Archaism, Antiphony, and the Music of the Book of Common Prayer: A Mythical Amalgam

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English Church Music has often maintained its own sanctuary by means of a special appeal to an archaic ethos: an ethos that arises not only from old-fashioned musical writing, but also archaic circumstances for the delivery of Anglican ecclesiastical music. This archaic ethos took on a particularly notable identity in the nineteenth century, due in part to the works of the celebrated Tractarian Movement (also known as the Oxford Movement) and the Ecclesiological Movement, both of which touched the practice of the delivery of the music of the Book of Common Prayer[1] very deeply. This article will explore a notion of archaism and the Prayer Book through the lens of the practice, setting, and general circumstances of the delivery of its music. Further questions also emerge. Is such archaism real or is it invented? In other words, is it a fantasy? And what part might a notion of invented archaism have played in the distinctive demeanour of the Anglican Prayer Book and its musical services?

The beginnings of the Tractarian Movement are usually traced to a single representative moment: Keble's famous sermon, *National Apostasy*,[2] given at the University Church, Oxford in 1833.[3] Right from these early days, the musical manifestation of Tractarianism has encompassed a distinctive veneration of musical ancestry, for example Gregorian chant. The many archaic facets of this time, which will be discussed in this article, represent a veneration that could even be styled as 'ancestor worship'.[4] However, Tractarians did not necessarily fashion the same sort of archaism that was bound up with long lineage and establishment as found in the old-fashioned

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1 Henceforth the Prayer Book.

2 John Keble, *National Apostasy, by John Keble*, http://anglicanhistory.org/keble/keble1.html.

3 Bernarr Rainbow's study of a musical manifestation of the Tractarian Movement (reprinted in 2001) remains an excellent work. See Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839–1872): Studies in English Church Music* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1970).

4 Anglican 'ancestors' in this context, as distinct from the ancient Eastern Ancestor Worship dogma, which shares the same sobriquet, include such historical liturgical figures as Archbishops Cranmer and Laud, the Marian exiles and composers such as Merbecke, Tallis, and Byrd.

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High Church Movement.[5] This earlier movement had roots in a political ideology of a mystical and sacral philosophy of the realm, where the monarch was delivered from such things as the Gunpowder Plot, Roman Catholic monarchical threat and even martyrdom.[6] Instead, Tractarian archaism was, at times, somewhat invented—a new archaism, as it were, with something of the theatre about it. This new theatricality included surpliced choirs (where previously there had often been amateurish gallery singers), processions, easterly organs and a radical new focus on the sanctuary and altar. All these facets, and more, were somewhat theatrical. Certainly, they were grandiose in comparison with the simplicity of the Georgian Church. Indeed, Queen Victoria (the Supreme Governor of the Church of England) did not approve. Throughout her life, she preferred Presbyterian simplicity to Anglican grandeur.[7] Yet, the Tractarians often functioned rather like the dissenting churches in that each congregation had a high level of autonomy in ritual and doctrine with 'an infallible priest-pope in every parish'.[8] The Tractarians were also disobedient and even suspicious of their bishops, with many recorded instances of warfare and even plain defiance of the episcopacy.[9]

If we accept that archaism and the Tractarian Movement did not necessarily depend upon the perfect preservation of a long and unbroken tradition, it is possible to see that archaism and a notion of ancestor worship need not necessarily flow from an unbroken ancient personality; as an ethos it can be invented or perhaps exaggerated. That said, deliberately focussed musical archaism was not completely new to nineteenth-century Anglicanism. William Boyce, Thomas Tudway,[10] and Roger North[11] are good examples of eighteenth-century Anglican composers whose writing was purposely of an old fashioned, conservative, and 'high and dry' demeanour. These composers (all establishment high Tories) celebrated the writing found in the early years of the Prayer

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5 The old fashioned 'high and dry' High Church Movement is distinct from the Anglo-Catholic Movement, which is also high church; the two Movements are not the same. See Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*: *Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 50–3. These classifications, together with the English Tractarian Movement, are quite distinct from the Catholic Cecilian Movement, which was prominent in the mid to late nineteenth century on the Continent. That said, the promotion of chant is an important facet of this movement, but its general influences and manifestations are beyond the scope of this article.

6 Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, 50. See also Owen Chadwick (ed.), *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: Black, 1960), 14–15.

7 Paula Bartley, *Queen Victoria* (London: Routledge, 2016), 218–19.

8 Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and His Age* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2003), 177–8.

9 Gilley, *Newman*, 172.

10 Thomas Tudway (*c*1650–1726), Professor of Music at Cambridge and predecessor of Maurice Greene, was a composer and church musician with an interest in old choral music.

11 Roger North (*c*1653–1734) was a lawyer, musician, and antiquarian.

Book as being the finest and most ideal for the English Church. But one of the critical points of distinction between this earlier 'establishment' archaism and a nineteenth-century veneration of a musical past was that, in the traditional 'high and dry' church, there was a great fear of anything that could remotely be construed as being Roman Catholic in practice or association.[12] In relation to music, this frequently meant pre-Reformation musical devices (such as counterpoint and melisma), with Gregorian chant becoming a particularly fierce battleground.

