarity faced extinction. Hampton concludes that it survived as a "vestige" of heroic humanism, as an "ideologeme" or "fragment of discourse" (7) that became dissociated from Renaissance humanism and integrated into early modern discourse and new ideologies such as those of the Counter-Reformation, or political absolutism, to cite but two examples (7). The ideals of public virtue remained, but exhuming a historical figure as an ideal model that would mediate between self-perception and standards of public virtue was perceived increasingly as an almost cultic obsession with a foreign tradition and, moreover, a practice at odds with Christian salvation history.

Hampton's discussion is particularly helpful, as it provides an analytical means for evaluating the significant differences between pre-English Reformation psalm translations, such as those of Fisher, Wyatt, and Surrey; those written during the most turbulent years of the Reformation debates; and those undertaken after Elizabeth's accession to the throne and subsequent passage of both the Act of Supremacy (1559) and Act of Uniformity (1559). In the context of this study, Hampton's work provides a critical perspective from which to understand the relationship between literary theories and practices of *imitatio* as manifestations of exemplarity, and the "exemplarity" of the text itself, in the context of

social discourse.

The second general argument for reading Tudor psalms as literature looks to their historical role for vindication. All Tudor psalm translations printed and/or distributed in England during the sixteenth century participated in the social discourse of the period. Therefore, they constituted an important "registry" of Tudor ideologies. They looked like scripture; they read like poetry; but they behaved like political tracts and propaganda pamphlets. Psalm translation was no mere rhetorical invention; it was social intervention, clothed in the raiment of scripture. As a translator, the Tudor psalmist implicitly performed an exegesis of the psalm. As an exegete, the Tudor psalmist undertook the task of rehabilitating Scripture in the vernacular. As a rehabilitator of Scripture, the Tudor psalmist was actively engaged in the social discourse of his Age. The potential conflict between the role of the psalmist as exegete (a role which would seem to demand absolute fidelity to the source text) and the role of social activist (either literally, or indirectly, as evidenced in the rhetorical strategies found within the vernacularized versions) was never addressed by any of the psalmists. How, then, should we read and interpret their intentions? What hermeneutic and evaluative roadmaps are left to us? The answer, I believe, is: those we use when we approach any sixteenth-century text that proposes to "instruct and delight."

Reading Tudor psalm translations as a literary kind and as a record of sixteenth-century ideology helps us organize our own response to these "englyshed" versions. But an equally important issue for this study is whether or not Tudor psalmists and their audiences perceived their work as "literature" and, if so, what was meant by the

appellation.

The main source of English Renaissance criticism and literary theory was the classics--interpreted first by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian scholars, and later by a community of humanists that included English scholars. Classical sources of Renaissance criticism and literary theory included Cicero's De Inventione, De Oratore, Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory, the Rhetorica ad Herennium, Horace's Ars Poetica, commentaries by Macrobius, Donatus, Euanthius, Demebrius, Servius, Plutarch's On Reading the Poets, Ficino's and others' translations of Plato, and Aristotle's Poetics. No doubt there were some Tudor psalmists (Sidney and Golding, for example) whose humanist education would have directly influenced their understanding of the translator's task. But most psalmists had only a rude understanding of "poesie" and they are more readily identified with the caricature of the translator painted by Warton. Serious attempts to define "poesie" and its role in English society had little real impact. Roger Ascham's doctrine of "imitation" (1570) by which he meant "following precedent" had a decidedly questionable impact upon writers and translators whose appropriations of classical genres produced some of the most peculiar quantitative Elizabethan verse. George Gascoigne's Certain Notes of Instruction (1575) established a code of English prosody which rejected earlier efforts by Ascham, Harvey, Stanyhurst and others, to devise a quantitative system for English verse. By this time, some psalmists were sensitive to "poetic theory," and they read Gascoigne with interest. But the most eloquent expressions of English prosodic theory and criticism came from those writers who undertook to defend poetry from the classic Platonic accusations of dishonesty, triviality, and immorality.

John Rainold's Oration in Praise of the Art of Poetry (1572?), Sidney's Apologie for Poetrie (1583), George Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie (1589), Spenser's Letter to Raleigh (1589) and numerous later prefaces to translations of the classics all laboured, with varying degrees of skill, to defend poetry from both classical and Puritan attacks. A two-pronged defence was usually advanced: first, it was argued that good poetry, like scripture, is subject to allegorical exegesis which reveals truths too sacred to be entrusted to the uninitiated and unclean of spirit. Hence, truths were hidden behind the veil of fiction, just as Christ's teachings came in the form of parables, metaphors, and similes. The second line of defence argued that poetry was "truer" than life because the artist rose above the material world and imitated divine ideas lost to us since the Fall, thereby showing us what ought to be as opposed to what is.

Sadly, English literary theory blossomed too late to bear upon most Tudor psalm translations, and Warton's observations remain unassailable. Once Protestant hegemony was secured, psalmists generally worked from a position of social and political security, and their renderings became less personal, less overtly "political" or polemic, and began, instead, to exhibit characteristics exclusive to the courtier class. The Sidney/Pembroke Psalter and Abraham Fraunce's works fit this later paradigm.

To summarise: reading Tudor psalm translations as literature involves, on the one hand, a genre-based approach to the texts; and on the other, a New Historicist tolerance for the aesthetic poverty one inevitably finds in much social discourse. It is the way these texts functioned in the context of sixteenth-century English culture, and the expectations that were attached to them, that justify a literary reading.

II. Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Political Tracts and Artifacts

In The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act, Fredric Jameson argues that "genres are essentially literary institutions, or social contracts between a writer and a specific public, whose function is to specify the proper use of a particular cultural artifact" (106). Without genres, texts might drift aimlessly, subject to misuse in various social and political contexts. The wrong publics might appropriate the texts and designate strange, even heterodox cultural roles for them. And interpretation would become a meaningless task in which all readings and no readings would be misreadings.

Jameson's genre theory evolves from a Marxist hermeneutic discussed in the first chapter of The Political Unconscious. Here, Fredric Jameson argues "the priority of the political interpretation of literary texts" (17). He claims that a political perspective is not simply complementary to other interpretive methods, but constitutes the "absolute horizon of all reading and all interpretation" (17). Jameson's main contention is that the past makes legitimate claims on us. Events and issues as disparate and esoteric as "the nature of the Trinity" and "parliamentary and journalistic polemics of the nineteenth-century nation states" (19), can and do recover their urgency for us if we understand them as "vital episodes in a single vast unfinished plot," namely, the class struggles that have characterized most of human history (20).[6]

This Marxist paradigm entails a number of corollary assumptions: all recorded events of history, all texts, and all aesthetic expressions are cultural artifacts of this

struggle; all are, "in the last analysis," political (20); and, therefore, the hermeneutic task of the critic is the "unmasking of cultural artifacts as socially symbolic acts" (20). In the context of this study, Jameson's Marxist model of historical interpretation is truly attractive. It liberates these psalm texts from a potentially belittling analysis that would read them in isolation--as "Reformation propaganda" or simply "religious material," for example--and instead permits the critic to establish the linkages and relationships between their formal or internal components, and the dynamics of the political state and its material underpinnings.

The potential benefit of Jameson's methodology here is that it offers an evaluative framework for assessing the impact of these texts on the process of the English Reformation: for example, who appropriated the master narrative of the biblical psalms; how and when these appropriations were undertaken; which specific cultural tasks these new translations were burdened with; and how these new texts implicated themselves in the social discourse of the period. By attending to such issues, we read these texts as artifacts and, ultimately, as documents and evidence, perhaps even as catalysts, of social upheaval and unrest. But there are impracticalities with his approach.

The problem with Jameson's model is not (necessarily) his vision of history, but rather his understanding of genre and its institutional or contractual nature. The preponderance of evidence suggests that this literary kind or historical genre lent itself to a wide range of uses. Further, distinguishing orthodox psalm versions and uses from heterodox ones was as difficult in the mid-sixteenth century as now. Their liturgical uses, though altered over the course of the sixteenth century, were deemed both "orthodox" and

"heterodox" depending upon whom one consulted. Anne Askewe's version of Psalm 54 and Hooper's Psalm 23 (to cite but two examples) suggest that, coincidently with the rise of an English Protestantism, protest was emerging as a new generic convention for psalmody. This, too, was deemed at once a proper and an improper use of the genre, given exegetic traditions that stretch back to Patristic writings. And, when the psalm translations of, for example, Becon, Bale, and Verstegen are added to the melee, the picture of "proper" usage once again appears changed, and one finds oneself forced to concede that the biblical psalms were particularly and uniquely vulnerable to piracy, kidnapping, and pillaging by various ideologues. In the final analysis, a Jamesonian reading would have to describe late Tudor psalmody as a collection of tropes of extreme, even schismatic, Protestant ideology, or the obverse, as reaction thereto. The performance situation, coupled with the generic contract, would evoke the desired response from each reader. And the meaning of the text would be inferred from its cultural use or uses. Given the social complexity of the issues that attended the English Reformations, or, to use a Marxist paradigm, given the mediated circumstances of sixteenth-century ideology, there are practical limits to this model.

Jameson's genre theory would suggest that a strict and observable distinction be made between "orthodox" and "heterodox" psalm translations--those which supported the dominant ideology of the period, and those which expressed subversive values or challenged some specific social institution, whether political, religious, judicial, or educational. At this point in English history, however, there seems to have been no monolithic dominant ideology that dictated the terms and conditions of English psalmody

as a genre. Rather, these psalms express what Debora Shuger would call "habits of thought"[7] initially grounded in traditions largely associated with medieval customs and values. As the sixteenth century progressed, these habits of thought waned, and those we associate with the early modern era evolved.

To read Tudor psalms as political tracts and artifacts, then, is to decode them--not as "contracts" or generic writings--but as ciphered records and testimonies of the struggle for radical social change. It would be simplistic however, to assume that these psalm versions express a particular class interest. As a literary "kind" or historical genre, they articulate and define a realm of struggle within certain literate classes of people. But members of every class partook of the struggle itself, as Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy have documented in their respective studies of the English Reformation(s). Indeed, despite the efforts of many historians and political theorists to reduce the Reformation to an economic and political struggle, the contentiousness of the age continues to appear in the guise of theological disputes, thus warranting a third reading of Tudor psalmody that recognizes their theological content.

III. Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Devotional Works and Confessions of Faith

The appearance and proliferation of Tudor metrical psalmody owes its origins equally to classical and Christian humanism, and particularly their concerted impact on biblical scholarship. Without an understanding of the significant developments in this area, little can be said about the rise and prominence of metrical psalmody in Tudor England.

Sixteenth-century biblical scholarship in Northern Europe owed its greatest debt to the Italian humanist, Lorenzo Valla (1405-57). On the Elegancies of the Latin Language[8], published in 1444, promoted linguistic study, and established standards for Latin composition. Valla then published his denunciation of The Donation of Constantine in which he applied the events of history and his knowledge of philology to disprove the authenticity of the document, thereby establishing the importance of historical criticism as a scholarly tool. In the same year that Valla published his Elegancies, he completed a work later entitled Annotations on the New Testament (published by Erasmus in 1505) in which he enumerated the errors and omissions of the Latin Vulgate Bible. Valla's historical-critical method, and his use of philological investigations to establish the authenticity and accuracy of manuscript material laid the foundation for sixteenth-century biblical scholarship--and established the urgent need for new versions of Scripture.

The German humanist, Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) pioneered the discipline of Hebrew Scholarship. Under the tutelage of the Italian Jew, Obadiah Sforno, Reuchlin completed his studies of the language and subsequently published two crucial texts: Concerning the Rudiments of Hebrew (1506) and Concerning the Accents and

Orthography of the Hebrew Language (1518).

In France, Guillaume Budé (1467?-1540) published a number of works dealing with Greek language and culture. The most important of these were his Commentaries on the Greek Language (1529), and a Greek-Latin lexicon which was published posthumously in 1554.

Jacques Lefevre's 1509 publication Psalterium quintuplex demonstrated five variant readings of the Psalms. Placing the texts of five Latin versions of a psalm beside one another, Lefevre offered his reader evidence of the problems of interpretation that arose from the texts themselves. Later, Luther was to use Lefevre's psalm translations as well as his translation of Romans in his sermons and lectures. Lefevre's French translation of the entire Bible appeared in print in 1530.

The scholarly legacies left by these humanists were to inform and underwrite many of the Reformation issues that concerned biblical translation. Valla, who had essentially examined the New Testament as a collection of words whose meaning was dictated by formal lexical and syntactic laws, challenged the notion of direct authorship on the part of the Holy Spirit. Erasmus, greatly influenced by Valla, followed his lead, adhering to a fundamentally rhetorical understanding of language as opposed to the medieval tradition of the fourfold or "sense" levels of allegorical exegesis. Beza, also indebted to Valla, employed philological analyses to obtain desired doctrinal explications of Scripture. Luther turned to Lefevre's work for guidance in his translations and exegesis of Scripture. This cursory list of humanist endeavours and achievements suffices to indicate the intellectual and scholarly climate in which Reformers began their labours and the Tudor

psalmists undertook their translation projects.

Oddly enough, however, the English psalmists were rarely preoccupied with the kinds of technical and historical issues that dogged the scholar. Following biblical tradition, most understood themselves to be exploring a private, intimate, and prayerful relationship with God, and they relied on scholarship of established theologians to underwrite their translations. John Fisher (The fruytfull saynges of David (1508)), whose translations of the Penitential Psalms were undertaken in the first decade of the sixteenth century, suggests that David "dyd holsome penau[n]ce makynge this holy psalme [Psalm 6] wherby he gate forgyvenes & was restored to his soules helth. We in lyke wyse," he adds, "by ofte sayenge and redynge this psalme with a contryte herte as he dyde/ askynge mercy/ shall without doubte purchase and gete of our best and mercyfull lorde god forgyvenesse for oure synnes" (aa.v^{r}). Reformers who rejected the concept of penance nevertheless continued to understand the act of translating or expositing on the Psalms as a fundamentally devotional act. A.F., for example, had this to say concerning Hooper's collected meditations upon various psalms:

> The expositions of which psalmes to be pithie, & profitable, this may be a substantial proofe: because they were written in the time of his trouble, whe[n] (no doubt) he was talking in spirit with God & being so occupied, his exercises could not but be hevenly, & therfore effectuall, fruitfull, and comfortable. Come therefore, ye sorrowing soule, which gronest for reliefe to this spring. Come hither, & heare what a good man wrote *ex carcere & vinculis*, out of bonds and imprisonment, for thy consolation (sig. iiii^{r}.[9])

If the act of translating, paraphrasing, commenting upon, or simply studying the psalms was an important devotional act, it was also an opportunity to confirm one's

doctrine. The works of Becon, Bale, and Askewe immediately come to mind. Their psalm versions demonstrate a remarkable lack of interest in fidelity to the source text, and a great deal of anxiety with respect to correct doctrinal exposition, which is not surprising, given the religious climate of the century. But it seems to me that the most perceptive reading of these psalms as religious material involves the task of decoding the implicit grammars of Faith that inform them. The relationships between words, and between what and how words signify--these are the issues that often clarify the hermeneutic and epistemologic underpinnings of the Reformation debates which these English psalms articulate.

In Judeo-Christian tradition, language is the principal medium of relationship with the Divine. But words can signify a multiplicity of things and ideas simultaneously; through paradox and metaphor we say what we mean when we say otherwise; and we enter into meaningful discourse with a text only when we begin to "read" what is not physically present on the page. Hence, our relationship with the Divine, and with Holy Writ, is indirect, unstable, enigmatic, and resists simplistic articulation.

These issues have vexed the conscientious translator of Holy Writ since the days of Jerome, and probably earlier. Can language stabilize meaning? How does a translated version share authority with the "original?" How does this "openness" or vulnerability in language function in matters of faith? For the Tudor psalmist, these issues were themselves translated into theological and doctrinal problems--as problems to be solved only through a resolute confession of faith or system of belief.

IV. Summary

From the beginning, the Book of Psalms has played an integral role in Christian devotional life. While the doctrinal upheavals of the sixteenth century ultimately changed the nature of devotional life for the English, the psalms retained a central place in both public and private worship. Calvin once claimed that the psalms were the "Anatomy of all the partes of the Soule, inasmuch as a man shalnot find any affection in himselfe, wherof the Image appeereth not in this glasse,"[10] and Anthony Gilby observed that "whereas al other scriptures do teach us what God saith unto us, these praiers . . . do teach us, what we shall saie unto God."[11] Thomas Becon declared that "the Psalmody of David maye well be called the Treasure house of the holye Scripture. For it contaynethe what so ever is necessary for a christen man to know."[12]

As the anatomy of the soul, as a mirror in which man found his image reflected, and as the repository of all that a Christian man need know, the Book of Psalms invited a kind of intense scrutiny--the kind one might undertake when seeking self-knowledge, or knowledge of the human condition in general. It should not surprise the contemporary reader, therefore, that translations and paraphrases of the biblical psalms, and commentaries and meditations on them should encompass all of human life, from the private to the public and political. Nor should the Tudor insistence on metrical translation evoke surprise. Responding to the general perception of the psalms as the sacred poems of David, many Tudor psalmists sought to imitate their maker. Renaissance theory of poetry dovetailed perfectly with religious doctrine that encouraged imitation of the saints, prophets, martyrs, and Christ. Thus, many of the English psalmists participated in a long-

established tradition of devotion while exploring the aesthetic possibilities of translated verse, all in the belief that they had been duly counselled to do so by both humanist poetic theory and Church doctrine and tradition. As is often the case, however, what these psalmists thought they were undertaking or claimed to be doing presented itself, in fact, as far removed from their actual achievements. The sometimes subtle (but often obtuse) disparities between intention and accomplishment suggest the need for new readings of their translations--readings that recognize the multifaceted nature of the psalms themselves, and the complexity and sophistication with which the sixteenth-century psalmist read and responded to his source text.

Endnotes for Chapter One

1. For a thorough analysis of this subject, see H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers: 1475-1557 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969).

2. See Rita Copeland's discussion of translation as rhetorical invention in Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages, pp. 179-220. Using Copeland's model, one would understand literary psalm translations as something akin to "secondary translations" which, she argues, "derive their essential methods and motive from exegesis, but . . . do not define themselves through exegetical models of service or supplementations, but rather through rhetorical models of invention, that is, discovery of one's own argument or subject out of available topics or commonplaces" (7). Copeland offers two examples of this kind of "secondary translation:" Chaucer's Legend of Good Women and Gower's *Confessio amantis*. "These texts," she argues, "carry out the prescriptions of the *artes poetriae* by turning the techniques of exegesis into techniques of topical invention. In this way they also redefine the terms of vernacular translation itself: they use the techniques of exegetical translation to produce, not a supplement to the original, but a vernacular substitute for that original" (179). This is precisely what the Tudor psalmist does, from the point of view of a literary analysis.

3. A number of technical distinctions are required as part of a fully developed discussion of translation, notably the differences between translation and paraphrase. In a paraphrase, the source text and an exegesis thereof are intermingled and the paraphrase makes no claim to supplant or replace the original but, rather, emphasizes their interrelatedness. In contrast, the translation supplants the original and in so doing, represents itself as both the thing explicated and the explication. Chapter Four offers a full discussion of this vexed topic.

4. See, for example, my discussion of the quantitative poets in Chapter Three.

5. The term *imitatio* received extensive attention during the English Renaissance. It was variously defined by poets and literary theorists of the sixteenth century, and more will be said of this in Chapter Three. Generally speaking, however, the term was applied to the translation exercises of schoolchildren; to the utilisation of particular rhetorical structures or verse forms; or was synonymous with the Aristotelian sense of *mimesis*. In this discussion, however, the term is more akin to Ascham's discussion in The Scholemaster, than to any other. Ascham defines *imitation* as "a facultie to expresse liuelie and perfitelie that example which ye go about to folow." He goes on to suggest that there are three kinds of *imitatio* in matters of learning: a "faire liuelie painted picture of the life of euerie degree of man," "learning of tonges and sciences of the best authors," and to "be determined whether ye will folow one or mo, to know perfitlie, and which way to folow, that one; in what place; by what meane and order; by what tooles and instrumentes ye shall do it; by what skill and iudgement ye shall trewelie discerne whether ye folow rightlie or no." In concluding the discussion, Ascham declares that the "foresaide order and doctrine

of *imitation* would bring forth more learning, and breed up trewer iudgement, than any other exercise than can be used." It follows that the skilled practitioner of *imitatio* would be an adept rhetorician whose written and spoken ideas would exude those of the tongue, science, or author whom he chooses as his example, and that the choice itself articulates a set of values and judgements. When these values and judgements enter the field of public discourse, they are no longer mere copies of an earlier model, but are reborn, laden with the intentions of the imitator.

6. Jameson's ultimate definition of history as the experience of necessity, rests on the argument that the evidence of experience, i.e., the trail of texts, monuments, etc., constitute a "narrative of the political unconscious." They are the painful evidence of the alienating and reifying effects of a particular mode of production and its attending relations of production. According to this model, then, the ideology (including religion) to which a particular mode of production gives rise, must be understood variously as a symptom or effect of that mode of production.

7. See Debora Kuller Shuger's introduction to Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture (Berkely and Los Angelos: University of California Press, 1990) 5. The specific passage of interest reads as follows: "Ideology thus signifies what I will call 'habits of thought,' a culture's interpretive categories and their internal relations, which underlie specific beliefs, ideas, and values." The period 1485-1603 incorporates so many political, economic, religious and technological changes that the concept of a "dominant ideology," while attractive, is hard to sustain. The culture of 1507-10, during which John Fisher wrote, delivered and published his sermons on the penitential Psalms, bears little resemblance to the culture of 1530--the year George Joye's English Psalter was published in Antwerp and sold in England. So different, in fact, were the "habits of thought" from crisis to crisis in England, that it can be argued that the Biblical Psalms functioned as touchstones for those who sought some form of continuity in a discontinuous and uncertain world.

8. Valla's Elegantiae linguae Latinae became the standard text on Latin philology for over a century, and influenced virtually every scholar of the English Renaissance.

9. Epistle to John Hooper's Certeine comfortable Expositions of the constant Martyr of Christ, M. John Hooper, Bishop of Glocester and Worcester, written in the time of his tribulation and imprisonment, upon the XXIII. LXII. LXXIII. and LXXXVII. Psalmes of the Prophet David. Newly recognized, and never before published (London, Henrie Middleton, 1580). Edited by Henry Bull. It is possible that the author of this epistle is Abraham Fraunce, himself a psalmist.

10. Jean Calvin, The Psalmes of David and others. With M. John Calvins Commentaries (London, 1571). Trans. Arthur Golding. sig. *6^{v}.

11. Anthony Gilby, The Psalmes of David, truely opened and explaned by Paraphrasis (London, 1580) sig. a3^{v}.

12. Thomas Becon, Davids Harpe ful of moost delectable armony (London, 1542) sig. A7^{v}.

Chapter Two

The Beginnings of Tudor Psalmody

Mirthes to God al erths that es.
- Psalm 100

As a literary kind, Tudor psalmody is the product of educational, literary, and devotional traditions that converged at a particularly turbulent time in English history. Not surprisingly, the result of this unmanaged convergence is a literary kind whose tempestuous nature reflects the vicissitudes of the period during which it was born and flourished. This chapter summarizes the major traditions (educational, devotional, and literary) that first nourished Tudor psalmody. Following a discussion of English devotional and educational roots of English psalmody, I briefly describe the impact of the European Reformation on the thinking and writing of early English Reformers, many of whom were directly engaged in translating psalms, or encouraged such work. Finally, I consider the state of English prosody and poetic diction during the early years of the Tudor Period in order to give a fair assessment of the varieties of meter, rhyme, and stanza form available to the early psalmists for emulation.

I. English Devotional and Educational Roots of Tudor Psalmody

The sixteenth century inherited both a devotional and an educational tradition from the Middle Ages in which the biblical psalms figured prominently. It was chiefly their presence in primers, or Books of Hours, as they were called in England, that guaranteed any literate individual an intimate knowledge of many of the biblical psalms.

In its original form, the primer was a private book of devotion used by residents of medieval monasteries. It contained only the liturgy of the seven monastic Hours. But to this was gradually added private devotions, including the fifteen Gradual Psalms (120-34) and the seven Penitential Psalms (6, 32, 3, 51, 102, 130, 143), along with other prayers. During the later Middle Ages, devout laity sought to emulate the devotional practices of the monastics. By altering slightly the contents to include the Psalms of Commendation (119-139), the Psalms of Passion (22-31), and other occasional prayers appropriate for a lay person's life, the primer became the central figure piece for private devotion and was given the name "Book of Little Hours." Many such Books opened with a calendar; some were richly gilt and printed on vellum; others contained miniatures or intricate woodcuts; but all reflected the relative wealth and devotional tastes of their owners. Surprisingly enough these Latin *Horae* were popular with lay people of modest means. Between 1494 when Wynkyn de Worde printed his first edition of the Sarum Hours, until the early 1530's when the first Protestant primers appeared, no fewer than 114 editions of the Latin *Horae* were published in England, and many of these were small, inexpensive versions. Before the mid-fifteenth century, English (as opposed to Latin) primers were prepared and used

by the laity, but fear of Lollardry effectively terminated their use in Catholic England. While the majority of the English laity were not sufficiently familiar with the Latin tongue to understand fully the prayers contained in their primers, it must be remembered that the little books were themselves considered sacred objects, and the words they contained were similarly imbued with the power of the Holy Spirit. Thus, only a cursory understanding of the language was sufficient for one to benefit from the efficacy of Latin prayer, as contemplation of the words themselves was an appropriate act of devotion. Nevertheless, constant repetition of the psalms in the liturgy and textual expositions by clerics probably gave some appreciation of the Psalms even to those with little knowledge of Latin.

The pre-Reformation Church was rarely involved with the production or circulation of primers. Rather, scribes, artisans, and printers responded to lay demands for devotional literature. In the words of Eamon Duffy, "[l]ay people wanted prayer-books which, in addition to the core materials of Little Office and "Dirige", enabled them to say their morning prayers, helped them venerate the Sacrament at Mass, or prepared them for its reception at Eastertime. They wanted prayers which helped them cultivate that intense relationship of affectionate, penitential intimacy with Christ and his Mother which was the devotional *lingua franca* of the late Middle Ages, and they wanted prayers which focused on their day-to-day hopes and fears" (234).

The first English Reformed primer to be printed in England appeared in the late spring of 1534.[1] Written by William Marshall, it drew upon the Reform theology of Martin Luther. It lacked the Litany of the Saints and the Dirige; there was no prayer for

the dead; and its preface called for vigorous reform of clerical abuses. Marshall's primer met with outrage and opposition, and within twelve months, a second edition was issued in which the deleted prayers were restored. Despite its seeming conformity to traditional catechism, Marshall's second edition decried the fact that people still "mumbled, murmured and piteously puled forth a certain sort of psalms . . . for the souls of our christian brethren and sistern that be departed . . . ." By the middle of 1535, Cromwell's cautious support for Reform theology implicitly endorsed the production and circulation of more English primers and devotional texts. And the floodgates were opened, allowing a deluge of foreign Protestant texts into Catholic England, while domestic printers scrambled to secure their share of the devotional market.

It is doubtful, however, that the role of the biblical psalms in either the traditional or reformed devotional life of the English--or the sudden inundation of Protestant vernacular versions from the mainland--would have been sufficient to engender a literary kind. The concurrent use of the psalms in the education of young Englishmen and the rise of humanism in England both played significant roles in the development of psalmody as a literary kind.

Throughout the Middle Ages, primers had served an educational purpose as well as a devotional one. The Book of Psalms together with Proverbs and Ecclesiastes functioned as texts for elementary instruction. Students learned to read, write, and translate, using these bodies of texts. By the sixteenth century, humanist educators such as Richard Mulcaster, John Colet, Thomas Wilson, and William Lily had developed finely articulated theories of education in which the biblical psalms played a central role. In

Lily's A Shorte Introduction of Grammar (1549), for example, the editor recommends the use of Latin psalms and Proverbs for translation exercises,[2] and in The Arte of Rhetorique, Thomas Wilson declares that "before we use either to write, or speake eloquently, wee must dedicate our myndes wholy, to followe the most wise and learned men, and seeke to fashion as wel their speache and gesturing, as their witte or endyting. The which when we earnestly mynd to doe, we can not but in time appere somewhat like them."[3] The elevated content of the biblical psalms coupled with the exemplary status of their principal author, David, justified their use in the humanist education of young Englishmen.

Contact with biblical verse, then, whether in Latin or in English, would have been a daily occurrence for every literate person in medieval and early modern England. Thus, it is not surprising that the religious reformers of the sixteenth century seized upon the rich potential of these verses as catalysts of fundamental spiritual changes--private as well as corporate.

II. The European Reformation-- Influence and Effluence

While monastic traditions gave early sixteenth-century England her primers (thereby making accessible principally Latin versions of the psalms), it was left to the European reformers to give England her first sustained exposure to metrical psalmody in the vernacular. Three issues central to the Reformation efforts advanced the cause of vernacular psalmody: the translation of the entire Bible into the living languages of Europe; the revision of the liturgy; and zealous attempts by reformers to replace bawdy ballads with sacred songs. Key personalities in the Reformation efforts of the 1520s and

1530s included Martin Luther, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, Theodore Beza, and their immediate disciples. Of these figures, it was Luther who was to have the greatest and most sustained impact on early-modern English psalmody.

In 1522-23, while in exile in Wartburg Castle preparing a German New Testament, word came to Luther that two of his followers had been burnt at the stake in Brussels. Luther's response was to write both a letter of consolation and a folksong entitled "Ein neues Lied wir heben an" which commemorated their martyrdom. The song instantly became a popular hymn and Luther, sensing the potential for religious protest in the form of hymns and vernacular psalms, wrote to Georg Spalatin at the end of 1523, stating that he intended "to make vernacular psalms for the people, that is, spiritual songs so that the Word of God even by means of song may live among the people" (qtd. from Leaver, 3). The decade that followed saw the production and circulation of numerous similar hymns and metrical psalms on broadsheets.[4] While few of the broadsheets have survived, the hymns and psalms themselves have, thanks to publishers such as Jobst Gutknecht who collected and issued them in booklet form.

However, it was the reform of European liturgies in the 1520s and 1530s, and not the popularity of hymnsheets, that contributed most to the sudden proliferation of French, German, and Dutch metrical psalms, which, in turn, shaped early English psalmody. Of particular interest to this study is the catechism of Osiander[5] which explained the liturgical innovations of the reformed German Mass. The catechetical reforms articulated and defended by Osiander granted significant stature to hymns and psalms within the reformed service. Congregational song thus became one of the central innovations of the reformed

German liturgy. Osiander's catechism was translated into English by Thomas Cranmer (his houseguest and later a relative by marriage) who, of course, became the principal author of the reformed English liturgy wherein can be found Osiander's influence.

Meanwhile, Martin Bucer, the pre-eminent Protestant reformer of Strasbourg,[6] defended hymnody as a fundamental opportunity for every member of the congregation to publicly confess his faith. In 1541, Bucer issued a hymnbook in which Preface he reminded his reader that music and song was ordained by God but that it should be used solely for sacred praise, prayer, and teaching.[7] The first section of this collection contains primarily liturgical hymns by Luther; the second part consists of twenty-four metrical versions of the psalms, of which eight were translated by Luther, and others by members of both the Wittenberg and Strasbourg Reform congregations. Bucer's influence on English reformers and psalmists began with this hymnal, but extended through other means, as well. Bucer drew up Church Orders for a number of congregations other than that of Strasbourg and many similarities between these Orders and the 1549 Book of Common Prayer are in evidence. In 1548, Bucer moved to England where he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and it was from this post that he directly contributed to the 1552 revision of the Book of Common Prayer. A less direct path of influence on English psalmody may be perceived in the friendship between Bucer's personal assistant and secretary, Conrad Hubert, and the English psalmist, Miles Coverdale, who resided in Strasbourg throughout most of 1540. Coverdale and Hubert corresponded frequently between 1543 and 1548, and the correspondence records at least one meeting between Coverdale and Bucer in May, 1544.[8]

Unlike most of his contemporaries, the Zurich Reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, condemned congregational singing as unscriptural and, by 1525, he had succeeded in eliminating all music from the liturgy in all of Zurich's churches. Despite this, Zwingli condoned the use of music and hymns in private devotion and tacitly endorsed efforts by residents of Zurich to contribute to reformed hymnody. There is a considerable record of early hymnbooks published in Zurich that were destined for more northerly towns, such as Constance. What is noteworthy about these hymnbooks is the strong emphasis placed on metrical psalmody, an emphasis which impressed the English divine and noted psalmist, John Hooper, later Bishop of Gloucester, who, during his two-year sojourn in Zurich, befriended Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor.

The history of French reformed psalmody parallels that of German origin. In September, 1538, Jean Calvin reluctantly undertook the task of serving the French speaking exiles in Strasbourg, and began to prepare an edition of French metrical psalms which was published a year later under the title Aulcuns psaulmes et cantiques mys en chant.[9] Thirteen of the psalms were the work of Clement Marot who had met Calvin in 1531. In 1542, a revision of the 1540 French liturgy was prepared for the Strasbourg congregation in which was included Calvin's 1539 hymnbook with Marot's psalms, along with four new psalm translations. Calvin had returned to Geneva in 1541, where he established the Strasbourg form of worship and published La Forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques which emphasised the use of psalms within the liturgy. That same year, Marot fled to Geneva where he spent several months in Calvin's company, revising

previous psalm translations and preparing new ones for congregational use.

Theodore Beza undertook to complete the French Psalter which Marot had begun under Calvin's supervision. In 1551, the combined translations of Beza and Marot were published under the title Pseaumes octante trois de David, but it was not until 1562 that the complete French Psalter appeared under the title: Les Pseaumes mis en rime Francoise, Par Clement Marot, & Theodore Beze.

Contact between the European Reformers and exiled English clergy gave to the early English psalmists a model of psalmody whose specific characteristics influenced but did not wholly govern their vernacular versions of the psalms. Certainly many of the early English psalmists with Protestant leanings such as Coverdale, Askewe, Bale, and Becon, seized upon the public and corporate uses of psalmody that Luther's groundbreaking work in this area had made apparent. Taking their cue from Luther and other European reformers, these English psalmists prepared their translations as part of a larger effort to reform the English liturgy; replace popular ballads of a bawdy sort with hymns and metrical psalms; and "politicize" the suffering of those who embraced the Protestant cause. Coverdale, for example, suggested "the very ryght use wherfore Psalmes shulde be songe: Namely, to conforte a mans herte in God, to make hym thankfull, & to exercyse hym in his worde, to corage hym in the waye of godlynesse, and to provoke other men unto the same . . . ."[10] Thomas Becon, a somewhat zealous reformer, yearned for the day when young and old alike would "leave theyr lascivious, wanton & unclene balades, & syng such godly & vertuous songes, as David techeth them."[11] And we have only to look to the psalm imitations of Thomas Becon, Anne Askewe, or John Bale to see their use as

expressions of political and religious protest.

The metrical psalms contained in early hymnbooks and liturgies of reformed European churches reflected Luther's insistence that melodies and metre be chosen for their majesty and gravity. Perhaps only Miles Coverdale, the first reformed English metrical psalmist, achieved a level of decorum that would have satisfied Luther. Coverdale did more than simply emulate the poetic proprieties of his European mentors: he freely employed Luther's hymns in Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes,[12] and he borrowed German melodies that seemed to suit his own metrical renderings of the psalms. Goostly psalmes was banned and burned during the final years of Henry VIII's reign, and there is little evidence to suggest that subsequent psalmists were familiar with these metrical versions. Nevertheless, Coverdale's influence on later psalmists is indisputable. His English translation of the Bible[13] (relying on the 1528 Latin translation by Pagnini, the Vulgate, Luther's 1531 and 1534 versions of the German Zurich Bible, and Erasmus' Latin New Testament) provided his countrymen with accessible prose psalm versions in which considerable poetic virtue and stylistic innovations are found.[14] Majesty and gravity, however, are characteristics that cannot be attributed to the renderings of most early Tudor psalmists. Their doctrinal and theological struggles were expressed in doggerel rhyme and cast into the political arena where they served admirably--but not as David served Saul.

III. English Prosody, Poetic Diction, and Metrical Psalmody, 1485-1558

In sixteenth-century England, prosodic theory was debated and disseminated through grammar texts, dedicatory and introductory addresses prefacing translations of the classics, technical discussions contained in personal correspondence, defences of poesy and other philosophic treatises, and extensive experimentation with verse forms imported from the mainland. These avenues of humanist dialogue were employed primarily during the latter half of the century when English humanism had evolved into a program of educational reform, and when the cultural, social, aesthetic, and civic values implicit in the classics were being assimilated and used to articulate and justify the values of emerging English nationalism, and its taste for the vernacular. For the early sixteenth-century poets, however, the subjects of prosody and poetic diction were complex and uncertain. Ballad traditions predominated in the more northerly counties, while alliterative poems, such as Scotish Feilde, were still being composed to mark heroic occasions such as Henry VIII's victory at Flodden. Narrative poetry in rhyme-royal stanzas remained popular well into the sixteenth century, as with Henry Bradshaw's "Lyfe of St. Werburge" (1513), and amongst those at Court who found the English language wanting in variety, aureate diction elevated their verse.

The Age's early secular poets such as Stephen Hawes, Alexander Barclay, and John Skelton, balanced on the cusp of prosodic modernity. That they wrote in the vernacular was not necessarily an indication of that dawning modernity, but a realistic response to the increasing numbers of literate laymen. Likewise, printers such as William

Caxton who sold vernacular verse and romances were as often as not satisfying a lingering medieval literary appetite. Caxton and other early Tudor printers did not see themselves as proponents of a humanist, modern nationalism involving promotion of the vernacular: they were businessmen attempting to turn a profit. Evidence of modernity among the poets and printers of the early Tudor period lies neither in their choice of subject-matter, nor in their prosody but, rather, in their efforts to expand and standardize English diction for the growing number of English readers.

Virtually every early Tudor translator, poet, and printer expressed impatience with the rudeness and inadequacies of the English tongue. Caxton addressed the subject of the English language's paucity on several occasions, conceding in the "Prohemye to Polychronicon" that the text had been "a lytel embelysshed fro tholde makyng,"[15] and in his Epilogue to The Fayttes of Armes he asked pardon of "this symple & rude translacion where in be no curyous ne gaye termes of rethoryk/ but I hope to almighti god that it whal be entendyble & vnderstanden . . . ."[16] Skelton, too, made frequent references to the lack of "pullysshed termes" and, like Hawes, expended considerable energy on his ornamentation in an effort to redress the deficiencies of English, while Barclay implicitly draws attention to the poverty of the English tongue in the Argument to Book I of Ship of Fools.

While the verses of Skelton, Hawes, and Barclay are self-conscious attempts to expand and enhance the poetic potential of the English language, their methods differ. Skelton's macaronic verses, with their continuous flow of polysyllabic words derived from Latin, and clever manipulation of the "coulours" of rhetoric were--despite their satiric and

humorous character--serious attempts to expand the vernacular as a medium of aesthetic expression. Even in his august and solemn verses, aureation served to enhance the dignity of English expression as, for example, in this stanza from A Garlande of Laurell:

> Arectyng my syght towarde the zodyake,
> The synges xii for to beholde a-farre,
> When Mars retrogradant reversyd his bake,
> Lord of the yere in his orbicular,
> Put up his sworde, for he cowde make no warre,
> And whan Lucina plenarly did shyne,
> Scorpione ascendynge degrees twyse nyne.

In contrast to Skelton's occasionally humanist verse, that of Hawes seems self-consciously medieval and scholastic. It is didactic, avoids archaisms, distinguishes itself from ordinary speech with the use of aureate words, and conveys a gentleness of purpose, as the following passages from The Pastime of Pleasure illustrate:

> Her redolente wordes of swete influence
> Degouted vapoure moost aromatyke
> And made conuersyon of my complacence.
> ll. 5264-5266

> Of the eyen the offyce onely is the syght
> To se the fayre the lowe or altytude
> The whyte or blacke / the heuy or the lyght
> The lytell or grete / the weyke / or fortytude
> The vgly fauoure or yet the pulcrytude
> This is the vse of the eyene intere
> To se all thynges whiche may well appere.
> ll. 2794-2800

While Skelton employs aureation to expand the expressive potential of English, and Hawes demonstrates that English--carefully seasoned with aureate terms--is a viable language of moral instruction, Barclay's verse exhibits a very different set of theoretical premises and characteristics of diction from that of either Skelton or Hawes, namely, that

"rude" English is an appropriate medium for aesthetic expression. His didactic purpose in both Ship of Fools and The Eclogues--to reprove fools--is underwritten by plain language, subdued "coulour" of verse, sparing aureation, and occasional recourse to archaisms. Much of Barclay's (relative) simplicity of style can be attributed to his choice of audience. In the Prologue to Ship of Fools, he writes: "My speche is rude my termes comon and rural/ And I for rud peple moche more conuenient/ Than for Estates, lerned men, or eloquent." The following sample from Book I of Ship of Fools illustrates the "rude langage" Barclay employs:

> His mouth fomyth his throte out gorgyth fyre
> His ferefull furoure is, his hole felycyte
> By his great yre, doth he coueyte and desyre
> Dowtyd to be: of the pore comontye
> His owne madnes and cruell furyosyte
> Wyll he nat knowe as he were nat culpable
> Of this mad fury and vyce abhomynable.

In all three of these court poets, however, there are prosodic similarities: predictable seven-lined stanzas, metres redolent of Saxon verse, and irregular rhyme schemes governed sometimes by the variable pronunciation of a word, and at other times by aureation. It is not difficult to understand why C.S. Lewis complained, in English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, that their work (like most late medieval and early Tudor poetry), suffers from "the disease of bad metre":

> [t]his alone would remove the work of Hawes and Barclay, and some of Skelton, from serious critical consideration: but it is not their only defect. Their language is undistinguished, their sentences untrussed, their thought commonplace and indistinct. They are as far below Lydgate as Lydgate is below Chaucer; for their workmanship is at least as coarse as his and, with the possible exception of Hawes, they lack the fineness and tenderness of temper which alleviates his tediousness. This is the real midwinter of our

> poetry; all smudge, blur, and scribble without a firm line or a clear colour anywhere. (127)

C. S. Lewis's criticism of early Tudor or "Drab" Verse, calls to mind Warton's estimation of mid-sixteenth-century psalm translations (quoted in the previous chapter). Their apparent conception of poetry as a distinct discourse characterized by a "firm line" or "clear colour" leads inevitably to scathing judgments of early Tudor verse. But these were not the poetic virtues Skelton and his contemporaries necessarily sought to cultivate. Vere L. Rubel's more dispassionate analysis in Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance suggests that the "verbal *cul de sac*" in which these poets found themselves was probably not the ideal neighbourhood they would have chosen for their verse. However, the state of the English language, and the precedents for aureation they perceived in Chaucer and Lydgate, they believed, "sanctioned their design" (46). Of the early Tudor poets, only Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, bridge the prosodic and stylistic rift between Lewis's "Drab Age" and "Golden Age"--and that barely!

Wyatt, like his predecessors, made an extensive study of Chaucer's poetic diction but, as Rubel points out, while Barclay, Skelton and Hawes chose to emulate Chaucer's habit of borrowing from the Romance languages, Wyatt selected Chaucer's custom of employing archaisms from early English (47). This, combined with the Italian terza rima and sonnet forms he eumulated, ultimately render an English verse that permitted syntax and metre to manage his subject-matter cooperatively. Wyatt often wrote popular, courtly lyrics in short line metres ("And Wilt Thou Leave Me Thus?"), or in stanzas with lines of varying lengths, and in his day these epigrams, rondeaus, and satires, were popular and

accessible verses that would establish norms for future courtier poets.

Surrey's greatest contributions to English prosody are his introduction of the decasyllabic blank verse line and his adaptations of Poulter's measure (rhyming couplets consisting of one iambic hexameter and an iambic heptameter). Like Wyatt, Surrey was interested in continental verse. At least two Italian translations of Vergil's Aeneid , one published by Niccolo Liburnio in 1534, and Zoppio's edition of Books II and IV published in 1539, appear to be models for Surrey's English translations of the same two books of the Aeneid, rendered in unrhymed iambic pentameters. In the preface to John Day's version of The Fourth Boke of Virgill (1554), typeset from a manuscript written by "the authors owne hande," Willaim Owen writes of a strange meter, and the "dignity of that kynde of myter" (Hardison 1989, 131)--a reference to the first appearance and use of blank verse in English poetry. Surrey's extensive work with Poulter's measure and straight fourteeners, and his insistence on metric regularity defined the lines along which future English prosody would develop throughout the rest of the sixteenth century.

For the early English psalmist, then, a variety of prosodic traditions were current. The popular ballad metre, the pedestrian Poulter's measure (or Peter Quince's eight-and-six variation), Surrey's heroic blank verse, and the recently imported sonnet form and terza rima, to name but a few, were available for emulation. Poetic diction was equally varied and eclectic during this period. Inkhornisms, latinisms, macaronics, alliteration, "rud speche," rhetorical figures--these styles of poetic diction were equally current in early Tudor poetry. Depending upon the psalmist's acquaintance with these varying poetic styles and traditions, the issue of who or what to emulate was significant. A psalm set in

ballad metre would announce the psalmist's intention to speak in a popular voice, from which it could be inferred that he or she considered the psalms to be songs of, for, and about the common people. In contrast, the use of Surrey's heroic blank verse would announce a humanist outlook and declare the elevated or heroic nature of psalmody, with all that is implied therein. The prosodic choices and selection of diction were, as often as not, made with an eye to the theological and political issues that typically motivated these early translation exercises, of which more will be said in subsequent chapters.

IV. Summary

Living and writing during the turbulent years of the Henrician Reformations, the early Tudor Psalmists--Coverdale, Askewe, Bale, Becon, Crowley, Sternhold, Wyatt, Surrey, Hall, Paynell, Bownell, and Hunnis--began adult life, like their contemporaries, as members of a Roman Catholic parish. They would have done penance, attended Mass, received the Sacrament of Communion, venerated the saints, and supplemented their public devotions with daily reading of a Primer. Some would die before the Accession of Edward VI and some would live to see the day of Elizabeth's reign, but for each one, the break with Rome and the subsequent changes to Church liturgy and religious practices would influence their political and cultural values, as well as shape and colour their devotional writings.

The sixteenth century was a watershed in which devotional prose and poetry flowed in different theological and aesthetic directions. Conservative, Puritan, Protestant, and even "secularized" versions of the psalms testify to this. But the roots of Tudor

psalmody clearly lie in the educational, theological, and poetic traditions outlined above, and each psalm translation, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, is an outgrowth of those traditions, expressing the anxieties, ambivalences and convictions of their origins.

Endnotes for Chapter Two

1. A Prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly meditations. STC 15986. Reprinted in Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII (Oxford, 1834). Ed. E. Burton. The first English Primer originated in the Low Countries and, according to Butterworth, was probably authored by George Joye. Butterworth speculates that it was published in 1529. A second edition with the same title: *Ortulus anime* (Antwerp, 1530) exhibits a preference for Lutheran catechism. Marian emphasis is eliminated, there is neither a metrical pattern to the Psalms, nor a rhyme scheme, which suggests that the book was intended for private devotional use. Eight hymns from this Primer appear in Marshall's Primers.

2. See A shorte Introduction to Grammar, generally to be used in the Kynges Majesties dominions (London, 1549) sig. A3^{v}.

3. From The Arte of Rhetorique (London, 1560), in English Literary Criticism: the Renaissance (New York: Meredith, 1963). Ed. O.B. Hardison, Jr. 33.

4. For an interesting discussion of the subject, see Tessa Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).

5. Osiander's catechism accompanies the Brandenburg-Nuremberg Church Order of 1533. It is entitled Catechismus oder Kinderpredig, Wie die in meiner gnadigen Herrn Marggraven zu Brandenburg und eines ehrbaren Raths der Stad Nurnberg Oberkeiten und Gebieten allentalben geprediget werden, den Kindern und jungen Leuten zu sonderbarem Nutz.

6. The spelling of this Alsatian city has been regularized throughout the text, with the exception of direct quotations and citations.

7. Gesangbuch/darinn begriffen sind/die aller furnemisten und besten Psalmen/Geistliche Lieder/und Chorgeseng aus dem Wittembergischen/Strassburgischen und anderer Kirchen Gesangbuchlin zusassamen bracht/ unt mit besonderem fleis corrigiert und gedrucket. Fur Stett und Dorff Kirchen/ Lateinische und Deudsche Schulen. Soli Deo Gloria (Strasbourg, 1541).

8. For copies of the correspondence see G. Pearson, ed., Remains of Myles Coverdale (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1846) 502-28.

9. There is some question regarding Calvin's editorial role, as there is no prefatory address that would identify him or the translator of these liturgical hymns and psalms. It is generally accepted, however, that Calvin penned at least two Psalms (Pss. 25 and 46). See Leaver, pp. 40-42.

10. Miles Coverdale's address "Unto the Christen reader," Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of the holy Scripture, for the comforte and consolacyon of soch as love

to rejoyse in God and his worde (London, 1535?) sig. 4^{r}-4^{v}.

11. Thomas Becon, Davids Harpe ful of moost delectable armony (London, 1542) sig. $A7^{r}$.

12. Miles Coverdale's metrical psalms were published in Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of the holy Scripture, for the comforte and consolacyon of soch as love to rejoyse in God and his worde (Southward, 1535?). The volume contains metrical versions of Pss. 11, 2, 45, 123, 136, 127, 50, 129, 24, 67, 13, 147, 133, with suggested melodies for each.

13. Coverdale Bible: Biblia The Bible/that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe, (Cologne? Marburg? 1535). STC 2063.