Smart, Goss, Oakley and Elvey are four composers who are associated with traditional high churchmanship in the nineteenth century.[13] The archaism that they embraced is seen in a rejection of certain practices. Smart, for example, produced a number of choral works, but no communion settings, thereby rejecting the importance of sung Holy Communion services. His Evening Setting in F is four-square in character along the lines of the early Wanley collection, with no soloistic verse writing, and it is wholly antiphonal with regular decani and cantoris process.[14] When Smart was asked a question about the 'fine ecclesiastical devotional character of Gregorian tones' he stated:

> You may rely on it, that some day when you and your friends [are] shouting those ugly Gregorian chants, Heaven will punish you, and rain down bags of crotchets on your heads, and prevent you from ever singing them again![15]

In a quest for a link with a Tudor past, some of Elvey's anthems, such as *Christ Rising from the Dead* and *O Worship the Lord in the Beauty of Holiness*, go so far as to hint at the archaic metrical protocols set out in the early exile psalters that contain long gathering notes at the beginning and end of phrases, thereby suggesting a link or veneration of this highly distinctive rhythmic Reformation model.[16] Elvey's anthems also contain a

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12 This is contextualised well in the seminal work by Nockles on the subject; see Nockles, *The Oxford Movement*. However, for an interesting discussion of Tractarianism vis-à-vis the 'high and dry' or old fashioned high churchmanship, as it pertained in the Church of Ireland, see also Peter Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement, 1822–1869', *The Historical Journal*, 41/2 (1998), 457–93, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2640114.

13 Ian Bradley, 'The Theology of the Victorian Hymn Tune', in Martin Clarke (ed.), *Music and Theology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 9.

14 Decani and cantoris are the two sides of an antiphonally arranged choir in a chancel, as found in the ancient cathedrals and in churches that adopted the aims of the Ecclesiological (or Cambridge Camden) Movement from the mid nineteenth century.

15 Anonymous, 'Henry Smart 1813–1879', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 43/711 (1902), 297–303: 303. Also cited by Bradley; as note 12.

16 For example, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (and its many successors) from Sternhold and Hopkins, published by John Day in the 1550s. For a modern critical edition see Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley (eds), *The Whole Book of Psalms: Collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins*

significant amount of full homophonic syllabic choral writing. He disapproved of any sort of dramatic church music and held that '"the improvement of organs has been the destruction of real church music" having led to separate and flourishy accompaniments'.[17]

Part of the visible and practical manifestation of the appeal to antiquity from the 1850s onwards, came in the form of the Ecclesiological Movement (also known as the Cambridge Camden Movement). The movement is nowhere near as widely known or celebrated as it might be, given that in Ireland and Britain it gave way to a truly radical reordering of Anglican Georgian church interiors into the model that is regarded today as being traditional.[18] In churches dating from the Restoration it was rare to find easterly choir stalls; instead, there may have been a pulpit, perhaps a triple-decker pulpit with a clerk's desk. There might have been wayward gallery bands and choirs (often with badly behaved musicians), box pews and very little prominence on the altar and sanctuary as a focal point. Stove pipes and other obstacles also frequently obliterated the view of the sanctuary.[19] The works of the Ecclesiological Society promoted a radical change in Georgian churches, with the introduction of screens, easterly choir stalls and chancels along with easterly organs. This reintroduced an archaic hierarchical model whereby the status of the choir was elevated enormously. Indeed, it was emblematic of the mediaeval ideal of where a choir should be situated, as found in the cathedrals and

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and Others. A Critical Edition of Texts and Tunes, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies; Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies Renaissance English Text Society Series No. 387, vol. 36 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2018). Many of the psalms contain curious gathering notes—that is to say, long notes—at the beginnings of phrases that originated as a means of keeping the singers together. However, this distinctive rhythmic pattern became a fundamental feature of the Anglican sound and has been adopted by composers all the way through to the modern day. Britten's *Saint Nicolas* (1948), for example, quotes the tune 'London New', which contains the exact rhythmical model that was first set out in the early exile psalters.

17 Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 24–6.

18 For a useful music-specific examination of the Ecclesiological Movement, see Dale Adelmann, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839–62* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); Bennett Zon, review of Ruth M. Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America 1660–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), *Music & Letters* 79/1 (1998), 109–111: 109. Zon criticizes Wilson for not referring to *The Ecclesiologist*, the extensive publication of the Ecclesiological Society, and another important publication, *The Parish Choir*, an important publication in circulation from the mid 1840s with a wide circulation amongst church musicians and the clerical profession. Other important studies skim over the movement; even if they describe some of its aims, they do not always name or discuss it in any detail. See, for example, Paul Vaiss (ed.), *From Oxford to the People: Reconsidering Newman and the Oxford Movement* (Leominster: Gracewing Publishing, 1996).