14. For a full discussion of Coverdale's aesthetic sensibilities, see J. F. Mozley, Coverdale and his Bibles (London: Lutterworth, 1953). Mozley argues that Coverdale is more of an interpreter than a translator, as is evidenced by his creation of startling but musical compounds such as "handreaching" and "righteousnessmaking."

15. W.J.B. Crotch, ed., The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton (London: Oxford UP, 1928) 67.

16. Crotch, 103-4.

Chapter Three

Reading Tudor Psalm Translations as Literature

La Reforme n'avait-elle pas été avant tout
une querelle de traducteurs?
Edmond Cary

For a sixteenth-century English humanist, the term "poesie" referred to a vast array of philosophical, historical, theological, and imaginative writings that constituted a "curriculum of learning" (Fowler, 9). A reader might turn from one form of work to another without wandering beyond what was then considered the boundaries of "poesie"--that "art of imitation" whose object or end was "to teach and delight" (Sidney, 101). The biblical psalms enjoyed a privileged status within the realm of later sixteenth-century literature. Sir Philip Sidney, in his Apologie for Poetrie, referred to the Psalms as "heavenly poesy" wherein David "showeth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith" (99). And for John Donne, "the highest matter in the noblest form" was incarnate in the Psalms.[1] The literary history of Tudor psalmody in the sixteenth century, however, is neither as "heavenly" nor as "noble" as its subject. The earlier decades of the sixteenth century witnessed a painful evolution of this historical genre or kind. It is the object of this chapter to trace that evolution; to describe the growing pains and characteristics of the kind and examine its historical role within the narrow confines of "poesy" as well as in the

broader context of the social discourse of the period.

In the introductory chapter of this work I briefly outlined five common characteristics of metrical Tudor psalms. In subsequent sections of this chapter, I provide a detailed analysis of each.

I. The Re/Presentation of Scripture

At the heart of much sixteenth-century English verse lies the Book of Psalms--a collection of one hundred and fifty poems whose seemingly inexhaustible variety prompted Barbara Lewalski to refer to their range of forms as "staggering" and to enumerate them as follows:

> meditations, soliloquies, complaints, laments for tribulations, prayers for benefits, petitions against adversities, psalms of instruction, consolations, rejoicings, praise of God for his glory and goodness, thanksgivings to God for benefits received, triumphs celebrating God's victories over his enemies, artful acrostic poems, ballads, pastoral eclogues, pastoral songs, satires, elegies, love songs, an epithalamium, dramatic poems, tragical odes, heroic odes. (50-51)

The men and women of the sixteenth century who rendered these verses in vernacular were of two broad camps: either they were consciously and conscientiously preparing an "englyshed" version of Scripture, or they were engaged in an act of *imitatio*. If preparing "englyshed" Scripture, they strove to serve their source text from a variety of religious motives and with a variety of methods derived from specific exegetical practices with which they aligned themselves. Whether they were engaged in translation or paraphrastic exercises, they strove for a fidelity to the intent of the source text.[2] Psalmists engaged in *imitatio*, however, behaved differently. They served themselves freely from the vast array

of rhetorical models and commonplaces they found within the source text: they expressed their own "argument" rather than setting about to replace the source text with a vernacular version of identical "authority." The latter group and their verses are the subject of this study.[3] They re/presented the biblical psalms in historical or functional contexts removed from traditional liturgical and devotional practices with which the sixteenth-century reader would be familiar; yet their verse renditions relied on the simultaneous currency of an authorized source text and its associated traditional liturgical and devotional practices. It was the differences and contrasts between the "authorized" text and traditional psalmody and the literary work of the Tudor psalmists that gave their versions an authority of their own, even as they made limited claims to share in the authority of Scripture.

In re/presenting the biblical psalms, then, the Tudor psalmist did two things: he gave precedence to hermeneutical performance, and he established the site of meaning of the work in its intention to compensate for what the original/authorized text was/is NOT, that is, for what was supra-Scriptural. But the very concept of an "original" or "authorized" text of the biblical psalms is problematic and requires some discussion.

At the turn of the century, the closest thing to an "authorized" Bible was the Latin Vulgate. Vernacular (and therefore heretical) versions--including the Wycliffe Bible (ca. 1388)--existed and were probably read, given the survival of over two hundred manuscripts. But it was not until 1534 that the Synod of Canterbury, under Thomas Cranmer's control, successfully petitioned the monarch "to decree that the holy scripture shall be translated into the vulgar English tongue by certain upright and learned men" (Pollard, Records, p. 177), thereby engineering the revocation of the 1408 prohibition of

the Council at Oxford. By 1537, there were two English Bibles with the king's licence: the 1537 revised Coverdale Bible (with its heavy reliance on the Vulgate, Pagninus' 1528 Latin version, Luther's German translation, the Zurich Bible of 1531 and 1534, and Tyndale's translations), and the Matthew Bible, the work of Tyndale, but edited by John Rogers. The latter Bible contained "aids" including a church calendar, a summary of doctrine, and a concordance--evidence of considerable influence from the Lefevre Bible of 1534 and Olivetan's 1535 text. In 1540, Cranmer oversaw the revision of the 1538 Great Bible, and declared on the title page that "This is the Bible appointed to the use of the churches." In 1546, Henry VIII prohibited the use of all other annotated English Bibles. The Great Bible remained the "authorized" English text until the Bishops' Bible appeared in 1568.

Marian rule (1553-58) never condemned the possession or reading of previously "authorized" Bibles, although English Bibles were systematically removed from the parishes during visitations. In fact, the need for a vernacular Bible that reflected Roman Catholic doctrine was acknowledged by Queen Mary's advisors, and at the end of 1555, Reginald Pole's legatine synod agreed to undertake an English translation of the New Testament, despite Pole's personal belief that grace and faith should be received through ceremonies, sacraments, and Roman Catholic liturgy. Meanwhile, Philip and Mary gave the English publisher, John Wayland, exclusive rights to print all primers. An examination of his production reveals the influence of both the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations. The main texts of these primers are in English (the Latin usually confined to the margins), there is no emphasis on indulgence, and there is a startling intermingling of devotion and

catechism within the newly composed prayers--redolent of English Protestant primers. Naturally, these "licensed" primers contained English versions of the penitential psalms, the dirige, and the psalms of the Passion.

The proliferation of authorized and licensed vernacular versions of the psalms in Bibles, commentaries, and primers, offered the psalmists who were engaged in *imitatio* a generous selection for emulation and inspiration, as did the "heretical" Bibles, commentaries, and broadsheets that were printed at secret presses, or that poured into England from the mainland. With the appearance of the Geneva Psalter[4] in 1559 and the Geneva Bible[5] in 1560, English scriptural psalmody reached the century's zenith in terms of scholarly "englyshed" Holy Writ, and by the second year of Elizabeth's reign all the major sixteenth-century vernacular Bibles and Psalters from all the corners of Europe had been published and were circulating in England. Thus, by the dawn of what C. S. Lewis has called the "Golden Age," the raw materials for later English psalmody had gathered on the Island. Whereas "authorized" Bibles and Psalters were, by definition, politically and/or ecclesiastically sanctioned texts, psalm *imitations* were understood to make no overt claims as Scripture, and therefore fell largely outside the scope of the Church's watchful eye. As re/presentations of scriptural text, the latter's compelling features consisted in the strategies of their rhetorical inventions and performances.

While every Tudor psalm imitation exhibits unique re/presentational features, close study of one or two works (in this instance, the 54th Psalm of Anne Askewe, and Psalm 32 of Thomas Sternhold) reveals the general hermeneutic and rhetorical strategies employed by the Tudor psalmists. In particular, we might keep in mind four of rhetoric's

five parts: invention, arrangement, style, and delivery.

Anne Askewe (1521-46) has secured a place in the history of Tudor psalmody quite by chance. While living in London awaiting an opportunity to petition for a divorce from her estranged husband, Thomas Kyme, Askewe was taken into Katherine Parr's household. Surrounded by Protestant sympathizers, Askewe's already "heretical" views seem to have been nurtured in this environment. In March 1545 she was detained and examined under the Act of Six Articles on suspicion of heresy for denying transubstantiation. Askewe spent several months in confinement but was eventually acquitted of the charge. A year later, however, she and Dr. Shaxton, along with two other members of the King's household, were arrested and subsequently convicted of heresy. Her execution on July 16, 1546, produced one of the Reformation's youngest, most beautiful, and certainly most eloquent martyrs. Her separate recollections of the two examinations she had endured were secreted out of London and delivered to John Bale who had fled to Wesel. In November, 1546, Bale published the first of these, entitled The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde, by the Romysh popes upholders, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale. The text of the examination purports to be a record of the dialogue between Askewe and her examiners, Christopher Dare, the Lord Mayor of London, and Bishop Bonner. The exchanges are both witty and learned, and it is evident that Askewe is the heroine of her tale. Bale's "elucydacyon" is a turgid body of text spliced into Askewe's. Following the colophon of The first examinacyon, Bale appended a metrical psalm paraphrase (below) to which he gave the title: "The voyce of Anne Askewe out of the 54. Psalm of David, called, Deus in nomine tuo."

For thy names sake, be my refuge,
  And in thy truthe, my quarell iudge.
Before the (lorde) let me be hearde,
  And with faver my tale regarde
Loo, faythlesse men, agaynst me ryse
  And for thy sake, my deathe practyse.
My lyfe they seke, with mayne & myghte
  Whych have not the, afore their syght
Yet helpest tho me, in thys dystresse.
  Savynge my sowle, from cruelnesse.
I wote tho wylt revenge my wronge,
  And vysyte them ere it be longe.
I wyll therfor, my whole hart bende,
  Thy gracyouse name (lorde) to commende.
From evyll thu hast, delyvered me,
  Declarynge what, myne enmyes be.
Prayse to God.[6]

Askewe and her editor, Bale, re/present the biblical psalm in a context obviously far removed from scriptural tradition. Askewe appropriates the structure of argument found in the 54th Psalm and, using this structure, she narrates her own story of political and religious persecution. While her autobiographic tale bears witness to the truth of Scripture--the "faythlesse," she insists, persecute the Godly--she simultaneously affirms the truth of her own words by offering her story to God in a psalmic paradigm. Bale, whose publishing project in this instance was clearly to create a Protestant martyr, re/presents the Psalm as a voice crying "out of the 54. Psalm of David"--uses this occasion in order to align Protestant martyrs such as Askewe, with the Old Testament prophet, David. Once again, he avers, one of God's elect has become a victim of the ungodly.

Psalm 54 is one of a group of psalms that narrates the history of David's exile from Saul. David and Abiathar, hearing that Saul is advancing upon the town of Keilah, flee east into the hills south of Hebron where they take refuge in a cave. Their presence is

betrayed to Saul by residents of the nearby village of Ziph, however, and this psalm expresses David's rage against his betrayers. Askewe's story clearly parallels that of David: she has fled from Lincolnshire because both her husband and the local clergy reject her reform-minded views of Scripture. Once in London, she seeks refuge in Parr's circle but is twice betrayed to orthodox authorities by "treacherous" men. Her free translation of Psalm 54 expresses both her anger and her desire for retribution against these conservative elements of Henry's Court who dominated the closing months of his government's rule and effectively halted the reformation of the English Church.

The hermeneutic performance of Askewe's psalm version, as presented by Bale, is radical in that it inverts the traditional relationship between source text and exegete. The voice of Anne Askewe, and not that of David, behaves like the source text, while the biblical story of David performs the exegesis or elucidates Askewe's own tale of persecution.

While Askewe's rendering of Psalm 54 is a complex intermingling of her own story with that of David, the metrical psalms of Thomas Sternhold (1500-1549) re/presented the biblical psalms to the Court of Edward VI as musical entertainment. In his dedicatory address to the King, Sternhold observed that the young Edward's "tender and Godly zeale doethe more delyghte in the holye songes of veritie than in anye fayned rimes of vanitie" and that he was therefore

> encouraged to trauayle furdre in the sayed boke of psalmes, trustyng that as your grace taketh pleasure to heare them song sometimes of me, so ye wyll also delyghte not onlye to see and reade them your selfe, but also to commaunde them to be song to you of others: that as ye have the psalme it selfe in youre mynde, so ye maye iudge myne endevoure by your eare. And yf I maye perceyue your

> maiestie wyllynglye to accepte my wyll herein, where my doyng is no thanke wurthy, & to fauour so this my begynnyng that my labor be acceptable, in perfourming the residue, I shall endeuoure my selfe wyth diligence, not onelye to enterpryse that which better learned ought more iustlye to doe, but also to perfourme that without fault, whiche youre maiestie wil receyue with iuste thanke.[7]

Sternhold's address to the young King makes clear the idea that his psalm versions are not Scripture for, as he writes, the "psalme it selfe" is in the king's "mynde" and Sternhold's version is only to be judged by the "eare." Written in rhyming fourteeners, they were printed in octavo format which necessitated that the lines be broken into two shorter lines of eight and six syllables. Although no specific musical directions were supplied in texts printed prior to 1553, popular ballad melodies were most likely used for performances at Court.

While Sternhold was the first Englishman to envision the singing of vernacular psalms as a form of Courtly recreation, he was by no means the first European to do so. In the early 1530's, the French courtier Clement Marot (c. 1496-1544), encouraged by Margarite de Navarre, began to compose French metrical psalm translations which he dedicated to Francis I. An immediate hit, these psalms exhibit a variety of prosodic techniques and rhyme schemes which lent themselves to a range of musical arrangements and tunes. In the History of English Poetry, Thomas Warton wryly comments on the French vogue for psalm-singing, quoting the following passage from Boyle's Dictionary:

> Not suspecting how prejudicial the predominant rage of psalm-singing might prove to the ancient religion of Europe, the catholics themselves adopted these sacred songs as serious ballad, and as a more rational species of domestic merriment. They were the common accompaniments of the fiddle. They were sold so rapidly, that the printers could not supply the public with copies. In the festive and splendid court of Francis I., of a sudden nothing was heard but the psalms of Clement Marot. By each of the royal family and the principal nobility of the court

> a psalm was chosen, and fitted to the ballad-tune which each liked best. The daughin prince Henry, who delighted in hunting, was fond of *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire*, or *Like as the Hart desireth the water-brooks*, which he constantly sung in going out to the chase. Madame de Valentinois, between whom and the young prince there was an attachment, took *Du fond de ma pensee*, or *From the depths of my heart, O Lord, rebuke me not in thine indignation*, which she sang to a fashionable jig. Antony king of Navarre sung, *Revenge moy, pren le querelle*, or *Stand Up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel*, to the air of a dance of Poitou. (730-31)[8]

In looking for some sort of connection between the work of Marot and that of Sternhold, or a possible avenue of influence, there seems to be one likely source: Nicolas Denisot, one of the founders of the *pléiade*. Denisot, who had served Francis I, arrived at the English Court in 1547 where he remained until 1549. Following Henry's death and Edward's accession, Denisot ingratiated himself with the new monarch and was eventually appointed tutor to Edward Seymour's daughters. Denisot brought with him an enthusiasm for devotional poetry and may have circulated Marot's psalm paraphrases at Court where Sternhold also lived.

During Edward's reign, the popularity of Sternhold's Certayne Psalmes aroused the poetic impulses of a number of aspiring poets. John Harington, Thomas Raynalde, Robert Crowley, and William Seres published a number of collections of metrical psalms and biblical verses, including Wyatt's seven penitential psalms, William Hunnis' Certayne Psalmes, Francis Seagar's Certayne Psalmes, John Hall's Certayn chapters taken out of the Proverbes, Henry Howard's Certayne Chapters of the proverbes of Salomon drawen into metre, and Robert Crowley's The Psalter of David. Several metrical psalm paraphrases from the period remained in manuscript, no doubt circulated and sung within the homes of English Lords and gentry. But while the impulse or motivation beneath Sternhold's

Certayne Psalmes and others' translations may have been a genuine and ingenuous desire to "delyte in . . . holye songes of veritie . . . [rather] than in anye fayned rimes of vanitie," the strategies and methods employed in rendering Scripture into Court entertainment imply their own political and social agendas.

Certayne Psalmes contains metrical paraphrases of Pss. 1-5, 25, 27, 29 (erroneously numbered 19), 32, 33, 41, 49, 73, 78, 103, 120, 122, and 128 (erroneously numbered 138). We have no record of why Sternhold chose these specific psalms for his project. Some are didactic, others articulate the sufferings and longings of a penitent, and yet others are straightforward songs of praise. However, all emphatically articulate and foreground Protestant doctrine, and systematically stress precepts rather than the poetic qualities of the psalms. In English Metrical Psalms, Zim discusses Sternhold's translation of Ps. 1 and notes Sternhold's "failure to respond to the poetic progression" of the first five verses of liturgical versions, in which the plight of the typical sinner is characterized as progressing from walking, to standing, to sitting in the mire of sin (pp. 116-17). In a similar way, in Ps. 32 (below), Sternhold foregoes opportunities to work with the metaphoric and aesthetic possibilities offered by Scriptural sources, such as the vulgate's "*Consumebatur robur meum velut ardoribus aestivis*" in verse 4. But his translation re/presents the psalm not as a prayer to be recited as part of one's penance (a principal use of this psalm in pre-Reformation religious practice); nor as a simple recitation of the new reformed catechism, but as a secular, worldly celebration and communal expression for all those at Edward's Court who, in singing this psalm, express their joyful liberation from the Lord's ire and, more importantly, from their personal "desertes."[9]

Following is Sternhold's free translation of Psalm xxxii, copied out of Certayne Psalmes and preceded by its argument.

The .xxxii. Psalme
Beati quorum

God promyseth saluation,
to the repentaunte harte,
Of his mere mercy and his grace,
not for the mannes deserte.

The man is blest whose wickednes
the lorde hath clene remytted,
And he whose synne and wretchednes
is hid also and couered.
And blest is he to whom the lorde
imputeth not his sinne,
Whiche in his harte hath hyd no gyle
nor fraude is founde therin.
For whiles [thorn: yet] I kept close my synne,
in sylence and constraynte,
My bones dyd wear and wast awaye
with dayly mone and playnte.
For nyght & daye thy hande on me
so greuouse was and sinerte,
That al my bloud and humors moist
to drynesse dyd conuerte.
But whan I had confest my fautes
and shroue me in thy syght,
My selfe accusing of my synne,
thou diddest forgyue me quite.
Let euery good man pray therfore,
and thanke the lorde in tyme,
And then [thorn: the] floudes of euil thoughtes
shall haue no power of him.
Whan trouble and aduersitie,
do compasse me aboute,
Thou art my refuge and my ioye,
and thou doest rydde me oute.
I shal instructe the sayth the Lorde,
howe thou shalte walke and serue,
And bende myne eyes upon thy wayes

and so shall the preserue.
Be not therfore so ignoraunte,
as is the asse and mule,
whose mouthe without a rayne or bit
ye can not guyde or rule.
For many be the miseries
that wicked men sustayne,
Yet unto them that trust in God,
his goodnes doth remayne.
Be mery therfore in the lorde,
ye iust lifte up your uoyce:
And ye of pure and perfyt harte
be glad and eke reioyce.

Sternhold's response to the biblical verses is one of joy and celebration; his tone is assured and seeks to engage those around him and to encourage their simultaneous participation in the faith and in the singing, with phrases such as "let every good man pray therfore,/ and thanke the lorde in tyme" and "Be mery therfore in the lorde,/ ye iust lifte up your voyce." And the fine distinctions between words such as festive-sounding "mery" in contrast to the Vulgate's *laetamini*, (be gladdened/cheered), and between "good man" as opposed to *pius* (god-fearing or godly), give Sternhold's version an air of geniality found nowhere in the Scriptural version.

Though the foregoing examples of re/presentations by no means exhaust the rhetorical strategies Tudor psalmists employed in their work, each re/presentation is clearly a complex expression of rhetorical intent and hermeneutical performance that becomes evident only in the context of its unique historical milieu and reception. Askewe's Psalm 54 is a devastating account of political abuse and an understandable plea for retribution only because it is Askewe's tale. Similarly, Sternhold's Psalm 32 is a successful folk ballad because it fulfils prosodic expectations, encourages oral traditions of

transmission, and, by integrating both the content and context of the song, acts as a living witness of the scriptural edict to celebrate God's munificence.

At the root of most early Protestant re/presentations of the biblical psalms was the impulse to witness to the truth of Scripture. Unlike those psalmists whose theology remained rooted in Roman Catholic orthodoxy (Wyatt and Surrey, for example), and for whom only the spiritual condition of the psalmist evinced a universal truth, the early Protestant psalmists believed that the truth of the psalms lay in their prophetic powers. Thus, while the orthodox psalmist emulated the spiritual, theological, and psychological contours of his textual source, the early Protestant psalmist paralleled his immediate, historical circumstances with that of the biblical persona.

Naturally, early Protestant psalmists were careful to select appropriate psalmic models from Scripture's "staggering" variety. Thomas Becon, for example, rendered Psalm 103 into metre "for a thankesgeving unto God/ immediatly after hys deliveraunce out of pryson" (see Appendix D). In 1553, Becon, along with John Bradford, was committed to the tower by an Order in Council. He was charged with having preached seditious sermons. Tradition has it that Gardiner mistakenly signed an Order for Becon's release, and he immediately fled to Strasbourg where he participated in the anti-papal campaign and published A confortable Epistle/too Goddes faythfyll people in Englande/wherein is declared the cause of takynge awaye the true Christen religion from them/ & howe it maye be recovered and obtayned agayne, to which metrical versions of Psalms 103 and 112 are appended.

In Scripture, Psalm 103 is an expression of private gratitude and praise for the

Lord's compassion and his spiritual gifts. Verses six through 19 remind the reader of the Lord's boundless mercies throughout Old Testament history, and Becon, one notes, takes great care with this story in his version, amplifying each verse into a four-line stanza. In effect, Becon's translation (preceded by the carefully worded title) witnesses to the truth of the psalm's message: the Lord's compassion and mercy saved the life of Thomas Becon, as it has saved faithful Israel.

John Bale, another early metrical psalmist, takes great liberties with the text of psalm 130 in an effort to re/present the verse as an exemplar for English Protestants seeking mercy and redemption. It is catechetical in the extreme, and strips away any vestige of the Vulgate's despairing tone. (For a full text, see Appendix C). The first two verses of the Vulgate read: "De profundis clamavi, ad te Domine;/ Domine, exaudi vocem meam" from which Bale derives "From faith of soule and hartes reioyce,/ I call to the, Lorde heare my voyce." In the Vulgate, the sense of urgent, despairing need to be heard continues in verses five through eight:

> Speravit anima mea in Domino.
> A custodia matutina usque ad noctem,/
> Speret Israel in Domino;
> Quia apud Dominum misericordia,/
> Et copiosa apud eum redemptio.
> Et ipse redimet Israel/
> Ex omnibus iniquitatibus eius.

But again, Bale eschews all tone of anxiety, curiously avoids the stunning biblical image of the watch for dawn, and jumps straight into the business of confidently supplanting Israel with the Reformed Church, and more particularly, those whose doctrine rests solely in "hys wurde":

In my Lorde God is al my trust,
 To walke as hys wurde hath discust,
The churche for her contynuaunce,
 hopeth in the Lordes good governaunce.
For in the Lorde great mercye is,
 And full redemptyon after thys.
He wyll redeme all Israel,
 From devyll and death, from synne & hell.

Such early Protestant psalm versions seem to establish their rhetorical force by displacing both the text and the historical context of the biblical psalm with a version in which Protestant politics and polemics are simply underwritten by their biblical source--thus forcing the reader to conceive of biblical prophesy as somehow fulfilled in Protestant reality!

Later re/presentations of the biblical psalms exhibit little if any such historicizing tendencies. Instead, they explore the aesthetic potential of their models--re/presenting the biblical psalms as poesy, albeit "divine poesie"--and are thus better dealt with in a later section of this chapter.

II. Paraphrase or Translation?

Vernacular renderings of psalms, we have found, belong to one of two camps: "englyshed" Scripture, or scriptural re/presentation. Psalms of the latter type were products of imitative activity in which the English psalmist borrowed rhetorical models and commonplaces from the source text but expressed new "arguments." I now turn to consider the distinction to be made between paraphrase and translation, the necessity for such a distinction (or lack thereof), and the role of both within the realm of generic expectations associated with Tudor metrical psalmody.

The Letter of Aristeas, written during the second century B.C., contains an apocryphal story concerning the translation of the Septuagint Bible. The entire translation, we are told, was undertaken by seventy-two scholars who, paired off to work in thirty-six separate cells under the authority of the Holy Spirit, produced an identical Greek translation of the Jewish Torah in a period of seventy-two days.[10] Understandably, this story has its attractions. It suggests that a single, perfect transformation of a text from one language into another is possible--under the right set of circumstances--and, more importantly, it suggests that there is a single, expressible (divine) truth that is accessible to mankind, despite the tragedy of Babel and the multiplicity of languages with which mankind attempts to access and render that truth. The Church's experiences with the issue of scriptural translation, however, contrasted sharply with Aristeas' account.

Patristic theories of scriptural translation wrestled with the pragmatic elements of the translator's task while burdened by exceptional teleologic responsibilites: to convey sacred history and the economy of salvation; and to affirm that Scripture itself was a site of revelation and prophesy. For both Jerome and Augustine, the primary task of scriptural translation and exegesis was to recover and unify divine meaning that was fragmented throughout the "accident" of human languages; hence their theories and practices differed from standard classical methods. Concerned with the message of Scripture and the promulgation of Christianity, they were particularly vigilant in eschewing the pursuit of verbal elegance for its own sake.[11]

Jerome, who translated both scripture and non-scriptural texts, viewed language as a potential obstacle to absolute fidelity. In Epistle 57, known as De Optimo Genere

Interpretandi, he wrote "Significatum est aliquid unius uerbi proprietate: non habeo meum quo id efferam, et dum quaero implere sententiam, longo ambitu uix breuis uiae spatia consummo . . . . Si ad uerbum interpraetor absurde resonat; si ob necessitatem aliquid in ordine, in sermone mutauero, ab interpraetis uidebor officio recessisse . . . ."[12] Jerome resolved his difficulties, as did Cicero before him,[13] by translating the sense of the source text instead of rendering a word-for-word translation--except in the case of the mysteries, where the latter method should, he argued, prevail.[14] Jerome worked from the assumption that despite the uniqueness of the words or signs used in different languages, there was a single, common truth that could be signified by the verbal signs of any culture.

Unlike the classical world in which translation was perceived as a rhetorical exercise in which the translator controlled meaning by appropriating the source text and re-inventing it in a new context, patristic translators of scripture sought to *be controlled* by the source text. And where material discrepancies between different manuscripts and translations of scripture were found, that too, could be explained as Divine design and control, as in the following passage from Augustine's City of God:

> However, it is impossible, without examining both the Hebrew and the Greek texts, to discover passages not omitted or added but put in different words, whether they give another meaning, though one not conflicting with the original, or whether they can be shown to express the same meaning, though in a different way. If then we see, as we ought to see, nothing in those Scriptures except the utterances of the Spirit of God through the mouths of men, it follows that anything in the Hebrew text that is not found in that of the seventy [72?] translators is something which the Spirit of God decided not to say through the translators but through the prophets, thus showing that the former and the latter alike were prophets. For in the same way the Spirit spoke, as he chose, some things through Isaiah, others through Jeremiah, others through one prophet or another; or he said

> the same things, differently expressed, through this prophet and that. Moreover, anything that is found in both the Hebrew and the Septuagint, is something which the one same Spirit wished to say through both, but in such a way that the former gave the lead by prophesying, while the latter followed with a prophetic translation. For just as the one Spirit of peace was present in the prophets when they spoke the truth with no disagreement, so the same one Spirit was manifestly present in the scholars when without collaboration they still translated the whole in every detail as if with one mouth. (822)

Translation of Scripture, then, was an act of carrying the burden of Christ's message (with the assistance of the Holy Spirit) from one set of verbal signs and conveying it via a second set of verbal signs.

Central to patristic theories of translation and exegesis, was the belief that the act or labour of scriptural translation was a scholarly one, but one necessarily guided by the Holy Spirit. Further, the product of translation--the newly rendered sacred text itself--was imbued with the Holy Spirit. The text's very form, with all its allusions and difficult passages, was expressive of the Divine, but through reading and study (yet another incarnation of translation), the exegete had access to truths that transcended all surface blemishes of the text, and all inconsistencies contained therein.

For most of the earlier sixteenth-century humanists and reformers who engaged in vernacular translations of scripture, the principal issue of translation was that of spiritual fidelity. Armed with a confidence in their ability to decode the tenets of their faith within scripture, they worked to amend the linguistic errors of the Vulgate, and by so doing, amend the Church's spiritual errors. Protestant translators, in particular, were intent upon preparing an evangelistic tool in the language of the common people. Coverdale, for example, wrote in the Preface to his Latin/English New Testament (1539) that, when

translating, he was "indifferent to call it aswell [sic] with the one terme as with the other," so long as he knew "no prejudice nor injury to the meanynge of the holy goost" transpired.[15] Implicitly, Coverdale, like his colleagues and their patristic predecessors, worked from the assumption that there existed a third, unspoken and unspeakable language of the Divine--a metalanguage whose transference did not depend upon synonymity of human verbal signs, but rather upon the translator's knowledge of divine truth.

The biblical translator needed to satisfy the "hermeneutic" models of the scriptural source which derived from his habits of reading. Thus, in the most technical sense, a faithful sixteenth-century "translation" of scripture was a text that represented itself as both the thing explicated (source text or meaning of the Holy Spirit), and the explication or exegesis thereof. But in the fractious and polemical atmosphere of the sixteenth century, the very grammars of interpretation began to conflict with one another, especially as the role of tradition in exegesis became obscured by advances in philological studies and by the pressures for ecclesiastic reform which finally exploded into widespread disaffection and dissent.

The object of scriptural paraphrase in the sixteenth century contrasted sharply with that of translation. In the words of Miles Coverdale, a paraphrase offered the reader an "exposicion or glose" upon the meaning of the source text.[16] It was not intended to supplant the source text, but to supplement it. Like Coverdale, Anthony Gilby was careful to point out the important distinction between scriptural translation and paraphrase. In The Psalmes of David, he characterized a paraphrase as a kind of Commentary in which

the "ful sense and meaning" of the Scriptures were provided, but "as briefelie as may be."[17] But perhaps the words of Richard Stanyhurst are most instructive in this context. Commenting on his translation of Psalm 2, he writes:

> In thee secund verse I translate, *Christe with his hevnlye Godhead* and yet thee *Latin* runneth, *adversus dominuum & adversus Christum eius*. Wherein I offer no violence too thee mynd and meaning of thee *Prophet*. For his drift in this *Psalme* tendeth too thee reclayming of earthlye *potentats* from thee vayne enterprice they take in hand, in thee suppressing of Christ his kingdoo[m]: which by two meanes hathe beene atte[m]pted . . . .[18]

However, as we observed earlier, Tudor metrical psalmists were not engaged in the act of "englyshing" Scripture and so their activities are to be distinguished from both those of the translator and paraphraser. In fact, during the more turbulent periods of the English Reformation(s), and particularly during the early years of Edward's reign, many Tudor psalmists and their publishers studiously avoided any reference to their works as "translations," "paraphrases," or even "imitations," of Scripture, as though they wanted no part of the larger debate concerning scriptural translation. Instead, they characterized their texts as psalms "drawen into Englishe Metre"[19] or as having been "translated into Englysh metre."[20] Politically speaking, to draw or translate the psalms <u>into</u> English metre was not, perhaps, as defiant an act as translating or paraphrasing Scripture.

In <u>English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601</u>, Rivkah Zim shrewdly avoids the epistemological and hermeneutical problems inherent in a discussion concerning these distinctions and instead suggests that the term *imitatio* is best suited for the task of characterizing Tudor metrical psalmody. After summarizing key uses of the term from Aristotle to Roger Ascham, Zim determined that the Tudor psalmist, like any

imitator,

> was free to exploit the resources of his model inventively. The relationship between the model and the new work could be as close or as distant as the imitator wished. However, an interpretative imitation, such as a paraphrase, was a new work in which the imitator tried to respect and elucidate the original author's meaning as the imitator had understood it. In such cases the relationship between the model and the imitation was well developed, and a close one, because the imitator expected the meaning of his new work to overlap with the original author's meaning. He therefore used his individual voice to "speak alongside" that of the original author, representing his understanding of the sense of the *exemplar propositum* in his own words. (15)

Although Zim's approach to sixteenth-century metrical psalms aptly invites a literary treatment of these psalms, so that we can, indeed should, read them as "poesie," a broader cultural study must explore the early Tudor psalmists' apparent reluctance to enter the raging debates about scriptural translation, even as they engaged themselves in some form of the activity. Further, it ought to account for the later psalmists' delight in identifying their works as translation, albeit of a type in which the techniques of conventional exegesis are used to discover unique arguments or subjects. Zim's quiet concession that "in the case of the metrical psalmists a special sense of decorum prevailed" which may have affected the "interpretative scruples of the sixteenth-century psalmists" does not really address the issue sufficiently (24). To solve the problem of "interpretive scruples," we have to look at authorial intention.

As "englyshed" texts, the Tudor psalms were not necessarily voices of dissent, and certainly not pleas for religious plurality. Without exception, they made no claims to supplant Scripture or advocate the democratization of exegesis. What they did do, as *imitatio*, was lay claims to a share of the rights and responsibilities of evangelism. They

were transfigurations of the "authorized Word" and as such, awkwardly straddled both the sphere of translation and paraphrase, while re/presenting the "truth" of Scripture as written in the events of sixteenth-century English history. Rather than follow the patterns of thinking about divine poetry developed previously by L.B. Campbell and John King,[21] it may be more fruitful to look at the phenomenon of Tudor psalm translating as a symptom of an emerging epistemology in which divine truth was "written," mediated, and prophesied in the lived history of the psalmist and his contemporaries, and in which the psalmist was both scribe and prophet. Certainly the traditional Hieronian/Augustinian theories of translation (with their emphasis on verbal language as one of God's principal signifiers) were implicitly challenged by these psalmists. What is more, as the English Reformation(s) unfolded, psalmists increasingly responded to the vicissitudes of their Protestant cultural milieu, eventually turning the old techniques of exegesis into techniques of topical invention. We can see such an evolution when we compare the exegetical practices of both John Fisher and Thomas Wyatt, for example, with those of Mary Sidney, Richard Stanyhurst, or Abraham Fraunce. The former, still engaged in habits of thought that translated the psychological and spiritual truth of their sources, employed exegetical practices akin to those of Jerome and Augustine. By the close of the sixteenth century, however, psalmists celebrated the liberating dictums of classical humanism in combination with the emancipating concepts of the priesthood of all people--particularly the poet.

III. Metrical Variety in Tudor Psalmody

The progressive experimentation with metre one finds in Tudor psalms largely

reflects the general evolution of English poesy during the same period--an evolution from the simple ballad metre and cautious experimentation to the explosive variety of late Elizabethan verse. The following chart (which includes mention of important prose versions other than those found in scriptural translations or primers) clearly illustrates this evolution.

Year	Psalmist	Psalm #	Verse Type/Metre
1530	George Joye	1-150	Prose verse
1534	George Joye	1-150	Prose verse
1534	William Marshall	51	Prose verse
1535	Miles Coverdale	1-150	Prose verse
1535	Miles Coverdale	11, 2, 45, 123, 136 127 (twice), 50 (twice), 129, 24, 67, 13, 147, 133	Rhymed lines
1544	John Fisher	21, 100	Prose verse
1546	Anne Askewe	54	ballad metre
1548	John Bale	14	octosyllabic couplets
1549	John Bale	130	octosyllabic couplets (iambic)
1549	Robert Crowley	1-150	fourteeners (heptameter)
1549	Thomas Sternhold	1-5, 20, 25, 27, 29, 32, 33, 41, 49, 73, 78, 103, 120, 122, 128	ballad metre

1549	Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins	above psalms of Sternhold plus 6-17, 19, 21, 43, 44, 63, 68. Added thereto are Hopkins' 30, 33, 42, 52, 79, 82, 146	ballad metre
1549	Thomas Wyatt	6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143	ottava rima (iambic pentameter) rhyming abababcc)
1549-50	Henry Howard	8, 55, 73, 88, 31, 51	blank verse
1550	John Hall	25, 33, 53, 64, 111-113, 145	ballad metre
1550	William Hunnis	51, 56, 57, 113, 117, 147	ballad meter: abcb
1550	Thomas Paynell	(prose extracts of 74 psalms)	prose
1553	Thomas Bownell	145: 1-2, 7-9; 146: 6, 10; 148: 11-12	ballad meter
1553	Francis Seagar	(plagiarized versions of Henry Howard)	blank verse
1554	Thomas Becon	103, 112	iambic pentameter: abab
1562	John Hooper	23	prose exposition
1565	John Hall	25, 34, 54, 65, 112-15, 130, 137, 140, 145	ballad meter
1566	John Pits	67, 100	ballad meter

1567	Matthew Parker	1-150	ballad meter
1569	William Samuel	1-150 reduced to four lines each	ballad meter
1571	Arthur Golding	1-150	prose & commentary
1571	Thomas Whythorne	138, 103 reduced to four lines each	metrical
1575	George Gascoigne	130	ll-line stanza abbaaccdeed
1578	Abraham Fleming	51	prose & commentary
1580	Anthony Gilby	1-150	prose, preceded by argument
1580	John Hooper	23, 62, 73, 77	prose expositions
1582	Richard Robinson	1-21	prose & expositions
1582	Richard Stanyhurst	1-4	English quantitative metre: "iambical," "heroical & elegiacal," "asclepiad," and "saphik"
1583	George Flinton, ed.	recusant psalms	prose
1583	William Hunnis	6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143	ballad meter: abcb
1583	William Patten	72	metrical
1588	William Byrd	verses from various psalms	metrical
1589	William Byrd	6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143	metrical
1589	Richard Robinson of Alton	6	ballad meter (acrostic verse)

1591	Abraham Fraunce	1, 6, 8, 29, 38, 50, 73, 104	(quantitative verse) hexameters
1597	Henry Lok	27, 71, 119, 121, 130	rhyming fourteeners
1598	William Patten	21	metrical
1601	Richard Verstegan	6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143	common measure; octosyllabics; pentameters

In addition to the printed metrical psalm translations included in the above chart, a number of metrical psalm translations circulated in manuscript form. Thomas Smith, for example, paraphrased eleven psalms during the years 1549-50 while imprisoned in the Tower with William Cecil and Edward Seymour. Working primarily from Coverdale's 1535 Bible, he adapted the psalm verses into short-line phrases; each stanza expressing the content of one biblical verse. Throughout most of 1554, John and Robert Dudley, sons of the Duke of Northumberland, were imprisoned in the Beauchamp Tower where they wrote metrical versions of Psalms 55 and 94, respectively (see appendix J). Years later, the Dudleys' niece, the Countess of Pembroke, was to complete the task of translating her brother's metrical psalms.

Whether we examine only those metrical psalm translations printed during the sixteenth century, or include manuscript works, this literary kind displays a definite metrical evolution. Working their way from Biblical prose verse, the early Protestant psalmists generally employed the popular ballad verse form or common measure. Sternhold's use of ballad metre established a permanent association between it and English psalmody and as his psalms became increasingly popular with successive generations of Englishmen, the use of alternating iambic tetrameter and

trimeter lines became known as the hymnal stanza. In Poetic Meter and Poetic Form, Paul Fussell notes that even today, "one of the conventions associated with the ballad or hymnal stanzas is an illusion of primitive sincerity and openness . . . " (144). There is, however, some debate among musicologists and Church historians as to whether or not the ballad verse form was popular prior to Sternhold's appropriation. In The Music of the English Parish Church, Nicholas Temperley asserts that Common Metre was neither common "nor particularly associated with popular ballads before the 1540's" and that it is possible Sternhold adapted a metre from Surrey and, through his psalm translations, popularized the adapted metre (vol. I, 26).[22] Certainly among the Biblical rhymers of the sixteenth century, the ballad metre was known as "Sternhold's" metre, as is evidenced, for example, by the 1556 Psalmes of David in Metre in which two psalms are described as being "in Master Sternholdes metre" (Kiii^{r} and Kvii^{r}). In any event, other biblical versifiers, observing the immediate success Sternhold's psalms enjoyed, predictably followed suit.

The year 1549 also saw the publication of Robert Crowley's The Psalter of David. It was the first complete metrical psalter to appear in English and was accompanied by "A note of four partes" for congregational singing. The psalms and "the canticles that are usually songe in the church" were uniformly "translated into the same meter," namely, quatrains consisting of fourteeners with an aabb rhyme-scheme. Although Crowley's psalter (translated from Leo Jud's *Biblia Sacrosancta*) may have been intended for Church use, it is manifestly a collection of popular poetry, made up of simple verses in regular rhythm. Ultimately, however, Cranmer selected Coverdale's 1539 prose translation of the

Psalms for the first Book of Common Prayer, and while Crowley may have been disappointed with the choice, he nevertheless played a significant role in the promotion of psalm-singing in the English Church. Having spent the years 1554 to 1558 in Frankfurt with other English exiles, he returned to England upon Elizabeth's accession to the throne. Immediately, he began to offer Services according to the Geneva liturgy, and further, implemented the practice of congregational psalm-singing.[23]

Having discovered a popular vehicle for proclaiming the new Protestant faith--one which united the once-secular pleasures of rhyme and ballad-singing with the sacred task of prayer--most of the early Tudor psalmists were either loath to experiment with metre or ill-equipped to do so. Only those very early Tudor psalmists who were distinctly removed from theological debate, and specifically the gospelling tendency, explored the aesthetic potential of varied metre, and they were the courtier poets: Thomas Wyatt, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and their associates, whose poetic skills and stature within the history of Tudor letters and are best discussed in the context of pre-Reformation Tudor psalmody.

Though involving some simplification, my tripartite distinction between the psalm translations of a) pre-Reformation Tudor psalmists, b) "early" Tudor psalmists who are pre-Elizabethan but Reformed and c) "later" Tudor psalmists, nevertheless clarifies the main phases of development. In English Reformation Literature, King refers to those early Tudor translators of the Bible who worked in metre as essentially the "gospellers"--psalmists and others who "subordinated poetic form and diction to biblical content" (212). However, given the evidence of works by Becon, Bale, and Askewe, I would prefer to say

that this middle group of Protestant psalmists subordinated poetic form to pressing theological concerns and considerations. But the aesthetic achievements of the later psalmists constitute a different chapter in the story of Tudor psalmody. Educated in a humanist tradition that had itself evolved into a uniquely English phenomenon, these psalmists engaged in a kind of poetic endeavour in which the techniques of traditional exegesis were fused with classical prosodic practices, thus allowing for the discovery of new arguments within the psalms. This fusion, I argue, gave rise to an intense interest in the spiritually expressive powers of the English language and of prosody itself--a field first (if crudely) explored by the English poets Skelton, Hawes, and Barclay. It is not that the later psalmists are more loosely rooted in their biblical sources, they simply looked to what they believed were the formal features of the biblical texts for inspiration, as opposed to their dogmatic content.

For examples, I now consider the metrical arrangements and prosodic characteristics of some of the more unique and unexpected psalm translations, namely, those of George Gascoigne, and the quantitative versifiers: Richard Stanyhurst, Abraham Fraunce and, in passing, those of Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, the Countess of Pembroke.[24] George Gascoigne's metrical rendering of Psalm 130 represents a pivotal moment in the history of English psalmody because it is the first English psalm translation to appear in what is otherwise a fundamentally secular collection of literary endeavours. Unlike earlier Tudor metrical translations that were appended to theological or polemical works, Gascoigne's psalm is overtly "poesie" and stands on its literary merits alone. The genesis of both its composition and its appearance in print are worth recounting, as both

contribute to a reading of this landmark text.

When, in 1574, Gascoigne returned home to England from his military exploits in the Lowlands, he was confronted with a series of scandals and problems not unlike those that had initially impelled him to flee England in 1572 and seek his fortunes as a soldier. Despite his desire to repent of his past and assume the posture of a reformed scoundrel, Gascoigne had first to deal with a variety of accusations, including defamation of character and scandalmongering.

Gascoigne's literary problems (which led to the above accusations) commenced in 1573 when a volume of works entitled A Hundreth sundrie Flowres appeared in print. The book contained poems exclusively by Gascoigne and although he argued that it was published without his knowledge or consent, there is no conclusive evidence to support his claims of innocence in that regard. Some of the verses were construed as disgraceful and defamatory attacks on well-known individuals with whom Gascoigne was acquainted, and in the year following his return to England Gascoigne attempted to control the damage done by the publication of Flowres. He substantially altered and then reissued the work under the title: The Posies of George Gascoigne, Esquire. Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the authour. Having adopted the posture of a reformed sinner, Gascoigne duly addressed the first prefatory letter of The Poesies "to the reverende Divines, unto whom these Posies shall happen to be presented, George Gascoigne Esquire (professing armes in the defence of Gods truth) wisheth quiet in conscience, and all consolation in Christ Jesus" (8). One can only conjecture that the divines to whom this letter was addressed were those individuals who comprised the Court of High Commission, and

whose responsibility it was to censor printed material.[25] Gascoigne's address attempts to answer the original charges brought against himself and A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres. He first points out that many authors--even the Calvinist and psalmist, Theodore Beza--wrote unsavoury verses in their youth. Having thus associated himself with one of the century's most noted Reformers, Gascoigne goes on to defend the Flowres with an awkward appeal to English nationalism. He points out that his poetry does not employ inkhorns or exhibit undesirable foreign influences. He further attempts to mollify the Divines by suggesting that the work might be conceived "as a myrrour for unbrydled youth, to avoyde those perilles" to which he himself had fallen prey (5). Despite the valiant defence of the infamous Flowres, Gascoigne must have sensed that the work was largely indefensible, and he made significant and politic revisions of his verses in Posies. "The adventures of Master F.J." was transformed into an Italian tale written by the fictitious Bartello; a number of scurrilous poems were omitted; and several new poems were included in the collection. One of the new poems Gascoigne added was a previously unpublished paraphrase of Psalm 130. While the date of composition is unknown (there is a reference to its genesis in A Hundreth sundrie Flowres (see Appendix E), there is no doubt that Gascoigne's decision to include it in the Posies was made with at least one eye upon the Court of High Commission. And it is likely that its members would have been thoroughly taken with the intellectual sophistication and display of impressive learning that underpins Gascoigne's psalm translation.

Judeo-Christian exegetic traditions have subdivided and grouped the biblical psalms in various ways, whether to enhance their role in liturgy, or to provide narrative

structures to the verses for exegetical ends. Psalm 130 falls into two such groups. The first is comprised of Psalms 120 to 134, and is referred to as the "Songs of Ascent" or "Songs of Degree." The history of this group is much debated. Some argue that it can be identified with the Jewish liturgy; some suggest that these psalms were sung by Ezra on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr. 7:9); still others argue that the dramatic change in literary style and treatment of subject matter in this collection suggest a spiritual progression or ascent.[26] What is certain is that in Jewish tradition Psalm 130 is associated with the Day of Atonement (Lv. 16), and in Roman Catholic tradition, with the Sacrament of Reconciliation. The second group to claim Psalm 130 among its own is the "Penitential Psalms." During the Middle Ages, the seven psalms which comprised this group were recited after lauds on Fridays during the Lenten season. In addition, each of the seven deadly sins had been paired with an appropriate psalm from the group. Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer directed that these psalms be recited at services on Ash Wednesday. Beyond their use in liturgy, the penitential psalms played a significant role in private devotional practice, and were the frequent subject of sermons, meditations, and translations by lay people and clergy, notably John Fisher, and Savonarola. In addition, some of the finest exegetic writings of the early Church Fathers focused on the penitential psalms.

Although Gascoigne's psalm rendering acknowledges a number of these traditions and associations, his translation structurally relies on the exegetic works of Augustine and Cassiodorus, and more particularly their interest in numerological symbolism.[27] Roy T. Eriksen describes the psalm's structure as "typological" and argues that the entire translation is a study of sin and repentance, typologically presented as an interplay

between the significance of the numbers eleven and eight.[28]

Playing with the notion that Psalm 130 is both a psalm of penitence, and, coincidently, the eleventh psalm of ascent, Gascoigne begins to establish a numerological basis for the structure of his translation. Writing in eleven-line stanzas, he creates a symbolic pattern within each that begins with eight lines in regular pentameter with an abba rhyme scheme, and in which the perfect relationship of the penitent sinner to his God is depicted. This is followed by two lines in which the weakened state of the specific, speaking sinner is underscored by the short, weak character of the couplet in dimeter. The final line, as Eriksen points out, re-establishes the full pentameter and depicts the individual penitent's plight within the larger picture of God's universal mercy. Eriksen goes on to suggest that the number eleven is doubly significant in that it traditionally signifies transgression when taken *in malo*, but true penitence when taken *in bono*. Turning again to Augustine's commentaries, Eriksen believes that Gascoigne drew on the notion of diaposon which is natural to the octave, and so uses the number eight (the first eight lines of each stanza and the fact that the entire psalm is written in eight stanzas) as a typological rebuke to the transgression signified in the eleven-line stanza. The typological structure of Gascoigne's argument is particularly evident in the first verse:

> From depth of doole wherein my soule doth dwell,
> from heavy heart which harbours in my brest,
> from troubled sprite which sildome taketh rest
> from hope of heaven, from breade of darkesome hell.
> O gracious God, to thee I crye and yell.
> My God, my Lorde, my lovely Lord aloane,
> To thee I call, to thee I make my moane.
> And thou (good God) vouchsafe in grce [sic] to take,
> This woefull plaint,

Wherein I faint,
O heare me then for thy great mercies sake.

Gascoigne's translation exhibits a typical humanist sixteenth-century cleverness and intellectual vigor. What makes this psalm remarkable, however, is its unabashedly re/presentational nature. While the psalm falls within the tradition of a song of ascent inasmuch as the subject-matter begins with the speaker's private despair, evolves into an abstract discussion of divine judgment and human worthiness, and proceeds to God's munificence and faithfulness to Israel, the very meaning of ascent is transformed in the final stanza when one reads of "our deadly drowping state" which God will soon save, for one must certainly suspect a less-than-ambiguous reference to Elizabethan England.

Unlike his gospelling predecessors, Gascoigne made manifest his typological vision of human history in the very structure of the psalm. Without demur or excuse, he adopted and adapted traditional exegetic tools to produce what is probably the most intellectually demanding psalm translation of the sixteenth century that nevertheless resonates in a political key. The almost dogmatic Englishness of the psalm is underscored by the fact that he wrote these verses in the native tradition of his language at a time when accentual poetry was struggling for legitimacy. In fact, it was to his contemporaries Richard Stanyhurst and Abraham Fraunce that he left that other obsession with numerology--quantitative verse--and to them we now turn.

Quantitative experiments in English poetry undertaken during the sixteenth century were prompted by a conviction that English (accentual) verse lacked certain qualities essential to good poetry, namely, proportion and harmony. Like many educated

Englishmen of the mid-sixteenth century, Stanyhurst was repulsed by the lack of intellectual substance to English accentual poetry. Trained to appreciate the complexities of classical Latin verse with its intricate patterns of (largely contrived) long and short syllables, he viewed English accentual verse as a somewhat barbaric disorder of sound. It was not enough that English poetry demanded a specific number of syllables per line, or that a distinctive combination of sounds and meanings might render their own delight. Stanyhurst and his contemporaries sought a kind of verse that was the product of the faculty of reason, that conceived of poetry as artifice, and that followed rules which the poet learned through years of study and emulation of authorities. In the Dedication of the First Foure Bookes Stanyhurst expressed just such sentiments and communicated his distaste for vernacular accentual verse in the following terms:

> Good God, what a frye of such wooden *rythmours* dooth swarme in stacioners shops, who neaver enstructed in any grammar schoole, not atayning too thee paringes of thee Latin or Greeke tongue, yeet lyke blynd bayards rush on forward, fostring theyre vayne conceites wyth such overweening silly follyes, as they reck not too bee condemned of thee learned for ignorant, so they bee commended of the ignorant for learned. Thee reddyest way therefore too flap theese droanes from thee sweete senting hives of *Poetrye* is for thee learned too applye theym selves wholye (yf they be delighted wyth that veyne) too thee true making of verses in such wise as thee Greekes and Latins, thee fathers of knowledge, have doone, and too leave too theese doltish coystrels theyre rude rythming and balducktoom ballads. (sig. a4^{v})

Richard Stanyhurst contributed four psalm paraphrases to English psalmody, all in quantitative verse (Pss. 1-4). The first was rendered into "English Iambical Verse"; the second into "Heroical and Elegiacal verse," by which he meant "Hexameter entermingled with the Pentametre" (Nii^{r}); the third into English Asclepiad; and the fourth into "Saphick." Each psalm is prefaced by a discussion of the choice of verse form and, where

warranted, something of an exegesis of the translation itself (see appendix F). They were appended to his First Foure Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis (1582), itself one of the most extended efforts in English quantitative verse.

Lacking the same prosodic training and aesthetic expectations as the Elizabethan humanists enjoyed, it is difficult to read Stanyhurst's quantitative verses without looking for qualities we admire in accentual poetry. What makes the task particularly difficult is the fact that Stanyhurst's verses were so strictly in imitation of Latin accentual patterns and so utterly ignored the natural patterns of the English language, that his verses are difficult to read without gasping for breath and grasping vainly for opportunities to make rhythmical and even literal sense of the line. As the following four extracts from the translations suggest, it is not merely the foreignness of rhythm that make their reading difficult, but the syntactic contortions and garbled grammar as well.

> Not so the sinful creaturs
> Not so there acts are prosperous;
> But lyke the sand, or chaffye dust,
> That wynddye pufs fro ground doe blow. (Ps. 1:5)

> Too mee frame thye prayers, eke of ethnicks the heyre wil I make the,
> Also toe thy seisin wyde places earthlye give I . . . (Ps. 2:8)

> Lord, my drirye foes why doe (they) multiplye?
> Mee for too ruinat sundrye be coovetous.
> Hym shileds not the godhead, sundrye say too mye soule . . . (Ps. 3:1-2)

> When that I called, with an humbil owtcrye,
> Thee God of Iustice, meriting mye saulf tye,
> In many dangers mye weake hert upholding
> Swiftlye dyd hyre mee. (Ps. 4:1)

Rather than attempt to assess the poetic merit of Stanyhurst's psalm renderings,

then, it is more productive to look at his contribution to Tudor psalmody as a humanist experiment in prosody, and to try to understand the motives which underwrote his efforts to produce psalm translations in quantitative verse.

Seeking sufficiently elevated subject-matter which he might render into English quantitative verse, Stanyhurst naturally looked to the classics, and to the Bible. In all likelihood, he laboured under the misapprehension that biblical poetry, like Latin poetry, had been composed by the Old Testament writers in quantitative verse. The origins of this belief can be traced to the writings of Philo Judaeus and Flavius Josephus, translated to the Renaissance scholar via Jerome.[29] This tradition, coupled with European attempts to render the psalms into quantitative metre no doubt encouraged Stanyhurst to undertake his own quantitative rendering of the psalms. It is difficult to determine how these psalms would have been received by Stanyhurst's contemporaries. Puttenham commends Stanyhurst for his translation of Virgil, and Harvey praises him as a poet, but I have found no specific reference to his paraphrastic renderings of the first four psalms which may suggest that he always was read as an experimental poet whose readers would take an interest in the quantitative basis of his verse, but not its affective powers.

Of all the Elizabethan quantitative poets, Abraham Fraunce was the most prolific and the most popular. With the exception of a few asclepiads in Yvychurch (1591), all Fraunce's verses (including his eight psalm translations which were dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke) were written in hexameters (see appendix H). Fraunce's quantitative method is easier to discern within the verses themselves than Stanyhurst's,[30] and yet the verses are accentually more regular than the latter's or Sidney's, and exhibit

many characteristics of accentual poetry. This is particularly true of Fraunce's psalm translations in which one finds liberal use of alliteration, as in the second line of the first psalm ("O soul-sick sinners; nor frames his feete to the footestepps"), and even the occasional indulgence in playful exploitation of the language's natural rhythms as in this verse from the first psalm:

> This tree's rooted deepe, her bowes are cherefuly springing,
> Her fruite never fades, her leaves looke lively for ever . . . .

One notes a natural lightness--even a springiness--to the last syllables of the second line which contrast beautifully with the stressed, longer-lasting syllables of "This tree's rooted deepe." Whatever Fraunce's intellectual and theoretical respect for quantitative verse, his psalms "sound" English and generally meet the prosodic requirements of an accentual reading which, in the last analysis, would account for his broad popularity with those not attuned to the intellectual rigor required for both the reading and writing of quantitative verse.

The Sidney-Pembroke psalter, considered by critics to be the apex of Tudor psalmody, contains a number of psalms in quantitative verse.[31] In an excellent article on the subject of Protestant poetics in the Sidney-Pembroke collection entitled "Humanist Prosodic Theory, Dutch Synods, and the Poetics of the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter," Richard Todd argues that we should consider their stanzaic variety as attempts "to find fitting vernacular expression for the complex variety of arcane meters underlying the Hebrew psalter" (281). He suggests that Sidney (and possibly, by extension, the Countess of Pembroke), rejected the prosodic implications of Jerome's assertions regarding the

quantitative nature of biblical verse, and sought, instead, to establish a repertoire that included stanzaic and metrical variety beyond the dictums of quantitative verse theory as understood by Renaissance writers.

Unlike Stanyhurst and Fraunce, Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke were not ideologically wedded to quantitative metres. Rather, the Sidney-Pembroke psalter with its variety of metrical arrangements, is an indication of the poets' search for an inclusive English poetics, one as extensive as psalmic repertoire itself. In fact, quantitative verse is employed in only ten of the psalm translations, and all were composed by the Countess.

The quantitative movement in sixteenth-century England (born at St John's, Cambridge and nurtured by Ascham, Cheke and Watson in the 1540's) was part of a much larger interest in Latin prosody and its impact on vernacular verse. Poets in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, and the Netherlands were also engaged in efforts to elevate vernacular prosody by naturalizing classical metre. But the English language proved particularly obdurate. Gradually, English poets conceded that classical prosodic practices contorted the natural contours and rhythms of speech, and while the dream of naturalizing quantitative verse never vanished entirely, the aural nature of poetry gained gradual acceptance. What can be inferred from the evolution of quantitative verse and its relationship to Tudor psalmody is twofold. First, was intense desire to elevate the treatment of biblical subject-matter above dogmatic theology and gospelling verse (which, admittedly, was often condemned because it was presented in crude, doggerel verse). Secondly, the Protestant humanist movement of the later sixteenth century yearned for a

uniquely English devotional tradition in poetry that could rival the classics in intellectual content and aesthetic sensibility.

As the foregoing discussion has suggested, there existed an astonishing variety of vernacular metrical psalmody by the close of the sixteenth century. For the unschooled, there remained the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms, with their predictable and comfortable metre. For the aesthete, there was the quantitative verses of Stanyhurst, Fraunce, and Pembroke--although the latter were unavailable in print. And for the range of tastes that fell between these two extremes, there were those occasional experiments, such as Gascoigne's, or Surrey's, or even--for the recusant--the metrical psalms of Verstegen (see appendix Q).

IV. Doctrinal Orientation Of Tudor Metrical Psalmody

The presence of explicit doctrinal statements found in many sixteenth-century English metrical psalms can be explained in the context of traditional exegetic practices that extend back to the influential works of Jerome and Augustine, but must also be understood as biblical criticism--as culturally and politically bound critiques of how particular psalms functioned in the larger arena of sixteenth-century English social discourse. Protestant psalmists were an early breed of "liberationist exegetes."[32] Reading against the theological and ecclesiastical traditions of the Roman Catholic Church from which they had been "delivered," these psalmists attempted to recuperate the meaning of Scripture by "reading across" and often obliterating the social and historical differences between "those days" and their day. Any form of intermediary or mediation between the

text and their reading was to be eschewed; any historical distinctions between Old Testament Jewish culture and Renaissance English society were to be blurred. Further, most Tudor psalmists rejected any formal or systematic analysis of their source text and its historical roots in favour of a reading that expressed or produced a reflection of their own situation, desires, and values. What resulted, in most instances, was a hybrid text of Reformation theology that reauthorized the translated psalm as an admonition against Roman Catholicism and a narrative celebrating the fulfilment of sacred prophecy. In the balance of this discussion I look at how traditional exegetical practices established and transmitted primarily by Jerome and Augustine would have encouraged the Tudor psalmist to express his theological beliefs, and how the Reformation's break with ecclesiastical tradition "licenced" the Tudor psalmist to produce Protestant translations.

Jerome's impact on the history of scriptural translation and exegesis is unparalleled. In the face of considerable criticism, Jerome insisted on reestablishing the Hebrew text of the Old Testament as the basis for authenticating his Latin translations. While the Septuagint text appealed to Gentile elements in early Christianity, a number of different versions and recensions of the Septuagint were circulated during the fourth century, including those of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodation, Lucian and Hesychius. Jerome's translations and commentaries give clear evidence of his familiarity with these versions but, as a scholar, he gave primacy to the Hebrew text while recognising the preeminence of the Septuagint within the Church.

Jerome articulated the principles of translation that guided his work in a treatise written to justify his translation of Epiphanius' letter to John of Jerusalem, (*Ep. 57, De*

Optimo Genere Interpretandi). It is here that the famous passage--"Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu"--is found. Jerome frequently translated passages of the Bible according to "sense" rather than word-for-word. There is no doubt that Jerome would have had considerable difficulty finding exact equivalences between Hebrew and Latin words while the task of reconciling rules of Latin grammar with those of Hebrew would have been impossible. In addition, rhetorical principles of the Latin tongue would have necessitated a "sense-for-sense" as opposed to word-for-word translation. But the most compelling justification for Jerome's sense-for-sense translation was the fact that the Latin Bible was intended for use in the Church and therefore Jerome was guided above all by ecclesiastical considerations: he prepared his text with an eye to exegetic practices current in the Church. For this purpose, a firm narrative structure was important--one that allowed the exegete to do three things: establish the three senses of Scripture (literal, moral, and spiritual); forge typological links between the Old and New Testaments; and elucidate the biblical basis of Christian eschatology.

Jerome's Vulgate Bible became institutionalized within the Church and over time it became synonymous with the Word; thus it was transformed from a textual attempt to approximate the authority of the Hebrew and the sanctity of the Septuagint, into the sanctified authority itself. Later exegetes worked almost exclusively with Jerome's text, and over the centuries custom inscribed upon the words a tradition of meanings and intentions that were seemingly inseparable from ecclesiastical authority. With the

Reformation came the call for vernacular versions of Scripture, and the status of the Vulgate as The Word was rejected. Humanist scholarship spearheaded the call for new, more accurate, vernacular translations (see Chapter One) and with these versions came a new lexicon which deliberately challenged Roman Catholic dogma that had attached itself to the language of the Vulgate.[33]

As a translation theorist, Jerome held considerable authority in the sixteenth century. Martin Luther and John Calvin would refine their own translation skills based on Jerome's writings. In contrast, Augustine's insistence on the absolute primacy of Church tradition and authority in matters pertaining to Scriptural translation (Book II, On Christian Doctrine) was quietly undermined when, as a result of the Reformation, control over biblical translation was decentralized. The ideal translator was no longer the ascetic in his cell,[34] but the individual scholar who had been *justified* by faith. Who were the justified?--those who rejected the authority of Rome and embraced Luther's doctrines, most important of which was justification by faith alone.

To ensure that interpretation did not appear irrational and idiosyncratic, Protestant exegetes maintained the most important of traditional Christian practices: they re-read the Old Testament in light of the New--"as the fulfilment of an antecedent meaning which remained in suspense" (Ricoeur, 50). Early Protestant Tudor psalmists did likewise--envisioning the Reformation as the prophesied triumph of the righteous over the ungodly and articulating the fulfilment of the prophesy within a text which itself was a fulfilment of the Reformation's key aim, namely, the vernacularization of Scripture.

To the extent that the Reformation expresses a fundamental epistemological break

with the past, we perceive the transformed English Church as an expression of that break. Once the ecclesiastical authority of Rome ceased to control the production of scriptural translation and exegesis (and hence, the sense of Scripture), individual translators and exegetes were left to draw upon the internalized authority of the Holy Spirit. The very foundation of scriptural knowledge and theological conviction had become the internalized Holy Spirit. For the Tudor psalmist, the Reformation's epistemological break with the Roman Catholic Church proved profoundly liberating. Looking into their own private reading experiences of the biblical psalms, most Tudor psalmists typically found evidence of the very theological issues central to their personal experiences within the English Reformation. Issues such as the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, justification by faith, the nature of the "true Church," and free will were explored as issues crucial to the psalmist's personal salvation while, as an English kind, Tudor psalmody celebrated the break with Rome.

The early Protestant psalmists--Askewe, Becon, Bale, and Sternhold--produced transparently "Protestant" psalms. For example, Askewe's rendering of psalm 54, examined earlier in this chapter, is suggestive of that personal relationship with God that is central to the Protestant doctrine of Justification by Faith, and articulates a Protestant interpretation of the communion meal. In contrast to Askewe's subject-matter and rhetorical manoeuvres, Bale's articulated theology in his psalm translations is apocalyptic. As King aptly observes, "Bale's eschatological framework is the assumption that the Reformation provides an essentially comic resolution to the otherwise tragic course of human history" (276).

Bale perceived adherents of Protestant theology to be the faithful descendants of the true apostolic Church, while identifying the papacy and adherents to Roman Catholicism with the Antichrist and his reprobate followers. In The Image of Both Churches (Antwerp, 1545) Bale interprets Revelations as the key to unlocking the secrets of human history. The seven trumpets correspond to seven stages of Christian history, beginning with the primitive Church, followed by the age of the Christian persecutor, Diocletian, up to the sixth age, which Bale read as the era of the Reformation conflicts. Imminent, of course, was the opening of the seventh seal which promised the fall of Babylon (read Roman Catholicism) and the renewal of the apostolic church.[35] All of Bale's theological writings, including his psalm translations, reflect this eschatology. If, for example, we look at his rendering of Psalm 14 (typographical error in the text reads "The xxiii psalme of David, called: Dixit insipiens") and read it as a kind of postscript of the works to which it was originally appended (originally it followed A Godly Medytacyon of the christen sowle, concerninge a love towards God and hys Christe, compyled in frenche by lady Margarete quene of Naverre, and aptely translated into Englysh by the ryght vertuouse lady Elyzabeth doughter to our late soverayne Kynge Henri the .viii. [Wesel, D. van der Straten, 1548], and later followed The expostulation or complaynte agaynste the blashemyes of a franticke papyst of Hamshyre, [London, 1551], we find ourselves confronted with an unmistakable portrait of "the Antichrist"--synonymous, in Bale's mind, with Rome. The 1551 reprint is particularly telling. Following is an excerpt from Bale's introductory epistle to the expostulation addressed to the Duke of Northumberland, followed by the text of the psalm. Inevitably noting the lexical

similarities and reference to David in both the Epistle and the psalm, we are encouraged--as was the Duke--to interpret the text of the psalm as a celebration of the Lord's immanent annihilation of the ungodly (Roman Catholic clergy) and their Antichrist (the Pope).

> The rage at thys present is horryble and fearce, whych the . . .satellytes of Antichrist in dyverse partes of the realme, chefely within Hamshire, do blustre abroade in their mad furyes to blemyshe the Evangelycal veryte of the Lorde now revealed. An intollerable grefe it is to their uncircumcysed hartes, to beholde the glytterynge toyes of superstycyouse ydolatry and hypocritycall pappystre removed from thys earthe of Englande, by the Kynges wurthie majestie and hys most honourable counsell, and Gods true relygyon again restored. That oure sayde seconde & most valeaunt Josias, hath thus pourged hys Juda (his Englande, I mean) from the abbomynable buggeryes and ydolatries of the great Baal Peor of Rome, earnestly sekynge for the true God of David hys forefather, to the most lyvely example of all other prynces, their ungratyouse and noughtie eyes are not a lyttle offended. That hys ymages, rellyckes, roodes, torches, candels, copes, ashes, palmes, ware, water, oyle, creame, and holy bread, that hys bulles, bedes, belles, bablinges, masses, purgatory, processions, confessyons, exorcysmes, hallowynges, gresynges, sensynges, slaverynges, slumberynges, and a great host of popysh toyes more, are banyshed hens, in conscyence they are dysquyeted.
>
> The xxiii [sic] Psalme of David, called: Dixit insipiens
>
> Fooles that true fayth yet never hod,
> Sayth in theyr hartes, ther is no God
> Fylthie they are, in theyr practyse.
> Of them not one is godly wyse.
> From heaven the Lord on man dyd looke,
> To knowe what wayes, he undertooke
> All they were vayne, and went astraye,
> Not one he found, in the ryght waye.
> In hart and tunge, have they decepte,
> Their lips throw forth, a poisened baite
> their minds are mad, their mouthes ar wod
> And swyft they be, in sheddyng blood.
> So blynde they are, no truth they knowe,
> No feare of God, in them wyll growe.
> How can that cruell sort be good?
> Of gods dere flock, which suck the blood
> On hym ryghtly, shall they not call,
> Dispayre wyll so, theyr hartes appall,

At all tymes God, is wyth the iust.
 Because they put, in hym theyr trust.
Who shall therfore, from Syon geve
 That helth which hangeth, in our beleve?
Whan God shal take from hys the smart,
 Than wyl Jacob, reioyce in hart.

In the context of the 1551 work to which it was appended, Bale's translated psalm speaks directly about the alleged ills of the Roman Catholic Church, its clergy, and its doctrines. The "Fooles" are quite obviously none other than the Roman Catholics whose practices are "vaine" and whose clergy are deceitful men who lead their flocks astray. If the psalm's first publication speaks of Henry's conservative retrenching during the latter days of his reign, its republication in 1551 decries any tolerance of, or patience with Roman Catholicism. Unhampered by any apparent need to remain faithful to his scriptural source, Bale wanders far from his biblical text in order to portray the sixteenth-century ungodliness written in the events of history. "Quoniam Dominus in generatione iusta est, / Consilium inopis confudistis, / Quoniam Dominus spes eius est"--the text of the sixth verse found in the Vulgate--disappears entirely in Bale's version, and instead we encounter the promise of Jacob's jubilation when the spiritual "helth" of "gods dere flock" (those justified by faith alone) are liberated from the "smart" of Roman Catholic tyranny.

Three years after the second appearance of this psalm Thomas Becon penned his paraphrase of Psalm 103 as a "thankesgeving unto God" for his unexpected release from prison (see appendix D). Becon's version explicitly repudiates the validity of the Roman Catholic sacrament of Reconciliation. When, for example, in the third verse he writes "For he it is/ yea/ he it is alone / Which pardoneth al thy synnes/ both more and les" he is

clearly preaching against the Roman Catholic practice of auricular Confession. Equally, in Ps. 103:12, he vigorously condemns the practice of satisfaction (penance), writing: "And loke howe wyde the Easte is frome the West/ So farre hath he set all our synnes from us/ Because oure conscience should be at rest / And nomore trobled with workes odious."

Interpolations such as those cited above, however, have their antecedents. Jerome himself was not above "Christianizing" his translations of the Old Testament. In the Vulgate, for example, Daniel 9:26 reads "Et post hebdomades sexaginta duas occidetur Christus; et non erit eius populus qui eum negaturus est," and in Habakkuk 3:13 we read "Egressus es in salutem populi tui,/ In salutem cum Christo tuo; Percussisti caput de domo impii,/ Denudasti fundamentum eius usque ad collum," which is followed five verses later with "Ego autem in Domino gaudebo./ Et exsultabo in Deo Iesu meo." Even the poetical books such as the Psalms were consistently read in light of the New Testament. Jerome's translation of Ps.2:2 reads "Astiterunt reges terrae,/ Et principes convenerunt in unum./ Adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum eius"--influencing generations of psalmists, including William Samuel. In his An abridgement of all the Canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter, 1569, for example, we find this reference to Christ:

The ii Psalme

Beware (saith he) how that ye rage,
ye rulers all in vain:
For God will have his sonne to rule,
in might and powre to reign.

Jerome's "Christianizing" impulse exerted considerable influence on Tudor psalmists.

Richard Stanyhurst, among others, follows the Vulgate tradition of referring to Christ (see appendix F, Ps.2).

In a similar vein, one can explain the theological and dogmatic content of the metrical psalms penned by other gospellers and Protestant proselytizers such as Samuel and Pits, whose primary task was to evangelize through simple ballad-like poems. But later psalmists, those of considerable learning and artistic skill, also engaged in the practice of "teasing" out the Protestant threads the prophet David miraculously wove into the very fabric of his psalms! Psalmists such as Richard Stanyhurst, Abraham Fraunce, and the Countess of Pembroke "discovered" Protestant dogma in their sources, and simply, in their view, brought it to the fore. The Countess of Pembroke's version of Psalm 54 purposefully conflates Justification and justice, writ large for the Protestant courtier-reader. Similarly, in the fifth psalm of Abraham Fraunce, a particularly strong aversion to "sacrifice" determines both the rhetorical structure of the translation--and its Protestant bearings. Psalm 5:5 in the Vulgate reads: "Congregate illi sanctos eius,/ Qui ordinant testamentum eius super sacrificia" The Geneva Bible (1560) reads similarly: "Gather my Saints together vnto me, those that make a couenant with me with sacrifice"--although the marginal gloss hastens to add that ". . . sacrifices are seales of the couenant betwene God and his people, and not set religion therein." But Fraunce, by contrast, renders the verse, "Bring my Saints, sayth God, goe bring my Saints to my presence,/ Which have vow'd theyre harts, and sworne theyr sowles to my servyce." Strictly speaking, one could argue that it was Fraunce's affection for alliteration that dictated the terms of this verse. But sacrifice, too, begins with the letter S, and it is difficult to escape the impression that the

term "sacrifice" required too elaborate an amplification for Fraunce's verse format--or was best avoided altogether.

If Protestant psalmists were busy articulating Lutheran and Calvinist theology, Roman Catholic psalmists were no less guilty of dogmatizing their verses. While the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 and the political struggles of the following year gave control of the Church of England to Protestants, Catholicism survived in various forms. Some Catholics favoured a sectarian solution to the divided state of the English Church, and preserved their traditions by counterfeiting conformity. Records suggest, however, that most longed for the restoration of Catholicism, and among the Catholic leadership in England, an astonishing number refused the supremacy oath and were duly deprived and subjected to imprisonment or household arrest. Those who went into exile, either in Rome or Louvain, included Francis Babington, Thomas Harding, Henry Henshaw, Morgan Phillips, Thomas Bailey, George Bullock, and William Soane. Between 1564 and 1568 these and other exiled English Catholics published over forty Catholic books destined for England, including manuals, prayerbooks, treatises, meditations, and expositions. Their writings were particularly encouraging for the English Catholics who had remained in England and who were forced to become "church papists," that is, compelled to attend the English Church to avoid fines and imprisonment.

The first printed Roman Catholic metrical psalms, however, would only appear in the latter years of the century. One of the most popular collections of recusant prayers and meditations was first printed in Rouen in 1583. Compiled by George Flinton, A Manual of Prayers Newly Gathered (see appendix S) contains a number of psalm

paraphrases in prose, along with other prayers, including More's Latin "devoute prayer collected" out of the Psalms, and selections from Fisher's Psalmes or prayers. The 1583 edition (approx. 2.5" X 4") begins with an address to the "Catholicke and Christian Reader" that establishes the prayer collection as specifically Roman Catholic in orientation. It makes reference to the "intercession of the blessed virgin Mary, and all Angels and saynts" and condemns those who "spende their time in unprofitable and insolente contradictions, tendinge to no other ende, but onely to roote out of the mindes of christian catholickes all true fayth, firme hope, and perfect charitie." Subsequent editions of the Manual, printed abroad or at secret presses in England, were circulated among recusant Catholics.

Another popular collection of recusant psalms of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century was Richard Verstegen's Odes in Imitation of the seaven penitential psalmes (Antwerp, 1601). The volume contains metrical paraphrases of the penitential psalms, followed by twenty English hymns. Verstegen addresses his book to "the vertuous Ladies and gentlewomen readers" but makes no reference to either religious or political issues in the brief dedication. The psalms themselves, however, are clearly of Roman Catholic provenance, and obviously influenced by both the Vulgate and John Fisher's writings on the Penitential psalms.

In 1508, Fisher delivered a series of sermons on the penitential psalms that were published one year later under the title This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of David the kynge & prophete in the seven penytencyall psalmes). Fisher's strategy was to emphasize the human qualities and psychological frailties of David so that his listener

might closely identify himself with this archetypal penitent. In the biographical sketch preceding discussion of the first penitential psalm, Fisher presents the reader with an image of David as a blessed man who nevertheless fell prey to venal and mortal sin. Not that this should come as a surprise, he assures us, for "he was a synner as we be." (sig. aaiiii^{v}). Fisher characterizes David's sinfulness (and by extension, ours) as a symptom of spiritual disease and identifies penance as the curative:

> . . . he [David] dyd holsome penau[n]ce makynge this holy psalme wherby he gate forgyvenes & was restored to his soules helth. We in lyke wyse by ofte sayenge and redynge this psalme with a contryte herte as he dyde/askynge mercy/shall without doubte purchase and gete of our best and mercyfull lorde god forgyvenesse for oure synnes. (sig. aav^{r})

The notion of a diseased soul was not merely an image, for Fisher, but depicted a spiritual condition with flesh and blood symptoms. The sufferings of the sinner, whether here and now or in the hereafter, could only be alleviated through contrition, confession, and satisfaction "which be the thre partes of penaunce" (sig. ci^{r}). This image of spiritual illness recurs frequently. In his discussion of the third penitential psalm, for example, Fisher loosely translates *"Non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatur"* as "No parte of my body can be in rest for the grevousnes of my synnes" (sig. ee. viii^{v}), and elsewhere he emphasizes the pain caused by an unclean conscience. Concomitantly, Fisher frequently employs the image of a descent into a bestial state as a fall into painful sinfulness, violating human creation in the divine image. For example, he renders *"Nolite fieri sicut equus & mulus q'bus no[n] est intellectus"* (Ps. 31(32):9) as "Be not in wyll to be made lyke to an horse and a mule/folowynge your owne sensuall pleasure and appetyte" (sig. ddii^{r}). In his discussion of the third penitential psalm, he likens sin to a serpent: if we let the head in,

that is, allow the stirring of sin in our mind (intellect/will), the body (deed) will follow, and then the venomous tail! (sig. ee, viii^{v}).

Perhaps the most prominent feature of Fisher's penitential psalm sermons is his repeated insistence that a fall into sin requires cooperation of the faculties of both the intellect and the will in partnership with the flesh, and that contrition, confession, and satisfaction equally call upon those same faculties.[36] A second recurring feature of the penitential psalm sermons is the frequency of glossing. Having translated "*Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum[;] lachrimis meis stratum meum rigabo*" as "I shall every nyghte wasshe my bedde with my wepynge teeres" (sig. bb.ii^{r}), Fisher explains that "bedde" signifies the filthy voluptuousness of the body, that is, the heap and multitude of sins. In a similar vein, he glosses the sermon on Psalm 142 (143) according to the parable of the Prodigal Son in which, Fisher says, we find the four paradigmatic stages of a sinner's journey (Luke 15:11-32). First, there is a wandering from the Father, then a description of the manner of return, the son's request of the Father, and finally the nature of the reward bestowed upon the son. The structure and content of the psalm, he argues, illustrates these four moments of a repentant sinner's life. A third feature of Fisher's sermons is his use of grammatical parsing to explain the meaning of dramatic shifts in tenses, moods, and even number, between and within psalm verses. In the first two verses of Psalm 31 (32), for example, Fisher draws attention to a grammatic irregularity in Jerome's translation. The Vulgate reads: "*Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, Et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus vir cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum, Nec est in spiritu eius dolus.*" Fisher notes that in the first verse, the plural is used twice in reference

to the blessed, but not in reference to the implicitly blessed individual in verse two. The shift in number, he says, signifies that, while the sins of many are "hydde and put out of knowledge" through the sacrament of reconciliation, the singular used in the third reference alludes to the fact that very few sinners do true satisfaction for their sins (sig. ccii^{r}).

Fisher's sermons, with their peculiar mix of grammatical analysis, medieval glossing, priestly exhortations, and intellectual rigor made popular reading in literate court and church circles. For his part, however, Fisher offered the following reasons for reading the penitential psalms:

> All we crysten people are bounde of very dutye to gyve grete & immortall thankes to the holy prophete Davyd whiche soo dylygently hathe lefte in wrytynge his psalmes moost godly to be redde of us & our posteryte. And his soo doynge as me semethe was moost for thre causes. Fyrst that by these holy psalmes the myndes of synners myght be reysed up & excyted as by a swete melodye to receyve & take the studye & lernynge of vertues. Secondaryly that yf any man or woman hath fallen to grete & abomynable synnes/ yet they sholde not despayre but put theyr hole & stedfast hope of forgyvenes in god. Thyrdly that they myght use these holy psalmes as letters of supplycacyon & spedefull prayers for remyssyon and forgyvenes to be purchased of almighty god. (sig. ggii^{v})

A master of *ars praedicandi*, Fisher's rhetorical strategies were designed to lead his listener to the confessional and thus, it is not surprising that the historical figure of David is never the most prominent feature in his discussions. It is not David's life or deeds that are valorized, but his exemplary penitence.

Almost a century later, Richard Verstegen would model his metrical versions of the penitential psalms after the sermons of Fisher, whose interpretive preferences and catechetical emphases reverberate in virtually every verse of Verstegen's psalms.

Nevertheless, Verstegen advances Catholic doctrine in somewhat the same vein as Protestants almost half a century earlier. Exploiting the lexical sets used frequently in Roman Catholic tradition ("confess," "pardon," "penance," "absolved," etc.) he leads his reader to conflate dogma with psalmic content. In Ps. 6:6, for example, Verstegen's speaker asks "And in the depth of hel/ Where there is no redresse,/ Who is it that wil give the praise/ Or unto the confesse?" Similarly, Verstegen refers to the sacrament of confession in Ps. 31.1: "O how much blest may they remaine/ That pardon for their guylt obtaine,/ And whose great il and each offence/ Lies hid in contryte penitence." Again, in the sixth stanza, Verstegen's speaker declares: "Against my self I said wil I/ My wronges confesse and faultes defy,/ To thee o Lord, o Lord to thee/ That haest from all absolved mee." The most polemically intriguing passage in this psalm translation, however, is the ninth verse. While the Vulgate reads, "Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus,/ Quibus non est intellectus./ In camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe,/ Qui non approximant ad te," Verstegen compresses centuries of Christian exegesis into an explicit condemnation of Protestantism, rendering the verse: "O yee that carelesse are of grace/ Behold and see your brutish case,/ And be not as the horse and mule/ That lived devoyd of reasons rule." It is quite likely that Verstegen is taking issue with Protestant interpretations of 2 Corinthians 12:9: "My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness." Calvin refers to this passage in his introductory argument against free will, writing: ". . . before God nothing remains for us to boast of, save his mercy alone [cf. II Cor. 10:17-18], whereby we have been saved through no merit of our own [cf. Titus 3:5] and before men nothing but our weakness [cf.II Cor. 11:30; 12:5, 9], which even to admit

is to them the greatest dishonor" (Institutes, 3).

Some of the most transparent expressions of Roman Catholic doctrine in Verstegen's work can be found in his rendering of psalm 37 (38) where, for example, he alludes to the compounding of a sinner's suffering: "My crymes forepast and pardoned/ Lyke scarres remaine,/ That putryfyde break out a new/ Because I sin againe." Fisher offers a similar translation in his 1508 sermon: "The olde tokens of my synnes waxe roten agayne by myn own folysshnes." In contrast, the Geneva Bible (1560) translates the passage as follows: "My woundes are putrified, and corrupt because of my foolishnes" and the marginal gloss reads: "That rather gaue place to mine owne lustes, then to the wil of God." Four stanzas later, Verstegen's speaker declares: "My sutes o Lord tend all to thee/ Thow knowest my case,/ My plaintes and penance Lord accept/ That so I may have grace." Again, he leaves no doubt about his doctrinal preferences.

Mid-sixteenth century attitudes towards the translating of biblical psalms, we have seen, were largely underwritten by the religious controversies of the century. While humanist scholarship provided the stimulus for many new scriptural translations of the psalms, metrical psalmists (those engaged in *imitatio*) strove to promote a sympathetic reading of their own doctrinal preferances. In the process, fidelity to their source text became a theological issue, not a lexical or grammatical one.

V. Exemplarity and the Role of David in Tudor Metrical Psalmody

In his introduction to Writing from History, Timothy Hampton suggests:

the exemplar can be seen as a kind of textual node or point of juncture, where a

> given author's interpretation of the past overlaps with the desire to form and fashion readers. Or, to express this relationship schematically, in the representation of exemplary figures the hermeneutic procedures through which Renaissance culture has appropriated the texts and actors of the past interface with the rhetorical procedures through which Renaissance texts fashion the responses of their own readers. (3)

Thus, Hampton concludes, the exemplar becomes a rhetorical figure--an utterance designed to move and persuade the reader, and history becomes rhetoric (5). In the discussion that follows, we shall examine how the same argument holds in the case of the Old Testament Prophets and Old Testament history, specifically the character of David and the biblical stories of his life that were "narrated" in the Book of Psalms. In particular, we shall observe how the rhetorical uses to which the figure of David was put within the context of Tudor metrical psalmody "instructed" readers, whether in that broad realm of "poesie" or in the arena of public virtues and political action. To understand the traditions that lie behind Tudor representations of David, however, some additional discussion of pre-reformation and reformation exegetic practices is necessary.

Early Christian exegetic practices may be divided into two broad categories. The first, established by the catechetical school at Alexandria, engaged in allegorical interpretations of biblical texts, including biblical poetry. Reacting against Alexandrian exegetic practices, the Antiochenes took a different approach and insisted on the historical interpretation of Scripture, including biblical poetry.

Allegorical interpretations of the psalms were rarely concerned with the historically-defined figure of David (the presumed subject and author of many psalms) except insofar as he signified something beyond the scriptural narrative itself. Augustine,

whose writings typify the Alexandrian approach to Scripture, employed a method of allegorical exegesis which "unveiled" the promise of the New Testament (in particular Christ and the Church) that lay hidden in David's prophetic words and deeds.[37] Cassiodorus followed Augustine's exegetic practices: his Expositio Psalmorum was clearly written to reveal the prophetic significance of the psalms for the Christian and his Church.[38]

The historical David fared rather better as an exemplar during the Middle Ages. Nicolaus of Lyra (ca. 1270-1349), for example, viewed David as a significant figure in his own right--as a *viator*--whom we should emulate because he was righteous, humble, patient, and above all, faithful. But Lyra also exhorted his reader to remember that David was, like us, capable of losing God's favour and grace.

During the Renaissance, northern humanists such as Erasmus and Lefevre d'Etaples (1461-1536) followed Augustine's approach to the figure of David: he was simply a mouthpiece for the Holy Spirit whose subject was Christ and the Church.[39] For both, the Old Testament Letter was truly dead. But John Fisher's sermons on the penitential psalms reveal an interesting and more classically humanistic attitude toward the figure of David, one wherein we can discern an indebtedness to Nicolaus of Lyra's writings, coupled with a strong tendency to conflate allegorical and historical exegetic practices. For Fisher, David was an historical figure whose response to life's vicissitudes entitled the reader to view him as a *viator*; the psalms themselves, however, simultaneously prophesied Christ's role in the New Covenant.

Protestant exegetes of essentially the same period as Fisher, such as Luther and

Calvin, also wrote extensive commentaries on the psalms. But their writings depict a David who is more than a mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit, and even more than a *viator*. For Calvin, David was a figure in biblical history with whom he could personally identify. In his Preface to Commentary on the Psalms, Calvin goes so far as to parallel his calling and career with David's, confessing that:

> . . . as David holds the principal place among them [the writers of the Psalms], it has greatly aided me in understanding more fully the complaints made by him of the internal afflictions which the Church had to sustain through those who gave themselves out to be her members, that I had suffered the same or similar things from the domestic enemies of the Church. For although I follow David at a great distance, and come far short of equalling him . . . I have no hesitation in comparing myself with him . . . to behold in him as in a mirror, both the commencement of my calling, and the continued course of my functions; so that I know the more assuredly, that whatever the most illustrious king and prophet suffered, was exhibited to me by God as an example for imitation . . . [and] . . . that in considering the whole course of the life of David, it seemed to me that by his own footsteps he showed me the way, and from this I have experienced no small consolation. As that holy king was harassed by the Philistines and other foreign enemies with continual wars, while he was much more grievously afflicted by the malice and wickedness of some perfidious men amongst his own people, so I can say as to myself, that I have been assailed on all sides, and have scarcely been able to enjoy repose for a single moment, but have always had to sustain some conflict either from enemies without or within the Church. (25-26, 29)

Luther's early exegetical work on the psalms is typically Alexandrian. In his Adnotationes (written in 1513), for example, his principal concern is to reveal the tropological level of interpretation; thus he argues that the psalms speak of Christ. But in his Preface to the second edition of the German Psalter published in 1528, Luther's hermeneutic has evolved, and the psalms are perceived as actual records of "what the chief of all saints did, and what all saints still do" (37) and in his concluding remarks he declares that

> the Book of Psalms contains an assurance and a valid passport with which we can follow all the saints without danger . . . . if you wish to see the holy Christian church depicted in living colours, and given a living form, in a painting in miniature, then place the Book of Psalms in front of you . . . . (40-41)

What Luther finds in David is an exemplar of perfect piety that expresses the theology of absolute trust in God, and justification by faith--the cornerstones of Protestant Christianity. For Luther, then, it is absolutely imperative that the Christian acknowledge the historical David and his faith, because it is precisely David's faith that Christians are expected to emulate.

Other sixteenth-century Protestant psalm commentaries, including those of Beza[40] and Melanchthon[41] exhibit a similar belief that the biblical psalms can be applied to the life of the Christian without being allegorized. Leaving the Davidic narratives in their native, historical settings, Protestant theologians gradually began to consider David's faith, ministry, and evangelism indistinguishable from their own, at the tropological level. In other words, Christ's sacrifice and kingdom reached back into biblical history in David's case because of the explicit theology expressed within the biblical psalms. In effect, David was "saved" and would live eternally because of the promise of Christ which he understood and articulated in his psalms.

To summarize, then, we see the Reformation theologians gradually rejecting a purely allegorical interpretation of the figure of David and modifying a historical approach so that the events of David's life, which seemed to dovetail so perfectly with those of most Reformers, could be viewed as a prophesy of the events of the Reformation itself. In contrast, the Catholic exegetes such as Lefevre and Fisher refrained from catapulting

David into the arena of sixteenth-century theological debate. Lefevre, explicitly rejected the historical level of the psalms and relied solely on allegorical exegesis to explicate their meaning while John Fisher worked from a fundamentally medieval view of the psalms, largely informed by the writings of Nicolaus of Lyra.

Sixteenth-century metrical psalmody overtly responded to the hermeneutic developments in Reformation exegesis by reassessing the figure of David as an exemplar. Wyatt's penitential psalm sequence, for instance, is permeated by a pre-Reformation hermeneutic largely underwritten by the work of Nicolaus of Lyra; hence, the exemplary figure of David is, despite the arguments of many critics, fundamentally didactic. H.A. Mason, Hallett Smith, Patricia Thomson, R.C. Twombly and Stephen Greenblatt tend to characterize Wyatt's psalm sequence as "Protestant" and only Mason acknowledges that "Wyatt's faith as expressed in these psalms would have been as acceptable to 'reformationists' inside the Catholic Church as fifty 'reformers' outside it" (219). The "catholicity" of Wyatt's psalm translations is a function of his medieval hermeneutic on the one hand, and on the other, the actual structure of the sequence, with its two personae ("auctor" and David). Central for both contributing factors is the character of David. Zim's colourful evaluation of David's character in Wyatt's psalm sequence perfectly expresses the contours of the exemplar's personality:

> He [David] is depicted as a proud, emotionally unstable man who deludes himself. He can neither understand the nature of repentance nor the concept of divine grace. Eventually, David does learn how to make 'holsome penaunce', [sic] but inevitably at the cost of much suffering and soul-searching. He is characterized as an articulate and eloquent backslider, but his laments and pleas are full of specious argument, self-pity and moral confusion. (47-48)

While Wyatt's David makes slow progress toward that state of "perfett penitence," Wyatt's narrator, or "auctor," as he is called by Harington in the 1549 edition of the sequence, carefully guides the reader through the various stages of David's prayerful search for spiritual peace. Much of what the auctor actually says is startlingly reminiscent of John Fisher's psalm sermons. Wyatt's auctor, for example, reminds his reader of God's "mesureles marcys"--that "infinite tresure"--freely offered to all who repent, as did Fisher. Nowhere in Wyatt's verses is there any hint of or allusion to ecclesiastic issues. Similarly, the presence of "theology" is incidental to the narrative, and we can turn to Wyatt for confirmation of his refusal to become embroiled in the early Reformation debates, particularly in his correspondence written from the Tower in 1541: "ye bring in now that I shulde have this intelligens with Pole[42] by cawse of our opinions that are lyke and that I am papyste. I thynke I shulde have much more adoe with a great sorte in Inglonde to purge my selfe of suspecte of a Lutherane than of a Papyst" (Muir, 1963, 208).

The second major pre-Reformation metrical psalmist, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, authored four psalm paraphrases.[43] Three were most likely written during his incarceration in the Tower in December 1546 (Pss. 55, 73, and 88). Psalm 73 exhibits a strong indebtedness to the paraphrases of Campensis(Psalmorum omnium, 1534) and yet, given Surrey's prefatory epistle to George Blage (see appendix R), Surrey clearly supplants the voice of David with his own (as he does in Ps. 88[44]) and is unconcerned about the derivative nature of his verses. In Surrey's psalm paraphrases, we find evidence of an imitation of David which involves a meditative process: Surrey reflects on the wisdom of David's words, evaluates them in the light of his own circumstances, and

from the consolation he derives, he sets a course for his own spiritual "mirth and rest."[45]

While the psalms of Wyatt and Surrey were written in the shadow of religious indecisiveness that characterized so much of the last decade of Henry VIII's reign, they exude a fundamentally Catholic hermeneutic and a remarkably traditional understanding of David as an exemplar. Wyatt's David is not a "textual node" joining past and present; nor are Wyatt's words meant to interpret the past, or current religious confusion. Insofar as the "auctor" in Wyatt's verse interprets David's words, the reader is presented with the "right" interpretation of David's words and behaviour, and no more. In Surrey's psalms the figure of David disappears entirely, and we are left with Henry Howard, psalmist. In this case, it is the psalms themselves that provide examples of appropriate prayer. David, as an exemplar, recedes into obscurity. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that Surrey's versions of psalms 73 and 88 do "fashion" their reader insofar as they were addressed to specific individuals who were meant to read the texts as narratives of the author's own circumstances and state of mind.

It is only with the metrical psalms of Askewe, Becon, and Bale that we begin to see a Protestant hermeneutic fully at liberty in the text. Askewe's rendering of Psalm 54, like Howard's, provides a kind of narrative of the author's circumstances, but goes much further. David, who complains of betrayal by the Ziphites in this psalm, clearly works as a "textual node" for Askewe, who challenges her audience to read the psalm as an exemplar of the Protestant's plight in Henrician England. The sympathetic reader (and who would not be?) becomes, like Askewe, a protester, even if not a Protestant.

As an exemplar, David undergoes a different but equally radical transformation in

Bale's metrical psalms: no longer a mere prophet, the psalmist in Bale's version of Ps. 14 assumes the mantle of St. Paul with whom, coincidently, Bale himself happily identified.

In 1540, Bale and his family fled to the mainland to avoid persecution from Henry VIII's suddenly conservative administration. Bale spent this first period of exile writing epistles, pamphlets, and martyrologies in addition to preparing Askewe's "examinacyons" for printing. But the one role he seems to have cherished above all others during this period was not unlike that of St. Paul whose epistles were intended to encourage and admonish fledgling Christian communities. To understand the potential impact Bale's version of Psalm 14 would have had on his English Protestant reader, it is necessary to understand how Bale transformed David from exemplar to exhorter, by way of conflating the role of the psalmist with that of St. Paul, apostle. Central to this process is Paul's epistle to the Romans, addressed "to all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints" (Rom 1:7); the theme being "the just shall live by faith" (Rom. 1:17).

For Protestants, this epistle stands above all others as the rallying point for Christians. In it, Luther found what he believed to be the bedrock of Christianity, justification by faith, and John Bale, himself something of a biblical scholar, found the connection between Luther's discovery and Ps. 14 from which St. Paul paraphrastically quoted (along with other psalms) in Romans 3:10-18:

> As it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one:
> There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God.
> They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable: there is none that doeth good, no, not one.
> Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips:
> Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness:

Their feet are swift to shed blood:
Destruction and misery are in their ways:
And the way of peace have they not known:
There is no fear of God before their eyes.

Comparing Bale's version of Psalm 14 with Scriptural versions of the same psalm, and then with Romans 3:10-18, one finds a greater similarity in tone and imagery between Bale's psalm and St. Paul's epistle, than between any scriptural version of Psalm 14 and Bale's. Why? The answer, I believe, lies in Bale's hermeneutic practices. Identifying strongly with St. Paul during the course of his first exile, Bale went so far as to fashion himself and his work after the disciple, writing from afar, as did Paul, and sending his epistles to encourage and admonish Protestants at home. Hermeneutically, he took his cue from St. Paul, whose interpretation and use of Old Testament Scripture served the objectives of his fledgling Church. Like St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, Bale was not interested in David's historical person, but only in exploring how the prophet's words could be recontextualized to further his own missionary intent. Under St. Paul's influence, he ignores the exemplary role of David, the psalmist, and concentrates on making the translated text itself a perfect disciple of the original exemplar: an epistle to the people of England who, upon receipt, would make the necessary connections with Romans 3:10-18, thereby appropriate the text as Bale would wish, and, what is more, become the obedient readers Bale sought to form.

The entire corpus of Bale's writing suggests that he viewed Old Testament scripture as epistles from the past that prophesied the eventual success of the Reformation. By translating the psalms into texts that could be read both as "documentaries" of the

Reformation struggles and as "existential" epistles from a church saint, Bale may even have been attempting to project an image of himself as an exemplar--a prophet in his time, and one of the new breed of Protestant disciples.

Thomas Becon's renderings of Pss. 103 and 112, like Bale's version of Psalm 14, were prepared while Becon was in exile, and were printed in Strasbourg[46] and destined for his English audiences, including those at home, and those exiled in Strasbourg. His translations are clearly influenced by the social climate of Strasbourg during this period of Marian exile. English politicians, courtiers, and men of means flocked to the city that had once been the home of Bucer. Individuals such as Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke, and Sir Peter Carew made frequent visits to the city during their respective exiles; thus Becon was surrounded by a predominantly English community made up of many individuals who once were part of Edward VI's court and administration. Within the social context created by exile, it is natural that Becon would adopt the psalmist's persona and speak (alongside David) of political persecution alleviated only by God's munificence, in the full knowledge that his words would resonate in the breast of every fellow-exile. For Becon, the rhetorical strength of David as exemplar lies in the historical parallels that could be drawn between the persecutions of English protestants and those experienced by David. Just as David never expressed a personal hatred of Saul, but bore his persecutions with patience and dignity, confident in the promises of God, so too, Becon's psalm translations implicitly argue, must the Protestant patiently bear Mary's persecutions and faithfully await God's intervention. "The righteous" says Becon, "shalbe nothinge afrayde/ Of any eveltidinges/ whin they be brought/ for hys hart on the Lord is wholy stayde."