19 Christopher Webster, *Temples … Worthy of His Presence: The Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society* (London: Spire Books, 2003), 24–6.

pre-Reformation churches that had remained unaltered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most influential of the Ecclesiological Society's publications—certainly the one that came closest to giving a set of ideals—was 'A Few Words to Church Builders'.[20] It was essentially the work of J. M. Neale, who referred to the 'Anglican Church in its best times', meaning those of Archbishop Laud, executed by the Long Parliament before the Interregnum. Neale maintained that 'of the twelve thousand ancient churches in this land [meaning England] … every one has or had a well-defined Chancel'. Yet, he also found that 'in nine-tenths of "new churches" we shall find no attempt whatever at having a distinct Chancel'.[21] The movement became influential as a result of its powerful early patronage, which included quite a number of bishops and archbishops.[22] The society was also involved in record keeping as well as parochial, monastic, and diocesan archives in its quest for the preservation of antiquity.[23] For example, Thomas Rickman, the architect who designed the New Court at St John's College Cambridge, spent a lifetime making over two thousand drawings of ancient churches, which he left as a permanent record.[24] By about 1850, nearly all the leading supporters of choral services had been recruited to membership of the Ecclesiological Society.[25]

In addition to the clericalization of church music, the Ecclesiological Movement also provided a means for the entry of women into the world of church music, as the new easterly organs (or often harmoniums) in the smaller rural parish churches were frequently played by women.[26] Yet, this was in contrast to the patriarchal archetype found in an easterly choir (necessitating processions) with robed men and boys in close proximity to the clergy and the high altar. A division or contrast is to be seen between

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20 Reprinted with a useful commentary in Webster, *Temples*, 127.

21 Webster, *Temples*, 137.

22 For a full list and details of these bishops and archbishops see James White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 42.

23 White, *Cambridge Movement*, 53.

24 White, *Cambridge Movement*, 9.

25 Adelmann, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, 215.

26 Famously described, for example, in Hardy's mythical (but situation-based) novel, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, where Miss Day, the school mistress, is to preside at the organ. See Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree or the Mellstock Quire* (Ware: Wordsworth Edition, 2004), 58. Professional women recitalists were active during this period. Judith Barger's research centres on Elizabeth Sirling, whose early recitals were given in the late 1830s. Yet, it is clear that wholesale prejudice existed against women when it came to professional appointments. For an example of this see, Judith Barger, *Elizabeth Stirling and the Musical Life of Female Organists in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 538.

churches with large choral forces with a strong patriarchal and hierarchical model, and churches where this situation did not exist and where, perhaps, a woman may have presided at the organ or harmonium. In simple terms, it may have been a contrast between town and country. However, this contrast also points to another example of the archaism versus modernity question and the music of the Prayer Book. Where there was organized and developed church music (in quires and places where they sing), patriarchal, hierarchical, antiphonal, and archaic models were in strong development. Where there was little or no music, fewer of these conservative and formal ingredients obtained, and women musicians began to take their place in church.

At the heart of both movements is the ancient notion of antiphony, which was strengthened enormously in many ways in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Ecclesiological Society's own stated purpose for physical division or contrast, antiphony, call and response, draws a parallel between a concept of the Church Militant, set against the Church Triumphant: the divine and the human interaction. They are co-dependent, yet they are independent. A description from *The Ecclesiologist* (1867) describes the very functioning of this antiphonal division:

> So long as the altar rises conspicuously at the end of the wide and deep and well-elevated sanctuary, and between sanctuary and congregation is interposed the chancel or chorus cantorum, with its stalls for clerks, lay or in holy orders, so long will the living witness exist in the Church of England to the especial dignity of the Eucharist, to the *antiphonal* form of worship, and to the special attributes of the clerkly function.[27]

It is interesting to note not only the naming of antiphonal forms of worship, but also the conspicuous references to the various forms of separation and contrast, namely '*between* sanctuary and congregation' and '*interposed*' in the chancel. *The Parish Choir*, likewise quantified the essentially archaic personality of antiphonal singing in a long and detailed article of 1847, part of which allows that when:

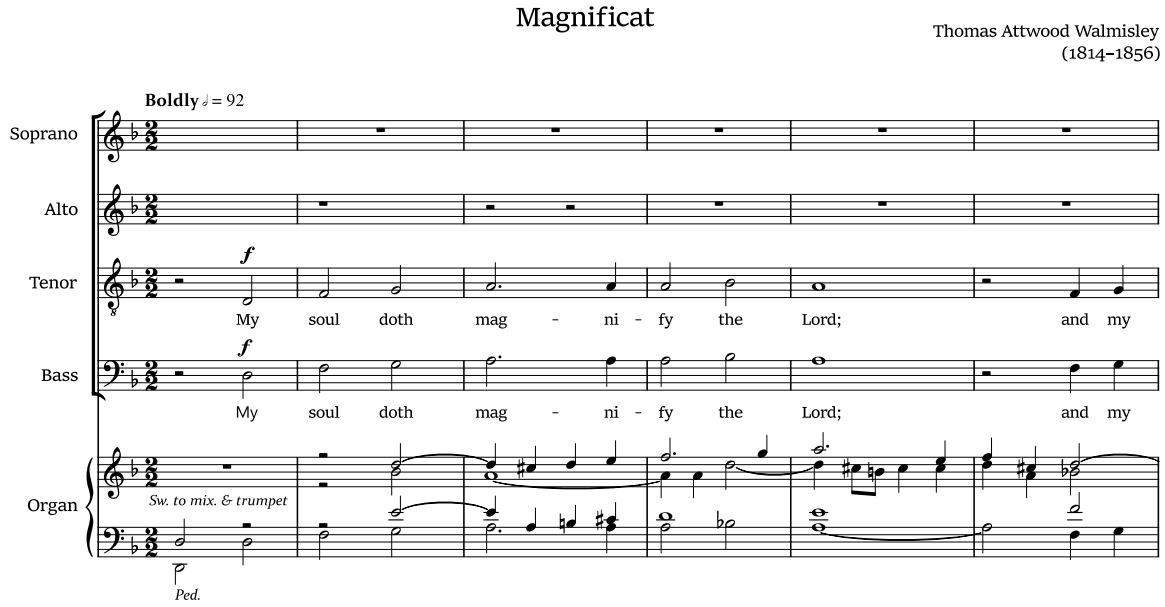
> the term antiphonal is applied to singing, it signifies that the successive verses of any psalm or hymn are sung alternately by opposite sides of a choir or congregation … The custom of alternate singing … has existed from the earliest times, amongst almost all races of people, and that it has been used both in religious worship and in domestic