The general conclusion one can draw from the various psalm translations written prior to Elizabeth's accession, is that their authors looked to Church Reformers such as Luther and Calvin to supply the hermeneutic from which David could be resurrected as a champion of the Protestant cause. The writings of the Reformers coupled with the political events of the 1530's and 1540's actually mediated the reception of David as an exemplar in England. Where one finds ambivalence toward the new theology, one also finds the psalmist falling back on traditional exegetic practices, as with Wyatt and Surrey.

Just as Henry's religious vacillations, Edward's subsequent reforms, and Mary's reversions sculpted the character of psalms written during the years of their respective reigns, Elizabeth's accession and the resulting religious policies informed the texture and tone of psalms composed during her reign. One noteworthy characteristic of Elizabethan psalmody is the transformation of David from an exemplary Protestant, nobly bearing the outrages of exile and persecution, to that of an exemplary courtier. This evolution of the psalmic kind is explored from somewhat different perspectives in Chapters Four and Five but, to understand the evolution of the Davidic exemplar throughout Elizabeth's reign, we need to consider the cultural climate of literate England, and the status of the versifier within Elizabeth's Court. We can begin with Baldassare Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier (1528), first translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561.

Castiglione's cardinal tenet was that Court was the centre of civilization, and that those who sought either power or position must do so at Court. Further, the accomplished courtier exhibited courage, had acquired vast learning in the arts and sciences, was skilled at arms, had mastered painting and music, and was extraordinarily

adept at adorning his letters with expressive phrasing. The chief duty of a courtier was to direct and encourage his monarch to act in ways befitting a ruler; to ensure his rule was guided by the principles governing the behaviour of a courtier, namely, justice, goodness, and courage. Not surprisingly, Elizabethan psalmists drew parallels between the biblical David and the ideal English courtier. No longer primarily a contrite sinner or persecuted man of true faith, the speaker in Elizabethan psalmody is an eloquent vassal of his Lord and exhibits great skill in executing his petitions and praises. His points of reference are those of the ideal courtier: justice, goodness, and courage.

Richard Stanyhurst's psalms often suggest the courtier/ sovereign relationship and attending values, as in this verse from his rendering of Ps. 3: "Lorde, thy cleere radiaunt righteus equitye/ Hath squisd al mye foes, falsly me ransaking," or as we find in verse 7 of Ps. 4: "Thy star of goodnesse in us reshining,/ Sound reason graunting, with al hevnlye coomfort."

Abraham Fraunce's speaker also elects to employ terms such as "Prince" or "King" rather than Lord, as we find in the first verse of Ps. 8 and in his second verse of Ps. 29, and in his rendering of Ps. 104, Fraunce's speaker refers to his Lord as "purple-mantled" while the scriptural reference in verse 6 is actually to the waters being like garments that cover the earth. While it can be argued that Fraunce is simply employing image-laden terms to rhetorically direct his reader's appreciation of the Lord's sovereignty, it is not as easy to dismiss the speaker's ornaments of speech. Beyond the sumptuary language lie the classics and in particular Latin prosody which, for Fraunce and the other quantitative poets, were the ultimate tools for aesthetic expression. Thus, we find reference to "bright-

burning Lamps of *Olympus*" and "Christal-mantled *Olympus.*" In sum, Fraunce's speaker is an eloquent courtier paying due homage to his sovereign in exalted verse.

The figure of David as an exemplar evolved rapidly and dramatically over the sixteenth century, as is evidenced by metrical psalms of the period. While pre-Reformation metrical psalm translations depict David as a penitent and supplicant, those penned by the early Protestants are informed by a new hermeneutic in which the psalmist's personal history is transcendentally inscribed in scriptural accounts of David's persecutions. Thus, David becomes, during these years, a prophet of that which was believed to lie beyond the seventh seal. With Elizabeth's accession to the throne and the steady progress of Calvinist Protestantism within court circles, David becomes an exemplar of the "right" courtier. Metrical psalms of this period foreground the aesthetic potential of the biblical verses. In the words of Pembroke, the accomplished psalmist "with offringe shall thy Altar dight,/ Praising thy name, which thus hast sett mee free."

As an exemplar, then, the figure of David proved to be a highly versatile "textual node." Generations of metrical psalmists, informed by ingrained habits of thought, appropriated and idealized the scriptural David and incorporated his/*story*--whether narrative or rhetorical--into their own renderings. As an exemplar, David's very mutability proved irresistible, galvanizing generations of versifiers to employ rhetorical procedures that would cast upon his words their own intentions.

When we look at the corpus of Tudor metrical psalmody in the context of all sixteenth-century literary output in England, the achievements seem slight indeed. The Sidney-Pembroke Psalter, considered the only versions of conspicuous quality, was not

printed until 1823 (and then only 250 copies were made), and while the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms were indisputably "popular," they cannot hold their own in the company of English Renaissance literature. Yet Tudor metrical psalms did play an important role in affirming a number of literary assumptions in new and bold ways. First, English psalmists such as Wyatt legitimized the literary expectation of emotional fulfilment--even cathartic relief. Second, they expanded the realm of prayer to include "dighting" God's altar with verse as, for example, did Pembroke. Third, they secured a place in the arena of public discourse for poetry. It was a new forum for verse that was not satirical, not epithalamic, indeed, not bound to established social customs and conventions, but was instead adversarial, challenging, and overtly political.

Notes for Chapter Three

1. "Upon the Translation of the Psalmes by Sir Philip Sydney, and the Countesse of Pembroke his Sister" in John Donne, The Divine Poems (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978) 33-35.

2. As the discussion of translation will be taken up in much greater detail in a later section of this chapter, I have not pursued the topic of authorial intention and its translatability into vernacular Scripture in this passage. However, it is worth noting here that in her ground-breaking study of metrical psalm translations, Rivkah Zim argues that "while a scholarly paraphrast attempted to elucidate the meaning of the original text by 'speaking alongside' the model, other paraphrasts and imitators were free to emulate the original author's meaning and style to suit their own purposes" (23).

3. See note 2 of Chapter One. I am indebted to Rita Copeland's differentiation between primary and secondary translations, from which I have modeled the distinction between "englyshed" Scripture, and literary psalm translations.

4. The Boke of Psalmes, where in are conteined praiers, meditations, praises, & thankesgiving to God for his benefites toward his Church: translated faithfully according to the Ebrewe, With brief and apt annotations in the margent, as wel for the declaracion of the mynde of the Prophet, as for the joyning together & continuance of the sentence. (Geneva, Rouland Hall, 1559).

5. The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With the best translations in divers langages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader (Geneva, 1560).

6. Copied from Bodl. 8 C.46 Th. Seld., sig. f. 7r.

7. Thomas Sternhold, Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into Englishe Metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of the kynges Majesties Roobes (London, Edouardus Whitchurche) Sig. Aiii^{r}-Aiii^{v}.

8. This quotation is also found in Holland, pp. 47-48. Both make reference to their source as Boyle's DICT[ionary], Volume 5, under the name "Marot."

9. Sternhold spent the better part of six months in Fleet prison during the spring and summer of 1543. Although never charged with heresy, he was accused of supporting Protestant ideas, and in particular those of Anthony Parson. It is difficult to determine exactly if or how the events of 1543 coloured Sternhold's subsequent psalm translations, but his departures from the Vulgate may provide some clues, particularly when compared with pre-Reformation psalm paraphrases, such as those of John Fisher.

10. Whether there were seventy or seventy-two scholars has been the subject of some confusion. In On Christian Doctrine, Augustine makes reference to seventy scholars, and hence the name Septuagint, given to the Greek Bible.

11. A fascinating article in this vein is Douglas Robinson's "The Ascetic Foundations of Western Translatology: Jerome and Augustine." Translation and Literature I (1992): 3-25.

12. Jerome, Eusibii Pamphili chronici canones latini vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus (London: Milford, 1923) P.I. 12a-25b.

13. Cicero castigated those who engaged in the practice of "literal translation." See De finibus, III iv. 15.

14. In the same Epistle, Jerome wrote what has become one of the most quoted passages concerning translation, namely, "Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera uoce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et uerborum ordo mysterium est, non uerbum e uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu" (Ep. 57, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 54, 508).

15. Miles Coverdale, The newe testament both Latine and Englyshe ech correspondent to the other after the vulgare texte, communely called S. Jeroms. Faythfully translated by Myles Coverdale (Southwark, 1538) sig. +4^{r}.

16. Miles Coverdale, A Paraphrasis upon all the Psalmes of David, made by Johannes Campensis, reader of the Hebrue lecture in the universite of Lovane (London, 1539) sig. A2^{r}.

17. Anthony Gilby, The Psalmes of David, Truly Opened and explained by Paraphrasis . . . set foorth in Latine by that excellent learned man Theodore Beza. And faithfully translated into English, by Anthonie Gilbie (London, 1581) Sig. A5^{r}.

18. Richard Stanyhurst, The First Foure Bookes of Virgil his aeneis translated intoo English heroical verse by Richard Stanyhurst, wyth oother Poetical divises theretoo annexed (Leiden: John Pates, 1582) sig. Nii^{v}.

19. The following titles illustrate the caution with which psalm translations were characterized: Thomas Sternhold's Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into Englishe Metre . . . (1549); Thomas Sternhold's Al such Psalmes of David as Thomas Sternehold late grome of the kinges Majesties Robes, didde in his life time draw into English Metre (1549); Thomas Wyatt's Certayne psalmes . . . drawen into englyshe meter by Sir Thomas Wyat Knyght . . . (1549; Henry Howard's Certayne Chapters of the proverbes of Salomon drawen into metre by Thomas Sterneholde [sic] . . . (1549-50); William Hunnis's Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen furth into Englysh meter. . . (1550); and, Francis Seagar's plagiarized versions in

Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into Englyshe Metre . . . (1553).

20. Examples of such cautious strategies include Robert Crowley, The Psalter of David newely translated into Englysh metre . . . (1549); and John Hall, Certayn chapters taken out of the Proverbes of Salomon, wyth other chapters of the holy Scripture, & certayne Psalmes of David, translated into English metre . . . (1550).

21. See L.B. Campbell, Divine Poetry, p. 12 wherein she argues that the phenomenon of biblical versifying owes its origins to such reformers as Savonarola; also, see John King, English Reformation Literature, pg. 215, wherein the case is made that Reformation translations of Scripture follow a tradition traced by Bale, Crowley, and others, back to the works of Caedmon and other Anglo-Saxon translators of Biblical verse.

22. N. Temperley, The Music of the English Parish Church, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979).

23. The British Library houses a booklet by Albert Peel entitled "Robert Crowley--Puritan, Printer, Poet." Published in 1937, it was originally a lecture delivered at Regent Square Presbyterian Church. Not only does it provide a thorough biography of Crowley, the little book also offers insights into the political and social impetus behind much of Crowley's work. Crowley sought broad reform of the Church; condemned the practice of giving "livings" to clergy; and admonished the opulent lifestyles of wealthy laymen. Although he eventually succumbed to "pluralities" by accepting the livings of several parishes, his early years were spent in earnest efforts to reform society. Crowley's popular criticisms were oftened expressed in rhyme, such as the following verses (the first condemning alehouses and the second characterising lazy clergy), reproduced by Peel:

> Nedes must we have places for vitayls to be solde
> For such as be sycke, pore, feble, and olde.
> But, Lorde, to howe greate abuse they be growne!
> Iech lyttle hamlet, vyllage, and towne
> They are become places of waste and excesse,
> And harbour for such men as lyve in idlenes.
>
> A lobbe and loute
> A malmesey snoute
> A drousie dronkie face
> A billy swaine
> A feeble braine
> On ye voide of all Gods grace.

24. The metrical psalms of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke are not discussed in any detail in this section. Their metrical variety and the formal prosodic achievements

have been discussed by such writers as Margaret Hannay, Anne Lake Prescott, Gary Waller, and many others. And, as their work is, in a sense, the culmination of a generation of work on the psalms, it is fitting to look at the work of other psalmists as precursors to the Sidneys' achievements.

25. In fact, The Queen's Majesty's Commissioners did seize the revised version (The Posies) in 1576, as recorded in The Decrees and Ordinances of the Stationers' Company, 1576-1602.

26. Twentieth century scholarship dealing with the biblical psalms has been dominated by H. Gunkel, S. Mowinckel, and C. Westermann (see bibliography). Early in the century, Gunkel attempted to establish the *Sitz im Leben* or context within which psalms might have been composed and employed. His work led to the classification of the psalms according to cultic use by ancient Israel. Mowinckel's work attempts to associate specific psalms with cultic events, such as enthronement festivals, thereby rendering highly specific and historically based textual interpretations. Westermann's work concentrates more on the literary forms of the psalms.

27. In his Psalm Commentaries, Cassiodorus attempts to demonstrate that the psalms provide an apt medium for teaching the trivium and the quadrivium. In particular, he promotes the notion that the science of numbers is relevant to the understanding of Christian mysteries.

28. Roy T. Eriksen, "George Gascoigne's and Mary Sidney's Versions of Psalm 130," Cahiers Elisabethains 36:1-9.

29. See Jerome's "Preface to Eusebius" in which he states that the Hebrew psalms were written in the very style of Horace and Pindar, running in iambs, sounding in Alcaics and Sapphics, etc. He asks, rhetorically, what is more beautiful than Deuteronomy or Isaiah, more exalted than Solomon or Job, and concludes that all these verses were composed in hexameter and pentameter verses. This passage from Jerome was frequently quoted in the sixteenth century by defenders of quantitative verse. Richard Willes, for example, made extensive references to Jerome's "Preface" in De re poetica (London, 1573), as did Thomas Lodge in A Defence of Poetry (London, 1579).

30. Attridge's discussion in Well-weighed syllables, (pp. 192-94), offers a brief but helpful description of Fraunce's techniques.

31. Attridge claims that of the ten quantitative psalm renderings in the Sidney-Pembroke psalter, two are versions "which the Countess apparently rejected" and many of the others are imitative of Sir Philip Sidney's quantitative poems in the Old Arcadia which the Countess was probably editing at the time she was composing her psalm translations (203). Nevertheless, evidence of prosodic experimentation is pronounced, ranging from phalaecian hendecasyllables, to asclepiadic verse; to anacreontics and saphics; and, of course, hexameters.

32. This term, used extensively in The Postmodern Bible, is employed by reader-response critics to describe a particular kind of reading in which a) there is "little concern for the historical circumstances of the text's production;" b) biblical narratives "have an immediate presence and applicability as stories about the oppressed and the poor as the object of God's present concern and activity;" c) a "transformation" of the reader and his/her circumstances is achieved; and d) "popular", that is, non-academic readings influenced by popular culture, would constitute membership in the canon of biblical criticism. See pp.65-67.

33. When, for example, Tyndale translated *ecclesia* as "congregation" instead of "church" and replaced "penance" with "repentance" he was attempting to resurrect Scripture from the mire of Roman Catholic error: he was articulating his rejection of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Sacrament of Confession.

34. Douglas Robinson's article "The Ascetic Foundations of Western Translatology: Jerome and Augustine" offers an interesting analysis of the impact Christian Scriptural translation has had on the overall discipline of translation. Summarizing his discussion, he writes: ". . . [W]hat Augustine's translatology underlines is that the 'alien word' of the translator's interlanguage or translationese is hegemonically the 'authoritative word' that subjects both the translator and the target-language reader to a cenobitic discipline--to the masterful speaking of an authority, who coaches the translator and the reader in submission to the ascetic command. Whether this means that the Bible reader can 'trust' (and conform to) a Bible translation because the translator has been so thoroughly conformed to God's source-language intention, or that a consumer can 'trust' (and conform to) a translated advertisement or business letter because the translator has been so thoroughly conformed to the source-language writer's intention, translation since Augustine has been, and remains to this day, normatively a cenobitic discipline. It is steeped in social power, mastery and subjection, command and conformity" (23).

35. In The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain: 1530-1645, Katharine Firth discusses the tremendous impact Bale's writing had on the works of John Foxe and later English historians. One of the key influences to direct Bale's reading of Revelations came from Martin Luther's belief that Revelations prophesied the arrival and eventual success of the Reformation.

36. Fisher's closing remarks in his sermon on Psalm 50 (51) similarly remind his listener of these faculties. Speaking of the state of reconciliation, he writes ". . . the superyoure strengthes of the soule whiche be called/ wyll/ reason/ & memorye/ that before were overthrowen by the grevaunce of synne shall than Joye for ever with out any adversyte. Our wyll shall Joye in the frucycon of god. Our reason in the clere syghte of the godhede. And last our memory shall Joye in a sure remembraunce ever to contynue and never lacke that excellent Joye and pleasure. Than our wyll/ our reason/ and our memory before oppressed and brought under by synne shall Joye without ende" (sig. lliii^{r} recto).

37. For specific examples of Augustine's exegetic techniques and practices see his second discourse on Psalm 30 (4) in which he writes "It is Christ, therefore, who here speaks in the prophet; yes, I dare to affirm, Christ is speaking. The prophet will utter certain things in this Psalm which may seem impossible of application to Christ . . . . [a]nd yet it is Christ speaking, because in Christ's members Christ Himself speaks," or Psalm 5 (1) wherein he says of the first verse: "The reference is to the Church, to whom our Lord Jesus Christ gives the inheritance of life everlasting in order that she may possess God Himself . . ." As virtually every Psalm Commentary engages in allegorical exegesis, examples abound.

38. See, for example, Cassiodorus' commentary on Psalm 124 wherein he writes: "The Prophet mounts the sixth step, which is in the science of numbers accounted as perfection" (287).

39. For Lefevre's commentaries on the Psalms see the prefaces of both Quincuplex Psalterium (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1509) and Psalterium David, (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1524).

40. Theodore Beza, Les Pseaumes de David et les Cantiques de la Bible, avec les argumens et la Paraphrase de Theodore de Beeze Geneva, 1581). Also, Theodore Beza, Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum prophetarum, libri quinque. Argumentis & Latina Paraphrasi illustrati, ac etiam vario carminum genere latine expressi . . . T. Beca auctore (London, 1580).

41. Philip Melanchthon, Commentarii in psalmos.

42. Pole denied royal supremacy and published his opinions in a 1536 text entitled *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione*.

43. W.D. McGaw, in his edition of Surrey's poems found in the "Oxford English Texts" series argues that the paraphrases of Pss. 31 and 51 printed in Certayne Chapters of the proverbes of Salomon drawen into metre by Thomas Sterneholde, late grome of the kynges Magesties robes (London, 1549) are also Surrey's, although this text is their only source.

44. See Zim, English Metrical Psalms pp. 88-98.

45. See Tottel's Songes and Sonettes (London, 1557) sig. D3^{v}, wherein is found a poem intitled "Bonum est mihi quod humiliasti me,' alleged by his son to be the last poem Surrey wrote before his execution.

46. There is some uncertainty as to where Becon's A confortable Epistle was printed. Strasbourg seems likely, but Zim wonders if the location is really Wesel. Becon also penned metrical versions of Pss. 117 and 134 which were printed in 1561 as part of the 1561 psalter printed by John Day in London. Both were rendered in common metre. (see STC 2429).

Chapter Four

Reading Tudor Psalms as Political Tracts and Artifacts

In earlier chapters of this study, Tudor metrical psalm texts were grouped into a literary kind, analyzed as such, and then individually examined as discrete aesthetic creations. As the evidence of the psalms' close relationship to the "events" of the English Reformation(s) mounted, rereading these verses as political commentaries and ideological articulations, rather than as simply private devotional expressions, proved necessary. Various texts thus appeared to share the basic characteristics outlined in an earlier chapter, but could nonetheless be distinguished from one another by their thematic content and political and/or ideological orientation. Hence we should further distinguish various subgenres within the kind of Tudor metrical psalmody.

As Fowler observed in Kinds of Literature, "subgenres are made by distinguishing additional genre-linked motifs or topics" (122), particularly attitude, purpose, and tone. In Tudor metrical psalmody, subgenres developed rapidly: tone, attitude, and purpose shifted so readily that, as a literary kind, Tudor metrical psalmody was unusually volatile and prone to radical alteration in accordance with the political climate and social cast of the times.

Beginning with the pre-Reformation metrical psalms of Wyatt which could be classified by their linkage to Roman Catholic habits of thought, and moving to the subgenre of protest with the early Protestant psalmists, we already see the relationship between the progress of the Reformation and the development of Tudor psalmody into a

new subgenre. Following the accession of Edward, we are confronted with the psalmody of Sternhold which we know was intended for the court's worldly amusement--again, a curious subgenre unlike its biblical exemplar, or any preceding form of English psalmody. Of course, there are also the "gospellers"--the Pits, Seagars and others whose renderings turned psalmody into a subgenre of tiresome maxims; and in stark contrast, stand the courtier psalmists whose intellectual and aesthetic proclivities produced a rare subgenre, indeed. But it is not these discrete subgenres themselves that hold a compelling interest. Rather, it is the rapidity with which the historical kind known as Tudor psalmody could devolve into so many subgenres and thus respond to political and social change that bears investigation.

The entire corpus of metrical psalms should be read for its political resonances--as a progression of "symbolic resolutions" of the social contradictions which initially engendered them. All Tudor metrical psalms express and/or textually embody the social contradictions of their age; but they also attempt to "resolve" those contradictions by allegorically articulating fantasies of "resolution." Since each translation is contingent upon the circumstances unique to its author's lived experiences, including his or her religious affiliations and role within the religious struggles of the period, the nature of these fantasized "resolutions" differ in emphasis and tone, but all express the desire for a radical social transformation culminating in the fulfilment of Scripture's promises as the psalmist understood those promises. The evolution of this literary kind was also, then, an evolution of utopian fantasies--a record of how, for a single century, English men and women of every literate class perceived specific social ills of their day, divined a curative

within scripture or religious tradition, and articulated that curative within the lines of their psalm translations. The biblical psalms were an ideal vehicle for ideological expressions of this kind since, even in their traditional scriptural context, they are fantasies--visions of divine intervention, revenge, restitution, and justice. Further, because the narrative content of the psalms was accessible to Tudor readers already familiar with the master-narrative found in Scripture, each of the variant translations offered a newer, more timely, even urgent vision of a curative fantasy.

The critical implications of such a reading are far-reaching. To begin with, the very proliferation of numerous printed metrical psalm translations suggests an accompanying emergence of political desires seeking expression in a broad public forum. Second, when "management" of these political expressions by traditional means of censorship proved ineffective, English Church authorities responded by appropriating specific sets of translations (i.e., those found in the Book of Common Prayer, 1549, 1552, and those collected by Day and published in "final" form in 1562), thereby creating what amounts to an officially approved object of consumption for "mass culture." The Elizabethan Church's primary objective in selecting a particular version of the biblical psalms clearly was to control and defuse their political significance, and render them private (and harmless) expressions of devotion and fidelity to the state Church. So long as expressions of social desire were subsumed within the realm of private piety, there was little threat to social cohesion and prevailing authority. Where legislation and punitive retribution failed in its task, Church authority could (and did) succeed through spiritual incentives and rhetorical persuasion. By authorizing and promoting only some psalm

translations for mass consumption, the Elizabethan Church of England emptied them of dissenting political potency and simultaneously helped secure its own institutional authority. Meanwhile, other "heterodox" versions of the psalms that once had the potential to appeal to the ideological fantasies of dissident readers were systematically marginalized and devalued as aesthetically unworthy objects, and eventually relegated to the back shelves of repository libraries. These marginalized voices, however, should be recuperated if we consider the phenomenon of sixteenth-century metrical psalmody within a Jamesonian paradigm, that is, as a "narrative of the political unconscious," and if we embrace the idea that History is "the experience of Necessity." This, then, is the first object of the ensuing discussion: to recuperate these marginalized voices and to explore their articulations of political desire, including the desire for power, liberty, justice, and patronage. The second object is to explore the ways in which the Elizabethan state successfully employed Day's metrical psalm books to enforce doctrinal loyalty to the English Church.

The early Protestant psalmists such as Bale, Becon, and Askewe shared a vision of history that was fundamentally comic: while its temporal manifestation was both punitive and corrective, history's ultimate resolution, they believed, lay in sanctification and salvation. Mankind was destined to suffer on earth but, for the faithful, there was the promise of eternal happiness. Christian teleology is not unlike the Marxist idea of history. A Marxist paradigm argues that out of the ruins of capitalism will emerge the true community of man: the repressive machines of state gradually become superfluous and wither away, and the curse of alienation will be lifted forever. While no one can foretell

the exact hour of the proletarian revolution, the inescapable contradictions of capitalism guarantee its inevitable demise. Reappearing again and again in myths and fairy-tales, such supposedly irresistible utopian paradigms are predictably manifested from a Christian standpoint in the metrical psalm paraphrases of socially ravaged sixteenth-century England.

For Askewe, Becon, and Bale, alienation consisted of an unwilling separation from the idealized community of temporal and celestial believers. Their psalm translations articulate the desire for resolution of their temporal difficulties and eternal union with their Lord and co-believers within a true Church rightly heir to the Davidic tradition and his spiritual lineage.

In Askewe's rendering of Psalm 54, the Lord administers the highest court of appeal to which the Justified are entitled to plead their cases. The temporal justice system that failed Askewe and evokes our sense of horror and outrage is implicitly contrasted with God's treatment of the justified, and from the great disparity between her portrait of God's justice and the "justice" to which she was subjected, we discern the justness of Askewe's desire.

Bale's psalmic blueprint for the "resolution" of society's ills is inextricably bound to his virulent antipapalism and desire for the eradication of all vestiges of Roman Catholicism in England. Once the papist "fooles" whom he describes in his translation of Psalm 14 are vanquished, "Than wyl Jacob [by which he means God's elect], rejoyce in hart."[1] Bale's utopian fantasy is even more broadly expressed in his translation of Psalm 130. There he suggests that if presently "[t]he churche for her contynuaunce" can only

"hopeth in the Lordes good governaunce," eventually it will enjoy "full redemptyon after thys." Wresting control of the Church from papists, according to Bale, is a prerequisite to establishing the true Church--a Church for God's elect.

In contrast with Askewe's and Bale's expressions of utopian desire, Becon's version of Psalm 103 is filled with contradictions and conflicts, and only a superficial reading of the verses suggests a song of thanksgiving. Maintaining a tenuous alliance with his source, Becon enumerates and then elaborates upon the various things for which he ought to be thankful--everything from grace and good food to justice and gentleness. But long shadows are cast over Becon's world--and no earthly light can dispel them. "A man in his lyfe is like unto grasse," writes Becon. "Hys dayes are few, & but a whyle endure/ Lyke the floure of the felde awaye he pass/ florishing for a tyme/ but nothing sure." This rendering of verse 15 is a pensive verisimilitude of Scripture, and its bleakness is amplified in the next verse: "For as a flour with fears wid assayled/ Fadeth shortly away & cometh to nought/ So dothe man of cruel death oppressed/ Departe here/ & unto nothing is brought." While it can be argued that this verse must be read in light of the redemptive promise of God which follows in verse 17, narratively verse sixteen completes the thoughts expressed in the previous verse. Read thus, Becon's psalm typically resonates with the systemic cruelty of the Marian reign under which he himself suffered. It was a reign of terror, his words imply, that withered the bloom of his tender years and filled him with such fear he faded even before the full blossom of manhood. The ambiguity of verse 16--the insecurity with which we locate his authorial intentions--suggests this is the site of Becon's utopian desire, where the fleeting pleasures of temporal life and the promises of

the Christian faith ought to have converged, but failed to. We know from the scant historical records available to us that Becon's life was fraught with difficulties. Ordained a priest in or around 1538, Becon nevertheless married. He further defied Church authority by writing a number of polemical books dealing with images, and one of these texts may have brought him to the attention of conservative authorities for charges were brought against him and eventually he was forced to recant publicly.[2]

Throughout Henry's reign, Becon lived in fear of prosecution. With the accession of Edward, however, Becon's lot improved and he, along with Bradford, Cardmaker, Crome, Latimer, and Coverdale, became frequent preachers in the Churches of London. But when Mary ascended the throne in 1553, Becon was charged with having preached seditious sermons and was committed to the tower by Order in Council with John Bradford. There is no clear record of why Becon was released from prison, although tradition has it that Gardiner mistakenly signed an Order for his release, whereupon Becon fled to Strasbourg.

The misery of Becon's life, including the shame of publicly recanting his Protestant faith before Paul's Cross, colours much of his polemical writing. The supplicatory language of Becon's work contrasts sharply with that of other Protestant polemicists: his tone is often tentative and passive, sometimes even cringing and he speaks constantly of God's "loving kyndnes," of how "gentle and lovyng" are His dealings, how he is "lyke as a father gentle and tender." The tone of his psalm translations aptly characterizes his political leanings: subdued, tending to tolerance, kindness, forgiveness, and peace--qualities a terrorized son (or subject) might seek from his father (or sovereign).

The works of these early Protestant psalmists variously express the desire for empowerment sufficient to resolve the religious uncertainties of the day. This empowerment was to be achieved through their prayers, psalm translations, the supplications of the godly, divine intervention, and by a general religious faithfulness that would ultimately bring about the rule of the sanctified body of believers, as it had seemingly done in European cities such as Strasbourg. If divine force could indeed be invoked and directed through prayer conducted by the priesthood of all believers, then a Protestant utopia would be achieved for England.

As expressions of political desire, these early Protestant psalms are markedly different from those of their predecessors, primarily because they intentionally and unconsciously challenge the political and social hierarchy of sixteenth-century England and offer an alternative vision of social order we might consider a call for the "plebiscite of the prayerful." They are publicly-directed statements about political and social repression and, as such, they contrast sharply with earlier psalm translations of the sixteenth century which appear to focus on private suffering and spiritual illness. Nevertheless, the religious uncertainties of the early sixteenth century informed the works of the early psalmists, and we can begin to discern the political whispers of psalmists whose lives were entwined in the intrigues of Henry's and Edward's courts.

In Wyatt's psalm sequence, for example, no grand teleological design or utopian paradigm is offered, and no political manifesto is discernible.[3] The Davidic voice (the traditional psalmic voice) within the work expresses a personal desire for a particular spiritual condition, while the priestly voice (Wyatt's invention) offers a ritualized, publicly-

oriented response to David's painfully articulated sinful state of alienation from God. Even Stephen Greenblatt acknowledges that the poem narrates an "intensely personal moment--the withdrawal into the darkness of the self . . . the solitary straining for reconciliation with God," although he hastens to add that this "is intertwined with the great public crisis of the period, with religious doctrine and the nature of power" (119). Greenblatt's reading is largely convincing, but because he is overly preoccupied with the Davidic voice and fails to assess the role and import of the auctor's, he overlooks the overtly and explosively political potential of the work's dialogic structure.

Wyatt's work is complex because it is rooted in a fundamentally Roman Catholic habit of thought but struggles to articulate and defend some of the key tenets of Protestant doctrine. The two voices of the psalm sequence (those of the individual and the Church) dramatize the religious ambivalence we can assume that Wyatt and so many other English men and women experienced during the 1530s.[4] Admittedly, Wyatt's David articulates a Protestant religious doctrine, but the advice of the "auctor" and the sequence's implicit catechism and rhetorical strategies are traditional and invite comparison with Fisher's sermons.

As David articulates disgust with himself, compunction at the recollection of his sins, and a strong desire to work his way out of the mire of sin, the auctor offers the reader (and David) the obverse by presenting the Catholic Church's doctrine of Atonement in which one actively shares in the passion and redemption of Christ, as opposed to passively benefitting from it through imputed Justification, as Protestant doctrine allowed. The wary Tudor reader, whose attention would rest now upon the cries of Wyatt's David,

now upon the sage words of the auctor, would likely have perceived a sympathetically schizophrenic quality to the text. Here were the sighs and tears of a Protestant-sounding David situated within the critical paradigm of the auctor's Catholic catechism. Working with these different materials of narrative, Wyatt deconstructs the contradictions of his age's flirtation with Protestantism and offers his readers a curious paradox. David's utopian yearning for a private spiritual curative is, indeed, biblically based, but Wyatt may also be suggesting that without the specific elements of contrition, confession and satisfaction (the very elements of the Catholic Church's sacrament) David cannot achieve peaceful reconciliation with God. Similarly, without the auctor's priestly wisdom, the reader can perceive David's penitence in its discrete moments, that is, as compunction, pain, anguish, fear, and love, but lacks the necessary outward sign from which to infer or discern the forgiveness of sin and reconciliation with God.

By reading Wyatt's psalm sequence as a representative dialogue between Protestant theology and Church authority, wisdom, and tradition, we could discern Wyatt's utopian desire for a strong Church that would "govern" the gift of penance within a truly reformed Church. Conversely, however, we could read the sequence as a paradigm of literary restiveness--an authorial impatience with the process of political and religious decision-making--and as an unconscious foray into the arena of theological discourse.

If Wyatt's pre-Reformation metrical psalm sequence is a somewhat subdued articulation of theological agitation, and the liberationist psalms of Becon, Bale, and Askewe typify strong and unambiguous expressions of desire for political power and justice, we should expect that Elizabethan psalmic verses would progressively articulate a

body of political desires and participate in the public discourses of their milieu. But Elizabethan psalmody reads differently. It is far more class-bound and becomes a complex of competing versions, each psalm with its own publics and purposes. The sudden change in the direction and intensity of political desire expressed in late Tudor psalmody can be explained in terms of the cultural and social milieu in which the Elizabethan psalmists worked. For the "courtier" psalmists such as, for example, the Countess of Pembroke, George Gascoigne, Richard Stanyhurst, or Abraham Fraunce, the rendering of biblical psalms into English verse involved a number of simultaneous intentions. In one sense, their translations are elaborate, courtly displays of learning: exegetic traditions and prosodic prowess are cleverly conjoined so that new arguments are "discovered"[5] within scriptural sources and cleverly exhibited for those whose tastes and religious sensibilities were sufficiently honed to appreciate the poets' endeavours. Such were their toys. In keeping with classical (Ciceronian) traditions of translation, the chief duty of the Elizabethan courtier-psalmist was to translate the ethos of the biblical psalm into terms more suited to English Court life. A successful Elizabethan metrical psalm translation would thus display the highest social values and norms of the English Court expressed in the most exalted forms of verse. It is no surprise, then, that the language of the Elizabethan metrical psalm is elevated and the metre varied; that the conceits are elaborate; and that virtually every figurative device is used to ensure that each verse delights by its ingenuity, even as it evinces an intimacy with courtly issues and reformed theology.

Yet the games these courtiers played with their toys were inwardly in earnest.

Gascoigne, as I showed in an earlier chapter, used his translation of Psalm 130 to mark his own repentance while framing a call for a more vigorous English state. Abraham Fraunce, who owed his education and livelihood to Philip Sidney and his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, repaid his Patron and Patroness by celebrating the hierarchical relationship between a Lord and his vassals and creations. Fraunce's rendering of Psalm 50 epitomizes this:

> God, the triumphant God, th'aeternall greate God of all Gods
> Hath sent foorth Summons with a thu[n]dring voyce fro[m] the heaue[n]s,
> World-warnyng Summons, commaunding all in a moment,
> All from th'east to the weast, to be prest, and make an aparance,
> And performe theyr suyte to the court, to the greate, to the high court . . .

Meanwhile, the Sidney-Pembroke psalter, which reads like a testimonial rebuttle to Puritan fear of poetry, seeks to delineate a "right" relationship between aesthetic sensibility and Calvinist piety. Zim suggests that "Sidney's Defence of Poesie is probably the best guide to his intentions and his methods as an English metrical psalmist" (154). Like David, Sidney would "maketh you, as it were, see God coming in His majesty." Fashioning himself after the Biblical psalmist, he assumed the persona of "a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith" (Sidney, 215). His and his sister's psalm translations exude "virtue-breeding delightfulness" (249) combined with the requisite Protestant religiosity marked by a studious familiarity with the works of reformers from Beza and Marot to Calvin's translator, Golding. But more than this, their translations had the effect of salvaging the Biblical psalms from the "abuses" perpetrated upon them by the gospellers, and restored to them a dignity of expression in keeping with the decorum of English Court society. In

effect, Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke not only "englyshed" the psalms, they "Englished" them. In keeping with their task of domesticating the psalms, they inflected the rhetorical patterns of some verses with allusions and ideas of particular interest to their class.[6] For example, Margaret Hannay's "'When riches growe': Class Perspective in Pembroke's Psalmes," explores how the Countess dwelt on issues of concern to the courtier class and employed language and imagery exclusive to that domain. Pembroke's preoccupation with sumptuary issues, with the proper relationship between a sovereign and the aristocracy, and with the relationship between wealth and social status is reflected in many of her psalm verses and such a reflection would not have been lost on her social peers.

For the great masses of churchgoing Englishmen and women, vernacular psalmody would present a very different face. It would emerge from the Strasbourg and Genevan exiles and present itself as the triumphant work of the Reformation(s)'s saints, sporting the dignified metre used by Sternhold but stripped of any doctrinally suspect accretions. What follows is a brief but important account of "the people's" metrical psalter.

Elizabeth's succession to the throne in late 1558 heralded the beginning of yet another English Reformation. Within months, Marian legislation was repealed: the anti-papal statutes of her father were re-enacted, Edward's 1552 Prayer Book (with slight modifications) was reissued, Protestant exiles flocked back to England, and congregational psalm-singing was once again encouraged. The prolific English printer, John Day, who had been in exile in Emden throughout much of Mary's reign, now returned to London where he set up his press and produced numerous editions of what

finally became the standard Elizabethan English metrical psalter.[7]

The genesis of Day's English metrical psalter is complex. Items were added and removed in each of the editions printed in 1560, 1561, and 1562.[8] In 1559, John Day produced a collection of metrical psalms (no longer extant) which established the commencement of a native tradition in English metrical psalmody. A year later either he or William Seres[9] issued Psalmes of Dauid in Englishe Metre, by Thomas Sternholde and others: conferred with the Ebrue, & in certeine places corrected, as the sense of the Prophete required: and the Note joyned withall. Very mete to be vsed of all sorts of people priuately for their godly solace and confort, laiyng aparte all ungodly songes & ballades which tend only to the norishing of vice, and corrupting of youth. Newly set fourth and allowed, according to the order appointed in the Quenes Maiesties Iniunctions (STC 2427). It contains 62 psalm texts taken from the second edition of the 1558 Anglo-Genevan psalter; two psalms of Robert Wisdome (Psalms 67 and 125); a version of Psalm 95 numbered Psalm 94 (following the tradition of the Vulgate); and several other metrical canticles along with Whittingham's version of the Ten Commandments. The melodies that accompanied the material were associated with the Anglo-Genevan Churches or were borrowed from German tunes used in Strasbourg. The preface offered "A shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke" so that "the rude & ignorant in Song, may with more delight desire, and good wyl: be moued and drawen to the godly exercise of singing of Psalmes, aswell in common place of prayer, where altogether with one voyce render thankes & prayses to God, as priuately by them selues, or at home in their houses . . . ."[10] This confirms that congregational psalm-singing recommenced almost immediately in

Elizabethan England.

So insatiable was the demand for English psalters during the early years of Elizabeth's reign that, in 1561, John Day hastily produced yet another incomplete psalter which was nothing more than a reprint of the fourth edition of the Anglo-Genevan Psalter. To this, Day gave the title Foure score and seuen Psalmes of Dauid in English mitre by Thomas sternehold and others: conferred with the Hebrewe, and in certeine places corrected . . . (STC 2428). Day's next psalter, Psalmes of Dauid in Englishe Metre, by Thomas Sterneholde and others . . . (STC 2429) contains eighty-two psalms, including those of Sternhold, Hopkins, Whittingham, Kethe, Thomas Norton, and Thomas Becon, along with eighteen canticles and hymns. In 1562, Day produced yet another volume of psalms, this time entitled The Residue of all Dauids Psalmes in metre, made by Iohn Hopkins and others . . . (STC 2429.5). This supplemental volume contains seventy-seven psalms penned by Hopkins, Norton, Kethe, and Marckant, and again, melodies were provided. In Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes, Leaver speculates that "The Residue must have been issued in a significant print-run since there were at least three reissues of the 1561 psalter, obviously designed to be bound in with this 1562 supplementary collection" (252). Later in 1562, Day finally brought out his first full English metrical psalter under the title The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre by T. Starnhold, I. Hopkins & others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to synge them withal, Faithfully perused and alowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes maiesties Iniunctions. Very mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all vngodly Songes and Ballades, which tende only to the

norishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth. (STC 2430). This version, which much later drove Thomas Warton into a splenetic frenzy, was to be reprinted numerous times in various formats (folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo) to serve England's pedestrian tastes but expanding pocketbooks.

Day's metrical psalter was often used for singing in English churches, although in Scotland, John Knox would eventually issue the Book of Common Order (1564) which relied on an English version of Calvin's Strasbourg Prayerbook, and thus predictably borrowed some texts and tunes from the French Genevan psalter. Practically speaking, then, Day's Whole Booke of Psalmes of 1562, the only licensed metrical psalter with melodies included, became *the* English metrical psalter and its popularity lasted well into the ninteenth century. It was frequently used for public worship as well as private prayer, and its contents, being metrical, were far more popular than the psalms of Coverdale found in the Book of Common Prayer. To understand the popularity of this particular psalter and the loyalty it enjoyed across all classes of the English, we must consider the political issues that surrounded its Genevan origins, numerous revisions, and ultimate acceptance by clerical authorities in English Churches.

The English Church in Geneva, whose 200 members included the Frankfurt exiles John Knox, William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, John Foxe, and Thomas Cole, was founded in late 1555. Having rejected the English Prayer Book (1552) they adopted their own liturgy which was printed under the title The forme of prayers and Ministration of the Sacramentes, &c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua: and approued, by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn (John Crespin, Geneva, 1556) (STC 16561).

Besides the liturgy, it contained a metrical psalter and a translation of John Calvin's catechism. Its preface, and the separate preface to the section reserved for the metrical psalms, are not signed but may have been written by Whittingham who was also responsible for editing the psalms themselves. The metrical psalms in The forme of prayers are preceded by a title-page acknowledging the principal "maker" of the psalms: "One and Fiftie Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, whereof. 37. were made by Thomas Sterneholde: and the rest by others. Conferred with the hebrewe, and in certeyn places corrected as the text and sens of the Prophets required." Sadly, the "corrections" undertaken by Whittingham (primarily for theological reasons) robbed Sternhold's and Hopkins' verses of much of their "poetry" and replaced their occasionally pleasing phrases with theologically explicit and doctrinally "sound" language of a perfunctory nature. Thus, while Sternhold's first psalm begins, "The ma[n] is blest that hath not gon/ by wycked rede astraye,/ Ne sate in chayre of pestilence,/ nor walkt in sinners waye," Whittingham's version (which we have unfairly come to call Sternhold's) reads "The man is blest that hath not bent/ to wicked rede his ears:/ nor led his lyfe as synners do,/ nor sate in scorners chayre."

Whittingham's work, and that of the other Genevan exiles, was undertaken with the hope that the English at home, under the direction of their new Queen, would reject the 1552 prayerbook used under Edward, and adopt their theology and liturgy. The metrical psalms were undoubtedly considered a sweet enticement. And, as was the case with the Geneva Bible, the Genevan psalter proved more popular than its predecessors. While the appearance of the King James Bible eventually offered the Geneva Bible

significant competition, the Genevan psalms remained for three centuries the principal English metrical versions, satisfying virtually all English Protestant tastes.

The dogmatic simplicity and doggerel rhythm of these psalms happily dovetailed with the Queen's policy of benign indifference to theological hairsplitting and desire to placate the meaner classes, and thus the Queen and her ecclesiastic administration generally encouraged the use of Day's psalters. For the masses of people who had secretly sympathized with the Marian exiles, Day's psalter was venerated as a book of sacred songs prepared by steadfast Saints: it was a physical testimony to the Protestant triumph over Roman Catholic domination.

Many of the Marian exiles who had been affiliated with the translating of the Geneva Bible returned to England after Elizabeth's accession and immediately secured senior appointments in the Church of England. John Scory, who had been exiled in Emden, was appointed Bishop of Hereford; Richard Cox, who had resided in both Strasbourg and Frankfurt, became Bishop of Ely; John Jewell, who had also lived in exile in Strasbourg and Frankfurt, was appointed Bishop of Salisbury; Robert Horne assumed the appointment of Bishop of Winchester; Edmund Grindal found himself Bishop of London; and Edwin Sandys became Bishop of Worcester. Whittingham returned to England in late 1560 and after a brief period during which he attended the French Court with Francis Russell, Second Earl of Bedford, became chaplain to Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. In 1563, Elizabeth reluctantly acceded to Warwick's and Leicester's request that Whittingham be collated to the deanery of Durham. From their positions of authority and control, these reform clerics were able to exert considerable influence on the liturgical

forms of worship within their jurisdictions and to cultivate a taste among the English people for congregational psalm-singing in the Anglo-Genevan style. As founders of schools and promoters of literacy,[11] many of Elizabeth's Protestant Bishops also influenced pedagogic practices and material, encouraging the use of Scripture in the education of young Englishmen, as had Lily and Thomas Wilson.

John Day's English psalter, whose verses were sung in Churches and homes, at funerals and wakes, at ordinations and in times of difficult childbirth, at the gallows, at the Queen's Court and in the humble cottage, were virtually a daily presence in all walks of English life, and thus were instrumental in securing an English Protestant hegemony for the majority of Bishops, despite ongoing theological disputes over such matters as vestments. The very commonality of the psalms and the exalted stature of the translators established the broad authority of Day's psalter, and that of the Church in whose service they worked.

Elizabethan metrical psalmody, then, essentially split itself into two broad camps with corresponding subgenres.[12] Metrical psalms other than those found in Day's psalter or the Book of Common Prayer belonged to a subgenre that served small, socially advantaged communities in much the same way occasional verses served. If the psalms of Sidney, Pembroke, Gascoigne, Fraunce, and Stanyhurst appear to us as artifacts of the sixteenth-century courtier's world, with their cautious intimations of political and social dissidence and dissonance "performed" by individual players variously satisfied or dissatisfied with their status within the larger playing field of Elizabethan Courtier society, it is because we read the psalms generically--as like-bodied verses. The complex metrical

and stanzaic patterns of courtier psalmody, which would have been foreign and confusing to the masses of English psalm-readers, were transparent communiques within the courtier world.

As the sixteenth century drew to a close in England, the last vestiges of Roman Catholic psalmic tradition flickered and threatened to expire. Three generations of crude gospelling had succeeded in reducing most divine poetry to little more than a form of exegesis--an appendage of Protestant teleology and eschatology. The customary accretions and embellishments associated with medieval spiritualist verses were all but eradicated from English devotional writing, and psalmody, like so much biblical versification undertaken during the century, was scarred by its encounters with radical reformers. However, the last two decades of the century witnessed greater political stability than previous ones and granted Protestant psalmody an important function in courtier society. Within the context of this elite society, metrical psalmody of the 1580's and 1590's transformed exegesis into a literary and social pastime--a well-attired technique of cautious, even polite social critique. Individual desire for revenge, protection, wealth, or preference was cloaked in courtly language and scriptural tradition, and only members of the courtier class were equipped to rend the veils of that class interest and discern the quest for empowerment inscribed within this subgenre.

The evolution of Tudor metrical psalmody from a pre-reformation devotional aid, to an expression of theological ambivalence, to liberationist propaganda, and finally, to a form of "intraculture-chatter" in the Elizabethan venue now seems a culturally inevitable journey for this genre. The one weapon available to all participants in the Reformation

struggles of the sixteenth century was Scripture. Its uses and abuses (as we have seen with the example of Tudor psalmody) waxed and waned with the rhythm and intensity of theological disputes. With the onset of reasonable political and economic stability in the later decades of Elizabeth's reign came a perception of religious stability, and metrical psalmody predictably stabilized into a Church-authorized biblical genre. The courtier poets who persisted in paraphrasing the psalms did so with the primary intention of engaging in an intra-class discourse. Using the authority of Scripture, they legitimated their arguments--whether these arguments dealt with the superiority of quantitative verse, or the divinely inspired privilege of the English courtier class. But their expressions of desire could not resonate outside the boundaries of their own class, as had the earlier works of Becon, Bale, and Askewe, precisely because their objectives and the very language they used were class-bound and exclusive in intent and scope--self-serving and self-aggrandizing at the expense of the general English populace. As political desire narrowed into class interest, metrical psalmody fragmented in two: for the general Tudor population, Day's psalter stood as a testimony of gratified desire; but for the courtier class, metrical psalmody became a literary subgenre within which they encoded their unanswered yearnings.

Endnotes for Chapter Four

1. See Rom. 9:10-13 in which St. Paul identifies Jacob as the one who exemplifies the predestination of the Elect.

2. Although there are no extant documents detailing the actual charges brought against Becon, his recantation is widely chronicled in records of the period.

3. Wyatt's penitential psalm sequence was penned some time between 1534 (the date of Aretino's Sette Salmi which was one of his principal sources) and Wyatt's death in 1542. Most critics have argued that Wyatt wrote the sequence during one of the periods of his imprisonment, either in 1536 or 1541. In the context of this discussion, a precise date would not alter the argument that the work is fundamentally a pre-Reformation text.

4. The religious climate that prevailed during Wyatt's lifetime was punctuated by sudden shifts in policy and doctrinal emphasis. While much of Europe had taken significant steps towards Protestantism, England in 1530 remained Roman Catholic. In the late fall of that year, however, Henry took his first unwilling steps toward reform by indicting the entire English clergy for praemunire. His intent was to gain control over the English Church so that he could secure an annulment of his marriage to Katherine and marry Anne Boleyn, whom he had been courting for four years. Attempts to gain such an annulment from Rome had been frustrated, and it seemed equally unlikely that he would be granted a divorce by the Pope; thus, he proceeded to investigate the possibility of obtaining one from the English Clergy . When the Convocation of Canterbury met in January of the following year, the clergy bowed under Henry's threat of praemunire. They provided him with a handsome monetary subsidy, and granted that Henry was "singular protector, supreme lord and even, so far as the law of Christ allows, supreme head of the English Church and clergy." Convocation at York also succumbed to Henry's pressure and signed the terms of the subsidy grant. In 1532, a second crisis erupted when May Convocation was advised that the King required the Church's immediate surrender of all its legislative independence. In particular, the King articulated his objection to the Bishops' oath of obedience to the Pope. On May 15, Henry declared a prorogation of Convocation, thereby squeezing compliance out of the clergy. Humiliated, most Bishops became increasingly compliant, and Henry was married to Anne in January, 1533. In fact, John Fisher may have been the only member of the Canterbury Upper House who vigorously opposed the (1533) annulment of Katherine's marriage to Henry.

   A schism developed between supporters of Katherine's matrimonial claims and those who championed Anne Boleyn's cause. Council dealt with the matter by authorizing sermons that attacked the authority of the pope, and in 1534 Convocation declared that the pope, as Bishop of Rome, had identical authority to that of any foreign Bishop--no more, and no less. While clerics in London seemingly conformed to Henry's new policies, there were problems outside the city. In 1534, the Supremacy Bill, which brought down

Fisher and More, was passed in Parliament.

By the end of 1535, ecclesiastical independence had evaporated, and Anne Boleyn actively participated in the making of appointments, including those of Shaxton and Latimer, and other well-known Protestant sympathizers. Henry's willingness to entertain a closer alliance with Protestant factions in Europe was prompted less by acceptance of Lutheran theology than by a real fear of military invasion by Charles V. Thus, when, in 1536, Katherine died and Charles V was engaged against Francis I, there seemed no need to adhere to the Augsburg Confession in exchange for Protestant alliances, and in its stead the Wittenberg Articles (a moderate version of the Augsburg Confession) was negotiated between the English and the Reformers and then drawn up. Eventually, these Articles became the basis for the Ten Articles in which England's first Protestant theology was articulated. Only the sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance were mentioned; the Real Presence was confirmed; penance was reaffirmed as a necessary component essential to salvation; and Justification slid into the Article, accompanied by its nemesis, necessary Works! Cranmer and Cromwell may have viewed the Ten Articles as a serious stepping-stone to full Reform along Lutheran lines, but Catholic England was unwilling to fall into line, as is evidenced by the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace during which approximately 40,000 Englishmen took up arms against Cromwell and his "heretics." Following this display of social unrest, Henry instructed Cromwell to revise the Articles, and this was done, along the lines of William Marshall's 1535 Primer. Henry's unease with Reformation theology reached its peak in 1538 when he took part in the trial of John Lambert, burned on November 22 for denying the real presence. Thereafter, Henry's support for reform was effectively withdrawn, and in May, 1539 the Conservative Duke of Norfolk approached Parliament with six theological issues which were finally resolved in favour of traditional Catholic doctrine and articulated in the Act of Six Articles. To deny transubstantiation was punishable by burning; communion in one kind and clerical celibacy were reaffirmed; and votive masses were reintroduced. Despite this return to conservative theology, Henry remained the supreme head of the English Church and when, on June 30, 1540 Henry had three Lutheran sympathizers burned (Barnes, Garrett, and Jerome) alongside three papalists with what Haigh refers to as "gruesome symmetry" (154), there could remain no doubt that Henry was supreme head of his own, fundamentally Catholic Church.

Wyatt's penitential psalm sequence was composed against the backdrop of this political and theological uncertainty, and while literary influences (see Muir and Thomson) shaped much of Wyatt's response to the Biblical exemplar, Henry's reformations also informed that response.

5. The term discovery here is used in the sense of *inventio*, that is, as the first of the five parts of classical oratory.

6. This aspect of Pembroke's psalms has been explored by Margaret P. Hannay in "When riches growe": Class perspective in Pembroke's Psalmes." Another article in a similar vein is Anne Lake Prescott's "Evil tongues at the court of Saul: the Renaissance David as a slandered courtier" in the Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 21 (1991): 164.

7. For information about John Day, see John Day, the Elizabethan Printer (Oxford Bibliographical Society Occasional Publications, 10, 1975). Originally from Suffolk, Day established his printing business in London in 1547 and a year later, he and Seres commenced a loose partnership. In 1554 he was committed to the Tower for printing Protestant Books. According to Strype, however, he escaped and fled to Emden and remained abroad until Elizabeth's accession. In November, 1559, Day was granted the privilege to print "during the time of vij yeares, all such Bookes, and workes, as he hath Imprinted, or hereafter shall Imprint, being diuised, compiled, or set out by any learned man, at the procurement, costs, & charge, only of the said Iohn Day" (Transcript of the Registers, ii. 61). This would have had the effect of allowing Day exclusive rights to print metrical psalms with melodies.

8. For a thorough discussion of this topic, see Leaver's Goostly psalmes and Spirituall Songes, pp. 238-271.

9. The printer's identity cannot be confirmed but it is likely either Day or William Seres, a former associate of Day's.

10. English Psalmody Prefaces: Popular Methods of Teaching, 1562-1835. Ed. B. Rainbow. (Kilkenny, 1982) 28-38.

11. Christopher Haigh notes that Bishops Parker, Grindal, Pilkington, and Sandys all founded schools during Elizabeth's reign. In addition, literacy rates jumped dramatically between 1560 and 1580. Writes Haigh: "Among East Anglian yeomen illiteracy fell from 55 per cent to 25 per cent, among tradesmen from 60 per cent to 40 per cent, and among husbandmen from 90 per cent to 70 per cent; and the trend was the same elsewhere" (276). The relationship between educators and Churchmen was intimate, and educational and evangelical efforts were mutually supportive if not synchronous.

12. Naturally, there are some exceptions to this generalization. The most important of these is Matthew Parker's The whole Psalter translated into English Metre, which contayneth an hundreth and fifty Psalmes (1567). Parker's work is scholarly in emphasis, opening with a lengthy prologue (also in verse) tracing psalmic commentary from the Patristic writers to humanist scholars. Eight musical settings by Tallis are included, suggesting that the work was probably intended for Church use. Ps. 119 is prefaced by acrostic verses that identify Parker, but we have no record that confirms his authorship. John Pits' metrical paraphrases of Pss. 67 and 100 (see appendix L) are anachronistic gospelling verses printed in 1566. William Samuel's An abridgement of all the Canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter by W. Samuel Minister (1569) contains the entire book of psalms reduced to four-line verses in ballad metre.

Chapter Five

Devotional and Confessional Traditions in Tudor Psalmody

> Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei,
> Et opera manuum eius annuntiat firmamentum.
> Dies diei eructat verbum,
> Et nox nocti indicat scientiam.
> Non sunt loquelae, neque sermones,
> Quorum non audiantur voces eorum.
> In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum,
> Et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.
>
> -Psalm 18 (19): 2-5

> . . . any coherent understanding of what language is and how language performs . . . any coherent account of the capacity of human speech to communicate meaning and feeling is, in the final analysis, underwritten by the assumption of God's presence.
>
> -George Steiner

The evolving poetic and polemical characteristics of Tudor metrical psalmody discussed in prior chapters were accompanied by an equally observable development of the kind's devotional qualities and traditions. At the very core of this change lay the deep discontinuity between a fundamentally sacramental world-view in which the pre-Reformation psalmists such as Wyatt and Surrey lived and wrote,[1] and the post-Reformation Protestant universe wherein language, unaided, struggled to broker salvation. Tudor metrical psalmody remained throughout the sixteenth century a genre composed of devotional verses, meditative pieces and prayers. But the psalms' very structures, largely informed and framed by the events of the Reformation, force us to read their language

discursively-- with an eye to their performative meaning, as opposed to reading philologically, that is, looking only to the vocation of language itself for a divine reflection.

The call to read discursively is not surprising. Tudor metrical psalmody, conceived and nurtured on the front lines of the Reformation, was nothing less than the vanguard in the struggle to maintain God's presence in the semiotic "prayingfield." Its militancy is unmistakable, but the prayerful impulse to translate these biblical verses persisted, and seems to have emerged to fill a void created by the loss of that pre-Reformation sacramental world-view. Early Protestant psalmists such as Becon, Bale, and Askewe had been raised within the ethos of that sacramental world, and leaving it behind produced radical conflicts between the prayerful and polemical elements within their texts. They approached the rite of psalm-translation as one of transubstantiation: they understood their vernacular verses to be more than a verbal mutation of Scripture, as ontologically a conversion of substance wherein and whereby the Holy Spirit actually became present in the temporal struggles of the century. The psalmic phrases and patterns were offered up to the reader like the bread and wine was formerly offered in the Eucharist, not as wheat and grapes; not as signs of something absent, but as a literal recalling or anamnesis of God's grace and Covenant. They saw the hand of the Holy Spirit incarnated in the events of English history, and in their writings. And yet, their psalms were publicly directed and thoroughly temporal statements about the politics of religious intolerance. So we ask, is this prayer? Is this, in any sense, devotional writing? Fundamentally, it is both, and its authority derives from the performative aspects of the biblical psalms wherein prayer is as

often pragmatic as affective.[2]

Distinguishing performative prayer and its uses from affective prayer, then, constitutes the first point of discussion in this chapter, particularly in the context of the early Protestant psalmists. As the Henrician reforms gave way to Edward's, Mary's, and finally Elizabeth's, we find numerous instances wherein metrical psalm translations devolved from performative prayer into maxims: mechanical-sounding platitudes the ill-educated masses no doubt "mumbled, murmured and piteously puled forth . . . ," as Marshall so elegantly described Roman Catholic habits of prayer in the 1530s. These, too, will be examined as a type of prayer, albeit a kind of prayer unknown to Christianity prior to the Reformation. Finally, in contrast to the performative psalm translations of the early Protestant psalmists and the aphoristic scribblings of later "gospellers," I examine the psalmody of Sir Philip Sidney, a convicted Calvinist, as prayerful meditations. Our predisposition to read Sidney's psalms as prayers derives from the verses' tonal correspondences with their biblical exemplars. The motions of meaning within their syntax act on us--tell us we, too, have felt thus before God--and therefore know the language of faith. And thus we translate our world in the translated Word and come to recognize that these verses, these discrete aesthetic "accidents" are indeed the very "substances" that nurture us.

Prior to the Reformation, lay piety was modelled after monastic traditions, particularly in the setting aside of specific hours for prayer, meditation, and praise. The chief object of prayer, in the words of St. Anselm, was "to stir up the mind of the reader to the love or fear of God"--to articulate one's compunction, terror, fear, delight, sorrow, and

joy.[3] The language of prayer, then, was a crucial element in the process of exciting the mind to a fevered intensity of feeling, and in medieval prayers such as those of St. Anselm, *grammatica* was central to their composition. Prayers were carefully constructed images (built with recurring metaphors and similes, and often rhymed) upon which one meditated. While many medieval prayers were purely affective, a few were theological, following the themes of Christ's passion, or dramatizing the birth. But essentially, all private prayer was non-performative and intentionally affective. Only in the liturgy and when specific rites were performed, did prayer "do" things such as turn wine into the blood of Christ, or baptise infants, and this "doing" was set apart from other types of prayer, and remained within the sacramental realm. Generally, then, medieval prayer was of two types: one was affective and the other was specifically performative and associated with religious rites and the liturgy. The latter was carefully controlled by Church authority, in large measure because it was the basis of that authority and protected doctrine from alterations and accretions. The former was private, and relied heavily on the free and playful imagination of the praying individual for efficacy.

During the Middle Ages, psalmody was employed in both the public and private realm of prayer, and within the latter, was often assimilated into other prayers or employed within the larger framework of *lectio divina*, wherein reading led to meditation and finally prayer. But the Reformation radically changed the nature of public and private prayer, and established a role for psalmody within both realms that, though not entirely new, shifted the psalms from their role in affective prayer to one of a more performative character, especially within the public realm. The role of the psalms in the devotional life of the

Christian began to change with Reformed liturgists (primarily Calvin and his followers) who were suspicious of ritualistic or performative language in prayer, especially since it had been employed by the Roman Catholic Church to substantiate what Protestants believed to be dubious doctrine. Radical Reformers believed that true doctrine did not require a canon of set prayers or ritual liturgy and, over the years, their influence ensured that ritual language (and the order of the liturgy itself) became less and less inscribed in non-Anglican Protestant worship practices. What ritual and set prayer did remain within their liturgy became flattened and, as Hilborn notes, didactic and pedagogic in tone and intent.[4] Public prayer, particularly the Reformed liturgy, was stripped of mystery and sacrament, and prayer-paradigms with one specific, inflexible and unmistakable interpretation were established. If ridding the mass of "hocus pocus" was one goal of the Reformers, so, too, was the simplification of corporate prayer. Metaphor, simile, allegory and elaborate imagery were rejected in favour of a new didacticism redolent of the school-room, and the old sacramental world wherein verbal and written signs were part of God's mystery became overshadowed by the urgency of temporal issues, and the perceived need for the community to share a single theological understanding. We can see evidence of this in the non-metrical psalm translations prepared for corporate song-worship by reformers such as Coverdale, but especially in Day's metrical psalter, wherein the relentless rhythm of Sternhold's metre, coupled with enervated syntax and dearth of pleasing prosodic variety foregrounds the clearly articulated moral "lesson" of the psalm and casts aside the aesthetic example established by the Vulgate. Beneath the appearance of these psalms, however, lies a performative intention. The psalms that Reformers sang in their Churches,

as W. Stanford Reid observed in "The Battle Hymms of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century," "were their songs which they sang as the elect people of God in a covenant relationship with Him. The psalms were their testimony to this relationship, and they were prepared to make it known without compromise or retraction" (44).

The use of psalms by sixteenth-century Protestants in private devotion appeared to remain closer to Roman Catholic tradition than had corporate use of the psalms. In part, this is due to the exegetic traditions within which the Reformers wrote their commentaries on Scripture, especially those of Calvin and Luther, who owe much to the early Church Fathers. Of the two, Jean Calvin's writings on the psalms (translated into English by Golding) would influence Elizabethan psalmody more than those of any other European Reformer.

The Psalms, wrote Calvin, were the "Anatomy of all the partes of the Soule," they provided models of "the Prophets . . . talking with God" and "could draw every one of us to the peculiar examination of himself."[5] Calvin accorded the psalms a status and role in the realm of private piety not unlike the (affective) forms of prayer recommended in the Middle Ages.[6] Likewise, Luther suggested that the psalms were a mirror in which "you will see your own self . . . for here is the true γνῶθι σεαυτόν, by which you can know yourself as well as the God Himself who created all things" (41).

The luxury of self-examination through prayer, however, was available only to individuals who had sufficient leisure time to engage in meditative prayer. Similarly, the use of the psalms as a mirror in which one gazed as a prelude to affective prayer was an option available only to those who were literate, could afford to own a psalter, and who,

of course, had sufficient leisure time. Generally, then, the use of the psalms as aids to affective piety was the exclusive purview of the courtier and aristocratic classes. And indeed, these were the classes from which Stanyhurst, Fraunce, the Sidneys, and Gascoigne came.

Between the years during which Askewe, Becon, and Bale wrote their metrical psalms and the later sixteenth century when the courtier psalmists wrote their verses, however, there emerged a form of metrical psalmody that was clearly evangelic, didactic, and intended for those classes of literate Englishmen (and Christians abroad) with modest means. Modelling their verses after Sternhold, these psalmists, including Francis Seagar, John Hall, John Pits, and William Samuel, reduced their psalms to a series of metrical lessons, usually summarized in the verse argument that preceded each psalm translation.

In 1566, for example, John Pits' diminutive book A poore mannes benevolence to the afflicted Church appeared in print. Addressing the "afflicted Church, in Scotland, Fraunce, Spayne, or any other land" (Aviii^{r}), Pits directs twenty-one abysmal verses concerning the meaning of truth to his "poore" reader and then renders Psalms 67 and 100 into metre. The two psalms are preceded by didactic verse arguments (see appendix L) reminiscent of Seagar's 1553 introductory argument to Psalm 112 which summarizes the purpose and content of the psalm in a similarly didactic vein: "We are here taught, to feare the Lorde/ And not him to provoke/ Lest that we fele, for our desartes/ Hys plague and heauy stroke." In both psalmists one is confronted by relentless didacticism but in Seagar's work the oppressive ambience is further underscored by the threat of schoolroom punishment suggested in the phrase "heauy stroke."

Three years after the appearance of Pits' book, William Samuel, a minister, published An abridgeme[n]t of all the canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter. A sampling of one or two psalms offers sufficient evidence of the didactic tone employed throughout the text.

The first Psalme.

A happy hap the man shall have,
  whiche not with sinners walks:
Ne he that in the wicked chair
  Of God in scorn scorne italks.
His frute shalbe most plenteously,
  rewarded eke with blisse:
When sinners shall decay and fall,
  of heavenly ioyes to misse.

The xxii Psalme.

Brought now into extremities
  And hope ailmost decaied:
Yet having faith and found relef,
  Again him self he stayd.
And by him self he dooth describe,
  what should in time to come:
When Christe should be upon the earth,
  gainst him what should be doon.

In fairness to these gospelling psalmists, we must take into account both the evangelical mission they were undertaking and the practical limitations they faced with respect to the levels of literacy among yeomen, tradesmen, and husbandmen. Nevertheless, in their hands, metrical psalmody devolved into maxims--readily recalled and employed in the daily life of working men and women. And the question that emerges from this subgenre of psalmody is whether or not it can be included within the realm of prayer, despite the fact that its language is far removed from the spiritual idioms we

normally associate with religious language. I think it can, although we must look to the cultural climate of the times to draw a sense of prayer out of these verses.

The fierce debates of the sixteenth century over the translation of Scripture were largely arguments about the corruptibility of words. When, for example, Tyndale translated agape as "love," More's reaction was less against the translation itself, than the uses to which the term "love" had been put. More could not associate Christ's love with the word's less exalted references to temporal forms of obsession, passion, or desire. But for the Reformers, the desire to translate the Bible into the living languages of Europe was, at some level, a desire to elevate the lived experiences of individual Christians--to permit individuals to see the possibilities of their own lives described in sacred language. The psalms were an ideal medium for transforming biblical language into the lived idiom of even the humblest citizen, and this, I believe, gave rise to the kind of psalmody that proved to be modestly popular during the busiest years of Protestant evangelism in Elizabethan England.

Courtier psalmody, in contrast to the evangelical verses of Pits and Seagar, draws one back into a familiar world where, once again, faith itself renders language sacramental. Wresting the psalms from ploughboys, the courtier poets translated the biblical verses into a language that was underwritten by faith, a language that organized the prayingfield and dictated the rules of play.

The task of psalm translation began, for them, as *imitatio*--"a facultie to expresse liuelie and perfitelie that example which ye go about to folow," as Ascham wrote (see page 24, endnote 5). But in repeating the motions of meaning within the psalms, in repeating what

the Prophets said, the courtier poet who acknowledged he was engaged in *imitatio* was not simply commemorating the words, but was re-invigorating the efficacy of the Prophet's words. Thus, psalm-translation for those who were wilfully engaged in *imitatio* was not simply re/presentation, but rather, an invocation of "Real Presence." By the very act of *imitation*, the psalmist made present what was simultaneously "talked about" in the psalms.

In her discussion of Sir Philip Sidney's psalm translations, Zim observes that "The process of Sidney's poetic imitation was itself a mode of praise and prayer: 'a heavenly poesie'" and she contrasts Sidney's version of Ps. 34:3 with that of the Great bible:

> Come then and join with me,
> Somewhat to speake of his due praise,
> Strive we that in some worthy phrase
> His Name may honoured be
>
> (O prayse the Lorde with me, and let us magnifie his name together). (Zim, 153).

Sidney's search for "some worthy phrase" was extensive. His use of various Bibles, commentaries, metrical arrangements and figures give both an intellectual rigor and a freshness to his translations that is lacking in all others of the period. But it is as a form of prayer that I think Sidney's psalms exhibit a majesty unparalleled in the genre, not so much because their "content" is religious, but because their intention is to praise. In his rendering of Psalm 6:5 (*Domine ne in furore)*, for example, he writes "Mercy, O mercy, Lord, for mercy's sake,/ For death doth kill the witness of thy glory:/ Can of thy praise the tongues entombed make/ A heavenly story?" By employing a version of saphic metre Sidney signals that the treatment of his subject-matter is duly elevated, reverent and

respectful. But he is also pleading a most personal case as a poet: he, like Sapho, would like to make a "heavenly story." The verse forces the reader simultaneously to meditate upon the speaker's argument and its achievements, and what we find is that the accident of language becomes the substance of praise and prayer and the consummation of the poet's desire. It is the Real Presence.[7]

Despite the critical tradition that speaks of Sidney's psalm translations in somewhat deprecatory terms,[8] their character and potency undergoes a radical reassessment when read as meditative prayers. They admittedly subsume the discourses of the sixteenth-century Reformation debates, but avoid the propositional and dogmatic cant of the gospellers; true, their discursive repertoire is borrowed from Protestant ideology, but the approach to worship is sacramental. For Sidney and the other courtier poets, the worship of God is not synonymous with the subservient worship of the written Word of God, but is rather manifested in the writing of worlds wherein not only what is, but what could be, is set before the reader's inward eye.

Endnotes for Chapter Five

1. "Sacramental world view" refers to a generally-held medieval hermeneutic in which God's world and Word were read sacramentally, that is, as a vast continuum of signs that endlessly reveal His grace, munificence, and redemptive intentions.

2. My reference here, is to J.L. Austin's How to Do Things with Words (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1962). Austin makes specific reference to the performative use of language--to its use in ritual, whether religious or other. The distinction between performative and constative utterances begins to blurr, however, and the relationship between linguistic meaning and the functioning of language in a specific context become interdependent insofar as it is the speaker's aim or intent that drives the impulse to speak. In the biblical psalms, we find numerous instances of performative language, as for example in the Psalms of praise wherein the first verses frequently begin with expressions such as "Bless the Lord" (Ps. 104:1), "O Give thanks unto the Lord" (Ps. 105:1), "O God, my heart is fixed; I will sing and give praise, even with my glory" (Ps 108:1). In these instances, the act of saying is the act of doing.

3. St. Anselm, The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) 89.

4. See David Hilborn's article "From Performativity to Pedagogy" in The Nature of Religious Language (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

5. Quoted from Golding's translation of Jean Calvin's epistle to "the godly Readers" in The Psalmes of David (1571), sig. *6^{v}.

6. In the 1536 edition of Institutes of the Christian Tradition, Jean Calvin wrote that "there are two parts to prayer: . . . petition and thanksgiving. By petition we lay the desires of our heart before God, seeking from his goodness first what serves only his glory; secondly, what also is conducive to our use" (72). Calvin's approach to prayer in the Institutes emphasizes perserverence in the face of doubt, and the chapter on prayer concludes with the following advice: "if finally even after long waiting our senses cannot learn the benefit received from prayer, or perceive any fruit from it, still our faith will make us sure of what cannot be perceived by sense, that we have obtained what was expedient" (86). In sharp contrast to this almost rationalist analysis of the efficacy of prayer, Calvin's evaluation of the Biblical Psalms returns us to an affective world of prayer.

7. G.F. Waller's article "The Matching of Contraries': Calvinism and Courtly Philosophy in the Sidney Psalms," English Studies, 55 (1974): 22-31, suggests that there is "a tension between the moral and theological drives of Calvinist piety and the aesthetic doctrines of courtly philosophy" and that this tension is prevalent in the Sidney-Pembroke translations

of the psalms. I would argue that the tensions he rightly reveals in the psalms are inherently present in the biblical verses--a tension which no doubt contributes to their fascination and lasting interest.

8. See, for example, Theodore Spencer, "The Poetry of Sir Philip Sidney," ELH, 12 (1945): 251-78; D. Kalstone, Sidney's Poetry: Contexts and Interpretations (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); and D. Connell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Maker's Mind. (Oxford 1977).

Appendix A

The voyce of Anne Askewe out of the 54. Psalm of David, called, Deus in nomine tuo.
[Copied from Bodl., 8 c.46 Th. Seld., sig.f.7r]

For thy names sake, be my refuge,
And in thy truthe, my quarell iudge.
Before the (lorde) let me be hearde,
And with fauer my tale regarde
Loo, faythlesse men, agaynst me ryse
And for thy sake, my deathe practyse.
My lyfe they seke, with mayne & myght
Whych have not the, afore their syght
Yet helpest thu me, in thys dystresse.
Sauynge my sowle, from cruelnesse.
I wote thu wylt reuenge my wronge,
And vysyte them, ere it be longe.
I wyll therfor, my whole hart bende,
Thy gracyouse name (lorde) to commende.
From euyll thu hast, delyuered me,
Declarynge what, myne enmyes be.
Prayse to God.

Appendix B

Extracts from Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into Englishe Metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of the kynges Majesties Roobes. (London, Edouardus Whitchurche, [1549?]). STC 2419.

The .i. Psalme
Beatus Vir.

Howe happy be the righteous men,
this Psalme declareth playne:
And howe the wayes of wycked men,
be damnable and vayne.

The ma[n] is blest that hath not gon
by wycked rede astraye,
Ne sate in chayre of pestilence,
nor walkt in sinners waye.
But in the lawe of God the Lorde,
doeth set his whole delyght,
and in that lawe doeth exercyse,
hym selfe both day and nyght.
And as the tree that planted is
fast by the ryuer syde:
Even so shall he bryng forth his frute
in his due tyme and tyde.
His leafe shall neuer fall a waye
but floryshe styll and stande,
Eche thyng shal prosper wonderous wel
that he doeth take in hande
So shall the ungodly doe,
they shalbe nothyng so,
But as the dust whiche fro[m] the earth,
the windes dryue to and fro.
Therfore shall not the wicked men,
in iudgement stande upright,
Ne yet in counsel of the iust,
but shalbe uoyde of myght.
For why the waye of godly men,
unto the lorde is knowen,
And eke the waye of wicked men,
shall quite be ouerthrowen.

The .ii. Psalme.
Quare fremuerunt.

How Heathen kinges did Christ offande,
yet he was kyng of all.
And of the counsell that he gaue,
to kynges terrestiall.

Why dyd [thorn: the] gentiles fret & fume,
what rage was in their braine?
Why dyd the Iewishe people muse,
on matters that were vayne?
The kynges and rulers of the earth
stode up and did conuent,
Against the lord and Christ his sonne
whiche he among us sent.
Shal we be bound to them say they?
let all their bondes be broke,
And of their doctrine and theyr lawe
let us reiecte the yoke.
But he that in the heauen dwelth,
their doynges will deryde:
And make the[m] al as mocking stockes
through out the worlde so wyde.
For in his wrath [thorn: the] lorde will speak
to them upon a daye,
And in his fury trouble them,
and than the lorde wil saye:
Of hym was I appoynted kynge
upon his holy hill,
To preache the people hys preceptes
and to declare hys wyll.
For in this wyse the lorde hymselfe
dyd say to me I wot,
Thou art my dere and onely sonne,
to daye I the begot.
All people I shall geue to the,
as heyres at thy request:
The endes and coastes of all [thorn: the] earth,
by the shall be possest.
Thou shalt the[m] rule, and gouerne al,
and breake them lyke a God,
As thou wouldest breake an earthen pot

euen with an yron rod.
Nowe ye, O kynges and rulers all,
be wyse therfore and lernde,
By whom the matters of the worlde,
be iudged and discernde.
Se that ye serue the Lorde aboue,
in tremblyng and in fere:
Se that with reuerence ye reioyce
to him in lyke manere.
Se that ye kysse and eke embrace,
his blessed sonne I saye,
Lest in his wrathe ye perishe all,
and wandre from his waye.
For whan his wrath full sodenly
shall kiendle in his brest,
Than all that put their trust in hym,
shall certaynely be blest.

The .iii. Psalme
Domine quid multiplicati sunt.

The passion here is fygured,
and howe Christ rose agayne:
So is the churche and faythfull men,
theyr trouble and theyr payne.

O Lorde how many do encrease,
and trouble me full soore,
Howe many saye unto my soule,
God wyll him saue no more?
But thou O lorde art my defence,
whan I am harde bestead,
My wurshyp & myne honoure bothe
and thou holdest up my head.
And with my voyce upon the lorde,
I do both call and cry,
And he out of his holy hill,
doeth heare me by and by.
I layed me downe, and quietly
I slept and rose agayne:
For why, I knowe assuredly,

the Lorde wyll me sustayne.
Ten thousand me[n] haue co[m]past me
yet am I not afrayde,
For thou art styll my lorde my god,
my sauiour and myne ayde.
Thou smytest all thyne enemyes,
euen on the harde cheke bone,
And thou hast broken all the teth
of eche ungodly one.
Saluacion onely doeth belong
to the O lorde aboue,
Bestowe therfore upon thy folke,
they blessyng and thy loue.

The .iiii. Psalme.
Cum inuocarem.

God heard the prayer of the Churche,
mennes vanities are shent.
With sacrifice of rightuousnes,
the lorde is best content:

O God that art my righteousnesse
Lorde heare me when I call,
Thou hast set me at lybertie,
whan I was bonde and thrall.
O mortall men how long wyll ye,
the glory of God despise,
Why wandre ye in vanitie,
and folowe after lyes?
Knowyng that good and godly men
the lorde doeth take and chuse,
And when to him I make my plainte
he doeth me not refuse.
Sinne not, but stand in awe therfore
examine well thine harte,
And in thy chambre quietly,
thou shalt thy selfe conuert:
Offre to God the sacrifice,
of rightwisenes I saye,
And looke that in the lyuing lorde,
thou put thy trust alwaye.
The greater sorte craue worldly goodes

and riches do embrace,
But lord graunt us thy countenau[n]ce
thy fauour and thy grace.
Wherwith [thorn: thou] shalt make al our hertes
more ioyfull and more glad,
Than they that of thy corne and wine
full great increase haue had.
In peace therfore lye downe wyll I
takyng my rest and slepe:
For thou arte he that only doest
all men in safetie kepe.

The .v. Psalme.
Verba mea auribus percipe domine.

The churche doeth pray and prophecie
that god doeth not regarde
Liers and bloudy Sismatikes [sic]
but good men haue rewarde.

Ponder my wordes O lorde aboue
my studye lorde consider,
And heare my uoice my king my God
to the I make my prayer.
Lorde thou shalt heare me cal betime
for I wyll haue respecte,
My prayer early in the morne,
to the for to dyrecte.
And only the I wyll beholde,
thou arte the God alone,
that is not pleased with wyckednesse
and euyll in the is none.
And in thy syght there shal not stand
these furious fooles O lorde,
Vayne workers of iniquitie
of the shalbe abhorde.
The lyers and the flatterers,
thou shalt destroye them than:
And thou wylt hate the bloude thirstye
and the deceitefull man.
But I wyll come into thy house,

trusting upon thy grace:

And reuerently wyll wurship the,
towarde thyne holy place.
Lorde lead me in thy righteousnesse,
for to confounde my foes,
And eke the waye that I shall walke
before my face disclose.
For in their mouthes there is no trueth
their harte is foule and uayne,
their throte an open sepulchre,
their tonges do glose and fayne.
Condemne them their counsayles all,
let their deuyse decay,
Subuerte the[m] in their heapes of sinne
for they did the betraye.
But those [thorn: that] put their trust in thee
let them be glad alwayes,
And rendre thankes for thy defence,
And geue thy name the prayse.
For thou with fauour folowest,
the iust and righteouse styll,
And with thy grace as with a shilde,
defendest him from yll.

The .xxxii. Psalme.
Beauti quorum.

God promyseth saluation,
to the repentaunte harte,
Of his mere mercy and his grace,
not for the mannes deserte.

The man is blest whose wickednes
the lorde hath clene remytted,
And he whose synne and wretchednes
is hid also and couered.
And blest is he to whom the lorde
imputeth not his sinne,
Whiche in his harte hath hyd no gyle
nor fraude is founde therin.
For whiles [thorn: that] I kept close my synne,
in sylence and constraynte,
My bones dyd wear and wast awaye

with dayly mone and playnte.
For nyght & daye thy hande on me
so greuouse was and smerte,
That al my bloud and humors moist
to drynesse dyd conuerte.
But whan I had confest my fautes
and shroue me in thy syght,
My selfe accusing of my synne,
thou diddest forgyue me quite.
Let euery good man pray therfore,
and thanke the lorde in tyme,
And then [thorn: the] floudes of euil thoughtes
shall haue no power of him.
Whan trouble and aduersitie,
do compasse me aboute,
Thou art my refuge and my ioye,
and thou doest rydde me out.
I shal instructe the sayth the Lorde,
howe thou shalte walke and serue,
And bende myne eyes upo[n] thy wayes
and so shall the preserue.
Be not therfore so ignoraunte,
as is the asse and mule,
whose mouthe without a rayne or bit
ye can not guyde or rule.
For many be the miseries
that wicked men sustayne,
Yet unto them that trust in God,
his goodnes doth remayne.
Be mery therfore in the lorde,
ye iust lifte up your voyce:
And ye of pure and perfyt harte
be glad and eke reioyce.

Appendix C

John Bale's translation of Psalm 14 first appeared in 1548 in A Godly Medytacyon of the christen sowle, concerninge a love towardes God and hys Christe, compyled in french by lady Margarete quene of Naverre, and aptely translated into Englysh by the ryght vertuouse lady Elyzabeth doughter to our late soverayne Kynge Henri the .viii. [Wesel], D. van der Straten. STC 17320.
The Psalm was entitled: "The .xiii. Psalme of David, called, Dixit insipiens, touched afore of my Lady Elizabeth." In 1551, the same text appeared (with only typographical differences) in John Bale's An Expostulation or complaynte agaynste the blasphemyes of a franticke papyst of Hamshyre. (London). STC 1294. It is from this latter text, incorrectly identified as Psalm xxiii, that the following version is copied.

The xxiii Psalme of David, called: Dixit insipiens.

Fooles that true fayth yet never hod,
Sayth in theyr hartes, ther is no God
fylthie they are, in theyr practyse.
Of them not one is godly wyse.
From heauen the Lord on man dyd looke,
To knowe what wayes, he undertooke.
All they were vayne, and went astraye,
Not one he found, in the ryght waye.
In hart and tunge, have they deceyte,
Their lips throw forth, a poisened baite
their minds are mad, their mouthes ar wod
And swyft they be, in sheddyng blood.
So blynde they are, no truth they knowe,
No feare of God, in them wyll growe.
How can that cruell sort be good?
Of gods dere flock, which suck [thorn: the] blood
On hym ryghtly, shall they not call,
Dispayre wyll so, theyr hartes appall,
At all tymes God, is wyth the iust.
Because they put, in hym theyr trust.
Who shall therfore, from Syon geve
That helth which ha[n]geth, in our beleue?
Whan God shal take from hys the smart,
Than wyl Jacob, reioyce in hart.

Prayse to God.

John Bale's translation of Psalm 130 was first printed in A dialogue or Communycacyon to be had at a table betwene two chyldren, gathered out of the holy scriptures, by Johan Bale, for his .ii. younge sonnes Johan and Paule. London, Richarde Foster, 1549. STC 1290. In 1551, Bale reprinted the text (with minor typographical changes) in his Expostulation or complaynte agaynste the blasphemyes of a franticke papyst of Hamshyre. The following text is taken from a copy of A dialogue belonging to the Bodleian library, shelfmark Bodl., Douce B. 55.

The .c. and .xxx. Psalm of David, called De pro fundis [sic][1]

From fayth of sowle, and hartes reioyce
I call to the, Lorde heare my uoyce.
Thyne eares good Lorde, enclyned be,
Unto the poore, complaynt of me.
If thu shouldest waye, our wyckednesse,
Who can abyde, thy ryghtuousnesse.
Because I fynde, all health in the,
I doubt no fearce extremyte
In my Lorde God, is all my trust,
To walke as hys worde hath discust.
The churche for her contynuaunce,
Trust[2] [sic] in the lordes good gouernaunce.
For in the Lorde great mercye is,
And full redempcyon after thys.
He wyll redeme all Israel,
from deuyll and deathe, from synne and hell.

---

[1] The title of the Hamshyre version reads: "The. CXXX. Psalme of David, called, De profundis." To this Bale adds: "To God thus faithfull David Songe, hys depe and dayly cares amonge."

[2] The Hamshyre version reads "The churche for her contynuaunce,/ hopeth in the Lordes good gouernaunce."

Appendix D

Thomas Becon's two Psalm translations appear in A confortable Epistle/ too Goddes faythfyll people in Englande/ wherein is declared the cause of takynge awaye the true Christen religion from them/ & howe it maye be recovered and obtayned agayne/ newly made by Thomas Becon. Strasbourg [?], 1554. STC 1716. The following is copied from a volume of the work housed in the Bodleian Library, Shelfmark 8° E.26 Art BS., with the exception of the last sixteen lines of Psalm 112. A leaf following sig. D7 is missing from the text. Reference for these lines was made to a microfilmed copy of a volume housed in the Huntingdon Library.

The C.iii Psalme/ made in Englishe meter/ by Thomas Becon, for a thankesgeving unto God/ immediatly after hys deliueraunce out of pryson/ whose emprysonmente began the .16. daye of August/ the yeare of oure Lorde, 1553. and ended the .22. of Marche, then nexte ensuynge.

Psalm 103

Be thanckefull o my soule unto the LORDE
And all that within me haue theyr beynge.
Laude/ prayse & magnifye with one accorde
Hys holy & blessed name aboue all thynge.
O my soule, once agayn to the I saye
Be thankeful unto the Lord evermore/
And looke thou forget not night nor daye
All hys benefites that thou haste in store.
For he it is/ yea he it is alone
Which pardoneth al thy synnes/ both more and les/
He deliuereth the from all griefe & mone
And sendeth the health in tyme of sykenes.
He saueth thy lyfe from destruccion
Which otherwyse should perish withoute doubte/
He of mere grace and tender compassion
Crouneth the with/ louing kyndnes rounde aboute.
He with good thinges/ thy mouth doth satisfye
To eate & drinke gyuing the abundance/
He maketh the ioyful/ yonge and lustye
Euen as an Egle that is ful of pleasaunce.
The LORD dothe minister iustice and iudgement
To suche as are oppreste with violence/
He defendeth the good and innocent
But the wicked he casteth from his presence.
He shewed hys wayes unto faythfull Moses

And his workes to the Sonnes of Israel/
That all hys people myghte knowe bothe more and les
In all kynde of vertue for to excel.
O the Lord God eve[n] of his own nature
Is bent unto gentilnes and mercye/
Yea/ frendly is he aboue all measure
Longe suffering & eke of great petye
For though oure synnes be bothe greate and many
Yet wil not the Lord be alway chyding/
Neither will he for ever be angry
But shew him self too us bothe gentle and louyng.
After our synnes he dealeth not with us
Neither according to our wickednes/
But lyke a father/ bothe gentle & gracious
He forgeueth al our sinnes/ both more & les.
For loke how hye is the heauen supernal
In comparison of the earth full lowe/
So great is hys mercy toward them all
That feare him & wickednes away throwe
And loke how wyde the .Easte is frome the West
So farre hath he set all our synnes fro[m] us/
Because our conscience should be at rest
And nomore trobled with workes odious.
Yea/ lyke as a father gentle and tender
Pittieth hys owne chyldren natural/
Even so is the Lorde merciful ever
Unto them that feare him both great & smal.
For he beyng our maker knoweth certes
Of what mater we be made and formed/
Remembreth/ we are but dust and ashes
All of vyle and slymye earth created.
A man in his lyfe is like unto grasse
Hys dayes are few, & but a whyle endure/
Lyke the floure of the felde awaye he pass
florishing for a tyme/ but nothing sure.
For as a flour with fears wid assayled
Fadeth shortly away & cometh to nought/
So dothe man of cruel death oppressed
Departe here/ & unto nothing is brought.
But the mercifull goodnes of the Lorde
Dothe continew for ever and ever/
Upon them that feare him with one accorde
And hys iustice upon their chylders chylder.

I meane upon such as kepe his couenaunt
And do them selfs diligently applye/
To kepe hys preceptes/ & like wise do graunt
To frame their whole lyfe accordingly.
In heaven hath the Lorde a seat prepared
for him self/ both glorious and royall/
And his princelike power is so outstretched
That it raygneth & ruleth over all.
O prayse the Lorde all ye aungels of hys
Ye that excel bothe in strengthe and vertue/
Ye that do hys will without any mys
Ye that harken to hys uoyce, & that ensue.
O prayse the Lorde our God omnipotent
All ye hys hostes and armies supernall/
Ye servauntes of hys/ whiche alwayes are bent
To do hys wil/ o prayse the Lord above all.
Yea/ all thinges that ever God created
Prayse ye the Lorde that god myghte and poure/
but thou o my soule, with hart unfayned
Looke that thou prayse the LORDE at every houre.

Give the glory to God alone.

Psalm 112

Blessed is the man at eche season
That feareth the LORDE God omnipotent,
for suche one hath all his delectation
To accomplysh the Lordes commau[n]dment.
Hys sede upon the earth shall be mightye
Florishing aye lyke the grene olyue tree,
The generacion of the godly
Shall be blessed in euery degree.
Suche a man in hys house shall have alwaye
Of honour and ryches great abundaunce.
And hys righteousnes shall never decaye
But in all ages haue continuaunce.
Whan that other in darkenes do remain
Unto the godly pleasaunt/ light shal shyne,
for such one dothe loue mercy to mayntain
To kyndnes & iustice his hart he enclyne.
A good man is bent all unto mercy

And gladly lendeth to such as hane [sic] nede,
As for his talke he ordreth discretly
So that his wordes unto vertue do lede.
From hys place shal he neuer be moued
But alway abyde both constante & sure/
The reme[m]beraunce of the iuste & true harted
Shall for euer and euer styll endure.
The righteous shalbe nothinge afrayde
Of any eueltidinges/ wha[n] they be brought
for hys hart on the Lord is wholy stayde.
Thorow stronge faythe/ that God therein hath wrought.
Yea, his hart is so throughly stablished
That he wil not shrynke in no condicion/
Untyl he seeth hys desyre satisfyed
On hys enemies and their destruccion.
He disperseth abrode plenteously
And geueth to the pore their nede to sustain
Remembred therfore continually
shal he be/ & his prayse euer remayn.
The ungodlye seynge these thynges/ shall ware woode
Gnashe with hys teeth/ & consume away/
Yet shal the ungodly with all his moode
Shortely come to nought/ perish & decay.

Geue the glorie to GOD alone.

Appendix E

The following brief narrative outlining the origins of George Gascoigne's "De profundis" appeared in A Hundreth sundrie Flowres (London, Richard Smith, 1576 [sic].)[3] Oddly, however, the text of Psalm 130 was not printed with the sonnet. The text below (and sonnet) is copied from a volume housed in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark Bodl. WOOD 329.

> The occasion the wrighting hereof (as I have herde Master Gascoigne say) was this, riding alone betwene Chelmisforde and London, his minde mused uppon the dayes past, and therewithall he gan accuse his owne conscience of much time misspent, when a great showre of rayne did overtake him and he beeing unprepared for the same, as in a jerken without a cloake, the wether beeing very faire and unlikely to have changed so: he began to accuse him selfe of his carelesnesse, and thereuppon in his good disposition compiled firste this sonet, and afterwardes the translated Psalme of *Deprofundis* [sic] as here followeth. (372-73)

Following is George Gascoigne's sonnet and rendering of Psalm 130. The latter is copied from: The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire Corrected, Perfected, and augmented by the Authour. London, Richard Smith, 1575. STC 11636; Bodlean Library shelfmark Bodl. Malone 791.

The introduction to the Psalme of Deprofundis

The skies gan scowle, orecast with misty clowdes,
When (as I rode alone by London waye,
Cloakelesse, unclad) thus did I sing and say:
Behold quoth I, bright Titan how he shroudes
His head abacke, and yelds the raine his reach,
Till in his wrath, Dan Jove have soust the soile,
And washt me wretch which in his travaile toile.
But holla (here) doth rudenesse me appeach,
Since Jove is Lord and king of mighty power,
Which can commaund the Sunne to shewe his face,
And (when him lyst) to give the raine his place,
Why do not I my wery muses frame,
(Although I bee well soused in this showre,)
To write some verse in honour of his name?

Gascoignes Deprofundis

---

[3] The actual date of publication was 1573, not 1576 as printed on the title page.

From depth of doole wherein my soule doth dwell,
From heauy heart which harbours in my brest,
From troubled sprite which sildome taketh rest,
From hope of heauen, from dreade of darkesome hell.
O gracious God, to thee I crye and yell.
My God, my Lorde, my louely lord aloane,
To thee I call, to thee I make my moane.
And thou (good God) vouchsafe in grce [sic: grace] to take
This woefull plaint,
Wherein I faint.
Oh heare me then for thy great mercies sake.

Oh bende thine eares attentiuely to heare,
Oh turne thine eyes, behold me how I wayle,
O hearken Lorde, giue eare for mine auaile,
O marke in minde the burdens that I beare:
See howe I sinke in sorrowes euerye where.
Beholde and see what dollors I endure,
Giue eare and marke what plaintes I put in ure.
Bende wylling eare: and pittie there withall,
My wayling voyce,
Which hath no choyce.
But euermore upon thy name to call.

If thou good Lorde shouldest take thy rod in hande,
If thou regard what sinnes are daylye done,
If thou take holde where wee our workes begone,
If thou decree in Iudgement for to stande,
And be extreame to see our scuses skande,
If thou take note of every thing amysse,
And wryte in rowles howe frayle our nature is,
O gloryous God, O King, O Prince of power,
What mortall wight,
May then haue lyght,
To feele thy frowne, if thou haue lyst to lowre?

But thou art good, and hast of mercye store,
Thou not delyghst [sic] to see a sinner fall,
Thou hearknest first, before we come to call.
Thine eares are set wyde open euer more,
Before we knocke thou commest to the doore.
Thou art more prest to heare a sinner crye,
Then he is quicke to climbe to thee on hye.

Thy mighty name bee praysed then alwaye.
Let fayth and feare,
True witnesse beare.
Howe fast they stand which on thy mercy staye.

I looke for thee (my lovelye Lord) therefore.
For thee I wayte for thee I tarrye styll,
Myne eyes doe long to gaze on thee my fyll,
For thee I watche, for thee I prye and pore.
My Soule for thee attendeth evermore.
My Soule doth thyrst to take of thee a taste,
My Soule desires with thee for to bee plaste.
And to thy worde (which can no man deceyve)
Myne onely trust,
My loue and lust.
In coufidence [sic] continnallye shall cleaue.

Before the breake or dawning of the daye,
Before the lyght be seene in loftye Skyes,
Before the Sunne appeare in pleasaunt wyse,
Before the watche (before the watche I saye)
Before the warde that waytes therefore alwaye:
My soule, my sense, my secreete thought, my sprite,
My wyll, my wishe, my ioye, and my delight:
Unto the Lord that sittes in heauen on highe.
With hastye wing,
From me doeth fling,
And stryueth styll, unto the Lorde to flye.

O Israell, O housholde of the Lorde,
O Abrahams Brattes, O broode of blessed seede,
O chosen sheepe that loue the Lord in deede:
O hungrye heartes, feede styll upon his worde,
And put your trust in him with one accorde.
For he hath mercye evermore at hande,
His fountaines flowe, his springes doe neuer stande.
And plenteouslye hee loueth to redeeme,
Such sinners all,
As on him call.
And faithfully his mercies most esteeme.

Hee wyll redeeme our deadly drowping state,
He wyll bring home the sheepe that goe astraye,

He wyll helpe them that hope in him alwaye:
He wyll appease our discorde and debate,
He wyll soone saue, though we repent us late.
He wyll be ours if we continewe his,
He wyll bring bale to ioye and perfect blisse.
He wyll redeeme the flocke of his electe,
From all that is,
Or was amisse.
Since Abrahams heyres dyd first his Lawes reiect.

Ever or never.

Appendix F

Richard Stanyhurst's metrical psalms were first published in The First Foure Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis translated into English heroical verse by Richard Stanyhurst, wyth oother Poetical devises theretoo annexed. (Leiden, Holland, John Pates, MDLXXXII). The following extract is copied from a volume of the text housed in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark 90 b 35, beginning on Ni^{v}.

Heere after ensue certeyn psalmes of David, translated in too English, according to thee observation of thee Latin verses.

As the *Latinists* have diverse kindes of verses besydes the Heroiacal: so our *English* wyl easelye admyt theym, althogh in thee one language or oother they soune [sic] not al so pleasinglie too the eare (by whose balance thee rowling of thee verse is too bee gaged) as the sole *heroical*, or the *heroical* and thee *elegiacal* enterlaced one with the oother. I have made proofe of the *Iambical* verse in thee translation of thee first *Psalme* of *David*, making bold with thee curteous reader, too acquaynt hym there with.

The First Psalme of David named in Latin, Beatus vir, translated in too English Iambical Verse

1. That wight is happy and gratious,
   That tracks noe wicked coompanye;
   Nor stands in il mens segnorye;
   In chayre ne sits of pestilence.

2. But in the sound law of the lord
   His mynd, or heast [heart?] is resiaunt [resident?]:
   And on the sayd law meditat's,
   With hourlye contemplation.

3. That man resembleth verelye
   The grasse bye river situat;
   Yeelding abundant plentines
   Of fruict, in harvest seasoned.

4. With hevenlye ioye stil nurrished
   His leafe bye no means vannisheth;
   What thing his hert endeuoureth,
   Is prosperously accomplished.

5. Not so the sinful creaturs
   Not so there acts are prosperous;

But lyke the sand, or chaffye dust,
That wynddye pufs fro ground doe blow.

6. Therefor in houre judicial,
The ungodlye shal unhaunst remayne;
And shal be from the coompanye
Of holye men quit sundered.