[27] Cited in White, *Cambridge Movement*, 97. The word 'antiphonal' is not italicized in the source; the emphasis has been added by the present author.

> recreation and convivial assemblages. As Bishop Wetenhall says, its origin is so hidden in the remotest antiquity.[28]

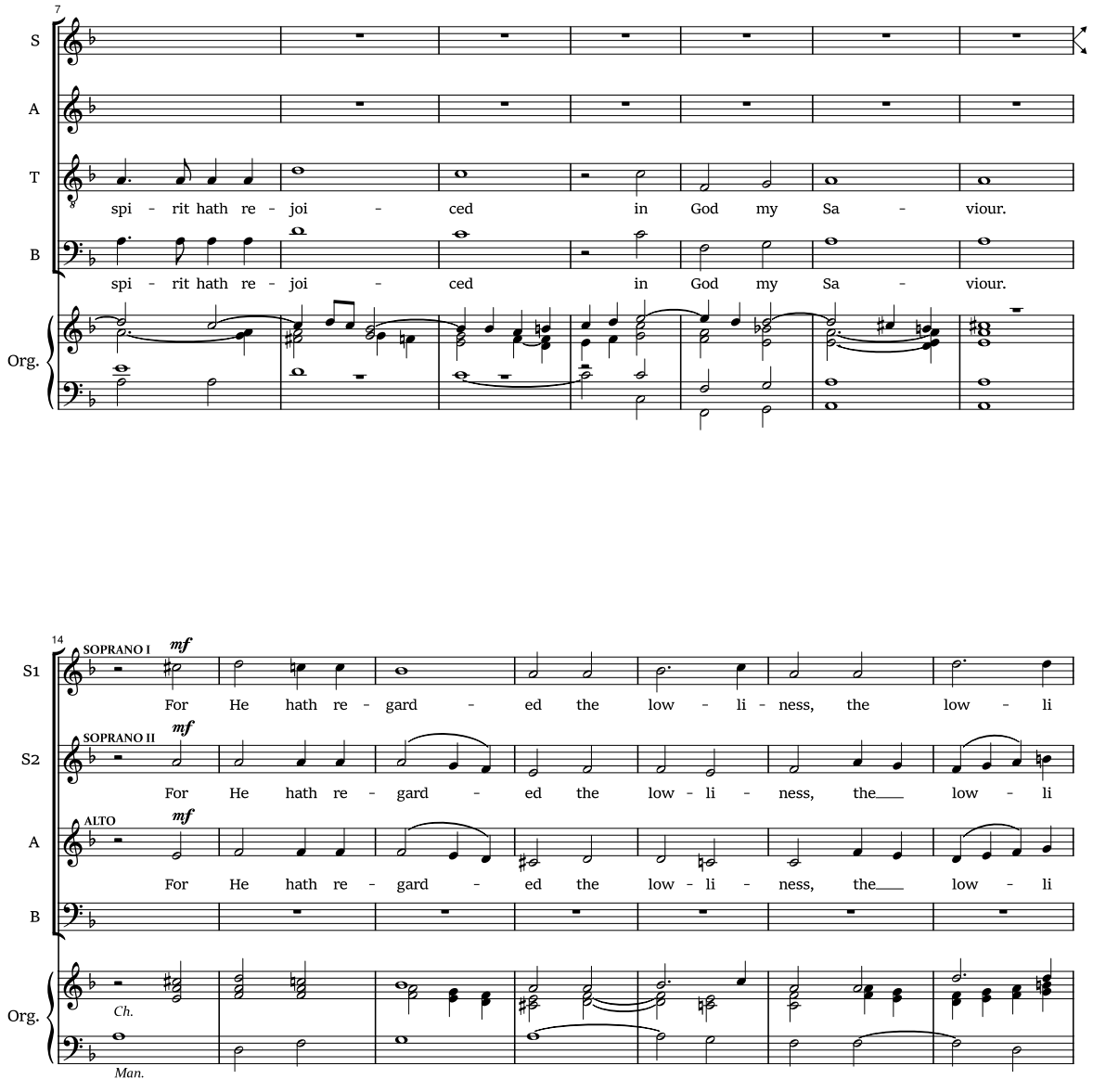
Thomas Attwood Walmisley (1814–56) was largely responsible for rescuing music from a certain amount of neglect at the University of Cambridge.[29] His well-known Evening Service in D minor demonstrates obvious features from archaic antiphonal practice; see Example 1.