7. Because the lord preciselye knows
The godlye path of goastlye men;
The fleshlye trace of filthye deeds
Shal then be cleene extinguished.

To my seeming (wheather I am caryed too that conceit by the unacquaynted nooueltye, or the meigernesse of this kind of verse) the *Iambical* quantitye relisheth soo[n] what unsavorlye in oure language, being in truth not al too geather of thee toothsoomest in the *Latin*. The *Hexametre* entermingled with the Pentametre doothe carrye a good grace in the *English*, as also among thee Latins: in which kind I have endeuoured thee translation of thee secund Psalme.

The Secund Psalme, Quare
fremnerunt gentes, translated too English
Heroical and Elegiacal uerse

1. Wyth franticque madnesse why frets thee multitud heathen?
And to vayn attemptings what furye sturs the pepil?

2. Al thee worldlye Regents, in clustred companye, crowded,
For toe tread and trample Christ with his holye godhead.

3. Breake we there hard fetters, wee that be in Christian houshold,
Also from oure persons pluck we there ymye yokes.

4. Hee skorns theire woorcking, that dwels in blessed Olympus:
And at thiere brainsick trumperye follye flireth.

5. Then shal he speake too those in his hard implacabil anger,
And shal turmoyle theym, then, with his heauye furye.

6. I raigne and doe gouerne, as king, by the lord his apoinctment,
Of mount holye Siwn; his wyl eke heunlye preaching.

7. Thee father hath spoaken: thow art my deerlye begotten;

This day thy person for my great issue breding.

8. Too mee frame thye prayers, eke of ethnicks the heyre wil I make the,
Also toe thy seisin wyde places earthlye giue I.

9. With the rod hard steeled thow shalt theyre uillenye trample;
Lyke potters pyp kin naghtye men easlye breaking.

10. You that ar earthlye Regents, Iudges terrestrial harcken,
With the loare [lore? laurel?] of vertu warelye too be scholed.

11. Too God youre service with feareful duitye betake yee;
With trembling gladnesse yeeld to that highnes honor.

12. Lerne wel youre lessons, least that God ruffle in anger,
And fro the right stragling, with furye snacht, ye perish.

13. When with swift posting his dangerus anger aprocheth,
They shal bee blessed which in his help be placed.

In thee secund uerse I translate, *Christe with his hevnlye Godhead*, and yeet thee *Latin* runneth, *aduersus dominuum & aduersus Christam eius*. Wherein I offer no uiolence too thee mynd and meaning of thee *Prophet*. For his drift in this *Psalme* tendeth too thee reclayming of earthlye *potentats* from thee uayne enterprice they take in hand, in thee suppressing of Christ his kingdoo[m]: which by two meanes hathe been atte[m]pted. Thee one whe[n] oure *Sauioure* was heere in thee earthe, whom the *Jewes* and *gentils* crucified: thee oother after his *Ascention*, when his *elect* weare and now are daylye persecuted by thee *miscreaunts*, which persecution *Christ* dooth accoumpt his *owne*, as when he challenged *Saul*, hee demaunded why he dyd persecute hym: accoumpting thee *persecution* of his *members* to be his *owne*. And to thee lyke purpose thee *apostels* applye this *Psalme* in the 4. of the *Actes*. Now thee *Prophet* unfoldeth thee uanitye of the *Jewes* and *gentils* in conspiring too geather too surprice thee regime[n]t of *Christe*, in that hee is *God*, and that he is the *eternal Soon* of thee *father*, too whom al *power* is geeuen in *heauin* and *earth*, as wel with iustice too crushe thee reprobat, as with mercye too salue thee elect. Therefor yt standeth with thee meaning of thee *Prophet*, too aduouch thee empugning of *Christ*, too bee the impugning of *God*, in that hee is both *God* and *man*: *God* of thee substance of his *father* begotten before thee worlds, and *man* of thee substa[n]ce of his *moother* borne in thee world. And that thee *soo*[n] was before al worlds begotten of thee *father* is playnelye notised in thee seuenth verse, where the *father* sayeth too thee *soon*, this *day I have begotten thee*: signifiing, by *this day*, *Eternitye*: in which generation is neither tyme too coo[m], nor tymepast, nor anye changeable season, but alwayes thee self same

immutable *eternitye* too bee considered. And therefor in thee 12. uerse, thee *Prophet* layeth downe an exhortation too theese men of state, not onlye not too band agaynst *Christ*, but also too submit theyme selves too his loare, as too *God*, who would have his *soon* honored: which uerse I have translated according too thee uulgar edition, *apprehendite disciplinam*, where with thee *Greeke* text, *αρὰξασθε παιδὶς*, and also the Chaldye interpretoure agreeth, as *Petrus Galatinus* hath observed: yeet thee *Hebrue as ku bar*, or *Nassecu Bar*, may bee too more aduantadge of us *Christans*, and too thee confusion of thee Jewes ootherwise translated. S. Hierom turneth yt, *adore purely*, or *adore thee soon*, which approoueth thee deitye of *Christ: Felix* translateth yt, *kiss thee soon*, or *embrace thee soon*: wherein also the prerogative of *Christ* is manifested. For by thee *kissing of thee soon* is signifyed thee embracing of his power and doctrin: which hath beene deliuered from thee mouth of thee almightye too his seruau[n]tes by thee handes of his *Prophets* and *Apostles*. And therefore thee auncient *Talmudistes* expound, in this wise, that of thee *Canticles*, *osculetur me osculo oris sui*, let hym kisse mee with the kisse of his owne mouth: that is, let thee *Messias*, who is the soo[n] of *God*, instruct mee with his owne mouth. Let not *Moyses* bee sent, who is tongue tyed; nor Esaias, that acknowlegeth his lips too bee polluted; Nor Jeremye, that sayd hee could not speake; but let thee uerye *soon* of God, who is thee *fathers* wisdoom and force coom; and with his mouth lesson and enstruct mee. So that al beyt thee word (Bar) may emport soomtyme learning, soomtyme corne, sootyme [sic] that which is pure or cleene, yet eftsoo[n]s yt notifieth a su[n]ne. As *Barptolomeus*, yf we respect the *etymologye* of the woord, signifieth thee *soon* of *Ptolemeus*, *Barnabas*, thee soon of a *Prophet*,as is learnedly expounded by *S. Hierom* in his *apologye* agaynst *Ruffinus*. But too returne too oure English verses, I have attempted thee translation of thee third Psalme in thee Asclepiad kind:[4] which also, in my phantasye, is not also pleasaunt in the English: but that I refer too thee judgment of thee reader.

Thee Third Psalme, Named
Domine, quid multiplicati sunt, translated
in too English Asclepiad uerse.

1. Lord, my drirye foes why doe (they) multiplye?
Mee for too ruinat sundrye be coouetous.

2. Hym shields not the godhead, sundrye say too mye soule.

3. Th'art, lord most uigilant, wholye mye succorer,
And in the al mye staying shal be stil harbored:

---

[4]Asclepiad: In Greek and Latin prosody a verse invented by Asclepiades, consisting of a spondee, two (or three) choriambi, and an iambus.

Tw'art my moste ualiant uictorye glorious.

4. To our lord lowd I cryed: from holye place herd he mee.

5. In graue new buryed fast have I slumbered.
I rose too liefe agayn through God his hollines.

6. I feare not furious multitud infinit,
With compasse laboring, my bodye for toe catche.
Rise Lord omnipotent, help me, mye champion.

7. Lorde, thy cleere radiaunt righteus equitye
Hath squisd al mye foes, falsly me ransaking.

8. Oure Lord participats saulftye with happines:
With gifts, hevnlye Godhead, thy pepil amplye blisse.

But of al theese bace and foote verses (so I terme al sauluing thee *Heroical* and *Elegiacal*) thee *Saphick*, too my seeming, hath thee prehemynencye, which kind I have assayed in thee paraphrastical translation of thee fourth *Psalme*.

The Fourth Psalme, named,
Cum inuocarem, paraphrasticalye translated
in too English Saphick uerse

1. When that I called, with an humbil owtcrye,
Thee God of Iustice, meriting mye saulftye,
In many dangers mye weake hert upholding
Swiftlye dyd hyre mee.

2. Therefor al fresly, lyke one oft enured
With thye great goodnesse, yet agayne doe craue thee,
Mercye too render, with al eeke toe graunt mee
Gratius harckening.

3. Wherefore of mankind ye that are begotten,
What space and season doe ye catche for hardnesse,
Vanitee looving, toe toe [sic?] fondlye searching
Trumperye falshood.

4. Know ye for certeyn, that our hevnly rectoure
His sacred darling specialye choosed:
And the lord therefor, when I pray, wil harcken

Too mye requesting.

5. For syn expyred se ye rest in anger,
And future trespas, with al haste, abandon:
When that in secret ye be fleashlye tickled,
Run toe repentaunce.

6. Righteous incense sacrifice heere after
In God, oure guider, your hole hoape reposing.
Fondlye doo diuerse say, what hautye great lord
Us doth inhable.

7. Thy star of goodnesse in us is reshining,
Sound reason graunting, with al heunlye coomfort:
With these hudge presents toe myne hert afurding
Gladnes abundant.

8. Theare wheat and vineyards, that ar haplye sprouting,
And oyle, in plenty toe the store cel hurded,
With pryde, and glory to the stars inhaunceth
Worldlye men huffing.

9. Thogh that I see not, with a carnal eysight,
The blis and glory, that in heun is harbourd:
Yeet with hoape stand I, toe be theare reposed,
And toe be resting.

10. By reason that thow, my God heunlye, setledst
Mee, thye poore seruaunt, in hoape, and that highlye:
Too be partaker with al heunlye dwellers
Of thye blis happye.

Appendix G

The following Psalm translations are extracted from The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre by T. Starnhold [sic], J. Hopkins & others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to synge them with al. Faithfully perused and alowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes majesties Injunctions. Very mete to be used of all sortes of people privately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all ungodly Songes and Ballades, which tende only to the norishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth. (London, John Day, 1562), (STC 2430). Each psalm heading includes the initial of the translator, and each is printed with music or instructions for the use of a tune provided elsewhere in the text. Arguments and marginal notes of a doctrinal nature accompany the psalms.

Beatus vir. Psalme .i. T. S. [Thomas Sternhold]

1. The man is blest that hath not bent,
to wicked rede his eare:
Nor led his life as sinners do
nor sat in scorners chair.

2. But in the law of God [thorn: the] lord,
Doth set his whole delight,
& in that law doth exercise,
him selfe both day & night.

3. He shall be like the tree that groweth,
fast by the river side:
Whiche bringeth forth most pleasant fruite,
In her due time and tide.

Whose leaf shall never fade nor fall,
But florish still and stand:
Even so all thinges shall prosper well,
that this man taketh in hand.

4. So shall not the ungodly men,
they shalbe nothing so:
But as the dust which from the earth,
the windes dryve to and fro.

5. Therfore shall not the wicked men,
in iudgement stande upryght:
Nor yet the sinners, with the iust,
shall come in place, or sight.

6. For why? the way of Godly men,
unto the Lorde is knowne:
And eke the way of wicked men,
shall quyte be overthrowen.

Quare fremuerunt gentes. Psalm .ii. T.S.

1. Why did the Gentiles tumultes raise,
What rage was in their braine?
Why dyd the Iewish people muse,
seying all is but vayne?

2. The kinges and rulers of the earth,
conspire and are all bent:
Against the lord and Christ his sonne,
which he among us sent.

3. Shall we be bounde to them say they?
let all theyr bondes be broke:
And of their doctrine and theyr lawe,
let us reiect the yoke.

4. But he that in the heauen dwelleth,
their doinges will deride:
And make them all as mocking stockes,
throughout the worlde so wyde.

5. For in his wrath the Lorde will say,
to them upon a day:
And in his fury trouble them,
and then the Lorde will say.

6. I have anoynted him my kyng,
upon my holy hyll:
I will therfore Lorde preach thy lawes.
And eke declare thy will.

7. For in this wise the Lorde him selfe,
did say to me I wotte,
Thou art my deare and only sonne,
to day I thee begotte.

8. All people I will geve to thee,

as heires at thy request:
The endes and coastes of all the earth,
by thee shall be possest.

9. Thou shalt them bruse even with a mace,
as men under foote trode:
And as the potters shardes shalt breake,
them with an yron rodde.

10. Now ye, O Kinges and rulers all,
be wise therfore and learnde:
By whom the matters of the world,
be iudged and discernde.

11. Se that ye serve the Lorde above,
in trembling and in feare:
Se that with reverence ye reioyce,
to him in like manere.
12. Se that ye kisse and eke embrace,
his blessed sonne I say:
Lest in his wrath ye sodenly,
perish in the midde way.

13. If once his wrath never so small,
shall kindle in hys brest:
Oh then all they that trust in Christ,
shall happie be and blest.

Deprofundis clamaui. Psalme .cxxx. W.W. [William Whittingham}

1. Lord to the I make my mone.
Whe[n] dau[n]gers me oppres.
I call, I sigh plain and grone.
Trusting to finde reles.

2. Heare now, O Lord, my request.
For it is full due tyme:
And let thyne eares aye be prest,
unto thys prayer myne.

3. O Lorde our God if thou way,
our sinnes and them peruse:
Who shall then escape, and say,

I can my selfe excuse?

4. But Lord thou art mercifull,
and turnest to us thy grace:
That we with harts most carefull,
should feare before thy face.

5. In God I put my whole trust,
my soule wayteth on his wyll:
For his promise is most iust,
and I hope therin styll.

6. My soule to God hath regarde,
wishing for him alway:
More then they that watch and ward,
to see the dauning day.

7. Let Israell then boldly,
in the Lorde put his trust:
He is that God of mercy,
that his deliuer must.

8. For he it is that must saue
Israell from his sinne:
And all suche as surely have,
their co[n]fidence in him.

Appendix H

The following psalm translations of Abraham Fraunce were copied from The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel. Conteining the Nativity, Passion, Burial, and Resurrection of Christ: togeather with certaine Psalmes of David. all in English Hexameters. By Abraham Fraunce. (London, 1591). Bodleian shelfmark 8° T27 Art Seld. Texts begin on D2^{v}

The first Psalme

O Thrice happy the man, that lends noe eare to the counsail
Of soul-sick sinners; nor frames his feete to the footestepps
Of backsliding guydes: nor sets him downe with a scorner
In the maligning chayre, that makes but a mock of *Olympus*.
But to the liuing Lords edicts himself he referreth,
And therein pleasures and treasures only reposeth:
Night and day by the same his footesteps duly directing,
Day and night by the same, hart, mynde, soule, purely preparing.
This man's like to a tree, to a tree most happily planted.
Hard by a brooke, by a brooke whose streames of siluer abounding
Make this tree her fruite, her pleasant fruite to be yeelding,
Yeelding fruite in tyme to the planters dayly reioycing.
This tree's rooted deepe, her bowes are cherefuly springing,
Her fruite neuer fades, her leaues looke liuely for euer:
This man's setled sure, his thoughts, woords, dayly proceedings
Happy beginnings haue, and haue as fortunat endings.
Sinners are not soe; they and theyrs all in a moment,
All in a moment passe past hope, grace, mercy, rocou'ry
As weight-wanting chaffe that scattreth in euery corner,
Whyrled away fro the earth, hence, thence, by a blast, by a wyndepuffe.
Woe to the scorner then, whose soule wil quake to be iudged,
Quake, when it heares that doome by the Iudg almighty pronounced.
Woe to the sinner then, noe setled sinner aproacheth
Neare to the sinles Saincts, where ioy and glory aboundeth.
For, the triumphant God doth stil looke downe to the godly,
Their wayes well knowing, and them with mercy protecting:
But the reuenging Lord hath threatned a plague to the godles,
And theyr wayes shal away, and they themselues be a wayling.

The Sixth Psalme

Lord forbeare to rebuke, forbeare, and stay thy reuenging
Hand, in thy greate wrath and indignation endles.
Heale my wounds, my God, take some compassion on mee;

My bones are bruysed, my strength is wholly decayed,
My sowle is troubled, my mynde extreamely molested,
How long shall thy wrath, and these my plagues be prolonged?
Turne yet againe, good God, thy woonted mercy remember,
And this sowle, poore sowle, for thy greate mercy delyuer.
Saue my life from death, in death noe worthy remembrance
Of thy name is founde: and keepe my sowle fro the dungeon,
Infernall dungeon, where no tonge yeelds any prayses.
My hart with groanyng, my sowle is weary with anguish,
Euery night doe I wash my carefull couch with abounding
Streames of trickling teares: my flesh is myghtyly troubled,
My color all faded, my former bewty decayed,
For feare, all for feare of such as seeke to deuoure mee.
But get away, get away all you that woork any myschief:
My sighes ascende up, my prayers pierce to the heauens:
And such as my sowle with griefe unworthyly vexed,
With shame and sorrow shall worthyly soone be requyted.

The Eyghth Psalme

O Prince all-puysant, O King al-mightyly ruling,
How wo[n]drous be thy works, & how strange are thy proceedings?
Thou hast thy greate name with most greate glory reposed
Ouer, aboue those Lamps, bright-burning Lamps of *Olympus*,
Eu'n very babes, yong babes, yong sucking babes thy triumphant
Might set foorth; to the shame of them which iniury offer,
Eu'n to the shame of them which damned blasphemy vtter.
When that I looke to the skies, and lyft myne eyes to the heauens,
Skies thyne owne hand-work, and heauens fram'd by thy fingers;
When that I see this Sunne, that makes my sight to be seeing,
And that Moone, her light, light half-darck, dayly renuing,
Sunne dayes-eye shyning, Moone nights-light chereful apearing,
When that I see sweete Starres through Christal skies to be sprinckled,
Some to the first spheare fixt, some here and there to be wandryng,
And yet a constant course with due reuolution endyng.
Then doe I thinck, o Lord, what a thing is man, what a wonder?
O what a thing is man, whom thou soe greatly regardest?
Or what a thing's mankynde, which thou soe charyly tendrest?
Thou hast man, this man, this blest man mightyly framed,
And with aboundant grace, with aboundant dignyty crowned,
Not much inferior to thy swete caelestial Angells.
Thou hast giu'n hym right and iurisdiction over
All thy wondrous woorkes, thou hast made hym to be mayster,

Hym chiefe mayster on earth, right Lord, and absolut owner
Of beast, fowle, and fishe on th'earth, ayre, water abyding.
O prince all-puysant, o King al-mightly ruling,
How wondrous be thy woorks, and how strange are thy proceedings?

The nine and twentith Psalme

You Kings and rulers, you Lords and mighty Monarchaes,
Whose hands with scepters, and heads with crownes be adorned,
Kneele to the King of Kings, and bring your dutiful offrings;
Lowt to the lyuing Lord; ascribe all might to the mighty
Alwayes-mighty Monarch: and learne to be rul'd by the ruler,
Which heu'n, earth, and hell, rul's, ouerrules in a moment.
For this is only that one, whose thundring uoyce fro the clustred
Clowds breaks foorth and roares, and horror brings to the whole world.
For this is only that one, whose feareful voyce fro the heauens
Cedars, tall Cedars, teares, rents, and ryves fro the rooting,
Cedars of *Libanus* constrayns lyke calues to be leaping:
And cedar-bearing *Libanus*, with frightened *Hermon*
Lyke to a yong Vnicorne makes here and there to be skipping.
For this is only that one, whose threatnyng voyce, the deuouring
Lightnyngs flakes throwes downe, and terror brings to the deserts,
Teares downe trees and woods, makes hyndes for feare to be caluyng,
And that forelorne waste of *Cadesh* for to be tremblyng.
Every voyce has voyce, his prayse, and glory pronounceth,
His sacred temple with his honnor dayly resoundeth.
Over gulfs and deepes his royall throane he reposeth,
Overwhelmyng gulfes, and drownyng deepes he represseth,
And stil a lyuing Lord, stil a King almighty remayneth,
And yet a father stil: for he leaues not, stil to be sendyng
Strength to his owne elect, and inward peace for a blessing.

The eyght and thirtith Psalme.

Scourge mee not, my God, whylst thy wrath's kyndled against mee,
Put mee not to rebuke, in thyne vnspeakable anger.
For, thy darts, o God, dead darts, and dangerus arrowes
Stick fast, fast to my hart, o Lord, stick fast to my hartroote,
And thy hands, sore hands presse and oppresse mee with anguish.
In my flesh noe health; in bones noe rest is abyding,
Thy wrath plagues my flesh, my syns to my bones be a poyson.
My syns, woefull wretch, my syns now growne to a fullnes

Overgrow my head, curst head, and keepe mee stil vnder,
Lyke to a burden alas, my back too heauyly loading.
My careful carkas with sores lyes all to be wounded
Festring sores with grosse corruption euer abounding,
Festring sores and wounds fro my synfull folly proceeding.
My pain's soe greeuous, my griefe so greate, that it vrgeth
Mee wyth a pale dead face, and crooked lyms to be creeping.
Myne inflamed loynes are filld with filthy diseases,
And noe part vntutcht, noe peece vnwounded apeareth.
Faynt and feeble I am; sore bruysed, soe that I can not
But roare out for griefe of sowle, and horrible anguish.
Lord, thou knowst my desyre, thou seest my dayly bewaylings;
Hart hartles doth pant, and strengthles strength is abated,
Sightles sight is gone, and fryends unfryendly departed,
And unkynde kynsmen my wounded corkas abhorring
Looke; but a greate way of; but come not neare to my comfort,
Thus forsaken I am, forlorne, contemptible abiect.
Thy that sought my life, layd secrete snares to betray mee,
And, to deuoure my blood, conspyred dayly togeather.
And I, for all this, alas, poore foole, stood seellyly sylent,
Lyke to a man that's deaf, and seem's not a woord to be hearing,
Lyke to a man that's dumbe, and fear's his mouth to be op'nyng:
For, my fayth and trust in thee, my Lord, I reposed,
Thou must pleade my cause, and by thee I must be defended.
Lord, I desyre that these my foes may not be triumphing
Over a contryte sowle: for when my foote was a slipping,
Then they laught and scornd, and seem'd to be greatly reioycing.
And in truth, my God, my plagues are dayly renued,
And my bleeding wounds lye always open afore mee,
Alwayes in my sight; for I must and will my detested,
Fylthy detested lyfe confesse, with an heauy remembryng
Harty repentyng sowle. But, alas, my deadly malignyng
Foes are much increaste, in might and number abounding.
These men alas, for that my sowle theyr fylthynes hated,
Life with death, o Lord, and good with bad be requyting
Helpe, o Lord my God, make haste, draw neare to the needy.
Help, o God my Lord, and my saluation only.

The fiftith Psalme

God, the triumphant God, the'aeternall greate God of all Gods.
Hath sent foorth Summons with a thu[n]dring voyce fro the heave[n]s,
World-warnyng Summons, commaunding all in a moment,

All from the'east to the weast, to be prest, and make an aparance,
And performe theyr suyte to the court, to the greate, to the high court,
Greate high *Syons* court, sweete *Syon*: where hee apeareth
With surpassing grace, exceeding bewty abounding.
God shal come, shal come with a voyce al-mightyly sounding;
Greedy deuouring fyre shall goe with glory before hym,
And blustring tempests shall roare with terror about hym.
Heu'n from aboue shal hee call, and quak[in]g earth to be wytnes,
Of this iust edict and sentence rightly pronounced.
Bring my Saints, sayth God, goe bring my Saints to my presence,
Which haue vow'd theyre harts, and sworne theyr sowles to my seruyce;
And of this iudgment from iudge almighty proceeding,
Those bright-burnyng gloabes of Christal-mantled *Olympus*,
Shalbe reporters true, and alwayes shalbe recorders.
Heare mee, my deare flock, and thou, o Israel, heare mee,
Hare me thy God, thy Lord; and know, that I am not agreeued,
Nor displeased a whytt, for want of customed offrings.
Burnt offrings, sacrifice, and Honnors due to my altars.
What doe I care for a Goate? or what doe I care for a Bullock?
Sith Goates, and Bullocks, and beasts that range by the deserts,
Sith cattell feeding on a thousand hills be my owne goods?
Myne owne proper goods be the sowles that fly to the mountaynes,
Myne be the beasts that run by the fyelds, and watery fountayns.
If that I hunger, alas what neede I to tell thee, I hunger?
Sith that th'earth is myne, and all that on earth is abyding.
Thinck not, thinck not, alas, that I take any ioy to be eating
Bulls flesh: thinck not, alas, that I take a delyte to be dryncking
Goates blood, guyltless blood: but make acceptable offring
Of thanks-geuyng hart, and pay thy vowes to the highest.
Call me to help, when soe thou findst thyself to be helples,
Cry for grace, when soe thou thinckst thy sowle to be past grace:
And I wil heare, and help, give grace, and strongly protect thee,
And thou lawde, and loue, sing, serue, and woorthyly prayse mee.
But with a frownyng looke, this God spake thus to the godles;
With what face dar'st thou my sacred name be prophanyng
With those lying lipps, and mouth with murder abounding?
With what face dar'st thou with a fyled tong be professing,
And by defyled lyfe, and fowled sowle be denying?
With what face dar'st thou for an ostentation only
Seeke to reforme others, thyself soe fowly deformed?
When thou meet'st with a thief, thou seek'st by theft to be thryuyng,
And walks't syde by syde as a copsemate fit for adulters.
Thy mouth's made to beguyle; and monstrous villany vttreth.

Thy lipps let foorth lyes: thy tongue untruly defameth
Thyn owne mothers sonne: these, these be thy holy proceedings,
These be thy works; & sith that I seem'd for a while to be sile[n]t,
Thou thoughtst (wicked thought) my thoughts were lyke to thy own thoughts,
And so runnst headlong. B[ut] come; but plagues be aproaching,
And when I come, then I stryke; when I stryke, then I beate thee to powder.
Thy bloody thoughts, lewde words, vile deeds wil I open in order,
And shew all to thy face: which thou shalt see to thy sorrow,
Know, and acknowledge to thy owne confusion endles.
You that forget God, thinck on this; least hee remember
And forget not you; but roote you out in his anger,
Then shall noeman come, your damned sowles to delyuer.
Prayse and thancks-giving is a most acceptable offring;
And, if a man by my lawes his conuersation order,
Unto the same I myself wil my saluation offer.

The threescore and thirteenth Psalme

God, th'aeternall God, noe doubt, is good to the godly,
Giving grace to the pure, and mercy to *Israel* holy;
And yet, alas, my feete, my faynt feete gan to be slyding,
And I was almost gone, and fall'n to a dangerus error.
For, my soule did grudg, my hart consumed in anger,
And myne eyes disdayng'd, when I saw, that such men abounded
With wealth, health, and ioy, whose myndes with myschif abounded.
Theyr body stowt and strong, theyr lyms stil lyuely apearing
Neyther feare any panges of death, nor feele any sicknes:
Some still mourne, they laughe; some lyue vnfortunat euer,
They for ioy doe triumphe, and taste aduersyty neuer,
Which makes them with pryde, with scorneful pryde to be chayned,
And with blood-thirsting disdaigne as a roabe to be cov'red.
Theyr fare is delicate, theyr flesh is dayntyly pampred,
Theyr eyes with fatnes start out, theyr greedy deuouring
Gutts, swell with swylling; and, what fonde fancy desyreth,
Or lewd lust lyketh, that fortune fryendly afordeth.
Themselus most synfull cause others for to be synners.
With theyr poysn'd breath, and vile contagius humors;
They check, scorne, controlle, looke, ouer looke, with a lordlyke
Imperious countnance; theyr mouth fowle blasphemy vttreth,
And fro the forlorne earth, to the heu'ns disdaingfuly mounteth.
This surpassing pompe and pryde allureth a nomber
Eu'n of Gods owne flock, (flock weake and weary with anguish)
Vnto the self same trade, which makes theyr glory the greater.

Tush, say they, can God, fro the highest heuv'ns to the lowest
Earth vouchsaulf, thinck you, these Princelike eyes to be bowing?
Tis but a vaine conceipt of fooles, to be fondly referring
Every iesting trik, and trifling toy to the Thundrer.
For loe, these be the men whose soules are sur'd with an yron,
And yet these be the men, whoe rule and raigne with aboundance;
These, and whoe but these? Why then, what meane I to lift up
Cleane hands, and pure hart to the hev'ns? What meane I to offer
Praise and thanksgeving to the Lord? What mean I to suffer
Such plagues with patience? Yea, and almost had I spoken
Ev'n as they did speake, which thought noe God to be guyding.
But soe should I alas, have iudged thy folk to be luckles,
Thy sons forsaken, thy saincts unworthily haples.
Then did I thinck, and muse, and search what might be the matter,
But yet I could not, alas, conceave soe hidden a woonder:
Until I left myself, and all my thoughts did abandon,
And to thy sacred place, to thy Sanctuary lastly repayred.
Then did I see, o Lord, these mens unfortunate endings
Endings meete and fit for their ungodly beginnings.
Then did I see how they did stand in slippery places,
Lifted aloft, that their downefalling might be the greater.
Lyving Lord, how soone is this theyr glory triumphant
Dasht, confounded, gone, drownd in destruction endles?
Their fame's soone outworne, theyr name's extinct in a moment,
Lyke to a dreame, that lyves by a sleepe, and dyes with a slumber.
This my soule did greve, my hart did languish in anguish,
Soe blynde were myne eyes, my minde soe plunged in error,
That noemore than a beast did I know this mystery sacred.
Yet thou holdst my hande, and keptst my soule fro the dungeon,
Thou didst guyde my feete, and mee with glory rreceavedst.
For what in hev'n or in earth shal I love orwoorthyly wonder
But my most good God, my Lord and mighty *Jehova*?
Though my flesh oft faint, my hart's oft drowned in horror,
God never fayleth, but wilbe my mighty protector.
Such as God forsake, and take to a slippery comfort,
Trust to a broken staffe, and taste of woorthy revengement.
In my God therefore my trust is wholly reposed,
And his name wil I praise, and sing his glory renowmed.

The hundred and fourth Psalme

Lyving Lord my soule shall praise thy glory triumphant,
sing thy matchles might, and shew thine infinite honnor.

Everlasting light thou putst on like as a garment,
And purple-mantled welkyn thou spredst us a courtayne:
Thy parlor pillers on waters strangely be pitched,
Clowdes are thy charyots, and blustring wyndes be thy coursers,
Immortal Spyrits be thy ever-dutiful Harrolds,
And consuming fires, as servants dayly be wayting.
All-maintaining earths foundation ever abydeth
Layd by the Lords right-hand, with seas and deeps as a garment Cov'red; seaes and deepes with threatning waves to the huge hills
Clyming; but, with a beck theyr billowes speedily backword
All doe recoyle; with a check their course is changed on a soddaine;
At thy thundring voyce they quake: And soe doe the mountaines
Mount upward with a woord; and soe alsoe doe the valleys.
Downe with a woord discend, and keepe their places apoynted:
Theyr meares are fixed, theyr bancks are mightily barred,
Theyr bounds knowne, least that, man-feeding earth by the rage of
Earth-overshelming waters might chaunce to be drowned.
Stil-springing fountaines distil fro the rocks to the ryvers,
And christall rivers flow over along by the mountaines:
There will wylde asses theyr scorched mouthes be refreeshing,
And field-feeding beasts theyr thirst with water abating.
There by the wel-welling waters, by the sylver-abounding
Brookes, fayre-flying fowles on flowring bancks be abyding,
There shall sweete-beckt byrds theyr bowres in bows be a building,
And to the waters fall theyr warbling voyce be a tuning.
Yea those sub-burnt hills, and mountains all to be scorched,
Cooling clowds doe refresh, and watery dewe fro the heavens.
Earth sets forth thy woorks, earth-dwellers all be thy sonders:
Earth earth-dwelling beasts with flowring grasse is a feeding;
Earth earth-dwelling men with pleasant hearbes is a serving.
Earth brings harts-ioy wine, earth-dwelling men to be hartning,
Earth breedes chearing oyles, earth-dwelling men to be smoothing,
Earth beares lifes-foode bread, earth-dwelling man to be strengthening.
Tall trees, up-mounting Cedars are chearefuly springing,
Cedars of *Libanus*, where fowles theyr neast be preparing;
And Storkes in Firr-trees make their accustomed harbors.
Wylde goates, doaes, and roaes dooe roue and range by the mountains,
And poore seelly conys to the ragged rocks be repayring.
Night-enlightning Moone, for certaine tyme is apoynted;
And all-seeing Sunne knows his due tyme to be sitting.
Sunne once soe sitting, darck night wraps all in a mantle
All in a black mantle: then beasts creepe out fro the dungeons,
Roaring hungry Lions theyr pray with greedy devouring

Clawes and iawes attend, but by Gods only apoyntment:
When Sunne riseth againe, theyr dens they quickly recover,
And there couch all day: that man may safely the day time
His dayes woorke apply, til day give way to the darknes.
O good God, wise Lord, good Lord, and only the wise God,
Earth sets foorth thy woorks, earth-dwellers all be thy wonders.
Soe be seaes alsoe, greate seaes, full fraught with aboundant
Swarms of creeping things, great, small: there, shipps be a sayling,
And there [e]yes tumbling, that monsterus huge *Leviathan*.
All these begg theyr foode, and all these on thee be wayting;
If that thou stretch out thyne hand, they feede with aboundance,
If thou turne thy face, they all are mightily troubled;
If that thou withdraw their breath, they dye in a moment,
And turne quickly to dust, whence they were lately derived,
If thy spirite breathe, their breath is newly created,
And the decayed face of th'earth is quickly revived.
O then, glory to God, to the Lord then, glory for ever,
Whoe in his owne great woorks may worthily glory for ever.
This Lord lookes to the earth, and steedfast earth is a trembling.
This God toutcheth mounts, and mountains huge be a smoaking.
All my life wil I lawd this Lord; whylst breath is abyding.
In my breast, this breath his praise shall stil be a breathing.
Heare, my woords, my Lord, accept this dutiful offring,
That my Soule in thee may evermore be reioycing;
Roote the malignant race, race out theyr damnable offspring; But my soule, o Lord, shall praise thy glory triumphant,
Sing thy matchles might, and shew thyne infinit honnor.

FINIS

Appendix I

The following Godly Psalme by Rychard Beard celebrates the accession of Queen Mary. It is followed (beginning A7ᵛ) by metrical paraphrases of Pss. 145 (146):1-2, 7-9; 146 (147):6, 10; and 148: 11-12 composed by Thomas Bownell. The four-part musical setting provided for Beard's `Psalme' was likely intended for use with Bownell's psalm paraphrases.

A Godly psalme, of Marye Queene, which brought us comfort al, Through God, whom wee of dewtye prayse, that gives her foes a fal. By Rychard Beeard [sic]. Anno domini 1553.

1. All England now bee glad at ones,
With one heart mynde and voyce:
For now have wee [thorn: the] greatest cause
To sing and eke reioyce.

2. For God hath brought his seruaunts trew
From troubles sore and great,
Put downe the proude, & hathe the meeke
In theyr iust places set.

3. The Lord hathe turnd his wrath and ire,
From us, out of hys mynde:
Beeholding us with countenaunce
Moast louing sweete and kynde.

4. That God which might haue right wisely,
Destroyde us euery one
Hathe shewd himself moast mercyful,
To healp us al alone.

5. He hathe regarded equitie,
Treuth, iustice, law, and right:
And overthrowne and uanquisshed
The wrongful dealers might.

6. Wee looked al for pestilence
And uengeaunce at his hand,
And eke innumerable plagues
To come upon the land:

7. But nowe hathe hee sent downe his grace

And mercy from aboue
And shewed us undoubtedly
A token of His loue.

8. Wee have ful iustly looked heare
For death and ruins rise:
And now doo wee behold and trust
A good and ioyful lyfe.

9. Yea, wee that weare moast sorowful,
Without a spreet or heart:
Within a quarter of an houre
Did quicken and reuert.

10. Wee which weare brought by seruitude,
Untrewth and wronge tobey:
Do trewth and iustice execute,
And put that wrong away.

11. Wee for our owne great uariaunce
Did forayne straungers feare,
Lest they throughe oure discension heare
Might rule among us heare:

12. But now wee shal with buytie
Be able to withstand
And uanquish al our enemies,
And driue such from oure land.

13. Oure kyngdome which deuyded so
Could neuer long abyde:
Shall now in unitie bee kept,
And treason bee espide.

14. And wee that onely looked for
Gods uengeaunce to us bent:
Have now his greatest benefyte
Whiche hee to us hathe sent.

15. Hee doothe beehold us meryli,
And wil continew styl,
Yf wee as seruauntes to his trewth,
Obey unto his wyl.

16. Hee saw that wickednesse arose,
And bare his trewth despite:
And now wil hee out of the land
Destroy the workers quite.

17. When tyme that none durst speak
When hee him selfe so good for trewth;
Hathe stepped foorth, and opend al
Tauenge the gyltlesse bloude.

18. He setteth and establysheth
His seruauntes in their right:
And over throwes the wicked sort,
For al theyr strength and might.

19. It is not armoure, burneyse bright,
Nor any weapon strong
The strength that to the handes of men,
Or hoorses dothe belong:

02. Nor any power on the earth [sic]
That can preuayle or stand
But onely God the Lord him self
Wil have the upper hand.

21. What can a fortresse, castel strong,
Or bulworke els preuayle:
Against the Lord that maketh al
In neede theese thinges wyl fayle.

22. The lord beholdes the hearts and myndes
Of godly men ful playne,
Whiche onely seeke that ryghtwyseness
And equitie may raygne.

23. How wonderfly doothe God with us
His people England deale.
Suche ioy as wee scarce looked for
Among us to reueale.

24. Hee healps the captiues out of prison,
Breakes the walles of stone:
And riddes his chosen from the death,

Ad [sic] peryls every one.

25. Oure comfort is consecreate [?], and eke
Oure prayer heard, I trust
Of God which in the heauen dwelles,
And fyghteth for the iust.

26. For hee hathe set and stablyshed,
Oure worthy soueraygne:
And oure liege Lady, Marie Queene,
On us by trewth to raygne.

27. Hee hathe us sent a comforter
To bee oure healp and guyde:
With pitie and with uertues al
Endewd on every syde.

28. The lawful, iust, and rightuouse,
Of England, head, and Queene:
To bee the true enheritoure,
As hathe her brother beene.

29. Not clayming by collusion,
Nor cloking it by sleyght:
But by her byrth, descending from
Her godly father streight.

30. She beeing eldest sister right
Unto oure soveraigne Lord,
Kyng Edward late the fyrt [sic] by name,
Whose strength was gods trew word.

31. For which moast godly impe & bud
Of Jessees stocke and roote
Thoughe wee have almoust cause to sighe,
and sorow bee oure boote:

32. Yet are wee comforted agayne,
Lyft up, and eke erect:
[Be]cause the Lord hathe placed them
His chosen and elect.

33. Which beeing oure moast godly

That seekes our preseruacion: Queene,
no doubt wil strongly buyld upon
her brothers good foundacion.

34. The ground worke hee hathe layde him selfe,
And shee is left a lon,
To buyld the house, and fortresse up
Of trew religion.

35. O England now, continew styl
In myrth and ioy therfore:
For God wyl strengthen day by day
Your gladnesse more and more.

36. Our Soveraygne & rightioyse Queene
Wyl uyce and syn depresse:
Wyl cheafly loue the churche of God,
And perysh wickednesse.

37. The Lord almighty graunte that shee
May prospere to succeyde:
To haue on us moast quiet raygne,
And healp her in her neede.

38. The Lorde destroy her enemys,
And make her foes be wrayde:
To be soone catched in the snare,
That they for her haue layde.

39. Defend her, Lord, and eke al those,
That beare to her good heart:
And graunte that from thy holy word,
She neuer swaruene start.

40. Then doubtlesse al, bothe old & yonge
Shal prayse thy name for euer:
And sing in Psalmes to thee on earth,
Which doost forsake us neuer.

41. Lord saue our Queene, moast graciouse,
From euel and from feare:
The Lady eke Elizabeth
Her godly sister deare.

42. Lord God preserue the noble men,
from daungers il and crime:
And send us peace and quietnesse,
In this same later tyme.

43. Al glory bee to God therfore
The father and the sone:
And also to the holy ghost,
In deitye but one.

44. As it hathe been from al beginninges
Unto this beefore:
Is now it is, and from this tyme,
Shalbee for euermore.

A godly Psalme in meetre
by T.B. Psal. 145.

1. O prayse the Lord (my soule and spreete)
So wyl I whyle I live,
Yea, sure as long as I remayne,
I wil him prayses giue.

2. Which healpeth them unto doeth right,
That byde and suffre wrong,
That feedeth eke the hongry men,
And those that thirsted long.

3. The Lord from prison loseth men,
And giues the blynde their syght
The Lord doothe healp them up that fal,
And loueth wel the right.

4. He cares for straungers, widowes hee
Defendes and fatherlesse:
And ouerturnes the wayes of al
That worke ungodlynesse.

Psal. 146.

5. The Lord settes up and lifteth those
That meeke in heart are founde:
And bringeth downe thungodly men

From highe unto the grounde.

6. The legges of men delite him not,
Nor any horses strength
But those that feare him, and doo trust
To haue his grace at length.

Psal. 148

7. O prayse the Lord yee kinges & people
Dwelling on the earth:
Yee Princes and yee iudges al,
Reioyce at ones for myrth.

8. Yong men and maydes, you aged men
and children beeing yong,
Exalt his name, and also let
His prasses bee your song.

FINIS

Appendix J

The following paraphrase of Psalm 55 (54) is ascribed to John Warwick (d. 1554). Warwick likely wrote this adaption of the Psalm while imprisoned in Beauchamp Tower with Robert Dudley whose Paraphrase of Psalm 94 (93) follows. Both are copied from The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry, ed. R. Hughey, 2 vols. (Columbus, Ohio, 1960).

Geve eare to me my god/ and heare my mourning
voyce
breake downe the wicked swarminge flockes/ that at
mye fall reioyce
whose cruell ravening myndes/ to worke my bane are
bent
So that my trobled quyv'ring hart/ with mortall broyles
is spent
Whearefore I wishe me ofte/ the swiftfull pigeons
guyftes
that scape I might by farr floen flight/ from all their
devillishe driftes
But Lorde roote oute their tongues/ that sow suche
poisoned strif
throughout the land dispartledlye/ that thus pursue
my lif
ffor yf they had bene foes/ that wold display their yre
Then warn'd thearby I might have bene/ as by the
flambe from fyre
but even my mates they weare/ that seem'de to holde
me deere
Whan vnder face of frendlye faithe/ they bredd this
doulefull cheere
Synce so: devoure them Lorde/ consume them everye
chone
And throw them in the dredfull pitt/ wheare they shall
stintles mone
beseching the my god/ with humble hart and mynde
To succour me oh helples wretche/ from tourmentes
they assynde
To whome with resles note/ all thanckfull prayse I singe
bothe night and day and every houre/ as to my god
and kinge
That hast me garded aye/ with thye tryvmphant shylde

ffrom fearfull force of furious foes/ and graunted me
the fielde
Suche carefull openid eares/ thow Lord hadd'st in my
neede
That still I hope theise Curssed sorte/ shall be razde vpp
with speede
Whoe with faire Clokes of truce/ and fawninge lowlye
bowes
Have trait'rouslye conspyred my death/ and falst their
solempne vowes
All Soothinge sugred speache/ eke past theire flyringe
lypps
When they had lead their frawdfull snares to snarle me
fast in tripps
But I appeale to the/ that will when fitt tyme is
Dischardge my fraughtfull brest of woe/ and poure in
heaps of blisse
And send consuming plages/ for their desertes moste due
That thurst so sore mye giltles blood/ their tyrants
handes t'embrue

ffinis

Io. Warwick

O mightie Lorde to whome/ all vengeaunce doth
belonge
and iust revendge for their desertes whiche do oppresse
by wronge
Thye praid fore presence shew/ thow iudge and rightuouse
guyde
And pay them with a due rewarde/ that swell in hatefull
pryde
ffor Lorde yf thow forbeare/ and suffer suche to raigne
How longe shall then those hawltie men/ so lordlye vs
disdayne
Whiche do dispyse thye flocke/ and vse with threates
the iuste
And widowes withe the faultles men/ they order as they
luste
And eke the helplesse babes/ whiche fatherlesse remayne
They spare not in their guiltlesse blood/ their cruell
handes to stayne
And thus amonge them selves/ they holde the Lord

is blynde
And deeme his powre to farr to short/ their cloked faultes
to fynde
But yet in tyme beware/ you froward blooddie band
What thinges against the Lord your god/ you seeke to
take in hand
ffor whoe can hyde from hym/ one deede or secreat
thought
Syns eares and eyes with eache good guifte/ alone by
hym weare wrought
Or whoe can hym restrayne/ to ponishe at his will
Syns that his Rodd doth rule bothe sortes/ as well the
good as yll
And eke the Lord doth know/ no thought in man doth
raigne
That framed ys by natures worke/ but is bothe fraile
and vayne
But blessid is that man/ whome Lord thow doste correct
And by those pathes thow doste appoint/ his wayes aye
to dyrecte
And in his trobled state/ dothe graunt hym patient mynde
till wastefull graves shall swallow vpp/ the vyle and
wicked kynde
ffor from the faithfull flock/ the Lord will never swarve
But garde them with his mightie shyeld/ and safelye
them presarve
And eke restore agayne/ true iudgement to his seate
Tyll rightuousnesse may guyd the iust/ and vanquyshe
all disceate
Wheare, when the wicked rulde/ and bare the swaye
by might
No one wolde preace to take my parte/ or once defend
my right
So that for want of helpp/ I had bene sore opprest
Yf that the Lorde had not with speede/ my wofull plight
redrest
Whoe, when he heard me crye/ and for his goodnesse call
With mercye streight he staide my foote/ and sav'de me
from the fall
And eke from carefull thoughtes/ that did consume
my brest
His endlesse powre hath cleane discharg'de/ and fild
my soule with rest

He hates the cruell kynde/ that wresteth iustice still
and makes their lawes obaye their lustes/ as good men
do gods will
And shamelesse wayes conspyre/ the wicked to
preserve
And searche by powre to sheede the blood/ of suche
as least desarve
But sure the Lorde my god/ myne ayde and only strengthe
Will them rewarde and sharplye scordge/ with endlesse
payne at length
And them destroye eache one/ that wayles not others
woe
That they shulde know the mightie Lord/ hath powre
to plague them so./

ffinis Ro. Dudley

Appendix K

The following paraphrases of Pss. 27, 71, 119, 121, and 130 were prepared by Henry Lok and printed in Ecclesiastes. Otherwise Called the Preacher. Containing Salomons Sermons or Commentaries (as it may probably be collected) upon the 49. Psalme of David his father. Compendiously abridged, and also paraphrastically dilated in English poesie, according to the analogie of Scripture, and consent of the most approved writer thereof. Composed by H.L. Gentleman. Whereunto are annexed sundrie Sonets of christian Passions heretofore printed, and now corrected and augmented, with other affectionate Sonets of a feeling conscience of the same Authors. London. Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blacke friers neare Ludgate. 1597. The psalms begin on page Iii^{r} with the heading: "Sun dry Psalmes of David translated into verse, as briefly and significantly as the scope of the text will suffer, by the same Author." All are copied from a volume of the work housed in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark 4^{0} H9 th.

Psalme 27

1. The Lord he is my sauing light, whom should I therefore feare?
2. He makes my foes to fall, whose teeth would me in sunder teare.
3. Though hosts of men besiege my soule, my heart shall neuer dread:
4. So that within his Court and sight, my life may still be lead.
5. For his Church from trouble free, he shall me keepe in hold:
6. In spight of foes his wondrous prayse, my song shall still unfold.
7. Have mercie (Lord) therefore on me, and heare me when I cry;
8. Thou badst me looke with hope on thee, for helpe to thee I fly.
9. In wrath therefore hide not thy face, but be thou still my aide;
10. Though parents fayle, thou wilt assist, thy promise so hath said.
11. Teach me thy truth, and thy right path, least that the enemy
12. Preuaile against my life, whose tongues intrap me trecherously.
13. My heart would faint for feare, unlesse my faith did build on thee,
14. My hope, my God, and comforts strength, who will deliuer mee.

Psalme 71.

1. In thee (o Lord) I trust, therefore from shame deliuer mee;
2. Performe thy promise, saue thou me, who call for helpe to thee.
3. Be thou my rocke of strength and shield, whose powre is great & might,
4. Deliver me from wicked men, and put my foes to flight.
5. For in thee onely from my youth, have I my trust reposd;
6. Thou hast had care of me, whilst yet in wombe I was inclosd.
7. Thee will I praise, who art my helpe, when men at me do scorne;
8. My mouth thy mercies still records, who helpst the mind for lorne.
9. In time of age foresake me not, or when my strength doth faile,

10. Least that the counsels of my foes, against my soule preuaile.
11. Who say, my God hath me forgot; they therefore me pursue:
12. But be thou Lord at hand to me, who canst my strength renue.
13. Shame and reproch let be their share, which my destruction seeke;
14. But on thee alwayes will I waite, with humble hart and meeke.
15. My mouth thy mercies shall rehearse, whose measure doth excell:
16. And in thy trust my steps shall walke, and tongue thy truth shall tell.
17. Euen from my youth thou hast me taught, thy wonders well I know:
18. And whilst I liue, (if thou assist) I will thy iudgements show.
19. Thy iustice hard I will exalt: whose workes are like to thine?
20. Who threw'st me downe, and raisd me up, who else in dust had leine.
21. Thou canst mans honor soon increase, and shew thy chearefull face:
22. Upon the Vyall will I sing thy praise, o God, of grace.
23. My lips shall ioy to talke of thee, who hast my safety wrought:
24. My freed soule, shall still confesse, who hath my safety bought.

Psalme 119

1. Blessed are those whose wayes are right, and in Gods lawes do walke,
2. Whose heart obeyeth to his will, and lips thereof do talke.
3. Such do not worke iniquitie, but so their wayes direct,
4. That in their life, by straying steps thy lawes they not neglect.
5. O would to God, my deedes therefore, so straightly I might frame,
6. That with regard of thy precepts, I might be free from blame;
7. Then shold I prayse with upright hart, thy righteous iudgeme[n]ts known,
8. Which whilst I study to obserue, Lord let thy helpe be showne.

PART. 2.

9. By looking to thy lawes, most soone a man may perfect grow:
10. Since then my heart hath sought the same, astray let me not go.
11. Thy promises in minde I beare, which me from sinne withdraw:
12. Thou gracious God and blessed quide, teach me thy perfect law.
13. My tongue hath testifi'd thy prayse, and iustice thou doest use:
14. To follow freely thy beheast, I'le worldly wealth refuse.
15. For of thee will I meditate, and studie whilst I liue;
16. And to obey thy iust precepts, my mind will wholly giue.

PART. 3.

17. Be gracious to thy servant Lord, giue life and powre to mee;
18. Open my eyes, that of thy lawes, I may the wonders see.
19. I am a stranger upon earth, hide not from me thy will:

20. My heart doth swell with hoat desire, to know thy iudgements still.
21. Thou hast destroyed the proud, and curst are thy which go astray:
22. Shame and contempt yet take from me, who keepe thy lawes alway.
23. Though Princes hate me for thy truth, yet will I thee obay:
24. Thy lawes shall be my studie still, and comfort night and day.

PART. 4.

25. My soule with sorrow is opprest, give me thy promist aide:
26. Thou knowst my sinnes I do confesse, thy wrath makes me affraid.
27. But teach thou me thy truth, that I thy wonders may admire:
28. For shame of sinne so daunts my hope, it dares not helpe desire.
29. If thou redresse my blinded steps, and teach to me thy will,
30. Thy ordinances will I keepe, and looke upon them still.
31. Thou art the portion I do chuse, o Lord confound me not;
32. But guide my steps to run that race, the which thy lawes alot.

PART. 5.

33. Teach thou thy statutes unto me, that I may keepe them all;
34. Give thou the knowledge of thy will, and turn my hart withall.
35. Direct me in thy path, o Lord, therein is my delight:
36. Incline my mind unto thy word, and sinne put thou to flight.
37. Turne thou my eyes from vanities, and do thou quicken mee:
38. Performe thy promise made to me, whose hope depends on thee.
39. Prevent the shame I feare, because thy iudgements all are iust:
40. Behold I would performe thy will, thy grace relieue me must.

PART. 6.

41. Then let thy promise kindly made (O Lord) fulfilled be:
42. So shall I scuse my iust rebuke, and give the praise to thee.
43. Take not away from me thy truth, for on thee I attend;
44. But let my lips speake of thy praise, untill my life doe end.
45. My feete shall freely follow thee, untill the truth I find.
46. I will not shame, to kings thy truth to preach, with constant mind;
47. Yea all my solace shall be still, my love of thee t'expresse:
48. My lifted handes unto the heauens, thy glory shall confesse.

PART. 7.

49. Remember then thy promise made, wherein thy seruant trusts;
50. In trouble it doth comfort me, my soule thereafter lusts.

51. the wicked have derided me, thy lawes yet haue I kept:
52. I cald to minde thy iudgements past, whereby in peace I slept.
53. Sorrow and feare afflicted me, to see how wicked men
54. Thy lawes transgresse. in pilgrims life yet sing I to thee then:
55. In darknesse and by night, thy name and lawes I keepe and feare;
56. Which blessing thou bestowest on me, thy will in mind to beare.

PART. 8.

57. O Lord thou art my portion, I thy law will still obserue;
58. My hearty prayers made to thee, and promise thine preserue.
59. I have reform'd my wayes, and will to thy behest obay:
60. With speed I will my life amend, and make no more delay.
61. the wicked have inticed me, but I will turne againe:
62. At midnight will I rise to pray, till iustice I attaine.
63. My company shall such be still, as do thy precepts know;
64. thy mercie fils the earth o Lord; to me thy pleasure show.

PART. 9.

65. According to thy word (o Lord) thou graciously hast dealt;
66. Teach wisedome to thy servant Lord, who in thy law hath dwelt:
67. Before I felt thy scourge, as then my feete did go astray,
68. But gracious God direct me now, that keepe thy lawes I may.
69. The proud against me worke deceipt, yet will I follow thee:
70. Their hart on folly feedes, thy lawes yet shall my comfort bee.
71. This fruit affliction brought to me, which made me learne thy law,
72. A greater treasure to my mind, then heretofore I saw.

PART. 10.

73. Thy hand hath fashioned me, therefore teach me thy holy will:
74. So shall thy seruants all reioyce, and I obey thee still.
75. Thy iudgements Lord (I graunt) are iust, I did thy wrath deserue;
76. Haue mercie yet and pardon me, thy promise cannot swarue.
77. Lord let me liue I thee beseech, thy law is my delight:
78. Bring thou to shame my foes, and driue the wicked out of sight;
79. And let thy seruants all behold, thy mercies showd to me,
80. who walking in thy statutes iust, shall not ashamed be.

PART. 11.

81. My soule is almost faint for feare, yet on thy word I trust:

82. My eyes are dim with looking sore; send me thy comfort iust.
83. My bones are withered with despaire, till thou thy promise pay:
84. My life is short, thy iustice on the wicked Lord bewray.
85. By fraud they seeke to take my life, contrary unto right;
86. But thou art iust, uniust are they, therefore put them to flight.
87. They had almost consumed me, my faith yet did not faint:
88. Revive thou me, and with thy truth, my mouth I will acquaint.

PART. 12.

89 O Lord thy word immutable in heauen doth still indure:
90. Thy truth from euer was, thou laidst the earths foundation sure.
91. All things continue at a stay, and do thy people serue:
92. Unlesse thy word did comfort me, my faith with griefe would sterue.
93. I neuer therefore will forget, thy lawes which quicken me;
94. I am thy seruant, saue thou me, who unto thee do flye.
95. The wicked seeke me to destroy, but in thee will I trust,
96. Thy truth endures for aye, but else all things returne to dust.

PART. 13.

97. So much I loue thy law o Lord, I studie on it still:
98. Thy grace beyond my enimies doth me with true knowledge fill.
99. I better understand thy will, then they which do me teach;
100. I better know thy lawes to keepe, then they which sould them preach.
101. That I thy word might keepe, my feete refraine each euill way:
102. My iudgement grees unto thy law, which taught me what to say.
103. then hony combe unto my tast, thy word is far more sweet,
104. Thereby thy will I learne, and falshood shun as most unmeet.

PART. 14.

105 Thy Word is light unto my feete, and guides me in my way:
106. My hart hath sworne, I will performe, thy statutes night and day.
107. My soule is sore opprest o Lord, do thou me ioy now send;
108. Teach me thy will, to my request a gratefull hearing lend.
109. Though I in danger daily be, thy lawes I not forget,
110. But keepe them still, while me to snaire, the prowd a bayt have se[t].
111. They are the portion I have chose, they are my harts delight;
112. My hart is vowd thy lawes to keepe, with all my power and might.

PART. 15.

113. Thy word I love, but do detest the vanities of minde:
114. My shield thou art, my refuge safe, in whom I trust do finde.
115. Away from me ye wicked men, my God alone I serue;
116. He will performe my hope, his word from truth doth never swerue.
117. Support thou me, then am I safe, in thee is all my trust:
118. Thou hast supprest the proud, and such as follow worldly lust.
119. I loue thee Lord, because thou doest from earth the uaine remoue;
120. Yet do I feare thy iudgements Lord, which shall my sinnes reproue.

PART. 16.

121. Let me not then oppressed be, I iustice do obserue:
122. Plead thou my cause gainst wicked men, which fro[m] thy will do swerue.
123. My eyes are dim with longing Lord to see thy promist ayde;
124. Teach me my god, and let thy seruant be with mercy payd.
125. I wait on thee, let me therefore of wisedome thine haue part:
126. Helpe Lord in time, for all the world do from thy lawes depart.
127. Yet do I thy precepts esteeme, more then the richest gold:
128. Most iust are they, but such I hate as unto sinne are sold.

PART. 17.

129. Thy testimonies I admire, on them my soule doth muse:
130. The wayes thereto do shine so bright, the simple it may chuse.
131. The zeale I bare unto thy law, did make my hart to moue;
132. Looke on me then in mercy Lord, because thy law I loue.
133. Direct my deedes, so that no sinne may beare in me asway:
134. I keepe thy will, to wicked men let me not be a pray.
135. Thy shining face unto me turne, thy statutes teach thou mee:
136. With teares my eyes do daily flow, because they trespasse thee.

PART. 18.

137. Thou righteous God, most iust indeed thy iudgements all are found;
138. To truth aud [sic] equitie alone, thy lawes thy seruants bound.
139. My zeale doth burne, because my foes thy lawes have cleane forgot,
140. Thy Word we find most pure, and I haue chose it to my lot.
141. Though I be poore and in contempt, I do remember well,
142. Thy righteous precepts, which for aye, in glorious truth excell.
143. Anguish and cares upon me come, thy law yet do I loue:
144. Teach me thy truth, that I may liue eternally aboue.

PART. 19.

145. Heare me o Lord, to thee I cry, thy statutes I will keepe:
146. Saue me, and graunt that in thy house, I may in safetie sleepe.
147. Before the twylight unto thee I call, and wait thy will:
148. By night I watch, to meditate and studie of thee still.
149. Heare me o gracious God in time, and quicken thou my spright;
150. They are at hand that hate thy law, and me pursue with spight.
151. Thy promises assure me Lord, that thou art nigh at hand:
152. I knew long since thy high decree, should firme for euer stand.

PART. 20.

153. Behold my sorrowes then and helpe: thy pleasure I obay;
154. Plead thou my cause, deliver me, upon thy word I stay.
155. The wicked they are farre from helpe, which do not thee regard:
156. But for thy seruants we do know, thy mercy is prepard.
157. Many they are that me pursue, yet will I follow thee:
158. I see the wicked scorne thy word, and much it grieueth mee.
159. Consider Lord my loue to thee; so quicken thou my minde:
160. For, from for aye, thy word of truth, and righteousnesse I finde.

PART. 21.

161. Princes of might do me pursue, yet onely thee I feare:
162. Thy word delights my hart, as if my richesse great it weare.
163. Thy law I loue, but do abhorre all falshood and deceit.
164. Seauen times a day I praise thy name, and on thee alwayes wait.
165. The keepers of thy law, shall stand and from danger alwayes free;
166. I keepe thy heasts, because I hope thy sauing health to see.
167. Yea for the loue I heare to them, I will them not transgresse.
168. Thou seest (o Lord) in all my wayes, thy name I do confesse.

PART. 22.

169. Let then my plaint before thee come, and be thou still my guide:
170. Giue eare unto my sute, and let thy promise firme alude.
171. When thou hast me thy statutes taught, my lips whal speake thy praise;
172. My tongue shall tell thy word of truth, and walke thy righteons [sic] wayes.
173. Helpe with thy hand, for I entend, thy precepts to pursue:
174. Thy sauing helpe and law I seeke, Lord do my faith renue.
175. Let liue my soule, to praise thy name, thy mercie me uphold.
176. I feare thy law, then clense my sinnes, and bring me to thy fold.

Psalme. 121.

1. Unto the hils I lift my eyes, from whence my helpe shall grow;
2. Eue[n] to the Lord which fram'd the heauens, & made the deeps below.
3. He will not let my feete to slip, my watchman neither sleepes.
4. Behold the Lord of Israell still his flocks in safety keepes.
5. The Lord is my defence, he doth about me shadow cast;
6. By day nor night, the Sunne nor Moone, my limbs shall burne or blast.
7. He shall preserue me from all ill, and me from sinne protect;
8. My going in and comming forth, he ever shall direct.

Psalme. 130.

1. From pit of deepe perplexities to thee for helpe I cry,
2. O Lord give eare unto my plaint, and aide me speedily.
3. If strictly thou my sinnes behold, o Lord, what flesh is iust?
4. But mercy proper is to thee, and thereto do we trust.
5. Upon thy promise I attend, thy word is alwayes true,
6. With morning and with euening watch, I will my sute renue.
7. Thy servant must depend on thee, in thee is mercie found,
8. Thou wilt redeeme their soules form death, thy grace doth so abound.

Appendix L

The following texts of Pss. 67 and 100 were written by John Pits and published in A poore mannes benevolence to the afflicted Church. London, Alexander Lacy, 1566. The entire volume contains twenty-one secular verses in rhyming fourteeners broken into two shorter lines of eight and six syllables, followed by these two psalm paraphrases. Thereafter follows fifteen blank pages. This duodecimo volume, dedicated "to the afflicted Church, in Scotland, Fraunce, Spayne, or any other land" may, indeed, have been intended for illicit export. Both were copied from a volume housed in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark 8^0 H 38 Th BS, beginning on Biii^r.

The .67. Psalme

Dauid herein this Psalme doth teach
the faithfull for to pray,
The Lorde to shew his continuaunce
that they go not a stray.
And that his mightie power be knowne,
which is of noble fame:
That all the nations on the earth,
may prayse his holy name.

God be mercifull unto us,
thus doth King Dauid write:
In [thorn: the] three score & seue[n]th psalme
he doth the same resite.
And blesse thou us (saith he) O Lorde,
for that we stand in neede:
The light of thy continuaunce show,
thy mercy geue with speede,

That thy right way here on the earth,
unto us may be knowne:
And thy most high and savyng helth,
unto all natons [sic] shoune.
Let the people prayse thee (o God)
let all the people syng:
O let the nations on the earth
acknowledge thee their kyng.

For thou the righteous wylt defend,
and gouerne euery where:

And make the wicked on a row,
of thee to stand in feare.
Let the people prayse thee O God,
now let them all thee prayse:
In this our most troublesome time,
And in these heauy dayes.

Then shal the earth her encrease bring
and thou our God shalt geue
Thy only good and great blessyng,
that we with thee may liue.
god shall us blesse for euermore,
and us defend from sin:
And all the endes of the whole world,
shall stand in awe of him.

Glorie be to the Father high,
and to the Son therfore:
And to the Holy ghost which spirit,
kepe us for euermore.
FINIS.

The .100. Psalme

Dauid in this Psalme doth exhort,
to prayse the Lorde alwayes:
For that he did us make and port,
and guydes us all our dayes.

Be ye ioyfull in the Lorde,
serue ye him all ye landes:
With gladnes cum, & w'a song,
commit you to his handes.
the Lorde our God he did us make,
of this we may be sure:
Not we our selues, we are his folke,
and shepe of his pasture.

Now let us go in to his gates,
with thanks to geue him prayse:
In to his court euen for to speake,
good of his name alwayes.

For why? the Lord is gracious,
his mercy is full sure:
His Truth doth euerlastyngly,
for euermore endure.
FINIS.

Appendix M

William Samuel's An abridgement of all the Canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter, London, William Seres, 1569, contains the Book of Pslams reduced to four-line verses in ballad metre. The following extracts serve to exemplify the style and quality of Samuel's versification. The texts were copied from STC 24671 (film 421).

Psalmes.

Now sporting songs for lively wits,
such as the Lord do fear:
From Dauids harp the sommary.
to you shall wel appear.

The Psalmes of David

The first Psalme.

A happy hap the man shall haue,
whiche not with sinners walks:
Ne he that in the wicked chair
of God in scorn scorne italks.
His frute shalbe most plenteously,
rewarded eke with blisse:
When sinners shall decay and fall,
of heauenly ioyes to misse.

The ii Psalme.

Beware (saith he) how that ye rage,
ye rulers all in uain:
For God will haue his sonne to rule,
in might and powre to reign.
Therfore se that ye couet lore,
and serue the Lord in fear:
[?]isse him in time lest yee doo smart,
When he shall once appear.

The vi Psalme

Full fraught in feeling God his ire
and death to shew his dart:

He humbly prayes God to forgiue,
and shewes his mourning hart
Away (saith he) yee wicked men
re eels [release?] now haue I found:
My wishers euil shall haue this hap,
the Lord shall them confound.

The xxii Psalme

Brought now into extremities
and hope ailmost decaied:
Yet hauuing faith and found relef,
again him self he stayd.
And by him self he dooth describe,
what should in time to come:
When Christe should be upon the earth,
gainst him what should be doon.

The xxiii Psalme

Caused by sundry succours past,
the Lord he takes for guide:
And hauing him for his defence,
he cares not what betide.
And seeing rest before his foes,
the Lord did to him giue:
He dooth not dout before he goes,
ful long and safe to liue.

The liiii Psalme

O God (he saith) doo thou me saue,
with enemies opprest:
And by thy power iudge thou my cause,
gainst suche as me detest.
Then wil I praise thy holy name,
and sacrifice ordain:
When of my foes my ful request,
of thee I doo obtain.

Appendix N

Francis Segar or Seager (fl. 1549-1563) claimed authorship of nineteen metrical psalms published in Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into Englyshe Metre, wyth Notes to every Psalme in iiii parts to Synge, by F.S. (London, Wyllyam Seres). In fact, three are plagiarized revisions of Surrey's psalms 88, 31, and 51 originally printed in Certayne Chapters of the proverbes (STC 2760) attributed to Thomas Sternhold. The following verses, copied from STC 2728 (Bodl. film 551) exemplify the aesthetic range and style of material not attributed to Howard.

We are here taught, to feare the Lorde
And not him to provoke
Lest that we fele, for our desartes
Hys plague and heauy stroke.

Psalme .C.Xii Beatus uir qui timet

The man is blest, that feareth God
And walketh in hys waye:
That in hys lawe, hath hys delyght
And dothe hys wyll obaye.

Hys seade on earth, shall prosper well
And wondrouslye increase:
The faythfull flock, shal be blessed
Wyth euerlastinge peace.
Hys house wyth rytches, shall abounde
Wyth plenty and great store:
Hys ryghteousnes shall styl indure
And last for euermore.
Unto the man, that mercy sheweth
And walketh here aryght:
From darknes great, shall then appeare
Unto hys eyes playne lyght.

O happy is, the mercyfull
That lendeth lyberallye:
And in hys words, is circumspect
And speaks aduysedlye.

No thinge shall moue, nor him molest

Ne yet him greue or payne:
The memory, of the ryghteous
For euer shall remayne.

No feare can make, him faynt at all
No no kynde of myschance:
Whose harte doth fermly, trust in God
In whom he hath affiance.

His harte so sure, is stablyshed
He wyll not shrynke at all:
Untyll he haue his enmyes made
To hym subiecte and thrall.

He hathe hys goods, abrode dysparst
And gyuen to the poore:
Hys ryghteousnes, remayne it shall
And dure for euermore.

The wycked and the ungodlye
Shall it beholde and se:
And wyll conceaue dyspleasure then
And sore offended be.

They shall for it, gnashe with theyr teath
And banyshe quyte awaye:
And all their desyre, and their wyll
Shall peryshe and decaye.

To God for ayde, we ought to call
In all aduersitie:
For he our prayers, wyll accept
And helpe us spedelye

Psalme CXXX De profundis clamaui

Out of the deape, I have called
My grief (o Lord) shewyng:
Lord hear the uoyce of my request
Geue eare to my callynge.

O let thyne eares, enclyned be
To waye the words right wel:
Of this my uoyce, and my complaynte
That I shew forth and tell.

Yf thou (O Lorde) wylte be extreme
And deale with us this waye:
To marke what we, shall do amysee
Abyde it Lorde who maye.

Yet mercy Lord, there is with thee
In suche abundant store:
For whiche thou shalt, be dred and feard
Bothe now and euermore.

The Lords commynge, my soule abydes
And wayte wyll for it iust:
For in his lawe, is my delyte
And in his worde my trust.

My soule to the Lorde, takes hys flyght
Before the mornynge tyde:
From day to day, my soule I saye
For the Lorde doth abyde.

O Israel, trust in the Lorde
With whome there is mercy:
Which of redempcion, hath suche store
As call we may plentye.

For he the people, of Israel
Wyll then redeme I saye:
From all the synnes, and wickednesse:
Of their deuyce and waye.

The Lorde to prayse we are stirred
And hym to magnifie:
Whiche doth with grace, al such indew
As trust in hys mercy.

Psalme CXXXViii Confitebor tibi

I wyl geue thanks, to thee O Lord
Wyth hearte & mynde alwayes:
Before the Gods, wyll I reioyce
And syng unto thy prayse.

I wyll draw neare, thyne holy place
Thy great goodnes recorde:
Thy name to prayre, and thee worshypp
For thy truths sake, O Lorde.

When I dyd call, upon thy name
My uoyce thou hardst with spede:
And dydst sucker, sende to my soule
In the tyme of my nede.

Thy name by ty, most glorious powre
Thou hast so magnifed [sic]:
And thy most holy, and blessed worde
About all thinges extolled.

The Kyngs and rulers on the earthe
Shal thee honoure and prayse:
For they the wordes, of thine owne mouth
Haue hearde in all their dayes.

Yea they shall synge, and much reioyce
And in thy wayes accorde:
That great is the, glory and powre
Of thee theyr God and Lord.

The Lorde fro[m] heauen, doth cast hys eyes
Upon the lowely sect:
As for the proude, he doth dyspyse
And them cleane out reiect.

Though sorowe and care, do me compas
And trouble me oppresse:
Yet shalt thou by, thy powre and myght
Me strayght agayne refreshe.

Thou shalt stretch forth, thy hand on them

The furiousnes confounde:
Of myne enmyes, and thy ryght hande
Shalt kepe me safe and sounde.

The Lorde hys promys, wyll performe
Of hys great goodnes sure:
Thy mercy Lorde, that is so greate
For euer doth indure.

Dyspyre not then, we the desyre
Nor do not Lorde forsake:
The worckma[n]shyp, of thyne owne hands
For thou Lorde dydst us make.

This Psalme the wayes of the wycked
And the ungodly trayne:
Doth by theyre frutes iudge them to be
Most damnable and vayne.

Psalme. CXl Eripe me

Delyuer Lorde, me from the wayes
Of people here peruerte:
And from suche men, do me preserue
As be of wycked heart.

Whych styll upon, myschiefe do muse
And in theyr hartes imagen:
To styr up stryfe, and make debate
All daye playinge thys pagen.

Theyr toungs they whet, lyke to serpents
Theyr poysone out to poure:
Whych hydden is, under theyr lyps
Lyke unto the addoure.

From the hands of, the ungodlye
O Lorde do thou me saue:
Whose whole deuyce, is to confound
And my doinges depraue.

The proude thinking, for to preuayle
theyr snares abrode to laye:
And set theyr net, me into get
To trap me in my waye.

Unto the Lorde, I forthwyth spake
Sayinge my God thou art:
Lorde hear the voyce, of my request
And prayer of my harte.

O God my strength, and fortytude
That health to me dost sende:
In the day of, my most daunger
Thou dydst me then defende.

O Lorde let not, the ungodly
Haue theyr desyre and wyll:
Lest they wyth pryde, be puffed up
Because they prosper styll.

Let such myschiefe, as they 'magen
theyr own dystruccyon be:
As theyr owne lyps, shall then pronounce
Seakynge to compas me.

Let flamynge fyre, them strayght consume
Wherin they byding payne:
As in a pyt, from whence I saye
Never to ryse agayne.

The man whose lyps, are ryfe in taulke
And can hys tounge not gyde:
Shall no inioye, the earth no space
Theron for to abyde.

Myschiefe shal mone, the sycked man
Him to molest and noye:
And to pursue, untyll such tyme
He shall hym cleane dystroye.

The Lord doutles, the pore mans wrong
Reuenge wyll and redresse:
The cause of such, mayntayne he wyll

As here shall be helples.

The ryghteous shall, therat reioyce
Praysing thyne holy name:
The iust wyth ioye, contynew shall
In thy syght wythout blame.

Appendix O

The following six psalm versions were written by William Hunnis and printed in Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen furth into Englysh meter by William Hunnis servant to the ryght honorable syr Wyllyam Harberde Knight Newly collected & imprinted. London, 1550. The texts are preceded by Hunnis' epistle to the reader. Copied from STC 2727 (Bodl. film 74).

I haue here picked oute (mooste gentyll reader) these psalmes folowing which no late wryter hath hytherto touched, & yet for the excellency of the matter in them conteined, semed most worthy this labour and payne. And this enterpryce I have taken in hande not intendynge therby anye praises or glorye shulde redounde unto me but cheifly for thys purpose that those whiche in psalmes and pleasaunt songes hathe delyte, myghte herof receive some pleasure or profyt. Rede them therfore moost gentyl reader with iudgement iudge with discresion. And although that in som places they be not so eloquentlye turned as paraduenture the matter of them requireth, yet for the exceding profit that doth procede of them, reiecte them not, but accept my good wyll, which wholye endeuored my selfe and go about to satisfye, and to accomplyshe thy desyre to profyt euerye man and disprofit in no wise, which thi[n]ge yf I do obtaine. I have that I loke for, yf not, yet I ought to be pardoned, for asmuche as my good wil to please and profyt fayled not, but power only lacked. Hereafter god wyllynge other thynges shalbe taken in hande of me, bothe more wyllynglye and also finished more exactlye, yf I do perceive these the fyrste fruites of my labours and paynes to be accepted & taken in good worth fare well.

The li Psalme. Misere mei deus.

Haue mercye lorde, upon my soule
thy goodnes me restore
And for thy mercy infinite
my synne thynke on no more.

From wickednes lorde wasshe thou me
and clense me from my synne,
For I confesse my euyll lyfe
that I before was in.

Onlye to the haue I synned
And done yll in thy syght,
That in thy wordes whe[n] men the iudge
myghtest ouercome by ryghte.

Beholde I was begotte in synne
and so my mother bare me.

Wherfore I clayme thy sauynge helthe
Mercy good lorde and spare me.

That I maye tender unto the
truthe in the inwarde parte
Then secretely I shall receiue
thy wysedome in my hart.

With ysope lorde thou sprinkell me
And so shall I be cleane.
And whyter thus shall I be made
then euer snowe hath ben.

Replenyshe me with ioye and myrth
my brused bones restore.
From my misdedes turne thou thy face
In mynde haue them no more.

A parfyt spryte and a pure harte
O god renewe in me,
And caste me not out of thy syght,
for myne iniquitie.

Geue me the comfort of thy helpe
And stablyshe me for aye
And I shall then, the wicked menne
conuert unto thy waye.

Delyuer me from bloude gylte
thou god my helth alwayes
Thou shalt open my lyppes to speake
my mouth shall shewe thy praise.

Burnt offeringes [thorn: thou] wouldest none haue
elles I had geuen it the
A broken and a contrite harte
is it that pleaseth the.

To Syon lorde be good agayne
after thy godly wylle
And lette thy kyndnes there abyde
thy promys to fulfyll.

Then sacrifices of righteousnes
thou lorde wilt well regarde
And they shall offer their bullockes
thyne aulter to rewarde.

Praise we the father and the sonne
and eke the holy ghost
As hath ben is and styll shalbe
in euerye age and coste.

Th lvi Psalme. Misere mei deus quoniam.

Be mercyfull to me o god
myne enemies withstande
Which alwayes go about to seke
my lyfe to haue in hand.

For they run dayly to and fro
my body to annoye
And manye they in number be
that woulde my soule destroye.

And thoughe sometyme I am afrayde
Yet do I trust in the
Wherefore o Lord, I wil not feare
what flesh can do to me.

My wordes alwayes they do mistake
thus for to do me yll,
Often they do ymagen howe
My lyfe and soule to kylle.

They cleue and hold, as thick as buttes
and kepe thus on a thronge.
They marke the steppes, that I do use
and all to do me wronge.

O Lorde for this their wyckednes
thou wylt them sone confounde
And in thy rage thou shalt them cast
hedlonge unto the grounde.

My commynge in and goinge out
is knowen to the o lorde.
And eke my teares be in thy syght
thy worde doth it recorde.

When so that I shall calle to the
thou wylt guyde me aryghte.
So that my foes shall have no power
But runne and take their flyght.

My myrth and ioye in the word
of god, and parsons thre
In hym I trust and wyll not feare
What man can do to me.

The uowes of thankes and rightousnes
to the lorde, wyll I geue
My tonge shall neuer stynt thy prayse
so longe as I here lyue.

For thou hast kept my soule from death
and eke my fete from fallynge
That I may walke before thy face
in the lyght, of the lyuyng.

Prayse we the father. &c.

The .lvii. Psalme. Misere mei deus.

Be mercyfull to me o god
be mercyfull to me,
My fleshe, and hart, my soule and minde
putteth their truste in the.

Under the shadowe of thy winges
there shall be my defence
Untyll this time of tyrannye
be paste awaye from hence.

I call unto the moost iust god
whyche made both sea and lande
He will perfourme his seruauntes cause

that he bydde take in hande.

He shal send downe from heauen aboue
his stretched arme in myghte
And wyl me saue from their reprofe
whiche woulde do me unryght.

God shall sende furth his mercy great
and therwith wyll me arme
And he shall stoppe the lyons mouthes
to saue my soule from harme.

For it doth lye amonge those men
that be so set on fyer
Whose teth are speares their tonges be swordes
so hote is their desyre,

But set thou up thy selfe o god
and let thy power be knowen.
So that the wycked men in earth
may quyte be overthrowen.

They lye in waite and have layde furth
a nette to take me in
A pytte also they made for me
But they be caught therin.

This is the goodnes of my god
Suche comfort to upraise
My hart alwaye shall ready be
to synge, and to geue prayse.

Awake my lute and eke my harpe
and geue forth pleasaunt sounde
And I shall praise the lorde with you
as I therto am bounde

I wyll gyue prayse to the o god
thy people shall it here
And I shall synge unto thy praise
amonge them euery where.

Thy mercyes greate, excede the heuens

in bredth and eke in lengthe.
euyn as thy truth doth passe the cloudes
in beuty and in strength.

O god, exalte thy selfe therefore
aboue thy heauyns hye,
Thy glorye is aboue the earth
no man can it denye.

Prayse we the father &c.

The Cxiii. psalme Laudate puere.

O all ye seruauntes, prayse the lorde
Prayse ye his holy name,
And euerye thynge that beareth lyfe
Lykewyse do ye the same.

Blesse ye the name of god the lord
and prayses in great store
Be unto god and Christe his sonne
from henseforthe evermore.

From the uprysynge of the sonne
untyll his goinge downe
Prayse ye the lorde in every place
both in the feilde and towne.

The lorde is hyghe above all landes
his glory passe the heavens,
Lyke as the sonne doth passe all lyght
with clernes of his beames.

Who may be lyke unto our god
That hath his seate on hye,
Whiche wyll not let to set the thynges
That on the earth doth lye.

The symple men he doth uprayse
and settes them up alofte
Euyn with the prynces of his flocke
these be his doynges oft.

And eke the woman he hath made
that longe before was batten
Nowe she remayneth in her house
a glad mother of chyldren.

Prayse we the father, &c.

The .c.xvii psalme. Laudete dominum

O all ye landes, praise ye the lorde
that in the earth doth byde
And euery thinge that there in is
throughout the world so wyde.

His mercye is to us alwaye
increasyng more and more
And eke his truth shall styll remayne
prayse ye the lorde therfore.

Prayse we the father. &c.

The .C.xlvii psalme. Laudate dominum

How good it is to praise the lord
no tongue can it expresse
A ioyfull and a pleasaunt thinge
the lordes praise is [d]outles.

The lord doth buylde Ierusalem
so that it shall remayne
And the outcastes of Israell
he bryngethe home agayne.

The lord doth heale, the contrite hart
and medecyne doth hym gyue
And in his sycknes, thus sayth he,
Thou shalt not dye, but lyue.

The sterrys also he dothe number
and callyth them by name,
And euerye one in order due
doth ansuer to the same.

Great is our god, and eke his power
hys wysdome hath no ende,
He settyth up the meke in hart,
the wycked to contende,

O synge unto the lord our god,
a songe of thanckfulnes
Synge prayse upon the tunyd harpe
his goodnes to expresse.

For he doth hyde [thorn: the] heuens with cloudes
that no man may it se
And doth prepare the rayne for earth
to water the plant and tre.

And on the hylles that be so hye
he maketh grasse to growe
And al is for the use of man
Such kindnes he dothe showe.

And [l]yke the bestes, that be in feilde
he helpeth, them at nede
And the yonge rauyns, thall [?] call on hym
he doth them al wayes fede.

As in the strengthe of horsys great
the lord hath no delyght
For neyther in the legges of men
that be so full of myght.

The lordes delyght, is in those men,
that feare, and do hym serue,
And they whyche put their trust in hym,
for mercye shal not sterue.

Ierusalem, Ierusalem
praise thou the lorde aboue,
And thou Syon do not forget
his mercy and his loue.

For he hath fortified thy gates
With [b?]attes that be ryght suer [?]
And he in the hath blest thy side

for euer to endure.

And in thy borders, he hath set
peace in euery place,
Wyth grayne and corne he hath the fild
of him thou founde suche grace.

He sendeth furth his holy worde
the worlde to turne aboute,
That euery ma[n] myght know his power
and therin haue no dout.

He gyueth snowe whyter then woll
as we often do se.
And skatereth the hory frostes
Spite [?] ashes made of tree!

He casteth forth his yse abrode
Whose colde [?] no man maye byde
Againe his worde sone doth them melte
Throughout the worlde so wyde.

To Jacob then the lorde dydde shewe
hys worde both pure and bright
And Israel his ordynaunce
to kepe both day and nyght.

He hath not delt with any lande
suche kyndnes for to shew
Neither his wordes nor yet his lawes
the hethen doth not knowe.

Praise we the father. &c.

Appendix P

The following prose-verse psalms are copied out of Psalmes or prayers taken out of holye scripture. London, Thomas Barthelet, 1544. They are attributed to John Fisher. STC 3002.

The xxi Psalme of David. The complaint of Christ on the Crosse.

MY GOD MY God, why haste thou forsaken me: it semeth that I shall not obteyne deliveraunce, though I seke for it with loude cries.

My God, I will crye all the day long, but thou wilt not answer: and all the night longe, without takyng any rest.

The meane tyme thou moste holiest, seemest to sitte still, not caryng for the thynges that I suffre: whiche so oft haste helped me heretofore, and hast geuen to thy people Israell, sufficient argument and matier to prayse the with songes, wherwith they haue geuen thankes to, the for thy benefites.

Our forefathers were wonte to put their trust in the: and as often as they did so, thou diddest deliuer them.

As ofte as they cryed for helpe to the, they were deliuered: as ofte as they committed theim selfe to the, they were not put to any shame.

But as for me, I seeme rather to be a worme than a man: the donghill of Adam: the outcast of the uulgar people.

As manie as haue seene me: have laughed me to scorne, and reuiled me, and shakyng their heades in derision at me: haue cast me in the tethe saiyng:

He is wonte to boste and glorie, that he is in greatte fauoure with god: wherefore lette god nowe deliuer him, if he loue him so well.

By thy procurement (O lord) I came oute of my mothers wombe: and thou gauest me good comforte: even whan I sucked my mothers breastes.

Thoroughe thy meanes I came into this worlde: and as soone as I was borne, I was lefte to thy tuiction: yea thou wast my god, whan I was yet in my mothers wombe.

Wherfore go not farre awaye frome me: for daungier is even nowe at hande, and I see no man that will helpe me.

Many buls have closed me in, both strong and fatte, they haue compassed me rounde about.

They haue opened their mouthe against me, like unto a lion that gapeth upon his praye, and roreth for hunger.

I am powred out like water, and all my limmes loosed one from the other, and my herte is melted within me, as it were waxe.

All my strength is gone and dried up like unto a tile stone, my tonge cleaueth to the roofe of my mouth: and at the last I shall be buried in the earth as the deade be wonte.

For dogges have compassed me rounde about: and the moste wicked haue conspired against me, they haue made holes thorough my handes and my feete.

I was so unientilly entreated of theim, that I might easilie numbre all my bones: and after all the peyne and torment that they did to me, with greeuous countenaunce they stared and loked upon me.

They deuided my clothes emonge theim, and caste lot for my cote.

Wherfore lorde, I beseche the, go not farre from me: but for as muche as thou arte my power and my strength, make haste to helpe me.

Deliuer my soule from daungier of the swerde, and kepe my life destitute of all mans helpe, from the uiolence of the dogge.

Saue me from the mouthe of the liion, and take me from the hornes of the unicornes.

I will shew unto my bretherne the maiestie of thy name: and whan the people is most assembled togither, I will preise and set furth thy moste worthy actes and deedes.

All that worship the lord, preise hym, all the posteritie of Iacob magnifie hym, all ye that be of the stocke of Israell, with reuerence serue and honour him.

for he hathe not dispised and set at nought the poore man, because of his miserie: nor he hath not disdainfully tourned away his face from hym: but rather as soone as the poore man cried unto him for helpe, he heard him by and by.

I will preise the with my songes openlie in a multitude of people, and I will perfourme my uowes in the syght of them that honour the.

The poore shall eate and be satisfied: they shall preyse the lorde, that studie to please

hum: and as manie of you as continue still suche, your hertes shall liue.

All the endes of the worlde shall consider these thinges and be tourned to the lorde: and all heathen cacions shall submitte them selfe, and do homage unto the.

For the lorde hathe a power royall, and an imperiall dominion ouer the heathen.

The most mightie and greatest of all theim that dwelle on the earthe haue eaten, and after that they haue tasted the spirituall giftes of the lorde, they haue submitted them selfe, and made humble suite unto hym: yea and all the deade, whiche are buried in the earthe, shall knele and make reuerence in his honoure: because he hath not disdayned to spende his owne life for theim.

They that shal come after us, shall honoure and serue hym:

These thinges shalbe written of the lorde, that our posteritie may know & understand them.

That they also maie come and shewe these thynges to the people that shall be borne of them, that the lorde hathe done these thynges which be so meruallous.

A Spalme [sic] of thankes gyuyng
Iubilate deo omnis terra.

REIOYCE and syng in the honoure of the lord, all ye that liue on earth,
Worshyp and serue the lorde with gladnesse, come into his syght and presence with ioy and mirth.

Acknowlage you, and confesse, that the lorde is that god, whiche hath created and made us, for truely we made not our selfe, but we be his people and his flocke, whiche he nourisheth and fedeth continually.

Go ye through his gates to geue him thankes for the innumerable benefittes, whiche ye have receyued of hym: and to syng thorough his courtes his worthy actes and deedes: praise hym, and highly commende his name.

For the lorde is both goode and gracious, and his mercie is infinite: he is mooste constant in kepyng of his promisses, not to one generacion onely, but euen to all.

Appendix Q

ODES. IN IMITATION OF THE SEAVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMES, WITH sundry other poemes and ditties tending to devotion and pietie. Imprinted, Anno Domini .M.D.CI. [written by Richard Verstegen]. STC 12407. Copied from Bodl. 8° C.98 Th.

To the uertuous Ladies and gentlewomen readers of these ditties.

When for my owne priuate recreation I had penned some of these poemes yet not ente[n]ding to make them bublyke [sic], for that I feared their soone receauing the deserued censure of the slendernesse of their woorth. Yet having by chaunce communicated them with a friend, I was not a litle urged, to affoord them the libertie of open uiew, but also perswaded to their further augmentation. And now hauing yeilded unto the one, & aduentured the other, I knew no better way then to make dedication of them unto your selues, whose sweete uoyces or uirginalles may uoutsafe so to grace them, as that thereby they may be much bettered, and the rather yf it shal please you to obtaine of some skilful Musitian, such requisite tunes, as may unto them be best fitting. And therein crauing your helpful furtherance, and for my presumption your fauourable pardon, I humbly take my leaue, excusing my self with my owne good meaning:

Uttred as ensueth. vid.

The uaine conceits of loues delight
I leaue to *Ovids* arte,
Of warres and bloody broyles to wryte
Is fit for *Uirgils* parte.

Of tragedies in doleful tales
Let *Sophocles* entreat:
And how unstable fortune failes
Al Poets do repeat.

But unto our eternal king
My uerse and uoyce I frame
And of his saintes I meane to sing
In them to praise his name.

Yours in his best endeuours. R.V.

ODES. In imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes: To so-many seueral tunes of Musick.

In imitation of the first penitential Psalme. Beginning. Domine ne in furore. Psalm. 6.

When my misdeedes o God
May thee to anger mooue,
Amiddes the rigour of thy rage
Uoutsafe mee not reprooue.

Nor when for my offence
Thy chastisment must bee,
In they displeasure o deere Lord
Let it not light on mee.

Thy mercies Lord I craue
Of strength I am bereft,
O salue the sorenesse that my sin
Upon my bones hath left.

My much agrieued soule
In sorrowes doth abound,
How long o Lord shal they endure
Or comfort be unfound.

O turne thy self to mee
And rid my soule of paine,
Eu'n for thy mercies which exceed
And euer do remaine.

O hasten thee o Lord
To saue and set me free,
Amongst the dead (to their auaile)
Ther's none can thinck on thee.

And in the depth of hel
Where there is no redresse,
Who is it that wil giue the praise
Or unto thee confesse?

My sighinges for my sinnes
Haue past in painful wise,
And I each night wil wash my bed
With teares of wailing eyes.

My sight is uext with feare

Of fury in thy rage,
Oh that my sinnes must be my foes
To weare mee out in age.

A way a way from mee
All ye that are unjust,
Let him my mournful sound receaue
In whome I put my trust.

That I with ioy may say
How to my sutes accord,
Uoutsafed hath to condescend
My deere and louing Lord

Let shame my foes befall
And uexed let them bee,
Their owne conuersion or their shame
Lord let them quickly see.

Glory o God to thee
And unto Chryste thy sonne,
As also to the holy ghoste
Let endlesly be donne.
Amen

In imitation of the second penitential Psal.
Beginning.
Beati quorum remisse sunt. Psalm. 31.

O how much blest may they remaine
That pardon for their guylt obtaine,
And whose great il and each offence
Lies hid in contryte penitence.

What happy state may hee be in
To whome our Lorde imputes no sin,
Whose conscience doth no guyle retaine
That can himself beguyle againe.

I did my sinnes in sylence hold,
In grief whereof my bones grew old,
Meane whyle my dayes in plaintes of paine

Without redresse I spent in uaine.

But when o Lord thy heauy hand
No day or night I could withstand,
But that in anguish ouerworne
My conscience prickt as with a thorne.

Lo then o Lord I did begin
To utter all my secret sin,
No longer list I ought conceale
But each injustice to reueale.

Against my self I said wil I
My wronges confesse and faultes defy,
To thee o Lord, o Lord to thee
That haest from all absolued mee.

And since I thus thy mercies fynde
Let each of good and godly mynde,
Aproche to thee in happy tyme
To pray for pardon of his cryme.

For such as so do sinck in sin
That stil they plunged lie therein,
Unable are of thee to gaine
What contryte sinners can obtaine.

O Lord my refuge restes in thee
When troubles do enuyron mee,
O free me then my freedomes ioy
For such as seeke mee to annoy.

Great comfortes Lord I do conceaue
Thow mee thy servant wilt not leaue,
But wilt instruct and guyd me right
And kepe me euer in thy sight.

O yee that carelesse are of grace
Behold and see your brutish case,
And be not as the horse and mule
That liue deuoyd of reasons rule.

And thow o Lord in mercies ryf

Uoutsafe restraine their straying lyf,
With bit and brydle make them stay
That unto thee wil not obey.

Since that for those of sinful trade
Ful many scourges there by made,
Wel him, that doth in God repose
Whose mercies may his soule enclose.

Be therefore ioyful in our Lord
All that to righteousnesse accord,
Let each with gladnesse beare his parte
That hath a pure and perfect harte.

All glory bee O Lord to thee
And to thy Sonne in lyke degree
As also to the holy Ghoste
Perpetual and enduring moste.
AMEN.

In imitation of the third penitential Psal.
Beginning.
Domine ne in furore. Psalm. 37.

A Middes thy fury my deere lord
Rebuke not mee,
Nor let thy chasticement befall
When wrathful thow shalt be.

Thy arrowes in myself I feele
Alredy stand,
I see o Lord thow fixed haest
At me thy ayming hand.

Within myself (o wo is mee)
No health I fynde,
Through feare and terror of thy face
That semes to wrath enclynde.

My uery bones disturbed bee,
Gon is their peace,
My owne beholding of my sinnes

Doth woork my woes encrease.

And as my sinnes surmounting are,
I must confesse,
So are they mounted on my head
And heauy me opresse.

My crymes forepast and pardoned
Lyke scarres remaine,
That putryfyde break out a new
Because I sin againe.

A woful wretche am I become
Crooked I grow,
Each day I waile and whyle I live.
I will continew so.

My members by illusions led
Mee so restraine,
My healthlesse body is unapt
True uertue to retaine.

By great affliction I am brought
Exceeding low,
Be moued Lord through my lowd groanes
Thy mercies to bestow.

My sutes o Lord tend all to thee
Thow knowest my case,
My plaintes and penance Lord accept
That so I may haue grace.

Within my self my silly hart
Is uexed stil,
My force is lost, my sight I lack,
To see and shun my il.

In my displeasing thee o Lord
Right wel I see,
My freindes [sic] are foes, my soule is sought
And force is wrought on mee.

They wish my il, and speake my scorne,

And when they smyle,
Their hate admittes no tyme or stay
To study fraud and guyle.

But I alas with patience prest
Must all for-beare,
Lyke to the dumb and seeming deaf
I neither speak nor heare,

And for because o gracious God
I trust in thee,
Thow wilt I know my louing Lord
Giue eare and ayd to mee.

Let not o Lord my foes prevaile
Least they reioyce,
Sith scars my seet I may remoue
but they aduance their uoice.

Of my misdeedes I am prepard
To beare the smart,
Stil is my sin before my sight
And sorrow in my hart.

I wil resolue my faultes fore-past
Amiddes my mynde,
And those I truly wil confesse
That I may mercy fynde.

Hate hath confirmed on me my foes
In wrongful wyse
And stil they liue and do encrease
whose enuy neuer dies.

They yeild [sic] me il that gaue them good
And me defy.
Because I goodnesse would ensure
From which they seeke to fly.

Forsake me not o Lord my God
In state destrest,
Be redy Lord to my relief
My lyf in thee doth rest.

To Father Sonne and holy Ghost
All glory bee,
From former endlesse date to dure
To all eternitie.
AMEN.

In imitation of the fourth penitential Psal.
Beginning.
Misere mei Deus. Psal. 50

Haue mercy o good God in mee
in greatnesse of thy grace,
O Let thy mercies manifold
My many faultes deface.

Foule filthy loth-some ugly sin
Hath so defyled me,
With streames of pittie wash me cleane
Els cleane I cannot bee.

To wel my soule uncleaned crymes
Remembrance do renew,
To plaine in anguish of my hart
They stand before my uiew.

To thee alone o Lord to thee
Thease euilles I have donne,
And in thy presence, wo is mee,
That ere they were begun.

But since thow pardon promisest
Where hartes-true-ruthe is showne,
Shew now thy mercies unto mee
To make thy iustnesse knowne.

That such as do infringe thy grace
Be made asham'd and shent,
As ryse thy mercies to behold
As sinners to repent.

With fauour uiew my soule deffects
In crymes I did begin,
My nature bad, my mother fraile,

Conceau'd I was in sin.

But since thy self affectest truthe
And truthe itself is thee,
I truly hope to haue thy grace
From sin to set me free.

Since to thy faithful thow before
The secret scyence gaue,
Whereby to know what thow would'st spend
The sinful world to saue.

Whose heau'nly hysope sacred droppes
Shal me besprinckle so,
That it my sin-defyled soule
Shal wash more whyte then snow.

O when myne eares receaue the sound
Of such my soules release,
How do sin-laden lymmes reioyce
At hartes true ioyes encrease?

From my misdeedes retyre thy sight
Uiew not so foule a staine,
First wype a way, my spots impure
Then turne thy face againe.

A cleane and undefyled hart
O God creat in mee,
Let in me Lord, of righteousnesse
A spirit infused be.

From that most glorious face of thyne
O cast me not away.
Thy holy Ghoste uoutsafe o God
With mee that it may stay.

The ioy of thy saluation Lord
Restore to me againe
And with thy spryte of graces chief
Confirme it to remaine.

That when at thy most gracious hand

My sutes receaued bee,
The impious I may instruckt
How they may turne to thee.

For when o Lord I am releast
From uengeance and from blood,
How ioyful shal I speak of thee
So gratious and so good.

Thow Lord wilt giue me leaue to speak,
And I thy praise wil shew,
For so the graces do requyre,
Thow doest on me bestow.

If thow sin-offringes had'st desyr'd
As wonted weere to bee,
How gladly those for all my illes,
I would haue yeilded thee.

But thow accepts in sacrifise,
A sorowing soule for sin,
Despysing not the hart contryte,
And humbled mynde within.

Deale gratiously o loving Lord
In thy free bounties wil,
With Syon, thy dere spouse in earth,
And fortify it stil.

That so thow maiest thence receaue,
That soueraigne sacryfise,
From alter [sic] of all faithful hartes,
Deuoutly where it lies.

To thee o Father glory bee

And glory to the Sonne,
And glory to the holy Ghost
Eternally be donne.

AMEN.

In imitation of the fyft penitential Psal.

Beginning.
Domine exaudi orationem meam. Psal. 101.

O Let o Lord thyne eares enclyned bee
To heare the prayers that I make to thee:
And my hartes grief that breaketh forth in cryes
O let it have the power to pearce the skyes.

Turne not from me thy favourable face,
What day or howre I am in heauy case:
But when I call to thee in my destresse
O heare me Lord and send me soone redresse.

My dayes and yeares alas with litle gaine
Lyke unto smoke how are they past in uaine:
My forces Lord how are they partch'd and dry,
Deuotions lack yeilds moisture no supply.

The blasted grasse my image now can shew,
My withered hart confirmes that it is so:
And I forgotten haue unto my grief,
To eat the bread of my soules best relief.