Example 1. Thomas Attwood Walmisley: Magnificat in D minor, bars 7–20.



[28] Anonymous, 'Antiphonal, Antiphon, Anthem', *The Parish Choir or Church Music Book* (August 1847), 162. The Rt Revd Edward Wetenhall (1636–1713), a bishop of the Church of Ireland. Sometime, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne & Ross. D.D., Trinity College Dublin.

[29] Nicholas Temperley, 'Walmisley, Thomas Attwood', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29852.



Note the pseudo-plainsong men's voices section in unison. There is contrast, however, with a different texture, fashioning a firm antiphonal dialogue within the music. Perhaps this should be no surprise given the date (1850s), the place (Cambridge, a centre of Ecclesiological thinking), and the reordered chapels restored with the physical divisions to be found so readily from the 1850s onwards. These long passages for men only, as well as other long passages for unison voices, are not only interspersed with upper voices in homophonic texture, but they also represent (though they are not)

Gregorian antiphonal chant. This work clearly supports an archaic ideal of antiphonal worship. Many works from this period function in the very same way, including, for example, the opening of the Magnificat from S. S. Wesley's Service in E major (1845), written during the composer's time at Leeds Parish Church—Pugin's new Gothic building; a celebrated marvel that was the very epitome of Ecclesiological-science thinking.[30] Wesley's homage to antiphonal technique is highlighted by his description of antiphonal/decani-cantoris arrangements, outlined in an interesting pamphlet published in the same year as his setting in E. Indeed, the very title of the pamphlet itself (which begins thus *A Few Words …*) is revealing in that it demonstrates a distinct affiliation with the many publications of the Ecclesiological Society that invariably used the same expression in their titles (*A Few Words …*). Wesley wrote that:

> To begin with the arrangement of Church music; it is antiphonal. It must, from the nature of its composition, be sung by TWO CHOIRS. The least number of men which can constitute a Cathedral Choir capable of performing the service is twelve; because each Choir must have three for the solo or verse parts, and an extra three (one to a part) to form the chorus; six on a side, that is: now so far from this, the least amount of necessary strength, being what is found in anything like constant attendance at our Cathedrals generally, there is not one where such is the case: not one which has the requisite number of singers in daily attendance.[31]

For many people, Anglican chant has long been the epitome of Anglican choral worship, particularly within the context of the Prayer Book with its venerated and archaic translation of the psalms: one of the earliest such translations in English, the work of Miles Coverdale.[32] For a period of some 300 years before the beginnings of the Tractarian Movement, psalms were sung in cathedrals to various simple chants through a formulaic rule of syllables known as 'the rule of three and five'.[33] However, from about

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30 Peter Horton, *Samuel Sebastian Wesley: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 130.

31 Samuel Sebastian Wesley, *A Few Words on Cathedral Music* [and the Musical System of the Church, with a Plan of Reform] Series No. 1961b (New York: Hinrichsen Edition, 1961), 7.

32 Myles (Miles) Coverdale's translation of the psalms predate the Authorised Version (King James Bible), but the Prayer Book psalter retained this older translation at the Savoy reforms when the Authorised Version became associated with the Prayer Book. The Coverdale Psalter is part of all the ensuing editions of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, though there have sometimes been minor changes to some editions, for example, some of the so-called 'cursing verses' were removed from the Irish revision following the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. See https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2019-10/The%20Book%20of%20Common%20Prayer%201662.pdf .

33 Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 261. Le Huray and Harper have concluded that until about the middle of the eighteenth century, the chants were likely simple Gregorian chants, perhaps tone 8. Peter Le Huray and John Harper,

1837 there was a huge explosion in pointed psalters that quite simply had not existed in that way before, demonstrating the increased interest in psalm singing in these years.[34] Thomas Helmore's *The Psalter Noted* also appeared in 1849, the result of many years' effort.[35] It was similar in presentation and title to the 1550 work of John Merbecke. The corresponding names of the two works are significant and indicate the archaic link, which is an example of ancestor worship in an Anglican liturgical context. The 1550 *Psalter Noted* was itself reprinted in 1844 and 1845 by different publishing firms.[36]

Table 1. Settings of the opening of Psalm 36.

Text from Watts's eighteenth-century metrical psalter[37]	**Text from the Prayer Book: Coverdale translation dating from the early 1530s.**[38]
While men grow bold in wicked ways And yet a God they own, My heart within me often says, "Their thoughts believe there's none".	MY heart sheweth me the wickedness of the ungodly, that there is no fear of God before his eyes. For he flattereth himself in his own sight, until his abominable sin be found out.

Before about 1840, the mode of congregational psalm singing in churches included metrical psalmody with paraphrases of the psalms, sung from psalters such as Sternhold and Hopkins, Playford, Day, and Isaac Watts. But, by the 1860s and 1870s the archaic antiphonal model of Anglican chanting or Gregorian chant (in the dedicatedly Tractarian churches where it happened) had become completely customary throughout the Church of England and the Church of Ireland. This meant a psalm rendering that was much closer to the early translation (see Table 1).

'Anglican Chant', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00941.

34 For a list and examination of the great number of new psalters that appeared from about 1837 onwards, see Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 293.

35 Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 261.

36 It was published by Pickering in 1844 and then by Rimbault a year later, and it was reprinted again in a substantially corrected form in 1871. See Hyun-Ah Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and The Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 15.

37 Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (Boston: Printed by Kneeland and Adams in Milk-Street, for John Perkins in Union-Street, 1767), 77.

38 Jamie Ferguson, 'Miles Coverdale and the Claims of the Paraphrase', in Kari Boyd McBride and Linda Phyllis Austern (eds), *Psalms in the Early Modern World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 138.

The ongoing archaic fusion conversation exists prominently here: the Coverdale texts in the context of the Prayer Book fashioned a truly archaic *liturgy*. The *music* was Anglican or Gregorian chant, both of which were archaic in demeanour. Part of the *practice* was the archaic antiphonal arrangement, engendered by the works of the Ecclesiological Society, which also promoted a notable hierarchical and patriarchal personality, as noted above. Liturgy, music, and practice therefore comprised three highly archaic individual elements. The identity was formality, patriarchy, archaism, and a championing and idealizing of olden procedure. This was keeping with the Ecclesiological Society's notion of division and contrast, the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, God and man, Heaven and earth. Compared with metrical psalmody, this sort of psalmody also allows antiphonal archaism to engender its identity through repeated contrast and yet repeated unity. This is a powerful model of *perichoresis*, meaning the *dance* or relationality of the indwelling of disparate forces or entities as parts (or members) of a larger union.[39] Each part exists separately, yet it is nothing and cannot exist without the other; indeed, there is a dependence upon the other. In Anglican or Gregorian chant, each part of the chant exists *because* of the other, yet it facilitates the other and fashions an expectation of the other.

Returning to the notion of contrast created by such widespread antiphony, combined with a doctrine of hierarchy and patriarchy, a doctrine of deification in the company of the music of the Prayer Book arises.[40] This curious doctrine was (and is) engendered by close and *repeated* encounters with antiphony, both musical antiphony and physical antiphony. Deification arises in this context due to the continuous repetition of *action* and *re*-action; in other words, existing and functioning through a knowledge and experience of *the other*. It is therefore this focussed repetition, in a sacred context, that is such a conspicuous contributing factor in the doctrine of deification.[41] Deification, action and re-action may—in music—be antiphonal action (such as the functioning of Anglican chant) which:

> highlights two fundamental features … in Christian thought: participation with the divine and reflection of divine attributes or qualities. Also, within Christian thought,

[39] When perichoresis is adopted as a description of a theological doctrine of anything other than the Godhead, it has attracted criticism.

[40] Deification is a likeness of God or a union with God which is also called Theosis or divinization in Eastern tradition.

[41] For a detailed discussion of this proposal, see John McClean, 'Perichoresis, Theosis and Union with Christ in the Thought of John Calvin', *The Reformed Theological Review* 68/2 (August 2009), 130–41: 134.

> theosis [or deification] is intimately related to Christology. If Christ is the Son who reveals the Father, then imitating Christ would mean also imitating God.[42]

Participation, reflection, revelation, and imitation all fit into the model of contrast, action, and counteraction found in these repeated archaic antiphonal patterns, whether they be musical or physical or both. They are all part of an amalgam that presents itself in an antiphonal and archaic *dance* (not a physical dance, but a relationality) that was championed in the repertory and circumstances of this period and onwards. Furthermore, they are part of a generational personality (another archaic facet) that composers such as Wesley and Walmisley took on with their archaic procedures and bequeathed to later composers such as Stanford, Noble, Brewer, and Howells. In other words, the idea of contrast that is so strongly present in the music of the Prayer Book from the mid nineteenth century (through its settings, particularly psalmody, and its physical circumstances) are so abundant, that archaism and antiphony exceed themselves and evolve into a doctrine of deification.

In order for such models of hierarchy and patriarchy to function however, it follows that there must be a subordinationist identity for other members of this perichoretic amalgam. In other words, the rigid and clearly defined separate places of choir and congregation along the lines of the great mediaeval plan, means that the congregation has a subordinate identity when there is music at Prayer Book services. The theologian Thomas Torrance has discussed such hierarchical and subordinationist structures and contends that 'attributing the source of Godhead solely to the hypostasis of the Father introduces a hierarchical and subordinationist structure into God's Being'.[43] So does this work the other way? Do hierarchical and subordinationist liturgical structures introduce a model where, notionally, the source of the Godhead is attributed solely to the hypostasis of the Father? Certainly, a pattern of patriarchal, hierarchical, and subordinationalist liturgy and music does exist. This may fashion a notion of Torrance's patriarchal hypostasis,[44] rather than perichoretic hypostasis.[45] It seems that the archaism, antiphony, and contrast, but also the hierarchical and subordinationist

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[42] Clifford Barbarick, '"You Shall Be Holy, for I Am Holy": Theosis in 1 Peter', *Journal of Theological Interpretation*, 9/2 (2015), 287–97: 289.

[43] Benjamin Timothy Frederic Dean, 'Person and Being: Conversation with Thomas F. Torrance about the Monarchy of God', *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 15/1 (January 2013), 58–77: 59. Hypostasis, that is one of the three persons of the Trinity.