And my too much regard of earthly care
Before my self for grace I could prepare,
Made reason to abandon reason quyte,
And to affection fast it self unyte.

But now o Lord, since that I do begin
To see my self, and know the shame of sin,
From earthly traine I wil retyre my mynde,
Thee wil I seeke, my sauing helth to fynde.

In desert lyke as liues the Pelicane,
Or as the crow that doth day-light refraine
Or chirping sparow sitting all alone.
I shrowd, I watche, retyr'd, I make my mone.

But whyle O Lord I do endure this lyf
Expecting peace by fleeing worldly stryf
Old freindes I fynde become new noysome foes
O loue me Lord, for losse of loue of those.

My penance not restraind through scorne of theirs,
My food I take with ashes and with teares:
Thee more I feare, least thow on me should'st frowne,
That can'st mee raise, and raising cast me downe.

My dayes declyne as doth a shadow passe,
And I as hay that whylome was as grasse:
But thow from age to age shalt euer bee,
Then euermore o Lord forget not mee.

Uoutsafe o Lord in puissance to aryse,
To raise thy Sun that depressed lies:
Now is the tyme, the tyme doth now expyre,
It mercy wantes, and mercy doth desyre.

This glorious woork was first begun by thee,
Thy seruants earst were glad the stones to see:
And they wil grieue with hartes-afflicted care,
If so the ruynes thow do'st not repare.

But when o Lord thy woorks shal shew thy fame
The faithlesse people then shal feare thy name:
And eartly [sic] kinges shal bend their glory downe,
At thy celestial glorie and renowne.

Because thy Churche thy Syon thow did'st buyld,
Where thow would'st ever haue thy honor hild:
And haest not unregarded hard the plaint,
Of faithful folk, thrall'd in untruths restraint.

And that no tyme remembrance may impare,
Of thy maintayned woork, and mercy rare,
Let people now, for people to ensew,
Thy prayse record, thy praises to renew.

For from high heaven to this low earthly place,
From blis to bale our Lord enclynes his face:
The groanes to hear, the greiued to releasse,
To free from thrall, to make affliction ceasse.

The more may Sion sound foorth his fame,
Ierusalem his praises may proclame:
Where in his Churche his people do accord,

And whereas kings are subiects to their Lord.

Who may o Lord thy datelesse dayes relate,
That of all ages ouerpasse the date:
It's thow to us haest put apointed space,
O stop not me ere half I run my, race.

The world and welkin first by thee were make,
Thow heauen's sphere, thow earths foundation laid,
Thow shalt endure, they shal consumed bee,
Thow madest tyme, tyme hath no force in thee.

Thease elements by alteration strange,
Shal changed bee, and so remaine in change:
But thow o Lord that woorkes all at thy wil,
Wa'st earst the same, the same remayning stil.

Uousafe [sic] o Lord there offspring to preserue,
That thee in feare and faith and loue do serue:
And in thy wayes directed to remaine,
A lasting lyf in lasting blisse to gaine.

Unto the Father, Sonne and holy Ghoste,
All praise and glory be ascrybed moste,
As herefore before the world begun
And as it now, and euer shalbe donne.
AMEN.

In imitation of the sixt penitential Psal.
Beginning.
De profundis clamaui ad te Domine. Psal. 129.

Ev'n from the depth of woes
Wherein my soule remaines,
To thee in supreame blis
O Lord that highest raignes,
I do both call and cry:
T'is days hart-sorrowes force
That moues me thus to waile,
T'is pittie Lord in thee
Must make it to auaile,
Thyne eares therefore aply.

If stricktly thow o Lord
Obserued haest my sinne,
Alas what shal I do?
What case then am I in?
If rigour thow extend:
But wel O Lord I know
Sweet mercy dwelles with thee,
And with thy justice then
It must expected bee,
And I therefore attend.

My soule doth wait on thee,
Thy grace confirmes my trust,
My warrant is thy woord:
Thow keepest promis just,
Keep me o Lord secure:
Let thy afflicted flock
Comfort in thee retaine,
From dawning day to night
From night to day againe,
Let stil their hope endure.

There is with our good God
Much mercie stil in store,
Redemption doth remaine
With him for euermore,
Aboundant is his grace:
His people he affects
He wil not leaue destrest,
The thralled he wil free,
With ease of their unrest,
And all their faultes deface.

All glory be therefore
O Father unto thee,
And so unto the Sonne,
The lyke great glory bee,
And to the holy Ghoste:
Such as it wonted was,
Before the world began,
Such as now yet it is,
And ever shal remaine,
Above all glorie moste.

AMEN.

In imitatio[n] of the seaventh penite[n]tial Psal.
Beginning.
Domine exaudi orationem meam. Psalm. 142.

Uoutsafe admit thy gratious eares,
With myld rigard for to attend,
The prayers that a playning hart,
With sorowing sighes to thee doth send:
And let thereto o louing Lord
Thy iustice and thy truthe accord.

In rigour of thy righteous doome
O do not skan thy servants cause,
For there is none on earth alyue
Through faultlesse lyf free'd from thy lawes:
Then how may I in sinful plight
Seeme just in thy all-seeing sight?

The freind of sin, the foe of soules,
Down to the earth my soule hath broughte,
Which to the heauen should aspyre,
Since from the heauen it was wrought:
O raise it up againe to blis
From earth and all that earthly is.

Amids the darck mis-led am I,
Where lack of light sinnes uiew denies,
I liue a lyf more lyke to death,
Whyle dead from grace my body lies:
And whereas care through secret smart
Sends anguysh to afflict my hart.

But I o Lord recall to mynde
What thow hast donne in tyme before,
And how thy iustice hath bene great,
But how thy mercy hath bene more:
Thus hope of help stil comfort giues,
While mercy stil with iustice liues.

My stretched hands to thee display
The engines of my yeilding hart,

My soule as earth that water wants
Of uertues frute can beare no parte:
I faint, send soone relief of raine,
Least els unfruiteful I remaine.

Thy face of pittie not of wrath
Turne not o louing Lord form mee,
And let not Lord my owne misdeedes
Have lasting force to anger thee:
For so might I compare my case
To theirs that furthest fal from grace.

But since my hope is firme in thee
Let me betymes thy mercy haue,
The way of helth make knowne to mee,
My feete from erring paths to saue:
Only to thee my soule retyres,
Only thy mercy it desyres.

O free mee from my sinful foes,
To thee I fly to be secure,
Teach me the lesson of thy wil,
And let me put it wel in ure,
Thow art my God and God of all
That for thy ayd and comfort call.

Thow wilt uoutsafe to mee o Lord
Thy holy spryt to bee my guyd,
My faith and hope in thee is sutch,
And such it euer shal abyde:
Reuyue thow wilt mee for thy name,
Goodnes in thee requyres the same.

So that at last by thee o God
My soule from bale to blis bee brought,
And that in mercy thow subuert
All those my soules destruction sought:
And force of foes destroy'd may bee,
And I made safe for seruing thee.

All glory bee to thee o God,
The Father of eternal might:
And to the sonne, and holy Ghoste,

Three in an undeuyded plight:
As now it is, and was of yore,
And shal endure for euermore.
AMEN.

Appendix R

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey penned the following prologues to Psalms 88 and 73. The first is addressed to Sir Antony Denny, one of Henry VIII's secretaries who likely assisted in the orchestration of Surrey's trial and conviction. The second is addressed to George Blage with whom Surrey argued, thereby triggering his trial.

Prolog to Psalm 88

Wher recheles youthe in a vnquiet brest,
Set on by wrath, reuenge, and crueltye,
After long warr pacyens had opprest,
And iustice wrought by pryncelye equitie;
My Deny, then myne errour, depe imprest,
Began to worke dispaire of libertye,
Had not Dauid, the perfyt warriour, tought
That of my fault thus pardon shold be sought.

Prolog to Psalm 73

The soudden stormes that heaue me to and froo
Had welneare pierced faith, my guyding saile,
For I, that on the noble voyage goo
Tu succhor treuthe and falshed to assaile,
Constrayned am to beare my sayles ful loo
And neuer could attayne some pleasaunt gaile,
For vnto such the prosperous winds doo bloo
As ronne from porte to porte to seke auaile.
This bred dispayre, wherof such doubts did groo
That I gan faint and all my courage faile.
But now, my Blage, myne errour well I see;
Such goodlye light King Dauid giueth me.

Appendix S

A MANVAL OF PRAYERS NEWLY GATHERED OVT OF MANY and diuers famous authours aswell auncient as of the tyme present. Reduced into. 13. chap. very commodious and profitable for a deuout Christian. [Collected and translated by the recusant, George Flinton, 1583.]

The Collectovr and traunslatour of this presente Manual, to the Catholicke and Christian Reader.

Most deare Cou[n]tryme[n] whose desires are to serue God in holines of life, craving aide for the accomplishment of your religiouse intentes at the handes of his Maiestye, by the merites of Christe, and intercession of the blessed virgin Mary, and all Angels and saynts: to the intente that you may proceede dayly from one vertue to another, and to be helped by the labours of God his seruauntes and sayntes, (whoe from time to time to increase the deuotions of the people, haue lefte manye holye prayers and exercyses, as a treasure for the comforte and strengthen the dull soule of man) I haue thought good to collect and translate certayne deuoute prayers verye fitte and conueniente for this time, which is done the more willingly in respecte of the greate and zelouse desyre that many of our poore countrye hath, rather to occupye them selues deuoutly by begging pardone for their sinnes, the[n] curiously by searching the secrete misteries of God, to spende their time in unprofitable and insolente contradictions, tendinge to no other ende, but onely to roote out of the mindes of christian catholickes all true fayth, firme hope, and perfecte charitie, which dayly by deuotion and other spirituall exercyses is wonderfully increased, to the greate admiration, euen of the very aduersaries of all pietie and catholicke religion, as doth well appeare to the whole world se[n]ce the time that some vertuous, holy & learned men haue applyed some parte of their time in compyling, translating and collecting particular works of deuotion, which in the iudgement of many are presently more necessary, than farther to treate of any controuersie, seeinge that heresie is gowen to suche rypenes, that the simplest man of all, can now discypher the poyson hid vnder her: but deuotion is so decayed that the learned the[m]selues haue neede of helpes for to attayne thereunto: yet is it not my mynde that any man shoulde so tye him selfe to any deuoute prayer, or to anye number of prayers here colected, that thereby he shoulde omit the accustomable publique prayers of our holy mother the Catholicke Churche, as hereafter more at large I haue noted. Farther good Christian Reader I am to let thee vnderstand that thi litle Manual hath bene collected and translated in greate haste, and vpon earnest requeste of dyuers godlye and vertuouse catholickes: yet not without the iudgemente and opinion of some number of the learned sorte in this studye, whoe finde it very conuenient, and necessary for this time, specially for that they are collected and translated out of dyuers famous and holy Authors, as well auncient as of time prese[n]t, and are to the great increase of deuotion published in many countries and in dyuers tongues, before this my collection & translatio[n]: which if I may request to be gratefully accepted of thee good catholicke and christian Reader, it shall gyue me the r_diar [?]

occasion, to take the lyke paynes in any such profitable action, which hereafter maye be offred: and thus wishing, that increase of grace to the reader, which I desire to my selfe, and desiring hartye repentaunce to be wrought in the hartes of all my deare country-men, I bid thee gentle reader hartely fare-well.

Thy harty welwiller to commaunde in Christe Iesus. G. F.

A prayer of any captiue accordinge to the forme of Dauid, when he was hid in the caue. Psal. 142.

With my voice I cry to thee, afore thee I open my lamentations, in thy bosome I disclose the secrete word of my hart, my dolours and griefes I shew vnto thee, my harte is almoste lyke to bruste [sic], so great is my discomfiture. Thou knowest all my dealinges O Lorde: and thou seest well ynough how the vngodly haue layed their snares for me. Lo I caste mine eye on this side, and that side, aswell on my frends as kin folkes, but all is in vaine, none of them al helpeth me. And againe I can not runne away, I am so loade[n] & ouercharged with irons. O Lorde my maker and father, now vnto thee I cry, thou art mine onely Shot-anker, defence & helpe. Thou art my porcio[n] & heritage which I possesse in al cou[n]tries, yea, I haue none other possession but thee onely: To thee therefore I sticke altogether, knowinge certainly that nothing can goe amisse with me. Consider then my lamentable complaynte, beholde how I am brought low: From the cruell pursuers which be much more of power than I am, defend me: Deliuer me from this prison, and horrible feare of sinne and death, that I may sette out thy name, all thy sainctes as well Angells as men, make sute for me, desiring thee for my comfort. They shall not cease vntill they obtaine their requeste, I meane vntill thou forgyue me my sinnes, and sende me comfort in this distres with pacience and lo[n]g suffering. This once obtayned, the godly folke shal flocke aboute me, & shall not stynt to gyue thee thankes, when they see that thou riddest me forth of these dangers, to the highe prayse of thy name, Lorde be mercyfull vnto vs, take part with vs, then we shall for euer lyfte vp, and magnifie thy glorious name. Amen.

A prayer in trouble of conscience. Psal. 134.

Lorde heare my prayer, receyue my supplicacion, harken to my co[m]plaint for thy righteousnes. Try not the lawe with thy seruaunt, for trulye then shall no lyuynge man be founde vngyltie, yea, not one of thy saintes should escape quitte at thy barre, vnlesse thou graunte him thy gracious pardon, in somuch, euen the very starres be not pure and fautles afore thee, in the Angels thou foundest sin. Nowe mine enemies hunte for my soule, they beate & dryue it downe, they thruste it into darcke dungeons, where felons conuicte and condempned to death, were wonte to be kept, my spirit is sorowfull, my hart is heauie and sadd with in my breaste, to thee I holde vp my ha[n]des, requiring the of mercy. For lyke as the dry ground lo[n]geth for a shower of raigne, so my soule thinketh long till it hath thy helpe and succour, heare me spedely if thou do not? I am in dispaire, my spirites is al werie of this bondage. I haue bid my life fare-well: Wherfore O God, hide not thy face,

that I be not lyke to those that be hurled into the pyt of damnatio[n]: after this night of misery ouerpassed, let the pleasaunt morninge of comfort luckyly shyne upo[n] me, that by time I may heare and fele thy goodnes, for in thee is all my trust: pointe me the waye, that I shall walke in, for yf thou be not my guide, I must nedes wander and straye out of the waye. To thee Lorde I lift vp my soule, and that with all mine harte I besech the, take me forth of mine enemies handes. Thou onely art my succour and sauegarde, teache me to worke what soeuer shall be thy pleasure, for thou art my God. Let thy good spirite conducte me into the land of the lyuing, encourage my spirite for thy names sake: forth of all these troubles, for thy righteousnes delyuer me: co[n]found mine enemies as thou art gracious & fauourable towardes me. Those that will worke me sorowe and griefe, plucke forth of the waye, for I am thy seruaunt, and for thy sake suffer I all this hurlye-burlye. As thou art God, so helpe thou me. Amen.

Bibliography

Primary Sources (Psalms Only)

Askewe, Anne. The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde, by the Romysh popes upholders, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale. (Wesel: D. van der Straten, 1546). [STC 848; Bodl. 8° C. 46 Th. Seld].

Bale, John. A Godly Medytacyon of the christen sowle, concerninge a love towardes God and hys Christe, compyled in frenche by lady Margarete quene of Naverre, and aptely translated into Englysh by the ryght vertuouse lady Elyzabeth doughter to our late soverayne Kynge Henri the .viii. ([Wesel]: D. van der Straten, 1548). [STC 17320; Bodl. Malone 502].

---. A dialogue or Communycacyon to be had at a table betwene two chyldren, gathered out of the holy scriptures, by Johan Bale, for his .ii. younge sonnes Johan and Paule. (London: Richarde Foster, 1549). [STC 1290; Bodl. Douce B. 55].

---. An Expostulation or complaynte agaynste the blasphemyes of a franticke papyst of Hamshyre. 1551. [STC 1294].

Becon, Thomas. Davids Harpe ful of moost delectable armony, newely strynged and set in tune by Theodore Basille. (London: John Mayler for John Gough, 1542). [STC 1717].

---. A Confortable Epistle/too Goddes faythfyll people in Englande/wherein is declared the cause of takynge awaye the true Christen religion from them/& howe it maye be recovered and obtayned agayne/newly made by thomas Becon. (Strasburgh) [Wesel?]: [J. Lambrecht?] 1554). [STC 1716; Bod. 8° E. 26 Arts BS].

Bentley, Thomas, of Gray's Inn. The Monument of Matrones: conteining seven severall Lamps of Virginitie, or distinct treatieses; whereof the first five concerne praier and meditation: the other two last, precepts and examples, as the woorthie works partlie of men, partlie of women; compiled for the necessarie use of both sexes out of the sacred Scriptures, and other approoved authors, by Thomas Bentley of Graies Inne Student. (London: H. Denham, 1582). [STC 1892; Bodl. 4^0 C. 38 Jur.].

Bownell, Thomas. A Godly Psalme, of Marye Queene, which brought us comfort al, Through God, whom wee of dewtye prayse, that gives her foes a fal. By Rychard Beeard. (London:., Wylliam Griffith, 1553). [STC 1655].

Bull, Henry. Christian Praiers and holie Meditations, as wel for Private as Publique exercise: Gathered out of the most godly learned in our time, by Henrie Bull. Whereunto are added the praiers, commonly called Lidleys praiers. (London: Thomas East for Henry Middleton, 1568). [STC 4028].

---. A Commentarie upon the Fiftene Psalmes, called Psalmi Graduum, that is, Psalmes of Degrees; Faithfully copied out of the lectures of D. Martin Luther, very frutefull and comfortable for all Christian afflicted consciences to reade. Translated out of Latine into English by Henry Bull. (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1577). [STC 16975; Bodl. 4° Rawl. 524].

Byrd, William. Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie, made into Musicke of five parts: whereof, some of them going abroade among divers, in untrue coppies, are heere truely corrected, and th'other being Songs very rare and newly composed, are heere published, for the recreation of all such as delight in Musicke: By William Byrd, one of the Gent. of the Queenes Majesties honorable Chappell. (London: Thomas East, 1588). [STC 4253].

---. Songs of sundrie natures, some of gravitie, and others of myrth, fit for all companies and voyces. Lately made and composed into Musicke of 3.4.5. and 6. parts: and published for the delight of all such as take pleasure in the exercise of that Art. By William Byrd, one of the Gentlemen of the Queenes Majesties honorable Chappell. (London: Thomas East, 1589). [STC 4256].

Cancellar, James. A Godly Meditation of the Soule, concerning a Love towardes Christ . . . Whereunto is added godlye Meditations, set forth after the Alphabet of the Queenes Majesties name. (London: H. Denham, 1568?) [STC 17320.5].

Coverdale, Miles. A Paraphrasis/ upon all the Psalmes of David/ made by Johannes Campensis/ reader of the Hebrue lecture/ in the universite of Lovane/ and translated oute of Latyne into Englyshe. (Antwerp, 1535). [STC 2372.4; See also J. Bale's Scriptorum illustrium . . . Catalogus (1557) and J. F. Mozley's Coverdale and his Bibles (1953) for attribution of translations].

---. Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawen out of the holy Scripture, for the comforte and consolacyon of soch as love to rejoyse in God and his worde. (Southwark: 1535). [STC 5892].

---. The Psalter or boke of Psalmes both in Latyn and Englyshe, wyth a Kalender, & a Table the more eassyer and lyghtlyer to fynde the psalmes contayned therin. (London: Richard Grafton, 1540). [STC 2368; Bodl. Douce BB. 71].

---. The psalter or psalmes of David after the translacion of the great Byble, poynted as it shall be sayed or song in Churches. (London: Humfrey Powell for Edwarde Whitechurche, 1549). [STC 2376].

Coxe (Cockis), John. The Comentarye or exposition of Wolfegang Musculus uppon the li. psalme. Newlye translated out of Latine into Englishe the xii. of December. (London: R. Serle for W. Lobley, 1555-56?). [STC 18307.5; St. Paul's Cathedral Library, London].

Crowley, Robert. The Psalter of David newely translated into Englysh metre in such sort that it maye the more decently, and wyth more delyte of the mynde, be reade and songe of al men. Wherunto is added a note of four partes, wyth other thynges, as shall appeare in the Epistle to the Readar. Translated and Imprinted by Robert Crowley. (London: Robert Crowley, 1549). [STC 2725; British Libr. C 36. e. 25].

Day, Richard. A Booke of Christian Prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, worthy to be read with an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull unto us. (London: John Day, 1578). [STC 6429; Bodl. Tanner 285].

Fisher, John. Psalmes or prayers taken out of holye scripture. (London: Thomas Barthelet, 1544). [STC 3001.7; STC 3002 (for 18 subsequent editions); STC 3009 additions. Another Edition examined: Bodl. Art A. G. 17(2)].

Fleming, Abraham. A Pithie Exposition upon the .51. Psalme Intituled, Misere mei Deus, &c. Also a godly meditation, upon the .31. Psalme, intituled, In te Domine speravi. Written by Hierome of Ferrarie: And now newly augmented and amended, by Abraham Fleming. (London: Thomas Dawson, 1578). [STC 21797; British Lib. C. 25a. 30(2)].

Flinton, George. A Manual of Prayers Newly Gathered out of many and divers famous authours aswell auncient as of the tyme present. (Rouen: George L'Oyselet, 1583). [STC 17263].

Fraunce, Abraham. The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel. Conteining the Nativity, Passion, Buriall, and Resurrection of Christ: togeather with certaine Psalmes of David. All in English Hexamenters. By Abraham Fraunce. (London: Thomas Orwyn for William Ponsonby, 1591). [STC 11339; Bodl. Wood 482].

Gascoigne, George. An Hundreth Sundrie Flowers. [London, 1573.] STC 11635; Bodl. Wood 329.

---. The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire. Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the Authour. (London: H. Bynneman for Richard Smith, 1575). [STC 11636; Bodl. Mal. 791].

Gilby, Anthony. The Psalmes of David, truely opened and explaned by Paraphrasis, according to the right sense of every Psalme. With large and ample Arguments before every psalme, declaring the true use therof. To the which is added a briefe Table, shewing whereunto every Psalme is particularly to be applied, according to the direction of M. Beza and Tremelius. Set foorth in Latine by that excellent learned man Theodore Beza. And faithfully translated into English, by Anthonie Gilbie. (London: John Harison and Henrie Midleton, 1580). [STC 2033].

Golding, Arthur. The Psalmes of David and others. With M. John Calvins Commentaries. (London: Thomas East and Henry Middleton for Lucas Harison and George Byshop, 1571). [STC 4395; Bodl. LL 44 Th.].

Hall, John. Certayn chapters taken out of the Proverbes of Salomon, wyth other chapters of the holy Scripture, & certayne Psalmes of David, translated into English metre, by John Hall. Whych Proverbes of late were set forth, Imprinted and untruely entituled, to be thee doynges of Mayster Thomas Sternhold, late grome of the Kynges Majesties robes, as by thys Copye it may be perceaved. (London: Thomas Raynalde, 1550). [STC 12631; see also STC 12632 for variants in Courte of Vertue (1565)].

Hooper, John. Certeine comfortable Expositions of the constant Martyr of Christ, M. John Hooper, Bishop of Glocester and Worcester, written in the time of his tribulation and imprisonment, upon the XXIII. LXII. LXXIII. and LXXVII. Psalmes of the Prophet David. Newly recognized, and never before published. (London: Henry Middleton, 1580). [STC 13743; Bodl. 8° Z. 599 Th. (See also STC 13752 for A Exposition upon the .23. psalme of David (1562)].

Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey. Certayne Chapters of the proverbes of Salomon drawen into metre by Thomas Sterneholde, late grome of the kynges Magesties robes. (London: John Case for Willyam Seres, 1549-50). [STC 2760].

Hunnis, William. Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen furth into Englysh meter by William Hunnis servant to the ryght honorable syr Wyllyam Harberde Knight Newly collected & imprinted. (London: the wydowe of Ihon Herforde, for Ihon Harrington, 1550). [STC 2727].

---. Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne. Comprehending those seven Psalmes of the Princelie Prophet David, commonlie called Poenitentiall: framed into a forme of familiar praiers, and reduced into meeter by William Hunnis, one of the Gentlemen of hir Majesties honourable Chapell, and maister to the children of the same. 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; newlie printed and augmented. (London: Henrie Denham, 1583). [STC 13975].

Lok, Henry. Ecclesiastes, otherwise called the Preacher. Containing Salomons Sermons or Commentaries (as it may probably be collected) upon the 49. Psalme of David his father. Compendiously abridged, and also paraphrastically dilated in English poesie, according to the analogie of Scripture, and consent of the most approved writer thereof. Composed by H. L. Gentleman. Whereunto are annexed sundrie sonets of Christian Passions heretofore printed, and now corrected and augmented, with other affectionate Sonets of a feeling conscience of the same Authors. (London: Richard Field, 1597). [STC 16696; Bodl. 4° H9 Th.].

Parker, Matthew. The whole Psalter translated into English Metre, which contayneth an hundreth and fifty Psalmes. (London: Iohn Daye, 1567). [STC 2729].

Paynell, Thomas. The Piththy and moost notable sayinges of al Scripture, gathered by Thomas Paynell: after the manner of common places, very necessary for al those that delite in the consolacions of the Scriptures. ([London: T. Gaultier, at the costes of R. Toye, 1550). [STC 19494; Bodl. Tanner 104].

Pits, John. A poore mannes benevolence to the afflicted Church. (London: Alexander Lacy, 1566). [STC 19969; Bodl. 8° S. 322 Art].

Potter, Thomas. An Exposition upon the CXXX. Psalme, Setting forth the comfortable doctrine of our justification and peace in Christ. Written by M. Luther: and nowe newlye translated for the comfort of afflicted consciences, by Thomas Potter. (London: Hugh Singleton, 1577). [STC 16979.3].

Robinson, Richard (of Alton). A Golden Mirrour. Conteining certaine Pithie and figurative Visions prognosticating good fortune to England and all true English Subjectes, with an overthrowe to the enemies, whereto be adjoyned certaine pretie Poemes written on the names of sundrie both noble and worshipfull. (London: Roger Ward for Iohn Proctor, 1589). [STC 21121.5].

Robinson, Richard (of London). Part of the Harmony of King Davids Harp. Conteining the first XXI. Psalmes of King David. Briefly & learnedly expounded by the Reverend D. Victorinus Strigelius Professor of Divinitie in the Universitie of Lypsia in Germanie. Newly translated into English by Rich. Robinson. (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1582). [STC 23358].

Rogers, Thomas. A Golden Chaine, taken out of the rich Treasure house the Psalmes of King David: also, the pretious Pearles of King Salomon; Published for the adorning of al true

Christians which are the right Nobilitie, against the triumphant returne of our blessed Saviour, which is nigh at hande. By Thomas Rogers. (London: Henrie Denham, 1579). [STC 21235; Bodl. Vet. A1 f. 128.]

Samuel, William. An abridgement of all the Canonical books of the olde Testament, written in Sternholds meter by W. Samuel Minister. (London: William Seres, 1569). [STC 21690].

Stanyhurst, Richard. Thee First Foure Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis Translated intoo English heroical verse by Richard Stanyhurst, wyth oother Poetical divises theretoo annexed. [Leiden: John Pates, 1582). [STC 24806].

Sternhold, Thomas. Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into englishe Metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of the kynges Majesties Roobes. (London: Edouardus Whitchurche, 1549?). [STC 2419].

Sternhold, Thomas, and John Hopkins. Al such Psalmes of David as Thomas Sternehold late grome of the kinges Majesties Robes, didde in his life time draw into English Metre. (London: Edwarde Whitchurche, 1549). [STC 2420].

Stubbs, John. Christian meditations upon eight Psalmes of the Prophet David. Made and newly set forth by Theodore Beza. Translated out of Frenche, for the common benefite, into the vulgare tongue by I.S. (London: Christopher Barker, 1582). [STC 2004].

Taverner, Richard. An Epitome of the Psalmes, or briefe meditacions upon the same, with diverse other moste christian prayers, translated by Richard Taverner. (London: ?, 1539). [STC 2748].

Udall, John. That is the Key of the Holy Tongue: Wherein is conteineid, first the Hebrue Grammar (in a manner) woord for woord out of P. Martinius. Secondly, A practize upon the first, the twentie fift, and the syxtie eyght Psalmes, according to the rules of the same Grammar . . . englished for the benefit of those that (being ignoraunt in the Latin) are desirous to learn the holy tongue; By John . Udall. (Leyden: Francis Raphelengius, 1593). [STC 17523; Bodl. 8° M 48 Art.]

Verstegan, Richard. Odes in Imitation of the seaven penitential psalmes, with sundry other Poems and ditties tending to devotion and pietie. ([Antwerp: A. Conincx, 1601]). [STC 12407; Bodl. 8° C 98 Th.]

Whittingham, William, ed. One and Fiftie Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, wherof .37. were made by Thomas Sterneholde: and the rest by others. Conferred with the hebrewe, and in certeyn places corrected as the text, and sens of the Prophete required. (Geneva: Iohn Crespin, 1556). [STC 16561. See also STC 2383.6 and STC 2384 for variants.]

Wyatt, Sir Thomas. Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David/ commonlye called thee .vii. penytentiall psalmes, drawen into englyshe meter by Sir Thomas Wyat Knyght, wherunto is added a prologe of the auctore before every psalme, very pleasaunt & profettable to the godly reader. (London: Thomas Raynald and Iohn Harryngton, 1549). [STC 2726.]

Primary Sources (Other than Psalms)

Aretino, P. I sette salmi de la Penitentia de David. Venice, 1536.

---. Paraphrase upon the Seaven Penitentiall Psalmes of the Kingly Prophet. Trans. J. Hawkins. Douai, 1635.

Ascham, R. English Works. Ed. W. A. Wright. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1904, 1970.

Bale, J. Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam vocant: Catalogus. Basle, 1557.

Becon, T. A Potacion or drinkynge for this holi time of lent very comfortable for all penitent synners. London, 1542.

Beza, T. Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum prophetarum, libri quinque. Argumentis & Latina Paraphrasi illustrati, ac etiam vario carminum genere latine expressi . . . T. Beza auctore. London, 1580.

Biblia The Bible/ that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe. [Cologne or Marburg?] 1535.

Biblia Vulgata. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1991.

The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, conferred With the best translations in divers langages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. Geneva, 1560.

The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy scrypture, bothe of the olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in theforsayde tonges. London, 1539.

The . holie . Bible . conteyning the olde Testament and the newe. London, 1568.

Burton, E., ed. Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII. Oxford, 1834.

Calvin John. The Institution of Christian Religion, written in Latine by M. John Calvine, and translated into English according to the authors last edition, by Thomas Norton. London, 1578.

Campensis, J. Psalmorum omnium: iuxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica, interpretatio J. Campensi. Paris, 1534.

Du Bartas, G. du Salluste. La Muse chrestiene. Paris, 1574.

Erasmus, D. Opera omnia. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1969-.

Fisher, J. This treatyse concerning the fruytfull saynges of David the kynge & prophete in the seven penytencyall psalmes. London, 1509.

Foxe, John. Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church. London, 1563.

---. The Actes and Monuments of John Foxe. Ed. G. Townsend and S.R. Cattley. London, 1837-41.

Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, eds. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign Henry VIII. London, 1901.

Gascoigne, George. Works. Ed. J. W. Cunliffe. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1907-10.

Hall, John. The Court of Virtue. London, 1565.

Lefevre, Jacques. Psalterium David. Paris, 1524.

---. Quincuplex Psalterium. Paris, 1509.

Lodge, Thomas. A Defence of Poetry. London, 1579.

More, Thomas. The Complete Works of St. Thomas More. Ed. G. E. Haupt. New Haven: Yale

UP, 1976.

---. The Workes of Sir Thomas More. Ed. W. Rastell. London, 1557.

Perkins, William. A Commentarie or Exposition upon the Five First Chapters of the Epistle to the Galations. Cambridge, 1604.

Pollard, A.W., ed. Records of the English Bible. Oxford, 1911.

Puttenham, G. The Arte of English Poesie. Ed. G. D. Willcock and A. Walker. Cambridge, 1936.

Sidney, Sir Philip. An Apology for Poetry or the Defence of Poesy. Ed. G. Shepherd. Edinburgh: R & R. Clark, 1965.

---. The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney. Ed. W. A. Ringler. Oxford: Oxford UP,1962.

Tottel, R., ed. Songes and Sonettes. London, 1557.

Tyndale, W. The obedience of a Christen man and how Christen rulers ought to governe. Antwerp, 1528.

---. Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to different portions of the Holy Scripture. Ed. H. Walter. Cambridge: Parker Society, 1913.

Whitaker, William. Disputatio Sacra Scriptura. Cambridge, 1588.

Willes, Richard. De re poetica. London, 1573.

Wilson, T. The arte of Rhetorique (1560). Ed. G. H. Mair. Oxford, 1909.

Scholarship and Criticism

Aichele, George, et al. The Postmodern Bible. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995.

Albert, Sandor. "The Traps of Formal Correspondence." Studies in Translatology 1 (1993): 11-21.

Allen, J.W. History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century. New York: Dial Press, 1928.

Allen, M.J.B., et al, eds. Sir Philip Sydney's Achievements. New York: AMS, 1990.

Anselm, St. The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.

ap Roberts, R. "Old Testament Poetry: The Translatable Structure." PMLA 92 (1977).

Askew, Anne. The Examinations of Anne Askew. Ed. Elaine Beilin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.

Attridge, Derek. Well-weighed syllables: Elizabethan verse in classical metres. London: Cambridge UP, 1974.

Auksi, Peter. Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual Ideal. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1995.

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. City of God. Trans. Henry Bettenson. London: Penguin, 1984.

---. On Christian Doctrine. Trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. New York: Macmillan, 1958.

---. On the Psalms. Trans. by Dame Scholastica Hebgin and Dame Felicitas Corrigan. Vols. 29 and 30 of Ancient Christian Writers. New York: Newman Press, 1960.

Austin, J.L. How to Do Things with Words. Ed. J.O. Urmson and M. Sbisa. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1962.

Bailey, Derrick Sherwin. Thomas Becon and the Reformation of the Church of England. London: Oliver & Boyd, 1952.

Barker, Francis, et al., eds. Literature and Power in the Seventeenth Century. Colchester: U of Essex, 1981.

Barnstone, Willis. The Poetics of Translation: History, Theory, Practice. New Haven: Yale UP, 1993.

Bedouelle, Guy. "La Lecture Christologique du Psautier dans le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefevre D'Etaples." Histoire de l'exegese au XVIe siecle. Textes du colloque international tenu a geneve en 1976. Ed. Olivier Fatio & Pierre Fraenkel. Geneve: Librairie Droz S.A., 1978.

Beer, Barrett L. Northumberland: The Political Career of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland. Ill.: Kent State UP, 1973.

Beilin, Elaine V. Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987.

Bennett, H.S. English Books and Readers: 1475-1557. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969.

---. English Books and Readers: 1558-1603. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965.

Bradshaw, Brendan, and Eamon Duffy, eds. Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: the career of Bishop John Fisher. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.

British Biographical Archive. London: Saur, 1984.

Brown, Dennis. Vir Trilinguis: A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome. Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing, 1992.

Burke, Kenneth. Language as Symbolic Action. Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1966.

Burrows, Mark S., and Paul Rorem, eds. Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.

Buxton, J. Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance. 3rd ed. London: Macmillan, 1987.

Calvin, John. Institutes of the Christian Religion. 1536 Edition. Trans. Ford Lewis Battles. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995.

---. John Calvin. Selections from his Writings. Ed. John Dillenberger. Missoula, Montana: Scholar Press, 1971, 1975.

Campbell, Lily Bess. Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1959.

Cary, Edmond. Les grands traducteurs français. Geneva: Librairie de L'universite, 1963.

Cassiodorus. Explanation of the Psalms. Trans. P.G. Walsh. Ancient Christian Writers. 51-53. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.

Cassirer, Ernst. The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy. New York: Harper, 1964.

—, et al, eds. The Renaissance Philosophy of Man. Chicago: UP, 1948, 1971.

Chrisman, Miriam Usher. Conflicting Visions of Reform. German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets, 1519-1530. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1996.

Connell, D. Sir Philip Sidney: The Maker's Mind. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977.

Copeland, Rita. Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic

Traditions and Vernacular Texts. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.

Colie, R. L. The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance. Ed. B. Keefer Lewalski. Berkeley, 1973.

Cottrell, P., and M. Turner. Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation. London, 1989.

Cristafulli. Edoardo. "Culture and Test: Equivalence Revisited." Perspectives: Studies in Translatology 2 (1993): 194-206.

Crotch, W.J.B., ed. The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton. London: Oxford UP, 1928.

Curtius, Ernst Robert. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. Trans. Willard R. Trask. New York: Pantheon Books, 1948.

Demetz, P., et al., eds. The Disciplines of Criticism. New Haven: Yale UP, 1968.

Dictionary of National Biography. London: Oxford UP, 1959-60.

Dollimore, Jonathan. Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1984.

Donne, John. The Divine Poems. Ed. H. Gardner. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978.

Dubrow, Heather, and Richard Strier, eds. The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1988.

Duffy, Eamon. The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992.

Dummett, Michael. The Seas of Language. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

Eberling, Gerhard. Luther: An Introduction to his Thought. Trans. R.A. Wilson. London: Collins, 1970.

Eriksen, Roy T. "George Gascoigne's and Mary Sidney's Versions of Psalm 130." Cahiers Elisabethains: Etudes sur la Pre-Renaissance et la Renaissance Anglaises 36 (1989): 1-9.

Evans, Maurice. English Poetry in the Sixteenth Century. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1955.

Firth, Katharine. The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain: 1530-1645j. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.

Fowler, A. Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982.

Franklin, Julian H., ed. Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century: Three Treatises by Hotman, Beza, & Mornay. Trans. Julian H. Franklin. New York: Pegasus, 1969.

Friedman, D. M. "The 'Thing' in Wyatt's Mind." Essays in Criticism 16 (1966): 375-81.

Friedman, Jerome. "Servetus and the Psalms: The exegesis of Heresy." Histoire de l'exegese au XVIe siecle. Textes du colloque international tenu a geneve en 1976. Ed. Olivier Fatio & Pierre Fraenkel. Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 1978.

Frontain, Raymond-Jean, and Jan Wojcik, eds. The David Myth in Western Literature. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue UP, 1980.

Frye, Northrop. Anatomy of Criticism. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton UP, 1957.

---. The Great Code: The Bible and Literature. Toronto: Academic Press Canada, 1982.

Geuss, Raymond. The Idea of a critical theory: Habermas and the Frankfurt School. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981.

Golding, L.T. An Elizabethan Puritan: Arthur Golding the Translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses and also of John Calvin's Sermons. New York, 1937.

Gosselin, Edward A. The King's Progress to Jerusalem: Some Interpretations of David during the Reformation Period and Their Patristic and Medieval Background. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1976.

Greenblatt, S. Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare. Chicago: UP, 1980.

Greene, Roland. "Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms, the Sixteenth-Century Psalter, and the Nature of Lyric." SEL 1500-1900. 30 (1990): 19-40.

Greenwood, D. S. "The Seventeenth-Century English Poetic Biblical Paraphrase: Practitioners, Texts and Contexts." Diss. University of Cambridge, 1985.

Gunkel, Hermann. The Psalms; a form-critical introduction. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.

Guppy, Henry. William Tindale and the Earlier Translations of the Bible into English. Manchester: University Press, 1925.

Gutt, Ernst-August. Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Inc, 1991.

Guy, John. Tudor England. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988, 1990.

Haigh, Christopher. English Reformations: religion, politics, and society under the Tudors. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

Halasz, Alexandra. "Wyatt's David." Texas Studies in Literature and Language. 30 (1988): 320-44.

Hammond, Gerald. "The Authority of the Translated Word of God: A Reading of the Preface to the 1611 Bible." Translation and Literature 2 (1993): 17-36.

Hampton, Timothy. Writing from History: the Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990.

Hannay, Margaret Patterson. "'House-confined maids': The Presentation of Woman's Role in the Psalmes of the Countess of Pembroke." ELR 24 (1984): 44-71.

---. Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke. New York, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990.

---. "'Princes You as Men Must Dy': Genevan Advice to Monarch in the Psalmes of Mary Sidney." ELR 19 (1989) : 22-41.

---, ed. Silent but for the Word: Tudor women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works. Kent: Kent State UP, 1985.

---. "'When riches growe': Class Perspective in Pembroke's Psalms." Sidney Journal and Newsletter 13: (1984/5).

---. "'Wisdome the Wordes': Psalm Translation and Elizabethan Women's Spirituality." R&L 23 (1991): 65-82.

Hardison, O.B. Prosody and Purpose in the English Renaissance. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989.

---. "Crosscurrents in English Sixteenth-Century Prosody." The Works of Dissimilitude: Essays from the Sixth Citadel Conference on Medieval & Renaissance Literature. Ed. David G. Allen and Robert A. White. Newark: UP of Delaware, 1992.

Harris, Kevin. Sex, ideology, and religion: the representation of women in the bible. Totewa,

N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1984.

Hatcher, O.L. "Aims and Methods of Elizabethan Translators." Englische Studien (1912): 174-92.

Helgerson, Richard. "Recent Studies in the English Renaissance." SEL 26 (1986): 145-99.

Hilborn, David. "From Performativity to Pedagogy: Jean Ladriere and the Pragmatics of Reformed Worship Discourse." The Nature of Religious Language. Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.

Hinely, Jan Lawson. "'Freedom through Bondage': Wyatt's Appropriation of the Penitential Psalms of David." The Work of Dissimilitude: Essays from the Sixth Citadel Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Literature. Ed. David G. Allen and Robert A. White. Newark: UP of Delaware, 1992.

Hobbes, Jesse. Religious explanation and scientific ideology. New York: P. Lang, 1993.

Holland, John. The Psalmists of Britain. Records, Biographial and Literary of Upwards of one hundred and fifty authors who have rendered the whole or parts of the Book of Psalms, into English Verse with Specimens of the Different Versions, and a general introduction. London: R. Groombridge, 1843.

Howell, W. S. Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700. New York, 1961.

Hughey, R., ed. Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry. 2 vols. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State UP, 1960.

Huizinga, J. The Waning of the Middle Ages. London: Edward Arnold, 1924, 1955.

Jakobsen, Arnt-Lykke. "Translation as Textual (Re)Production." Perspectives: Studies in Translatology 2 (1993): 155-66.

Jameson, Frederic. The Political Unconscious/Narrative as a socially symbolic act. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1981.

Jarrott, C.A.L. "Erasmus' Biblical Humanism." Studies in the Renaissance 17 (1970): 119-52.

Jasper, David, ed. Translating Religious Texts: Translation, Transgression and Interpretation. Houndsmills: Macmillan, 1993.

Jayne, S. Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California UP, 1956.

Jones, G. L. The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language. Manchester, 1983.

Kalstone, D. Sidney's Poetry: Contexts and Interpretations. Cambridge, Mass.: Havard UP, 1965.

Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. The King's Two Bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1957.

Keller, Katherine Z., et al., eds. Witness of Times: Manifestations of Ideology in Seventeenth Century England. Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 1993.

Kelly, Louis. The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979.

King, John N. English Reformation Literature: the Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982.

Kinnamon, Noel. "The Sidney Psalms: The Penshurst and Tixall Manuscripts." English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700 2 (1990): 139-61.

Kinney, Arthur F. Essential Articles for the Study of Sir Philip Sidney. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1986.

Kugel, James. The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History. New Haven: Yale UP, 1981.

Lampe, G.W.H., ed. The Cambridge History of the Bible. The West from the Fathers to the Reformation. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969.

Leaver, Robin A. 'Goostly psalmes and Spirituall songes': English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991.

Levy, Bernard S. The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art. Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies. 83. Binghamton, New York: 1992.

Lewalski, B. K. Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1979.

Lewis, C.S. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954.

Logan, Marie-Rose, and Peter L. Rudnytski, eds. Contending Kingdoms. Historical,

Psychological, and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1991.

Luther, Martin. Martin Luther. Selections from his Writings. Trans and Ed. John Dillenberger. New York: Doubleday, 1961.

---. Three Treatises. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960.

MacMeeken, J. W. History of the Scottish Metrical Psalms. Glasgow, 1872.

Mason, H.A. Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period. London, 1959, 1980.

McDiarmid, John F. "Humanism, Protestantism, and English Scripture, 1533-40." Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 14 (1984): 121-38.

Mowinckel, S. The Psalms in Israel's Worship. Trans. D. R. ap Thomas. Oxford: Blackwell, 1962.

Mozley, J. F. Coverdale and His Bibles. London: Lutterworth Press, 1953.

Muir, Kenneth, ed. Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1963.

Nichols, John Gough. "The Racking of Anne Askew." Narratives of the Reformaiton. Westminster: Camden Society, 1860.

Nida, Eugene A., and Charles R. Taber. The Theory and Practice of Translation. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969.

Padelford, Frederick Morgan. The Poems of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey. New York: Haskell House, 1966.

Patrick, Millar. Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1949.

Patrologia Latina. Ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. 221 Vols. Paris: 1841-1905.

Pearson, G., ed. Remains of Myles Coverdale. Cambridge: Parker Society, 1846.

Peel, Albert. "Robert Crowley--Puritan, Printer, Poet." Regent Square Presbyterian Church, London. October 18, 1937.

Pollard, A. W., and G. R. Redgrave, eds. A Short title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640. 2nd ed. 1976-86.

---, ed. Records of the English Bible. Oxford, 1911.

Porter, Stanley E., ed. The Nature of Religious Language. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996

Prall, Stuart E. Church and State in Tudor and Stuart England. Arlington Heights, Ill.: H. Davidson, 1993.

Prescott, Anne Lake. "Evil Tongues at the Court of Saul: the Renaisance David as a slandered Courtier." Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 21 (1991):

---. French Poets and the English Renaissance: Studies in Fame and Transformation. New Haven: Yale UP, 1978.

---. "King David as a 'Right Poet': Sidney' and the Psalmist." ELR 19 (1989): 131-151.

---. "The Reputation of Clement Marot in Renaissance England." Studies in the Renaissance 18 (1971): 173-202.

Prescott, H.F.M. Mary Tudor. New York: Macmillan, 1953, 1968.

Prickett, Stephen. Words and the Word: Language, Poetics and Biblical Interpretation. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986.

Prouty, C.T. George Gascoigne: Elizabethan Courtier Soldier, and Poet. New York: Columbia UP, 1942.

Reid, W. Stanford. "The Battle Hymms [sic?] of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century." Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies II (1971): 36-54.

Rex, Richard. The Theology of John Fisher. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.

Ricoeur, Paul. Essays on Biblical Interpretation. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980.

Robinson, Douglas. "The Ascetic Foundations of Western Translatology: Jerome and Augustine." Translation and Literature 1 (1992): 3-25.

---. "Decolonizing Translation." Translation and Literature 2 (1993): 113-24.

---. The Translator's Turn. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U, 1991.

Rubel, Vere L. Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance From Skelton Through Spenser. New York: MLA, 1941, 1966.

Rohr-Sauer, P. von. English Metrical Psalms from 1600 to 1660. A Study in the Religious and Aesthetic Tendencies of that Period. Freiburg, 1938.

Rummel, Erika. The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995.

Saintsbury, George. Historical Manual of English Prosody. London: MacMillan, 1926.

Schwartz, W. Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation: Some Reformation Controversies and their Background. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1955.

Shuger, Debora Kuller. Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture. Berkely and Los Angelos: California UP, 1990.

---. The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity. Berkeley: California UP, 1994.

Sinfield, Alan. Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660. London: Crown Helm, 1983.

---. Faultlines: Cultural Materialism and the Politics of Dissident Reading. Berkeley: U of California Press, 1992.

Smith, H. "English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance." Huntington Library Quarterly. ix (1946): 249-71.

---. Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Conventions, Meaning, and Expression. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1952, 1964.

Sonnino, L. E. A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric. London, 1968.

Spencer, Theodore. "The Poetry of Sir Philip Sidney." ELH 12 (1945): 251-78.

Southall, R. The Courtly Maker: An Essay on the Poetry of Wyatt and his Contemporaries. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1964.

Steiner, George. After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992.

---. Real Presences: Is there anything in what we say? London: Faber, 1989.

Strype, J. Annals of the Reformation. Oxford: Clarendon, 1824.

---. Ecclesiastical Memorials. Oxford: Clarendon, 1816.

Temperley, N. The Music of the English Parish Church. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979.

Thompson, Bard. Humanists & Reformers: A History of the Renaissance and Reformation. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.

Todd, Richard. "Humanist Prosodic Theory, Dutch Synods, and the Poetics of the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter." HLQ 52 (1989): 273-293.

Thurcaston, E.F.O. Does the "Revised Version" affect the Doctrine of the New Testament As exhibited in the Authorized Translation. London: Richard D. Dickinson, 1884.

Tucker, Robert C., ed. The Marx-Engels Reader. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 1978.

Twombly, R. G. "Thomas Wyatt's Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms of David." Texas Studies in Literature and Language 12 (1970): 345-80.

Waller, G. F. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke: A critical study of her writings and literary milieu. Salzburg: Univeristy of Salzburg, 1979.

---. "'This Matching of Contraries': Calvinism and Courtly Philosophy in the Sidney Psalms." English Studies 55 (1974): 22-31.

Walzer, Michael. The Revolution of the Saints: a study in the origins of radical politics. New York: Atheneum, 1968.

---. Exodus and Revolution. New York: Basic Books, 1985.

Warton, Thomas. History of English Poetry. London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1778, 1781, 1875.

Watt, Tessa. Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.

Westermann, C. The Living Psalms. Trans. J.R. Porter. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989.

---, ed. Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963.

White, H.C. The Tudor Books of Private Devotion. Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin Press, 1951.

Zim, Rivkah. English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.