[44] That is, attributing the source of the Godhead to the hypostatic substance of the Father.

[45] That is, attributing the source of the Godhead to the hypostatic substance of the functioning relationality or, in other words, the *dance* of the three persons of the Godhead. Torrance distinguishes and discusses perichoretic vis-à-vis patriarchal hypostasis in his conversation of the Triune Monarchy. See Dean, 'Person and Being', 58.

structures that functioned in these times, may have intensified a doctrine of patriarchy. This patriarchal doctrine is most strongly encountered therefore, where there was (and is) organized music in the company of the Prayer Book.

The archaic antiphonal dimension within Prayer Book writing continued to develop and can be seen into the twentieth century. Stanford's setting of the Magnificat in B flat (1879) demonstrates the technique very obviously with unison men typically answered by full chorus. Similarly, his setting in G contains many obvious antiphonal features. It is very much of the same making as those writers who adopted this antiphonal technique in the former period. Likewise, Tertius Noble (one of the assistant organists at Trinity College Cambridge during Stanford's time there)[46] modelled his Evening Service in B minor (1898) upon Walmisley's D Minor setting (*c*1845); it even includes a slow triple time contrasting second movement as well as lots of other gestures and quotations from the Walmisley setting and is plainly full of antiphonal style writing. The opening of the Nunc Dimittis, a single, simple, treble line, is a particularly good example. Brewer's Evening Service in D major (1927) demonstrates the very same technique almost throughout the work. Even a composer as late as Herbert Howells, a pupil of both Brewer and Stanford, makes use of extensive antiphonal process (often solo or unison passages in *pseudo*-plainsong style, breaking into modern extended harmony) in a great deal of his ecclesiastical music. A good example comes from the St Paul's Service (1950), which opens with a pseudo-plainsong unison melody that almost shares a gesture—a showcased minor third—in the direction of Tallis's *Third Mode Melody*, adopted by Vaughan Williams in his *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*. Dyson was yet another student of Stanford. Similarly, his Evening Service in D major (1907) is also full of the union-chorus antiphonal technique. The opening of the Nunc Dimittis contains a good example of the same sort of antiphonal writing.

Archaism was still a fundamental feature of the music of the Prayer Book in the twentieth century, again, often because of deliberately designed archaic-sounding features, such as those employed by Howells. However, when these obvious archaic musical features were absent, such as in Kenneth Leighton's Second Evening Service in G major (1971), archaism still exists through an insuperable connection with extraordinarily archaic words. These words have been preserved in common currency in our time where there is music. When there is no music, they seem not to have been taken seriously by all members of the Church. Antiphony, also an archaic and ecclesiastical feature itself, is still alive and well in the sound and nature of Prayer Book

[46] J.A. Fuller Maitland, H.C. Colles, and Duncan Barker, 'Noble, (Thomas) Tertius', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20002.

music. How does this meet with a notional Prayer Book archaic ethos? It seems that a certain ethos, myth, or spirit in the music of the Prayer Book can be seen in the theological doctrine of myth and ritual.

It is helpful to consider Robert Segal's definition of myth in this tricky and nebulous question. Firstly, as a general premise, Segal defines myth as a *story*; the Prayer Book has this in abundance and the story is a long and fascinating one. Secondly, he explains that myth can also be taken broadly as a creed or a belief; the Prayer Book has this in abundance too. Therefore, the myth of the Prayer Book can be seen as its fascinating chronological story, that is to say its incarnation in the 1550s, its journey and personality, together with its doctrinal creed. However, one of Segal's other points is much more significant than this. He also considers the various theories that argue that myth is secondary to ritual and, indeed, 'any myth would do' and that 'where ritual was obligatory, myth was optional'.[47] Yet, myth cannot function without its essential vehicle: ritual. But ritual cannot exist without at least some form of its essential fuel: myth. Even if the myth may not be a completely faithful one, where Segal's notion that 'any myth will do' might obtain.[48] In other words, fantasy can exist in the archaic circumstances of the myth of the Prayer Book and indeed that has been found to be the case many times in this story. In perichoresis, this holds out as a manifestation of a perichoretic discussion where both parties are not necessarily equal players.[49] At the same time, both curious parties to this doctrine exist alone and intact; they are not part of each other in their own closed identity. Instead, they are co-dependent when they function as a myth-ritual amalgam. The Prayer Book, its practice, its music, its archaism and antiphony, are bound together in a co-dependent myth-ritual amalgam. In other words, the archaism and the antiphony of the music of the Prayer Book are instrumental in the existence of what has become established as accepted identity of the Prayer Book, most notably where there is music.

There are certainly many individuals who adore Anglicanism, but who are nevertheless agnostic or atheist. Herbert Howells and Vaughan Williams are good

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47 Robert Alan Segal, *Myth: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 62. Segal's own discussion concerns the Scottish Biblicist William Smith.

48 Segal, *Myth*, 62.

49 Crisp points out a fundamental difference between *person* perichoresis and *nature* perichoresis. In nature perichoresis there is an 'asymmetrical relation between the two natures of Christ' whereby 'the divine nature of Christ interpenetrates his human nature without confusion … but the human nature of Christ does not interpenetrate the divine nature in any way'. Crisp's discussion centres upon the true perichoretic conversation at work in the Trinity, but his asymmetrical notion of nature perichoresis facilitates a notion of two-way traffic that is not always equal and which at the same time allows for changing and developing encounters. See Oliver Crisp, 'Problems with Perichoresis', *Tyndale Bulletin* 56/1 (1 January 2005), 120.

examples of composers who fall into this category. It seems to be the myth and ritual, the aesthetics, the circumstances, the practice, the history, the background, the archaism, the general smell, as it were, of the music of the Prayer Book that engenders this. Yet, this need not be a negative. Indeed, it is perhaps the mythical personality of the Prayer Book that has saved it. Some powerful people at the time of liturgical revision would have seen it eradicated or 'cancelled', utterly and forever.

If we can follow a general premise that ritual feeds and facilitates myth (whether it be a real myth or a fantasy), thereby fashioning an identity which in turn may provoke or engender ritual,[50] we can see the importance of musical archaism in modern writing for the Prayer Book. Returning to Howells and the St Paul's Service, it is easy to see that Howells has adopted mythical properties in a quest for a very real identity and ritual. Furthermore, there is a strong archaic theme in the functioning of this approach. For example, ancient modes of expression adopted in this setting (in this case plainsong-*like* passages) mythically (because they are not real) belong to a notional Anglican archaic ancestry.[51] This adoption and practice of myth engenders a ritual; this being the Prayer Book service itself. The ritual, with all its physical settings and movements also feeds a notional myth that there are pure ancient archaic ingredients at work within this music. The co-dependent myth-ritual relationship in this context is, again, a notable model of perichoresis. The individual paradigms of myth and of ritual exist alone, even though they exist as diminished individual beings when compared with the strength of this perichoretic amalgam.

It would be wrong to assume that simply because there is suddenly a name for myth and ritual that it is a new concept, although it does have a special identity from the twentieth century due to the very long ancestry of the Prayer Book and its uncanny Tudor language. This is not the case. For example, in the sixteenth century, John Sheppard venerated the Sarum Rite by means of veiled quotation, and Thomas Tomkins's son published archaic (and useless) settings to obsolete words.[52] Key figures, including the Revd George Lavington, Canon of Worcester, spoke publicly of an archaic

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[50] This notion is not exclusive to the Prayer Book, it is an important feature elsewhere in theology. For example, Lang draws attention to a concept of deity in an elder faith in the veneration of elements of an older religion. See Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, vol. 2 (London: Senate, 1996), 21–28. The same paradigm can be seen at work in the Christian year, whose dates for major festivals were superimposed upon earlier Celtic festivals.

[51] There was certainly plainsong in English in the early days of the Prayer Book, notably Merbecke's *Prayer Book Noted* of 1550 which contained a syllabic sort of plainsong but preserved some of the modes with their earlier associations. Even then, however, plainsong held an archaic personality due to its great age.

[52] His pre-restoration Burial Sentences (which adopted the Prayer Book words from the pre-1662 books) were published for the first time after the Restoration.

style; he stipulated that sacred music should be 'plain and intelligible' and 'like that of the antients [sic]'. He called for clear homophonic textures 'so notwithstanding the great variety of voices, attended likewise with verity of instruments; yet as they all sing the same words at the same time'.[53] Maurice Greene and William Boyce published collections of formal, conservative, out of date repertory that endured well into the twentieth century.[54] The doctrine of the Tractarians and the Ecclesiologists enabled composers to use ancient practices in their composition as though those practices had always been there. All this represents the searching for an archaic myth, with a solid intention that it may be authentic. When there is not a true myth, one can evolve or even be invented.

The Prayer Book is now so old that it has gained a tremendous dignity and status; it encompasses towering figures in all aspects of its ancestry. But it is the music of the Prayer Book that has facilitated its ongoing archaic personality and preserved its extraordinary sixteenth-century language into our time; services without music are rare and Choral Evensong is the most common office. Yet, this archaism, which has given rise to such a powerful archaic perichoretic amalgam that is laced with hierarchy and patriarchy, seems to have been strengthened in the nineteenth century by invented archaic features. Certainly, it is the case that a very long time ago, the music of the Prayer Book became insuperably connected with this archaism. This pattern, once fashioned, seems to have endured. Originally, it was a result of an enforced change: the English Liturgical Reformation.

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53 These comments were made in 1725 at the annual Music Meetings of the Three Choirs—a festival of church music that was an early manifestation of what developed into the celebrated Three Choirs Festival. See George Lavington, *The influence of church-music. A sermon preach'd in the cathedral-church of Worcester, at the anniversary meeting of the choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, September 8, 1725* (London: James and John Knapton, 1725), 12.

54 These were the collections known as Cathedral Music. First published in the late eighteenth century, they were essentially the work of William Boyce, but begun by Greene. The publications contain functional music of course, but it is formal, conservative and archaic in nature. The preface, particularly in later editions, gives stylistic details of an archaic ideal. See *Cathedral Music: Being a Collection Etc,* (London: Printed for John Ashley, 1788). A useful downloadable facsimile of the 1788 edition may be found here: https://imslp.org/wiki/Cathedral_Music_(Boyce%2C_William).